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Northern English dialects: A perceptual approach

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Abstract

Northern English dialects: A perceptual approach

Perceptual dialectology has the capacity to deliver a great many benefits to the study of language varieties. It also allows examination of the underlying factors in dialect use such as the ‘beliefs, attitudes and strategies’ (Preston, 1999: xxiii) which make up language users’ reactions to language varieties. In this way it has the potential to ask questions of identity and explore the reasons for dialect loyalty as well as complementing other research in the field of language variation and change.

Using a perceptual framework, this research investigates the relationship between the north and south of England and gains access to some of the key concepts which affect informants’ view of this important social, cultural and historical relationship.

Perceptions of salient dialect areas are also assessed using informants from three locations in the north of England via the completion of a draw-a-map task (Preston, 1999: xxxiv). Many of the factors which impact on the perception of dialect areas are discussed, with phenomena of proximity and cultural salience demonstrating an important role. An analysis of informants’ reactions to voice samples from across England is also undertaken using methods adapted from the fields of linguistics (Embleton & Wheeler, 1997, Giles & Powesland, 1975, Niedzielski & Preston, 2003) as well perceptual geography (Pocock, 1972). The link between map-based perception and reaction to voice samples is examined, with interesting conclusions.

Four key research questions are addressed:

1. Do respondents have a linguistic ‘cognitive map’ of a north of England, and do respondents recognise there to be internal boundaries within ‘their’ north of England?
2. Does home-town location of informants affect the perception of dialect area?
3. What are informants’ perceptions of the language varieties in the north of England?
4. Is there a relationship between perception and ‘reality’ (production), and can respondents recognise the varieties they have identified?

These questions will be addressed using the methods described above and the results accounted for through comparison with a wide range of previous studies in the fields of dialectology (Trudgill, 1999, Upton, Sanderson & Widdowson, 1987, Wells, 1982), social and cultural history (Wales, 2006), perceptual dialectology (Long & Preston, 2002), sociolinguistics (Giles & Powesland, 1975) and perceptual geography (Gould & White, 1986).

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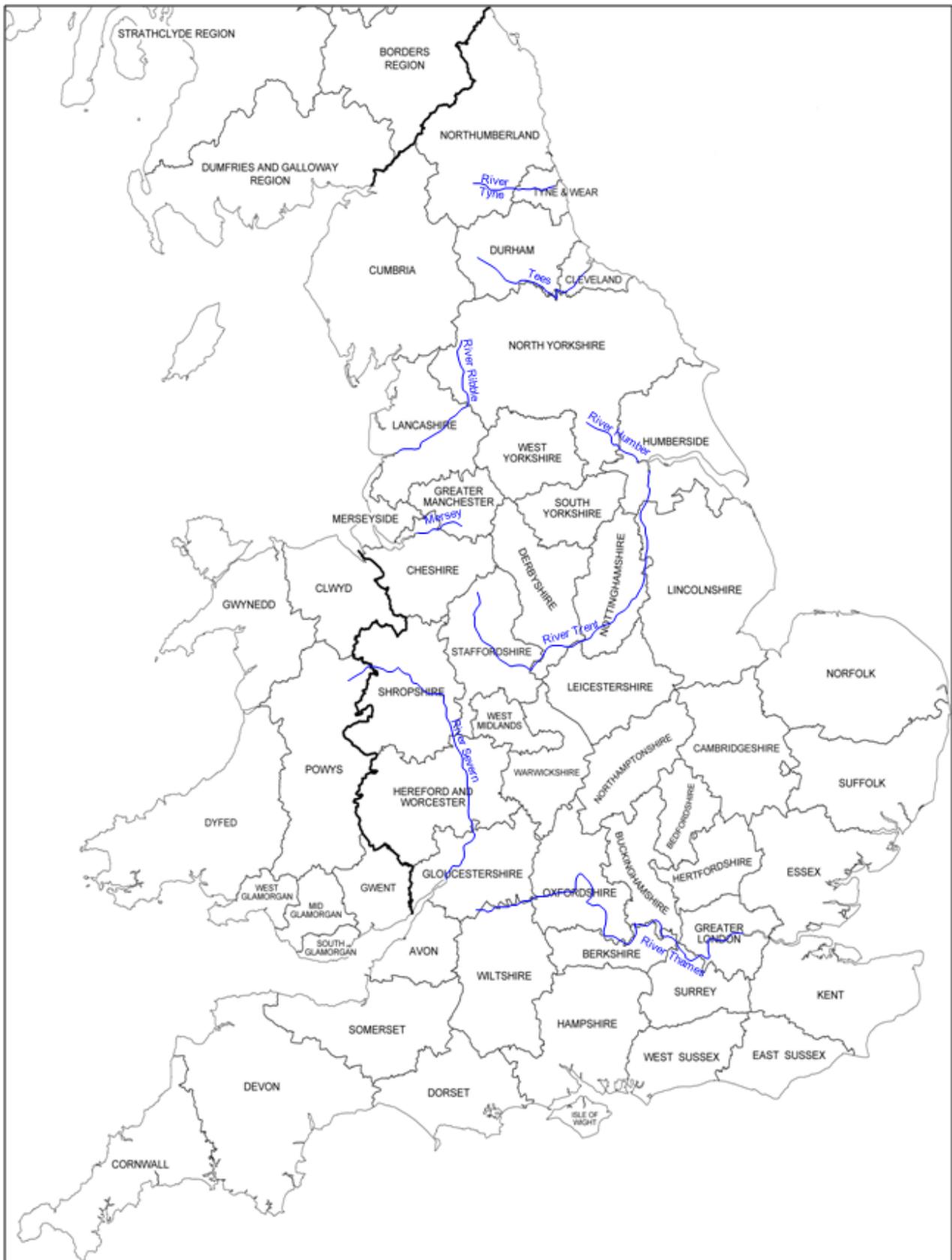
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Pre 1996 county boundaries and major English rivers

1. THE NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE

The 'north-south' divide is an important concept in the United Kingdom. Barely a month goes by without the publication of a report by interest groups which is reported by media outlets as evidence of the existence of the divide (or its 'widening' or 'shrinking'). In this sense, the concept is convenient shorthand for a complex situation. However, the very fact that media outlets use this shorthand is testimony to the salience of the concept for those living in this country. Although often thought of as a modern or recent concept, this chapter will demonstrate that the north-south divide has a long historical pedigree and is 'literally, as old as the hills' (Jewell, 1994: 28).

1.1 DEFINING NORTH AND SOUTH: AN OVERVIEW

The 'north-south divide' is a subject which has been tackled by many, emerging as a particularly important cultural phenomenon in the 1980s during which time the issue 'received a good deal of journalistic attention...' (Jewell, 1994: 1). During this decade, the concept of the 'divide' and the inequalities between north and south was a subject of constant comment in the national and regional media, which discussed the phenomenon along with senior figures in the then government. Although some attempted to explain away reasons for inequalities between the north and south (Lord Young (Smith, 1989: 1)) the Prime Minister, Margaret Thatcher, dispelled it as a myth (Jewell, 1994: 1). The focus of so many, either attempting to explain or dispute the concept of a north-south division, reflects the peculiar status of the 'north-south divide' in the popular consciousness. This peculiar status is added to by the lack of a satisfactory definition of 'the north'.

This lack of definition stems from the widely accepted notion that regions are 'dynamic, shifting entities' (Russell, 2004: 14), and are 'as much as state of mind as a place' (Hill & Williams, 1996: 6). As such, despite many attempts to delimit 'the north' there are many competing definitions. Some of these are based on statistical measurements of political voting patterns, income or employment rates, others are historical, and perhaps the

greatest number are perceptual. These perceptual definitions can depend on a number of external factors and are of obvious importance to this research.

Although a concept which has received much attention in the past three decades, the notion of a difference between north and south can be found throughout history. The first recorded group to perceive a difference between the north and south of the country were the Romans. After invasion they divided the country in order to govern, establishing in AD 212 a separate northern province called *Britannia Inferior*. Although the naming of the province was due to the southern division of Britain (*Britannia Superior*) being closer to Rome, Wales notes that despite the etymological meanings of both ‘Inferior’ and ‘Superior’, they ‘do also appear to have their evaluative connotations’ (Wales, 2000: 8). *Britannia Inferior* had a secure regulatory border to the north (now known as Hadrian’s Wall, above which was found *Britannia Barbara*) and a southern boundary roughly running north of a line from the Wash to the west coast above Chester (Musgrove, 1990).

Other historical boundaries have included that of the Danelaw, which ran from the north of Watling Street and followed the approximate course of the River Trent. The river boundary was important from the 1240s when the ‘administration of lands which escheated to the crown was divided up between escheators operating north and south of the Trent’ (Jewell, 1994: 23). The importance of rivers as boundaries, physical and perceptual rather than administrative, has remained until almost the present day, as will be discussed below. Further discussion of the historical development of the north of England can be found in §1.2 below.

Modern political divisions such as counties and regions have provided more definitions of the division between north and south. Publications discussing these newer north-south definitions (Rossiter, Johnston & Pattie, 1999) generally agree ‘the north’ occupies the area north of the southern limit of the (pre-1996) counties of Cheshire, Greater Manchester, South Yorkshire and Humberside. This ‘north’ area and the counties within it are formally organised into government regions of North West, Yorkshire and the Humber, and the North East. Smith, an author who has focussed on a statistical

definition of the north of England took a Britain-wide survey area and examined 'economic data, voting behaviour and regional policy' (Smith, 1989: 2). His northern area follows the political regional boundaries described above along with the countries of Scotland and Wales (Smith, 1989: 2). Although the political and economic terms which Smith uses for his southern limit of the north area mean that the northern region's southern boundary has remained relatively stable for around one hundred years the divisions within the north (especially regional divisions) have changed quite dramatically.

It must be noted however that other official organisations do not support this southern boundary; the Ordnance Survey for example takes a line between Hull and Preston as the most important north-south division (Jewell, 1994: 25). However, although political and official boundaries are important, boundaries recognised and understood by people are of the greatest significance. Jewell (1994: 24-5), in a review of the various influences on the regional make-up of England takes into account rivers, geology, and invasion and seeks to arrive at a definition of the north most recognisable to the population and not based on somewhat arbitrary statistics; something in which she has the support of Russell (2004). Jewell's north-south dividing line follows a path 'from Humber to Mersey, with attention to the Trent between them' (Jewell, 1994: 25). This 'attention' to the Trent is to include in the north those areas north of the 'Trent's southern sweep' (Jewell, 1994: 24-5). It is thus important to note that 'the north' can refer to a variety of different areas depending on what factors are used to delimit the area.

The focus of this discussion has thus far been on non-linguistic definitions of the north and has introduced several working non-linguistic definitions. Linguistic factors will be considered later in this chapter (§1.3) as I believe it is important to understand the north-south divide in socio-political/historical terms before examining the extent of agreement between linguists. Also important is an understanding of political boundaries that may leave some areas in a political north or south, contrary to their linguistic 'location'.

It seems then, that in a discussion of the north of England area there is a choice to be made: whether to use the political regional boundaries as the start of the north-south area, or utilise Jewell's (1994) definition. Both 'dividing' lines can be seen in figure 1.1.

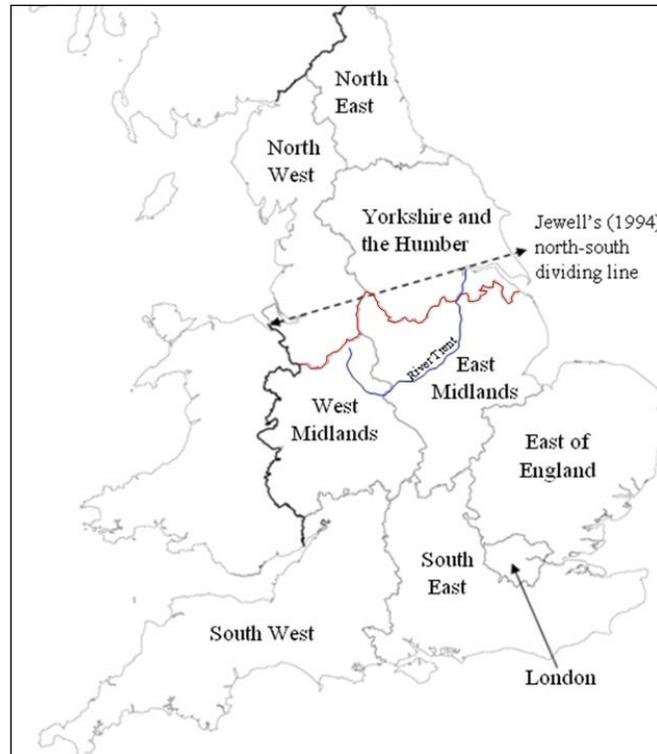


Figure 1.1: The modern regions of England, showing the modern political north (North West, North East & Yorkshire and the Humber, southern boundary marked in red) and Jewell's dividing line, with the Trent in blue (Jewell, 1994: 25)

Taking Jewell's 'attention to the Trent' into account, with the inclusion of its southern sweep, it can be seen that the differences between the political definitions and Jewell's north area are small, if not insignificant. Jewell appears to include all higher ground within her north area, as the Trent skirts around the foot of the Pennines, which also appears to eliminate the southern tip of the flat Cheshire plains.

1.2 THE HISTORICAL NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDE

1.2.1 Southern Prosperity

The north of England area has a long and complex history and Jewell notes that there is 'a north-west/south-east divide which is literally as old as the hills' (Jewell, 1994: 28), perhaps explaining the inclusion of all the whole of the Pennine mountain range within her north area. She contends that this divide was present in the type of farming and agriculture and therefore affected culture and economy in prehistoric times, an effect continued 'through the Roman and Anglo-Saxon periods' (Jewell, 1994: 28). As mentioned above, during the period of Roman rule England was divided into two provinces. After Roman rule had ended an area running roughly from the Humber to the Firth of Forth enjoyed an 'independent existence for 400 years' (Musgrove, 1990: 44). This area to the north of the Humber (*Northumberland*) was very pre-eminent amongst the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. It had two large estuaries, the Humber and the Clyde (facing east and west respectively), which were 'highways to wider worlds' (Musgrove, 1990: 45). This position allowed Northumbria to become a kingdom of wealth and great cultural vitality and by around AD 700 the kingdom extended to the west coast of England. After reaching its northern and western limits, the Kingdom's sense of heritage and tradition remained rooted in the east and was 'kept alive in poetry and histories' (Musgrove, 1990: 45).

The Kingdom of Northumberland was eventually destroyed by invasions perpetuated by Danish warriors. After the invasion by the Danes, Alfred of Wessex was forced to partition England, creating the Danelaw. This area covered occupied the area to the north of a line running roughly along the ancient road of Watling Street although not the counties of 'Cumberland, Westmorland and ... Northumberland'¹ (Musgrove, 1990: 54). More invasions occurred after this Danish settlement, with Norwegian forces settling to the far north of the Danelaw. The Scandinavian influence is still felt in present times,

¹ These three counties (pre-1974) can be found in the approximate locations of the two counties of 'Cumbria' and 'Northumberland'

with many place-names still exhibiting the influence of Scandinavian settlement. It seems that the southern parts of the Danelaw whilst retaining some 'Danish characteristics in administration and language' (Jewell, 1994: 22) began to align themselves more with the south of the country. However, this did not mean that there was a general desire to unify the Kingdom of England, and the northern parts of the Danelaw actively took part in a rebellion in 1065 (Jewell, 1994: 22-3). William I tried relatively unsuccessfully to invade these northern areas and in 1069 set about 'punishing' the north.

However, as successive rulers were installed to oversee Anglo-Danish Yorkshire they were dispatched by a rebellious northern people. Over the years the ancient Kingdom of the north was 'virtually re-created' (Musgrove, 1990: 62) and entered a second 'Age of Bede'. Much of the same emphasis on tradition, religion and heritage was to be found. For many years the whole of the north of England from Chester to Hull was an area in which 'the king's writ did not run' (Musgrove, 1990: 80). This area was gradually made smaller from the south and west with Chester (1237) and then Lancaster (1351) falling back to the crown. The retaking of towns in the south and west of the north reinforced an eastern bias in the north. This was supported by the fact that the east of region was also the most prosperous, at least from the tenth to the thirteenth centuries, after which there was a relative economic decline. During this time however there was the constant threat from both Scots in the north and the Kingdom of England to the south. The threat from the Scots was compounded with successive English Kings seeing the far north as 'expendable' (Jewell, 1994: 37), and offering territory within it at times of crisis. This presented those in the far north of the region with a problem, as the inhabitants of the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland, 'however independent of a southern government they might feel to be, showed no tendency to become Scottish' (Jewell, 1994: 37). This had the effect of actually strengthening the border to the north. The border was further strengthened during a number of Anglo-Scottish wars, in which the north inevitably felt more aligned with the English. Jewell argues that these events 'bound the far north more firmly into the English kingdom' (1994: 41).

Conflict in France (the Hundred Year's War) led to great northern military power as troops were rarely drafted from the north and a great deal of revenue was generated for the region by war. This military power and prosperity led to what has been described by some as a Golden Age. This came to a close with The Wars of the Roses, a conflict which is still evoked in media representations of Rugby, Football and especially Cricket matches, along with comedy². Musgrove argues that the war was less to do with the north or Lancashire and Yorkshire specifically and more to do with the need for 'effective kingship and central government' (Musgrove, 1990: 156), discrediting the traditionally held belief of the geographical basis for war. This said, the war was fought in the context of an east-west conflict, and was the catalyst for centuries of low-level animosity, real or imagined.

After the Wars of the Roses two centuries of decline and poverty in the north followed which marked the 'low point between the twin peaks of medieval power and nineteenth-century industrial might' (Musgrove, 1990: 183). During these two centuries the power of London, the Home Counties (those counties surrounding the capital) and a south-east centric central government grew, in direct contrast to the declining fortunes of the north. The union of Crowns in 1603 and Parliaments in 1707 saw the north's five hundred year defensive role against the Scots come to an end as the south took control of this function. Political and military thinking was no longer directed by the north, and the result was 'isolation and backwardness' (Musgrove, 1990: 215). The north's role in the seventeenth century Civil War was largely one which reacted to what was happening in the south. The final defeat of the Royalists in 1644 was a severe blow for the north, which suffered disproportionately. For almost 100 years after the end of the war, London and the south profited whilst the north suffered.

Smith (1989) argues that when charting the development of a north-south divide, the development and growth of London from the fourteenth to seventeenth centuries is an important feature. Even as the development of the cloth industry in the fourteenth century provided 'a more diversified regional economy' (Smith, 1989: 8) which benefited

² *Phoenix Nights: Wild West Night*, Series 1, Episode 2, first broadcast 21/01/2001

Leeds, Halifax and Bradford; London was still dominant. With a relatively large population, London and the immediately surrounding areas also acted as a magnet for inward migration from other parts of the south of England. Smith also points out that London's growth was such that even plague followed by the Great Fire (in 1665 and 1666, respectively) had little effect on the burgeoning population of London. In the case of the fire, it eradicated the plague as well as slum housing and 'created a building boom' (Smith, 1989: 9).

The development of such a large and prosperous city when other areas of the country were still feudal exacerbated the division between north and south, in both perceptual and economic terms. At a time when 90% of the country worked on the land, London's huge population and subsequent need for food added another advantage to the south-east which was already favoured due to its warmer climate. With the agricultural revolution and rising food prices in the south there was now money to be made out of the land, of direct benefit of the south-east and to detriment of the north and especially the north-west. Jewell supports this view, stating that 'south-east of the Severn ... lay, into the eighteenth century, the best arable, and most densely populated counties' (Jewell, 1994: 112). London's large inward migration produced an increasingly diverse population which was in stark contrast to that of the northern towns. As Jewell comments, it was not until the 1650s that 'some northern towns begin to pull in population from their hinterlands in anything even remotely approaching the way London had been doing for centuries' (Jewell, 1994: 212). This lack of inward migration reinforced the 'closed nature of northern communities' and resulted in these communities being unaccustomed to incorporating new residents. This had the effect of preserving old ways of life as 'old traditions were not diluted' (Jewell, 1994: 212).

Until the start of the nineteenth century then, the north of England had a troubled history. With the seat of government since the Roman invasion concentrated in the south-east of the country, the north proved difficult to rule. As discussed, the reasons for this are numerous, but reluctance to being controlled from a distant location seems to have been a common theme. From the Danelaw and government in the north itself, to the attempts of

the Norman invaders to impose government, ideas of self-rule have been apparent. It can be argued that the north of England (at least in the far north) only eventually accepted its place within the Kingdom of England when the prospect of becoming Scottish became a possibility.

1.2.2 Northern prosperity, Industrial Revolution and decline

Towards the end of the eighteenth century, and throughout the nineteenth, industrial revolution swept England. The greatest effect of industrialisation was felt in the north, although this is not to say that other areas of England were left untouched by industrialisation. Industry is now however closely linked with modern perceptions of north and south, despite that fact that many of the differences between the two (perceived or otherwise) have roots in centuries of history. The link between industrial revolution and modern perceptions of the north is however clearly supported by many, including Wales who argues that: ‘many of the current stereotypes of the north of England ... derive from the industrial revolution and the huge expansion of industry and growth of the Midland and northern towns’ (Wales, 2000: 5-6). Here she echoes Jewell, who argues that although before industrial revolution the major towns (later cities) of the north were ‘not provincial backwaters’, it is after this event that they took on the heavy industrial nature that for many now characterises the north (Jewell, 1994: 212).

The Industrial Revolution was helped by a great many factors; not least the period of northern decline due to a disadvantaged position in an agricultural economy (Smith, 1989: 12) which led to the region’s securing of lower tax levels. These lower taxes along with independence shown by commissions of peace in the north resulted in some of the industry of the late seventeenth century being relocated to the region. As Musgrove notes, ‘the very dominance of London and the south-east ... [was] driving out enterprise’ (1990: 255). In the early nineteenth century northern towns and cities grew at a massive rate due to industrial expansion, largely at the expense of previously successful towns in the south. This can be seen in the growth of the canal system used to transport raw materials and products which were mostly concentrated in Yorkshire and Lancashire,

with a network spreading down to the Midlands. By contrast 'large parts of the south were left untouched by the canal age' (Smith, 1989: 13).

By 1850, Liverpool and Manchester were ranked seventeenth and ninth respectively amongst Europe's largest cities. The north of England had all the ingredients necessary for industrial revolution including raw materials, water and a climate suitable for cotton manufacture, and profited from its raw materials as the south-east had once done. Added to these factors was a seemingly more fertile population (Musgrove, 1990: 258-60), lower wages and excellent trade routes, from northern ports and the aforementioned canal system. Despite the economic importance of the north however there was no corresponding rise in political significance with the south remaining most important for politics and banking. Too firm a grip had been established by the south in the huge growth of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries for the north to wrest control from it. For example, even at the height of industrial revolution the south still had a greater number of millionaires (Musgrove, 1990: 262). Those that made their fortunes in the north's industrial towns had little in common with the merchant bankers and landed classes in the south. As Smith notes: '[t]he association with the new northern wealth with dirt, pollution and congestion was a strong one' (Smith, 1989: 15). The phrase 'where there's muck there's money' was coined at the time of industrialisation and the connection remained strong, serving to highlight the differences between the rich in the north and those in the south.

It is perhaps not surprising then that, at the time of the height of industrial revolution and imperial power of the British Empire in 1845, Disraeli first used the phrase 'The Two Nations' (Meegan, 1985: 3). This phrase was used not to refer to north and south but to the new rich and poor in the north (Smith, 1989: 16). Smith argues that this phrase painted the picture, along with other 'literary excursions northwards ... [that] was to reinforce southern prejudices about the industrial north. There may have been money to be made there, but the drawbacks were many' (Smith, 1989: 17). It can be said however, that although southern prejudices were in some cases correct and 'living conditions were often wretched in the industrial towns' (Meegan, 1985: 3), there was work and a degree

of prosperity there for some as wages went up. It must be concluded though that ‘the benefits of the industrial revolution ... accrued mainly to the entrepreneurs, and the factory and mill owners’ (Smith, 1989: 16). As the great provincial cities flourished so did political unions in many towns that were concerned in the main with securing more power for the industrial regions, a task in which they had limited success.

The ‘Golden Age’ of British industrial revolution lasted for around the first seventy-five years of the nineteenth century. Towards the end of the century however other countries were gaining fast. As Britain had achieved industrialisation first, other countries arriving later learned to do things such as ‘scientific education, mass production and research and development’ better (Smith, 1989: 17). Economic growth and expansion was half the rate of Germany and the United States by 1870, and production in mining and manufacturing industries began to decline. This overall decline became the start of the industrial decline which hit the north of England disproportionately due to its relative prosperity being based almost entirely in industry. Smith (1989) demonstrates this decline relative to the south by examining county-by-county totals of income tax assessment. Although there was a rapid downward shift in the proportion of London incomes in the national total in the early nineteenth century, this was followed by a similarly rapid upward shift towards the end of the nineteenth century. By the end of industrial revolution London incomes accounted for nearly half the total for the country, which was almost the same as pre-industrialisation levels (Smith, 1989: 18-9).

It can thus be seen that industrial revolution in the north provided a hitherto unseen prosperity, although this was fleeting and mainly concentrated in the hands of relatively few entrepreneurs and mill owners. It must also be noted that the northern prosperity was not at ‘the expense’ of the south as some have commented, but simply helped the British Empire expand at an unprecedented rate. In some senses industrialisation could be said to have strengthened the south-east’s position as the administrative centre, such was the connection between the new money and heavy, dirty industry. When decline came the north was hit hard, reinforcing southern perceptions and stereotypes whilst ensuring that the poor in the north remained where they were and unable to affect southerners’ views.

The historian Hobsbawm states that '[t]he Victorian Economy crashed in ruins between the two world wars' (1969: 207), an argument supported by Musgrove who claims that the north of England after the First World War 'was the principal site of capitalism in crisis' (1990: 228). Economic mismanagement, circumstance and poor luck in some respects helped the decline in this period. As the north's remaining industry declined yet further due to lack of domestic demand for coal and the other products of heavy industry; the south and Midlands developed light industry. This new industry had the effect of 'satisfying and in some cases creating consumer demand' (Smith, 1989: 20). The car manufacturing industry for example, with a few exceptions, was concentrated entirely in the south and the Midlands. This created an even sharper north-south divide as the north suffered and the south (relatively) prospered. Mass unemployment and massively depressed areas in the north caused various hunger marches, most famously from Jarrow. Added to these problems were those of strikes, concentrated in the industrial north, of which there were over 900 per year in the inter-war years. The general strike of 1926 was a northern strike at heart (due to the majority of miners working in the north), as well as being class-based. Apart from the limited areas where manufacturing industry (which was less hard hit by decline and recovered at a quicker pace) provided a lifeline to a fortunate few, many of those made unemployed after the first world war 'remained on the dole until the Second World War brought with it a sharply increased demand for manpower' (Smith, 1989: 22).

The Second World War supported a limited halt of decline in the north of England although this was short-lived for many industries. The coal industry continued its decline but industries such as steel prospered along with the engineering and chemical industries. There was no return to the north as the primary manufacturing centre however, as the southern light industry was easily converted to cope with war time demand. Post war however, although the 'Midlands and south-east were at the forefront of the [post-war] expansionary phase' (Green & Elizabeth, 1988: 181), economic policy was directed to ensure that the experience of the inter-war years and the regional divisions that occurred should not be allowed to occur again (Smith, 1989: 28). At the end of the Second World

War the Labour Party, which for many was an institution which was synonymous with the north, gained power and directed the economic policy mentioned above.

The Labour Party grew from the trade union movement established to address the growing discontent with poor wages and working conditions of the late Industrial Revolution. Labour movements were set up in northern towns such as Keighley and strikes that brought together all sectors of the workforce were enabled. Similar bodies were set up ‘throughout the provinces, particularly in Lancashire and Yorkshire’ (Laybourn, 1988: 20) and the culmination of this political activity resulted in the foundation of the Independent Labour Party (ILP) in Bradford in 1893. The ILP became the Labour Representation Committee (LRC) and finally the Labour Party, eventually securing twenty-nine House of Commons seats in 1906. By the eve of the First World War it was recognised that the Labour party ‘was a significant political party’ (Laybourn, 1988: 30). After the First World War the Labour party polled 24% of the vote and successful Labour candidates came ‘almost entirely from the manufacturing and mining areas of the North, Midlands, central Scotland and South Wales’ (Brand, 1974: 60). There was very little influence in the south of the country, a pattern which was to be repeated in future years.

The Labour Party was able to form its first government in January 1924 after extending its number of seats to 191, again mainly due to gains in the north of the country. The first Labour government was not a success and, despite becoming the largest party for the first time in 1929 (again with gains made in ‘Lancashire, Cheshire, Yorkshire and West Midlands’ (Harmer, 1999: 66)), the second government was dissolved after Labour party Ramsay MacDonald formed a National Government to meet financial crisis (Harmer, 1999: 70). It was not until the end of the Second World War that a Labour landslide resulted in a majority Labour government for the first time. During the course of two Labour governments an extensive programme of nationalisation was initiated and ‘brought the Labour movement to the zenith of its achievement as a political instrument for humanitarian reform’ (Jefferys, 1993: 9).

Throughout almost half a century after the post-Second World War governments, the Labour party had two further spells in government in the 1960s and 1970s before the general election victory in 1997. After losing power in 1970, a victory in the 1974 general election gave way to the 1979 general election in which the Labour party polled its lowest share of the vote since 1931, returning with only 269 seats in the House of Commons (Laybourn, 2001: 121). This poor showing in the 1979 general election led to a period of stagnation in the Labour party and a retreat to its roots and core support in the north of England for the next decade. Table 1.1 (pg. 17, below) demonstrates that this was almost to the exclusion of the rest of the country. During this time, the Conservative party used the Labour party's poor record of industrial relations to destroy its credibility and questioned the economic competency of those in the party. With the Labour party isolated in the north of the country, the Conservatives pursued an agenda of undoing much of what had been performed by the post-war Attlee governments, as well as confrontations with trade unions in order to diminish their influence on British politics.

By the end of the 1980s the Labour party started a slow process of modernisation, backing off from its more left-wing policies and drifting slowly to the right under the leadership of Neil Kinnock. After the death of Kinnock's successor (John Smith), there was an unprecedented period of modernisation of the Labour party in an attempt to broaden its appeal beyond the traditional working class and northern voters. After the election in 1994 of Tony Blair as leader modernising agenda was furthered and, capitalising on its new appeal as a party of not just the north and working class (indeed, in many respects now the opposite) along with a Conservative government beset by division and difficulty, the 'New' Labour party won a landslide election victory in 1997. This was followed by an almost identical result in 2001 and a further the general election victory of 2005, although with a reduced majority of 66. This resulted in a third Labour government and the longest spell in power in the party's history.

1.2.3 The Modern North-South Divide

As has been discussed, the north-south divide is not simply a product of the industrial revolution. However, although the north-south divide has been a phenomenon throughout history, industrial revolution created an ‘image that weighs against the north, that of the working-class’ and created a new class of worker ‘different from the agricultural farmhand or cottage spinner’ (Wales, 2000: 6). The image of the working class created during the industrialisation of the north means that: ‘for many people even today ‘northern’ and ‘working class’ are synonyms’ (Wales, 1999: 2-3).

In the years since the Second World War perceptions of the depressed north and prosperous south were perpetuated, despite the economic policies that enabled some expansion in the north (Smith, 1989: 28). Unemployment still remained a problem, but through ‘Keynesian policies of demand management’ (Smith, 1989: 29) and regional policy the north slowly grew. Despite this slow growth and (relative to the pre-war policies) a more regional focus to successive governments’ policies, there was still the perception (for those in the south) of the north remaining stunted. The old idea of north as a ‘strange country’ (as described by Orwell in *The Road to Wigan Pier*) was still a prevailing idea in the early 1970s, as can be seen in figure 1.2, which is how the north was viewed by Londoners (through the eyes of Doncaster and District Development Council).

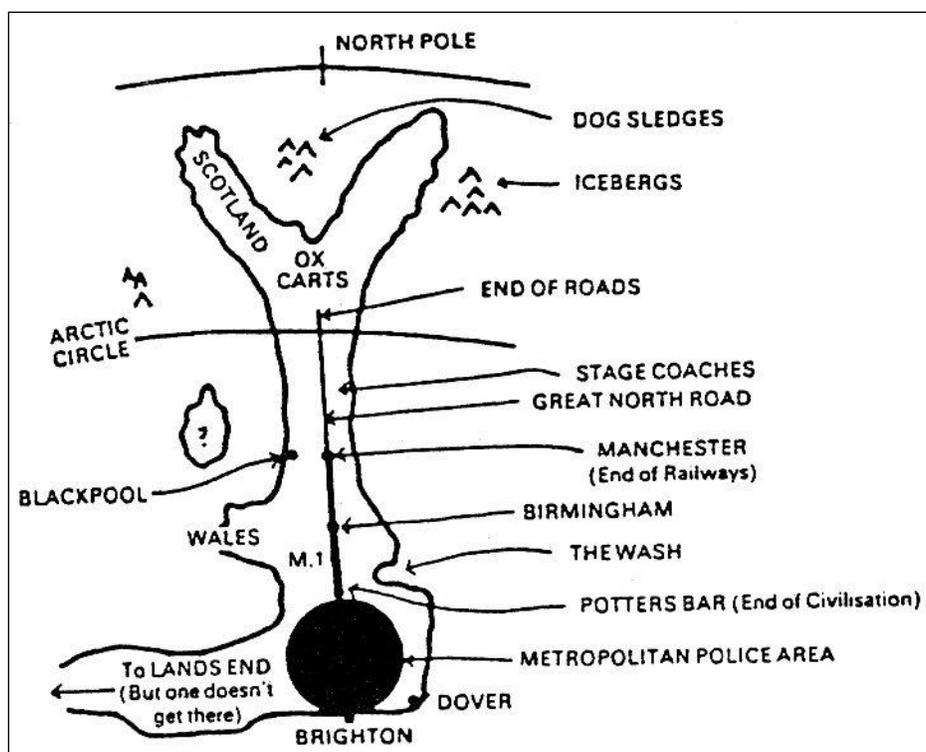


Figure 1.2: How Londoners see the north, according to the Doncaster and District Development Council (Gould & White, 1986: 22)

The image produced above is of course fictional; ‘a cultural text ... representing[ing] the world rather than reproduc[ing] it’ (Paasi, 1996: 20). Here, the map represents the perceptual ‘reality’ and frustration of the council in Doncaster in attempting to create inward investment at a time when the whole country seemed to be geared towards London and the south-east. It is also interesting to consider the representation of London on the map, occupying as it does a comparatively huge area and almost all of the south-east. This perhaps shows that the idea of the north-south divide is as much informed by stereotypes in the north as it is in the south.

Although relying on historical stereotypes and misinformation as well as a certain degree of economic reality in the immediate post-war years, in the late 1970s the north-south divide again came into sharp focus. The Wilson government experimented with ‘French style national indicative planning’ (Mawson, 1998: 160) and established Regional Economic Planning Councils in 1964. Smith argues that these were economic policies that for a time helped the north, and after being ‘damaged in the recession that followed the 1972-3 oil crisis ... [were] willingly abandoned by Thatcher’s Conservative

government’ (Smith, 1989: 29). This ‘willing abandonment’ is perhaps not surprising when one considers who voted for whom in the 1979 election and the subsequent two elections in the 1980s, during which time media attention focused on the north-south divide. Table 1.1 below shows the numbers of seats taken in each region by the Conservative and Labour parties in general elections 1979-1987.

Region	Conservative			Labour		
	1979	1983	1987	1979	1983	1987
South East	147	162	165	44	27	24
Greater London	48	56	58	36	26	23
South West	42	44	44	5	1	1
East Anglia	17	18	19	2	1	1
East Midlands	23	33	30	18	8	11
West Midlands	33	36	36	25	22	22
The South: Total	262	293	294	94	59	59
Yorks. & Humberside	8	12	10	30	24	28
North West	37	36	34	35	35	36
North	18	21	20	34	34	32
(Scotland)	23	21	10	44	44	50
(Wales)	12	14	8	23	23	24
The North: Total	98	104	82	166	150	170
Total	360	397	376	260	209	229

Table 1.1: Voting figures by region (1979-1987) adapted from Smith (1989)

As the table shows, the voting figures clearly indicate a north-south split, as Johnston et al discuss: ‘[t]here is a readily identifiable distinction between the south and east of the country, which was predominantly represented by Conservative, and the north and west, where the majority of constituencies returned Labour members’ (Johnston, Pattie & Allsopp, 1988: 13). The previous section’s discussion of the development of the Labour party should mean that the above table is of no surprise. A clear north-south divide in the late 1970s and 1980s can be seen in voting figures. However Smith questions whether this is a true political north-south divide; wondering whether ‘similar people in different regions vote differently ... or, because the north and south differ according to the proportion of affluent or poor in the population?’ (Smith, 1989: 58)

The abandonment of regional policy during the Conservative government's time in power through the 1980s was designed to remove blanket northern assistance and give more targeted aid to specific areas. It also took into account the fact that more money was being made available to the less well off areas through membership of the European Economic Community (later the E.U.). The Conservative government's aims in abandoning the 'carrot and stick' method of giving companies grants to set up in the north were to open up the market to free competition. The aim was also to ensure that industry was not lost to the country as a whole, as: '[i]f we try to discourage development and economic growth in large parts of the south of England in the hope that it will happen in the north, we risk losing them [industrial companies] altogether' (Margaret Thatcher, quoted in Smith, 1989: 78).

The late 1970s abandonment of the previous decades' regional policy and a split in terms of the voting preferences of the country led to the remaining industry in the north then suffering more decline. Lack of investment and the decline of industries that had sustained the region for more than one hundred years, such as coal mining and steel production, continued this downward trend. Unemployment again became problematic in the former industrialised areas and it was against this background that the increasing media, comedic and scholarly interest flourished.

The interest in the north-south divide on the part of the media, comedians and scholars has not waned since the mid 1980s. The media and comedians especially see the north-south divide as a particularly worthy phenomenon, as Wales notes: 'In the headlines and cartoons of the national broadsheets ... black puddings, mushy peas, flat caps and mufflers regularly appear in stories or news items relating to the north, reeking of condescension' (Wales, 2000: 5). An example of this stereotypical representation of the north can be found in a contemporary newspaper headline: 'Ba gum, there's an ee in t'Oxford dictionary' (Daily Telegraph 9/6/1999). Stories telling readers that the north-south divide is real and growing are also popular in the media ('North-South split 'getting wider' (BBC News 30/6/2004). A recent report (Dorling, 2004b) provides a statistical

analysis of the 2001 census to argue that the north-south divide is a still present (and growing) phenomenon, with London's influence felt increasingly widely. Figure 1.3 illustrates this below. Incidentally, it is interesting to compare this increasing measured economic influence with the perceived influence shown above in figure 1.2.

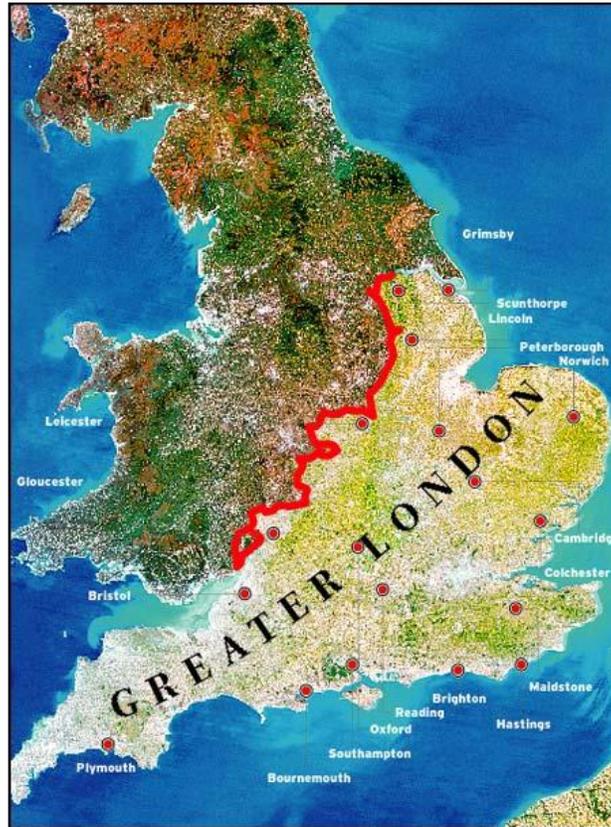


Figure 1.3: London's increasing influence on the country: the widening north-south divide (*The Daily Telegraph* 30/6/04)

To conclude, the north-south divide is a real phenomenon 'rooted in prehistory and attested throughout recorded time in widely varied sources' (Jewell, 1994) and its development throughout history has been complex, with stereotypes and representations formed before the industrial revolution reinforced and reinvented it. Post-industrial revolution the north suffered major decline whilst the south experienced relative prosperity. The modern stereotypical representations of the north, and the antipathy between north and south were reborn during industrialisation and subsequent decline. The phenomenon of north-south divide has remained a particularly salient concept for many and as we have seen is bound up in history, perception, identity and language.

Devolution and regionalism

That there has been recent debate in the United Kingdom about regionalism and devolution is no surprise. Paasi defines it as ‘a reverse of the active tendency towards centralisation within states’ (1996). The historical suspicion and mistrust of the south-east centric power base has been a feature of north-south relations for many centuries as discussed above and it is thus unsurprising that the north of the country may want power to be less centralised. However, as many have noted: ‘England has been a unified Kingdom for longer than any other European country’ (Garside & Hebbert, 1989: 1) and as such may not be expected to exhibit the same tendency to de-centralise as other more recently centralised nations (e.g. Spain).

Regionalism and the desire for de-centralisation is however a real concept today, at least in the wider United Kingdom. Indeed, the proposal for this research project spoke about the timeliness of a perceptual study in the face of proposed regional government. The concept of regional government has been one that has been thought about since the early twentieth century, with inter-war governments acknowledging the practical value the regions had to play in dealing with the chronic problems of these times (Garside & Hebbert, 1989: 2). The idea was again examined in discussions about reconstruction during the 1940s (Garside & Hebbert, 1989: 2) and a regional map of England was constructed (Garside & Hebbert, 1989: 9). During the 1960s and 70s the regional debate resurfaced (Mawson, 1998: 160); Welsh and Scottish nationalism grew during this period and, after Edward Heath committed a future Conservative government to an elected Scottish parliament, the 1970s became a battleground for devolution legislation, which eventually failed.

The 1990s saw pressure on regional economic policy from the E.U., with ‘the region ... playing a pivotal coordinating role...’ (Mawson, 1998: 163). It was against this wider European background and the signing of the Maastricht Treaty that in 1994 the Conservative government set up the network of regional offices in the regions of England. Despite the success of these regional offices, the then Conservative government

saw no reason to establish formal political structures to replace them. This changed with the election of the Labour government in 1997, in whose manifesto there was to be found a commitment to *elected* assemblies in the English regions (Sandford, 2002: 5). These regional assemblies would differ widely from the regional offices of the previous government, the first of these being election, followed by other powers. Early in the new government's first term a Scottish Parliament and Welsh Assembly were created through referenda along with a new Greater London Authority with an elected Mayor. Regional development agencies and unelected regional chambers were set up in 1998, after which followed the election of 2001 which again returned a Labour government. A White Paper on devolution in the English regions was published in 2002 (Sandford, 2002: 5).

The stated aim of devolution was '[the government's] wish to increase democratic accountability over decisions taken at the regional level.' (White Paper, 5.16 quoted in Sandford, 2002). After publication there followed some adverse media coverage which predictably 'concentrated on the issue of 'abolition of counties' ...costs of instituting regional assemblies, and ... the purported link between regional government and European integration' (Sandford, 2002: 5). This was followed by the setting up of 'Yes' and 'No' campaigns for the forthcoming referenda.

The initial regional assembly proposals were only to include three of the English regions. All of these were to be found in the north: The North West, The North East, and Yorkshire and the Humber. This opened the (Labour) government to accusation of only running referenda in areas that it believed it could win: in its heartlands (as has been seen: the north of England). Also by deciding only to administer referenda in the northern regions of Britain, the government tacitly acknowledged that the north had different needs to that of the south. This raised the issue of the north-south divide once more. By the time it came to a vote on the elected regional assembly however, after fears about the all-postal ballot arrangements which had experienced widespread problems in the 2004 local government elections, it was decided that only one area should be balloted. This region, the North East, was subjected to referendum in October and November 2004 and

voted resoundingly to reject the proposals. In doing so, it made inevitable the decision that further referenda would not be held in the other regions of England.

Many reasons for the failure to initiate the regional elected government have been discussed. In some ways, the referendum could have been said to held at the wrong time, with the ‘No’ camp having an easy target in an unpopular government introducing, in their eyes at least, another tier of government on an already politician-adverse population. Other arguments run that the ideas of regionalism and regional government are outdated, and that there is no stomach for an England of regions. Whatever the reasons for rejection however, the elected regional project is now over, at least for the next decade, and the unelected regional chambers and development agencies continue countrywide.

1.3 THE LINGUISTIC DIVIDE

The difficulty in defining the northern region of England is not restricted to social, historical or political fields but is also an issue in language. In many ways the debate about the extent of the ‘northern English’ area echoes that discussed above, and could be said to have much importance as an ‘imagined’ area. The concept of ‘northern English’ is however an important one and as many have previously attempted it is important to try to establish where the consensus is over the extent of a northern English area. For many linguists, establishing where the linguistic north-south ‘divide’ occurs has been of major importance.

1.3.1 Defining Northern English

The majority of linguists who have attempted to classify dialects of English have done so using criteria largely based on phonological differences, as these are said to offer ‘the greatest amount of variation’ (Ihalainen, 1994: 248). Amongst those who have concentrated on other features are Glauser (1974, 2000), who studied the lexical aspects of the Scottish-English border, and (1986a, 1986b) who examined the SED’s lexical and grammatical data (as well as phonological data). One of the first systematic studies of

English dialects came with Ellis' *On Early English Pronunciation Part V, The Existing Phonology of English Dialects* (1889). In this study Ellis developed a transcription technique known as 'palaeotype' (Ihalainen, 1994: 233) in order to look at phonological differences. Despite this phonologically based approach, Ellis also recognized that pitch and intonation could be dialect markers and instructed his fieldworkers to pay attention to such detail. This interest in how dialects are marked out as different relates well to a study of perception, dealing as it does with not only *if* but also *how* people perceive difference.

Ellis divided England into 'five major dialect divisions' (Ihalainen, 1994: 234) on the basis of ten isoglosses, termed 'transverse lines' by Ellis. These five divisions were: southern, western, eastern, midland and northern, divisions which were then subdivided into separate districts. An additional division was made for Great Britain and included the 'lowland' area of Scotland. Ellis based his isoglosses on the following four phonological criteria:

- The pronunciation of words like *some*
- The pronunciation of *r*
- The pronunciation of the definite article
- The pronunciation of words like *house*

(Ihalainen, 1994: 234)

As we are concerned here only with how Ellis delimited the northern area, I will not examine where boundaries were established for other divisions. Ellis' final dialect division map can be seen in figure 1.4 below.

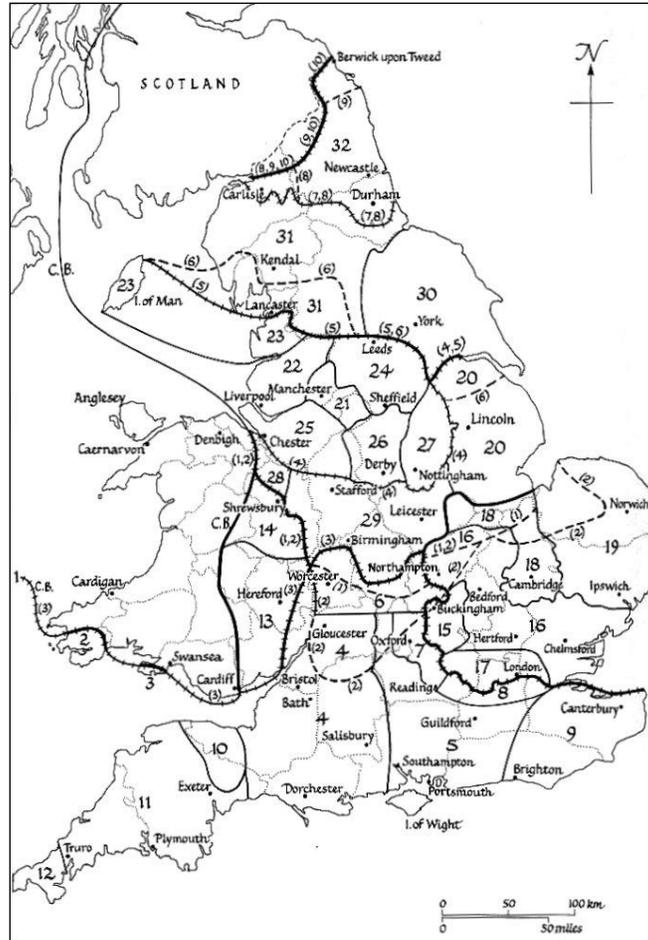


Figure 1.4: Ellis' English dialect districts (Ihalainen, 1994: 236)

As can be observed, the northern division, based on Ellis' research covers 'the entire North and East Ridings with some of the West Riding of Yorkshire, northern Lancashire, most of Cumberland and Northumberland, all Westmorland and Durham' (Ihalainen, 1994: 245). The northern division, marked by the heavy line five, was divided into only 3 districts, and occupies the area north of a line running between the Humber and slightly to the south of Lancaster. The northern limit of the division does not follow the English-Scottish border but runs slightly to the south of the border in the west whilst running above the border to the east (Ihalainen, 1994: 236). Wakelin believes that Ellis' findings are as of much use today as they were when the research was carried out over 100 years ago, claiming that 'when English dialects are classified again ... their remnants will be seen to correspond remarkably well with Ellis' results' (Wakelin, 1977: 102).

There have been other studies since Ellis and Wakelin that have examined phonological data including, as mentioned above, Viereck (1986a, 1986b) who also used grammatical data in order to produce a map based on multivariate analysis and ‘concrete distribution data’ (Viereck, 1986b). His northern dialect area is complex with many subdivisions, to the extent of the extreme north-west of England emerging as a separate area (Ihalainen, 1994: 252). In work on the borders of the northern dialect area, linguists such as Glauser (1974) have found that the political England-Scotland border ‘has ... become a strong linguistic barrier’ (Ihalainen, 1994: 248). Seeking to define a southern border for the northern dialect area others (Rohrer, 1950, Hedevind, 1967) have found that the border between the north and north midlands ‘runs along the Wharfe, roughly’ (Ihalainen, 1994: 249). It is however Trudgill’s *The Dialects of England* (1990 and the second edition of 1999) which provides the most often cited dialect classification of dialects within England. It is uncertain exactly where Trudgill acquired the data for his classifications, but some are based on data from the Survey of English Dialects (SED). Trudgill provided classifications of both ‘traditional’ and ‘modern’ dialects as well as speculating on the future of language variation in England.

Trudgill’s classification of ‘traditional’ dialects shows three major dialect areas in England (northern, central and southern); these all have separate subdivisions and can be seen below in figure 1.5. Trudgill used the criteria which can be seen in table 1.2 below of ‘older’ and ‘newer’ forms of 8 words to define the ‘traditional’ dialect areas:

Word	Older form	Newer form
Long	/læŋg/	/lɒŋg/
Night	/ni:t/	/naɪt/
Blind	/blɪnd/	/blaɪnd/
Land	/lænd/	/lɒnd/
Arm	/a:rm/	/a:m/
Hill	/hɪl/	/ɪl/
Seven	/sevn/	/zevn/
Bat	/bat/	/bæt/

Table 1.2: The eight major features of traditional dialects used by Trudgill to define his traditional dialect areas (adapted from Trudgill, 1999: 33)

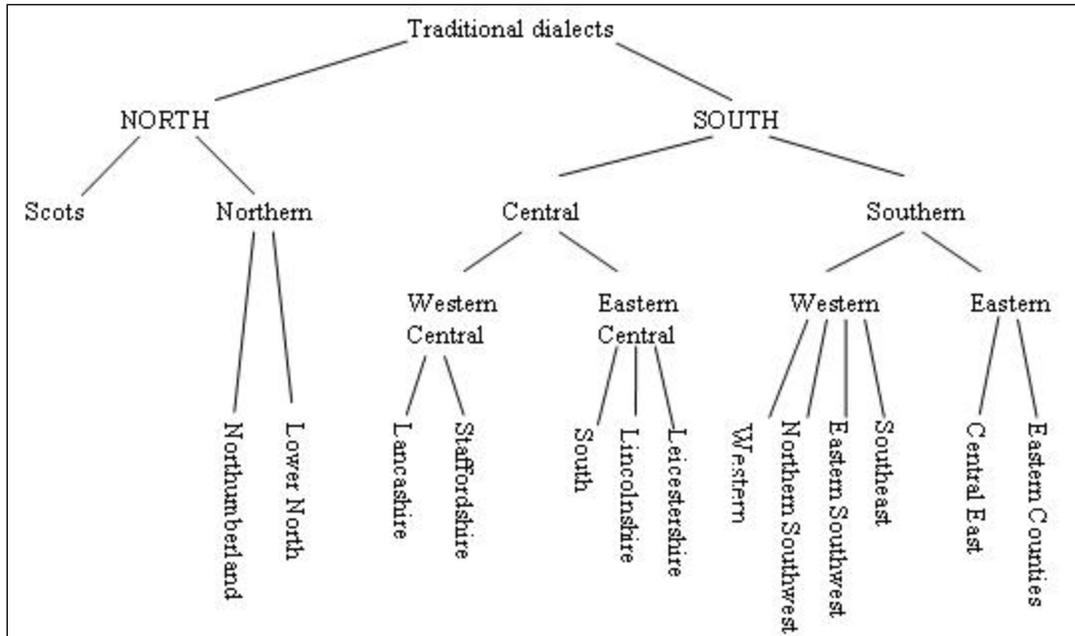


Figure 1.5: Trudgill's classification of the 'traditional' English dialects (Trudgill, 1999: 35)

Trudgill's 'traditional' dialects are 'those conservative dialects of English which are, for the most part, spoken in relatively isolated rural areas by certain older speakers and which differ considerably from Standard English and, indeed, from one another' (Hughes & Trudgill, 1996: 30). Spoken by a decreasing number of English speakers (Trudgill, 1999: 5), such as children under the age of ten and elderly people (Trudgill, 1990: 5), they are rare nowadays. As can be seen in figure 1.6 below, Trudgill's 'traditional' dialects map shows the northern dialects to occupy an area above a line drawn from the Humber to the coast slightly to the north of Lancaster.



Figure 1.6: Trudgill's map of 'traditional' English dialects (Trudgill, 1999: 35)

As can be seen, if one compares figure 1.6 with figure 1.4 the division between north and south is similar to Ellis's, although Trudgill's line is slightly to the north of Ellis's.

Trudgill contends that his 'modern' dialects are now most widely spoken in England; these have developed relatively recently in English and do not differ a great deal from Standard English. The modern dialects 'are particularly associated with those areas of the country from which Standard English originally came – the southeast of England; [and] places that have become English-speaking only relatively recently, such as the Scottish Highlands, much of Wales, and western Cornwall' (Trudgill, 1990: 5). These 'modern' 'dialects' are 'often distinguished much more by their ... accent than by their grammar' (Trudgill, 1999: 6).

Trudgill chose to classify modern dialects using an almost completely different set of criteria than the ones used in his classification of the 'traditional' dialects. These new criteria can be seen in table 1.3 below

Feature	Pronunciation	
Vowel of <i>but</i>	/bʊt/	/bʌt
<i>R</i> in <i>arm</i>	/ɑ:rm/	/ɑ:m/
<i>Ng</i> in <i>singer</i>	/sɪŋə/	/sɪŋgə/
<i>Ew</i> in <i>few</i>	/fju:/	/fu:/
<i>Ee</i> in <i>coffee</i>	/ɪ/	/i:/
<i>A</i> in <i>gate</i>	/ge:t/	/geɪt/
<i>L</i> in <i>milk</i>	/mɪlk/	/mɪtk/

Table 1.3: The seven features used by Trudgill in order to classify the ‘modern’ dialect area (adapted from Trudgill, 1999: 53-66)

Figure 1.7 shows the classification of Trudgill’s ‘modern’ dialect areas in diagrammatical form, whilst figure 1.8 below this shows the map of ‘modern’ dialect areas. According to Trudgill’s classification, the northern area covers the area north of the ‘but/boot’ boundary³. This is the /ɸ/ - /Y/ isogloss, which has become the most salient north/south division marker in line with Ellis’ prediction that the pronunciation of words such as ‘some’ could become the most important contemporary linguistic division in England (Ihalainen, 1994: 257). The ‘modern’ dialects’ northern area occupies a much larger space than in previous classifications, lying north of a line running initially south from the Wash towards Bristol then curving through the county of Shropshire to the Welsh-English border. This definition of the ‘north/south divide’ and the area that the north occupies is currently accepted by most dialectologists. However, the role of the Midlands and a tripartite division of the country has recently been discussed (Upton, 2006), creating problems for those who wish to simply view the country in north-south terms.

Trudgill finds support for his (‘modern’ dialects) definition of the northern area in Wells (1982) who also discusses the Midlands area and argues that it is part of a general northern area (subdivided into the central area by Trudgill). Well’s subdivisions are the midlands³, the middle north and the far north. There is one disagreement between Wells

³ Trudgill, in *The Dialects of England* (1990 & 1999), uses a semi-phonetic spelling system, presumably to make the publication more accessible to readers with a lack of, or limited, knowledge of the IPA.

and Trudgill; for the former Liverpool is not part of the midland or central area but part of the middle north.

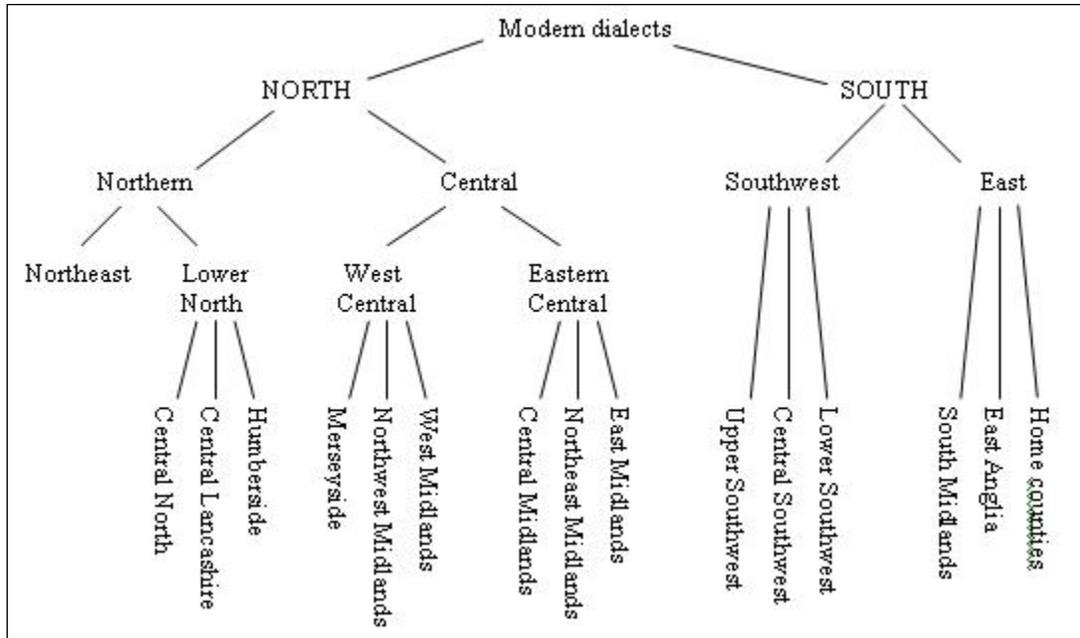


Figure 1.7: Trudgill's classification of the 'modern' English dialects (Trudgill, 1999: 67)



Figure 1.8: Trudgill's map of the 'modern' English dialects (Trudgill, 1999: 65)

Despite some agreement over the division of England into dialect areas it must be noted that all of the divisions made by linguists over the years are generalisations which could not hope to capture the full picture of variation across the country. These generalisations are a product of the need to have an overall framework in which to work, and to provide groups of similar varieties so as to make it easier for future students and scholars of the discipline. There has been some criticism of Trudgill's 'modern' dialect areas, for example, and the exemplar sentence (Trudgill, 1999: 68) given in order to demonstrate the differences between the different dialect areas is open to challenge on many fronts. However, the generalised maps and definitions of the linguistic north are useful when comparing to the findings of this and other studies and as such are most definitely not without merit.

1.3.2 Historical perceptions of and attitudes to northern English

As has been illustrated above, the north-south divide has been a salient concept for many years and it should not be surprising to discover that throughout that time there has been comment from many on the speech of 'the north'. Wales (2002: 45) discusses the 'contributions of northern English ... under the impact of the Scandinavian settlements in the Danelaw area'. Wales further claims that innovations such as the loss of inflexions, the weakening and eventual loss of the Germanic system of grammatical gender and the entry into the language of the personal pronoun *they* were features of northern English in the late Old and Middle English periods (Wales, 2002: 46). The fact that innovations which eventually became part of the countrywide linguistic system are northern in origin underlines the importance of northern English. It also indicates the difference of English spoken in the north to that used in the south of the country. This difference can be observed in the comments of many throughout history, a discussion of which follows below.

Wales claims that 'the first 'extended' discussion of linguistic diversity in Britain is found in Higden of Chester's Latin history *Ploychronicon*' (Wales, 2006b: 64). This was elaborated by John of Trevisa (1385), whose work in turn was reproduced a century later

by Caxton (Wales, 2006b: 32). Interestingly, John of Trevisa claims not a north-south divide in respect of language but (in England) a three-way division as ‘[Englishmen] from the beginnyng [had] thre maner speeches/ southern/ northern & middell’ (cited in Görlach, 1990: 215). Despite this initial (possibly historical) description of the tripartite division in England, John of Trevisa goes on to state that ‘men of the est with men of the west ... accordeth more in sownynge of speche than men of the north with men if the south’ (cited in Görlach, 1990: 216). One of the first evaluative comments on northern English is provided by John of Trevisa’s translation of Higden (1402) who claims that:

‘All the language of the Northumbrians, and especially at York, is so sharp, slitting and frotting and unshaped, that we southern men can barely understand that language. I believe that is because they are near to strange men and aliens [Scots] ... that speak strangely.’

(Higden, translated by Trevisa, 1402: 180)

More comment is provided by Wilson, who as noted by Wales (2006b: 66), speaks of the ‘euill voices’ of many speakers, but refers to only one variety as ‘this man barkes out his Englishe Northrenlike with I say, and thou ladde’ (Wilson, 1553: 117). Further evaluative comment can be found in Puttenham’s *The Arte of English Poesie* (1589) (chapter four of which is reproduced in Görlach, 1990: 236-240). Puttenham provides the river Trent as a boundary for those wishing to speak ‘current’ language, stating that ‘neither shall he take the termes of Northern-men, such as they use in dayly talk ... in effect any speech beyond the river of Trent’ (Puttenham cited in Görlach, 1990: 237-8). He goes further, providing evaluative comment, and prescribing London and its surrounds as the place in which the ‘best’ English is spoken as ‘it [northern speech, along with other literary varieties] is not as courtly nor so current as our southern English is ... ye shall therefore take the usuall spech of the court, and that of London and the shires lying about London within 1x [60] miles’ (Puttenham cited in Görlach, 1990: 238). This demonstrates that the south-east centric English state is already well established.

Other scholars from around the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries were content with providing a description of the prevailing situation as regards northern and southern varieties. Carew (1595), discussing the binary opposition in the dialects present in English states that [in England] ‘wee have Northern and Southerne ... which differ from each other, not only in the terminacions, but also in the wordes termes and phrases’ (cited in Görlach, 1990: 243). Carew goes on to state that all the varieties of English he describes are ‘all right Englishe’ (cited in Görlach, 1990: 243). John Bullokar’s (1616) dictionary, under his entry for ‘dialect’, explains that the ‘dialect, or manner of speech, in the north is different from that in the south’ (Bullokar, 1616: 65-6), with ‘the western dialect differing from them both’ (Bullokar, 1616: 66). Wales (2006b: 66) provides illustration of this north-south-west division of the country with evidence from Verstegan (1605) who provides exemplar sentences from each of the three areas displaying the differences between them.

Hart (1569: 20) also discusses the ‘northern or western speaches’, in opposition to that of the speech of London. The south west, in particular, is discussed by Hart who states that speakers ‘whether at Newcastle upon Tine or Bodmin in Cornewale’ (Hart, 1569: 20) should ‘have the right to spell as they pronounced’ (Wales, 2006b: 67). This south-west/northern distinction is noted much later by Jones who, although conceding that ‘almost every county had gotten a distinct dialect’ (Jones, 1724: 11), that the ‘speech of a Yorkshire and Somersetshire downright countryman would be almost unintelligible to each other’ (Jones, 1724: 11-12). Again we can observe that these dialects are viewed in opposition to London as ‘it would be a good diversion to a polite Londoner to hear a dialogue between them’ (Jones, 1724: 12). This distinction between the south-east and the north and south west echoes what was seen in figure 1.3 (draw over 250 years after Jones’ comments), with Land’s End not even marked on the map as ‘one doesn’t go there’ and the far north marked as the ‘end of roads’. More historical evidence for the difference between the north and south-west and south-east can be found in William Johnston’s (1764) *Pronouncing and spelling dictionary*. He offers to help to correct the ‘pronunciation of the English language [and to] rectify their particular improprieties; and

by which I sincerely think, the youth of Cornwall and Cumberland’, and he hopes that they ‘may learn ... to pronounce English tolerably well’ (Johnston, 1764: viii).

It is apparent from the comments above that during the time in which this writing was produced there was a move towards a ‘standard’. This standard was ‘based on London English’ (Wales, 2006b: 93), and was accepted by a ‘literate influential section of the population centred on the fashionable and educated elite of the metropolis’ (Wales, 2006b: 93). The rise of pronouncing dictionaries in the eighteenth century points towards the codification of the standard during this time with “‘correct” usage ... universally acknowledged to be that of “polite” and “educated speakers in London’ (Beal, 1996: 364). This codification had an affect on non standard varieties throughout the country as the idea of a ‘proper’ or ‘correct’ way of speaking became current with specific northern features noted and disparaged, such as the ‘Northumbrian burr’ (Wales, 2002: 65).

By the end of the eighteenth century the ‘standard’ spoken form of English based around the prestigious speech of the south east and London was well established and industrial revolution began to disproportionately affect the north of the country. Although it may have been expected to erode linguistic variation within the north of country, the rise of the standard seemed to have little effect, and ‘from the early nineteenth century onwards there is certainly plenty of evidence of a flourishing popular culture in oral and written English’ (Wales, 2002: 58). As urbanisation became widespread in the north there was a rise in dialect writing with its roots in oral tradition, of which there are many examples (see Wales, 2002: 58-60). The industrial revolution, along with the preservation of varieties of English in the north intensified the southern perception of the north as ‘foreign’. The idea of the north as ‘foreign’ or somewhere to be tackled with trepidation is not new and quotes from Defoe (1769) and Orwell (2001) in §4.1.4 are very similar despite being made around 200 years apart.

Towards the end of the industrial revolution, the image of northern varieties of English continued to suffer due to the ‘dirty’ connotations of heavy industry. Negative representations and attitudes continued throughout the twentieth century and the south-

east centric media still portray the north as non-standard, further discussion of which can be found in §4.1.1.

The north-south divide, as has been discussed above, is of particular importance in the United Kingdom, and England in particular. Throughout history, in governmental systems, in the modern media and in descriptions of language, the idea of an opposition between the north and the south has been important. This demonstrates the clear salience of the division for many people, both historically and currently. Due to this clear importance, this study will initially focus on the north-south divide by adapting the methodology of previous studies into non-linguists' perceptions of language. A discussion of the methodology to be used follows in the next chapter.

2. METHODOLOGY

This chapter deals with the methodology to be employed in this investigation. Examining the fields of folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology and their links with language attitudes research, it will result in a final robust methodological approach. Preston's approaches to the study of dialect perceptions are introduced, along with other studies based on his work. These provide the starting point for the development of the approach to this perceptual study in the north of England. This development is furthered through pilot studies which have been used to test each methodological component, the results of which are discussed in order to arrive at the final methodology used in this study.

2.1 FOLK LINGUISTICS

A satisfactory definition of the field in which the research takes place is required before a discussion of the methodology is entered into. Folk linguistics and the related field of perceptual dialectology have a relatively long historical pedigree in various countries including Japan and Holland. Long notes that '[the discipline] was, if not "born" in Japan, [was] at least "raised"' there (Long, 1999b: 199). Within this quote is the acknowledgement of the 'birth' of the discipline in the Netherlands, which saw pioneering research in the 1950s. However, in recent years Preston has revisited and modernised the approach to the study of perceptions of language variation, redefining the field for modern linguists. As Wales (2001: 1) notes, Preston is now currently viewed as 'the major proponent' of perceptual dialectology. The following chapter will show however that many other linguists have contributed to the body of perceptual dialectology research, notably (in relation to this study) Long (1999a, 1999b, 2002, Long & Yim, 2002), Inoue (1999a, 1999b) and Niedzielski (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003).

One of the problems with perceptual dialectology has been the difficulty of defining where it fits into the wider field of language investigation. A useful illustration of this is provided in diagrammatical form by Preston (1999a: xxii-xxv) which displays how the

discipline fits with other research into language. A reproduction of the diagram can be seen in figure 2.1.

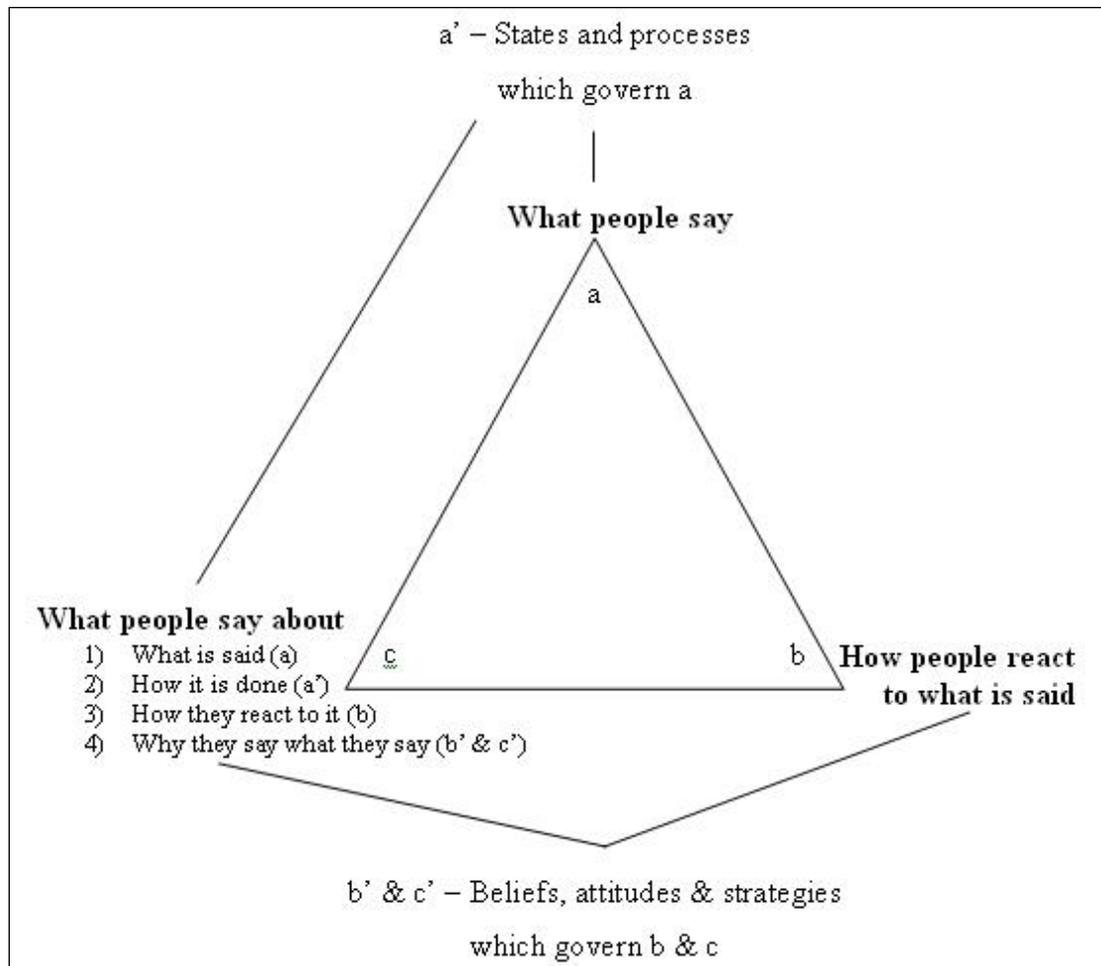


Figure 2.1: Preston's three approaches to language data (Preston, 1999b: xxiii)

Preston states that the majority of research on language covers that which sits at the top of the triangle, claiming: 'what people actually say not only provides ethnographic, conversational, and other studies of language performance with their raw data but also... feeds historical linguistics, linguistic geography, and sociolinguistics' (Preston, 1999b: xxiii). Classic dialectological research has been concerned with the top of the triangle (a), however in seeking reasons for the patterns that they have found in their research, linguists have touched on a', 'lurking behind' a (Preston, 1999b: xxiii).

Language attitudes (*b*) also have a role to play in *a*', and as will be explored below, studies have sought to investigate these. As with *a*, *b*' lies behind these language attitudes, involving 'historical relations among groups, psychosocial relationships...and other values, beliefs, and cultural stereotypes' (Preston, 1999b: xxiv). The final corner of the triangle (*c*) concerns what people say about what is said. This (with the addition of *c*') is, according to Preston's definition, 'the stuff of folk linguistics, [of which] *perceptual dialectology is a sub-branch*' (Preston, 1999b: xxiv, my italics). The 'folk' are non-linguists and language users who have no formal linguistic training. Hoenigswald (1966) offers support to Preston's definition, stating that 'knowledge of the folk categories at every level serves not only folkloric, anthropological, and applied linguistic ends but also general linguistic ones' (Preston, 1993: 334).

Preston (1988) claims that perceptual dialectology, the 'sub-branch' of folk linguistics, has focused on non-linguists' beliefs and perceptions about:

- a) The similarities of their own speech to, and differences from, the speech of other areas.
- b) What they believe dialect areas to be.
- c) The characteristics of regional speech.

Along with these three areas of perception, other perceptual studies have examined where non-linguists believe taped voice samples to be from, as well considering anecdotal perceptual evidence (Preston, 1988: 475-6).

Although there have been attempts to investigate *c* and *c*' since the late 19th century, it was not until Hoenigswald that the area was 'defined and recommended to modern linguists' (Preston, 1999b: xxiv). Language attitude studies, examining what people say about what others say (and/or the way in which they say them), have been performed since this date (Coupland, 1988, Giles, 1977, Paltridge & Giles, 1984), as well as some folk linguistic studies in the field of ethnography of speaking. A section charting the development of language attitude surveys and their methodologies can be found below

(§2.4). Although perceptual dialectology has been neglected as an area of research in the past (especially in the study of English), in recent years more studies specifically examining the area have been completed. This development (in some ways a revival of early work performed in Japan and Holland) can mainly be attributed to the influence of Preston's interest in the discipline.

One can form an idea of why the discipline has not been more extensively studied in the past upon the observation of Preston's need to justify the study of folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology in the introduction to *The Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* (1999a). In the past when perception has been examined in studies of English it has usually been as part of a wider, more traditional survey. Perhaps, as hypothesised by Preston, this lack of study of non-linguists' views is due to Leonard Bloomfield's *Secondary and Tertiary Responses to Language* (1944), who 'scathingly caricatures' such views (Preston, 1989b: 1). Perhaps unsurprisingly then, many subsequent linguists have not attached importance to the opinions of language users, only counting production data as 'real' data to be analysed. This perception has gradually shifted, as linguists have begun to realise that a more holistic approach to the study of language can result in not only finding out *how* people use language but also *why* they use it in the ways they do. This can be seen in the development of methodologies used in general dialectology from the simple questionnaire asking for local synonyms to one designed to look at a great deal more than simply area specific language, taking into account such social factors as social networks, age, class and ethnicity.

Preston has a three point justification of the study of folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology, firstly stating that non-linguists' beliefs are part of the 'folklore, ethnographic, and cultural anthropology of groups' (Preston, 1999b: xxiv), and the study of such beliefs is justified in itself. Secondly, but of no less importance are the relationships and interactions between folk beliefs and practice and specialist knowledge; that language attitudes can and sometimes will be influenced by beliefs about language, especially beliefs about the status of a language, culture or the speakers of a language. Thirdly, that whilst it is in some cases the fact that those in a specialised field find little

value in views held by lay-people, those working in ‘applied fields will want to know what non-specialists believe if they plan to intervene successfully’ (Preston, 1999b: xxiv).

With these three justifications Preston sums up why we should be interested in what non-linguists believe about language. It is not only of interest in itself but has many other benefits, in terms of attempting to explain language change and use, but also in how we take a more informed approach to ‘instruction, teacher education, language and law, language and medicine, and a number of other applied matters’ (Preston, 1999b: xxv). In short, the views of non-linguists are important, and ‘studies of non-linguists’ perceptions of linguistic facts will surely contribute to a more general understanding of the shape and function of overt linguistic knowledge’ (Preston, 1989b: 131) thus, the field of perceptual dialectology has the potential to deliver a great many benefits.

2.2 PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGICAL STUDY

As mentioned above, the fields of folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology do have historical pedigree, although not when dealing with varieties of English, where there has been only limited work until recently. Pioneering studies were undertaken in Holland and Japan with the first systematic attempt to investigate perceptual dialect boundaries undertaken following a Dutch dialect survey undertaken in 1939. In what has become known as Questionnaire #8, two questions were present that asked informants to first state where people spoke *the same* dialect as them, as well as a subsidiary question asking about dialect difference (Rensink, 1999: 3).

The raw data gathered by the questionnaire was analysed by Weijnen (1999), amongst others, and it was he who devised the ‘little arrow method’ (Preston, 1999b: xxvi). This involved the use of a map to show the relationships between villages and towns where there was a perceived dialect link with a network of arrows which showed the extent of the connections. The final maps illustrate in a relatively clear way how the informants saw the relationships of the language varieties in the areas the questionnaire was carried

out. Weijnen later accepted that the little arrow method of mapping was deficient in some ways, as ‘it does not provide reliable data about the relationship to other dialect groups’ (Weijnen, 1999: 132). However, it was suggested that the method could be used alongside other more objective methods in order to establish these relationships. An example of the type of map produced using the little arrow method can be seen below in figure 2.2.

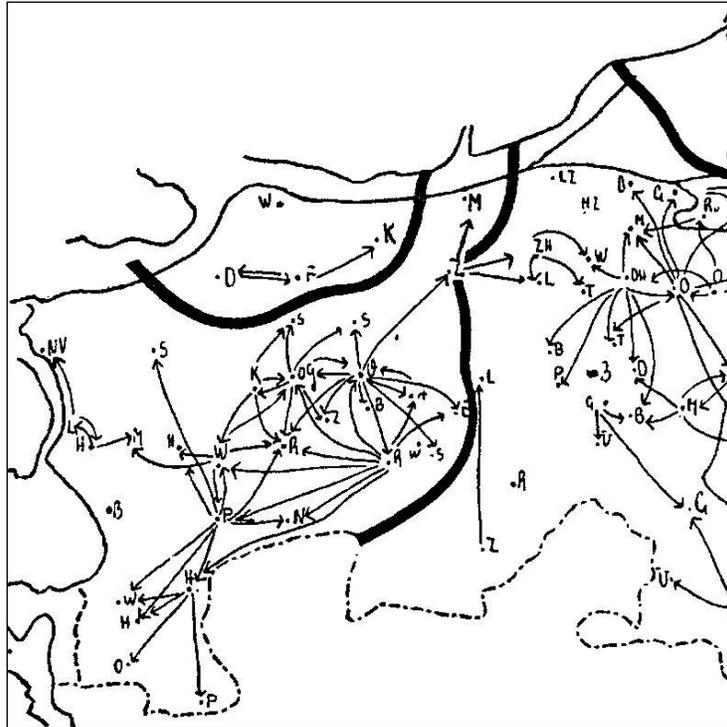


Figure 2.2: Little arrow method drawn map showing reported similarities between dialects in Holland (Preston, 1999b: xxvii)

This combination of techniques was later attempted by Daan who combined the data from Questionnaire #8 with production data to create a map of 28 Dutch dialect areas (Daan, 1999: 28). The interest in the views of non-linguists was sustained in Holland, resulting in Kremer’s (1999) investigation into the Netherlands-Germany border as a perceptual dialect boundary. Also resulting in a little-arrow map, this study identified a number of phenomena that would be of interest to future linguists investigating perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics. Investigations of such things as ‘barriers in the mind’ have been the primary focus of subsequent perceptual surveys in Korea (Long & Yim, 2002) and along the former east/west border of re-unified Germany (Dailey-

O'Cain, 1999). Findings concerning older, non-mobile speakers use of dialect 'as a means of communication when they cross the [Netherlands-Germany] border, which they do not do during contact between towns in their respective countries' (Kremer, 1999: 36) have been influential in subsequent studies. The perceptual research in the Netherlands was the first to specifically focus on non-linguists' views and much of the work done there has directly informed other studies.

Although inspired in part by perceptual work on dialects in the Netherlands, there had already been interest in the perception of dialect boundaries in Japan, with investigations by Tôjô before Sibata (1999). Japanese perceptual dialectological methodology was fundamentally different from that used in the Netherlands with informants asked about 'grades' of *difference* along a continuum (from 'not different' to 'incomprehensible'). This being the case, the little-arrow method could not be employed in the Japanese studies; instead a system of drawing lines between areas to indicate a scale of difference was implemented (Mase, 1999). This system of drawing lines was the first method of 'calculating' perceptual boundaries. Finding that once they were calculated the subjective difference boundaries did not correlate to production isoglosses led some linguists in Japan to view the findings as irrelevant.

Despite the Japanese linguists' views of the findings, linguists in other countries (along with Japan) became interested in how non-linguists actually distinguish between language varieties, a question still of importance today. Indeed, in a review of *Perceptual dialectology* (Preston, 1989b), Butters (1991) supports a view that perceptual dialectology has value in that '[it raises] the question of just how much dialectologists' supposedly scientific determination of dialect areas may be artifacts of the dialectologists' own cultural bias...' (Butters, 1991: 296). For example, the Japanese studies seemed to illustrate the importance of school districts, as well as natural and political boundaries (Nomoto, 1999) in the perception of dialect boundaries. Nomoto also investigated perception of grammar, vocabulary and pitch-accent and compared perceptual maps with these (Nomoto, 1999: 88-96). Although vocabulary and, grammar (to an extent) are the 'traditional' measured components of dialectologists, the

investigation of pitch accent as one of the ways in which non-linguists distinguish between different varieties was an interesting development, illustrating that perceptual dialectology has value in explaining things in an alternative way from traditional dialectology and sociolinguistics.

Despite the benefit of these early perceptual dialectology investigations, both the Japanese and Netherlands schools had difficulties in identifying exactly what they were looking for. Weijnen's succinct critique of the methodologies of perceptual dialectology (1999: 131-3) illuminates this difficulty. His central argument is that the wrong questions were asked in Japan (questions of difference, not similarity), as 'one cannot ask ordinary people to say where faraway dialect borders exist: if that is done, errors are inevitable' (Weijnen, 1999: 132). Describing questions relating to difference as 'misguided' not only due to the possibility of 'errors' but also the fact that all varieties are different (in larger or smaller respects), Weijnen clearly supports asking informants questions relating to similarity of varieties. In making this central claim Weijnen also makes the point that different questions, despite aiming to elicit essentially the same data, can produce vastly different results.

Despite this early interest in perceptual dialectology, as distinct from the wider subject of folk linguistics which some studies in the 1970s touched on (eg. matched-guise testing, see §2.4 below), sustained study of the subject did not take place until Preston re-ignited an interest in the early 1980s, culminating in the publication of *Perceptual dialectology* (1989b). Preston's methods were a departure from those used in Japan and the Netherlands, although his early work was performed without a general knowledge of these previous perceptual studies. The procedures used in these studies have however become a methodological benchmark from which subsequent perceptual dialectology studies have advanced. Some of Preston's methodological approach (a full description of which can be found below in §2.5) arose from an interest in perceptual geography, an explanation of which is crucial to an understanding of Preston's perceptual dialectology.

2.3 PERCEPTUAL GEOGRAPHY

Preston stated that 'it has long been the case that maps may not represent the physical or political reality of the terrain' (Preston, 1989b: 13), in this sense the academic discipline of perceptual and cultural geography is not a new one. From Daniel Wallingford's skewed map of a New Yorker's perspective of the United States (c. 1939, reproduced in Gould & White, 1986: 38) to the Doncaster and District Development Council's *Ye Newe Map of Britain* (c. 1970, reproduced in Gould & White, 1986: 22, and figure 1.3), maps demonstrating the difference between perception and 'reality' have been effective visual tools.

Some of the earliest academic interest in environmental (geographical) perception came with the publication of Lynch's *The Image of the City* (1960). Lynch asked people their feelings for major American cities' landmarks and the routes they used to travel around them (Gould & White, 1986: 12). In doing this, he was able to build up an image of the city held by his informants; an idea that was utilised in the 'City-Scene' project in the English city of Birmingham (Goodey, 1971a). In the Birmingham exercise, readers of the *Birmingham Post* were invited to draw maps of the city. The aim was to obtain 'quick, unaided impression[s]' (Gould & White, 1986: 12) of informants' images of the city which were then combined. Although Gould and White's 'interpretation of this map as a major planning tool were misplaced' (Goodey, 1974: 79), the results were indicative of the major landmarks in the city for respondents to the newspaper. A similar project was undertaken in Hull. Although town planners were not able to use the results to directly inform their work, the results of the 'City-Scene' projects demonstrated the importance of lay-persons' views in an applied subject, supporting one of Preston's central justifications for this type of study.

Research by the cultural geographer Orleans (1967, 1973) used a mental mapping technique and focussed on a wide range of informants in Los Angeles. He found that knowledge that a group of people possess of the 'imagery of the urban environment might vary amongst distinctive groupings of urban residents as well as one site (or location) in

the city to another' (Orleans, 1973: 118). Orleans 'distinctive groupings' referred to the different ethnicity of residents in various parts of the city. In the study white, upper class informants from a well-off suburb of Los Angeles (Westwood) had a 'very rich and detailed knowledge' (Gould & White, 1986: 17) and were the only informants which could provide 'a well-formed, and generalised image of the entire Los Angeles Basin' (Orleans, 1973: 118). This detailed knowledge was in stark contrast to Spanish-speaking informants from the centre of the city whose knowledge was 'confined to a few city blocks' (Orleans, 1973: 118). This mental map-based perceptual geography was pioneered by Orleans along with Florence Ladd (1967, 1970) who worked with black children and investigated their perceptions of local areas and neighbourhoods. These scholars' studies of perception had a direct effect on the cultural geographers Gould & White, whose two editions of *Mental Maps* (1974, 1986) are key texts on the subject.

Gould & White used maps not only as a tool of representation but also as a part of the data-gathering methodology. This use of maps was particularly influential on Preston as he devised a methodological approach to the study of the perceptions of dialects.

However, Gould & White's interest in perceptual and cultural geography did not end with studies based on informants' hand-drawn maps. The two researchers developed their methodologies to investigate how people perceive areas, other places, and distance through studies carried out in Great Britain and the United States. Gould & White's principal methodology was one of 'rank-ordering', involving informants from a specific area rating others in rank order. Each individual informant's list was then compared with others in a search for communality using a process of 'principal component analysis' (Gould & White, 1986: 30). This statistical technique was then used in order to map informants' feelings about particular areas.

The methodological approach used has directly influenced Preston's approach to creating some of the components for the study of perceptual dialectology. In addition to this, many of Gould & White's findings are particularly helpful when commencing a study on laypersons' perceptions, including (as alluded to above) the relationship between social interactions, place in society and perception of the local area. Also of benefit is the

finding of a 'local dome of preference' effect (Gould & White, 1986: 42), which is the skewing of the national map of 'desirability'. The 'dome of preference' shows that people, in terms of geographical perception, tend to view their own familiar area in a positive light despite rating other areas as desirable.

Other findings of interest concern the 'information surface' (Gould & White, 1986: 94), the relationship between the size of an area or town and the distance away from other areas or towns. Gould & White state that both of these factors impact on the information that an informant holds on areas. They claim that information decreases with distance away from an area, mitigated by the size of an area (Gould & White, 1986: 93-4). Further discussion of this phenomenon can be found in the following chapters and specifically in §4.1.2. Gould & White's finding about the effect of distance could impact on the methodological approach to the study of perceptions of dialects. However, the paucity of information that informants hold on particular varieties could be of interest in itself.

2.4 LANGUAGE ATTITUDE STUDIES

The aims and methods of perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics have many influences, and the development of research into language attitudes in the early 1970s has played a major role. Language attitudes, which are 'people's disposition to respond negatively or positively to a language (or language variety) and/or its speakers' (Smith, 1998: 14) are of obvious importance in the study of perception. Clopper & Pisoni (2002) clearly support this view, concluding that language attitude studies have a large role to play in the investigation of dialect variation (Clopper & Pisoni, 2002: 271-6). There are essentially two types of attitudes that can be examined: conscious and unconscious. Conscious attitudes are examined when the informant knows what the questioner is asking (for example, an opinion poll) whilst unconscious attitudes can be measured when the informant is unaware of the questions, and is asked such questions as to elicit attitudes. Previous studies on language attitudes have been aimed at uncovering these unconscious attitudes.

The investigation of language attitudes has its roots in the discipline of sociolinguistics, which itself arose from the LAUSC survey (funded in 1930) in which fieldworkers were instructed to take social class into account when observing participants. This led to interesting results which paved the way for Labov to investigate social effects on language, with investigations carried out in New York City (Labov, 1966). With interest in language and society now established, many linguists began to question how these observed forms of language were perceived, and what peoples' language attitudes were. What was quickly agreed was that language attitudes are real, can be tested, and are worth testing (Agheyisi & Fishman, 1970: 139). The problem of how to test and measure language attitudes was the next hurdle to overcome.

The most successful and enduring methodologies for investigating people's language attitudes stemmed from studies performed by social psychologists (Lambert, Hodgson, Gardner & Fillenbaum, 1960). Lambert used a method known as the 'matched-guise' technique, which was quickly seized upon as particularly productive in the investigations of language attitudes and has since become a mainstay of the field. In the matched-guise technique, listeners hear utterances from a single speaker assuming multiple 'guises' (dialects, accents or languages). From this listeners are asked to rate each guise along certain evaluative scales such as friendliness, trustworthiness, intelligence, and social status. The use of only one speaker assuming guises allows controllability, ensuring that the researcher can eliminate any attitudes that the listener may have about voice quality or other variables inherent with different speakers. Of course, for the matched-guise technique to be successful, the speaker must be particularly competent in the guises he or she assumes in order that the results are reliable. A personal concern about the methodology, as far as testing attitudes to dialects, is also held by Labov who has expressed doubts about whether a speaker can master more than one dialect (1972: 215). Preston also has expressed reservations about the effectiveness of matched guise testing due to this very fact, arguing against the 'gross, stereotypical imitations of varieties' used in such studies (Preston, 1999c: 369).

Whatever the concerns about the matched-guise methodology, it has been used very successfully by many linguists since it was first adopted. Principal findings from this method have found disparities between perceived 'standard' and 'non-standard' varieties. There appears to be 'a general tendency to relate linguistic standardness with intelligence' (Clopper & Pisoni, 2002: 273, Ryan & Giles, 1982). This contrasts with speakers of non-standard varieties who rate highly on social attractiveness traits (Paltridge & Giles, 1984: 71). These types of studies therefore demonstrate that speakers 'can and do make a number of attitudinal judgments about a talker based on his or her speech...' (Clopper & Pisoni, 2002: 273).

Further studies have adapted the matched-guise method in order to investigate how effective listeners are at perceiving different accents, and how good speakers are at imitating accents. Markham (1999) performed such a study, asking eight native Swedish speakers to read an unfamiliar passage in a number of different accents⁴. The results were then played to linguistically trained listeners who were asked to rate the reading on 'naturalness and purity'. The results showed that in some cases talkers could convincingly imitate accents of Swedish, which perhaps goes some way to reassuring those concerned with the matched-guise test as a methodological approach. Other modifications to the original technique have again utilised a matched-guise type technique, using multiple speakers; this approach has been most widely taken by Giles (1976, 1984). The first of these studies (Giles & Bourhis, 1975) involved informants listening to tape recordings of different speakers in Cardiff. The study examined racial categorisation with 24 listeners hearing tape recordings of local, 21 year old, working class speakers. The listeners were again required to judge the speakers 'on a number of measures, one of which was a racial categorisation item' (Giles, 1977: 9). The study produced interesting results, with the major finding that 'second generation West Indian adults in Cardiff [were] misattributed as Whites 75% of the time' (Giles, 1977: 10).

⁴ Once the single speaker has been replaced by multiple ones, the label 'matched-guise' can no longer be properly used, for this reason, I will use the label 'matched-guise type' technique(s) for those studies arising from the original matched-guise method which now use multiple speakers.

Many other studies have been carried out using matched-guise type techniques, mostly with great success.

The growth of an interest in the way in which listeners respond to how speakers talk, along with the development of an effective methodology to investigate the phenomenon led to a further interest by those investigating language and dialect variation. One of these was Preston, who saw a major deficiency in the language attitudes research: '[that] language attitude research did not determine where informants thought regional voices were from' (Preston, 2002a: 51). The traditional language attitudes research did not assess whether informants had a 'mental construct of a 'place' ...that is, their mental maps of regional speech areas' (Preston, 2002a: 51). Thus, as linguists were examining non-linguists' evaluative responses to various voices (in matched-guise or matched-guise type tests), they were not examining where informants thought the voices came from.

There have been in recent years some attempts made to rectify this specific shortcoming of the language attitudes research, notably by Kerswill & Williams (2002), Diercks (2002) and Clopper & Pisoni (2005). Further discussion of these and other studies can be found below in §2.7 dealing with development of the methodological approach to this study.

2.5 PRESTON'S METHODOLOGY

Having studied the literature on perceptual and cultural geography, Preston found that many of the techniques used in this discipline could be translated to the field of perceptual dialectology. In his early work, Preston utilised a modified version of the techniques used by Ladd (1970) and Orleans (1973) and asked his informants to construct a hand-drawn map of where they believed dialect boundaries to exist. Preston's first study investigated Hawaiian students' perception of United States dialects (Preston, 1981), an example of one such map can be seen in figure 2.3 below.

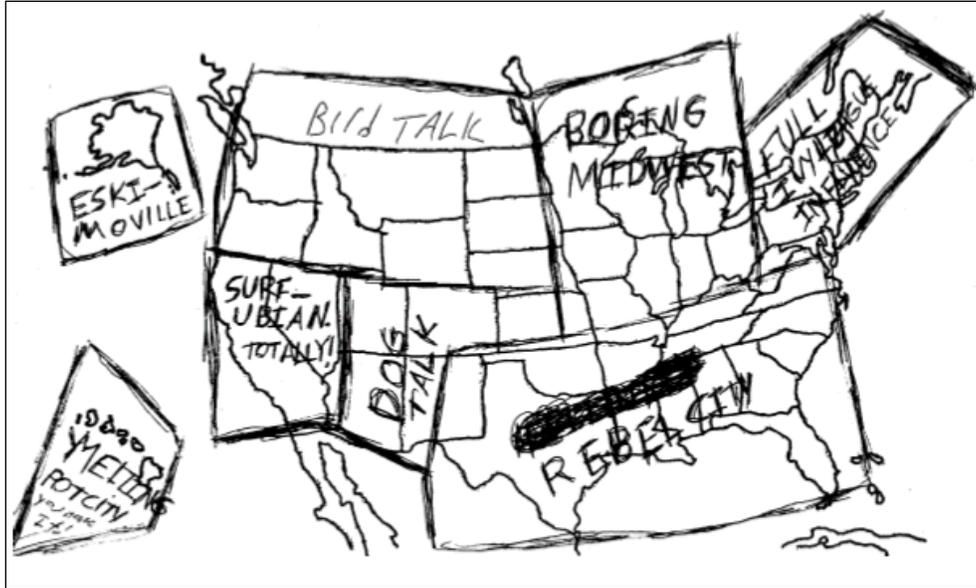


Figure 2.3: A hand-drawn map of United States dialect areas (Preston, 1999c: 362)

Preston claims that the value of these hand-drawn maps is not simply the profit to be gained by examining individual maps. The real value is in the ability to generalise the findings of many maps in a single composite map as undertaken in Birmingham (England) (Goodey, 1971a), thus creating ‘perceptual isoglosses’ (Preston, 1999c: 361). The creation of these perceptual isoglosses follows from the early perceptual dialectological work carried out in the Netherlands and Japan, and can then be analysed in a similar way (eg. examining the correlation (or not) with perception boundaries and production boundaries). However, Preston decided to analyse his composite perceptual isogloss hand-drawn maps in a different way, computerising them and introducing methodological components modified from the work done by Gould & White as well as previous language attitudes surveys. He asked informants to rank particular perceptual areas’ dialects along ordinal scales of pleasantness and correctness (Preston, 1999c: 363), in the nature of Gould & White’s (1986) rank ordering task.

Preston believes this approach to investigating language attitudes in addition to boundary perception to be particularly worthwhile as ‘[u]nlike classic matched-guise attitude studies, this research provides informants with the category name and mapped outline of the region rather than actual voice samples’ (Preston, 1999c: 368). Advantages of this include the fact that the rated regions are ‘cognitively real’ (Preston, 1999c: 368) to

informants. This does however depend to an extent on an informant knowing what a specific space's dialect as defined by the previous perceptual survey sounds like in order to give a judgement on it, Preston claims that 'there is little or no difference in evaluations where the stimulus is a category name or ... speech sample' (Preston, 1999c: 369). Preston does concede that this method does not answer one particularly pertinent question: whether or not informants can actually identify varieties. This is an area that Preston suggests should be left to independent study, although how informants can identify and perceive varieties is surely a question of major importance when seeking to develop a complete methodology for perceptual dialectology.

Preston has refined his complete methodology for the investigation of non-linguists' perceptions of regional varieties over many studies carried out between 1981 and the present day. Preston's first volume of the *Handbook of perceptual dialectology* (1999a) contains in its introductory chapter a five-point approach to the study of Perceptual dialectology:

1. *Draw-a-map*. Informants draw boundaries on a blank (or minimally detailed) map around areas where they believe regional speech zones exist.
2. *Degree of difference*. Informants rank regions on a scale of one to four (1 = same, 2 = a little different, 3 = different, 4 = unintelligibly different) for the perceived degree of dialect difference from the home area.
3. *'Correct' and 'pleasant'*. Informants rank regions for correct and pleasant speech.
4. *Dialect Identification*. Informants listen to voices on a 'dialect continuum', voices are presented in a scrambled order, and informants are instructed to assign voices to an area.
5. *Qualitative data*. Informants are questioned about the tasks they have completed and engaged in open-ended conversations about language.

(Preston, 1999b: xxxiv)

This five stage approach contains two important methodological additions to the study of perception; the first of these being the inclusion of the fourth ‘dialect identification’ task. This, as mentioned above, must be of value when investigating perception. It allows the researcher to ask questions of *how* informants perceive variation, and not simply if they do. The innovation of asking informants to identify dialects also attempts to address the shortcoming of language attitudes studies mentioned above. Also added is the fifth component, which looks very sensibly at qualitative data, exploring informants’ perceptions and attitudes in a less formal way as well as providing production data if conversations are recorded. This addition of a ‘review’ section to a methodology can also be of use in ensuring informants feel properly included in the research procedure, which is a process of increasing importance (Denscombe, 2003: 138-140)⁵.

Preston’s five methodological components have been utilised, either together or separately in many subsequent studies not only in the United States but a great number of other countries, from Great Britain to South Korea. These are mostly gathered together in the two volumes of the *Handbook of Perceptual Dialectology* (Long & Preston, 2002, Preston, 1999a). An obvious advantage of having a methodology used by different researchers in many different countries is that it allows a great deal of comparison to be made between different languages and cultures. These comparisons can be made not only in terms of how informants from differing cultures respond to the methodology, but also how similar sociolinguistic concepts (eg. such as the idea of a ‘standard’) are perceived differently across cultures and languages. The importance of comparability is evidenced in McKinnie & Dailey-O’Cain’s work in Canada (McKinnie & Dailey-O’Cain, 2002). When comparing the results of their examination of Canadian informants’ attitudes to the ‘correctness’ of certain varieties with Preston’s work in the United States, they claim that ‘...‘correctness’ seems to be not nearly as important a characteristic for which to evaluate language for Canadians as it is for Americans’ (McKinnie & Dailey-O’Cain, 2002: 293).

⁵ If not including informants in a review it is still important to ensure that they have access to the data which they have supplied, in a form that is meaningful to them.

Although Preston's work and eventual formulation of his five-point methodology has been successfully used by many linguists, others have felt the need to modify some aspects of it in order to carry out their research effectively. One of the limitations of the five-point methodology could be said to be that it is best used to investigate perceptions of fairly large areas. Originally developed and tested across the whole of the United States, further studies using the methodology have taken place in Canada (McKinnie & Dailey-O'Cain, 2002) and Germany (Dailey-O'Cain, 1999) which are also relatively large. When seeking to examine perceptions of varieties across relatively small areas, modifications must be made.

This is the case with researchers such as Romanello (2002) whose investigation of perception in two small cities in southern Italy used a method that, whilst rooted in the approach taken by Preston, was different in many respects. Using a questionnaire with four sections, it investigates different facets of the informants' perceptions of the city, orientation and language use. Another study, in a quite radical departure from Preston's five point approach was performed by Diercks (2002), who examined the concept of mental maps in a small area of Germany. Through a series of tests, it was established that the existence of mental maps can be successfully exposed (Diercks, 2002: 67). Other tests including a distance test demonstrated that informants can perceive dialect difference in terms of distance and provide a relative geographic distance (Diercks, 2002: 66-7), although it was claimed that 'dialect boundaries...are particularly dependent on the dialect competence of the speaker/listener...' (Diercks, 2002: 52).

Other modifications to the Preston methodology have been carried out by linguists such as Evans (2002) who modifies the fourth 'dialect identification' task in order to investigate imitation, both acoustically and perceptually. Challenging Labov's belief that mastering more than one dialect is not possible (Evans, 2002a: 95), she finds that imitation can be successfully achieved, although the study looks at the imitative ability of only one person.

Another study of interest is the investigation of perception and gender in Turkey performed by Demirci, who carried out the study using Preston's first draw-a-map task. In the previously neglected field of gender and perception Demirci found that (in the male dominated society of Turkey at least) there were marked gender differences in the perception of the number of dialect boundaries: female informants perceived five dialect areas and males were able to recognise fifteen (Demirci, 2002: 43-4).

2.6 PERCEPTUAL STUDY IN GREAT BRITAIN

There has been little interest in the study of perception in Great Britain, although this is now changing, with modifications to the Survey of Regional English (SuRE) methodology (Burbano-Elizondo, 2006: 116) specifically examining the area. There are exceptions to this apparent lack of prior interest, starting with Inoue, whose two mid-1990s investigations on perception in England and Great Britain (collected in Preston, 1999) follow his work in Japan examining perceptual dialect boundaries and regions based on 'dialect image'. Inoue's 'dialect image' is defined as 'the socio-psychological image of a (geographical or social) dialect' (Inoue, 1999a: 147). One of Inoue's aims is to open up the field of perceptual dialectology in order to attempt an 'interlingual dialectology', the aim being a universal theory; surely also one of Preston's aims in establishing his five-point approach to perceptual study.

One piece of Inoue's research (1999a) sees him use multi-dimensional scaling analysis to plot and group dialects together, using this to produce a dialect image map of Great Britain. Great Britain is revisited by Inoue in later research, in an investigation of the effectiveness of hand-drawn maps in an examination of perceptual dialect boundaries. Inoue again uses this technique alongside multi-dimensional scaling analysis. He produces a map of the subjective dialect divisions in the country (Inoue, 1999b: 167) alongside other lexical (Viereck, 1986a: 250) and phonological (Trudgill, 1990: 33) maps. Inoue urges caution over conclusions that can be drawn from subjective perception maps due to the layperson's gap in knowledge of the dialects of a language, and that 'people often form dialect images even without listening to the actual dialect'

(Inoue, 1999b: 174), although this is surely an interesting phenomenon. In addition to this, Inoue mentions that using the map to comment fully on the dialect divisions in Great Britain is made difficult due to difficulties of assigning hierarchical relationships to the various regional varieties (Inoue, 1999b: 166-8). Inoue also believes that caution is required due to the fact that the map resulting from the study did not correlate with 'any concrete dialect feature' (Inoue, 1999b: 174). As we know, these are not new concerns in the field of perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics, as those who performed the earliest perception studies found similar 'problems' in their research. Despite having urged this caution however, Inoue asserts that 'research in the mental maps of dialects should now take off from the earth's surface and fly into the human mind' (Inoue, 1999b: 175).

The study undertaken in Great Britain by Kerswill & Williams (2002) into dialect recognition by three speech communities is also of interest. The study's focus was on the process of dialect levelling, and when and where it occurred. Kerswill & Williams used a modified version of Preston's fourth dialect recognition task. The main aim was to investigate whether informants listening to recordings of speech from Hull, Reading and Milton Keynes (plus four control locations) (Kerswill & Williams, 2002: 181) could place where the voices were located geographically. The investigation concluded that dialect levelling plays a significant role in the recognition of dialects even where there are strong local networks. A strikingly frequent identification of older Reading speakers as rural 'West Country' suggests a 'perceptual dislocation' of the town's older accent as 'a consequence of rapid social changes in the town' (Kerswill & Williams, 2002: 202). Although Kerswill & Williams do not include a draw-a-map task the identification of a problem of identification in 'dialect-levelled' areas could impact on informants' ability to draw an effective map. The phenomenon of levelling could also have a role to play in the type of maps informants draw, and perhaps reflect the convergent nature of certain varieties.

Great Britain then has not been as well served in terms of perceptual linguistic studies as other countries although the Survey of English Dialects (SED) and further studies such as

the Tyneside Linguistic Survey, the SuRE project and the many studies collected together in Foulkes & Docherty's *Urban Voices* (1999) have kept academic interest and scholarship in the fields of dialectology and sociolinguistics at a high level. The BBC has also played a role in increasing general public awareness of variation in English through its *Voices* project, with data gathered using a modified version of the SuRE methodology (Llamas, 1999).

2.7 DEVELOPMENT OF METHODOLOGY

As others studying the perception of language have found, Preston's five-point approach to study is a good starting point when seeking to develop a methodology. Alterations have of course been made in order for an effective investigation of dialect perception to be carried out in the north of England through various pilot studies and analysis, reports of which can be found in §2.8 below. As we have seen above, there are many factors that play a role in non-linguists' perceptions of dialects. To this end it is important that a methodology tests as many of these factors as it can in order to give as clear a picture of informants' perceptions as possible. A methodology that uses only one task, for example the draw-a-map task, could produce unreliable results. This could either be due to lack of geographical knowledge or general ignorance. Moreover, many linguists such as Inoue (1999a, 1999b) have urged caution over conclusions that can be drawn from subjective perception maps alone, suggesting that such methods should be used alongside others.

The draw-a-map task will however be the primary method used in order to gain access to non-linguists' perceptions of dialect in the north of England. The task is easily administered, quick to complete and once accurate instructions and visual aids are given, easy to for informants to understand. Ranking tasks can be used to add weight to the conclusions made from perceptual data gathered from the completed hand drawn maps. Incorporating such a task into the methodology for this research could be used to determine some sort of variety 'hierarchy', and could also establish whether informants' opinions on northern varieties are universal or area specific. Such a ranking task could be included in several ways, in assessing dialect distance as performed by Diercks (2002), or

using voice recordings as in the work done by Kerswill & Williams (2002) and Clopper and Pisoni (2005).

There are different ways to approach this; Kerswill & Williams (2002) asked informants to name the town or city their informants believed voices to come from, whereas Clopper and Pisoni (2005) requested informants to make a completely free choice and group voice samples in whatever order they wanted to. I however feel that as a blank map task is to be used in order to build up a visual picture of the mental maps of non-linguist informants, the rankings task should also be map-based and incorporated with Preston's fourth task. Informants can then be presented with a composite map of their responses to the draw-a-map task and be asked to rate each area along the scales suggested by Preston. Participants can also listen to recording of voices along a geographical continuum in a random order (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003: 82), and rate them along the same scales along with using either the composite map or a blank map to indicate where they believe the voices to come from.

Using the composite map of informants' responses to the draw-a-map task would ensure that the dialect areas being rated were 'cognitively real' (Preston, 1999c: 368), overcoming some of Preston's concerns with other language attitudes research. The further use of recordings encompassing the same ratings tasks will allow comparisons to be drawn between the responses given using the map-based and voice tasks. The addition of a map-based voice placement task will enable an examination of whether the freely drawn dialect areas correspond with non-linguist informants' ability to recognise and place dialects from voice recordings.

Approaching the investigation in this way allows the incorporation of four of Preston's five tasks. The omission of the fifth evaluative free conversation is slightly problematic as qualitative data can be invaluable in adding veracity to conclusions made from quantitative data. Although there is no place in the final methodology for the free conversation exercise, focus groups to help explain certain patterns could be used in one

or all of the survey locations. Informants from each survey location will also be allowed access to their results so as to make the process as inclusive as possible.

2.8 PILOT STUDIES

The piloting of methodology intended to be employed in research is vital, allowing testing of the effectiveness of various parts of the methodology. The two major components to be used in this research, the draw-a-map task and the voice rating and placement task have undergone rigorous pilot testing. As will be seen below, each of the two components to be used in the final study have undergone a primary pilot study, with a first aim to ascertain whether the approach is workable and understandable and second aim to experiment with data transfer, storage, and manipulation as well as attempting to draw conclusions. Subsequent pilot studies for each component then involved incremental refining and focussing in order to arrive at a workable final methodological approach to the study of perceptions of dialects in the north of England. For each component there is a detailed discussion of the primary pilot study and a shorter discussion of the development over the subsequent pilot investigations.

2.8.1 Draw-a-map task

A version of Preston's draw-a-map task was employed in a pilot study of 130 informants in March 2004, largely first year undergraduates taking an introductory course in linguistics. The average age of the informants was 20, and there were 32 male informants (25%) and 98 female informants (75%). 17 of the informants were not native to Great Britain (these informants' results were discarded). Informants were presented with a blank A4 map of Great Britain and requested to complete a series of tasks. A reduced version of the map can be found in figure 2.4 below.

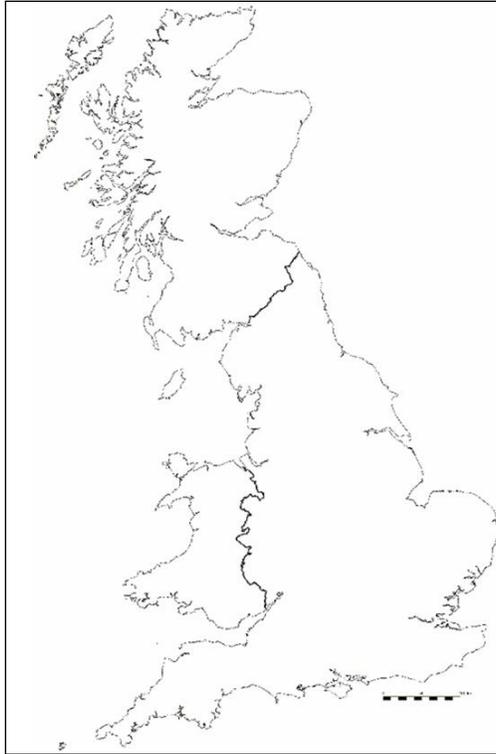


Figure 2.4: Reduced version of the map given to informants in pilot study

Informants were first asked to indicate where they believed there to be a linguistic north-south divide in England. After the completion of the north-south task, informants were invited to draw more lines on the map where they believed there to be dialect boundaries/areas in England. Unlike Preston's studies in Hawaii (1982), for example, informants were not asked to label the areas with the names that they would use for them, nor to provide written examples or approximations of the speech of the area. A surprising number of informants did however feel that they should label the areas that they were marking on the map, which made for interesting results. Indeed so many people labelled the areas they were marking that it was possible to take only their responses into consideration when analysing the results. This reliance on labelled areas helped eliminate ambiguity when determining exactly which area the informant was indicating when they were drawing on the maps. The lack of a request to label areas in addition to drawing a north-south line was due to time constraints and in further pilot studies and final fieldwork informants were requested to draw lines representing the boundaries of dialect areas as well as labelling these areas.

Although the majority of informants drew more than a simple north-south line, when the areas labelled by informants were taken into consideration there were 56 separate areas drawn on the maps, with a total of 360 lines drawn to represent these areas. Some informants' maps were far more complex than others, with one or two lines to represent areas in some and others containing upwards of eight.

The most obvious limitation of the draw-a-map task is in the processing of results, which at the pilot stage proved problematic. The pilot study's results processing was particularly 'low-tech'; as no effective way could be found to digitise the results. This led to difficulties when performing analysis of the results, as the only method of analysis is the naked eye. The lines that informants drew on their maps were transferred to overhead transparencies in order to examine patterns and compare maps from different informants. In this way, composite maps were constructed in order to profit not only from the investigation of individual maps but also from generalisations drawn from a large number of hand drawn maps (after Goodey, 1971a).

The extent to which these transparency-transferred maps can be clarified and manipulated is very limited, and the only statistical manipulation attempted has been the removal of outlying lines. The reason for the removal of outliers is the attempt to find the greatest amount of agreement in the hand-drawn lines, taking the lead from Preston (1989) and Lance (1999). One must accept that some informants would draw comparatively huge areas which would skew resulting composite maps and result in great difficulty when conclusions came to be made. After some experimentation I decided that the amount of lines to be removed in order to look for greatest agreement would be 33%. This was essentially an arbitrary number but allows for more data to be included than other generalisation methods, which removed 50% of 'outlying' lines (Preston, 2002b: 71). The removal of 33% of the outliers allows an approximate 66% agreement level (see figure 2.5. below for a demonstration of the removal of outliers).

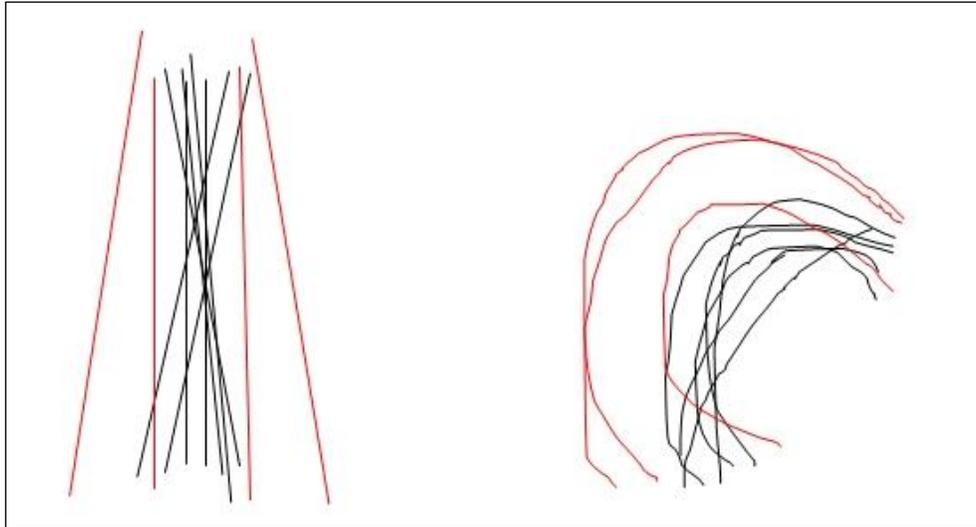


Figure 2.5: *Removal of outliers (red lines) in order to reach 66% agreement*

As can be seen from figure 2.5, performing such a task by hand and without computer assistance is not without its difficulties and can be overly subjective, although in the pilot study every attempt was made to eliminate this. Despite limitations, the reduction of the results to a 66% agreement level was attempted for both the primary north-south task and for the secondary task of drawing area boundaries. This was in order to find the greatest agreement and draw conclusions about what the data represents. As will be seen below, analysis of the final data involved much more statistical sophistication and the elimination of the problems associated with subjectivity.

It must again be stressed that the pilot study was carried out in slightly different conditions than would be present in the administration of the final methodology. This being the case, the first question asked of informants dealt with the placement (or existence) of a north-south dividing line. This produced the greatest volume of unambiguous results and as such will be examined before the analysis of results delimiting perceptual dialect areas. In the final methodology, informants are asked to indicate where they believed such a north-south divide to exist, again as a first task before completion of a dialect area labelling task. The reason for including the north-south task as a first step is to ensure that all informants produce at least some data, and are guided in this with the hope that subsequent tasks are easier to follow. A second reason for

including the north-south task is to investigate perceptions of north and south. As further chapters will show (along with what has already been discussed in the previous chapter), issues of north and south are of great interest to a large number of researchers in many different fields.

North-south task

All of the informants completed the north-south task, most drawing only one line. Some however drew two lines, which could indicate a Midlands area as well as a north and south dividing line. There was also one informant who drew a single line to divide the country into east and west, approximately along the Pennines and finishing to the east of the Isle of Wight. It could be that for this informant there is no north-south divide, and that for her a more salient split is an east-west division. This said however, it could have been a problem of understanding or of an unwillingness to complete the task. In cases such as this an interview component would be helpful in order to offer explanations for results of this type, if an interview was not possible this may serve to illustrate the problems of anomalies and strengthen the case for the gathering as large a sample size as possible.

When all the single north-south lines drawn by the informants are collated onto one map (figure 2.6 below) it can be seen that there is a wide range of views as to where an north-south 'divide' is. In all maps that follow in this section, red lines represent 100% informant agreement, with orange lines showing 66% agreement.



Figure 2.6: North-south lines drawn by all informants

The range of lines drawn by informants covers approximately 130 miles, from a southern line running roughly in a straight line from Bristol to the west and Ipswich to the east to a northern line running from just north of Liverpool (west) to Hull (east). Upon the removal of 33% of the lines, a good deal more agreement is evidenced; this can be seen in the area marked by the orange lines figure 2.6. To the east the lines occupy approximately 25 miles and to the west the lines occupy an area of around 90 miles. Although analysis of all the lines drawn by the informants is of interest, and demonstrates that a north-south divide is a salient concept for an overwhelming majority of informants. However, without a more sophisticated way of working with the results it is difficult to draw any more conclusions. One concept which can be taken away from the north-south task is that there is some sort of salient ‘cognitively real’ north-south boundary, and that although no two informants agree on *exactly* where it is, there is at least a band of agreement across the centre of the country.

As mentioned above, Gould & White (1986: 93-4) discuss the relationship between location and perception. They argue that the place in which people live has an effect on how they perceive the area around them and can affect their view of other factors such as

a sense of place. In a continuation of this theory, an interesting factor to consider is the correlation between where informants live and the north-south dividing line that they produce. Informants were asked to indicate their hometown and county and from this data four areas were chosen according to two factors: number of informants and geographical location. Informants' north-south lines from the areas selected were examined. The areas selected and numbers of informants from each area can be found below in table 2.1.

Location	Number of informants
South and West Yorkshire	15
Greater Manchester	12
West Midlands and Staffordshire	10
Greater London and surrounding counties	12
Total	49

Table 2.1: Location and number of informants

Before discussing what was found when the lines that the informants drew were analysed, it would be expedient to make some predictions of what might be expected to be found. A general pattern could be that as lines drawn by informants from further south are encountered they may be generally drawn further south than those lines drawn by informants from further north. Thus it could be anticipated that there would not be a great difference in the lines drawn by those from South and West Yorkshire and Greater Manchester, with perhaps a slight difference between those informants' lines and the lines drawn by informants from the West Midlands and Staffordshire. The greatest difference would occur when considering the lines drawn by those informants from the furthest south.

When examining the results that pattern is borne out to an extent, although it is not as 'clear-cut' as hypothesised. Again, when considering lines at the 66% agreement level there is as predicted little difference between the lines drawn by those from the two areas furthest north, and the informants from the West Midlands and Staffordshire do tend to draw lines further south than these two areas. Examining results from London and the surrounding areas reveals that the pattern is not repeated, indeed, something else seems to

be happening. Informants from this area seem to have the most disagreement over where the 'dividing line' should be drawn.

When all the lines are considered (at the 100% agreement level) both the northernmost and southernmost lines are drawn by informants from the London area. Gould & White offer the most plausible explanation for this unexpected result with the notion of an 'information surface' (Gould & White, 1986: 94); the concept that information about an area decreases with distance away from that area. Although Gould & White were primarily discussing towns and cities, it does offer a possible explanation for why the areas closest to the generally 'agreed' north-south divide (in this pilot study's informants at least) had far less disagreement about where the boundary exists. As has been observed, these informants still exhibited signs that their place in the country did impact on their perception of the north-south boundary whereas the informants from London and the surrounding counties simply could not agree on something that for them, was relatively distant.

If Gould & White are to be believed and if this is the case then it impacts on the tasks that one could ask informants to do in further studies whilst still hoping to get 'accurate' information. 'Accuracy', on the other hand, may not be a major concern, as the matter at hand is perception, which for many is in effect, reality. Other factors of course could have come into play, such as informants living in a different area to their home areas and having spent six to eight months in Sheffield prior to completing the map task. Investigating how informants identify themselves, amongst other things, could provide some clarity to results.

Area labelling

As mentioned above, although not all informants attempted the second part of the pilot study, there were 56 separate areas drawn and labelled on the maps, with a total of 360 lines drawn to represent these areas. The five areas with the greatest number of informant recognition (hereafter: IR) have been chosen along with three others in the

north of England area in order to examine where informants thought dialect areas to exist. Table 2.2 shows these areas along with number of informant lines drawn in recognition of the area.

Area Label	Number of lines drawn
Geordie/Newcastle	36
Yorkshire	27
Scouse/Liverpudlian	26
Cornish/Cornwall	25
Manc/Manchester	25
Midlands	17
Cumbria	7
Lancashire	10

Table 2.2: Area labels, number of lines drawn representing area

These areas were plotted onto composite maps in the manner indicated above. In addition to the simple composite method, the composite maps of the individual areas were then made into a further composite; the aim of this exercise being to examine how the different areas identified by the informants interact (i.e. overlapping of areas, shared boundaries etc.) Composite maps at both the 66% and 100% agreement level have been compiled and will be discussed below.

Individual examination of the two maps at the 100% agreement level (figures 2.7 and 2.8) shows how large the dialect areas perceived by informants are.

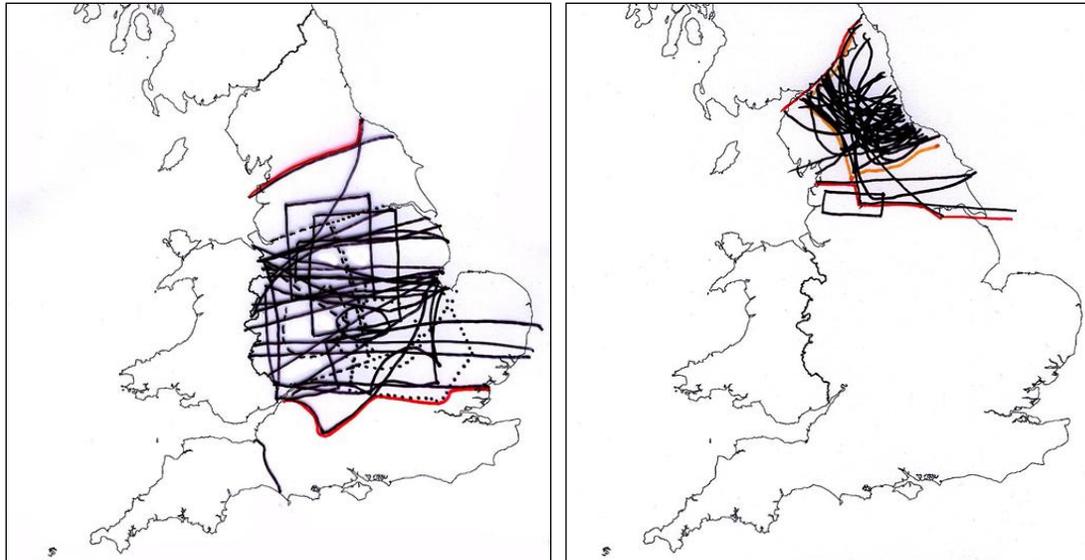


Figure 2.7 & 2.8: Midlands area indicated by all informants (l); 'Geordie' area indicated by all informants (r)

The Midlands (figure 2.7) area is by far the largest perceived by the informants. It occupies an area from south of Bristol to north of Blackpool in the North West stretching to Middlesborough in the North East; the occupation of such a large area is replicated by the 'Geordie' area (figure 2.8), which at the 100% agreement level, overlaps with the Midlands area and has no western limit, stretching to the west coast of England, with a southern limit of Hull to the east and Morecambe in the west. At the 100% agreement level all of the other areas occupy similarly large areas, for this reason, it is suggested that it would be more fruitful to examine the areas marked by the informants at the 66% agreement level, as this gives a clearer picture of where the majority of informants perceive the areas to be.

The majority of the discussion about the 66% agreement maps can be based on figure 2.9 below. The first striking feature of this map is how, although there is plenty of overlap between separate dialect areas, there is a great deal less than in the 100% agreement map (figure 2.10, below).

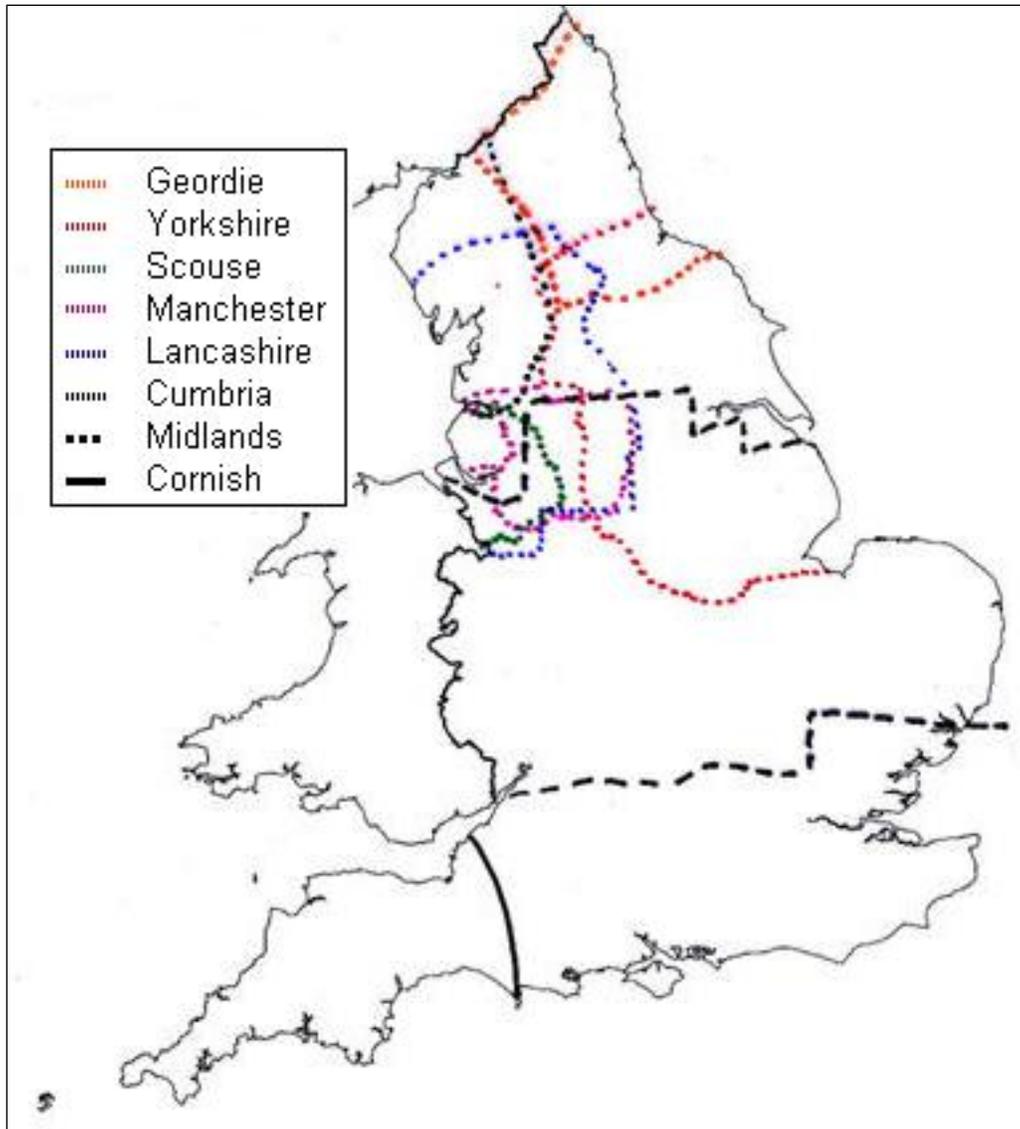


Figure 2.9: 66% agreement level composite map

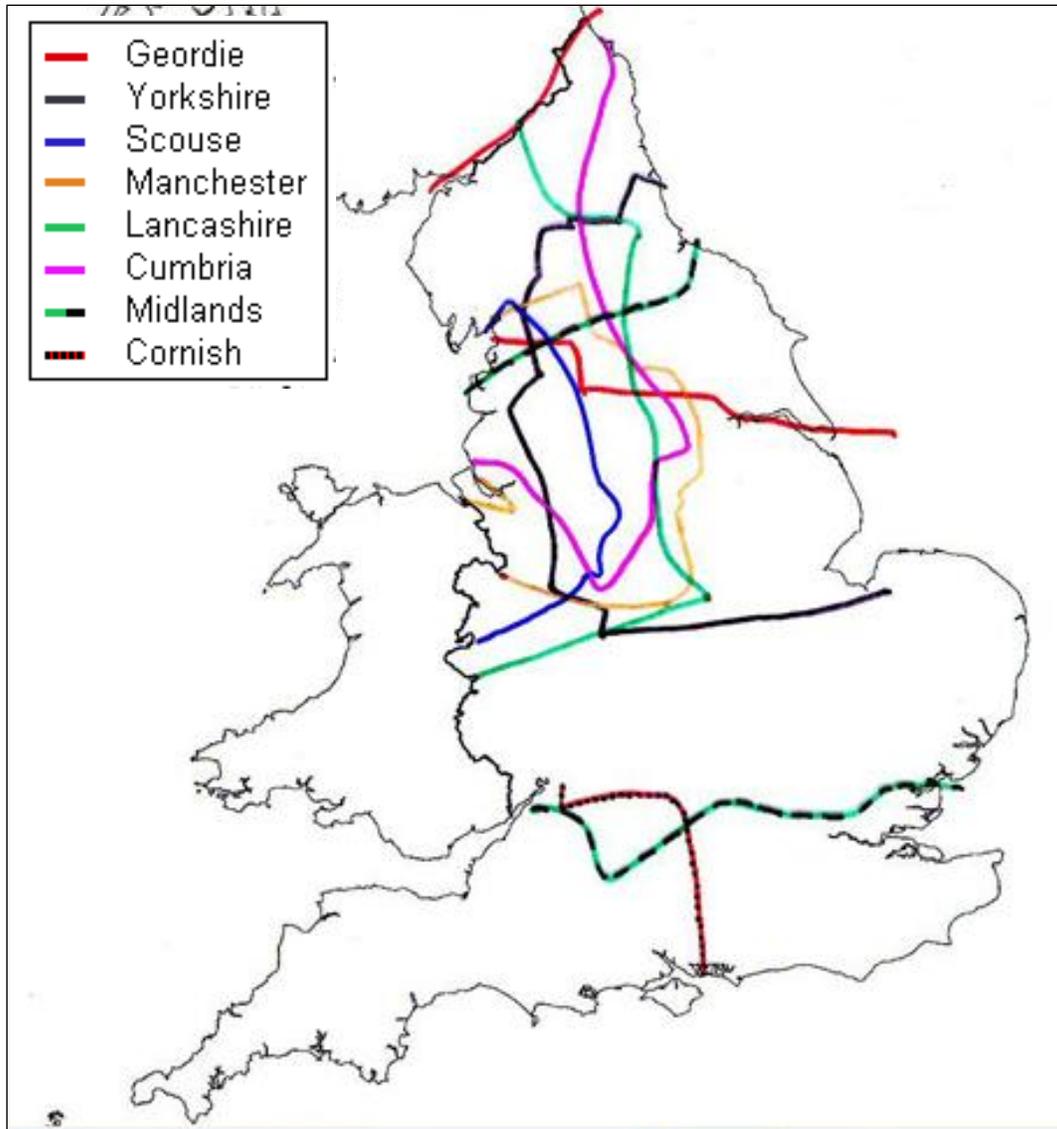


Figure 2.10: 100% agreement level composite map

Some areas do not overlap at all, and indeed seem to complement each other, as in the case of the Geordie and Cumbrian areas. These two areas, occupying the northern part of England, in the east and west respectively, are physically separated by the Pennines. The limit of the two areas in figure 2.9 is the approximate location of the Pennines, and it will be interesting to examine whether this is a salient boundary in further research in Carlisle, the principal town in Cumbria. It is also interesting to note that where there is a line indicating a northern boundary of the Geordie area, there is no northern boundary indicated for the Cumbrian area. This may or may not be indicative of a more ambiguous relationship with Scotland than is the case for the Geordie area.

Although the situation with these two northernmost areas seems to be relatively clear in figure 2.9, as we move further south it becomes more confused. Both the Yorkshire area and the Lancashire areas overlap with the Geordie area and the Cumbria area respectively (as well as with others). What is of interest however is the fact that these two areas overlap with each other, and the relatively ‘clear-cut’ divide as evidenced in the two areas to the north does not seem to be present. There is a history of conflict between these two areas and one might have presumed that a boundary such as the one to the north may have been in evidence; this is not to mention that the Pennines are still present as a boundary between the two areas. However, as can be seen, there is an overlap of around 20-30 miles. Although this is not a significant distance it is still far more than the practically non-existent overlap between the two areas to the north. There could be many reasons for this, not least the amount of development that has taken place in the centre of the country at this point (such as the M62), perhaps to the extent of marginalising the traditional physical Pennine boundary. The boundary of the Yorkshire area also appears to follow county boundaries much more closely than the Lancashire area. This could show that in this case administrative boundaries could be salient in the perception of the Yorkshire speech, and as such could be similar to the situation found in Japan by Sibata (1999).

The Lancashire area occupies a space in which two other areas are found: Scouse and Manchester. These areas are entirely within the boundary of the Lancashire area, although an explanation can perhaps be found due to this having been an historical fact. The Scouse and Manchester areas also overlap, although drawing conclusions from this is difficult. One point that can be made here concerns the issue of a ‘dialect hierarchy’, that is that people may consider certain dialects to be ‘sub-dialects’ of others in a similar way to Trudgill’s hierarchical diagram (Trudgill, 1990: 65). Although I am not claiming there to be a hierarchical relationship between Lancashire and Scouse, it could explain the Manchester area’s placement within the Lancashire area. Without questioning informants directly, it is difficult to measure whether this is the case using a draw-a-map task, unless one was to request informants to specifically indicate if they believed areas to

be ‘related’. Communicating relationships in written form could prove difficult for informants and here an interview or focus group with informants could assist in clarification.

Another perceptual area that could be explained along the lines of a dialect hierarchy is the final area drawn by the informants to be considered: the Midlands (see figure 2.7 above). This area occupies the largest area on the map, overlapping five of the other areas drawn. Again, informants seem to have considered this area to be related to others, although even if this was not the case the area continues to be one about which there is the greatest disagreement.

The draw-a-map task piloted here has proved to be a valuable data-gathering method, even in a reduced form not specifically requesting that informants labelled the dialect areas they had indicated. The task has the ability to gather a large amount of data in a very short time, especially if one considers that the data for this pilot-study were gathered in no more than five minutes. Slight modifications along with the addition of components mentioned above would result in a great deal more similar data. Alongside these data would be the ability to examine more some subtle aspects of perception, such as an idea of a ‘dialect hierarchy’ for example, giving more complete picture of informants’ perceptions. Whilst for the pilot study the analytical method of tracing informants’ hand-drawn maps was satisfactory, if a little time consuming, computerising the hand-drawn maps provides far more flexibility, saves time and increases analytical ability. §2.10 below describes how the computerisation of results was achieved.

Some informants commented that the lack of data such as place names and/or county boundaries present on the maps made the task difficult, or more difficult than it could have been. However, with a few notable exceptions, such as an informant who labelled Tyneside and Birmingham in Lincolnshire, the task was completed with a relatively high degree of geographical competency. As the analysis of the Geordie/Cumbrian areas shows, a very high degree of competency was sometimes achieved. When ‘internal’ dialect areas (such as Birmingham) were marked however, this geographical accuracy

decreased. As a safeguard against some informants' lack of geographical competence Preston has suggested that informants are allowed to look at a detailed map of the country prior to (not during) the task. This has the benefit of minimising inaccurate results due to lack of geographical knowledge, whilst ensuring that informants do not simply follow administrative boundaries when completing the task.

Evolution of the draw-a-map task

The draw-a-map task has undergone evolution in three further pilot studies in October 2004, January 2005, and March 2005. Each study built upon lessons learned from the previous study and included various innovations. A discussion of the results of each of the pilot studies will not be entered into at this point as findings were very similar to those considered above. One problem was consistent however: the lack of geographical knowledge, especially for 'internal' dialect areas.

The pilot studies showed that the draw-a-map task as a concept seemed to be very easy for informants to understand; however, a consistent problem was a lack of geographical knowledge. This lack of knowledge was addressed using another map and from the pilot study in October 2004, a 'location map' with the names of selected towns and cities in England was used. This can be seen below in figure 2.11

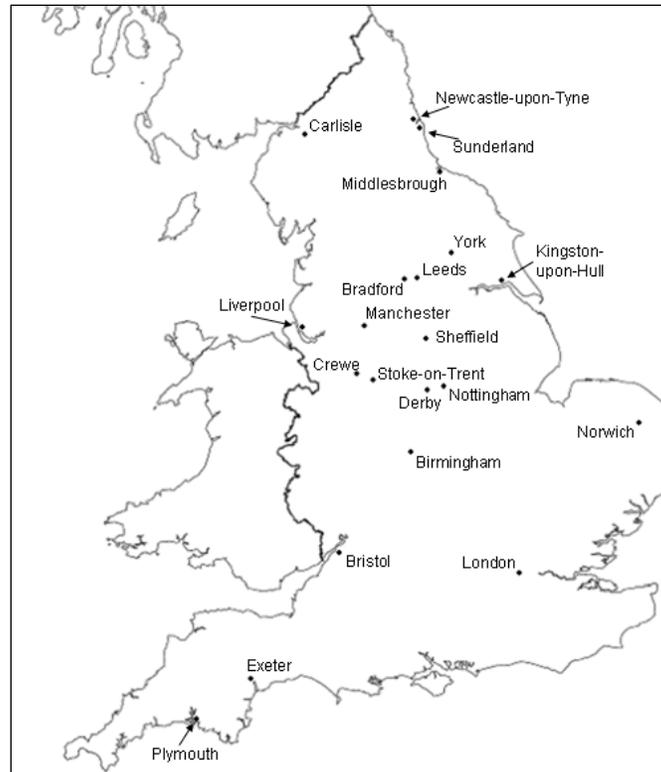


Figure 2.11: Major town and city location map

The location map was shown via an overhead projector to informants in the pilot studies as the task was being introduced and left projected throughout the task. Upon evaluation of the use of the location map, it was felt that although it improved the geography of some of the informants; it should not be shown for the whole of the exercise in order to ensure that informants did not simply copy the map.

For the next pilot study in January 2005, a reduced version of the blank map was used, concentrating only on England (with Wales and the Scottish border still shown). On this 'blank' map were introduced six dots representing major cities in England, and another instruction was included on the front page of the questionnaire sheet asking informants to name the cities. It was decided that the location map would be shown to informants for the first couple of minutes of the draw-a-map task in order for them to label the cities and then taken down, thus the informants would be left with a 'blank map' with six location points upon which they could base their thoughts about perceptual dialect areas. These location dots allow informants a guide on which to base their dialect areas, and indicate

the location of the difficult to place 'internal' dialect areas. This does leave the methodology open to criticism that the information given to informants during the task could lead to a skewing of results, as the city location dots might prompt informants. However I believe that is the only way in which to ensure a level geographic 'playing field'. Further discussion in the following chapters will demonstrate that this was the correct approach. Any maps with incorrectly labelled cities were from this point on were rejected.

The reduction in the size of the map so as to only show England and the border area of Scotland and Wales along with the inclusion of the six city dots alongside the projected location map produced good results in the January 2005 pilot study. In the final pilot study with over 100 undergraduate informants the draw-a-map task worked without problems. Further brief discussion of the final draw-a-map task can be found in the section dealing with the final methodology (§2.9).

2.8.2 Ranking and voice placement tasks

The aim of the area ranking and voice placement tasks is to examine perception of dialects in a different way from the draw-a-map task. However, I felt that there should be some link between the draw-a-map task and the rating and placement tasks which would be in keeping with Preston's desire for 'cognitively real' dialect areas discussed above. It was thus decided to use a composite map from the draw-a-map task displaying the most frequently recognised dialect areas (at an agreement level some way below 100%). Informants would then be asked to rate each dialect area on the map along Preston's scales of 'Correctness', 'Pleasantness' and 'Difference' (Preston, 1999b: xxxiv), as well as naming each area. This would link the perceptions of where dialect areas exist to what similar informants thought about the areas they had delimited and labeled. It would also allow an examination of the naming of dialect areas in each task, and assess whether they matched.

I however thought that simply using another map to gain access to informants' attitudes to dialects could be limiting, and for this reason I decided to use voice recordings from around England (although primarily from the north of the country). These recordings would be subject to the same rankings tasks as the dialect areas on the composite map, using the same technique as that used in matched-guise and matched-guise type tasks (Giles & Powesland, 1975, Paltridge & Giles, 1984, Ryan & Giles, 1982). This would again allow results to be compared with those given for the map-based task and checked for correspondence. There was however a concern about informants' ability to recognise dialects accurately, and for this reason it was decided to use another map-based task in order for informants to identify the dialect areas. They would be requested to indicate on the map where they believed the voice sample to originate.

The inclusion of the voice sample and placement task would then allow the full perceptions of informants to be accessed in different stages. First, they are requested to draw and name dialect areas on a blank map, and then secondly (after processing and compilation of composite maps) they are asked to name and rate these areas before thirdly being asked to rate and place voice recordings. The researcher is then able not only to look at where informants think dialect areas exist, but what they think about the areas along with how accurately they can place voice samples (and how these correspond to the previously drawn dialects areas in the draw-a-map task). The report on the pilot study below will introduce the methodological approach to the voice and sample rating and placement task, its format, and the way in which results are processed before concluding with a discussion of the reshaping and refining of the methodology to be used in final fieldwork.

Area ratings and placement task pilot study

The primary pilot study using the area rating and voice placement task took place in June 2005 involving 39 non-linguist informants (14 male and 25 female) attending an A-level English Masterclass at the University of Sheffield. The aim of the pilot study was to test whether the method was understood by those taking part, and to develop a framework in

which to process resulting data. The informants were aged 17-18 and had taken part in some work on dialects as part of the Masterclass however could still be said to fall into the category of ‘non-linguists’, which is important due to the nature of the study that the pilot was designed to test. The informants in the pilot study had however not taken part in the previous draw-a-map task, although they did have knowledge of it and the process undertaken to produce the composite map with which they were faced. Although this secondary fieldwork would achieve its best results if carried out with same informants who completed the primary draw-a-map task, so long as the method used to produce the composite map is fully explained this need not be a problem, as will be seen.

The informants involved in the pilot study were asked to complete three main tasks: a rating task based upon a composite map; a rating task based upon listening to recordings of voices; and a final task involving a map to locate where informants believed the voices to come from. A reproduction of the questionnaire can be found below in figures 2.12 and 2.13.

Rating dialect areas

What would you call the speech in this area?
How would you rate the speech of this area along the following scales?

Least ← → Most

Correctness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Pleasantness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Difference to own variety 1 2 3 4

What would you call the speech in this area?
How would you rate the speech of this area along the following scales?

Least ← → Most

Correctness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Pleasantness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Difference to own variety 1 2 3 4

What would you call the speech in this area?
How would you rate the speech of this area along the following scales?

Least ← → Most

Correctness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Pleasantness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Difference to own variety 1 2 3 4

What would you call the speech in this area?
How would you rate the speech of this area along the following scales?

Least ← → Most

Correctness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Pleasantness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Difference to own variety 1 2 3 4

What would you call the speech in this area?
How would you rate the speech of this area along the following scales?

Least ← → Most

Correctness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Pleasantness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Difference to own variety 1 2 3 4

What would you call the speech in this area?
How would you rate the speech of this area along the following scales?

Least ← → Most

Correctness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10
Pleasantness 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10

Difference to own variety 1 2 3 4

How to fill in this questionnaire

This questionnaire is designed to examine what you think about dialect areas in the north of England.

There are six areas marked on the map, some overlap, others do not.

Simply fill in each box naming the dialect area, and circling the appropriate number on each scale. The arrows pointing from the box show you which area the box relates to.

Once you have filled in each box, complete the section asking you for information about you.

Thank you for the time taken to fill in this questionnaire.

Information about you

Age

Male/Female (delete as appropriate)

Home town

Figure 2.12: Reproduction of first page in area ratings and placement task

Recording		Scale										Comments & job
		Least 1	←									
A	Correctness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Pleasantness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Trustworthiness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Friendliness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Difference	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
B	Correctness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Pleasantness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Trustworthiness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Friendliness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Difference	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
C	Correctness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Pleasantness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Trustworthiness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Friendliness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Difference	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
D	Correctness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Pleasantness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Trustworthiness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Friendliness	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	
	Difference	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	

Figure 2.13: Reproduction of voice ratings sheet

Although designed in colour, the composite map task was given to informants in black and white format, and colour map was displayed via a data projector in order to ensure that informants were certain about the different areas they were requested to rate. As can be seen from the reproduction of the voice ratings sheet, informants were here requested to consider two other scales, those of ‘Friendliness’ and ‘Trustworthiness’ after these scales were included in previous language attitudes studies. It was hoped that this would enable comparisons to eventually be made. The placement task was completed in this study with the use of the map on the sheet in figure 2.12. The voice samples were obtained by recording people reading the short story ‘The North Wind and the Sun’.

The participants in the pilot study were played six voice samples from six locations in England: Barnsley; Warrington; London; Liverpool; Newcastle-under-Lyme; and Newcastle upon Tyne, figure 2.14 shows the locations on a map of England.



Figure 2.14: Locations of voice samples in pilot study

The voice sample script was read by people of different ages and genders, although as will be seen this does not seem to have affected the results of the exercise. The six voice samples used in the pilot study are intended to be added to and changed in the final fieldwork, and were selected for use in the pilot study as they were readily available and the main aim of the pilot study was to test the methodology and its comprehensibility when being used by the target informant group.

I view the voice sample and area ratings task and the voice placement task as separate and they will be dealt with as such in the discussion of this pilot study, focussing firstly on the voice sample and area ratings.

Ratings task – Area ratings

The area ratings task seemed easily understood by informants taking part in the pilot study. There were some problems with the area naming part of the task, with informants asked ‘What would you call the speech in this area?’ Some informants seemed to have

little or no geographical knowledge and after asking had to be shown via a data projector the map with the names of major towns and cities in England that had been prepared for use in the draw-a-map task. The map was left projected throughout the rest of the task, including the voice placement task.

The completion rate was encouraging although five of the informants did not complete any of the ratings tasks. In two of the cases this was due to objections with the concept of rating per se⁶, and as such was not taken as an obstacle to the use of such a task in further fieldwork. Three of the other participants did not complete the area ratings task due to other problems such as not being able to identify varieties that they would associate with the areas. These informants did however complete the ratings task for voice samples and so again, this lack of completion of the first section of the task was not viewed as a large problem. Some informants did not rate all dialect areas, again illustrating difficulty in the identification of some of the areas (the most difficult to identify seeming to be the Carlisle/Cumbria northwest area).

Once completed, the ratings task numbers were entered into spreadsheet software and graphs were calculated in SPSS examining the means of the ratings along each scale for each dialect area. These graphs can be seen below in charts 2.1 and 2.2.

⁶ Consent to take part in the pilot study was obtained from all informants before the task started.

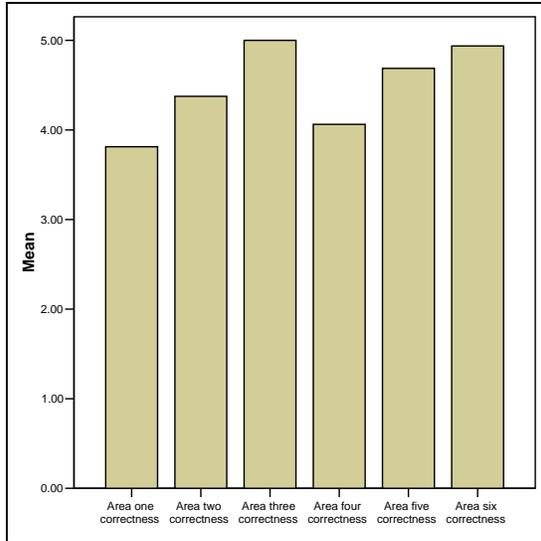


Chart 2.1: Means of correctness for areas 1-6

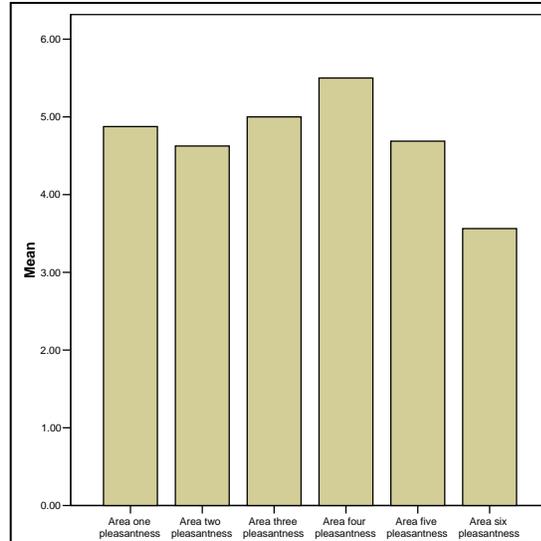


Chart 2.2: Means of pleasantness for areas 1-6

The areas referred to in charts 2.1 and 2.2 are as follows: Area One, Northwest (Carlisle/Cumbria); Area Two, Liverpool; Area Three, Manchester; Area Four, Newcastle upon Tyne; Area Five, Yorkshire; Area Six, Birmingham. As the graphs show that different ratings were achieved along the two different scales used in the area ratings task for the different perceptual dialect areas shown on the map. All mean ratings are towards the upper end of the scale, but differences do still occur from area to area. Although in this pilot study it does not appear that these results show any statistically significant difference (after one-way ANOVA run in SPSS), the exercise can be said to have been of some use, in that informants understand the concept of rating areas on a map. It is hoped that in the final application of the area rating task statistical relationships will be found between the two scales.

Ratings task – Voice samples ratings

The voice samples ratings task was more involved than the area ratings task, and as such produced more data, with informants asked to rate the voice samples along five separate scales (although the ‘Difference’ scale will not be commented on here due to informants’ place of residences being so varied in the pilot study). As mentioned above, informants were asked to listen to six voice samples reading the short story ‘The North Wind and the Sun’. They heard all the recordings twice, and were allowed to refer to the projected

location map whilst completing both ratings and placement task (see below for a discussion of the voice placement task). Participants in the pilot study seemed to have no difficulty in understanding the task, and most completed ratings for each of the voice samples (with the exception of those who, as mentioned above, had ideological problems with the idea of making ratings).

As with the area ratings task results were entered into spreadsheet software and the resulting data were analysed in SPSS to examine statistical relationships. Bar charts (similar to those seen in charts 2.1 and 2.2) were created to compare the means of the ratings of each of the voice samples. When working with the final data, these charts could be adapted to examine not only the comparisons between voice samples but also to look at the difference (or similarity) between each sample area. This was not possible in the pilot study as although informants did live in different areas there were not sufficient numbers of informants from each area in order to make meaningful comparisons.

Scatter graphs were also created in order to examine the existence of correlation between the ratings along the scales for each dialect area. The scatter graphs showing the relationship between ‘Correctness’ and Trustworthiness’ and ‘Pleasantness’ and ‘Friendliness’ can be seen below in charts 2.3 and 2.4 respectively.

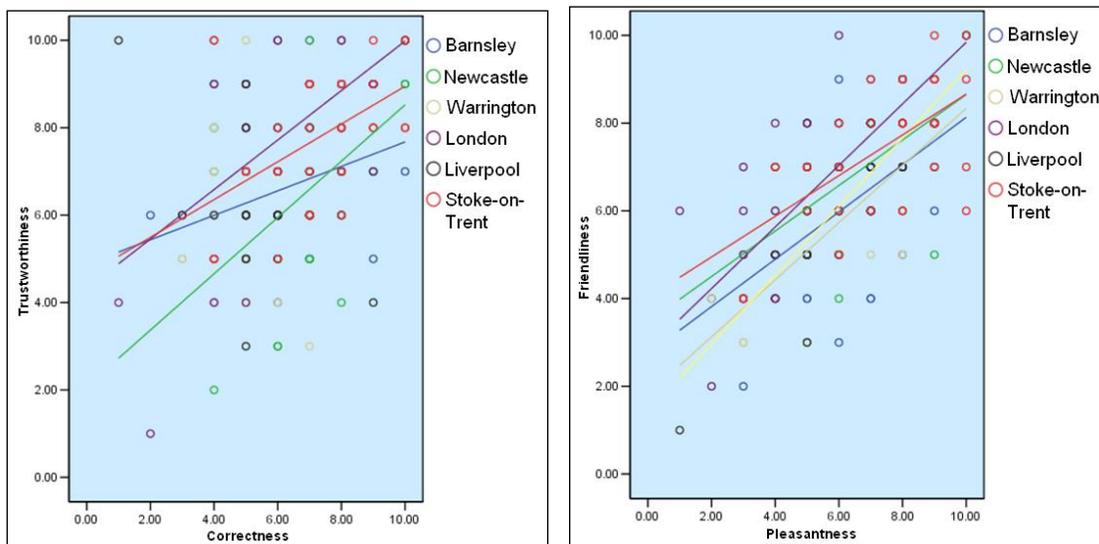


Chart 2.3 (l): Trustworthiness vs. Correctness scatter graph

Chart 2.4 (r): Friendliness vs. Pleasantness scatter graph

The scatter graphs show all the ratings for each voice sample along the appropriate scales. The lines of best fit are included where there is a significant correlation between the ratings given by the informants along the scales. It can therefore be seen that there is a statistically significant correlation shown in chart 2.3 between 'Trustworthiness' and 'Correctness' for the voice samples from Barnsley, Stoke-on-Trent, Newcastle upon Tyne and Liverpool. Chart 2.4 shows significant correlations between 'Friendliness' and 'Pleasantness' for all of the voice samples, a result that might be expected.

Again, as with the area ratings task, the aim of the pilot study using this methodology was to test informants' ability to follow the task and assess the options for the processing of results. In both respects, the pilot study can be said to have been a success, demonstrating interesting preliminary results and allowing for the testing of data transfer and processing. Data from the final voice and area ratings exercise will be analysed together in order to examine the correlation between results garnered using a map-based task as well as the more traditional voice sample task.

Voice sample placement task

The voice sample placement task requires a little more explanation than the previous two parts of the pilot study. The basic task is simple- to place an 'x' on a blank map where the listener believes the speaker recorded in the voice sample to live (or come from). This part of the task proved easy to understand for the informants in the pilot study, with even those who did not want to be involved in ratings tasks able to take part. Some of the informants did however have such difficulty in placing the samples that they did not place a mark on the map, which is one concern for the use of the task in final fieldwork, although sufficient numbers will be shown to counteract this problem.

The major problem involved in the voice sample placement task then is not the task itself but the processing and analysis of the results from the task. Again, it was a problem of

digitising what was essentially graphical data and then working with it in order to investigate trends and patterns, as was the case for the draw-a-map task.

I decided that some way should be found to digitise each of the crosses and compile them together in such a way that they could be analysed together. This would allow the examination of the placement of the voice sample by each informant and the investigation of similarities and differences between the supposed provenances of the samples. The digitised results could then be examined in composite form on a map, showing their relative geographical position, but could also be graphed in order to investigate differences in placement. The use of composite voice placements on a map was vital as one of the aims of the placement task is to investigate reasons for the results of the draw-a-map task. With this accomplished the composite placement map could be analysed alongside the draw-a-map composite to examine correlations and/or differences.

An example of the raw data can be seen in figure 2.15 below. It must be noted that, as can be seen from the example, in the pilot study the map was not blank but included the composite map from which the informants had previously been working in order to rate dialect areas. Although having these boundaries on the map used to locate the voice samples did not seem to have a great deal of an effect on where informants placed voice samples (many locating a voice (correctly) in London despite this not being an area marked on the map), for some it may have done and therefore I have exercised caution in the interpretation of results, and further pilots (as well as the final fieldwork) used a completely blank map.

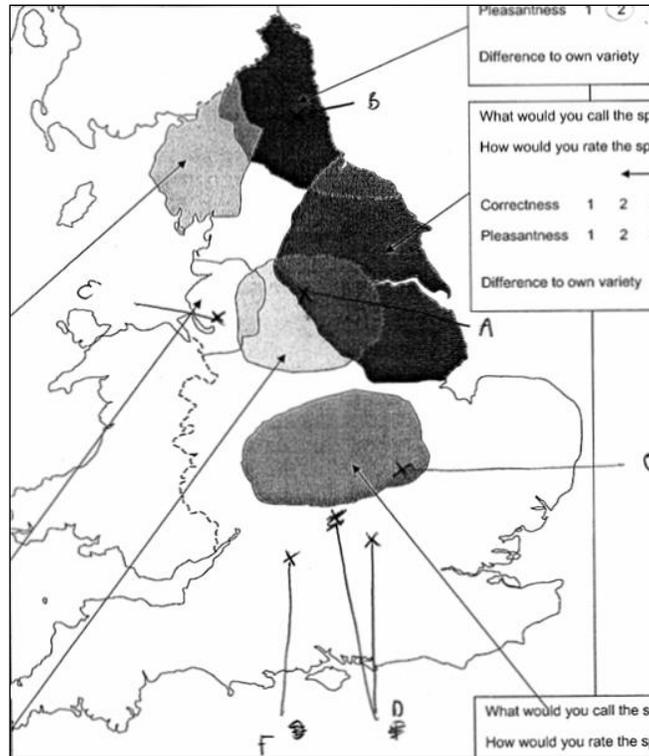


Figure 2.15: Example of raw voice sample placement data

The raw data was relatively clear and the challenge was to digitise it in a successful manner. Unlike the draw-a-map task, the data was simple as they were only one dot on a map. For this reason it was decided that a digitising pad would be used to complete the task, although scanning and aligning can also be employed to good effect. The pad was used to place a dot in the 'x' for each voice sample, and the results saved for each informant. After this, the dots for each area were compiled on one map and lines were drawn from the provenance of the voice sample to the centre of each dot. This resulted in six maps with lines and dots (one for each voice sample), an example of which can be seen below in figure 2.16



Figure 2.16: Lines drawn from origin of voice sample A (Barnsley) to informants' placement of voice

The drawing of lines from the provenance of the voice sample to the placement of it by informants on the map allows the link to be seen in a clear way. The other option of leaving the dots on the map in isolation could become confusing, especially if the placement of other voice samples is to be examined on the same map. For this reason, the dots became redundant and after lines were drawn they were removed from the map. The lines are also linked to the location of provenance, in a similar way to the techniques used in the Romanian Online Dialect Atlas (Embleton, Uritescu & Wheeler, 2005) graphically mapping informants' perceptions of speech, in keeping with the general thrust of this study. A similar method was also employed in geographical perception by Pocock (1972a).

The method employed in the fashion described above fulfils one of the objectives of the computerisation process; the ability to examine on a map the geographical spread of the responses to the placement task. From the resulting maps it can be seen where the majority of informants placed their crosses and a view of the distribution of responses

gathered. The mapping method does not however fulfil the second objective of the computerising process; that of graphing and measuring the responses to the voice placement exercise.

This objective had to be met with an extension of the method described above and involved the removal of the map from the background and the formulation of a scaled chart on which to place the lines. The use of a scaled chart would then allow the distances to be measured from speech sample provenance to speech sample placement for each individual informant. Due to the nature of the data gathered (dots on maps) and the way in which they lay on the composite map, a circular chart was devised which would be used to display the results. This was accomplished using the drawing faculties within Microsoft PowerPoint along with various graphics editing programmes. The scale of the original map was used in order to show the lines on the chart and their distance from the voice samples' location, with that location placed in the centre of the chart. The use of this type of chart also allows an examination of any orientational skew (north, west, east or south) in the data. Figure 2.17 below shows a completed circular chart (or 'Starburst chart') showing the data previously seen above in figure 2.16, with a scale in miles shown on each of the concentric circles.

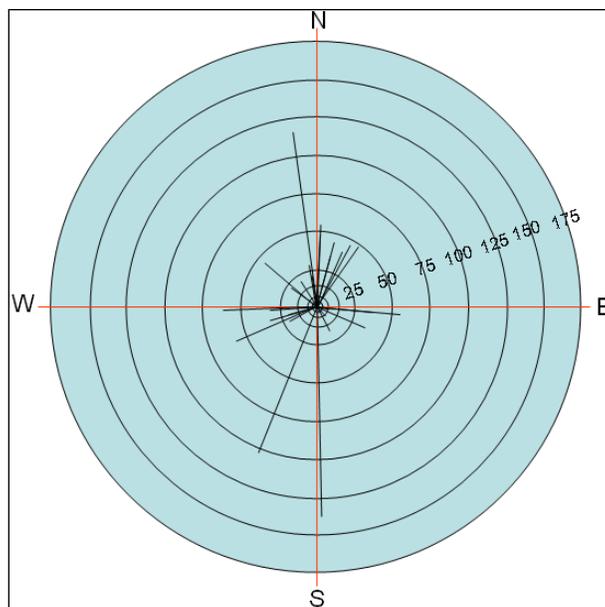


Figure 2.17: Starburst chart of informants' placement of voice sample A (Barnsley)

As can be seen, the use of the Starburst chart allows the user to easily see the results and facilitates examination of the relative distances in miles for each of the informants' voice placements away from provenance of the voice sample. The Starburst graph also shows orientational skew, although in the case of the above chart, there is not a great deal. Caution of course must be exercised when examining the charts due to the nature of data they are able to display, for example below in figure 2.18.

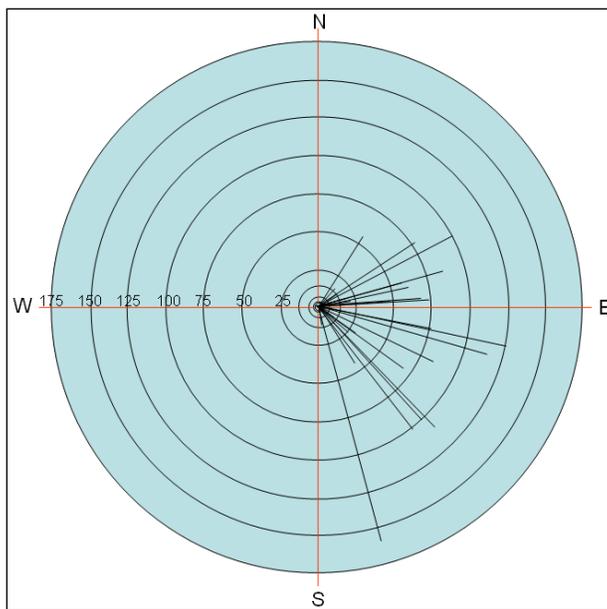


Figure 2.18: Starburst chart of informants' placement of voice sample E (Liverpool)

The immediate response to figure 2.18 is that it shows a large amount of eastern skew, which is correct. It is however not due to any other factor other than that Liverpool (the voice's place of provenance) is a coastal city and therefore anything placed west of the city would be in the sea. This serves to illustrate one of the major complications with the Starburst chart; however, the chart can be put to good use and show quite fine detail in sample placement. This is especially true when one examines data with 'outliers' removed, in a similar fashion to the draw-a-map task processing.

Figure 2.19 shows a starburst chart with outliers removed in order to arrive at a representation of 66% of the informants' voice placements of the voice sample taken from Warrington.

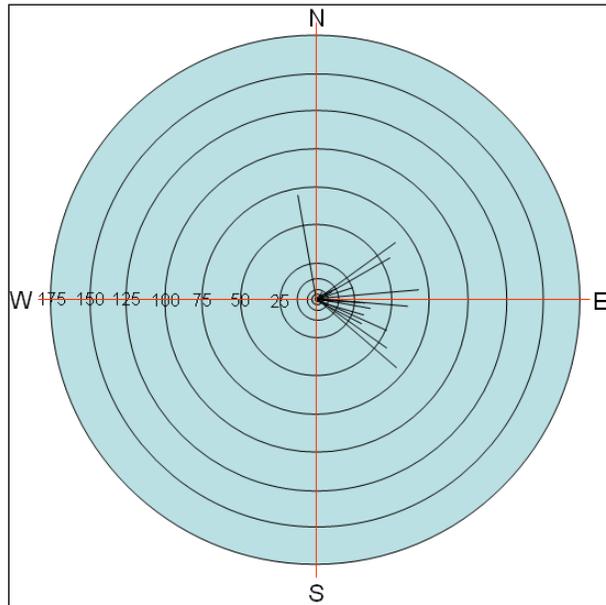


Figure 2.19: Starburst chart of 66% of informants' (n=20) placement of voice sample C (Warrington)

Here, the starburst chart shows an almost complete eastern skew, with the majority of informants placing the speech sample around 25-30 miles further east than its provenance. The other starburst charts at 100% and 66% levels show similar patterns and can go some way to offering insights into the overall perceptions of informants.

The graphing of the results of the placement task enables the undertaking of one more analytical task: the accurate calculation of the distance of the voice placements from the voices' provenance. Table 2.3 shows the upper boundary of the distances voice samples were placed away from the samples' locations.

Voice sample	Number of area placements	Mile range	
		100%	66%
A – Barnsley	30	140	45
B – Newcastle	31	175	30
C – Warrington	31	170	70
D – London	29	245	60
E – Liverpool	31	160	74
F – Stoke-on-Trent	29	145	120

Table 2.3: Number of placements and ranges at 66% and 100% by speech sample

As the table shows, the ranges of voice sample placement were wide, with a high degree of ‘error’ in some cases, especially the sample from Stoke-on-Trent (which was a poor sample to use but did highlight some issues with the methodology). Collection of data in the final fieldwork will allow more rigorous analysis of results. Comparisons will be possible not only between the range of error but also the means of the placement errors, and responses from each survey location will also permit investigation of the impact on results of location of informants.

The final stage of the analysis of data gathered using the voice placement task was to compile a map to examine the relationship between voice placement and the composite perceptual map produced by informants from pilot studies of the draw-a-map task. This involved the creation of an overall composite map for the voice placement exercise and the subsequent superimposition onto the composite perceptual map. Figure 2.20 shows the resulting map.

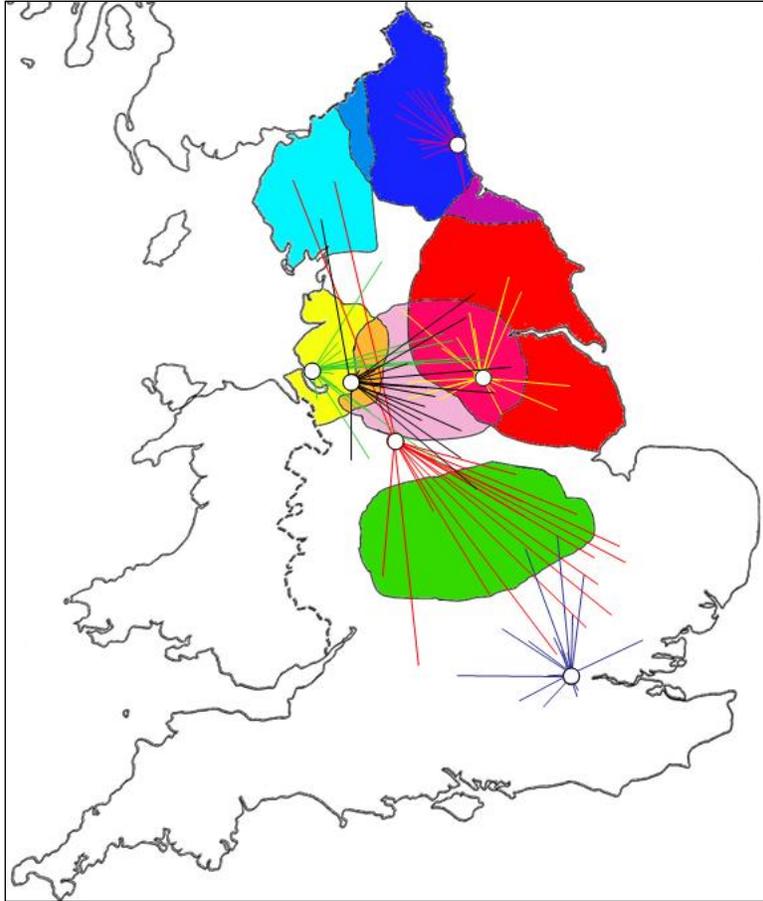


Figure 2.20: Informants' placement of all voice samples (A-F) at 66% agreement level superimposed over composite perceptual map (at 66% agreement)

The map shows that most of the voice placements were made inside the perceptual boundaries of the voice samples' provenance, with some exceptions. Caution of course has to be exercised due to the fact that this was the map on which informants marked their crosses, even though in most cases this seemed to have little effect. The same technique is to be used to examine the relationship between the voice placements and perceptual areas for each of the sample areas in the final fieldwork.

Further piloting of area ratings and placement tasks took place involving the use of the students attending a dialectology workshop at the University of Sheffield. The administration of the task was identical to that described above, with an adaptation of the placement task so as to use a completely blank map instead of the dialect boundaries map. Again, the task was completed with ease and no problems were expressed whilst undertaking it with the exception of the comment that the ratings sheet could be larger.

This was factored into the design of the final methodology and the area ratings sheet was enlarged. Results seemed consistent with those gathered in the primary pilot study, with no problems in further analysis. Further comments on the final shape of the area and voice ratings and placement task can be found in the next section.

2.9 FINAL METHODOLOGY

As can be seen in the discussion above, I view the methodological approach to be used in the investigation of the perceptions of non-linguists in the north of England to be two-staged. Approaching the administration of the final methodology, time was a factor due to the focus of research on students taking A-levels, as was the processing of results. I thus decided that the research would take place in two distinct stages:

- Stage One: Draw-a-map task
 - After this stage, analysis of results was completed and composite maps were processed (see §2.10 below for discussion of how composite maps were produced).

- Stage Two: Rating and placement task
 - This stage used the composite maps from the first stage as well as incorporating the placement task discussed above.

As has been discussed above, the pilot studies of both stages of research proved particularly useful not only in a data-gathering respect but also in the identification of problems. These problems, as has been seen, are not in all cases ones of quality of data or lack of understanding amongst informants but have been focussed on data processing and ease of use of the various investigative tools. The problems concerning ease of use and understanding were sufficiently addressed in the piloting of the methodological elements. The way in which the problems were addressed will be shown in subsequent chapters to present new difficulties although it will also be shown that the quality of the data gathering using the refined methodology has not been adversely affected. As the

next section will demonstrate, the ability to computerise findings is invaluable not only for ease of analysis but also in the storage and access of data. The speed in which analysis can be performed is also greatly improved.

Although there is a great deal of discussion in the above sections, it is important to state what I believe this methodological approach will and will not be able to achieve. Through the use of the draw-a-map task, with its small modifications for use in the north of England, data will be gathered which will be comparable to that gathered using similar methods in other countries (Long, 1999a, Preston, 1981, Preston, 1989a, Preston, 1989b) (Hartley, 1999), as well as in England (Inoue, 1999a, Inoue, 1999b). The use of composite maps which produce ‘perceptual isoglosses’ will enable comparison with established dialectological maps (Trudgill, 1990, Upton, Sanderson & Widdowson, 1987, Viereck, 1986b). Examination of north-south country divisions will be facilitated in a similar way, not only in respect to linguistic study (Wales, 2000), but also with reference to political and sociological factors (Jewell, 1994, Johnston et al., 1988). Due to the similar methodology used, comparisons with previous perceptual dialectology studies can be made (Long & Preston, 2002, Preston, 1999a) along with a discussion of the similarities with findings from perceptual geography (Gould & White, 1974, Gould & White, 1986). The methodology will not however be able to examine ground covered by traditional dialectology, such as phonology, and although some examination of lexis may be possible, it will be very limited in scope.

The use of composite perceptual maps as part of the methodology for the second stage of research will expand on Preston’s five point approach (Preston, 1999a: xxxiv), and the introduction of the placement task approaches the question of naming dialects in a different way from previous studies (Kerswill & Williams, 2002), although a comparison of results could be interesting. The inclusion of an area ratings task alongside the more traditional matched-guise type task (Giles & Bourhis, 1975, Giles & Powesland, 1975) and voice placement task will enable discussion of why people rate certain areas and voices in the way they do as well as examining the correlation (or difference) between ratings for areas and ratings for voices. It will also be of interest to see how ratings differ

when informants are played voices from these areas, along with assessing the accuracy with which they are able to place voices in the areas they have rated. The second stage of research will hopefully enable some sort of answer to Preston's original problem with language attitudes research (Preston, 1989b) and gain access to some of the reasons behind the perceptions of language.

2.10 COMPUTERISED MAP CALCULATION

One of the major drawbacks with the piloting of the draw-a-map methodology was the difficulty in calculating and working with the results gathered from informants. The previously described technique of deleting 'outlying' lines in order to arrive at maps with a percentage agreement level is effective to a point but has two major drawbacks; the sometimes subjective nature of line deletion, and the time it takes to perform map tracing and line deletion. A further problem with the amount of time it takes to perform the tracing and deletion tasks is that only a small number of maps can be compiled, leading to a choice having to be made early on as to what percentage agreement level should be compiled. The result of the choice is that time is invested in calculation without knowing whether it will be fruitful.

One of the remedies to both of these drawbacks is the use of computerisation in the tracing, counting and removing of hand-drawn lines. This was the approach initially taken by Preston (1989b) and subsequently developed by Long (Long, 1999a, Long, 1999b, Long & Yim, 2002) in his studies into the perceptions of dialects of Japanese and Korean. The computer programs designed by both Preston and Long enabled the production both of composite maps and percentage shaded maps (see figures 2.21 and 2.22 below).

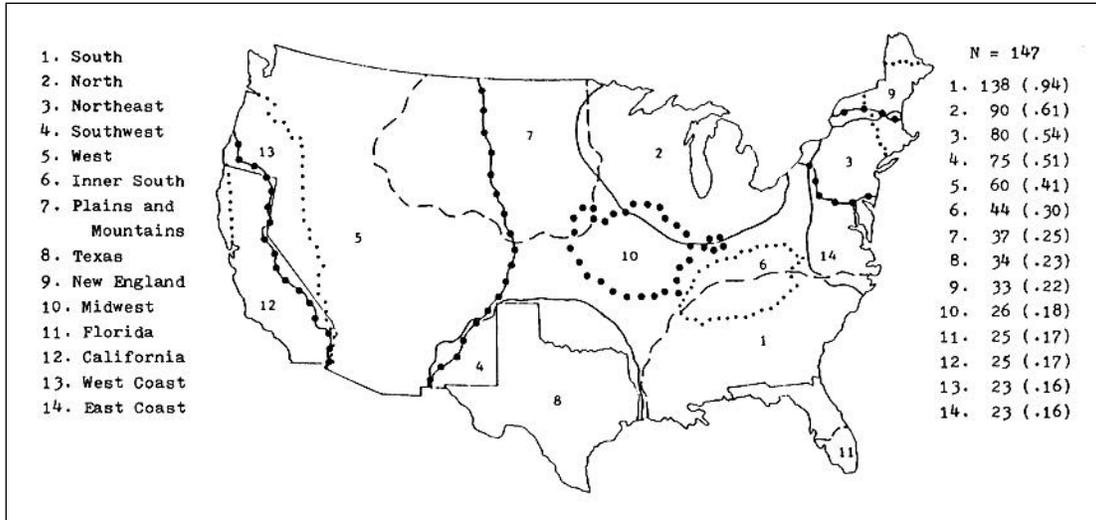


Figure 2.21: Computer assisted generalisation of hand drawn maps (Preston, 1999c: 362)

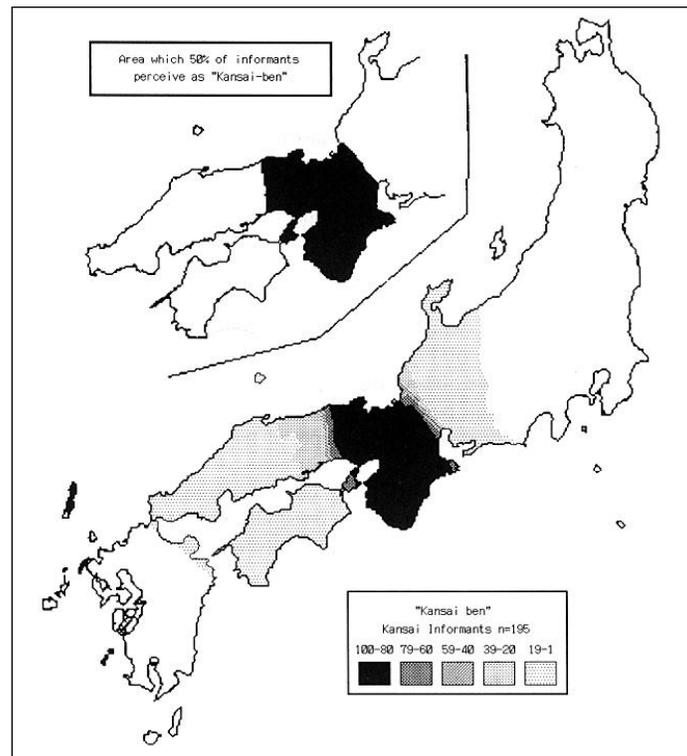


Figure 2.22: Computer assisted percentage shaded map of 'Kansai' dialect area in Japan (Long, 1999a: 194)

After much trial and error involving the use of tracing with a digitising pad and attempting partially computerised line removal I was invited to use Daniel Long's computerised map processing technology at Tokyo Metropolitan University. This involved the use of several programmes running on different computers, with five stages

of data input, process, and manipulation. The stages comprised entering the base map; entering hand-drawn lines; checking co-ordinate points; processing results; processing statistical results and maps for composites.

Stage One – *Entering the base map*

The first stage of the data entry involved the use the MS-DOS Basic programme MED and a digitising pad to trace the original base map upon which the informants had drawn their dialect areas. The tracing involved using the pad's input device to follow the outline of the map clicking at each change of direction. The map was also oriented using a triangulation facility within the programme which ensured that when tracing dialect areas from further maps they did not have to be lined up, thus making the process as accurate as possible. The finished traced base map can be seen below in figure 2.23.



Figure 2.23: Completed traced base map

The completion of the base map results in the visual image as well as a ‘working area’ within the coastline and land boundaries of England. Also created is a grid of marked pixels, each with a specific co-ordinate point which is involved in the calculation of percentage shaded dialect maps.

Stage Two – Entering hand-drawn lines

The process involved in entering the hand-drawn lines was almost identical to that used to enter the base map, but involved the use of a different programme entitled DIPL, a Basic programme which again ran in the MS-DOS environment. Here, each individual line delimiting each perceptual dialect area was entered along with information as to which informant number drew the line (as well as the age and gender of the informant). The technique for line entry is to ensure that the line creates a boundary, either around a coastline or in creating a circle. The creation of a boundary is vital as the next stage of the hand-drawn line entry involves filling the area within the dialect boundary, any gaps in the boundary resulting in the wrong area being filled. The filling of each dialect boundary is necessary as this is how the results programme calculates percentage shaded maps, an explanation of which can be found below. Again, what is produced is a list of co-ordinate points, a sample and explanation of which can be seen in figure 2.24 below.

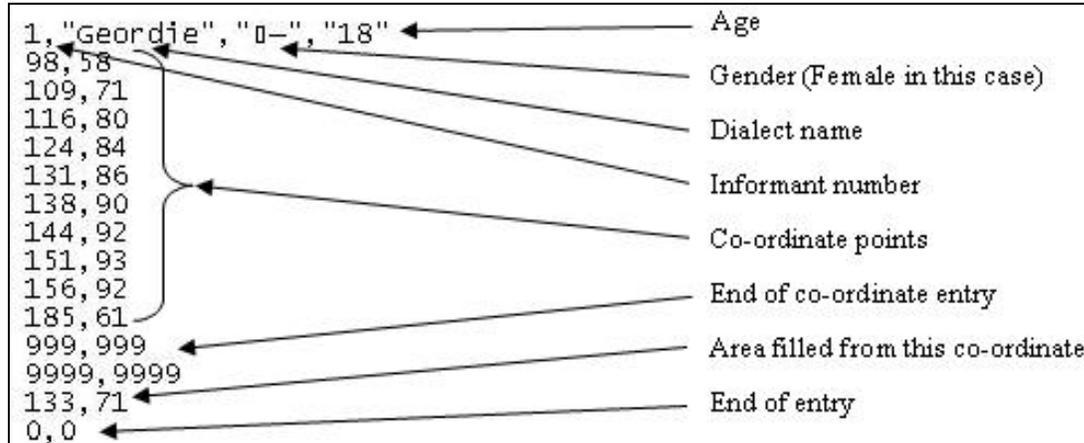


Figure 2.24: Example of co-ordinate points generated with DIPL

Stage Three – Checking co-ordinate points

The third and final stage of the data entry comprised the checking of each dialect area to ensure that the correct area was filled and that there were no maps with the wrong area being filled. This involved the use of the third MS-DOS based programme entitled RED

(so called as this is the primary filling colour) along with a manual ‘matching-up’ process for circular or ‘island’ dialect areas such as Birmingham.

The RED programme allows each map to be examined individually in the MS-DOS environment and re-drawn if errors were present. The programme however had its limitations due to the next programme in the sequence which ran in the Windows environment (Perceptual Dialect Quantifier (PDQ) (Onishi & Long, 1997)). This resulted in maps being passed in RED which later displayed errors in PDQ due a difference in tolerance between the two programmes. The difference in tolerance meant that ‘island’ areas’ start and finish co-ordinate points had to match up exactly for the internal filling of the area to remain within the boundary. As there was no checking facility within PDQ (Onishi & Long, 1997), each individual ‘island’ area had to be checked for errors and those that were found manually rectified using a text editor (Microsoft Notepad in this case) before final maps could be calculated.

Stage Four - *Processing results*

The processing of the majority of the results after entry and checking was done using the Windows based PDQ (Onishi & Long, 1997) programme mentioned above. PDQ’s function is to produce percentage shaded maps of dialect areas which show the degree of informant agreement about the location of perceptual dialect areas, an example of such a map can be found above in figure 2.26. The programme calculates the maps by counting the number of pixels in the grid created during map entry that have been designated as filled during each individual dialect area entry: figure 2.29 below shows a simplified version of this calculation.

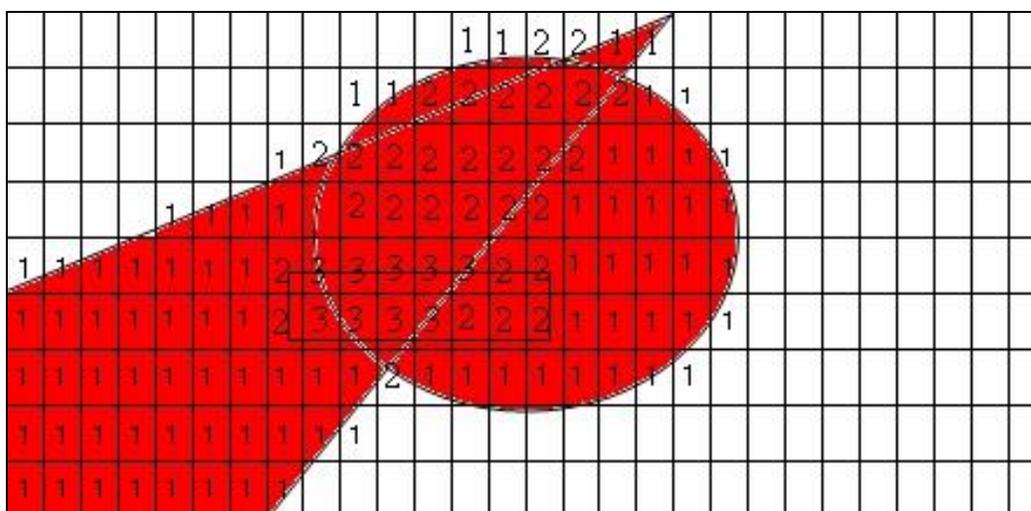


Figure 2.25: Simplified percentage shaded map calculation

Figure 2.25 shows an imaginary rectangular area divided in to a grid in which three informants have indicated a particular dialect area in three different ways. Each individual small rectangle in the grid is representative of a pixel within the base map. One informant has indicated a circular ‘island’ area; one has drawn a rectangular ‘island’ area; and the final informant has delimited their area by drawing two lines creating a triangle with its tip slightly right of centre. All areas have, in accordance with the programme’s procedure, been filled with a colour. The calculation then involves the programme counting how many times each of the rectangles (pixels) has been filled, which is represented in figure 2.29 by the numbers one, two and three.

The resulting percentage shaded map would thus comprise different colours, representing 100% of informants (all rectangles labelled ‘3’), 66% (all rectangles labelled ‘2’), 33% (all rectangles labelled ‘1’). All rectangles left unfilled would be returned as white. The use of PDQ (Onishi & Long, 1997) to compute such maps is invaluable as, once the raw data is traced and entered, they can be calculated with great speed and efficiency. One the drawbacks of the programme is that the percentile boundaries are fixed and cannot be changed, returning maps shaded at 1%-20%; 20%-40%; 40%-60%; 60%-80%; and 80%-100%.

Stage Five - Processing statistical results and maps for composites

The use of PDQ (Onishi & Long, 1997), as explained above, allows the creation of percentage shaded maps but does not allow the shading boundaries to be changed. In order to change the shading boundaries, use has to be made of another MS-DOS based programme entitled CARD (Computer Automated Regional Display), which has a facility allowing the user to do this. The process is similar to that undertaken in PDQ, loading the base map and the traced data and then allowing the programme to calculate maps according to user-set percentage boundaries. This allows one to examine the data at a 50% agreement level, for example, with 50% of the data included and 50% of the data excluded. This function is identical to the 'removal of outliers' method that was previously employed and performed by hand. The advantages of computerisation are again speed and accuracy along with non-subjectivity as the computer is dispassionate about line removal.

As may be discerned from reading the above, the programmes involved in the computerising of hand-drawn map data are numerous, having been developed for around 15 years. Quite apart from the length of time the programmes have taken to develop, resulting in them running on a mixture of MS-DOS and Windows, they were all developed in Japan. The Japanese development presents an obvious language based problem, along with a less obvious computer language problem: all of the MS-DOS based programmes being incompatible with American versions of MS-DOS. This lack of compatibility means that all statistical and composite maps had to be computed in Japan on a machine capable of running Japanese MS-DOS and Windows. The lack of print or save facilities in the programmes (both CARD and PDQ) also meant that screen capture programmes were used to produce map outputs. The need to use screen captures results in the overall quality of resolution of the captured maps not being perfect due to relatively small original images. This said however, for all the problems of compatibility and the need to process all results in Japan, the maps that have been processed are far in advance of anything that could be accomplished by hand, and the ability to examine percentage shaded maps is invaluable.

3. SURVEY LOCATIONS AND INFORMANTS

The pilot studies discussed in the previous chapter took place in single survey locations and thus permitted little comparative analysis. One of the main aims of perceptual dialectology must be to compare results from around the country (after Preston (1986)). This allows investigation of regional differences in perception. In the early planning stages of the project I decided that the choice of survey location should not depend on the extent of previous linguistic study as the project's aim is to examine the *perception* of dialects. As the project's title is *Northern English dialects: A perceptual approach* I made the decision that all survey locations should be located in the north of the country. As seen in chapter 1 however, defining the north is not without its complications as there are not only numerous competing linguistic definitions (Ellis, 1889, Trudgill, 1990, Trudgill, 1999, Wells, 1982), but also many other definitions from geographers, political commentators and others with an interest in the area of study. Of obvious interest in a perceptual study however is the effect of political boundaries on perception; as has been seen, political and administrative boundaries do have an effect on perception (Dailey-O'Cain, 1999, Long & Yim, 2002, Sibata, 1999). The current unelected regional assemblies, with the slim prospect that they could at some point become elected bodies, lent a focus to the process of choosing sample locations.

The competing definitions of the north of England mean that one of the choices of survey location could be controversial. This location is the town of Crewe, located in the county of Cheshire at the foot of the North West government region. This location was chosen in partnership with the second survey location: Carlisle. The city of Carlisle is located at the north of the North West region. I decided to choose these locations due to their position in the same larger administrative region and with the question of their similarity (or lack of it) foremost in my mind. The North West region covers a relatively large area north to south, and all the land to the west of the Pennines; there are two regions occupying the similar north to south area east of the Pennines (Yorkshire and the Humber and North East). The third and final survey location to be chosen was the city of Kingston upon Hull (Hull), which is to be found in the Yorkshire and the Humber region

east of the Pennines. Hull, as will be discussed below, lies on a feature of historical salience as regards the division between north and south (the River Humber). This was of interest as it allowed investigation of the continuing importance (or not) of the feature in terms of perception. Figure 3.1 shows the location of Carlisle, Crewe and Hull along with the regions of England.

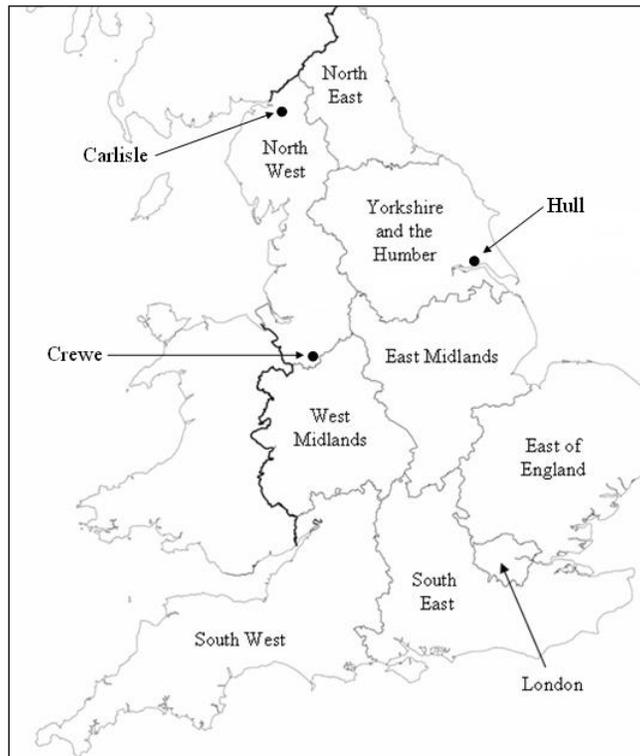


Figure 3.1: Survey locations and English Regions

It will not have escaped the reader's attention that all of the survey locations are near to borders or boundaries of some type. Carlisle and Crewe are close to the political boundaries of the English-Scottish border and the North West-West Midlands border respectively. Hull, as mentioned above is located on the north bank of the Humber which has been salient throughout history as a north-south division (along with its tributary, the Trent). Both of these types of boundary have been shown to have an effect on perception (Grootaers, 1999: 124, Sibata, 1999: 46-7), and are therefore of interest in this study. Also, the border status of the survey locations means that those people living within them have their identities challenged in some way, and may be forced to define themselves in some cases as different from the 'others' across the boundaries. Triangulation is also

important in this study, with the survey locations creating a triangle which permits assessment of perception between (spatially) meaningfully related locations.

3.1 BRIEF HISTORY OF SURVEY LOCATIONS

Carlisle

Carlisle is the oldest survey location chosen for this project, with a settlement in the area dating from the time of the Romans, who built Hadrian's Wall (Smith, 1970: 8-9) which has been important perceptual boundary throughout history. Carlisle may have at this time played an administrative role for the administrative area of *Britannia Inferior* (Higham, 1986: 210). In the years after 1092 until 1745 the city was treated 'almost as a shuttlecock' (Smith, 1970: 13) between the Scots and the English due to the strategic importance of its position near the Scottish border.

By the late eighteenth century Carlisle was no more than a medium sized market town with a 'population level of around 4,000-5,000' (McCarthy, 1993: 84). This changed in the later years of the eighteenth century as industrial revolution began to transform Carlisle. The wool industry, upon which the town's limited prosperity had been based, began to boom as new industrial processes helped its manufacture. By the early part of the nineteenth century new trade links helped to turn Carlisle into a boom town, with a population of 10,000 in 1801 (McCarthy, 1993: 84). By this point, roads to and from Carlisle had been improved, allowing those in the town to sell their goods elsewhere. By 1823 the city was connected to the canal network from Carlisle to Port Carlisle. However by 1856 the canal was filled in and a railway built to replace it. Carlisle's first rail link was with Newcastle in 1838, with others built to Maryport in 1845 and a connection to Lancaster in 1846 (McCarthy, 1993: 85-6). Carlisle eventually had seven rail companies operating out of it and became 'the railway centre of the north' (McCarthy, 1993: 87).

The population continued to grow rapidly, reaching over 35,000 by 1841 (McCarthy, 1993: 84) and the city became a haven for immigrant workers, with Scottish and Irish further adding to the population. Due to the new transport links along with availability of raw materials and workers, the textile industry boomed in the early nineteenth century (McCarthy, 1993: 85). Many of the weavers however lived in poverty as was typical in the new industrial boom towns. Other industries prospered in Carlisle during industrial revolution such biscuit making, with Carr's factory developing mechanised biscuit making (McCarthy, 1993: 87), and railway engineering as a result of the many rail companies.

In the later nineteenth century the textile industry declined, and this was continued into the twentieth century. The decline in the textile industry was not however replicated by other industries in the town, with the biscuit and railway engineering industries surviving. Many of the population are still employed in the manufacture of biscuits. Carlisle did not suffer unduly during the two World Wars, although its losses on the battle field were comparable. However, unlike many other towns and cities involved in rapid industrialisation Carlisle does not seem to have suffered the same problems such as widespread unemployment and poverty. Smith (1970: 59) hypothesises that this could be due to the diversity of industry in an around the city. Another factor may be the population growth, which in comparisons with many other industrial towns was modest and steady, as can be seen in chart 3.1.

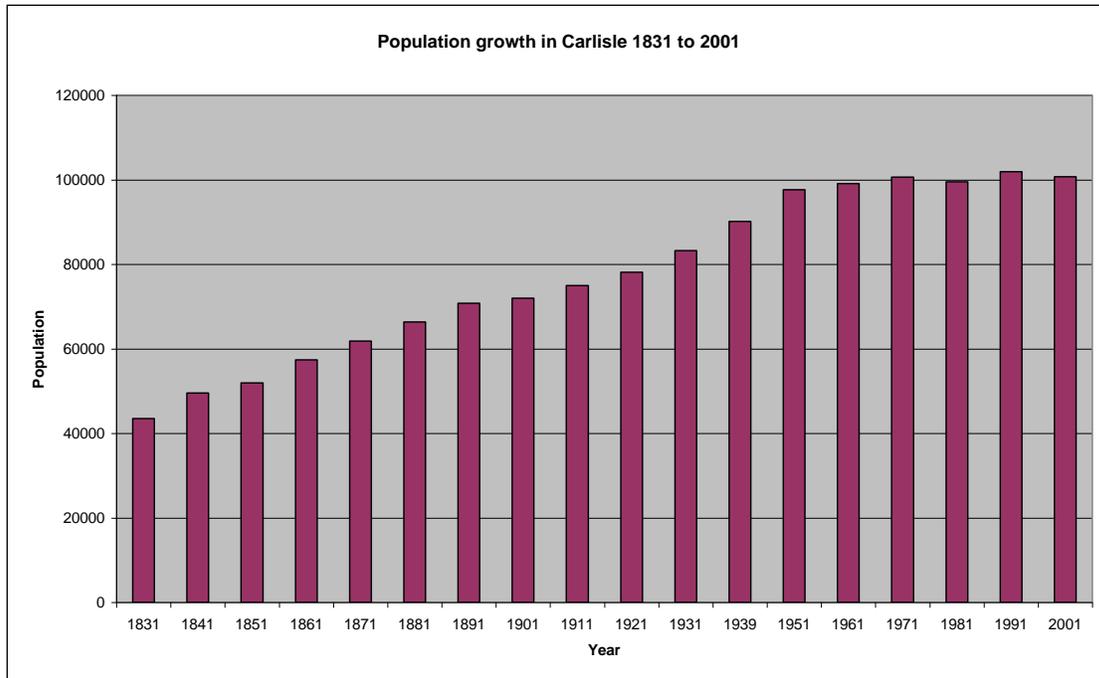


Chart 3.1: The population of Carlisle 1831-2001, data taken from <www.visionofbritain.org.uk>

Crewe

The south Cheshire town and ‘railway colony’ (Chaloner, 1950: xvii) of Crewe is still perhaps best known as a railway town and its football team’s nickname, ‘The Railwaymen’ echoes this rail heritage. The town’s importance as a railway hub is still perhaps what marks it in the mind of the national population and it is perhaps a fair assessment that that little else is known about the rest of the town, the population of which is now some 111,007, of which around 90,000 live within the town of Crewe itself. Crewe is the ‘youngest’ location in this study, acquiring its modern name of Crewe whilst still a very small district in the early nineteenth century; the 1831 census return shows a population figure of just 498 (Chaloner, 1950: 8).

Initially largely rural, the nature of life in Crewe changed in 1837 when a railway line was laid by the Grand Junction Railway Company (GJRC) which passed near to Crewe Hall. A small railway station was built at Crewe where the railway crossed the turnpike between the local towns of Nantwich and Sandbach. The Grand Junction station in Crewe was where all other lines from the north of the country converged and in 1837 the

Crewe-Birmingham line was the only one in the west of the country to connect the north to the south via Birmingham (Chaloner, 1950: 16). Many different rail companies set up during the 1830s, many of which proposed to build lines through or terminating at Crewe. Difficulties in access to the railway works at Edgehill in Liverpool forced the directors of the GJRC to move their works and in 1840 they chose Crewe as the most satisfactory site being at the centre of a triangle of railway lines between Manchester, Liverpool and Birmingham. This rapid industrial development in Crewe reached its peak in the 1840s, by 1842 the town was 'the focus of four lines of railway' (Chaloner, 1950: 26). The four lines became six in the late 1840s when Crewe was linked to the Potteries and the mines of South Wales by rail. The town began to grow around the GJRC railway lines and its growth was eventually planned as a model town by the Grand Junction Company.

1843 saw the opening of the Crewe Railway Works which was to become world famous for the quality of its steam locomotives. In 1864 the first ever plant for manufacturing steel by the Bessemer process was built in Crewe which enabled the works to provide all the steel for locomotive production and manufacture of rails. Other industry sprung up in Crewe around the railway, but the relative lack of natural resources meant that this industry was not widespread. For this reason, the town was unusually dependent on the railway, in a way that other newly industrialised towns further north were not. However, despite the lack of widespread industry, the population continued to grow, with the 1871 census revealing a 118% increase on the 1861 figure (Chaloner, 1950: 135). This was a trend that continued into the early twentieth century when the population reached 42,074 in 1901, rising to 44,960 10 years later when there were about 10,000 houses in the town (<www.visionofbritain.org.uk>). At this time a large proportion of Crewe's workforce was still were employed by the railways, with some 10,000 of those employed in 1911 working on the railways (Chaloner, 1950: 270-4). Despite this apparent prosperity, unemployment became a problem, although this became less so after the First World War in which 526 died (Chaloner, 1950: 274). Crewe's importance was maintained during the war as a centre for moving troops and munitions. Chart 3.2 shows the growing population of Crewe from 1831 to 2001. One can note the dramatic increase in the population after 1971; this is due to the amalgamation of Crewe with the nearby town of

Nantwich in the local government reorganisation of 1974. This created the current borough council of Crewe and Nantwich.

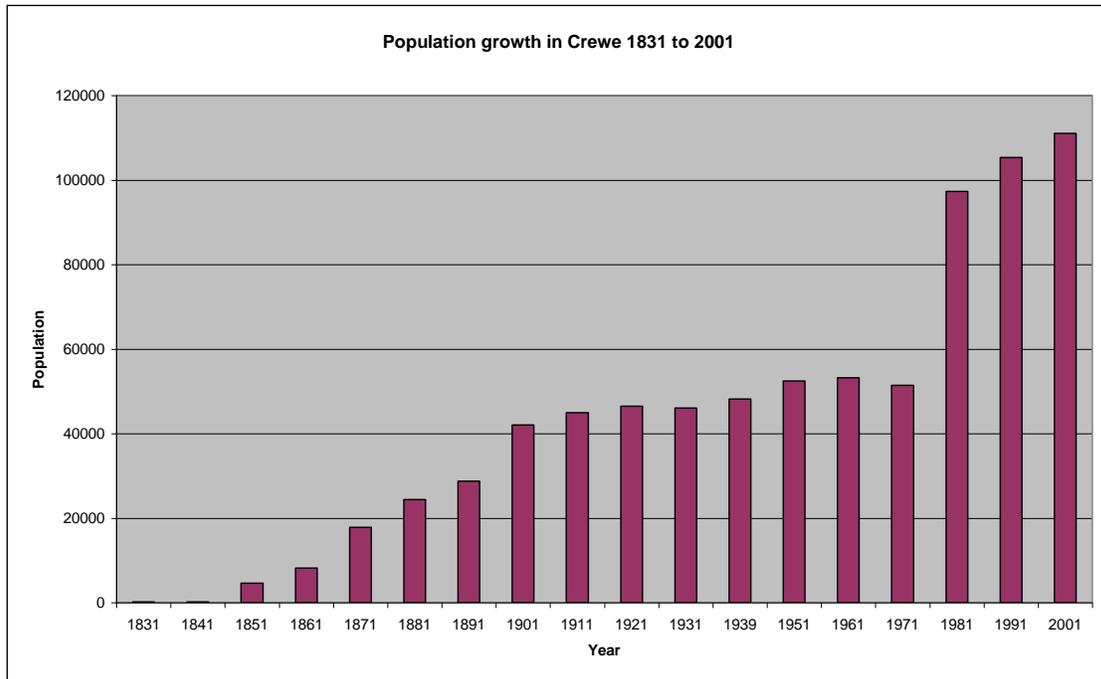


Chart 3 2: The population of Crewe 1831-2001, data taken from Chaloner (1950: 287) and <www.visionofbritain.org.uk>

After the First World War Crewe began to stagnate industrially, as was the general trend amongst the towns and areas which experienced the effects of industrial revolution. The nature of industrialisation and huge population increases based around a single innovation however meant that in common with some but no means all of other industrialised towns, Crewe was hit particularly hard by industrial decline. In 1925 however, the car manufacturer Rolls-Royce arrived in the town although this did not drastically help the unemployment problem until 1938 when a major factory was opened after a water supply was secured. A large housing development grew up around the new factory, accommodating the 10,000 people who worked for the company (Chaloner, 1950: 284).

Kingston-upon-Hull

Kingston-upon-Hull (hereafter, Hull) lies with the ancient region of Northumbria (literally ‘north of the Humber’). The city also lies within the area covered by the Danelaw and many Danish and Scandinavian settlements were to be found in and around the area now occupied by modern Hull. A settlement bearing the name of Hull appears to have been in existence by 1193 (Allison, 1969: 13) at which point the staple trades were wool and wine. Wars fought against the Scots in the fourteenth century led to Hull becoming important as the principal supply hub for the armies and garrisons in the north of the country (Allison, 1969: 21). In addition to this the town had built up extensive trade links and was trading along the whole coast of Western Europe from Norway to Portugal; by the end of the fourteenth century there were links with places as far afield as Iceland (Allison, 1969: 59).

By 1639 the town's defences and arsenal were England's largest (due to its location on the Humber). During the Civil War the King moved his court to York to be nearer to Hull and the two towns counter-balanced each other: York for the King and Hull for Parliament. Due to Hull's resistance the royalists could not take full advantage of their success in the rest of the north, again underlining Hull's strategically important position in the country.

The creation of the Hull Dock Company in 1774 resulted in the building of the first dock in 1778 which became the largest dock in England (Gillet & MacMahon, 1980: 222). The construction of the first dock led to the city experiencing in 1793 its fastest ever growth rate. Parallel to Hull's growth as a port was the growth of the whale fishery in the eighteenth century and the fishing industry in the nineteenth century. Hull had been quite prominent in whaling off the coast of Iceland as early as the thirteenth century. At the height of whaling success two thousand men from Hull were employed in the trade, and the whale-ships ‘accounted for fifteen percent of inward trade’ (Gillet & MacMahon, 1980: 229). Although eventually fundamentally ‘alter[ing] the character of the south-western end of the town’ (Gillet & MacMahon, 1980: 302), the fishing industry was

hardly existent in Hull during the eighteenth century. By the 1830s and 40s however some trawlers had migrated from Ramsgate in Kent, and Brixham in Devon and after this point fishing from Hull increased dramatically, with figures for fish landed in Hull increasing tenfold in the ten years from 1854 (Calvert, 1978: 223). Those employed as fishermen rose from 4 in 1841 to 313 in 1861, 924 in 1871, 1,578 in 1881 and 1,299 in 1891 and the arrival of trawlers at St. Andrews dock reached a peak of 6,134 in 1897 (Gillet & MacMahon, 1980: 320). The late 1970s saw an almost complete circle with the virtual demise of the local fishing industry, caused mainly by political decisions rather than trade. The impact of the fishing industry and its effect on the south-western part of Hull is however still felt.

Unlike many other Yorkshire towns Hull's industries have always been well diversified, with oil-milling, sugar, paint making, engineering and transport being other main traditional industries (Calvert, 1978: 205). Along with the development of a pharmaceuticals industry in the twentieth century, this has meant the town has never had such depth of depression, or heights of prosperity as other single-industry towns and cities. Hull, despite its relatively large hinterland as a result of the widening of the Humber (Calvert, 1978: 204), was not just a port for the towns of industrial revolution but became a part of the industrial revolution itself. The population of Hull during this increased industrialisation expanded at a similar rate to other industrialising towns, with the population standing at 22,286 in 1792 from a population of 15,000 in 1777 (Calvert, 1978: 208). Despite industrialisation, or perhaps because of it, by the middle of the nineteenth century 'much of the town had assumed the appearance of a gigantic slum' (Gillet & MacMahon, 1980: 281). It was to remain in this state for the next fifty years, and despite this attracted many new migrants. Amongst these were an immigrant community from Ireland (Gillet & MacMahon, 1980: 281) who were willing to work for less than the 'native' population.

After industrial revolution faltered and failed at the end of the nineteenth century, Hull suffered at the hands of strikers who set fire to the docks (Gillet & MacMahon, 1980: 35-60). Despite this, industry did continue to be located in the area, seeking to profit from

the sea-links possessed by the city (Gillet & MacMahon, 1980: 362). Greater misfortune than industrial decline was however to strike Hull in the two World Wars. The First World War saw the city bombed several times by Zeppelins, along with a large number of men lost fighting in Europe. The Second World War saw even more devastation with ‘eighty-five percent of houses’ (Calvert, 1978: 288) in Hull damaged by bombing. Interestingly, post Second World War, the city is the only survey location to have experienced steady and sustained depopulation. This is shown in chart 3.3 below.

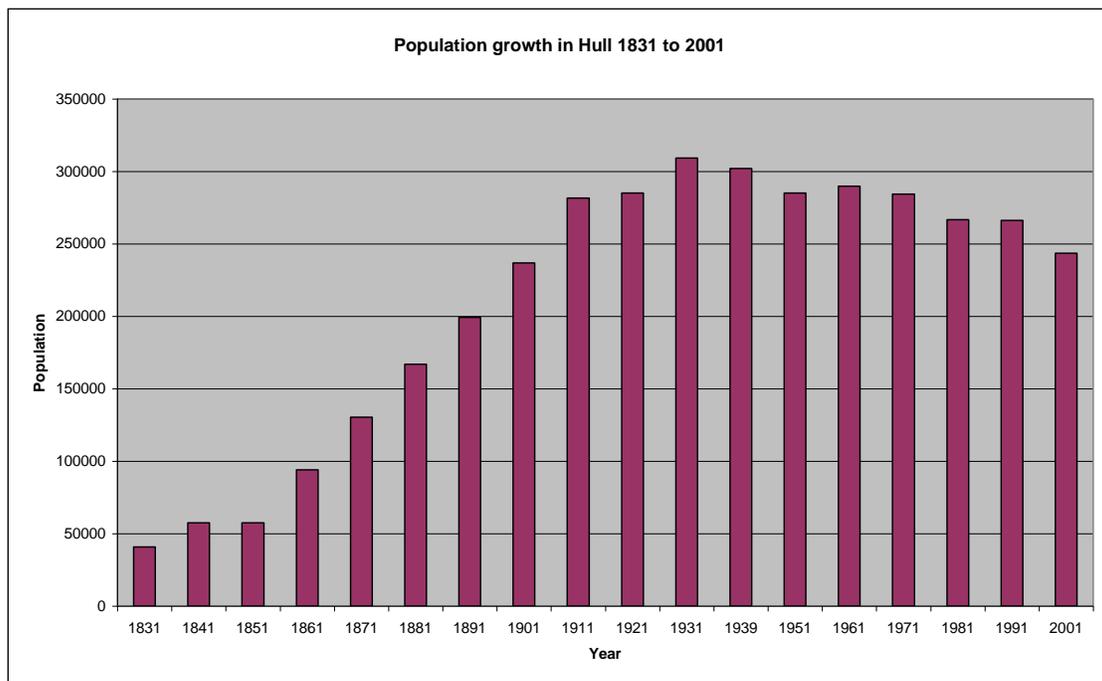


Chart 3.3: The population of Hull 1831-2001, data taken from <www.visionofbritain.org.uk>

Historical similarities and differences

The brief discussion of the historical development of each of the survey locations demonstrates some clear similarities (along with some differences) between the three survey locations. All were of course affected by industrialisation, although it was more rapid in some locations than others. There is a clear (if initially unexpected) link in this respect between Carlisle and Crewe. The advent of the rail industry created the modern town of Crewe which, without the railway would have literally not existed today. This cannot be said for Carlisle of course, although the railway brought prosperity to the town in an unprecedented fashion.

Carlisle though was unlike Crewe, and similar to Hull with respect to diversity of industry. Where Crewe's prosperity was due almost entirely to the rail industry, Carlisle had other industry to draw upon, as did the city of Hull. This meant that Hull, in common with Carlisle never highs and lows in prosperity as other single-industry towns and cities such as Crewe. The population charts above demonstrate this boom effect of the single industry, and the chart (3.2) for Crewe vividly shows the huge rise in population due to the rail industry of 8,348% over the 80 years from 1831. Despite some differences then in terms of the diversity of industry, all the survey locations experienced industrialisation and decline. Even the most southerly survey location, Crewe, has a good deal in common with the other locations further north. All locations then, despite their differing histories, are locations which experienced the full force of industrial revolution and decline. The following section details their progress after the Second World War.

3.2 SURVEY LOCATIONS IN THE MODERN DAY

None of the survey locations were immune from the general patterns of decline in the north of England in the post-war years and the re-focussing of employment away from the manufacture and industry sector towards the service sector. Charts 3.4 to 3.6 below illustrate this redistribution of jobs for each survey location.

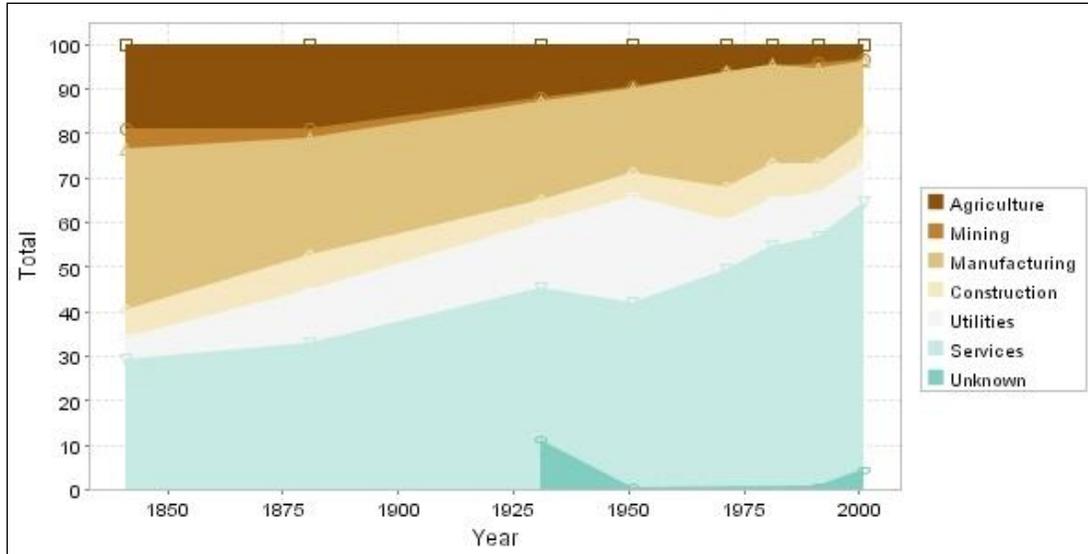


Chart 3.4: Employment by sector in Carlisle 1851-2001, data taken from < www.visionofbritain.org.uk >

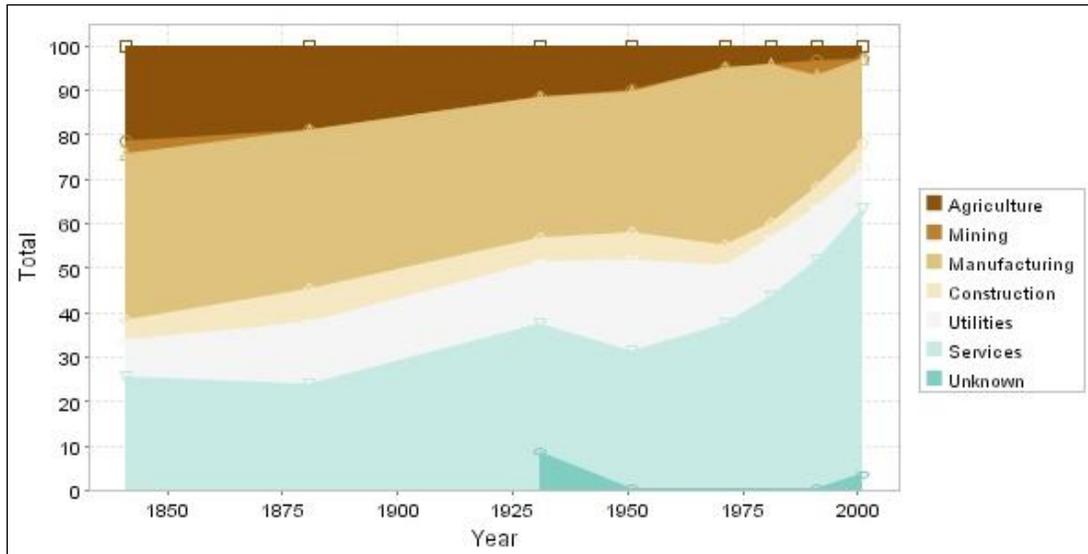


Chart 3.5: Employment by sector in Crewe 1851-2001, data taken from < www.visionofbritain.org.uk >

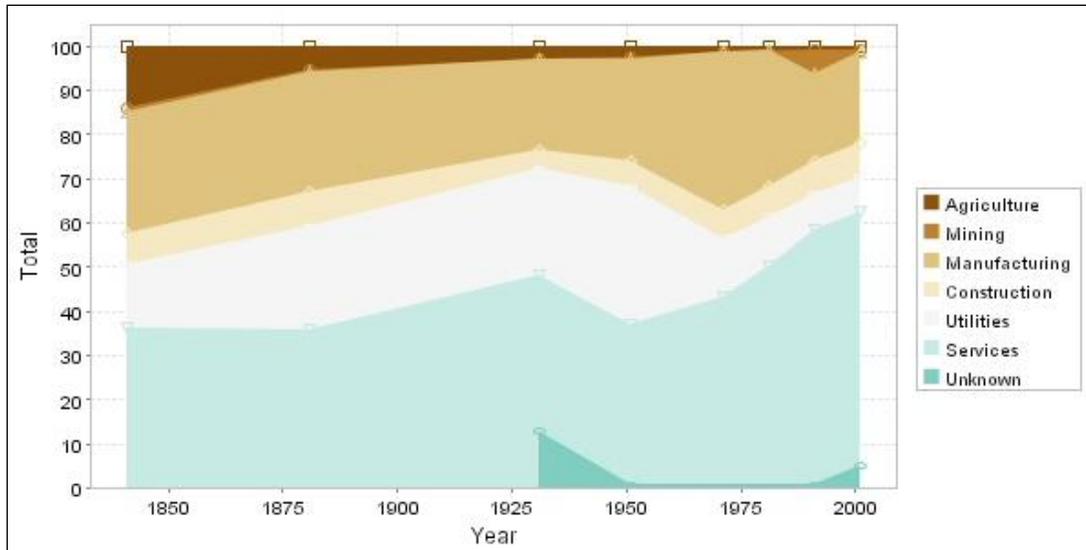


Chart 3.6: Employment by sector in Hull 1851-2001, data taken from <www.visionofbritain.org.uk>

The charts above show the percentage of the working population engaged in jobs in the six broad classifications. These broad categorisations part of the ‘Key Statistics’ of the 2001 census and are not more specific due to the reorganisation of local government in 1974 <www.visionofbritain.org.uk>. The charts show quite clearly the overall decline of the manufacturing sector in each of the survey locations and the corresponding rise in employment in the service sector. All three survey locations display similarities in their charts with mining only a minor part of the overall employment for each location; agriculture is shown to be historically more important for Crewe and Carlisle than for Hull, where it virtually disappears after 1950. Employment in the utilities is however much more prevalent in the employment make-up for Hull than the other two survey locations. Overall though, the charts show the general pattern of industrial decline exhibited throughout the north of England.

The increase in jobs in the service sector was brought about as a result of post-war redevelopment of the inner cities to cater for a new desire for goods and services. This trend is one which has continued and in most cases accelerated as more industrial units close to be replaced with retail premises. Industrial estates catering for lighter industry, along with business parks, have developed in out of town settings in many towns and cites throughout the north. Crewe is no exception, and Crewe Gates Industrial Estate along with Crewe Business Park in the south of the town has helped to steadily increase

the population of Crewe and employment prospects within the area. As chart 3.2 showed, these developments have helped to ensure growth in the town. Interestingly, many are still employed on the railway in Crewe, with estimates of 2,000 people still working in the industry.

Inner-city development has increased in recent years as developments created in the 1960s and 1970s are removed to make way for modern shopping precincts more sympathetic to the local areas. This has occurred in Crewe along with Carlisle with the creation of ‘The Lanes’ shopping centre which stands on the site of the former slum areas in the centre of the city. Similar development also took place in Hull after the opening of the Humber Bridge in 1981 which supplied Hull with better connections to the motorway network of the country. As well as removing or limiting a massive boundary to travel (and perception) this has meant that Hull, for so long relatively inaccessible by land, now has dual carriage or motorway from its centre to practically every town and city in Britain. Restructuring of the city-centre and surrounding areas in the 1980s and 90s has lead to Hull experiencing resurgence, allowing development of other industry and commerce to replace to older industries on which it has thrived for many years. ‘The Deep’, opened in 1999 is an example of such development, comprising a learning research facility and a business centre. Such developments are crucial to the continued development of an historic and important city in England.

The historical background now discussed, it is hoped that a clearer picture of the three survey locations has now been established. Table 3.1 below displays some of the key population figures from the 2001 census which indicate the state of each location at this time. The national average is given in the extreme right hand column in order to provide context for the figures presented for each survey location. The table shows both similarities and difference between the survey locations (eg. total population, qualifications for Crewe and Carlisle, demographic breakdown for all three locations).

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull	National mean
Population				
Total Population	100739	111007	243589	58789194
Male (%)	48735 (48%)	54375 (49%)	119131 (49%)	28579869 (48.6%)
Female (%)	52004 (52%)	56632 (51%)	124458 (51%)	30209325 (51.4%)
Change since 1991	-600 (-0.6%)	+6300 (+6.0%)	-19700 (-7.5%)	+2.44%
Population & Age (%)				
Under 16	18.8%	20.6%	21.6%	20.2%
16 to 19	4.8%	4.7%	5.3%	4.9%
20 to 29	11.4%	10.9%	14.3%	12.6%
30 to 59	41.8%	42.4%	38.8%	41.5%
60 to 74	15.0%	13.9%	12.9%	13.3%
75 and over	8.3%	7.5%	7.0%	7.6%
Ethnicity				
White (%)	99846 (99.1%)	108770 (98%)	237939 (97.7%)	91.3%
Largest Ethnic group (%)	Chinese (0.2%)	Black Caribbean (0.3%)	Chinese (0.3%)	
Qualifications (19-74)				
Degree or higher (%)	11168 (15.2%)	14470 (18.1%)	17278 (9.9%)	19.8%
Other %	52.9%	52.2%	48.9%	50.5%
None (%)	23450 (31.9%)	23724 (29.7%)	71549 (41.2%)	29.7%
Housing				
Households with residents	43963	45699	104288	24479439
Owner-occupied (%)	31146 (70.8%)	34787 (76.1%)	54384 (52.1%)	68.9%

Table 3.1: 2001 statistical data for Crewe, Hull, and Carlisle (adapted from 2001 census data <www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001>)

3.3 INFORMANTS

The process of selecting informants for the project was complicated by the knowledge that, although the task(s) involved in the research did not take too much time, the number of responses needed was relatively large. This was to ensure maximum reliability when attempting to generalise the results in composite maps and voice placement charts. Due to the reliance of my methodology on quantitative data I attempted to gather as many responses from as many informants as possible. I decided early in the development of the methodology that I would need a ‘captive’ group of informants in order to ensure both consistency in the application of the method and the required large amount of data. As a result I decided to approach the English departments of schools and sixth-form colleges in the three survey locations which offered an A-level programme of English Language, English Literature or Language and Literature combined. The reason for targeting the English departments in the particular educational establishments was in order to ensure that teachers within the establishments would feel that my research was of relevance to themselves and their students. It was assumed that this was a way in which to gain the assistance of a wide range of establishments. This choice of English departments and their students may have impacted on the way in which informants completed the tasks, something which will be discussed in the following chapters.

However, after the initial approach to between ten and fifteen schools or colleges fitting the requirements in each survey location via letter, I received no replies from any establishment. Follow-up phone calls enabled me to secure the services of one college each in Hull and Crewe, and a school and college in Carlisle. Although this was not the wide range of establishments I had hoped to for, they are similar in many respects. The colleges in Crewe and Hull are situated in similar locations within their conurbations, attracting a mixed student population from both the immediate area and within a radius of approximately ten miles. Both establishments offer a mixture of traditional ‘A’ and ‘A/S’ level courses⁷ alongside vocational qualifications. The two survey locations used in

⁷ ‘Advanced level’ (2nd year of further education study) and ‘Advanced Supplementary’ (1st year of further education study)

Carlisle were a comprehensive school with small sixth form situated within a large council housing estate, and a further education college located in the city centre. The school attracts its population from the immediate vicinity and the college from across Carlisle's (relatively wide) local educational authority area. The college offers a similar mix of courses to those offered in the colleges in Hull and Crewe, although its students are often mature students returning to education.

The informants from all survey locations then were similar, if not the same. As will be discussed in the following chapters, informants from Carlisle were slightly older than those from other survey locations. One thing was relatively constant throughout the fieldwork however, and this was the gender breakdown of informants: approximately two-thirds of the informants were female. This seems to be a simple case of the study of English being more interesting to female students than male, in my survey locations at least. This impression is confirmed by official national figures from the Joint Council for Qualifications which shows that female candidates sitting A-level English examinations accounted for 69.3% of the total in June 2005 with similar figures for 2004 (Times Online, 2006). The effect of this gender disparity will be discussed in the following chapters.

The choice of survey locations has been made to investigate the perception of English variation in these three locations which have both similarities and differences. The data obtained from the informants and presented in the following chapters offers a view of county-wide variation from a northern perspective. It is hoped that this can help to explain variation and perhaps provide an insight into change in England more fully.

4. NON-LINGUISTS' PLACEMENT OF A NORTH-SOUTH DIVIDING LINE

4.1 FACTORS AFFECTING THE PLACEMENT OF A NORTH-SOUTH LINE

As discussed in chapter 1, there is little agreement over the exact geographical location of the north. There is also some debate about the whole idea of 'north and south'. Although the concept of north and south in binary opposition is salient for many in different scholarly fields (Green & Elizabeth, 1988, Jewell, 1994, Wales, 2000) as well as in the popular media-driven psyche (BBC News), there is some current criticism of it from dialectologists (Asprey, 2006, Upton, 2006). Upton asks that those interested in the geolinguistic situation in England acknowledge the existence of the Midlands, which would result in a tripartite view of the country with the Midlands the southern boundary of the north (Upton, 2006). This is a view of the country which is shared by some after multidimensional scaling and other analyses on SED and CLAE 1 & 2 data (Embleton & Wheeler, 1997); (Goebel, 1997: 28).

This said, however, the concept is so engrained amongst language users (at least impressionistically) in the putative north (and south) of the country that asking informants about their placement of a north-south boundary is an approach which produces results of interest and importance. If this project were taking place in the Midlands area the approach may be less productive; however as this is a project dealing with the north of the country it is perhaps a logical step to identify where the north begins and the south ends. The best way to approach this question seemed to be in terms of opposition, although if Upton's (2006) thesis holds, some informants in Crewe (essentially a Midlands 'border' town) should be unable (or unwilling) to divide the country in two but instead draw two lines indicating the north, the Midlands and the south.

Before commencing with an introduction and discussion of the results from the north-south task it is important to outline what I may expect to find. I contend that there are many competing factors which will impact on informants' placement of a north-south

line. These include but are not limited to informants' folk-linguistic mental maps of language. In order to fully explain the results, §4.1.1-4.1.4 attempt to produce hypotheses about possible north-south line placement by discussing previous scholars' thoughts and findings as regards the placement of a north-south boundary (or the southern limit of a northern area); the effect of distance on the placement of the line; an 'exclusive' approach to boundary labelling; and the effect of political-historical and physical boundaries.

4.1.1 A linguistic north-south line

As with the whole of this map-based approach to the gathering of perceptual data, it is difficult to make the separation between informants' delimitation of dialect areas along purely linguistic lines as opposed to cultural or stereotypical ones. Of course, divisions made along 'purely linguistic lines' could also be said to be made as a result of stereotypes held by informants. Despite these potential problems, I have attempted to group the motivations for the drawing of certain divisions in the following sections. Cultural and stereotypical factors are dealt with in the following two sections (4.1.2 & 4.1.3). I would however argue that for the north-south dividing line, the concept and identification of such a boundary is bound up to a great extent by salient linguistic features. For this reason we may expect informants' north-south lines to run along or near to the isoglosses indicating the differing realisations of these linguistic features. Of course in proposing this hypothesis there is an understanding that isoglosses do not indicate a crude 'radical discontinuity' (Embleton & Wheeler, 1997: 5) for one realisation and a starting point for the next but are a convenient mapping convention which 'play a useful role in description and analysis' (Embleton & Wheeler, 1997: 5) of language variation. This said however, in asking informants to indicate a radical discontinuity, the analysis of results should be performed in conjunction with isogloss-based maps. Other systems which abandon geographical mapping such as charts produced from multidimensional scaling analysis are of interest but not as much use here.

A key question is where the salient linguistic features are, and to an extent we do know what features are salient and where the isoglosses for these are. It would be expected then that these features would be salient countrywide so in order to assess saliency it may be a good starting point to examine the media and its representations of ‘northern English’. Wales (1999) presents a useful survey of some recent media examples of headlines written in this supposed northern English (Wales, 1999). Headlines such as: ‘It’s Not Grim ‘oop North’ (London Midweek, 3/2/1997); ‘Ba gum, there’s an ee in t’Oxford Dictionary’ (Daily Telegraph, 9/6/1999); and a cartoon in the Guardian ‘‘Er majesty says ‘ow about poet in residence at the Tower, Mr. ‘arrison’ (referring to Leeds-born poet Tony Harrison) all show what could be considered to be salient features of northern English, for the headline writers and cartoonist anyway. A brief examination of the features represented in these headlines reveals that they appear to be alluding to the lack of the FOOT-STRUT split /ʊ/- /ʌ/ (‘‘oop North’), definite article reduction/deletion (‘t’Oxford dictionary’; ‘ow **about poet** in residence’), and h-dropping (‘‘**Er** majesty’; ‘Mr. ‘arrison’).

Taking each of the features in the media representation of northern English in turn it is obvious that although two are indeed features found in northern dialects, one is not. This feature is h-dropping, which is a ‘feature of many dialects in England, not just Northern, and strongly stigmatised’ (Wales, 1999: 7). The lack of FOOT-STRUT split is indeed a feature strongly associated with northern English, and definite article reduction is found in some parts of the north but not all. What seems to be happening in these media representations is the conflation of ‘non-standard’ with ‘northern’ with the resulting errors in representation. Interestingly, another feature said to be particularly salient in the distinction between north and south, short ‘a’ /a/ (Wales, 1999: 7), is not included in the media representation above (or in any others I can find). This is perhaps due to there being no way of representing the short ‘a’ with standard orthography, with the only way of accomplishing the representation using a different representation for the ‘standard’ (southern) form, perhaps ‘aa’. This would presumably not do for the headline writers

who would view this as a non-standard representation of what they perceive to be the norm.

The media and its representations then, have some use in finding the nationally salient features without providing a definitive list (as well as containing some misleading features). It can probably safely be said however, that the STRUT-FOOT split and the TRAP-BATH (short 'a') are 'probably the most salient markers' (Wales, 2006b: 103) differentiating northern English from the rest of the English spoken in the country (see further discussion in §1.3.1). Wales adds further support to this observation, stating that her 'own students, as well as lay-folk see these two particular vowels as a prime means of distinguishing Northerners from Southerners' (Wales, 1999: 7), a sentiment agreed with by Chambers & Trudgill (1998: 105). The next question about these features is where they actually appear, and subsequently where their isoglosses are found on a map.

One may expect that if these two features are indeed the major salient north-south dividing features that their distributions would be very similar, if not identical. Basic knowledge of data from the Survey of English Dialects (SED) tells a different story however, and although the both do operate within a north-south paradigm, they do not exactly match. Comparison between figures 4.1 and 4.2 also shows variation within the northern and southern areas. Despite there being a good deal of visible agreement over the boundary between different realisations (figure 4.1), there is still more variability than may be expected when simply considering an isogloss map (figure 4.2).

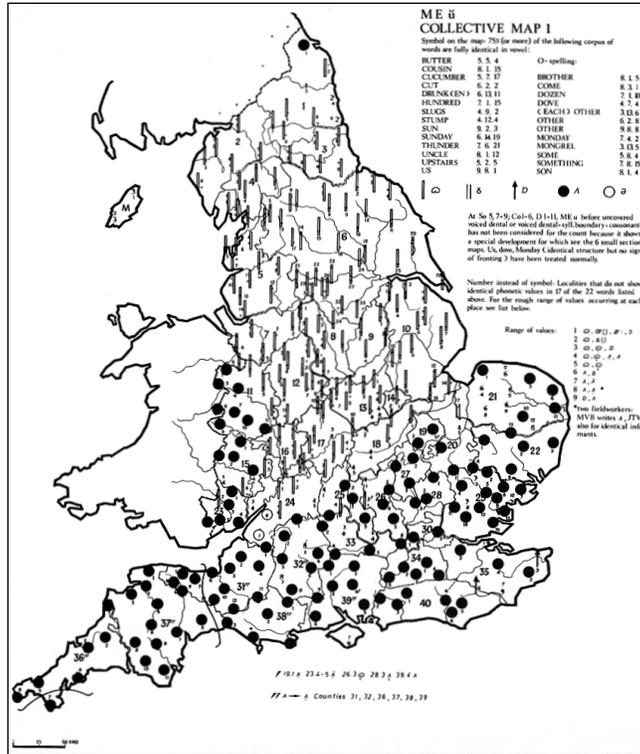


Figure 4.1: STRUT-FOOT 'split' by SED location (Kolb, Glauser, Elmer & Stamm, 1979: 227)

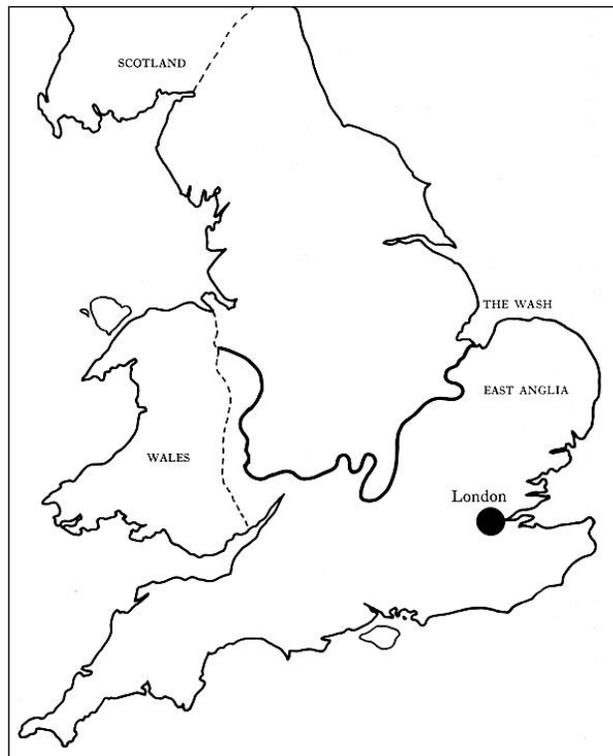


Figure 4.2: STRUT-FOOT isogloss (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980: 128)



Figure 4.4: Southern limit of short vowel [α] in 'chaff' (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980: 128)

Again it may be a surprise to see just how 'far down' the country the isogloss occurs, however Chambers & Trudgill do attempt to shed some light on what is occurring here. They contest that the two features (STRUT-FOOT and TRAP-BATH split) are the 'two best-know differences between the English spoken in the south of England and in *the midlands and north*' (Chambers & Trudgill, 1998: 105, my italics). So for Chambers & Trudgill, the south is distinct from the Midlands and the north, primarily by these two features which according to Wales are the most salient in terms of north-south distinction. This view of the north-south divide is certainly shared by Wells who would 'call everything from the Severn-Wash line northwards 'the (linguistic) north'' (Wells, 1982: 350). A recurring 'problem' appears to be demonstrated here: the place of the Midlands. If we are to view the isoglosses for STRUT-FOOT and long 'a' as the line of binary opposition (Wales, 1999, Wales, 2000), then we are forced to include the Midlands in the north, and not as a separate entity. If we disregard these isoglosses due to the presence of the Midlands then we need to find new features which are salient in differentiation.

However, I believe that there is third way which can explain the role of the Midlands and its relationship to north and south. This becomes apparent when both the isoglosses for STRUT-FOOT and TRAP-BATH are placed together on the same map, as in figure 4.5 below.



Figure 4.5: STRUT-FOOT (solid line) and TRAP-BATH (broken line) isoglosses (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980: 128)

Figure 4.5 shows quite clearly that the two isoglosses for the most salient features used in north-south differentiation do not coincide with each other to any great extent. Although both run from around the same place in the east of the country (The Wash), after this they run in quite dissimilar directions, with the STRUT-FOOT isogloss running much further south than the TRAP-BATH split line. What is striking about the map is that the isoglosses seem to enclose what is (geographically) the south Midlands. Here, according to the SED data, language users will have a lack of STRUT-FOOT split but will have the TRAP-BATH split. I would suggest that this allows us to account for the (south) Midlands within a north-south paradigm, with speakers in this area using one of the salient north-south features but not the other. This is also the area in which Chambers & Trudgill report a transition zone of ‘mixed’ and ‘fudged’ lects (Chambers & Trudgill,

1998: 114), which is another way of viewing the south Midlands area: as one containing the greatest number of such ‘intermediate’ realisations of the STRUT-FOOT and TRAP-BATH lexical sets. With the above in mind, I might expect that if informants draw their north-south lines with language use in mind they may disagree around the geographical area indicated in figure 4.5. This will result in the largest concentration of lines around this area.

There may be further complications in the placement of a language-influenced north-south line. Firstly there is the question of salience, and the fact that specific features may be salient to specific communities and thus not show up in such crude map drawing as has been shown in the figures above. There is no real way to predict how salience will affect the north-south lines and as such it is perhaps better to look for patterns in the results and hope that reasons are given for the placement of certain north-south lines on informants’ hand drawn maps. The second problem is the disagreement over the definition of north and south amongst dialectologists. As Wells notes: ‘[f]or historically-oriented dialectologists, a ‘northern’ dialect is one located north of a line from the Lune to the Humber’ (Wells, 1982: 350), which is a view shared by the SED and Ellis (1889). This disagreement over the definition of north and south may be reflected in informants’ north-south lines and correlations with this historical dialectological line will be examined closely. Figure 4.6 summarises the placement of the lines discussed in this section.

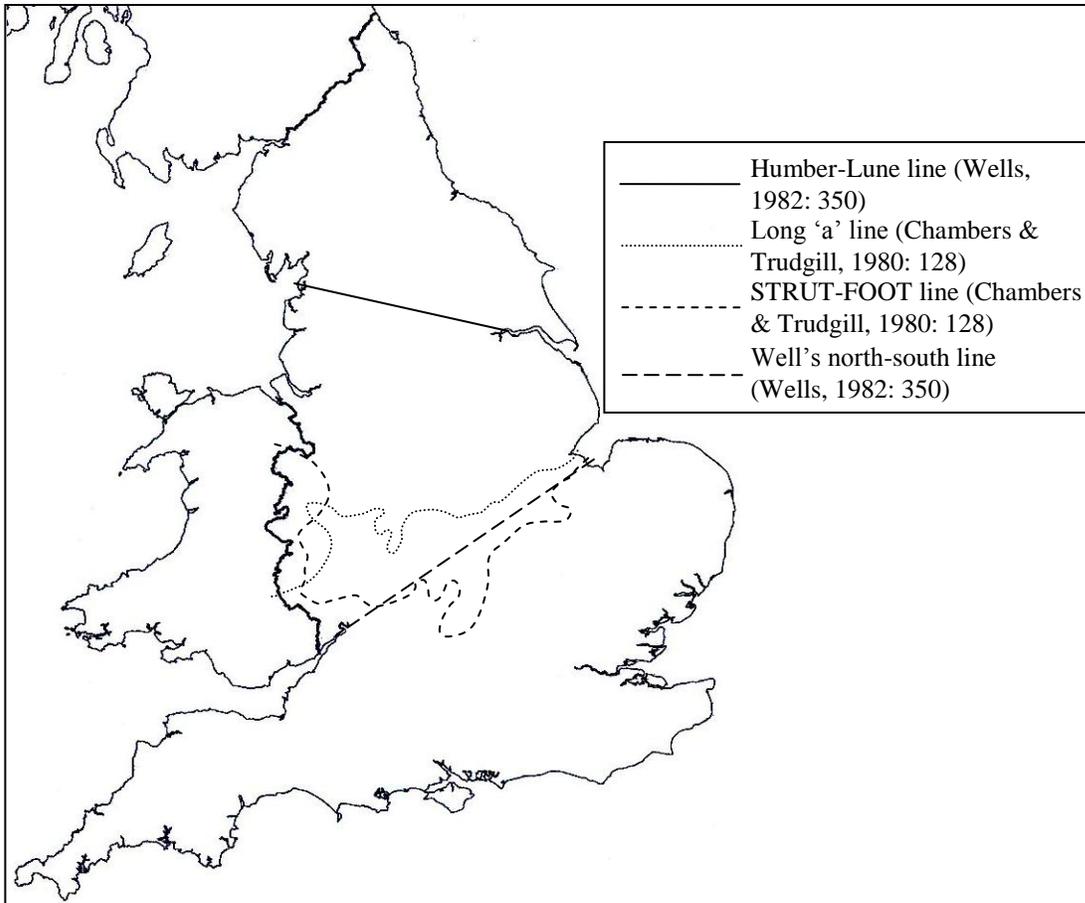


Figure 4.6: *Dialectological north-south lines*

Having considered the above, it is perhaps best to construct a ‘checklist’ of features that I would hypothesise a north south-line influenced purely by linguistic factors would be expected to exhibit:

I would expect such a north-south line to:

1. Run relatively far south in agreement with either the STRUT-FOOT isogloss or long ‘a’ isogloss or around a line drawn from the Lune to the Humber.
2. If following the STRUT-FOOT or long ‘a’ isogloss to run from east to west as follows: From the Wash and continue in a general south western direction (Wells’ Severn-Wash line (Wells, 1982: 350)).
3. When taken with other lines drawn by other informants, to disagree in a similar way to figure 4.5.

There may of course be other factors influencing the placement of the north-south line, which will be discussed below. The results, which will follow below, will be discussed taking these three characteristics into consideration.

4.1.2 A proximity north-south line

Proximity in this case is taken to mean ‘closeness’ to an area or boundary. It is the principle that the closeness (or otherwise) to an area or boundary will result in a greater accuracy about the placement or extent of it. This principle is also termed ‘decay of information flows’ by cultural geographers (Gould & White, 1986: 152-3) and is represented by the graph in figure 4.7.

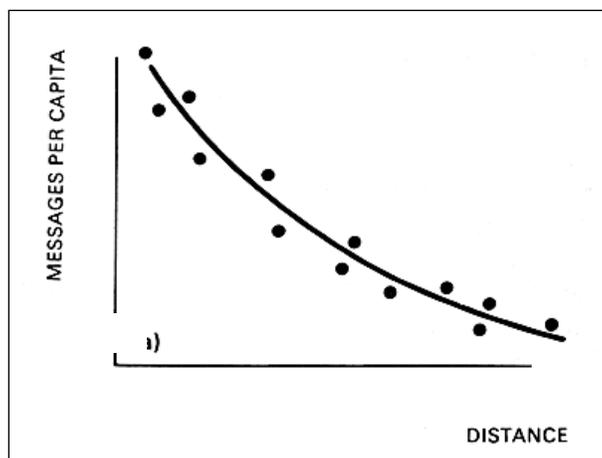


Figure 4.7: Decay of information flows with distance plotted in standard co-ordinates (Gould & White, 1986: 153)

Figure 4.7 shows the loss of information as distance increases, something we may reasonably expect to occur in a linguistic situation, assuming a homogenous ‘cultural information space’ (Gould & White, 1986: 153). However, as Gould & White suggest, there could be other barriers in the information space which impact on the decay of information such as mountain ranges or major rivers. Interestingly, Gould & White also suggest that language can have an effect on geographical perceptions, and be one of the barriers in the information space. Figure 4.8 contains a graphical representation of this barrier effect.

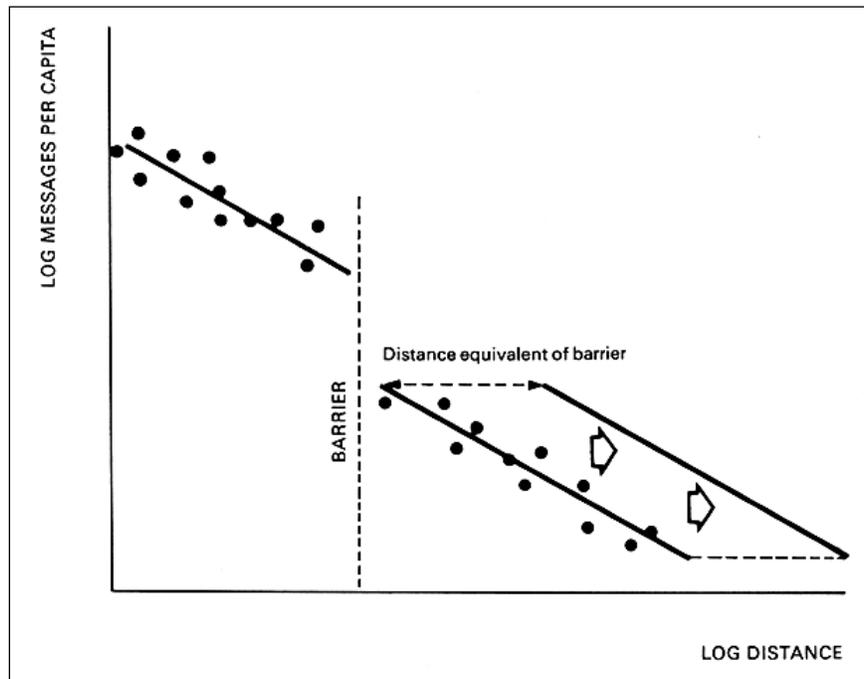


Figure 4.8: Barrier-effect on decay of information flows (Gould & White, 1986: 153)

Figure 4.8 also allows the calculation of the estimated effect of the barrier with the movement beyond the barrier to the right. This is possibly of more use in perceptual geography but does serve to illustrate the possible effect of barriers across the information space on the results which informants will produce. This barrier-effect is perhaps the reason for some of Preston's criticisms of the methodology employed in this research which asks first for a boundary between north and south to be drawn (PC Preston, 2005a). Preston contends that this will preclude informants from indicating dialect areas on the opposite side of the boundary. This is certainly something which may occur with informants; however it is the effect of physical barriers which I will attempt to account for in informants' placement of the north-south boundary and subsequently in analyses of their area placements.

The proximity or 'closeness' to an area then will positively effect informants ability to distinguish the area or boundary, and those further away will find a negative effect on their ability to do the same, notwithstanding any barrier-effects. I would contend then that informants closer to the boundary between north and south will be more 'accurate' in their placement of it. That is to say that there will be more agreement over where the

boundary exists from informants closer to the boundary, and more disagreement from informants further away. Preston supports the role of proximity, stating that ‘face-to-face contacts are much more frequently mentioned than popular culture vehicles in accounting for familiarity with other varieties’ (Preston, 1999b: xxxv).

Of course as discussed above, there is no solid agreement over where the north-south boundary occurs, even to the point of disputing the existence of such a binary opposition. However, if we again take what are supposed to be the salient north-south dividing features then we might expect there to be a degree of settling over the ‘disputed zone’ exhibited in figure 4.5 by informants closest to the salient boundary. As we move further away from the two isoglosses there will be less settling in this area with more disagreement between informants. This wide disagreement was shown in previous pilot studies from informants both from the far north (Newcastle-upon-Tyne) and from the south eastern counties (see §2.8.1).

The proximity to the agreed boundary could have an effect due to the salience attached to the north-south dichotomy, with informants closer to the boundary having more invested in their identities as (in this case) northerners. For these informants it is important to know where the boundary is so as to include themselves in ‘their’ area. This will then lead to the greatest agreement over the boundary’s placement from informants closest to the boundary, in this case from Crewe. Those furthest away from the boundary (Carlisle) have far less invested in distinguishing themselves from the south, and also should have less knowledge about the boundary (if the salient north-south features are the same for these informants) due to Gould & Whites’ information flow decay. For these two reasons then one would expect the placement of the north-south dividing line to show much more disagreement from informant to informant when compared to the results from Crewe.

Following the proximity and identity arguments then, informants from Hull should occupy a middle ground between Crewe and Carlisle. These informants’ north-south lines should show less agreement than those from Crewe but more than those from Carlisle. This hypothesis however ignores a significant physical barrier: The Humber

River. This barrier may affect the flow of information in a similar way that was shown in figure 4.8 and complicate the picture as regards the placement of a north-south line by informants from Hull. For this reason then I would expect the majority of the north-south lines to fit into the ‘middle ground’ of agreement between Carlisle and Crewe, with some unusual lines due to the barrier effect of the Humber.

Unlike the dialectological north-south lines hypotheses, I do not believe that line effected by proximity will have certain specific characteristics but will instead exhibit general patterns. The general patterns will show the greatest amount of agreement between lines drawn by informants from Crewe, and least agreement in the drawing of lines by informants from Carlisle with Hull occupying a middle point with some unusual results due to the barrier effect of the Humber. The results will be examined in relation to these general patterns, with the hope that they can explain what informants have produced.

4.1.3 An exclusive northern area

As well as dialectological and proximity effects on informants’ placement of their north-south line, the premise of exclusivity could also contribute to the location of the lines. In this situation the line drawn by informants delimiting north from south will be drawn as close to the informants’ home area as possible. This results in the smallest north or south area possible depending on where the informant is from. This exclusivity effect was seen in previous pilot studies (§2.8.1) with the most southerly north-south lines drawn by informants from the south eastern counties and the majority of the northernmost lines drawn by those from Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

I would argue that this type of line drawing is distinct from lines affected by dialectological considerations or proximity to an area or boundary as dealt with in the previous two sections. Exclusive line drawers will reside at the extremes (either north or south) of the sample area and it seems possible that there are issues of identity which impact on them. For those in the south (east) of the county, their exclusive lines show the ‘North of Watford Gap’ (Wales, 1999: 1, Wales, 2002) line, literally interpreted. The

most southerly lines seek to include as few others as possible in the informants' home area. This is something which might be seen as unsurprising, and has been noted by 'outsiders' such as the Doncaster and District Development Council (see figure 1.2, p. 15). The title of figure 1.2 (given by Gould & White (1986)), 'How Londoners see the north', belies the fact that London is seen to dominate the south east of the country. The south west is treated in much the same way as the north; trailing off towards Land's End, although this particular location is not even marked on the map. Although this is a humorous representation of the supposed mental geography of those in London (and, I would argue, the south east in general) the overall picture presented is not too different to some of the north-south lines drawn in pilot study maps by informants from the south east. It is this sort of line, indicating a very small southern area (geographically) that I would place in the 'exclusive' bracket, with a finite amount of prestige to be shared out amongst those in the informants' small 'home' area.

The idea of 'exclusivity', bound up with issues of identity is also a finding of current linguistic study, although it is expressed in a different fashion. Studies of language and identity in Middlesbrough (Llamas, 2000) have found a Middlesbrough identity indexed through increased use of glottalisation which is 'not a conscious identification with Newcastle [upon Tyne]' (Llamas, 2000: 145). The differentiation from Newcastle and the creation of the separate exclusive identity of Middlesbrough for language users in the city would almost certainly impact on their perceptions of language and space.

Returning to the extremes of the country, a similar pattern to that found in the far south east also seems to occur in the north. Here, in pilot studies, informants from Newcastle-upon-Tyne also drew lines indicating what appeared to be an exclusive area. There are however no humorous depictions of a 'northerners view of the south', which would be of some use (cf. New Yorkers' versus Bostonians' view of the United States (Gould & White, 1986:20-1)). Instead we must rely on the recent political history of the north of the England and the failed regional assembly referenda. It is no coincidence that the referenda were initially due to be held in the historical northern strongholds of the Labour party, but the northern regions were also judged to have a greater need and desire for

regional assemblies. When the time came to actually hold referenda only one was granted in the north east, which is at the furthest extreme of the country. Although the referendum was eventually lost, it seems that the strong identity of the north east was undimmed (seen in the consistent updating of the 'Geordie Pride Ltd. website at <http://www.geordie.co.uk/>). It is perhaps for due to the strong sense of identity and distinction from the rest of the country that 'exclusive' north-south lines might be found in the far north of the country.

4.1.4 A political-historical or physical north-south line

Informants' placement of a north-south line may be affected by the three linguistic/identity constraints mentioned above, however, there is also the possibility that a political boundary or physical barrier will impact on north-south lines. The effect of a physical barrier in this case will be different from that mentioned in §4.1.2, which is to say the line would run along a physical barrier, something that one would not expect if the line was influenced only by a barrier effect. In this case it might be expected that the line would exhibit an unusual shape only where the barrier effect was taking place (see figure 4.8).

If one first looks at the effect of political-historical boundaries on the placement of a north-south line it immediately becomes apparent that the idea of north and south as separate governmental entities has not existed for quite some time (since before 1000 AD). Some history of the north of England can be found in §1.2 and the brief discussion below is included in order to provide illumination of the specific characteristics which might be included in north-south lines following historical-political considerations. As discussed, this phenomenon of separate government entities did occur in Roman Britain with separation of England into *Britannia superior* (in the south) and *Britannia inferior* (in the north) (Wales, 1999: 4) Interestingly, the third Roman division (*Britannia barbara*) had its southern boundary south around the location of Newcastle upon Tyne, placing most of the modern-day county of Northumberland in the 'uncivilised' region of Britain. The north-south division in this case was somewhere around a line from the

Mersey in the west to the Wash in the east (Wales, 2002: 47). The Roman north-south division lasted until around the fifth century AD and at this point Britain began to come under pressure from Saxon forces who invaded through the west of the country. Scotland was simultaneously taken by the Scots and Picts resulting in a south east-north west political divide with Saxons on the south eastern side and Picts and Scots on the north western side, as seen in figure 4.9.

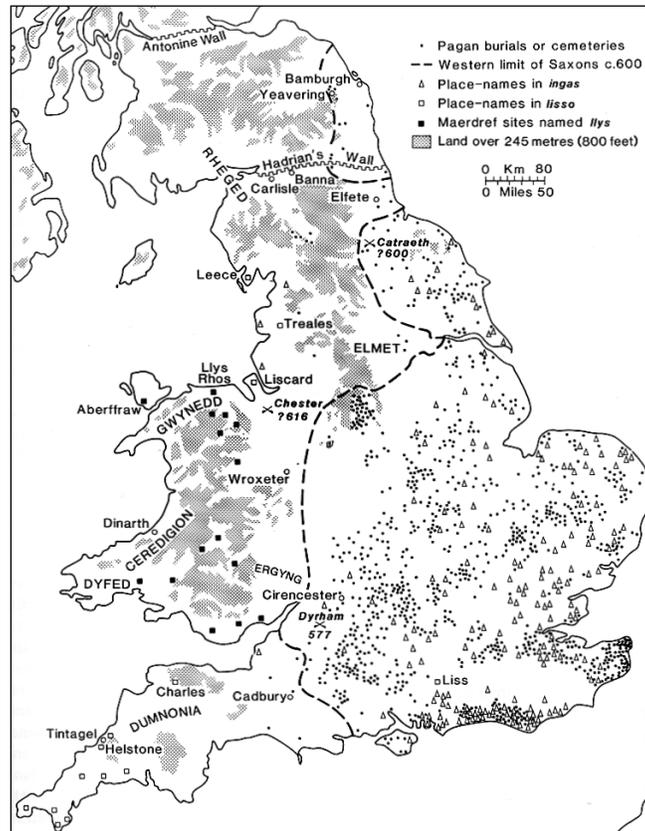


Figure 4.9: Western limit of Saxon settlement c. 600 AD (Dodgshon & Butlin, 1990: 47)

The final major historical political division was the well known Danelaw boundary which occurred after sporadic raids by Vikings towards the end of the eighth century turned into a full invasion in the middle of the ninth century. This established the familiar map which can be seen in figure 4.10.

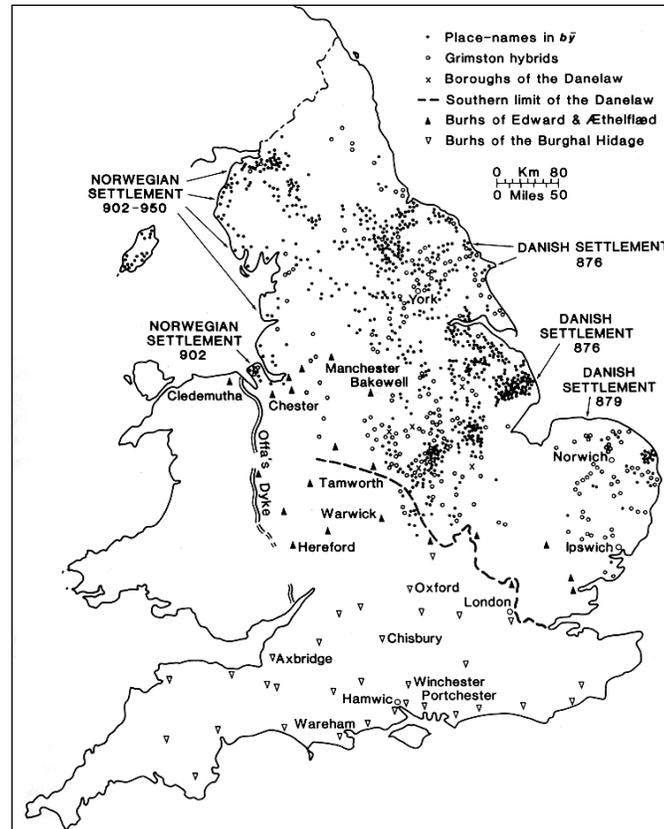


Figure 4.10: Southern and western limit of the Danelaw (Dodgshon & Butlin, 1990: 59)

The country of England then, prior to 1000 AD, had three major political divisions which operated within a north-south paradigm. Although this is not perhaps of immediate relevance to a discussion of 21st century informants' placements of north-south lines it does add an historical perspective to some of the lines which might be found. It is also relevant when considering Wales' comment that similar informants performing an almost identical task produced composite maps 'strangely reminiscent of a map of Old English dialect areas' (Wales, 1999: 10).

For around 300 years post 1000 AD a political division between the north and south still existed, with an area to the north of a line from Chester to Hull effectively outside the King of England's control. After this point however, with the threat to the north from Scottish troops (Jewell, 1994: 37) and the Anglo-Scottish wars, the north felt more bound to the south of the country. With the country of England now to some extent unified, without an absolute political north-south boundary, its development into the nation we

now know today commenced. As discussed in chapter 1, during this period there were periods of relatively large economic disparity between north and south. These were sometimes unavoidable, although political considerations have always impacted on the north-south balance.

In the period before industrial revolution in the late eighteenth and nineteenth century, England developed the south eastern 'centre of gravity' which remains to the present day with the development and reinforcement of political and economic structures and institutions. In this period the north of the country was relatively less prosperous despite fluctuating fortunes in both regions of the country. Subsequent industrial revolution in the north led to a shift in the north-south balance in the country and in many ways paved the way for future lasting inequality. The shift in the north-south balance was initially (economically) in the favour of the newly industrialised towns and cities which were mainly located in the north and midlands (with some exceptions in the south of the country). The new economic prosperity did not apply to everyone, with the wealth concentrated in the hands of a few, and did not correspond with a rise in political significance. The lack of political significance along with the long and slow crumbling of the industry which had brought mass urbanisation to the north of the country continued into the twentieth century. As discussed §1.2 this led to the birth of the Labour party which for many for was synonymous with the north of the country; figure 4.11 shows this party-political north-south divide after the general election of 1987.

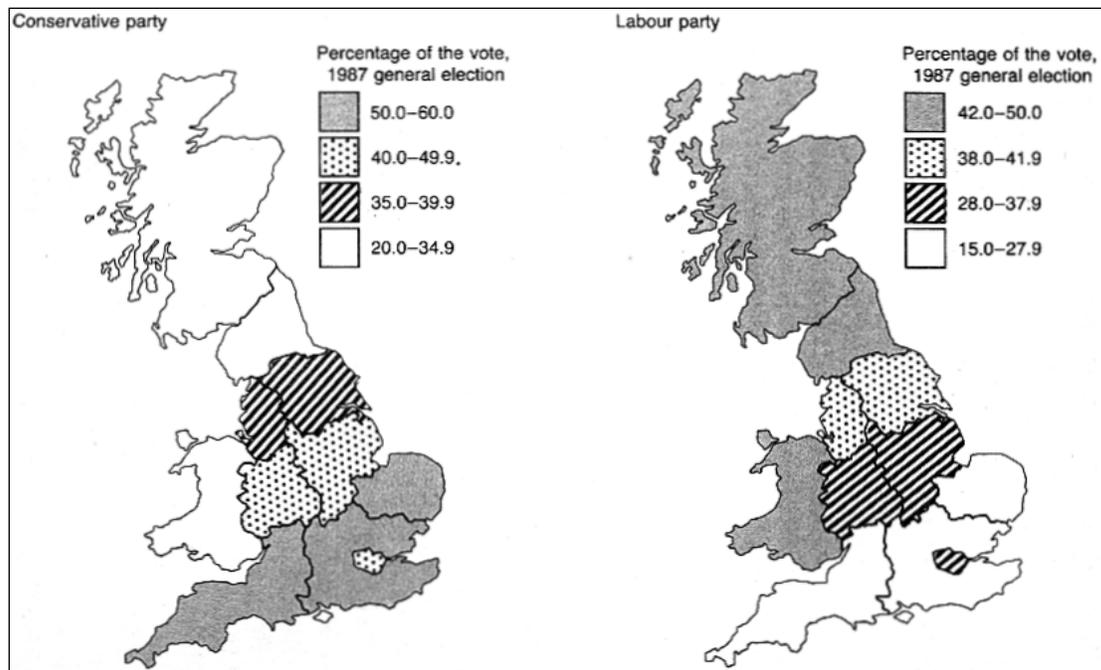


Figure 4.11: Percentages of the popular vote for the Conservative and Labour parties in the 1987 general election, by former regions (Smith, 1989: 55)

Rapid industrialisation and the subsequent decline of industrial employment, lack of political representation and the long history of north-south disparity led to the modern notion of the ‘north-south divide’ (see chapter 1). The term was described as ‘media shorthand’ in a report by the Town and Country Planning Association (1987) but it is a phenomenon that was given ‘particular attention’ (Champion & Green, 1988: 2) in the 1970s and 1980s (not to mention in recent years). However, as always, despite the agreement over the existence of a north-south dichotomy, it has yet to be seen where modern scholars of political geography view the north-south divide. Figures 4.9 and 4.10 show some of the historical north-south political boundaries; figure 4.11 a party political divide; figures 4.12 and 4.13 show two scholars’ modern north south political divides.

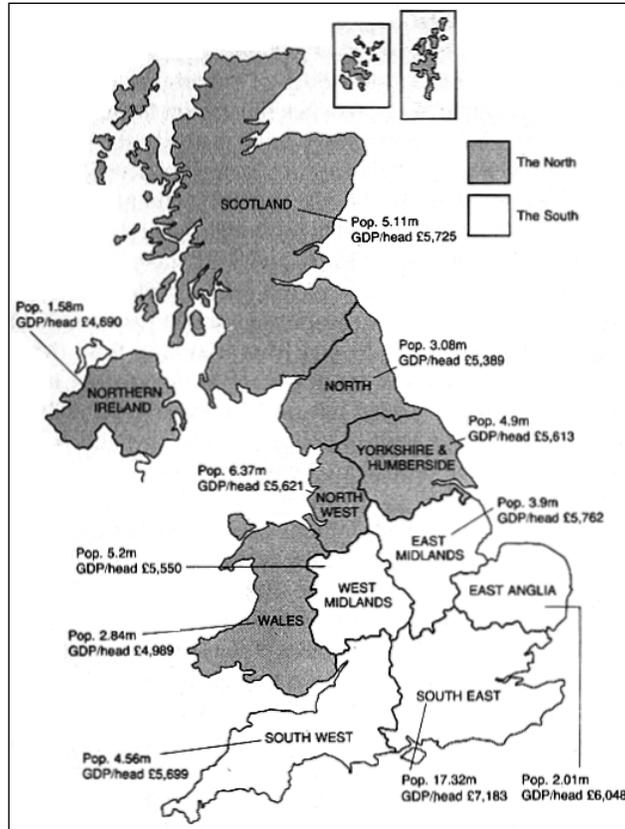


Figure 4.12: North and South in England, according to Smith (1989: 55)

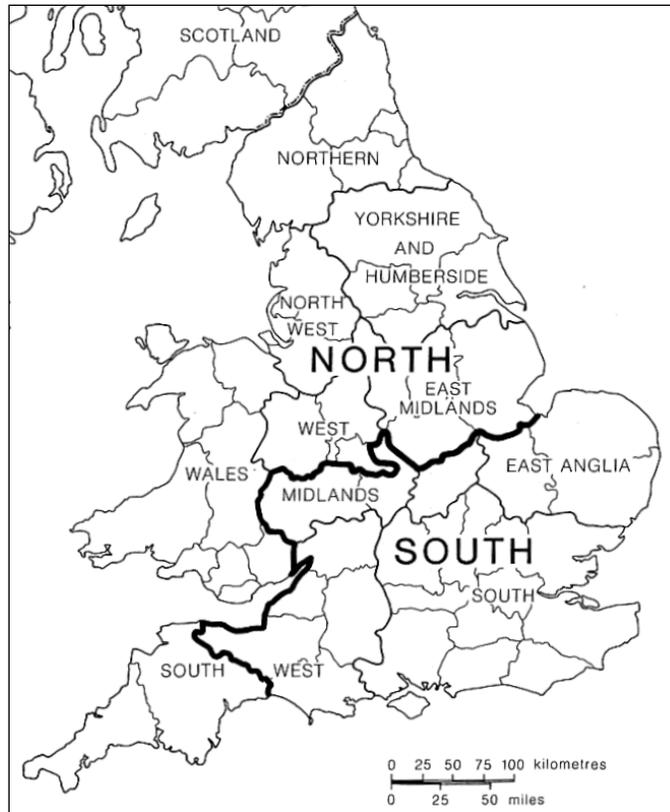


Figure 4.13: *The Town and Country Planning Association's north-south dividing line (TCPA, 1987:8)*

Figure 4.12 shows a north-south division along the former regional boundaries which includes the North West, Yorkshire and Humberside and the North regions in the north. Figure 4.13 takes a different approach and divides through the West and East Midland regions and also includes the counties of Devon and Cornwall in the north. The disagreement over the placement of the north-south divide in figures 4.12 and 4.13 is perhaps of no surprise and is a recurring theme in any discussion of the boundary in seemingly any field.

Where then might a politically affected north-south boundary occur on informants' hand-drawn maps? As has been seen, there is a great deal of disagreement and as such a politically affected line could fall in many places. Such a line's placement could however be predicted by taking figures 4.12-4.14 together, in figure 4.12 there seems to be a clear divide with the Midlands as a transition zone. Figures 4.13 and 4.14 disagree over their clear-cut north-south lines, with the Midlands regions again in contention. I

would suggest then that a politically affected north-south line could fall in the Midlands transition zone as seen in figure 4.12.

A final factor which could impact on informants' placements of the north-south line is the location of geographical features which create boundaries and introduce the 'boundary effect' as discussed above (figure 4.8). The effect in this case is not the north-south line being distorted by the boundary effect but instead the line running *along* (or near to) a geographical feature. The geographical features which could have an effect in England are rivers and mountains. It could be said that such geographical features are historical problems and that modern communications networks can now easily overcome such boundaries. I would contend however that although to a certain extent the effects of such geographical features are marginalised, they are still felt.

The idea of rivers as boundaries has been important throughout history in warfare and political affiliation. The Humber is one such boundary, with the area to the north of the river (Northumbria) the 'northernmost region settled by the Angles' (Wales, 2002: 48). This boundary was also an important linguistic border, seen in King Alfred's writings in the ninth century on the decline of learning and his observation that 'very few 'on this side of the Humber' ... could read their mass-books in English or translate an epistle from Latin' (Wales, 2002: 47). Figure 4.14 shows the location of the major navigable rivers in England in 1600 AD

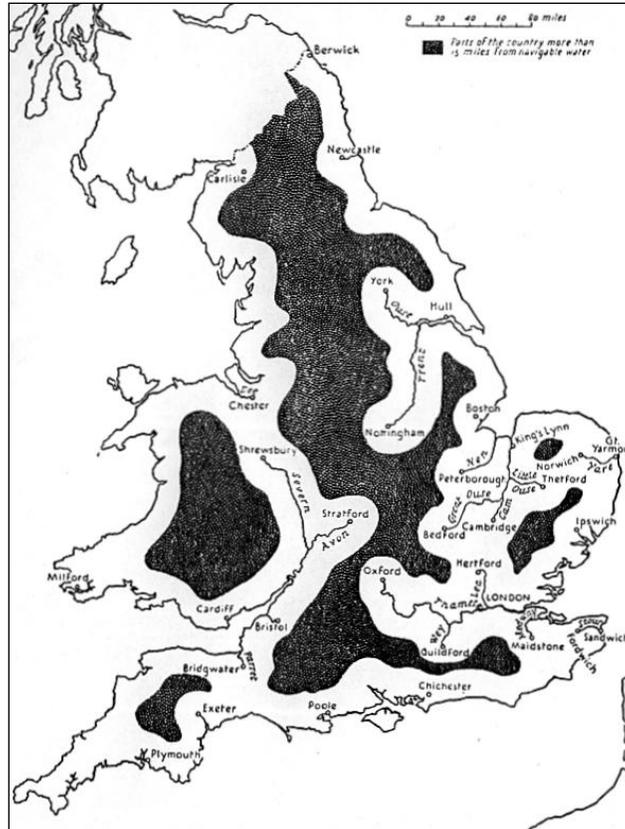


Figure 4.14: Navigable Rivers 1600-60 (only navigable parts of rivers are shown) (Willan, 1964: i)

A river shown in figure 4.14 as a tributary to the Humber (Hull) which has been cited throughout history as linguistic north-south dividing line is the Trent (see the discussion in §1.1). The boundary quality of the Trent has been noted since the sixteenth century, with Puttenham’s observation that the fashionable poet should not use ‘any speech beyond the river of Trent...it is not so courtly or so current as our Southern English is...’ (Puttenham, 1589 (Wales, 2002: 47)). Later, Defoe cites the Trent as important economic divide, stating that ‘the county south of the Trent [is] the richest and most populous’ (Defoe, 1769: 57). Defoe also spoke of his trepidation in passing the Trent:

‘Having thus passed the Rubicon [Trent] and set my face northward, I scarce knew which way to set forward, in a country so full of wonders ... and yet leave nothing behind me to call on as I came back, at least not to lead me out of my way on my return.’

(Defoe, 1927: 552)

Orwell considered the Trent to be of importance and wrote of the point at which the *Midlands and the south* became distinct from the north (note the Orwell includes the midlands with the south as distinct from the north):

‘...between all the towns of the Midlands there stretches a villa-civilisation indistinguishable from that of the South. It is only when you get a little further North, to the Pottery towns [which lie on the Trent] and beyond, that you begin to encounter the real ugliness of industrialism – an ugliness so frightful and so arresting that you are obliged, as it were, to come to terms with it.’

(Orwell, 2001: 97)

The idea of the Trent as a boundary is also found in historic literary sources such as Henry IV as well as modern literature with Alan Bennett writing of ‘anybody who ventures south of the Trent [being] likely to contract an incurable disease of the vowels’ (1994: xiii). No doubt with Bennett (and others) in mind, Wales contends that the ‘Humber/Trent is still a significant southern border for many Northerners today’ (Wales, 2002: 48).

In terms of a north-south divide it seems that the Humber and Trent rivers have been the most salient physical boundaries throughout history. The other geographical features that could impact on the division of the country are mountain ranges, the major one of which in England is the Pennines. The Pennines, running from the Scottish border to their southern limit in the area between Stoke-on-Trent in the west to Derby and Nottingham in the east do create a divide, but not a north-south one. It is perhaps curious as to why they are being included in a discussion of effects on informants’ placement of a north-south line. However I feel that the position of the Pennines, for some at least, could affect the perception of the country and its division. For this reason informants may choose to draw a line from north *to* south (a north-south line after all) thus dividing the country into east and west. This could provide an explanation for one pilot study informants’ decision to do just that. Of course, this does not mention the barrier-effect of

the Pennines on possible north-south lines, which could help to explain peculiarities in some informants' north-south lines.

4.2 INTRODUCTION TO RESULTS

The discussion of the effect of certain factors on the placement of north-south lines in the above sections are not to be taken to mean that a line drawn by an informant would be drawn with any of the factors exclusively in mind. I believe that in nearly all cases north-south lines would be drawn with numerous factors in mind, and each line would be the result of some or all of the factors working together. This is not least due to the questions asked of informants: to draw a line where they believed 'a north-south *language* divide [to] exist' (see appendix 1, italics for emphasis here). This question obviously leads informants to think about language (along with the title of the questionnaire), however I believe that other complex thought processes which take into account some of the factors discussed above took place and are reflected in the results to be discussed below.

The results processing technique using PDQ, previously described in §2.10, was not as suited to the task of compiling results from an exercise such as the north-south task, as such the following discussion of results features a variety of processing techniques. These include computer generated generalised maps created in PDQ as well as individual map scans and composite maps created by computer tracing and overlaying (in Microsoft PowerPoint), as discussed in §2.8.1.

Table 4.1 below shows the numerical results of the north-south component of the draw-a-map task. In the table, the top row displays the survey location with the number of informants bracketed. The first column displays the type of country division⁸ that was drawn. The corresponding rows show the total number of lines drawn by informants from the survey locations to represent the type of county division. Bracketed figures after the number of lines drawn indicate the percentage of informants which drew lines.

⁸ From here on in, lines drawn as part of the north-south task will be termed 'country divisions' as in some cases simple north-south divisions were not drawn

	Carlisle (n=93)	Crewe (n=85)	Hull (n=98)	Total (n=275)
North-south	67 (72%)	61 (71.8%)	72 (73.5%)	200 (72.7%)
Northern	12 (12.9%)	11 (12.9%)	5 (5.1%)	28 (10.2%)
Midlands	6 (6.5%)	11 (12.9%)	9 (9.2%)	26 (9.5%)
Southern	22 (23.7%)	13 (15.3%)	8 (8.2%)	43 (15.3%)

Table 4.1: Statistical results of north-south component of draw-a-map task (bracketed figures show percentage informant recognition)

The table reveals a steady informant recognition level of a north-south divide ranging from 73.5% to 71.8%, producing an overall mean of 72.7% for all informants. This level of recognition is relatively high and takes into consideration recognition levels for individual areas, which were no higher than 57% (see chapter 5). However, considering that the north-south component could have appeared compulsory from the instruction sheet it is striking that 75 informants (27.3%) did not mark a north-south line on their maps.

The figures in the second part of the table (the three rows at the foot of the table) have been added in order to try and reach an explanation for them. In many cases, although not all, maps which had no north-south line did have country-wide divisions which seemingly operated at a higher level than smaller areas which were also labelled. These country-wide divisions were ‘Northern’, ‘Midlands’, and ‘Southern’, creating a tripartite view of the country instead of the binary one which had been requested in the instructions to the task. It can only be assumed that these informants felt strongly enough about these views of the country that they were willing to disregard instructions in order to express them. For this reason they are extremely interesting and will be discussed in relation to the north-south divide results and not as part of the area labelling task.

As the above justification for the inclusion of the Midlands, Southern and Northern figures in the discussion of the north-south task hints, I feel that this task is separate from the area labelling task and results in the undertaking of a different thought process by informants completing the draw-a-map tasks. The north-south line is the first to be requested, and for this reason it is the primary country view which is sought from

informants. Although Preston has expressed reservations about the foregrounding of the north-south question (PC Preston, 2005a) I believe that it is important to look at just what informants do when confronted with the question. It appears that informants do not feel constrained by the question as in a great many cases they add details after the drawing of the north-south line, as in figure 4.15 below

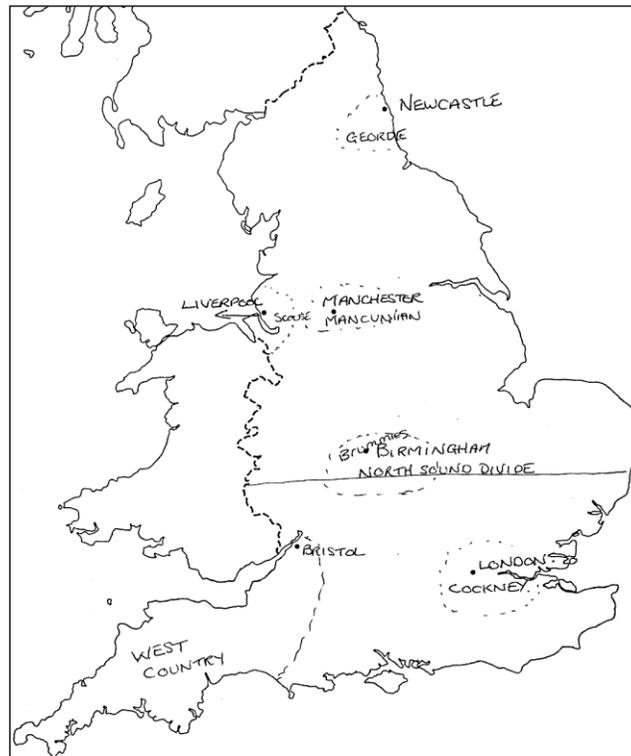


Figure 4.15: Hand-drawn map from female informant (47 years old) from Carlisle

In this hand drawn map it could be argued that the north-south line, marked in an unbroken line was added first as requested with a subsequent labelling of individual dialect areas. These areas include a 'Brummie' area which straddles the north-south line, something which is by no means an isolated incident. I would argue that in the case of the north-south line, and a Northern-Midlands-Southern (N-M-S) continuum, that these are 'country views' and as such relate to but do not directly influence the recognition of other individual dialect areas. It could thus be argued that the draw-a-map task as presented to informants in this study allows access to different perceptual 'levels', with a north-south (or alternative) country view at one level and the individual dialect areas at another. This idea will be returned to in the discussions of results both below and in relation to the results of the dialect area labelling task (chapter 5) but it is important that it

be introduced here in order to explain the inclusion of the alternative country views in table 4.1 and the discussion below.

In the initial planning stage of this discussion of results it was thought that the best approach would be to take the results arrived at by the differing processing methods and examine the similarities and differences present in them. Having considered the results however, I feel that this would not be the best approach and instead they will be discussed in relation to the list of four concepts introduced at beginning of this chapter. These concepts will not form discrete sections as in the introduction, as I believe that there is a good deal of interaction between them and to take each one in turn would be to miss their essentially interrelated nature.

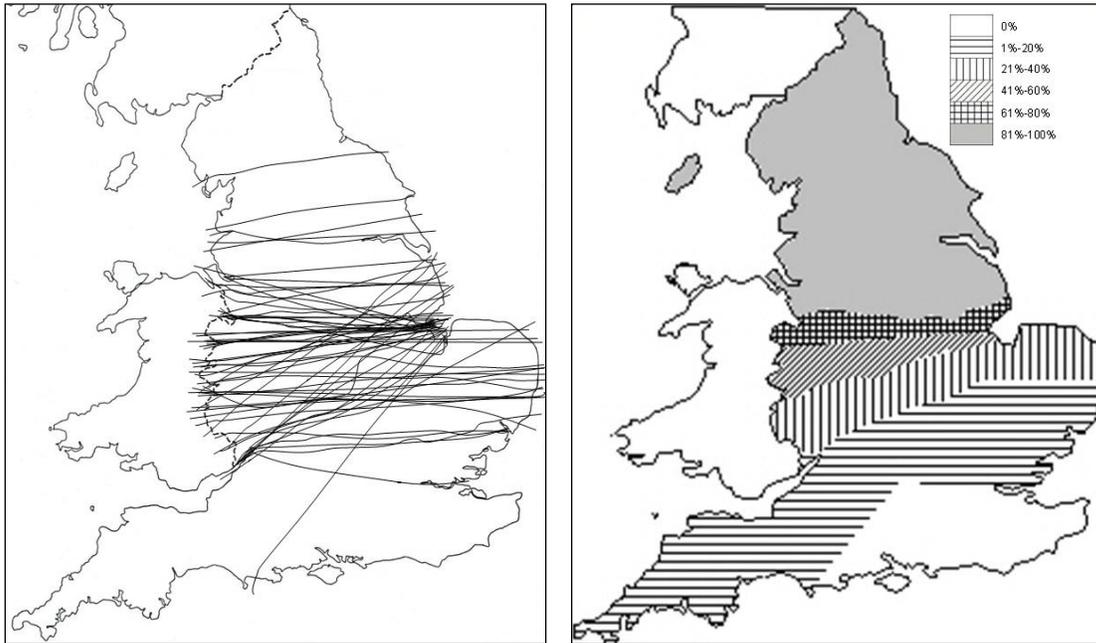
Before embarking on a discussion of the results it is important to introduce a caveat and discuss a potential problem with the informants who undertook the task. As is hopefully clear from the introductory chapters, the aim of perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics is to gather information from ‘the folk’ (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003: 2) i.e. informants with no formal linguistic training. This is not true for all of the informants in my study. As explained in §3.3, the majority (although not all) of the informants were taking either an ‘A/S’ or ‘A’-level qualification in English Language or Literature (or a course combining the two), which necessitates some study of accents and dialects in England. Although the study of variation in these courses is not particularly complex, it does give students an awareness of certain features of which they would perhaps not have been aware had they not taken the course. This means that the informants who engaged in the draw-a-map and subsequent tasks could not be described as the typical or ideal ‘folk’ informants. The main reason for this choice of informant was practicality; in an increasingly busy academic year it is far easier to convince an English teacher to free up some lesson time for a relevant exercise than trying to do the same with a Chemistry teacher for example (one potential way around this problem would have been to use General Studies students, although this could have been impractical in many cases).

Although it could be argued that the choice of informants and the knowledge that they could have gained from the study of language is detrimental to the aim of folk linguistic study, it could equally be argued that it is of benefit. The lack of thought about language, especially at the relatively young age of most of the informants could have led to the majority not being able to complete the task. One could argue therefore that some prior knowledge enabled the success of the task as even the smallest amount of teaching regarding language could lead to an ability to more formally recognise difference and similarity. It must also be recognised that Preston's original research in Hawaii (Preston, 1982) used undergraduate students (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003: 46), presumably studying some sort of linguistics course. In this research then it must be recognised that although the informants used are not the ideal 'folk', they are not professional linguists who have an awareness that could help them to complete the tasks successfully. However, although the informants in this study may not be 'ideal' the question must be raised, in the light of the increased interest in variation countrywide (see the interest in the recent BBC Voices project), of whether anybody is linguistically naïve anymore (or ever was).

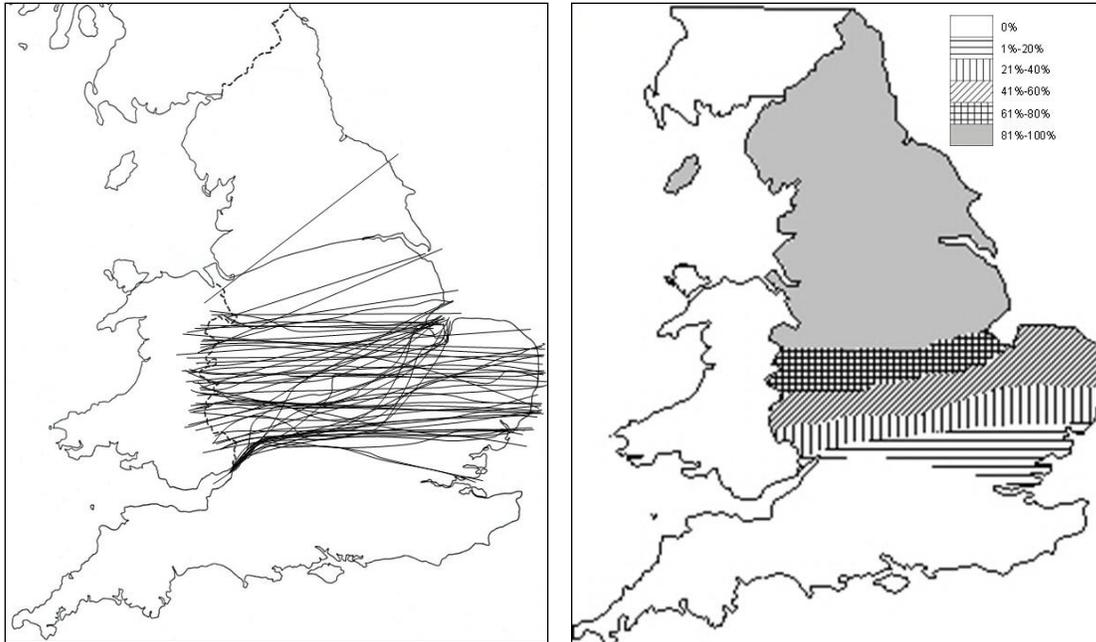
Training in the study of English accents and dialects, however basic, could affect the placement of informants' north-south divisions and as such it is important to foreground the discussion of these with an acknowledgement of this fact. I am suggesting that here the temptation to follow a line that one remembers being taught as the 'north-south divide' is great and that certain maps could have been affected by this. For this reason, although the results should not be dismissed as irrelevant or tainted, caution should be exercised in any conclusions drawn from them. I hope to argue that the effect of previously learned lines is not that great, and that the informants' own ideas of where boundaries exist (or do not exist) is shown in the results. Further contact with the teachers in the various educational establishments has not provided a definitive answer as to the extent of teaching on variation. Each establishment was different, however the general consensus was that the informants had undertaken either no teaching in variation or had experienced introductory teaching only.

4.2.1 North-south results

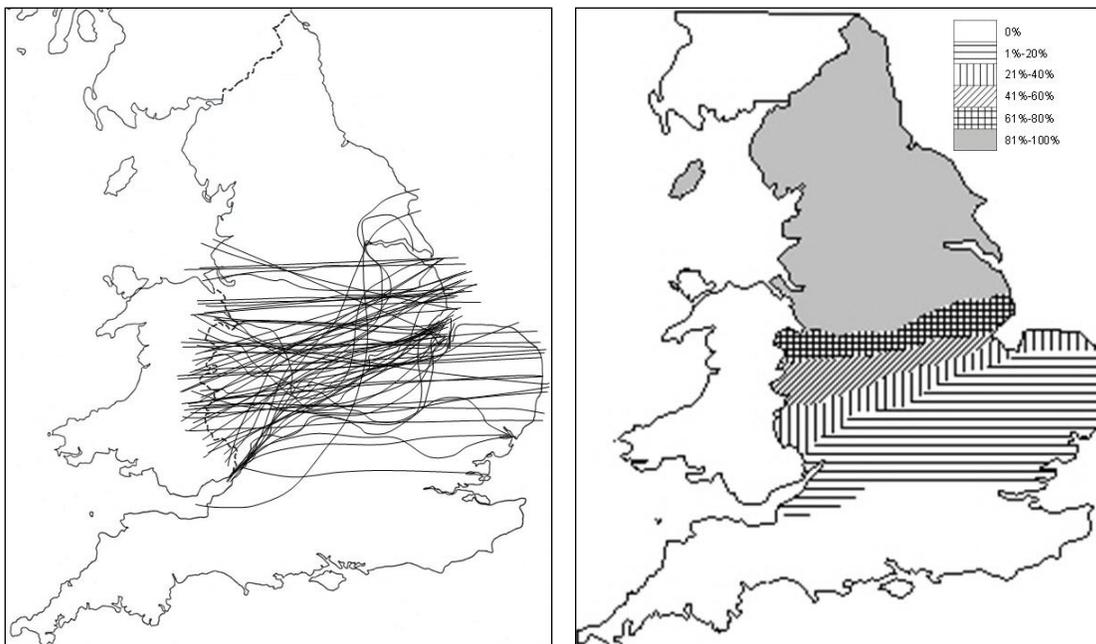
Figures 4.16 to 4.21 below show the complete results of the north-south component of the draw-a-map task for each individual survey location, processed with the line tracing method introduced in §2.8 alongside the PDQ method which is discussed in §2.10.



Figures 4.16 (left) and 4.17 (right): All Carlisle informants lines (n=67) processed by tracing method (left) and PDQ programme (right)



Figures 4.18 and 4.19: All Crewe informants lines (n=61) processed by tracing method (left) and PDQ programme (right)



Figures 4.20 and 4.21: All Hull informants lines (n=72) processed by tracing method (left) and PDQ programme (right)

Although there is a great amount of data shown on the maps compiled using the tracing method and a more confusing picture is presented than in the PDQ processed maps, it is immediately apparent that there are some patterns which appear area specific. The two composition techniques produce maps which are useful in two separate but related ways:

detecting both agreement and disagreement. Patterns of agreement are more visible on the composite maps created using the tracing technique (figures with odd numbers) and are evident in the clustering of lines. The maps produced using PDQ are best used to detect disagreement. Overall it can be remarked that general patterns of disagreement show the most between informants from Carlisle (figure 4.17) less from those living in Hull (figure 4.19) and less still amongst those resident in Crewe (figure 4.21). Reasons for these patterns of agreement and disagreement will be discussed below, however it is perhaps most useful to attempt to isolate the reasons for other, smaller, patterns present in the maps before discussing wider patterns.

The introductory sections of this chapter dealt with four concepts, one of which was the effect of dialectological considerations on the placement of informants' north-south lines. As discussed above, the informants undertaking the task did in the majority of cases have some sort of basic language training and as such might have been expected to follow the north-south lines that they had been taught (which would have been the STRUT-FOOT and TRAP-BATH lines). I believe that it is clear from the above figures that this is not the case. Widespread disagreement is evident in the maps, and although many informants across the survey locations did place lines along a Wash-Severn line (discussed below), I do not believe that this was a case of following teaching. There were no instances, for example, of informants stating that this was where they had been told the line was; although in one case a teacher's map (which was disregarded) did include IPA symbols indicating the STRUT-FOOT split. Instead, there were examples of value labels (eg. 'Posh southern' (informant number 202, a 24 year old female from Carlisle), which indicate the salience of socio-cultural considerations above purely linguistic ones.

This is not to state that dialectological considerations had no role to play in the placement of informants' north-south lines. In many cases the placement of the line may have been influenced to a large extent by linguistic factors. However, it can not be judged how salient particular features were for informants completing the tasks and this issue must be addressed at this point. It may be the case that the facts on the ground in the three survey locations in which this research was undertaken do not match Wales' assertion of the

salience of STRUT-FOOT and TRAP-BATH split (Wales, 1999: 7) and for informants in this area other features are salient. Conversely it could be that they are salient and informants simply do not know where the location of transition is, leading to the relatively wide disagreement and disparity between survey locations.

Salience is an important linguistic concept, especially in studies of perceptions, and a partial failing of the draw-a-map task as presented here is that it does not fully gain access to this issue. A subsidiary question relating to attitudes, which could have gained access to issues of salience, was asked to be completed after the identification of perceptual areas and the north-south tasks, but this had only a small amount of success. The follow up ratings and recognitions task discussed in chapter 6 contains more information on perception, specifically the placement of individual voice samples, and this could shed more light on the issue of salience. In this discussion of the results of the north-south draw-a-map task however, one is rather constrained by the lack of qualitative data which could be used to identify dialectologically affected lines along with the salient features affecting the placement of such lines.

This said however, I can rule out placement of lines which conform to a particular dialectological reasoning of the north-south division. In the studies which use it (e.g. the SED), the Lune-Humber line separates the north from the midlands (which in these cases seems to be part of the south); there is no correspondence amongst informants in this study save for around three Carlisle informants who draw lines in roughly the correct area (figure 4.16). Figures 4.18 and 4.20 seem to clearly show that informants from Crewe and Hull did not have the Lune-Humber line in mind when they placed their north-south division.

Although the picture is not entirely clear from either the traced maps or PDQ processed composites it might be said that in the results of Crewe and Hull informants there are degrees of clustering around a Severn-Wash line. Of course there may have been many other factors at work which resulted in lines clustered around this location, not least political-historical ones which will be considered below. It is possible that for some of

these informants a similar idea of salient north-south distinguishing features which tallied with that of linguists is shown on the results maps for these locations. The Severn estuary in the west seems to be a start/finish point for a great number of lines drawn by informants from Crewe and Hull (figures 4.18 and 4.20 respectively). Many of these lines seem to then go on and connect with the Wash in the east creating a south-west to north-east diagonal which echoes both Trudgill's (1990) and Well's (1982) north south lines. Interestingly the PDQ processed maps also reflect this general diagonal pattern from west to east, perhaps most strongly in the results from Hull (figure 4.21) with a less marked pattern in the results from Crewe informants (figure 4.19).

With the above said about the general patterning however, it is still the case that the lines exhibiting a Severn-Wash diagonal do not count for more than 33% of the north-south lines for any survey location. Those that do could be due not only to dialectological consideration but also social, political or historical factors and as has been mentioned there is no real way of being completely confident of the reasons for the line placement. This is perhaps due to 'the north-south divide' being convenient shorthand for a much more complex situation, not only in linguistic circles (Upton, 2006) but also political ones (Martin, 2004: 16) and as such there are many competing factors when it comes to placing what is a disputed 'boundary'.

The linguistic situation in England is very different to that encountered in perceptual studies such as those undertaken in South Korea by Long & Young-Cheol (2002) for example. Here a formerly unified country is divided into separate northern and southern states, and this divide falls in the middle of a previously continuous dialect area. This is the opposite of the situation in England, with a unified country with a salient but difficult to pin down accent 'divide'. The majority (65%) of Korean informants in Long & Yim's study ignored the area north of the border with the remainder giving very little information (Long & Yim, 2002: 254). Here, a major (fortified) political boundary is shown to be a complete barrier to the flow of information (Gould & White, 1986: 153) regarding language. The English north-south divide, although a salient concept and

rooted in language for some has a completely different effect, stimulating debate and fierce rivalry over its exact placement.

Due to the lack of concrete information or a clear political boundary which could hint at linguistic or dialectological influences on the placement of informants' north-south lines it is perhaps more fruitful to examine the wider patterns present in the maps and attempt to account for these. The composite maps generated through PDQ are perhaps best employed to view these wider patterns as they show the amount of disagreement in each survey location. As mentioned above it is immediately apparent that the results for each location differ to a large extent. Informants from Crewe exhibit the least disagreement, with Hull informants showing slightly more and informants from Carlisle demonstrating the greatest amount.

It is perhaps important to note that this pattern was completely expected after pilot studies (§2.8) and findings from previous perceptual dialectology (Preston, 1999a) and geography (Gould & White, 1986) studies. Perceptual geographers would term this patterning or something similar to it 'local domes of preference' (Gould & White, 1986: 42). These local domes of preference are the recognition of the geographical space immediately surrounding an area being more positively viewed by those in this area than by the rest of the country. Coupled with the perceptual geographical concept of information flow decay (see §4.1.2 above) the local dome of preference effect leads to greater recognition of the immediate surrounds of an area. In turn, these related concepts will impact on the placement of a north-south line in the two interrelated ways outlined in the introductory section above: as proximity effects and as exclusivity effects.

Proximity effects

As discussed above, 'proximity' is here taken to mean closeness to an area or boundary. It is the principle that the closeness to an area or boundary will result in a greater accuracy in delimitation or placement, respectively. It was my hypothesis that close proximity will increase informants' agreement over the placement of the north-south

boundary with those further away exhibiting greater amounts of disagreement, notwithstanding any barrier-effects (Gould & White, 1986: 153-5).

As has been discussed above, it is difficult to find agreement over the placement of the north-south boundary. A multitude of academic studies in many different disciplines seem to agree on the concept but disagree on the placement of the boundary (see figure 4.22 below)

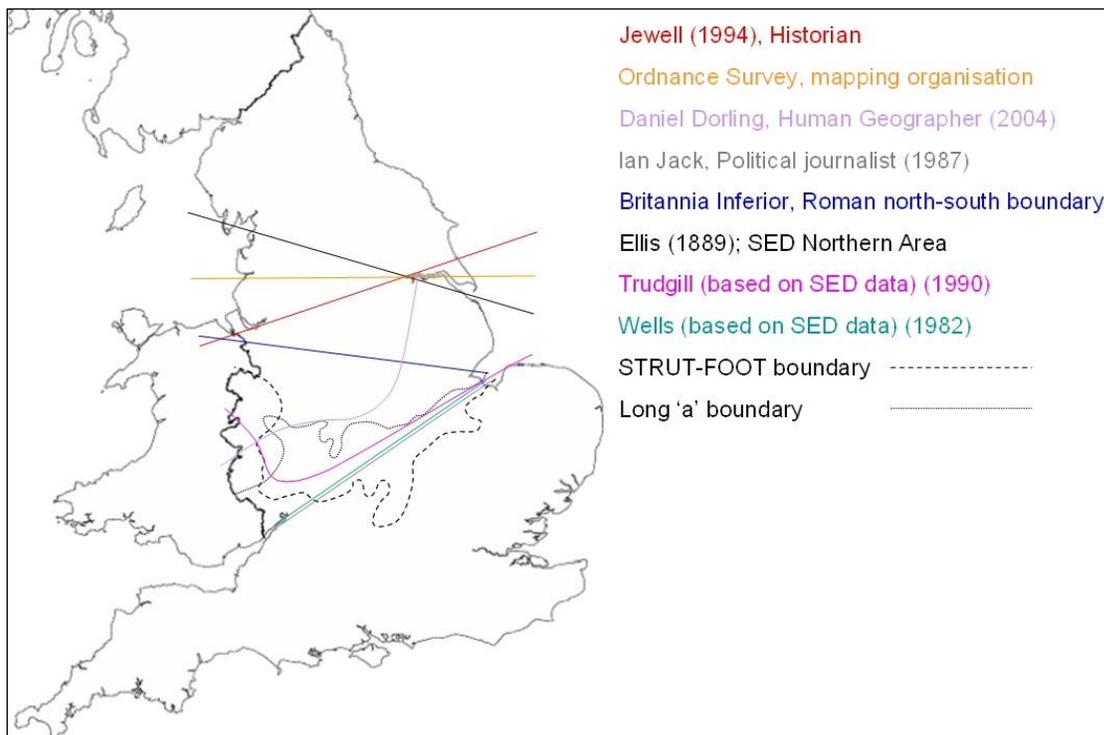


Figure 4.22: Differing placements of the north-south divide

Although a wide amount of disagreement appears to be shown in figure 4.22 there can still be some agreement found in the identification of the Severn estuary as a start/finish point for three of the lines (Dorling, 2004a, Jack, 1987, Wells, 1982). The Wash is also a frequent reference point, as the start/finish point for five modern north-south lines, including Wells' (1982) and Jack's (1987) lines as well as the STRUT-FOOT and long 'a' isoglosses and Trudgill's (1990) north-south division. The Humber also fulfils a reference role, with Dorling's (2004) line following its tributary the river Trent into it. The final three north-south lines also use the Humber as a reference point, with mapping

organisation the Ordnance Survey, historian Jewell (1994), and the linguist Ellis (1889) all starting or finishing their divisions there. I believe that figure 4.22 can be viewed as showing two distinct ‘bundles’ of lines: those running in a general Severn-Wash fashion; and those which use the Humber as a reference point. These lines are complicated by Dorling’s (2004b) line running from the Severn to the Humber via the Trent and by the *Britannia Superior/Inferior* division (although this is included mainly for an historical perspective) but overall seem to fall into the above two categories.

As discussed above then, the amount of disagreement can clearly be seen from figure 4.22, as well as the fact that there is a healthy amount of agreement on the concept of a division between north and south. A useful comparison can be made with figure 4.22 and the PDQ processed results map showing all informants’ north-south data in figure 4.23 below.

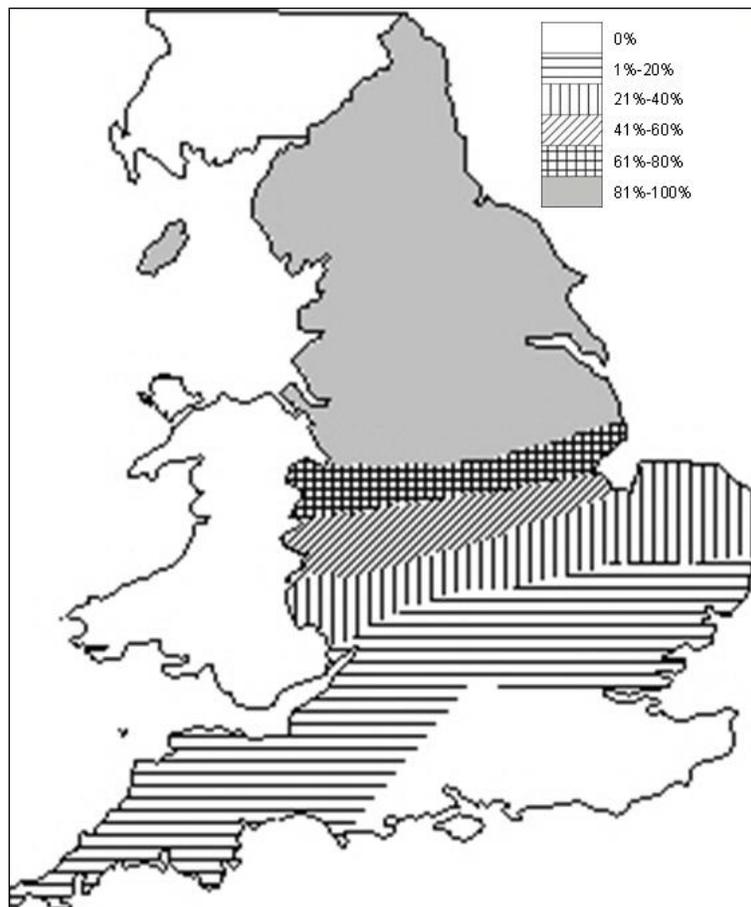


Figure 4.23: PDQ map showing all informants’ north-south lines (n=200)

On first glance it does not appear that figure 4.23 has a great deal in common with figure 4.22. However, if one considers the bundling effect noted above there does seem to be something of interest taking place. Ignoring the solid shading (81%-100% informant agreement (hereafter: IA)) and shading with horizontal lines (1%-20% IA) and taking the three other shades (representing 21%-80% IA) into consideration there does seem to be an amount of agreement. This agreement, although not tallying exactly with either of the bundles in figure 4.22 does seem to have more in common with the Severn-Wash bundle of lines. The general south-west to north-east diagonal pattern which was noted in the discussion of individual maps above is replicated here.

One of the restrictions of the PDQ programme when employed in processing results from an exercise such as the north-south task is that it is difficult to find where the greatest amount of agreement is shown. As a result it is perhaps most fruitful to find the median value, which can be found in the middle band of shading (representing 41%-60 IA). In figure 4.23 the middle band of shading centres on the Wash in the east, and runs west to south Shropshire/north Herefordshire. It is important to note that there is no similar centring on the Severn estuary in the west although the shading does follow the diagonal pattern of the Severn-Wash lines in figure 4.22 (to a lesser extent). There is no similar pattern to be found around the Humber estuary, although the PDQ processed map would hide any bundling due to the small numbers of lines drawn (see figures 4.16, 4.18, 4.20). Therefore, the conclusion must be that for informants in this study at least, there is some general agreement that the north-south divide is found somewhere around a line drawn from the Wash in the east to south Shropshire/north Herefordshire in the west. In this sense, the idea of a solid north-south boundary is not one which can be agreed upon. Instead the agreement demonstrated by all informants creates a north-south 'boundary zone' in which the median north-south lines lie.

Although the agreed location of the north-south boundary zone for the informants in this study differs from either of the bundles of lines that could be seen in figure 4.22, it is interesting in so far as the informants do not seem to have been too influenced by what

they have been taught. It must also be noted that the PDQ processed map shown in figure 4.23 masks many of the differences seen in the individual maps (figures 4.17, 4.19, 4.21) which seem to differ widely between areas. This observation merely adds weight to the hypothesised autonomy of informants when drawing their north-south lines. It is these differences however that must be accounted for, a task which is made easier with the identification of the north-south boundary zone.

With the agreed north-south boundary zone now identified, I can now assess the effects of proximity in relation to the hypothesis that close proximity will increase informants' agreement over the placement of the north-south boundary with those further away exhibiting greater amounts of disagreement. I further hypothesised that a general pattern would be found in the results showing the greatest amount of agreement between lines drawn by informants from Crewe, less agreement in informants from Hull and less still in the results from Carlisle informants. Examination of the PDQ processed results in figures 4.17, 4.19 and 4.21 certainly seems to show this pattern, with greater agreement in the Crewe results (figure 4.19) and similar maps from Hull and Carlisle (figures 4.21 and 4.17 respectively), with more disagreement at the 1%-20% level by Carlisle informants.

Not only is there more agreement in the results from informants from Crewe, but the whole 'centre of gravity' appears to be shifted southwards. Whereas the results maps from Carlisle and Hull show a similar agreement with the overall PDQ map (figure 4.23) with a general centring at the 41%-60% level on the Wash, the results map from Crewe informants is centred far further south. The Wash only figures at the 61%-80% level and the median values of the north-south boundary zone for Crewe cover the north of East Anglia and run westwards to the county of Herefordshire. Figure 4.24 below shows the differences in the north-south boundary zones between each survey location and the overall results.

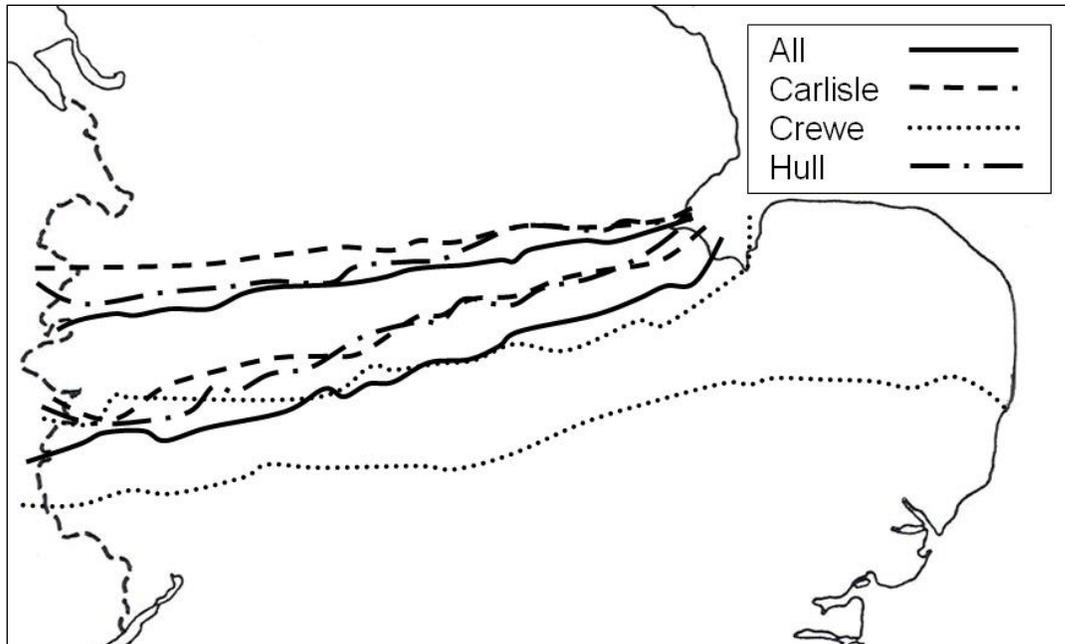


Figure 4.24: Enlarged map of north-south boundary zones (41%-60% agreement taken from PDQ processed maps) for Carlisle, Crewe and Hull along with the overall agreement zone

Figure 4.24 illustrates the above in detail and it is striking just how far further south the Crewe informants' north-south boundary zone lies compared to the other survey locations. The zone barely overlaps with the overall boundary zone and uses the Wash as a reference point only for its northern limit. It would appear that this unexpected patterning disproves one of the central planks of the proximity hypothesis; however I do not believe that this is necessarily the case.

I believe that what is exhibited here is a phenomenon that I will call 'shifting', and in this case specifically 'southern shifting'. This phenomenon is related to the proximity effect, as it seems to affect only the north-south lines drawn by informants from Crewe, with an amount of agreement shown by informants from the other survey locations. Here it seems that proximity to the agreed boundary has resulted in the shifting of the boundary southwards, which is opposite to moving the boundary northwards which one might expect from a line drawn in the 'exclusive' fashion introduced above. I would argue that informants from Crewe have a southern shifted perception of the north-south divide which guarantees their own northern status. I believe that this shifting interacts directly with ideological and identity factors, although the precise nature of these interactions cannot be investigated further as this data was not elicited in the tasks given to

informants. Also, due to the nature of the north-south task, the phenomenon of shifting as described here is not found in perceptual dialectology literature. It would however be of interest to investigate whether a similar situation occurs in the rest of England, especially in the south of the country in order to look for a corresponding ‘northern shifting’ for locations in the northern part of the south of England.

Notwithstanding the shifted ‘centre of gravity’ exhibited by informants from Crewe, I believe that the primary argument presented in the hypothesis can be proved. The argument runs that those closest to the agreed boundary will exhibit more agreement in their results than those further away from the boundary. This is not just due to the logical observation that ‘people are more familiar with regions close to their own’ (Long & Yim, 2002: 255) but also that proximity affects people in other more ideological ways. I would argue that the issue of salience has an important role to play in the perceptions of dialects per se, but also has a different and specific role to play in the perceptions of boundaries. In the latter case, salience is not simply demonstrating the feature(s) differentiating one area (or region) from another, but also in the boundary itself. Thus, if the boundary is known but not salient then there will be very little agreement over where it lies. Conversely, where a boundary is known and also salient there will far more agreement.

I believe that when one considers figures 4.17, 4.19 and 4.21 again it seems that this hypothesis can be proved. There is indeed the greatest agreement shown in the results from Crewe-based informants, with less shown by those from Hull and less still in the results from Carlisle informants. Although a glance at the corresponding figures to the left of the PDQ processed map will show that it is only a handful of informants from Hull and Carlisle delimited by wildly different lines in each case, it is striking that informants from Crewe appear to cluster far more. Appearances can be deceiving however, and upon measuring the northernmost and southernmost lines from each location it become apparent that these distances are almost identical when comparing Crewe with Hull informants. This distance is slightly skewed by one Crewe informant’s line which is dramatically further north than others, and if we take away the single line

outliers from all this and all other the results, the Crewe-Hull-Carlisle agreement continuum is restored.

The salience (or lack of it) of the north-south boundary has a different effect on informants from the three locations. For Crewe-based informants the boundary has the largest amount of salience as the agreed boundary zone is closest to the town, the northern limit lying in the adjacent southern county (Shropshire). Therefore if informants from Crewe want to claim a northern identity then they have a vested interest in having a clear idea of where the boundary lies. As has been seen, informants from Crewe do not actually agree with the overall boundary zone, instead shifting it southwards; but the agreement level between them is high (figure 4.19). I would argue that the shifting is an attempt to guarantee northern identity and the high agreement level is a result of close proximity and high salience.

I believe that a similar interaction between proximity and salience affects informants from Carlisle. For informants from this city at the northern limit of north-western England, their historical identity issues have been framed in terms of conflict with the Scots (Smith, 1970:13) and their northern status has never been in dispute. For this reason I contend that the distance away from the agreed north-south boundary zone results in wide disagreement. This disagreement is present due to informants not attaching any importance to the boundary: for informants from Carlisle they are northern and the precise location of the boundary is of no concern. This leads to the wide disagreement seen in figure 4.16. Despite this disagreement however, figure 4.24 shows a high amount of agreement with Hull informants in the median agreed boundary zone. The conclusion that could be drawn from this is that there is some awareness of a north-south boundary's location, although fewer informants from Carlisle can identify it due to their distance from it. I believe the results also show a lack of interference from barriers to information flows for informants from Carlisle. This is perhaps due to the main potential barrier, The Pennines, running from north to south and not east to west, and as such possibly having an impact on the perception of individual dialect areas in the east of England.

The results from Hull are of interest as the survey location occupies the ‘middle point’ between Crewe and Carlisle and also represents the east coast in this study. There is also the major potential barrier feature in the shape of the Humber which runs to the south of the city. The results from Hull informants however seem to ignore the Humber, with the only informants using it as a reference point doing something slightly unusual which will be discussed below in the discussion on ‘exclusive’ lines. Instead, as has been stated, the results from Hull informants fit into the middle of the continuum. I believe that this is one of the strongest pieces of evidence for the proximity effect on north-south lines. Therefore the conclusion to this discussion must be that, all things being equal, proximity will affect the level of agreement over the placement of north-south lines with those informants in survey locations closer to the agreed boundary exhibiting a higher level of agreement than those further away.

Exclusive lines

I would suggest that the third factor affecting where north-south lines are placed by informants is the concept of exclusivity. As explained above in this situation the line drawn by informants delimiting north from south will be drawn as close to the informants’ home area as possible. This will then have the result of creating the smallest north or south area possible depending on where the informant is from. Figure 4.25 shows this exclusivity effect in a previous pilot study and is typical of some maps in which the most southerly north-south lines were drawn by informants from south eastern counties. Conversely, the majority of the northernmost lines were drawn by informants from counties further north.

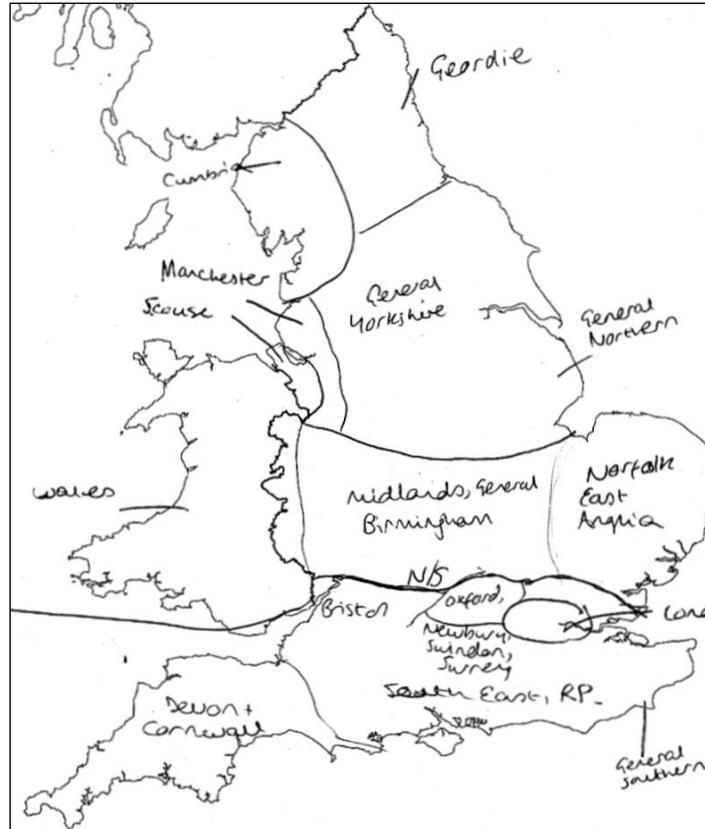


Figure 4.25: Hand-drawn map by informant in pilot study (Female, 18, Surrey)

It is notable in figure 4.25 that the north-south line is drawn just to the north of the county of Surrey but does not follow the Doncaster development council's suggestion in eliminating the south west from the south. Indeed, none of the informants in pilot studies completed maps in this way. Also of note in figure 4.25 is the way in which the remainder of the map has been completed, with a north-south line as well as sections of the map labelled 'general northern', 'midlands' and 'general southern'. This pattern fits with many of the maps drawn by informants in the final fieldwork, and the issue of tripartite divisions will be discussed below.

It is difficult to distinguish those lines affected by exclusive considerations across all the survey locations: when taking into consideration only those lines drawn as part of the dichotomous north-south task there are no lines which replicate lines such as the one in figure 4.25. Also I would argue that the concept of exclusivity is best applied to survey locations at the extreme north or south of the country (Newcastle upon Tyne and the south eastern counties in pilot studies for example). For this reason, it is very difficult to

ascertain exclusive effects on lines drawn by informants from Crewe, and there do not appear to be lines drawn along exclusive principles with the possible exception of one line (see figure 4.18) drawn from Barrow in Furness to Middlesbrough. When considering lines drawn by informants from Hull however, the principle of exclusivity does perhaps have a role to play in understanding the more unusual lines placed on maps.

Although not at the extreme north or south of the country the city of Hull is in an unusual position, in the far east of the country and bordered to the south by the river Humber. This being the case, it might have been expected that the Humber would have provided a guide to the north-south task, something which as has been observed did not happen. The estuary did however seem to have an effect on some of the north-south lines, as can be seen in figure 4.26 below.

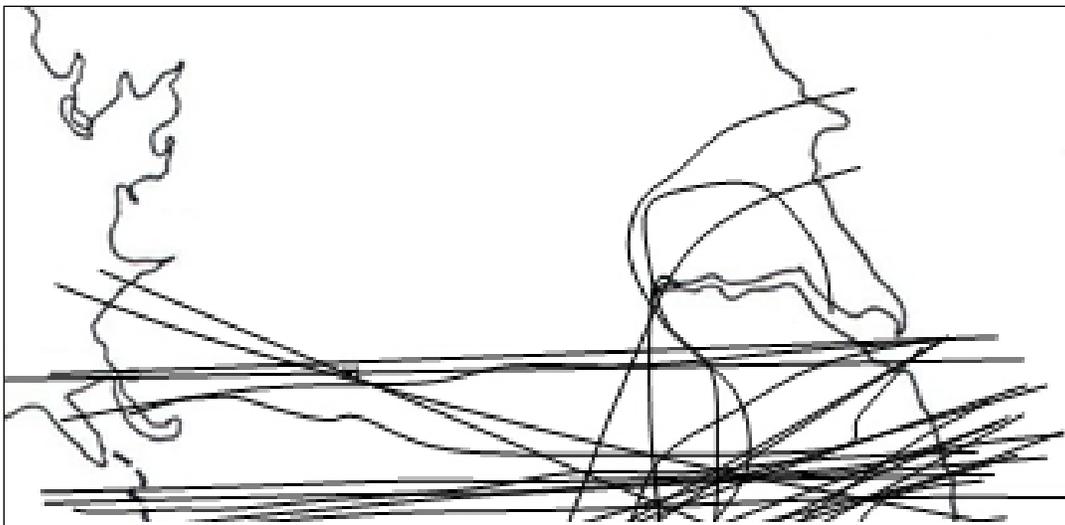


Figure 4.26: Enlarged map showing effect of Humber estuary on some Hull informants' north-south lines

As the enlarged figure (covering the area from the Mersey to Humber) shows, three of the north-south lines drawn by informants from Hull were drawn to the north of the city. Although the number of these 'unusual' lines is relatively small (three of 72) and insignificant, there is still value in examining them. These unusual lines, as is clearly shown do not conform to the majority of other north-south lines which are drawn relatively straight from east to west (or vice-versa). Instead the lines seem to be affected

by the Humber, using it as a ‘tagging point’ in order to enclose Hull in the south with a southern border along the Humber.

What appears to be demonstrated by these informants is the distinctiveness of the Hull area. The location of the city means that there are no comparable lines drawn by informants from the other survey locations. In this sense the use of the north-south line along with a geographical feature to delimit a dialect area is unique to informants from Hull. The line also places Hull in the south of the country, with all other lines indicating that the city is in the north. In this case I would argue not that informants from Hull viewed themselves as southern or the variety of English spoken in Hull as a southern variety but instead they feel that the area is simply different to others; the north-south line highlights this difference. Although this is slightly different to the other examples of exclusivity constraints on north-south lines I would argue that these three lines are examples of an exclusive view of Hull from its informants.

Although as mentioned above there is not a great deal of evidence for exclusive north-south lines when considering the results from informants completing the north-south task as requested (with a dichotomous division of the country), when other ways of completing the task are considered a different picture emerges. The primary way of completing the north-south task in a different fashion was to ignore its basic assumption (that of a binary north-south division) and to instead focus on a tripartite division of north-midlands-south. In the discussion that follows, it will be seen that exclusivity constraints seem to impact more on maps exhibiting this threefold division.

4.2.2 Northern-midlands-southern results

As has already been seen above, the majority of informants in the three survey locations completed the north-south task as requested and indicated one line separating north from south. Table 4.2 shows the number of informants who chose not to complete the task as written and instead divided their maps differently.

	Hull (n=98)	Crewe (n=85)	Carlisle (n=93)	Total (n=275)
Northern	5 (5.1%)	11 (12.9%)	12 (12.9%)	28 (10.2%)
Midlands	9 (9.2%)	11 (12.9%)	6 (6.5%)	26 (9.5%)
Southern	8 (8.2%)	13 (15.3%)	22 (23.7%)	43 (15.3%)

Table 4.2: Northern-midlands-southern completion of north-south task (bracketed figures show percentage informant recognition)

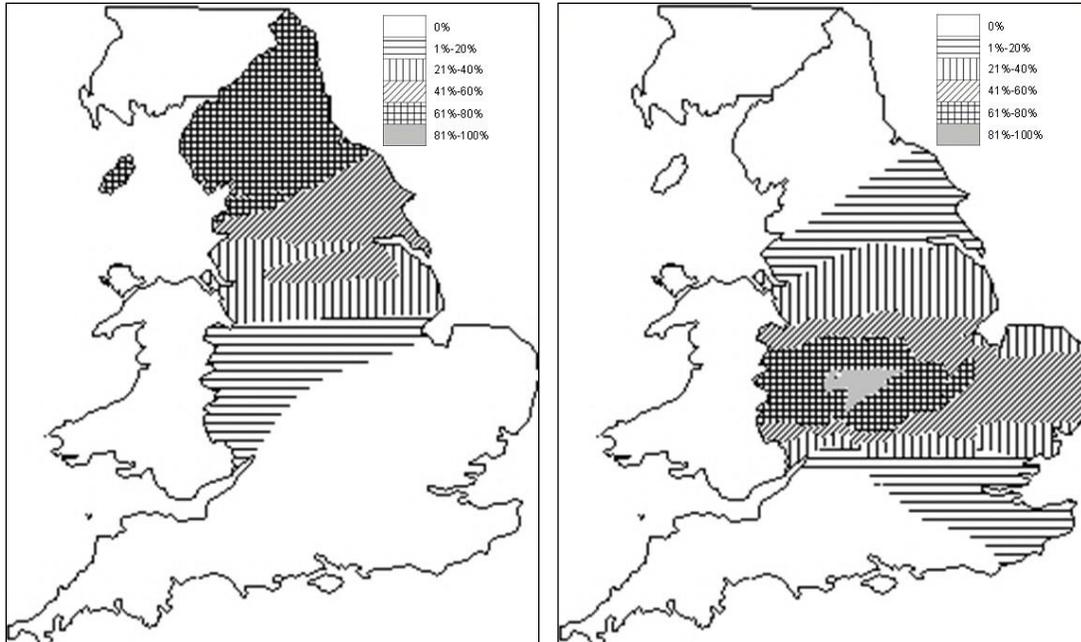
The merits of my approach to the question of north and south will be discussed below in §4.3; it must however be acknowledged that informants who completed their maps using a different division method than the requested north-south method did so unprompted and as such must have felt particularly strongly in order to do so. The number of informants who would have provided the tripartite division would therefore be expected to rise had the task not been so prescriptive. It is perhaps helpful to bear this in mind when considering the relatively small numbers of informants from each location who divided the country into three. However when considering the numbers after translation into percentages the recognition level for each area seems to be relatively stable at around 10% of informants, with the exception of the northern region for informants from Hull and the Midlands area for those from Carlisle.

The disparity between the numbers of informants recognising the three seemingly complementary regions is due in the main to the counting techniques used for the hand-drawn maps. Whereas counting the north-south dividing line was relatively simple (in most cases the line was labelled ‘N-S’ or similar), counting dialect areas or regions was more difficult. In many cases areas were not labelled or given a different name; this alternative naming was especially problematic in the case of the Midlands region as in some cases it was labelled as ‘Brummie’ or Birmingham. In this case it was difficult to know whether this area was to be included in the country division or as part of the area labelling analysis. The decision was taken early in the counting of areas and regions that only those divisions which were clearly labelled would be counted. Second-guessing of informants would also not be entered into, therefore even if a map seemed to fit into a northern-midlands-southern (N-M-S) paradigm with a northern-‘Brummie’-southern division this would not be counted as an example of N-M-S. These principles were not

exclusive to the counting of areas or regions for consideration in this analysis and extend to all the data counted from hand-drawn maps.

Also, I did not attempt to separate an attempt at country division from area labelling. In what is perhaps the reason behind the higher informant recognition of a southern division, the label appeared to be being used by informants to represent an area and not a division. The distinction between division and area recognition is important and difficult to count. The north-south task (and the alternative completion, N-M-S) is an attempt to examine divisions; the areas task is an attempt to investigate areas of similarity. For some informants it appears that they viewed there to be 'southern' variety of English and therefore a southern dialect area, which is different from a southern division in which there are other varieties. It was however very difficult to ascertain exactly what informants were indicating in labelled a 'southern' area and following the 'no second-guessing' policy I decided to count all instances of labelled southern areas or divisions as examples of divisions for inclusion in this analysis.

Below in figures 4.27 to 4.29 are the PDQ processed results showing the composite maps for Midlands, northern and southern divisions for all informants from all of the survey locations. As the PDQ programme is now processing what are essentially area data there is no need to show the equivalent line data as was done for the dichotomous north-south task results. The results for all informants are shown below in order to introduce the general patterning of the data before examining the differences between composite maps compiled with data from each survey location.



Figures 4.27 (l) & 4.28 (r): All informants' Northern division (n=28) and Midlands division (n=26)

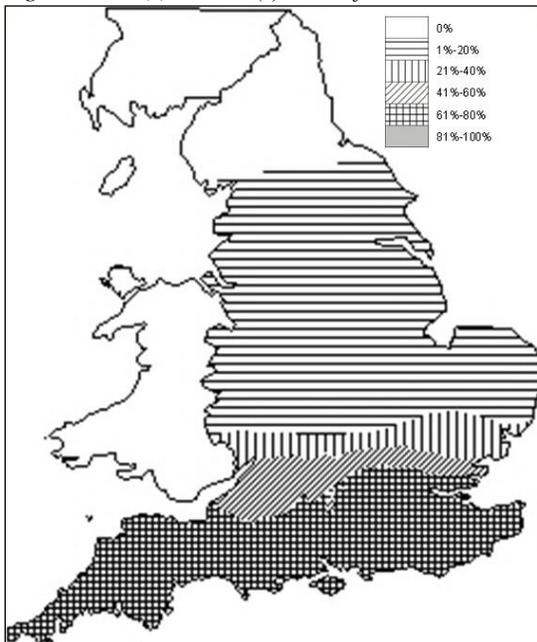


Figure 4.29: All informants' Southern division (n=43)

What is immediately apparent from the composite PDQ maps is the definite 'banding' of the country along northern-midlands-southern lines, with areas of the country blank in each map and not included in the division shown. This is of course what would be expected and seems to suggest that overall some of the informants do indeed have an N-M-S mental division of the country. Closer consideration of figure 4.28 however reveals a point of interest: the 'focussing' of divisions.

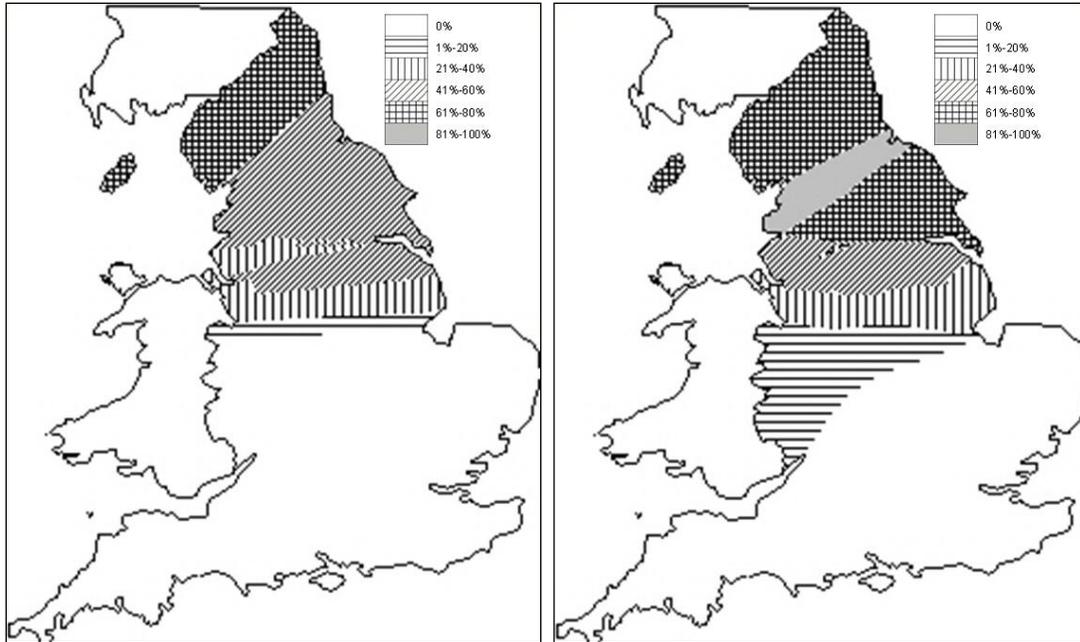
Figure 4.28, the composite map containing the results for the Midlands labelled areas appears to have an unusual centre of gravity. One might expect the patterning to peak in the centre of the zone of disagreement⁹ in an increase-maximum-decrease fashion, creating a central line of 81%-100% agreement. This does not happen however, with a focus area over the city of Birmingham. This is evidence of the division/area problem illustrated above and seems to suggest that there are perhaps alternative thought processes for informants using Birmingham as a focal point and informants drawing an N-M-S division map. It is however difficult, if not impossible, to find out exactly what a specific informant meant when drawing their map and thus we are left with figure 4.28. It does however perhaps provide an insight into how the Midlands are perceived, indicating that for some informants 'the Midlands' and Birmingham are virtually synonymous as well as showing a certain amount of western bias when drawing a Midlands division line.

The composite maps which show all informants' data are useful only in identifying general patterns and as has been seen above there is a strong relationship between informant location and the data provided. For this reason it is important to examine not only general patterns but also the individual composite maps to look for any location effect on division placement.

Northern composite maps

Figures 4.30 to 4.32 below show the composite results for the northern division by survey location.

⁹ The 'zone of disagreement' in PDQ maps is the area covered by shading; where agreement exists over the placement of an area/division but disagreement is present about the placement or extent of it.



Figures 4.30 (l) & 4.31 (r): Northern division by Carlisle informants (n=12) and Crewe informants (n=11)

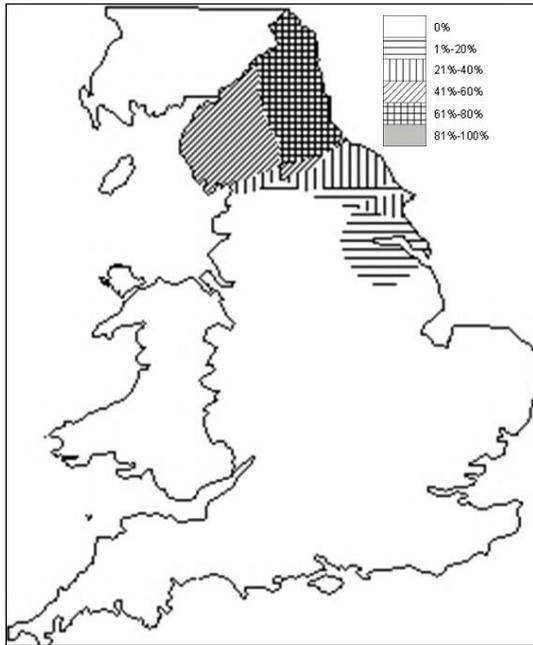


Figure 4.32: Northern division by Hull informants (n=5)

What is immediately apparent in the above figures is the unusual distribution of the shaded elements. Whereas in previous PDQ processed maps there has been a smooth transition through the shaded areas in figures 4.30 to 4.32 this is not evident. This unusual shading is due to the small numbers of informants' lines represented on the maps. Due to the counting technique when the numbers are small a single line can have a dramatic effect, a phenomenon perhaps best seen in figure 4.32

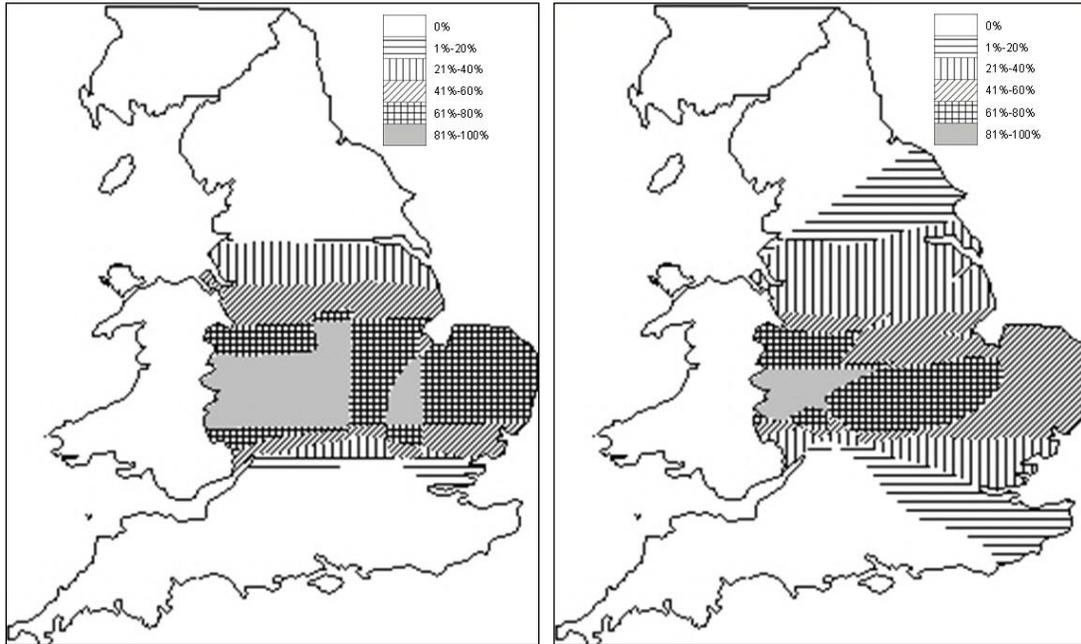
Small numbers of lines aside, there are some aspects of the maps which are of interest. Figure 4.30, which shows Carlisle informants' northern division, has some evidence of the exclusive line drawing which was introduced above. This can be seen in the hashed shading with a southern border running from the south of the Lake District in the west to Newcastle upon Tyne in the east. Although this does not represent the maximum agreement level (hashed shading showing 61%-80% IA) it does indicate that the majority of northern division drawers felt that the boundary was in this area. A good deal of agreement is however exhibited in the southern boundary of the northern division in figure 4.30, with almost no evidence of a 1%-20% shaded area.

This is not the case in figure 4.31 which has a large 1%-20% area although when considering the next level of agreement there is a similarity with the previous figure, with a southern limit from the south of Cheshire to the Wash. This places Crewe within the northern division. Figure 4.31 also has evidence of unusual focussing. This is exhibited in the band of greatest agreement (81%-100% IA) located from Lancashire in the west to the Tees in the east. This band of high agreement is found within a large area of hashed shading with a southern limit running in an almost straight line from the Ribble, south of Blackpool to the Humber. I believe that this again relates to an example of area labelling and not division labelling. This would suggest that there is a concept of a 'northern speech' variety which is distinct from other varieties found in the north, at least for some of the informants from Crewe.

This is a phenomenon which is definitely found in figure 4.32, which shows the results of the five Hull based informants who labelled a northern division. The small numbers of lines make for an unreliable map but the information is interesting none the less. Figure 4.32 shows a number of focal points, again illustrating area labelling as distinct from division. It is clear from these results that the idea of a northern division is not too salient. This is distinct from the idea of certain areas of the country exhibiting 'northern speech', which is a phenomenon with a seeming degree of currency.

Midlands composite maps

Figures 4.33 to 4.35 below show the PDQ processed Midlands division maps compiled from the lines draw by informants in the three survey locations.



Figures 4.33 (l) & 4.34 (r): Midlands division by Carlisle informants (n=6) and Crewe informants (n=11)

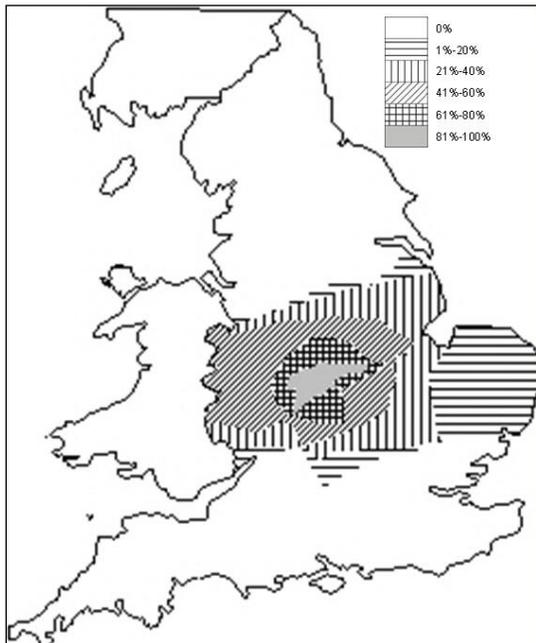


Figure 4.35: Midlands division by Hull informants (n=9)

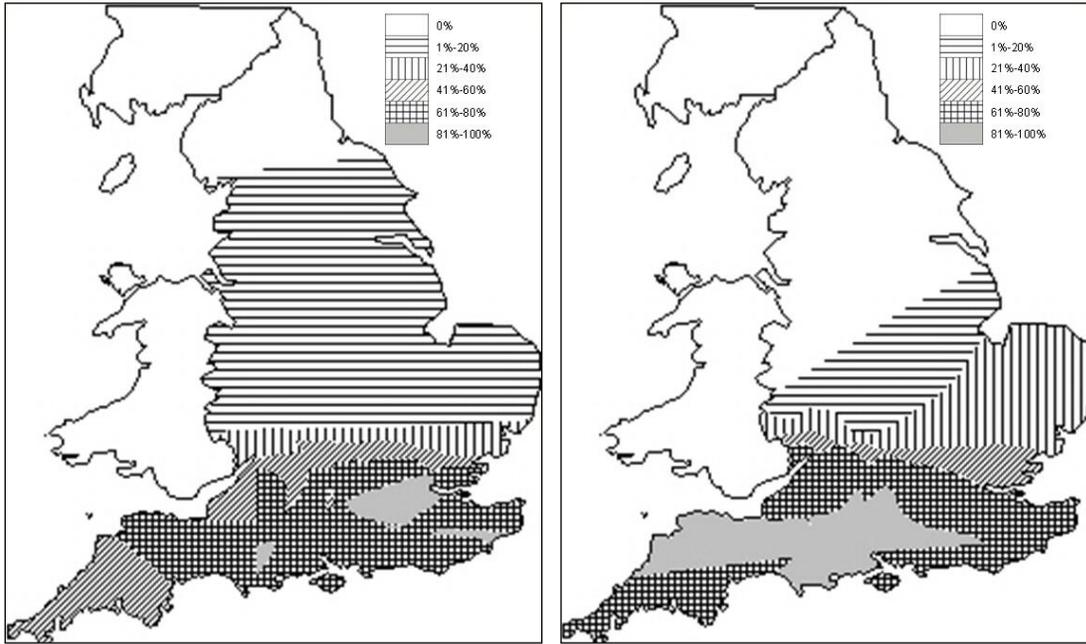
The Midlands division was the least recognised amongst informants (9.5% IR) and the low numbers present in the above figures show this in the fragmented maps with multiple focal points. Despite this there is something to be gained by examining the maps alongside each other, as was the case above. Also, as mentioned above it is worth bearing in mind that these results are possibly indicative of what may have happened had the division task not been so prescriptive.

Figure 4.33, showing Carlisle informants' results, is the composite map with the fewest lines drawn indicating the Midlands division. It is however comparable to figure 4.34 (Crewe informants) in its westward skewing. Both maps exhibit the greatest amount of agreement (81%-100%) around the Welsh border including Shropshire and Herefordshire in the case of Carlisle informants and Herefordshire for Crewe informants. This westward skewed Midlands area is unusual and probably does not fit into an N-M-S paradigm as discussed above. It also does not fit completely with the focussing phenomenon although it is perhaps possible that for some informants Birmingham was the focal point and the division was then extended due to its being termed 'the Midlands'. This does not occur to the same extent in figure 4.35 however, with a clear focus on Birmingham and the westwards extension only visible at the 41%-60% agreement level.

The size of the zone of disagreement varies between each survey location, with the smallest in figure 4.35 (Hull informants) and the largest by far in figure 4.34 (Crewe informants); Carlisle informants appear to occupy a middle ground between the two. It is difficult to ascertain a reason for the disparity in zone sizes, although it must be noted that the northern limit of the zone for Crewe informants places it well inside a Midlands area. The pattern of disparity is not one that would be expected following the proximity argument; instead one would expect to find the greatest agreement (and smallest zone of disagreement) for Crewe informants and the most disagreement for informants from Carlisle. It is perhaps the small numbers of lines drawn indicating the Midlands division that has led to this unusual result although it must be concluded that this is a pattern which seems to run contrary to the proximity argument.

Southern composite maps

Figures 4.36 to 4.38 below show the PDQ processed Southern division maps compiled from the lines draw by informants in the three survey locations.



Figures 4.36 (l) & 4.37 (r): Southern division by Carlisle informants (n=22) and Crewe informants (n=13)

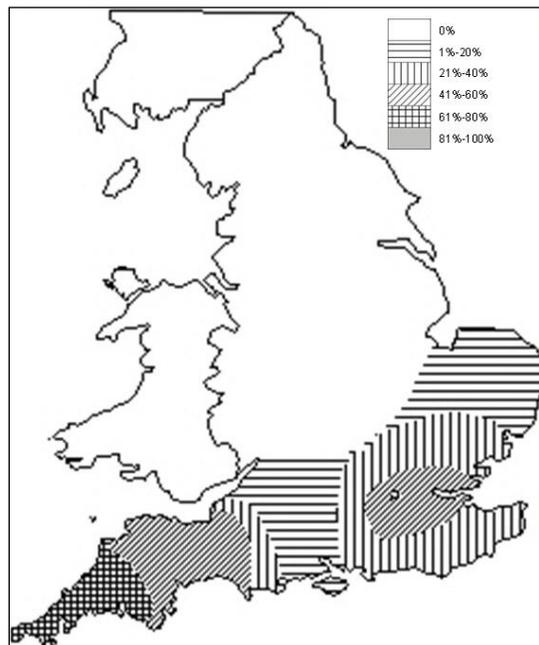


Figure 4.38: Southern division by Hull informants (n=8)

When considering the Southern division composite maps above it is again apparent that the proximity effect is not as expected, although the largest zone of disagreement is found in figure 4.36 which shows Carlisle informants' results. Carlisle informants appear to exhibit some evidence of exclusive line insertion with a relatively far northern boundary to the southern division running from the south Lake District to just south of Middlesbrough. These exclusive lines do not appear to have been drawn by informants from the other two survey locations and the results from Hull place the northern limit of the southern division furthest south by some way.

There are some similarities between the results from Carlisle informants and those from Crewe informants (figures 4.36 and 4.37) when taking the shading representing greater than 41% agreement. In both composite maps at this agreement level and above there seems to be agreement that the southern division has its northern limit at a line drawn from Bristol to the middle of the county of Essex in the east. There is no such agreement in the results from Hull informants.

The agreement seen in figures 4.36 and 4.37 has its limits however and these are reached when considering the 81%-100% shading level. As can be seen from the composite maps there is again evidence of area focussing in the results for the southern division. This is also the case with the results from Hull although the focussing appears more dramatic due to the small number of lines represented in the composite. What is interesting from the focussing evidence found above, especially in figure 4.36, is that they represent a greater number of lines than the previous country divisions. This means that the composite is more reliable and less likely to be affected by one anomalous line. It can therefore be argued that Carlisle informants have a different idea of what is 'southern' to informants based in Crewe. Carlisle informants seem to perceive varieties spoken in and around London as southern; Crewe informants have a wider opinion with an area running from Devon to Hampshire thought of as southern. Although not significant, this is an indicative pattern and helps to understand the general differences in perception across survey locations. This sort of generalisation is only possible with a greater number of

lines and underlines the importance of gaining the maximum number of informants in a study of this nature.

Despite the effect of area focussing impacting on the country division I believe that it is fruitful to examine the tripartite divisions of the country as this is an equally valid way of completing what was initially viewed as simply a north-south task. I strongly believe that more informants would have completed maps in this way had the task been different which would have allowed a valuable and interesting view of how perceptions differ between each survey location.

4.3 DISCUSSION

Most of the discussion regarding the results of the north-south (hereafter ‘country division’) task has been entered into above and the key issues have been tackled. The aim of this section is not to enter into any further discussion of the results, but to provide a critique of the methodology along with an explanation of where it fits into the wider investigation of English perceptual dialectology. I will also focus on the method’s shortcomings in relation to accessing non linguists’ perceptions of country division and suggest improvements that could be made in order to gain a more complete picture.

The reason for including the results from the country division task in the first chapter of results analysis as well as making it the first question in the draw-a-map task was a simple one: the research project is investigating perceptions of northern English. I felt that given the title of the project and the amount of debate surrounding the extent of the northern region it would be expedient to attempt to ascertain where my informants thought the north began and the south ended. This was perhaps a naive approach as there is wide debate for a good reason, not least the fact that concept of north and south is just that: a concept. Still, it still seems to be salient both in everyday conversation and the media with a report in *The Daily Telegraph* at the time of writing highlighting a ‘widening north-south divide’ (Johnston, 2006). As the first question to be answered in the draw-a-map task then it was important that the question of country division was

examined first, before any analysis was undertaken into the area recognition and labelling task. This takes into account Preston's fear that further results may be adversely affected by the first question asking for a boundary, with results skewed on the 'other side' of the division (PC Preston, 2005a).

Despite Preston's concern, I felt it was important to ask the direct question as not only would it attempt to reach a conclusion as to where the divide occurred, along with providing informants an 'easy' first question and ensuring that I would gain data from all informants. These reasons seem to have been justified in some respects. As has been seen, there is only a limited amount of agreement over where the divide occurs with a strong correlation to location effects. Also the 'easy' first question may have misled some informants who believed a tripartite division existed into only providing one line dividing the country into two. This can be added to the fact that the question did not gain data from all informants with only a 72.7% IR level (although this does compare favourably to the next highest recognition level of 57.8% in the dialect areas component). The success of the country division question can thus be said to be only partial, although I do believe that the 'boundary effect' suggested by Preston could be overstated and that the decision to include the question was correct (as long as caution is exercised and the possibility of interference is noted).

If the decision to include the question was correct, a further question still remains: how could it have been improved? This question can be answered fully in chapter 7 and although I am not suggesting that England is the only country in the world which has a conceptual north-south divide (the south-north divide is particularly salient in the United States, for example), it seems to be almost unique in the frequency of mentions it receives which surely indicates its cultural salience. Therefore I feel that the question was of significant importance as although Preston does gain access to informants' perceptions of north and south in the United States (Preston, 1999c: 362) they are 'area focussed' perceptions, distinct from division perceptions. This may be the case in the United States but it does not appear to be so in England; therefore a question eliciting a 'division response' was needed. The division question could perhaps have been improved by

asking it in two parts, a first part asking if the informant if they believed a division to exist with a second part requesting they drew it if they believed that this was the case. This would have the advantage of not leading informants but still gaining a division based response.

The other approach would have been to remove the question and test the salience of a divide by examining what informants did with a completely free draw-a-map task. In this case, the salience and placement of a divide would have been assessed in the context of other area focussed divisions. The country division lines would still have been countable and the truest popular image of north and south (or otherwise) would have been discovered. However, I believe that removing the question would have resulted in a more unstructured task that many informants would have found it difficult to complete. The advantage of the north-south question was that it allowed an easy way into the concept of drawing lines on a blank map and improved the results further into the task¹⁰.

Despite the potential problems with the north-south question I believe that the results that have been given by informants are of interest and importance. The placement of dividing lines seemed to be affected to a large extent by the place of residence of informants. This was of course not unexpected and is in line with other findings both in perceptual geography (Gould & White, 1986, Lynch, 1960) and perceptual dialectology (Long & Yim, 2002, Preston, 1999c) which will be further discussed in the following chapter. The unique development of a specific question requesting a division allowed the development of three hypotheses relating to the placement of the division, all of which seem to have some relevance to this placement and could be further explored in further research. The next two chapters will draw upon what has been discussed in this chapter and aim to form a coherent picture of northern informants' perceptions of dialects across the country.

¹⁰ On many occasions I noted that informants were sitting with the blank map not quite knowing what to do until the instructions were repeated and the north-south question foregrounded. Once the north-south line was inserted it provided a reference point for further area divisions.

5. NON-LINGUISTS' PLACEMENT AND LABELLING OF ENGLISH DIALECT AREAS

It can be argued that the focus of perceptual dialectology should be perception of dialect areas, as opposed to the placement of a north-south division discussed above. The major studies informing the approach to this study (Inoue, 1999b, Long & Yim, 2002, Preston, 1982, Preston, 1986) have all dealt exclusively with the perception of dialect areas. 'Perception', for these linguists, is the placing and delimiting of dialect areas within the countries/spaces surveyed as discussed in chapter 2. In this study, due to the need to ascertain answers to questions of the north and south divide, there has been less of a primary focus on the placement and extent of dialect areas.

One advantage which the discussion of results from the dialect areas task has over that of the country divisions task is the formers' comparability with results from surveys worldwide along with other studies (both perceptual and dialectological) in England (Inoue, 1999b, Viereck & Ramisch, 1991, Viereck & Ramisch, 1997).

The inclusion of the country division analysis in the preceding chapter reflects the question's placement at the start of the questionnaire and acknowledges that it may have an affect on the subsequent dialect areas task. In terms of time spent on analysis, the dialects areas task could be said to be the most important section of results, in line with previous perceptual studies. It is only fitting that this importance is attached to the dialect areas section of results as it is these results which can be used to investigate the mental maps of informants and how these mental maps differ between survey locations. As mental mapping techniques are the touchstone of Preston's approach to the study of perceptual dialectology (Preston, 1999b: xxxiv) it is correct that this study, primarily drawing on this approach, should highlight the importance of such results. An advantage of having discussed the placement of country divisions in the previous chapter is that when the results of the areas task are introduced a full picture of the mental maps of dialects in England can be seen. It will also be possible at this stage to explore the interaction between perceptions of country division and dialect areas.

5.1 FACTORS AFFECTING THE PERCEPTION OF DIALECT AREAS

As with any mental mapping task there are a number of constraining factors on the drawing of maps. These were seen in the case of the country division task and are no less important when introducing a discussion of the results of the areas task. Unlike the country division task, many of the constraints which could affect the recognition, placement, and delimitation of dialect areas have been previously discussed in the perceptual dialectology or perceptual geography literature. This makes comparison between the results from this task and those from other studies easier.

Previous studies of not only of dialect boundaries but also geographical perceptions highlight a number of constraining factors. These factors could all impact on the patterning, placement, and delimiting of dialect areas in the hand-drawn maps from informants in this study, and they will be discussed in detail in the sections below but briefly introduced here. The factors fall into four relatively wide-ranging groups: social; linguistic; interference; locational/geographical.

Social constraints include educational level and age (Fernandez & Fernandez, 2002: 317), rural/urban prejudices (Evans, 2002b: 90), gender (Demirci, 2002), administrative boundaries (Grootaers, 1999: 124, L'Eplattenier-Saugy, 2002), cultural divisions and boundaries (Long, 1999a: 197), social isolation (Ladd, 1970: 98-9, Sibata, 1999: 47), and educational boundaries (Mase, 1999: 88). Linguistic factors are those in which the specific linguistic situation directly informs the perception of dialect boundaries and include phonological factors in the Netherlands (Goeman, 2002: 144) and lexical features in Japan (Mase, 1999: 87, 93). 'Interference' factors are those in which the presence of already existing material seen by informants impacts on their map drawing and includes maps of previous dialectological findings (Daan, 1999: 23) and maps used in school exercises (Inoue, 1999b: 171) or in general travel (Pocock, 1976: 494). Further interference factors could be the effect of media highlighting of particular dialects or areas (Goodey, 1973: 9, Pocock & Hudson, 1978: 96). This was especially true for one pilot study informant's map in which soap operas seemed to play the largest role in

perception of urban centres. Travel experience will also have an interference or ‘contamination’ effect (Pocock, 1976: 494, Pocock & Hudson, 1978: 119). The final grouping of locational/geographical factors focuses on the place in which informants live. As such it deals with the phenomenon of proximity (see previous chapter) (Fought, 2002: 123, Hartley, 1999: 330, Long & Yim, 2002: 255, Pocock, 1972a: 122) as well as national boundaries (Kremer, 1999, Kuiper, 1999: 250), historical boundaries (Sibata, 1999: 46-7) and the effect of geographical features (Sibata, 1999: 46).

The factors influencing the realisation of dialect areas have been placed into the above groups for convenience. The various factors’ inclusion within one group does not mean that it has no case for inclusion within another or that there is no interaction between factors in individual groups; indeed, many of the factors are interlinked and work together to form informants’ perceptions of their environments. Figure 5.1 below shows how some of these factors can interact:

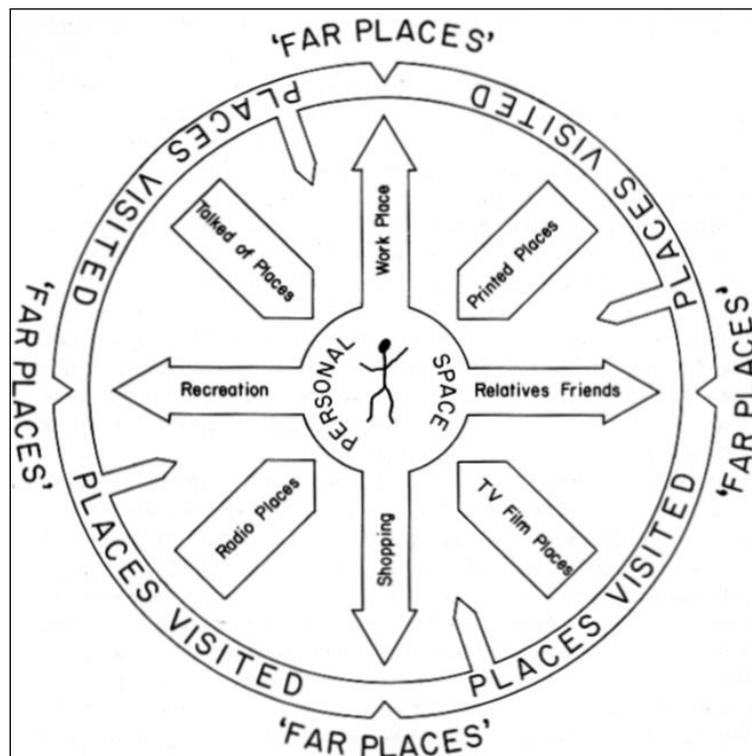


Figure 5.1: 'Man's perception map simplified' (Goodey, 1971b: 7)

In the sections following, which introduce previous research and findings of constraints, the links between the factors in each group should be kept in mind and where necessary

these links will be explicitly made. Perception of the environment is evidently complex and multi-layered and involves the interaction of many factors. However, one major factor which could override all others must be mentioned at this time. This concerns the map-drawing competence of informants. There are bound to be, in a task of this kind, various ways of completing blank maps, as mentioned by Pocock (1972b), but also varying degrees of competence when it comes to drawing maps. Some informants may be able to draw very complex maps whilst others may only be able to indicate the north-south division as requested and not be able to place areas beyond this. The sections below will introduce in more detail the constraints effecting placement and delimitation although varying degrees of map drawing competence must be recognised.

5.1.1 Social factors

It is perhaps no surprise to find that social factors have as large a role to play in the perception of dialect areas as in the wider area of linguistics. From the very earliest studies into urban environmental perception, factors such as social class and race have been shown to have an effect on the geographical perceptual area and corresponding maps (Orleans, 1973). There have also been found to be similar social effects in studies of perceptual dialectology (Demirci, 2002). Although the methodology developed by Preston and adapted in this study was not designed to examine social effects on perception, it is important to recognise the possible effect of social factors on results and what might be expected in results affected by them.

It is assumed for the purpose of this research that the informants across the survey locations belong to a similar class. As mentioned in §3.3, all are involved in further education at state colleges, either studying for 'A' or 'A/S' level qualifications. Almost all of the informants were white, and the gender balance across survey locations was always in the favour of female informants, with an overall ratio of two-thirds female to one-third male¹¹. Although there will undoubtedly be some difference in the social class

¹¹ Overall: 34.5% of informants were male, 65.5% were female. Crewe informants: 24.7% Male/75.3% Female. Carlisle informants: 42.3% Male/57.6% Female. Hull informants: 35.4% Male/64.6% Female.

of informants attending each facility in which the research was undertaken, questions of social class or parent's occupation (if this is even a good indicator of social class) were not asked. Instead the only biographical data gathered from informants was age, sex and home-town in order to keep the time needed to complete the draw-a-map task to a minimum. There may well have been benefits in terms of assessing the effects of social class or indeed other social factors such as the extent of affiliation with the survey location or the measurement of identity factors as suggested in the Survey of Regional English (SuRE) method (Llamas, 1999). I decided however that in order to gain the large numbers of maps needed for statistical validity that such an approach would not be taken. In the discussion below of social effects on dialect area perception, the lack of detailed social data gathered must be borne in mind. Despite this lack of detail there are strong purported social effects on perception (both linguistic and geographical) which can be investigated even with the brief biographical data collected from the informants in this study.

One of the major social effects on language is gender. It has been shown to have a large impact on the production and use of language, in the pioneering research by William Labov in New York City (Labov, 1972) and subsequently in a large number of other studies (Milroy, 1984, Trudgill, 1972). The concept is almost undisputed as a major factor in linguistic variation, however given the rich history of the investigation of linguistic variation, it is perhaps surprising to find that there is 'no research that focuses on gender differences in the perception of dialect boundaries' (Demirci, 2002: 41). The early perception studies in Japan and the Netherlands made no effort to examine possible gender effects, treating the population as a homogenous body of like-minded individuals. This is perhaps due to the studies being undertaken before the major sociolinguistic works of the 1960s onwards but even studies undertaken after this point make little reference to the phenomenon.

This lack of reference to gender is remedied to some effect in a study in Spain (Moreno Fernandez & Moreno Fernandez, 2002) but more specifically in a study undertaken in Turkey by Demirci (2002) designed specifically to investigate the interaction between

gender (as well as social class and age) and perception. Demirci found a strong gender effect on the number of dialect areas that were perceived by her 142 informants with male informants perceiving a greater number of dialect areas than females. She also found age and social class to have an effect for male informants, with the older male informants of a higher class perceiving the greatest number of dialect areas; by contrast the youngest group of lower class males perceived the smallest number of dialect areas. There did not seem to be a similar relationship between class and age for female informants and a similar number of dialect areas were recognised whatever social class or age informants were (Demirci, 2002: 49). This research was of course carried out in a very different country to England, with stark gender differences due to ‘a traditional and male-dominated society’ (Demirci, 2002: 50). However, if there is a gender effect (something shown to impact on language use) it may well replicate Demirci’s findings in Turkey and I may find male informants able to delimit a greater number of dialect areas. There is perhaps an argument that in Demirci’s study, gender is a proxy for mobility, with the males in Turkey having more freedom to move around the country thus increasing their contact and experience of varieties of Turkish. Of course any possible link between gender and perception in the present study could be masked due to the approximate two-thirds majority of female informants in my sample. As discussed above in §3.3, this disparity is due to the problem of gaining access to informants and the reliance on those taking classes in A-Level English Language. The relatively small number of male informants in the survey locations could impact on the ability to statistically test for the effect of gender although some examination for impressionistic patterns will be possible and could be illuminating.

The brief discussion of Demirci’s studies in Turkey highlighted two other factors which have been seen to have a large effect on not only perception but also linguistic variation. These factors are social class and age. As discussed above, for the purposes of this study I am assuming there to be little class variation, or a similar amount in each survey location. As class was not intended to be assessed in the design of the methodology it would be quite wrong to go back and superimpose my judgements and therefore the data are to be regarded as classless.

Age is however something that can be accounted for, as some of the informants in the Carlisle sample are older than the average age (of 19.73 years old). According to Moreno Fernandez & Moreno Fernandez (2002) the effect of age is similar to the effect of gender as seen in Demirci's (2002) study above. Whereas in the study in Turkey it was men who perceived more dialect difference, it was the older residents of Madrid who distinguished dialects more readily than younger informants (Moreno Fernandez & Moreno Fernandez, 2002: 315-6). The older informants in the Madrid study were also able to be more discriminating in their perceptions. This again highlights a potential problem with the selection of my informants¹² although as long as I ensure that age differences are examined and accounted for, any patterns may provide more illumination of the factors affecting perception in England. If age really is a factor for my informants I may therefore expect to find that a greater number of dialect areas are recognised by my older informants, with those areas which are recognised showing a greater amount of boundary agreement. Brief examination of the results however indicates that this is not the case; fuller discussion can be found below in §5.2.

Other social constraints which have been found to have an effect on the results of previous perceptual studies have historically not been viewed as factors in other areas of linguistic study (or have been lesser factors). These include a rural/urban prejudice or 'attitudes split' and social isolation. Social isolation is perhaps a logical extension of other social factors mentioned above (such as class and gender) and research which introduces social isolation and mobility as a constraint on perception indicates that those with the least mobility will perceive the least. Although there is not a great deal of research which deals directly with social mobility, one of the landmark studies in Japan undertaken by Sibata (1999) accounts for its results by examining the role of hamlets in perception of dialects in a small area of Japan. Sibata found that isolated hamlets were perceived as having very different dialect areas by informants from the wider geographical area, stating that this 'is the result of social isolation' (Sibata, 1999: 47).

¹² This is due to the other survey locations (Crewe and Hull) not having a similar age breakdown, with all or most of the informants in these locations below the average age.

The effect of social isolation was also in evidence in one of the early studies into perceptual geography performed by Orleans (1973) who, as discussed in chapter 2 looked at the effect of ‘social scale’ on the mental mapping of Los Angeles. His results pointed towards a strong relationship between social class, race, and social mobility. Orleans’ upper class residents from Westwood had a highly detailed knowledge of the city, with black informants exhibiting a less detailed knowledge. The lowest class informants, a small group of Spanish-speaking immigrants living in an inner city neighbourhood, perceived a literally and comparably tiny area of the city (Orleans, 1973: 118-125). This showed the clear effect of social isolation on perception. Both Sibata’s and Orleans’ studies were undertaken in small geographical spaces and as such may not be directly comparable to the results in the present study, but a knowledge of the effects of social isolation may have value in accounting for some of the hand-drawn maps.

The rural/urban prejudice or ‘attitudes split’ mentioned above is mentioned as a potential reason for patterns of perception of varieties of Canadian French (Evans, 2002b). It appears in this study that Montréalers exhibit ‘prejudices towards more rural varieties’ (Evans, 2002b: 90) which echoes findings by Preston (1996b). Although these findings are perhaps more relevant to those to be discussed in chapter 6 which involves a similar methodology to that used by Evans and Preston they could shed some light on reasons for the drawing of certain dialect areas. There also seems to be an important relationship between the urban and rural in England historically and (seemingly increasingly) presently, as discussed by Wales (2006b).

The final two social constraints on the perception of dialect area are less to do with language users themselves and more to do with an imposition of governmental and administrative ‘frameworks’; these are administrative and educational boundaries. The concept of the interference of administrative boundaries (specifically the changing of them) in Middlesbrough has been discussed at length by Llamas (2000, 2006) not only in relation to perception but also production of linguistic features. Administrative boundaries have been found in this case to be extremely important to some, a phenomenon acknowledged in early perceptual studies in Japan (Grootaers, 1999, Mase,

1999, Nomoto, 1999). Mase, in his discussion of results, offers an explanation for informants' perceptions of small dialect areas based on educational boundaries. He argues that 'the small dialect perception regions are closely related to the school districts' (Mase, 1999: 88). Grootaers, reviewing Mase's study, agrees with his findings and produces a map to justify his claims (Grootaers, 1999: 124-5). Again in Japan, Nomoto (1999) found that historical administrative boundaries were seen to have an effect on perception, with a perception task (without a map) revealing a correspondence between perceptual divisions and the administrative boundaries (Nomoto, 1999: 65).

The impact of administrative boundaries may not be the same as found in Japan, as although there is no doubt of the importance of boundaries to some in England (see Llamas 1999, 2006), these boundaries were not marked on the map. This was a deliberate strategy designed to ensure primarily that informants did not simply copy the boundaries in their maps, with a secondary result of presenting informants with a 'simple' blank map without the many lines which make up the county divisions. Again, although I may not find that administrative boundaries do have the impact seen in Japan it is important to acknowledge all possible constraints.

5.1.2 Linguistic factors

As introduced above, linguistic factors are those in which the specific linguistic situation directly informs the perception of dialect boundaries. Maps taking these factors into account are essentially the 'correct' maps showing the 'actual linguistic boundaries' (Nomoto, 1999: 63) that some of the Japanese perceptual dialectologists seemingly wanted to find (Preston, 1999a: xxxii). It is however generally acknowledged that informants do not produce subjective boundaries which correspond to a great extent to production boundaries (Inoue, 1999b). However, early perceptual dialectologists from the Dutch school seemed to be more content to examine perception in relation to production (linguistic) factors and use the results in order to give dialect boundaries 'greater (or lesser) weight' (Preston, 1999a: xxx) and gain a more complete picture of the linguistic situation.

This more complete picture of the linguistic situation is what I believe an objective of perceptual dialectology should be. As was seen in the previous chapter, the placement of the north-south dividing line and other country divisions depended to a large extent on locational factors, and the linguistic ‘facts’ had a lesser impact. This does not mean that the results are worthless; however it does mean that from those results we can gain access to the information which has the ability to supplement data gathered using more traditional methods. It also asks questions about where the ‘factual’ linguistic data has come from, along with ensuring we question its age and relevance to contemporary language use. The fact that in many cases results gathered from perceptual studies do not compare exactly with those gathered from other dialectological studies (and the small length of this section) should not mean that perceptual results are viewed as less important. Perceptual studies are merely another way of approaching the study of macro-linguistic dialectological variation, the results from which can be used to complement (not oppose) those from traditional studies of the same phenomenon.

Nonetheless, previous studies have found some correlation between linguistic factors and non-linguists’ perceptions in both Dutch and Japanese schools of perceptual dialectology. Phonological features have been seen to impact on the perception of dialect distance in Dutch (Goeman, 2002: 144) and dialect boundaries in Japan (Mase, 1999: 94). Lexical features, along with some syntactical and pitch-accent features also seemed to impact on results in Japan (Mase, 1999: 87, 93).

As discussed, there is generally not a great impact from linguistic factors on the perception of dialect areas. Although some studies in Japan and Holland have found links between production and perception, this is not the ‘normal’ situation. Linguistic factors will certainly be examined in relation to the perceptual maps produced by informants in the present study, and composite maps can be examined alongside other general production maps in order to look for patterns. The general discussion of the differentiation of northern English in §1.3 will assist in accounting for maps influenced by linguistic factors.

Differentiation between varieties is something which is becoming less observable in some parts of the country due to the phenomena of what Kerswill terms ‘regional dialect levelling’ (2003: 223) which leads to the loss of localised features to be replaced with features found over a wider area. There are two possible mechanisms behind the loss of these features: diffusion, ‘the geographical and/or social spread of a linguistic form from another socio-geographical place’ (Britain, 2002a: 16), and levelling, which is ‘the reduction or attrition of marked variants’ (Trudgill, 1986: 98). Kerswill claims that in this case levelling is closely related to the ‘social psychological mechanism of speech accommodation’ (Kerswill, 2003: 223) in which speakers will tend to converge linguistically (assuming that both speakers wish to get along).

The phenomena of levelling and diffusion are of importance here as, as reported by Kerswill, many studies have pointed to dialect levelling ‘as the main ‘motor’ behind changes in British English varieties’ (Foulkes & Docherty, 1999, Kerswill, 2003: 225). Britain would claim the importance of diffusion in language change, with advancements in mapping techniques allowing access to these changes (Britain, 2002b: 633). The implication for this study is clear: informants may be less able to distinguish between varieties due to regional dialect levelling. If diffusion is at work, informants may tend to ‘focus’ their hand-drawn dialect area on a specific city or centre of population, giving a much larger area a city name, for example. If levelling is taking place informants may be less able to identify the dialect area, which could result in the area not being marked on the map or, again, with the nearest city’s name attributed to the area. Of course both levelling and diffusion work in conjunction with each other and the precise mechanism at work will be difficult to identify through hand-drawn maps although comparisons with other studies may be able to indicate what may be at work in the survey locations. Interestingly, Trudgill has assessed the patterns present in his maps of ‘Traditional’ and ‘Modern’ dialects along with the predicted effect of levelling and diffusion in order to produce a map of ‘Possible future dialects’ in England (and Wales) (Trudgill, 1999: 83). Comparisons of this map with composite hand-drawn maps will be interesting in order to examine any correlation.

5.1.3 Interference factors

As mentioned above, interference factors are those in which the presence of pre-existing material which has been seen by informants influences the completion of hand-drawn maps. The possible influence of interference factors has been mentioned by some as a potential problem with the use of a blank map task, as informants would be likely to simply replicate what they had already seen. However I would contend that despite the possibility of interference factors playing some role in the construction of hand-drawn maps they do so as part of an aggregation of other factors influencing the map drawer. The interference factors discussed below are maps presenting results of other dialect studies or everyday maps that informants could have come into contact with.

The most obvious type of maps which informants could have come into contact with are those used in educational settings. For the majority of informants their experience of school Geography was relatively recent and many of them would have taken the subject up to the age of 16 (and indeed some may still have been studying it). Although in some respects this may not have been a bad thing, in terms of ensuring informants would be geographically competent, the possibility of these educational maps interfering with the final hand-drawn map must be highlighted. Inoue (1999b), who undertook perceptual dialectology study in England in the late 1980s, states that he believes there to be a relatively large amount of interference from such educational maps:

Maps students use in primary and secondary geography classes in England seem to influence the student's geographical conceptions. Various school educational maps...were thus collected. Commonly used aerial divisions showed an approximate correspondence with students' subjective dialect divisions. ... This fact suggests the stereotypical influence of geographical labels.

(Inoue, 1999b: 171)

Inoue is rather disheartened by the above, going on to state that ‘English data ... seem to show no clear dialectal background’ and that more study will be needed to ‘confirm this tentative and discouraging finding’ (Inoue, 1999b: 171). I do not share Inoue’s pessimism about his results, but believe that his methodology (which involved the use of a map with county boundaries and names included (Inoue, 1999b: 176)) could result in informants being ‘led’ by those boundaries. It is my conviction that these map-marked boundaries contributed more to the completion of the map in a way which replicated school maps (presumably which showed the same county boundaries) than the simple influence of the school maps. I believe that the map task employed in the present research will show less of the interference effect from education maps due to its mainly blank make-up, although this does introduce other problems, discussed below and in previous chapters.

In terms of educational map interference factors one must also assess the possible impact of dialectological maps, as suggested by Daan in her discussion of Dutch Questionnaire 8 (Daan, 1999: 23). These dialectological maps, such as those prepared by Trudgill from SED data (Trudgill, 1990) and others describing the SED data in more detail (Upton et al., 1987) could be used in A-level English language classes and therefore some informants in this study may have come into contact with them. The possible influence of these maps is something to be more concerned about than interference from other general educational maps. For this reason, any maps which displayed too great a linguistic knowledge (the use of IPA symbols or lines labelled with linguists’ names, for example) were discarded from the analysis. Through the exclusion of such maps it is hoped that the results will not be skewed by this interference factor. There may be some residual results influenced by dialectological (copying) factors however it is hoped that these will ‘even out’ over the three survey locations. One of the important reasons for limiting the effect of such maps is their eventual use in the analysis of results (as part of comparison exercises, for example). One would not want to compare Trudgill’s map of modern dialect areas with 90 faithful reproductions of the same map, and it is hoped that this has been avoided by discarding maps showing obvious influence.

There are two other interference factors which have not been looked at too closely in previous studies of perceptual dialectology: these are media awareness and travel experience, although Preston does allude to these factors in some of his research (Preston, 1989b). The lack of explicit comment in other studies is perhaps due to the obvious impact of both factors (especially travel experience) could have on the perception of regional varieties. Taking travel experience first, it is important to acknowledge the possible impact that this could have on informants and their perceptions. 'Places visited' is a major constituent in figure 5.1 and its author Goodey clearly believes this to have a large role to play in geographical perception despite some debate about the consistency of information gathering during these place visits (Pocock & Hudson, 1978: 96-7). I have no reason to believe that this should not be the case in relation to the perception of speech. It is partly for this reason that the age group of my informants was as it was, although availability of informants was the primary concern. University students, although only a year older than the majority of informants would have been less suitable due to their travel experience and the influence this would have had on perception. An easy way to have combated this particular problem would have been to include a travel question in the questionnaire. This was not included in order to ensure that the fieldwork administration was as brief as possible (also, many other questions could have been included before a travel question).

Media awareness is also an important interference factor to consider as it has been found to have an impact in studies of environmental perception (Goodey, 1973, Pocock, 1973). Pocock & Hudson comment that 'the image as received' is important and cite television as increasingly influential in perception (1978: 119). Preston also discusses media awareness under the heading of 'publicity' (Preston, 1996a: 59) as one of the factors affecting his modes of 'folk linguistic awareness' (Preston, 1996a: 46). If media awareness was important in the UK for Pocock & Hudson in the late 1970s then it could be hypothesised that the recent advent of multi-channel television would have increased this influence. The impact of musical and cultural 'hotspots' should perhaps not be underestimated either.

5.1.4 Locational/geographical factors

The final group of factors which could impact on informants hand-drawn maps are locational and geographical factors. These factors are largely to do with the place in which informants live and as such should affect results from each survey location in similar ways to the results observed in studies in the United States (Lance, 1999, Preston, 1986). This final grouping of constraints includes proximity effects, as discussed at length in the previous chapter, along with the effect of proximity to national and historical boundaries and the effect of geographical features.

There is little point rehearsing the discussion of proximity effects here, and a brief description of what the effects of proximity are will suffice. Proximity (or ‘closeness’) to an area or boundary will typically result in greater accuracy in the placement of the area or boundary (Lance, 1999), as was observed in §4.2’s discussion of the results of the north-south task. As well as greater accuracy, close proximity of a survey location may produce different results to those from locations at a distance from the area or boundary (see the ‘southern shifting’ phenomenon noted in the previous chapter). Proximity may also affect the number and names of dialect areas drawn on blank maps, as observed by Lance in research in the United States (1999). It is of course entirely logical that areas in close proximity will be observed more readily than far away areas, and that close areas will have more salience than far away areas in specific survey locations. I would therefore expect the results in this study to be affected by proximity by identifying close dialect areas more readily, and when recognising these areas to exhibit more agreement over their extent.

The effects of national boundaries on results in this study will not be as marked as in studies performed in other European countries such as Holland (Kremer, 1999) and France (Kuiper, 1999: 250). The national boundaries present at the land borders of England are not equivalent to those found in the aforementioned European countries and are porous, allowing completely free movement between Wales and Scotland with no more than a sign letting the traveller know they have crossed a border. This said

however, (partial) devolution for Scotland and (even more partial) devolution for Wales has continued and contributed to a growing sense of national identity in both countries. The failure of devolution projects for the regions of England has yet to be examined fully but there is a growing sense of political difference between England and the devolved countries of the United Kingdom, at least amongst the political class. This sense of difference could be expressed by informants in this study in their map task with lines separating England from Scotland or Wales. These lines, due to proximity, may be expected to be indicated to a greater extent by informants from Carlisle (close to the Scottish border) or Crewe (relatively close to the Welsh border) and the impact of national boundaries may provide an explanation for some informants' maps.

The effect of historical boundaries could perhaps be bracketed with the effect of political boundaries. The historical boundaries which have been seen to have an effect in Japanese perceptual dialectology (Sibata, 1999: 46-7) affected relatively small areas and related to former administrative boundaries (as discussed above in §5.1.1). They were also related to the effect of geographical features which contributed to difficulties in communication due to the presence of mountain passes and rivers. In a wider geographical area or region, such as the one in which this study is based, these historical boundaries will perhaps not have quite the same effect. Geographical features however may still have a role to play. Although the Pennines did not seem to have too much of an effect on the perceptions of north and south in the previous chapter, their historical prominence may impact on dialect area recognition and drawing. Wales (2006a) provides a helpful map which shows the historical effect of the Pennines on communications, this can be seen in figure 5.2 below:

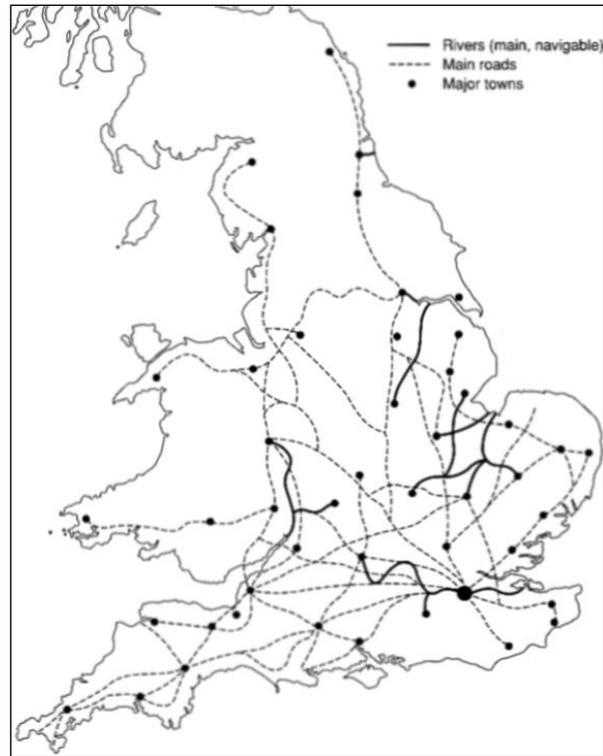


Figure 5.2: Main road and river systems c.1600 (Wales, 2006b: 87)

The effect of the Pennines can be clearly seen in the extent of communication possible between east and west in the north of England, with no main road crossing the Pennines north of a Ribble-Humber line (incidentally the only east-west crossing north of Birmingham). Although modern roads are better there is still difficulty to be found in crossing the Pennines, both by road and rail, so much so that a modern communications map of the north does not look dramatically different, as figure 5.3 below shows.



Figure 5.3: Map of the north of England displaying major roads (and rail links in black) (map from Google Earth (Google, 2006))

As discussed above, there are many different effects on the location and delimitation of dialect areas. As with the factors constraining the placement of north-south country divisions, the factors mentioned will not operate in isolation and in many cases will work together to inform each informant's map. This discussion of constraining factors will inform the discussion of individual maps and, more importantly, composite maps from each survey location.

5.2 INTRODUCTION TO RESULTS

The results from the area labelling component of the hand-drawn maps are, unsurprisingly, quite numerous and heavily reliant on graphics. As in the previous chapter I will compare maps from each survey location and examine the basic patterns.

In this way it is hoped that patterns exclusive to each survey location will not be missed whilst ensuring that all-important comparisons are made. Throughout the remainder of the chapter I will discuss the results in relation to the constraints detailed under the four headings above.

Before proceeding with a description of any hand-drawn maps it will be useful to introduce the overall numerical make-up of the results. Overall, the draw-a-map task gathered data from 293 informants¹³ who produced a total of 1246 lines delimiting 62 separate dialect areas and country divisions. There was an overall average of 4.53 lines drawn on each map. A full breakdown of all results can be found in appendix 3 which permits a brief overview of salient areas for informants in each survey location. Table 5.1 below shows the ten most frequently identified dialect areas across all survey locations¹⁴. Bracketed figures in the table show the percentage of informants from each survey location identifying the particular dialect area.

Dialect area	All locations (n=273)	Carlisle (n=98)	Crewe (n=85)	Hull (n=93)
Scouse (Liverpool)	159 (57.8 %)	48 (49%)	67 (78.8%)	44 (47.3%)
Geordie (Newcastle)	156 (56.7 %)	52 (53.1%)	61 (71.8%)	43 (46.2%)
Brummie (Birmingham)	132 (48 %)	34 (34.7%)	61 (71.8%)	37 (39.8%)
Cockney	100 (36.4%)	33 (33.7%)	46 (54.1%)	21 (22.6%)
Manc (Manchester)	73 (26.5%)	26 (26.5%)	33 (38.8%)	14 (15.1%)
Yorkshire	54 (19.6%)	9 (9.2%)	12 (14.1%)	33 (35.5%)
Cumbria/Carlisle	35 (12.7%)	33 (33.7%)	1 (1.2%)	1 (1.1%)
Cornwall	31 (11.3%)	10 (10.2%)	16 (18.8%)	5 (5.4%)
West Country	21 (7.6%)	9 (9.2%)	7 (8.2%)	5 (5.4%)
Potteries (Stoke)	14 (5.1%)	1 (1%)	13 (15.3%)	-(0%)

Table 5.1: The ten most frequently identified dialect areas across all survey locations.

What is immediately apparent in the table is the alarming ‘drop-off’ in terms of the number of informants identifying dialect areas, in the figures for individual survey locations as well as the overall figures. This ‘drop-off’ also does not occur from a very

¹³ 98 informants from Carlisle, 85 from Crewe, and 93 from Hull.

¹⁴ Table 5.1 shows the figures for dialect areas, not those lines read as ‘country divisions’ (see previous chapter). A combined table showing both sets of data would include figures for ‘North-South’, Midlands, Northern and Southern. It would also show a value for a ‘Posh’ division (see Section 5.2.4)

high base, with only the ‘Scouse’ and ‘Geordie’¹⁵ areas achieving greater than 50% recognition levels. By individual survey location the picture is no ‘better’: neither Carlisle nor Hull informants recognised any dialect areas at greater than 50% (bold figures in table 5.1). This was not the case for informants from Crewe who had four dialect areas recognised at more than 50%. This is not necessarily of as much concern as it could be: due to the relatively high numbers of informants involved in the study the overall totals of informants’ lines are still high. However, if there were fewer informants involved then extreme caution would have to be exercised in drawing any conclusions from the study. This serves to underline the importance of gaining the greatest number of informants possible, especially when generalisations are to be made and one wishes to be reliable when making conclusions from data.

The ‘drop-off’ in terms of number of informants drawing lines representing each area can be seen below in chart 5.1 which shows a clear downward trend (as would be expected), with eight of the ten most frequently identified areas below the 50% recognition level (136.5 lines).

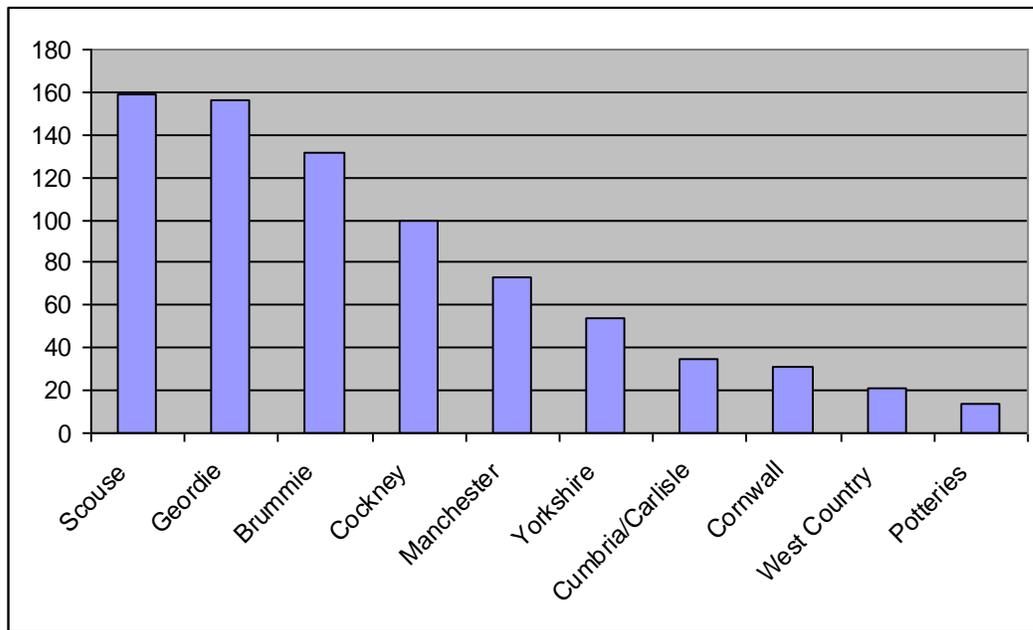


Chart 5.1: Overall numbers of lines drawn representing each of the ten most frequently recognised dialect areas (n=273)

¹⁵ Subsequently, the names of dialect areas will be given as indicated by the majority of informants in the study. Thus, the dialect area of Liverpool was named by the greatest number of informants as ‘Scouse’, and this is the label that will be used (in inverted commas).

Re-examining table 5.1, it can be seen that the figures for individual survey locations do not show the same smooth downward trend in every case as for the overall figures. This is due to the table being constructed around the overall figures. Individual survey locations' figures for numbers of lines and informant recognition levels will be discussed below. An observation that can be made here is the effect of survey location in skewing of some of the figures in the table (Carlisle informants' recognition level for the Carlisle/Cumbria area, for example).

5.2.1 Frequently recognised dialect areas: Similarities and differences

Before discussing the most frequently identified dialect areas, the effect of survey location on recognition levels should be explicitly stated. Table 5.2 below shows the ten most frequently identified areas by survey location, the bracketed figures again showing the level of informant recognition.

Carlisle (n=98)		Crewe (n=85)		Hull (n=93)	
Area	Number	Area	Number	Area	Number
Geordie	52 (53.1%)	Scouse	67 (78.8%)	Scouse	44 (47.3%)
Scouse	48 (49%)	Geordie	61 (71.8%)	Geordie	43 (46.2%)
Brummie	34 (34.7%)	Brummie	61 (71.8%)	Brummie	37 (39.8%)
Cumbria	33 (33.7%)	Cockney	46 (54.1%)	Yorkshire	33 (35.5%)
Cockney	33 (33.7%)	Manchester	33 (38.8%)	Cockney	21 (22.6%)
Manchester	26 (26.5%)	Cornwall	16 (18.8%)	Manchester	14 (15.1%)
Cornwall	10 (10.2%)	Potteries	13 (15.3%)	London	10 (9.3%)
Yorkshire	9 (9.2%)	Yorkshire	12 (14.1%)	South West	9 (9.7%)
West Country	9 (9.2%)	London	9 (10.6%)	Hull	6 (6.5%)
Lancashire	8 (8.6%)	West Country	7 (8.2%)	East Anglia	6 (6.5%)

Table 5.2: The ten most frequently identified dialect areas by survey location

Table 5.2 demonstrates the effect of survey location on the recognition of dialect areas. Although the three dialect areas occupying the top three slots in the table are the same for each location ('Geordie', 'Scouse' and 'Brummie'), the 'Scouse' area is most frequently identified by two locations and the 'Geordie' area by the remaining one. Unsurprisingly, the survey location which has the highest recognition level for the 'Geordie' dialect area

is Carlisle which again confirms the role of proximity in dialect area identification as observed by Preston in accounting for his informants' hand-drawn maps (Preston, 1986: 234-5).

There is more evidence of the effect of proximity in other parts of table 5.2, with the relative prominence of 'near-to' or 'home' dialect areas for each survey location. For informants from Carlisle, the 'Carlisle/Cumbria' area was of particular salience, something which was not the case for informants in the other survey locations. 33 lines were drawn in recognition of a 'Carlisle/Cumbria' area by informants from Carlisle, as opposed to two lines in total from Crewe and Hull informants: this translates to 94.3% of all lines drawn indicating the 'Carlisle/Cumbria' dialect area being placed by Carlisle-based informants. A similar situation can also be observed for Crewe informants in their recognition of the 'Potteries' dialect area. The 'Potteries' area can be classed as a 'near-to' dialect area as the city of Stoke-on-Trent ostensibly borders the Borough of Crewe and Nantwich. Although there are smaller numbers involved in this case, 92.9% of all lines drawn (13) indicating a 'Potteries' area were placed by informants from Crewe. This case is interesting due to a lack of Crewe informants indicating a 'Crewe' area (although there are three lines indicating a 'Cheshire' area); further work on identity could shed light on the reluctance by these informants to name their home area and instead produce relatively high recognition levels for a 'near-to' area.

The situation for informants from Hull is slightly different from the other two survey locations. Although the only lines drawn indicating 'Hull' and 'Humberside' areas are drawn by Hull informants (six and three lines, respectively), there is the complicating factor of the county of Yorkshire. Surprisingly, as will be seen below and can be observed from tables 5.1 and 5.2, a 'Yorkshire' dialect area was drawn by relatively few informants. This is surprising due to the county's historical size and its prominence in the country's history. However, perhaps due to deficiencies in the methodology employed here which gave no 'tagging point' for the county (unlike areas that could be based around the city location dots for cities such as Manchester and Birmingham) or other factors, the 'Yorkshire' dialect area was only the sixth most recognised (with less

than 20% IR). Notwithstanding this relative lack of recognition, Crewe and Carlisle informants drew twelve and nine lines respectively, compared with 33 lines drawn by Hull informants (which accounts for 61.1% of the total). This again goes some way to proving that ‘close-to’ and ‘home’ dialect areas will be recognised more readily than dialect areas further away: there will be more discussion of this factor in relation to perception of speech in chapter 6. The ‘Yorkshire’ dialect area for the first time raises the concept of dialect hierarchy, which will be discussed below.

Another proximity effect and one that is relevant to the discussion of the ‘Yorkshire’ area above is the inclusion of the ‘Lancashire’ area at the foot of the Carlisle column in table 5.2. The area receives recognition from eight informants in this survey location, where it falls within the ten most frequently identified areas. I would argue that this is due to proximity as the county of Lancashire borders Cumbria to the south. Interestingly, the county of Lancashire did not historically border Cumbria but did occupy the space to the north of Cheshire and west of Yorkshire (Wales, 2006b: 14). This fact along with the historical conflicts between Yorkshire and Lancashire may have led one to expect that Lancashire would receive a relatively high number of informant lines. This was not the case and the ‘Lancashire’ dialect area only received three lines from Hull informants and none from Crewe.

A final observation from table 5.2 is the negligible effect of city location dots on the results. City location dots were included in order to ensure that informants had some geographical assistance. Some have observed that the inclusion of dots on the blank map in order to enable informants some geographical guidance in the completion of their maps may have produced misleading results. I accept that there may be some ‘leading’ of informants due to the use of such dots, however I reject the argument that their use produces results that are misleading. There were six city dots which informants had to label correctly in order to have their results accepted: Newcastle upon Tyne, Liverpool, Manchester, Birmingham, Bristol, and London. Of these city labels, five of them are present as labelled dialect areas in tables 5.1 and 5.2, one however, is not: Bristol, which received only five lines overall (four from Hull and one from Crewe), representing a

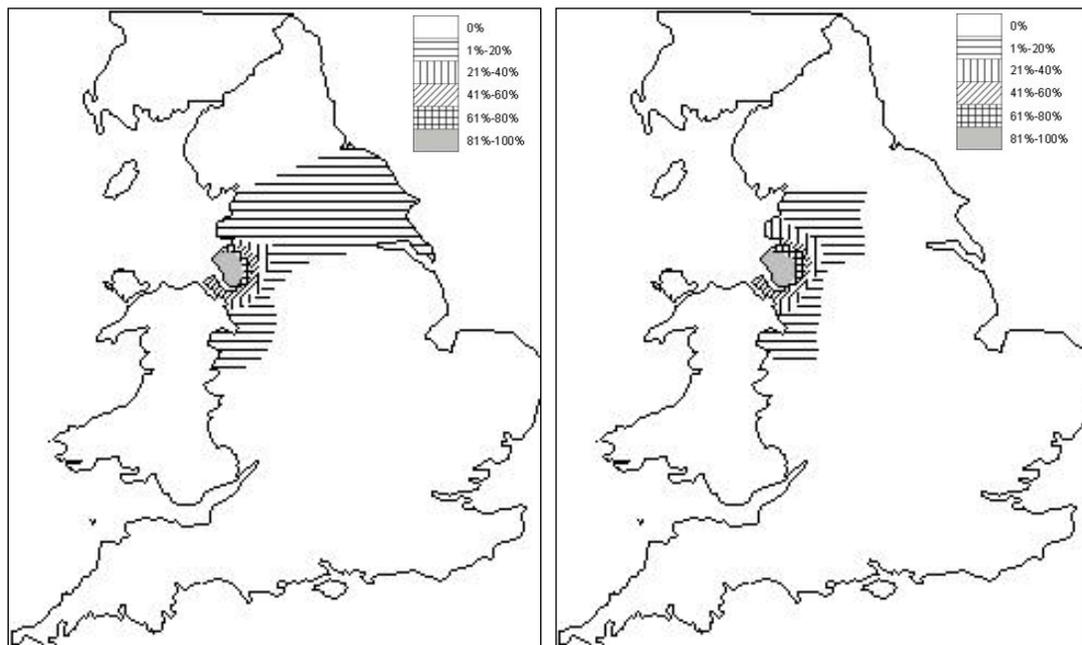
recognition level of only 1.8%. I believe that this lack of ‘Bristol’ dialect area labelling reflects well on the city labelling method I applied in this study, which was introduced in order to achieve geographically reliable results (see further discussion in §7.2.1).

5.2.2 Dialect area maps: Comparisons across survey locations

This section will examine the extent of visual agreement for the most frequently recognised dialect areas across the three survey locations. The relative statistical importance of the dialect areas to the individual survey locations can be seen in tables 5.1 and 5.2 in the above section. The order in which the dialect areas are to be considered is dictated by their overall rank as seen in table 5.1.

‘Scouse’

This area was drawn and labelled by 159 informants overall, translating as a recognition level of 57.8%. Figures 5.4 to 5.6 show the ‘Scouse’ dialect area by individual survey location.



Figures 5.4 (l) & 5.5 (r): Carlisle informants' (l) (n=48) and Crewe informants (r) (n=67) 'Scouse' dialect area

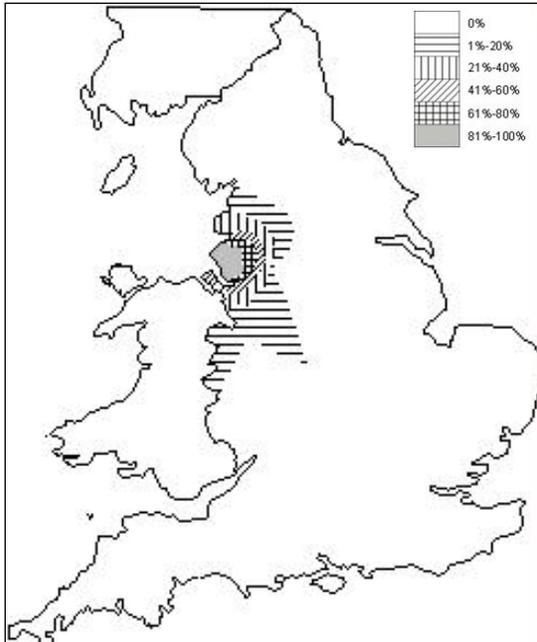


Figure 5.6: Hull informants' 'Scouse' dialect area (n=44)

In figures 5.4 to 5.6 I have included data from all informants who drew lines indicating the 'Scouse' dialect area, without the removal of any outlying data. The maps produced by PDQ preclude any such removal of data when comparing results across survey locations as the percentage boundaries permit the examination of variation in area placement from location to location. All maps from individual survey locations in this chapter will be presented in such a way, with no informants' data excluded.

Firstly examining the general pattern of distribution, it can be seen that there is both agreement and disagreement present across the three figures. The disagreement is most evident at the 1%-20% shading level, with a much larger area shaded by informants from Carlisle (figure 5.4). Unsurprisingly the view of the 'Scouse' area is not shared by informants from Hull as this would place them in the area. Hull-based informants do however extend their 'Scouse' area dramatically south and east (figure 5.5). These 'extended' views of 'Scouse' are not held by Crewe informants, whose close proximity to Liverpool is predictable in producing a smaller area of disagreement (figure 5.6). Interestingly, as a comparison with figure 5.7 below shows, all survey locations at the lowest agreement levels include the Counties of Cheshire and Lancashire as well as Greater Manchester and the northern part of Shropshire in their 'Scouse' areas.

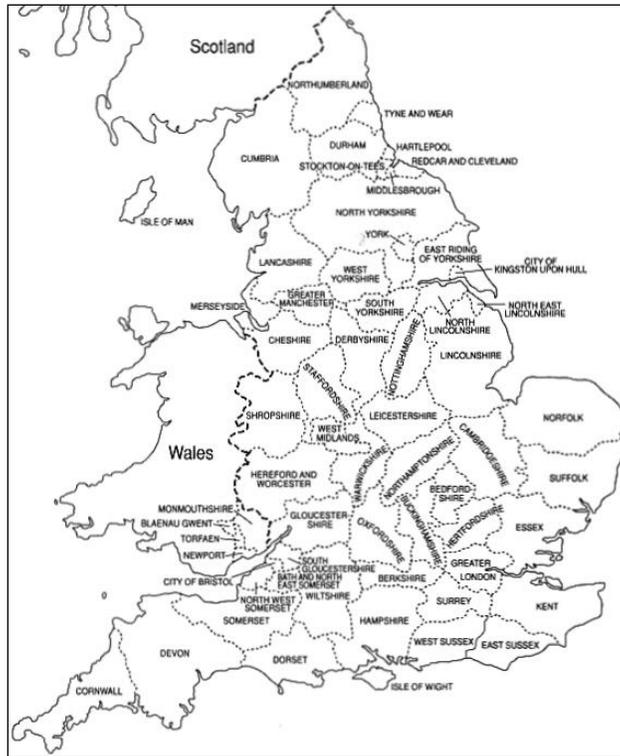


Figure 5.7: County boundaries in 1996¹⁶ (from Wales, 2006: 15)

Moving through the agreement levels demonstrates that there is a good deal of agreement over the extent of the ‘Scouse’ dialect area at the 21%-40% level, with results from Crewe and Hull based informants almost identical. Carlisle-based informants however seem to view a more southerly northern boundary for the ‘Scouse’ area. I believe that this is due to the effect of the placement of the ‘Lancashire’ dialect area. As discussed above, the ‘Lancashire’ dialect area was placed on the map by eight of the informants from Carlisle. This accounts for 72.7% of the lines indicating ‘Lancashire’ as a dialect area and this seems to have had an effect on the placement of the ‘Scouse’ area. It was very rare that informants in this study completed maps with overlapping dialect areas. Thus, the inclusion of a ‘Lancashire’ area constrained geographical spread of the ‘Scouse’ area.

¹⁶ In the remainder of this chapter, and throughout this thesis unless explicitly stated otherwise, the county boundaries referred to will be those existing in 1996. This is due to the local government reorganisations of 1997 and 1998 which have left an extremely complicated picture of the country. In most cases the counties in figure 5.6 still exist but have unitary authorities within them; it is these unitary bodies which produce the complicated visual situation.

I have argued above that the inclusion of the ‘Lancashire’ area by Carlisle informants is a result of proximity. It seems clear that this inclusion has also had an impact on the placement of the ‘Scouse’ area for these informants. It is interesting therefore that proximity does not seem to have affected the results of informants from Crewe. There is very little difference between the results from Crewe and Carlisle south and east of Liverpool at the lower agreement levels (although Crewe informants do disagree with those from Hull about the south and east extent of ‘Scouse’). Previous studies in perceptual dialectology (as well as perceptual geography (Gould & White, 1986)) indicate that there should be a difference due to the ‘far-away’ nature of the ‘Scouse’ area from Carlisle. I believe that the lack of observable difference could be due to the identification of some of the Crewe informants with the ‘Scouse’ variety. This is reflected in their placement of the boundary of ‘Scouse’ in order to include Crewe either very close to or within the boundary. In this case then there is some ‘error’ in boundary placement from Carlisle informants due to the decay of information flows (see previous chapter), however similar results from Crewe based informants is a result of identification with ‘Scouse’. This is of course speculative and further research dealing with identity could clarify this point.

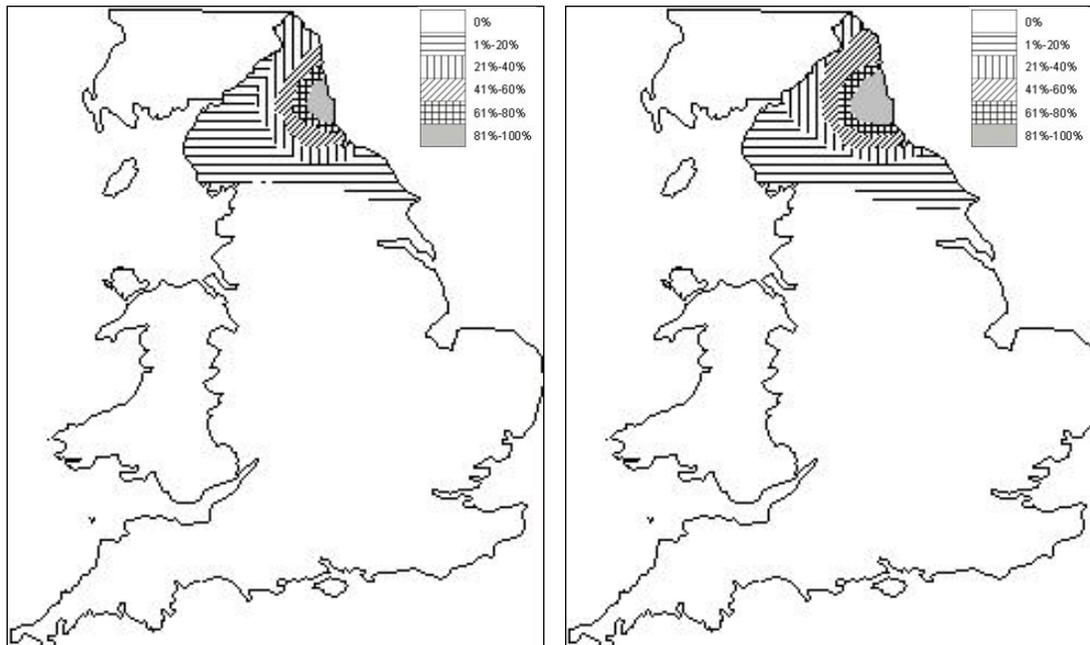
It must be stressed that the results discussed above deal with the 1%-20% level of agreement; at the 21%-40% level the south-eastern boundary for the ‘Scouse’ area falls mid-way across the county of Cheshire for all survey locations. I do not believe that this is contradictory to the argument above, it must be remembered that more Crewe based informants drew lines represent the ‘Scouse’ area than any other location and therefore one can be more confident about their results. Therefore, the inclusion of Crewe within the area could have some significance and could reflect a change in the perception of the ‘Scouse’ variety.

There is little difference between the remainder of the results from the survey locations, with a similar pattern of agreement for each. This is in part no doubt to do with use of Liverpool as one of the city ‘anchor points’ (city dots) for informants when completing the draw-a-map task. Also important is the city of Liverpool’s position on an easily

identified estuary, which allows informants a great deal of geographical assistance when locating the area. This is case of geographical interference, similar to that found by Sibata (1999) in Japan insofar as it provides a guide to placement. Another interference factor regarding the Mersey estuary is the undoubted importance the Mersey estuary has held historically. This could explain the exclusion of the Wirral area to the south of the estuary and Liverpool from the ‘Scouse’ area above the 61% agreement level, which is a feature of the maps from all survey locations.

‘Geordie’

This area was drawn and labelled by 156 informants overall, translating as a recognition level of 56.7%. Figures 5.8 to 5.10 show the ‘Geordie’ dialect area by individual survey location.



Figures 5.8 (l) & 5.9 (r): Carlisle informants' (l) (n=52) and Crewe informants (r) (n=61) 'Geordie' dialect area

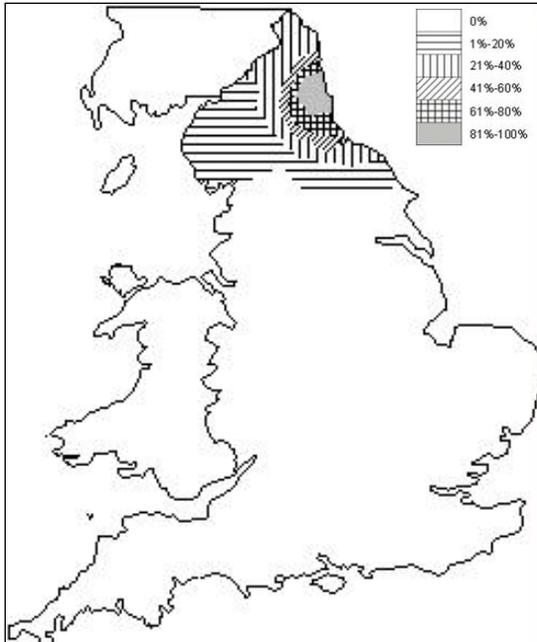


Figure 5.10: Hull informants' 'Geordie' dialect area (n=43)

Again, as with the city of Liverpool, Newcastle upon Tyne was one of the locational city dots which informants were requested to complete in order to have their map data accepted. As a result at higher agreement levels there are not many differences between the data provided by each survey location, which was the case above with the 'Scouse' dialect area. Despite this inclusion as one of the city locations for informants it is a measure of how culturally salient the city of Newcastle upon Tyne is. Table 5.3 below shows the total populations for cities recognised by informants in the draw-a-map task along with the number of lines drawn per head of population.

City-based dialect area	Total lines drawn	Population in 2001	Lines drawn per head of population
Liverpool ('Scouse')	159	439,476	0.00036179450072358900
Newcastle ('Geordie')	156	259,573	0.00060098700558224500
Birmingham ('Brummie')	132	977,091	0.00013509488880769500
London ('Cockney')	100	7,172,036	0.000013943042115237600
Manchester ('Manc')	73	2,482,352	0.000029407594088187300
Carlisle ('Cumbria/Carlisle')	35	100,734	0.00034744971906208400
Stoke ('Potteries')	14	240,643	0.000058177466205125400

Table 5.3: Population of cities on which dialect areas were based by informants (population data from <<http://www.visionofbritain.org.uk>>)

As is clearly demonstrated by the table there is no relationship, for informants in this study at least, between the sizes of major cities in England and their salience when drawing lines representing dialect areas on a map. This is particularly true for Newcastle upon Tyne and the 'Geordie' dialect area which is around 180,000 persons smaller than Liverpool and yet only received recognition from 3 fewer informants. The least populated city in the table, Carlisle, received far more lines than other larger centres of population as will be discussed below.

It seems then that size as reflected by population is no measure of importance for informants when asked to locate dialect areas in a 'free drawing' exercise. Instead there are other factors at work, a major one of which could be media awareness. Although there is still no clear agreement over whether media exposure can affect speech production, although some evidence has been found by Stuart-Smith (2005), it seems that cultural prominence driven by the media could well affect perception. The effects of media exposure have been discussed by Goodey (see figure 5.1 above) as well as Pocock and Hudson (1978: 96) who clearly believe that media have a role to play in perception, through films, radio and television.

The ubiquity of television programmes set in or around the north-east over the past three decades ('*The Likely Lads*' (1960s and 70s), '*Our Friends in the North*' (1990s) and '*Auf Wiedersehen, Pet*' (1980s to 2000s) for example) as well as the popular children's drama '*Byker Grove*' (of more relevance to informants in this study) will have had an effect on perception, something which table 5.3 seems to show. This is not to mention the effect of celebrities from the North-East and Newcastle from Robson Green to Ant and Dec (themselves graduates of '*Byker Grove*') who reinforce the cultural prominence of the area. Other effects such as those discussed by Beal (1999) of the 'Geordie Nation' and the strong sense of regional identity propagated by residents have been foregrounded by the prominence of the area. These factors, perpetuated by celebrity and continued media awareness may have resulted in the importance attached to the area by some of the map drawing informants in this study. Of course, in the case of the 'Geordie' dialect area as drawn by informants in this study, the salience of the area does also reflect a distinctive

variety of English. However this is something which does not seem to be the case for the ‘Manc’ dialect area, which will be discussed below but seems to be the result of similar (now waning) media exposure.

Turning to the geographical extent of the ‘Geordie’ area it is clear from figures 5.8 to 5.10 that at the 1%-20% agreement level there is no agreement that the ‘Geordie’ area is specifically north-eastern. This changes rapidly at agreement levels greater than 21% however, with some variation between the survey locations. Whereas for the ‘Scouse’ area it seemed that there was a good deal of agreement over the placement of its southern boundary between informants from Carlisle (far away) and Crewe (near to), this is not the case in the perception of the ‘Geordie’ area. Here, Crewe informants place the city of Carlisle within the ‘Geordie’ area until the 41% level is reached. At a similar level Carlisle informants severely limit their lines delimiting the ‘Geordie’ area. The implication here is clear: whereas the (far away) Crewe informants are mistaken in including Carlisle informants in the ‘Geordie’ area, informants from Carlisle are emphatically *not* ‘Geordies’. This is shown not only in the clear east-west boundary at the >21% level but also the relatively small ‘Geordie’ area marked by Carlisle informants.

Interestingly however, it is not the Carlisle informants who marked the smallest ‘Geordie’ area on their maps; this was shown by informants from Hull whose results show a much more defined northern boundary to the ‘Geordie’ area. It is difficult to account for this as it seems to violate the principle of proximity which has so far seemed to be of particular importance for perception in this study. Media awareness could of course play a role, but it is difficult to see why this should create a ‘tighter’ boundary for informants from Hull. In this case it could be that the informants from Hull seemed to have received slightly more ‘dialect training’ than those from other areas and could have been influenced by maps such as Trudgill’s traditional dialect areas map (1990: 33), which shows a clear northern boundary to the ‘Northumberland’ dialect area. Another constraining factor could be found in the comments by some informants and teachers at the college in Hull that some students went shopping in Newcastle, which can be reached

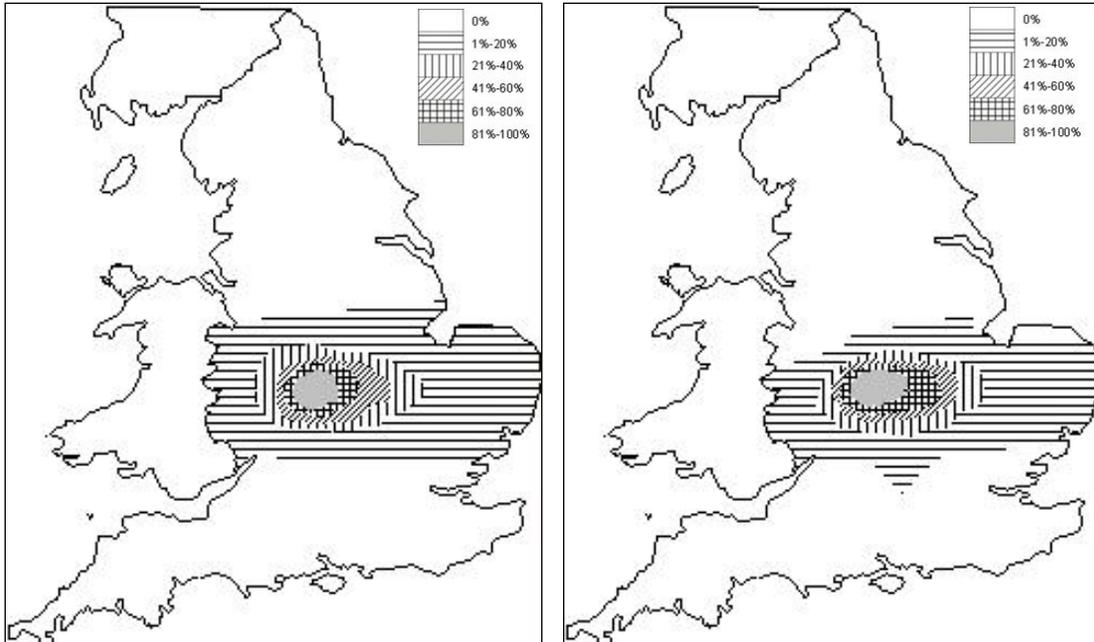
by train in 2½ hours. Both of these factors could have resulted in the smaller ‘Geordie’ dialect area as drawn by informants from Hull.

The mention of Trudgill’s northern boundary for ‘Northumberland’ brings us to another point of interest regarding the drawing of the ‘Geordie’ dialect area and its northern boundary. There does seem to be, to some extent, an idea that the ‘Geordie’ area has a northern boundary. Unsurprisingly, as seen above, Crewe informants exhibited less awareness of this northern boundary and use the dashed line present on the questionnaire map representing the English-Scottish border as the northern boundary in more instances than informants from Carlisle and Hull. Informants from these two locations have a similar idea of the northern limit of Geordie at all agreement levels.

It is perhaps a drawback of the blank map used in the draw-a-map task that it did not include the whole of Scotland as part of the map drawing exercise. Instead, in the endeavour to provide informants with the largest English area possible on which to draw, the majority of Scotland was excluded from the task with only the border with England shown. This precludes a discussion of the effect of the national boundary on the maps drawn for either ‘Geordie’ or ‘Carlisle-Cumbria’ dialect areas, which is regrettable due to a growing interest in the Scottish-English border (Pichler, 2004) (as well as in previous studies (Glauser, 1974, Glauser, 2000)). Some discussion may be possible in respect of the Welsh-English border as the principality was included in the map used for the draw-a-map task.

‘Brummie’

This area was drawn and labelled by 132 informants overall, translating as a recognition level of 48%. Figures 5.11 to 5.13 show the ‘Brummie’ dialect area by individual survey location.



Figures 5.11 (l) & 5.12 (r): Carlisle informants' (l) (n=34) and Crewe informants (r) (n=61) 'Brummie' dialect area

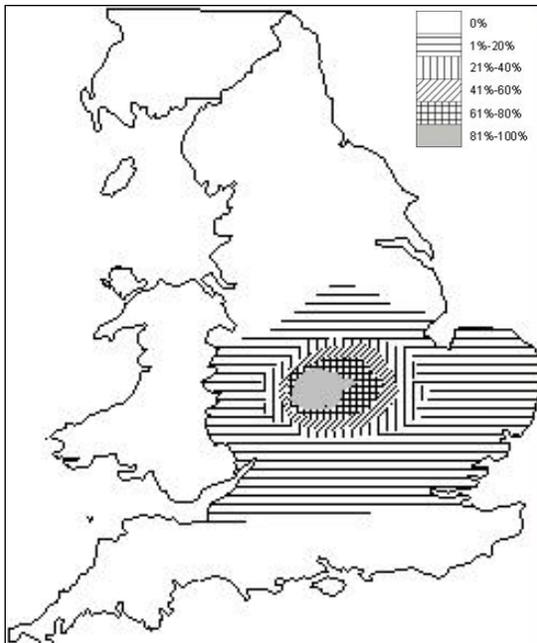


Figure 5.13: Hull informants' 'Brummie' dialect area (n=37)

The 'Brummie' dialect area is based around the city of Birmingham and in common with the two previous areas discussed above, is centred on one of the city location dots. If these dots were less important in the location of 'Scouse' and 'Geordie' areas, they were of pressing importance in the placement of the 'Brummie' area. Pilot studies with no location dots (but with the use of an overhead projected location map) saw informants

almost incapable of placing the city of Birmingham with any accuracy, with Lincolnshire and East Anglia popular places for its situation. This underlines the importance of geographical features in perception: Birmingham's central location in the country, with no rivers or coastline to guide placement led to an inability to place a location that table 5.1 shows is of clear importance.

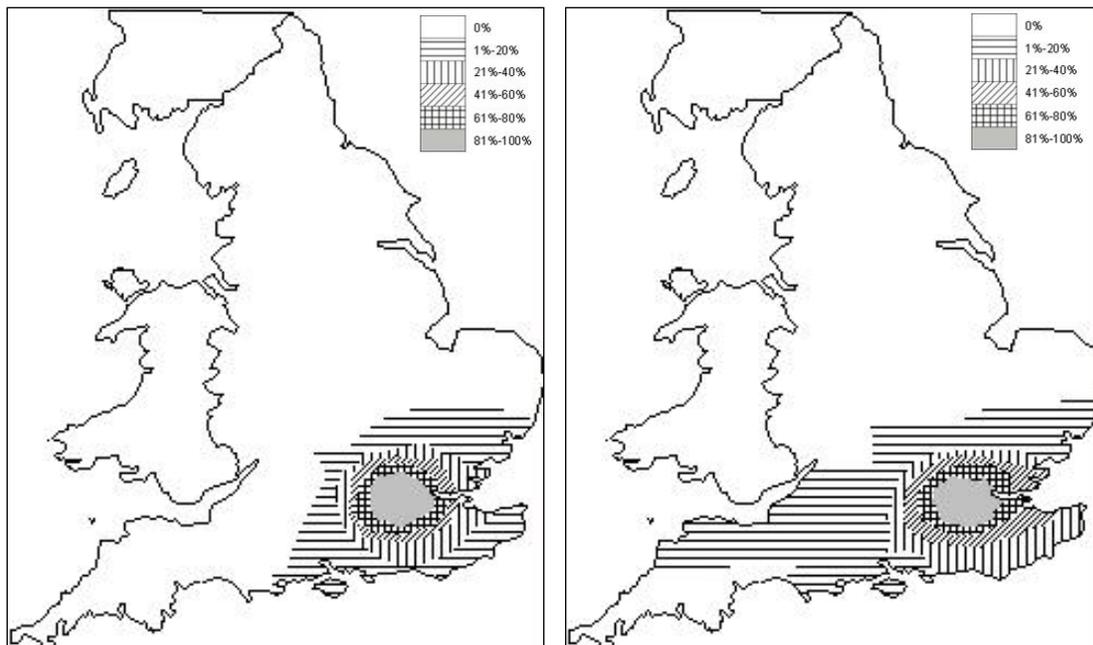
Due to the difficulty in placement and reliance on location dots there is an unsurprising lack of variation in the placement boundaries between survey locations, especially at higher agreement levels. At the lowest agreement level (1%-20%) there is however a glaring difference between Hull informants' 'Brummie' boundary and the boundaries for the other survey locations. Informants from Hull have a comparably large 'Brummie' dialect area, with boundaries far further to the north and south than those draw by either Crewe or Carlisle based informants who display a good deal of agreement. There are no clear ways of accounting for this difference, other than considering the effect of geographical features on perception, and the role of such constraints as barrier effects (Gould & White, 1986: 153). Although Carlisle is the furthest location away from Birmingham, informants from Hull have to cope with the effect of the Humber River and the south of the Pennines in order to get to the city. Carlisle informants have more distance but fewer barriers, being able to drive straight down the M6 motorway to get to Birmingham. Crewe informants have almost no distance and no barriers. I believe that these facts can help explain why Hull informants display far more disagreement over the extent of the 'Brummie' dialect area than both Carlisle and Crewe informants. The premise of proximity can then be used to explain the greater agreement shown by Crewe informants compared to those from Carlisle.

The role of the 'Brummie' dialect as synonymous with a 'Midlands' country division is also a possible explanatory factor for the Hull-based informants' large 'Brummie' area. Reconsidering figure 4.36 from the previous chapter reveals some similarity between it and figure 5.13. The same similarity is not present for the corresponding maps for Crewe and Carlisle-based informants. Thus it could be concluded that for informants from Hull 'Brummie' is indeed synonymous with 'Midlands'.

Other than the obvious disagreement between survey locations over the extent of the ‘Brummie’ area at the 1%-20% level, there is very little to be observed at the higher agreement levels ($\geq 21\%$). There is an observation that can be made about the geographical spread of the area however, with a noticeable eastwards ‘spread’ of the ‘Brummie’ area at the greater than 41% level. This is especially interesting when anecdotal evidence suggests that the major salient division in the Midlands is between east and west; this certainly does not seem to be an important factor in the perception of the ‘Brummie’ area by informants in the survey locations in this study. I believe that this serves to underline how important it is to perform similar perceptual research in the Midlands (and the south) in order to account for findings such as this.

‘Cockney’

This area was drawn and labelled by 100 informants overall, which translates as a recognition level of 36.3%. Figures 5.14 to 5.16 show the ‘Cockney’ dialect area by individual survey location.



Figures 5.14 (l) & 5.15 (r): Carlisle informants' (l) (n=33) and Crewe informants (r) (n=46) ‘Cockney’ dialect area

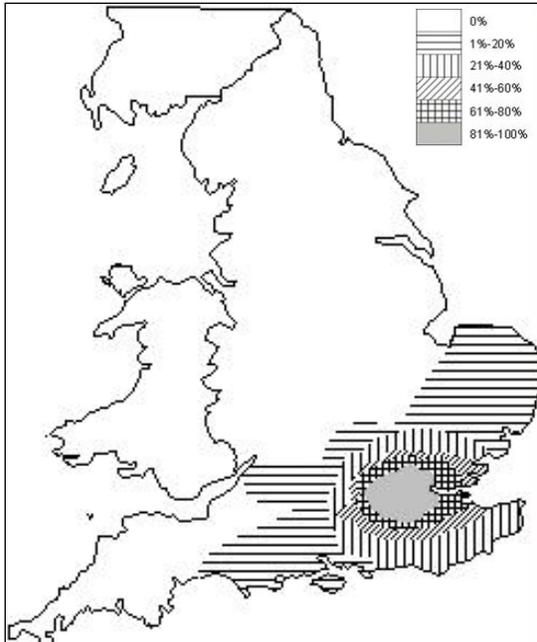


Figure 5.16: Hull informants' 'Cockney' dialect area (n=21)

When considering dialect areas drawn in the south of England it is important to realise that informants in this study are recognising relatively 'far-away' dialect areas. I may therefore expect less agreement overall, which would conform to the principle of proximity.

However it is immediately apparent on consideration of figures 5.14 to 5.16 that this is not the case. There is indeed widespread disagreement, but no more than observed for other perceptual areas above. Again, the 'Cockney' area is centred over the city location dot for London and the higher agreement levels are understandably similar. However, the proximity effect is not apparent for this particular area. If anything the agreement over the extent of the 'Cockney' dialect area increases with distance away from the area, not proximity to. Therefore, informants from Carlisle display a much greater sense of agreement over the extent of the area, and Crewe-based informants a similar (if not slightly greater) disagreement to informants from Hull.

The reasons behind this 'reverse proximity' effect could be due to similar factors as mentioned above in relation to the synonymy between 'Brummie' and 'Midlands' for Hull-based informants. Again, what could be occurring in this situation is the equation of

‘Southern’ with ‘Cockney’ (although figure 4.39 in the previous chapter does not seem to lend its support to this hypothesis in the same way as above). The wide disagreement, as is so often the case, is confined to the lower agreement level (1%-20%) for both Crewe and Hull based informants. It is perhaps therefore wrong to try and draw too many conclusions from the disagreement.

At the 21%-40% agreement level there is still some disagreement present between Crewe and Hull based informants on the one hand and informants from Carlisle on the other. Informants from Crewe and Hull both extend their ‘Cockney’ dialect area south and east, including the whole of the county of Kent within the area as well as all of East Sussex. The ‘Cockney’ area is more restricted for informants from Carlisle who do not extend the area in the same way as the other locations at this agreement level.

I believe that proximity and media awareness are competing in this case and can provide some explanation for what is a rather counter-intuitive situation. I contend that for Carlisle informants the ‘Cockney’ area is so far away that they have little practical experience of it, leading to them receiving information about it via media and other sources. The lack of practical experience results in an inability to challenge the information received. Hull and Crewe based informants by contrast have relatively swift and direct transport links to London (via rail) and therefore have access to more information on which to base their perceptions. In this case these perceptions seem to indicate for both locations that the ‘Cockney’ area is more widespread than the conventional wisdom might suggest.

A supporting finding for the above can be found in that the London city dot is the only one which provides an ‘anchor point’ for two dialect areas; the other being a ‘London’ dialect area. This is only really the case for informants from Crewe and Hull however, who drew 9 and 10 lines indicating a ‘London’ area respectively. Carlisle informants drew only two lines indicating a ‘London’ dialect area. For Crewe and Hull based informants then, an alternative dialect area focussing specifically on the city of London was drawn, whereas for Carlisle informants the ‘Cockney’ dialect area was in essence the

‘London’ area with alternative labels (or none at all) used for speech in the south of the country.

‘Manc’

This area was drawn and labelled by 73 informants overall, translating as a recognition level of 26.5%. This is the first area that did not receive over 50% recognition by informants in any survey location. Figures 5.17 to 5.19 show the ‘Manc’ dialect area by individual survey location.



Figures 5.17 (l) & 5.18 (r): Carlisle informants' (l) (n=26) and Crewe informants (r) (n=33) 'Manc' dialect area

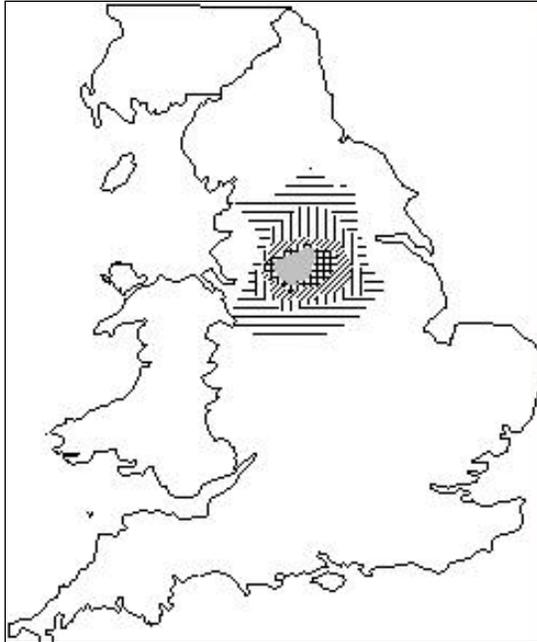


Figure 5.19: Hull informants' 'Manc' dialect area (n=14)

For the first time in the analysis of the results of the draw-a-map task I must exercise greater caution for, as was mentioned above and in table 5.1, this is the first dialect area which received less than 50% recognition from all survey locations. This fact, along with small number of lines drawn recognising the area by informants from Hull (14) means that not as many conclusions can be made as I would wish. This is course one of the reasons why it is of particular importance to gather data from as many individuals as possible in an exercise of this type.

That relatively small numbers are involved in the case of the 'Manc' dialect area is disappointing, although not unexpected for the same reason. This reason is that 'Manc' or 'Manchester' as a dialect area has simply not been recognised before on its own. Previous studies have found no evidence of its individuality; Trudgill (1990, based on SED data) places the city in his 'Northwest Midlands' division and further research performed using SED data (Upton et al., 1987) leaves the city in an uncertain position. This is also not unexpected as the SED did not gather data from Manchester (its only urban locations being at Leeds, Sheffield and London). The insistence of some of my informants then that the city has its own extended dialect area is of interest and warrants

further investigation despite the possible problem of a lack of numbers as mentioned above.

As mentioned above in the discussion of the ‘Geordie’ dialect area and elsewhere, the effect of media exposure is not to be underestimated and this could go a long way in accounting for the identification of ‘Manc’ as a dialect area. Manchester is a particularly interesting case with its place at the centre of an explosion of popular culture in the late 1980s and early 1990s which earned it the nickname ‘Madchester’. This cultural prominence was epitomised by the music emerging from the city by such bands as the *Happy Mondays* and the *Stone Roses*, both of which were major chart successes after album releases in 1989. Essentially a short-lived phenomenon which reached its peak in 1990, the ‘Madchester effect’ none-the-less provided the platform for many more musicians and groups, including *Oasis* who remained particularly popular throughout the 1990s. The effect on the city is difficult to estimate; although there is no doubt that it became a focal point for the youth of the country and has remained a significant centre, hosting the 2002 Commonwealth Games and now (an over-inflation rise in the ‘license fee’ permitting) the destination of many BBC jobs to be relocated from London.

This very recent cultural prominence is all the more interesting when considering the only other large-scale perceptual dialectological research to be undertaken in the United Kingdom (Inoue, 1999b). This research, as discussed above, used a very similar methodology to the one utilised in this study albeit with the inclusion of county boundaries and exclusion of city location dots. Despite this similarity though, there is no mention in any part of Inoue’s article of a ‘Manc’ or ‘Manchester’ division. Although on one of the maps reproduced from an individual informant (Inoue, 1999b: 165) there is a line which separates Liverpool and Manchester into one area, it is unlabelled and from what is written subsequently is probably the ‘Scouse’ division. The point of interest here is the year in which Inoue’s data were collected: 1989 (Inoue, 1999b: 163). This is just as the ‘Madchester’ cultural phenomenon was ‘taking off’, and presumably before it had reached national cultural salience. It can therefore be concluded that in this case, cultural prominence and salience has influenced the placement of lines indicating the ‘Manc’

dialect area. This results in the disparity between Inoue's map and the maps indicating the 'Manc' dialect area in this study. One could argue that this could not be the case due to the lack of a 'Brummie' area on Inoue's composite map (Inoue, 1999b: 167). This is however not the case as although 'Brummie' is not shown on Inoue's composite map (Inoue, 1999b: 167), it is shown in his Hayashi 3 plot (Inoue, 1999b: 170), which indicates its perceptual 'value' for informants.

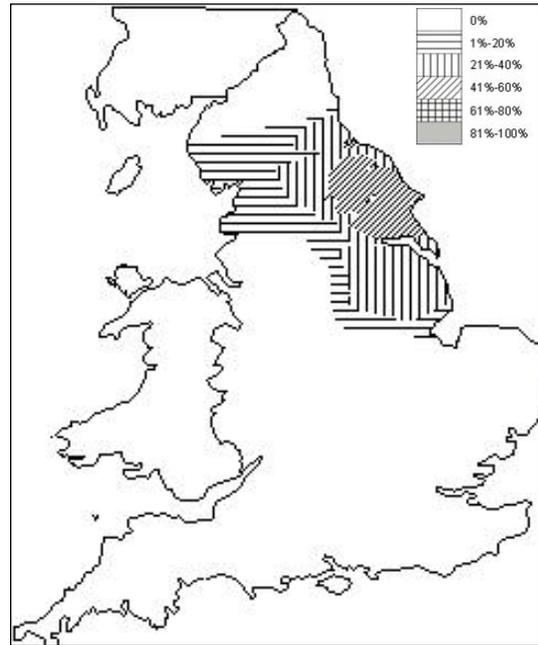
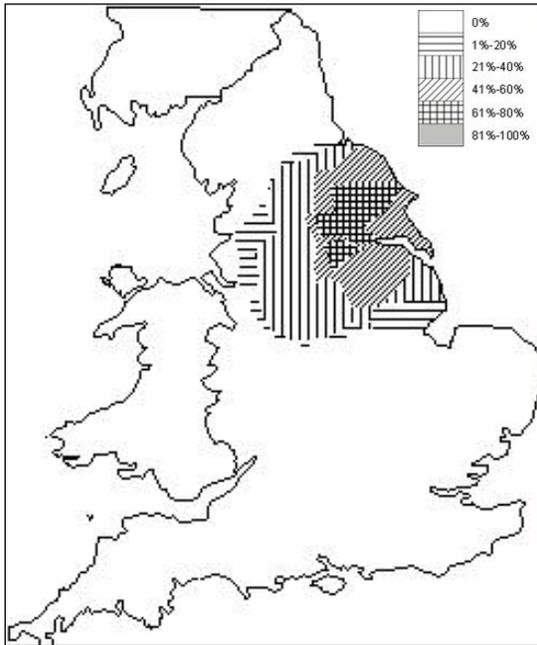
This recognition of a 'Manc' area is not as short lived as the 'Madchester' phenomenon; division of the informants in this study into those above the average age and those below results in little to no difference in the percentage recognition levels¹⁷. It is no surprise that those informants above the average age recognised the area, however that the younger informants also recognise the area merely reinforces the idea that the city has achieved lasting cultural prominence.

In terms of the boundaries of the 'Manc' area, there is very little difference between the results from Crewe-based informants and those living in Carlisle. Hull informants however do display an area which is different to the other two survey locations' results. I believe this can be accounted for in the same way as the 'Scouse' dialect area's more southerly northern boundary drawn by informants from Carlisle. As will be discussed below and can be seen from table 5.1, Hull informants placed a 'Yorkshire' dialect area more readily than informants from the other survey locations. This appears to have contributed to the smaller 'Manc' area for Hull-based informants by shifting its eastern boundary westwards. This is why all the survey locations agree to an extent on the western boundary of the 'Manc' area as this needs to be drawn in such a way as to accommodate the eastern boundary of the (most salient) 'Scouse' area.

¹⁷ For those below the average age of 19.7 years old, there was a recognition level for the 'Manc' dialect area of 26%, for those over the average age the recognition level was 28.6%.

‘Yorkshire’

This area was drawn and labelled by 54 informants overall, translating as a recognition level of 19.6%. Figures 5.20 to 5.22 show the ‘Yorkshire’ dialect area by individual survey location.



Figures 5.20 (l) & 5.21 (r): *Carlisle informants' (l) (n=9) and Crewe informants (r) (n=12) 'Yorkshire' dialect area*

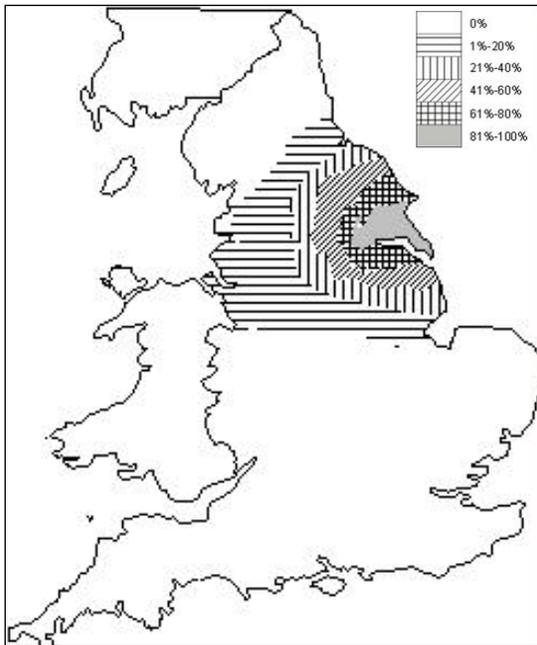


Figure 5.22: *Hull informants' 'Yorkshire' dialect area (n=33)*

Consideration of figures 5.20 and 5.21 which display the results for Carlisle and Crewe based informants, reveals that for the first time in this analysis there is no upper agreement level (81%-100%) present. Although there are very small numbers of lines represented in the figures, this is still of some surprise. Areas of most agreement for both survey locations are broadly in the 'correct' geographical situation despite including the county of Lincolnshire in the 'Yorkshire' area. There is less agreement however over the extent of the 'Yorkshire' area at lower agreement levels. Results from both locations reflect their placement of other dialect areas; Carlisle informants recognised a 'Lancashire' area, as was seen in table 5.2 above and as a result they do not extend the 'Yorkshire' area all the way to the west coast. Crewe informants on the other hand do extend the area across to the west coast, although at the southern boundary of the 'Yorkshire' area there is a notable 'exclusion zone' around their home location which follows the eastern side of the Pennines and has its limit at Manchester to the north of Crewe. On the part of Crewe-based informants I do not believe that the large geographical space occupied by the 'Yorkshire' area is a result of 'error' as it reflects anecdotal evidence of difficulty in perceiving the differences in the 'middle north' area. The following chapter, discussing ratings and (more pertinently to this discussion) placements of voice samples will attempt to add some weight to such observations.

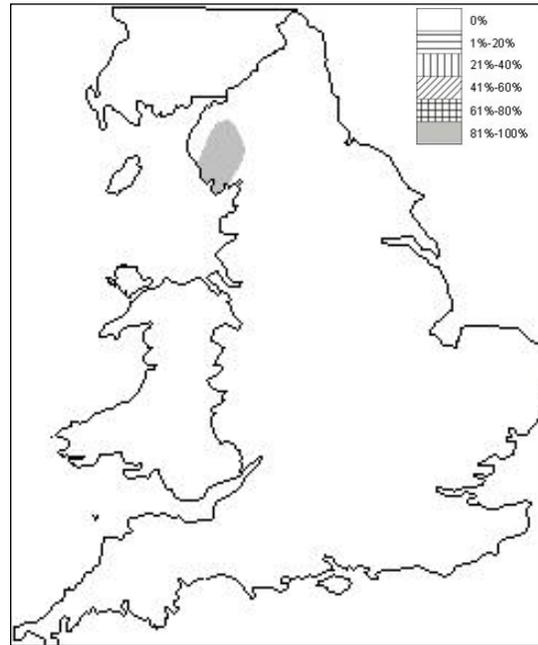
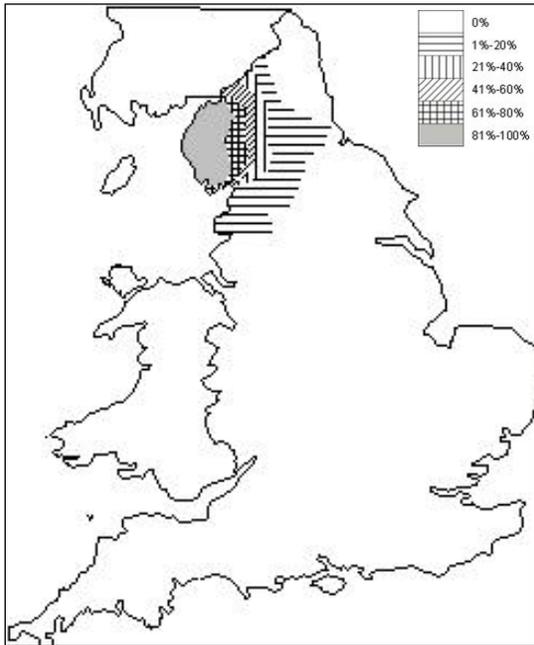
The only survey location's informants who show results with an upper agreement level are those from Hull (figure 5.22). Hull-based informants also had the highest overall recognition level for the 'Yorkshire' area: 35.5% of the informants recognised the area. Although this does not represent a majority of informant recognition, the 'Yorkshire' dialect area was the fourth most recognised area for informants from Hull and as such has clear salience. The actual placement of the 'Yorkshire' area is of interest at all agreement levels. The lower agreement levels show coverage of a comparatively large geographical space, extending to the west coast and including Merseyside, which is odd given the 'Scouse' area's position at the top of the perceptual 'league table'. This contrasts with the clear northern boundary of the 'Yorkshire' area for Hull-based informants which includes the area around the Tees but goes no further than that, and thus does not

encroach on the 'Geordie' dialect area. Interesting, this accurately reflects the older, pre-1972, Yorkshire boundary.

Above the 20% agreement level there is an acknowledgement of Yorkshire's place largely to the east of the Pennines with the western boundary of the area following the rough line of the mountain range. One would expect this pattern, as it follows the geographical constraints of the administrative area. What one would not expect however is the inclusion of Lincolnshire in the 'Yorkshire' area by Hull-based informants. This seems to run against the role of geographical features' interference in perception due to the prominent position of the River Humber. Thus, the inclusion of the space below the Humber until the agreement level of above 81% is reached is surprising. I would hypothesise that the proximity of the Humber Bridge to Hull has a good deal to do with this inclusion, as does the siting of Humberside Airport across the river from Hull. Both of these factors mean that there is an ability and desire to get across the river, increasing awareness and contact and leading to this 'expanded' 'Yorkshire' dialect area. This finding of the southerly expansion of the 'Yorkshire' area from Hull-based informants is not new however, with Inoue (1999b) including some of the area to the south of the Humber in his 'Humberside' area. This is not to mention Trudgill's (1990, 1999) inclusion of a similar space in his modern area of the same name along with the existence of the county of Humberside. It seems then that the informants from Hull in this study have perceptions in line with Trudgill's reading of the SED and the perceptions of others around 15 years ago but instead of naming the area 'Humberside' they view it as 'Yorkshire'. This is confirmed to some extent on observation of the highest agreement level, which centres on the city of Hull and the county of the East Riding of Yorkshire. The low number of informants drawing a line for 'Humberside' (six) also goes some way to supporting this hypothesis. For Hull-based informants in this study then it seems that 'Humberside' equals 'Yorkshire'.

‘Cumbrian/Carlisle’

This area was drawn and labelled by 35 informants overall, translating as a recognition level of 12.7%. Figures 5.23 to 5.25 show the ‘Cumbrian/Carlisle’ dialect area by individual survey location.



Figures 5.23 (l) & 5.24 (r): Carlisle informants' (l) (n=33) and Crewe informants (r) (n=1) 'Cumbrian/Carlisle' dialect area

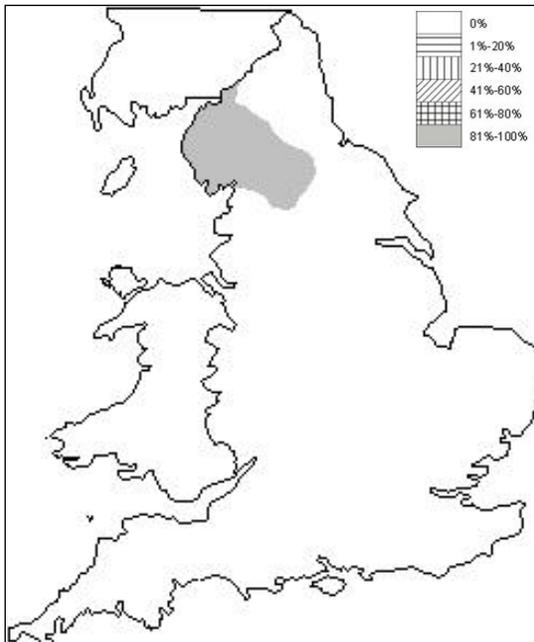


Figure 5.25: Hull informants' 'Cumbrian/Carlisle' dialect area (n=1)

The ‘Cumbrian/Carlisle’ area is the first in the analysis which has little or no recognition from the ‘far away’ survey locations. This must be the result of a lack of cultural prominence as has been seen above informants from Hull and Crewe were very ready to draw lines at a similar distance away for the ‘Geordie’ dialect area. This lack of prominence produced interesting maps, with blank spaces indicating the perceptual ‘black hole’ in the north west of the country. The results from Crewe and Hull based informants have been included in the figures above for comparison; however, they have very little value as part of the analysis of results.

The reason for the conflation of ‘Carlisle’ and ‘Cumbria’ results here is due to the fact that in some instances the area was labelled with both names along with some informants’ placement of their own city location dot with an ambiguous label as in figure 5.26 below.

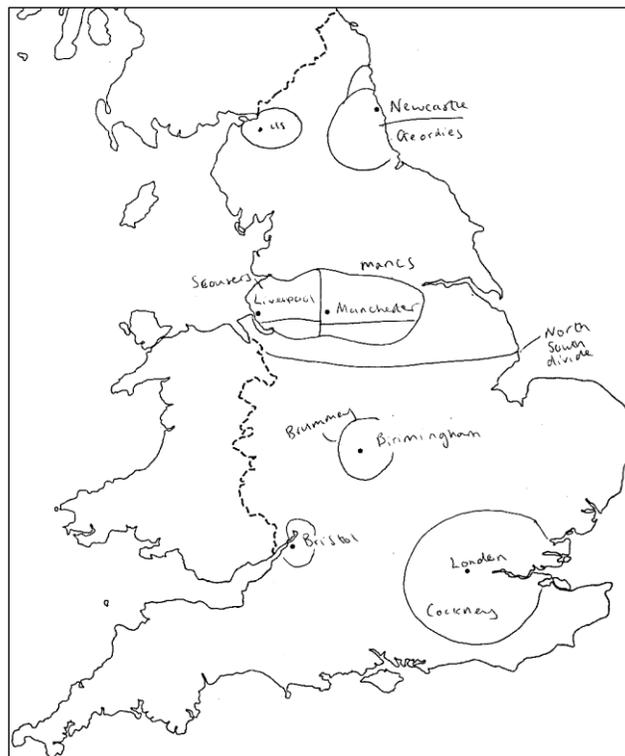


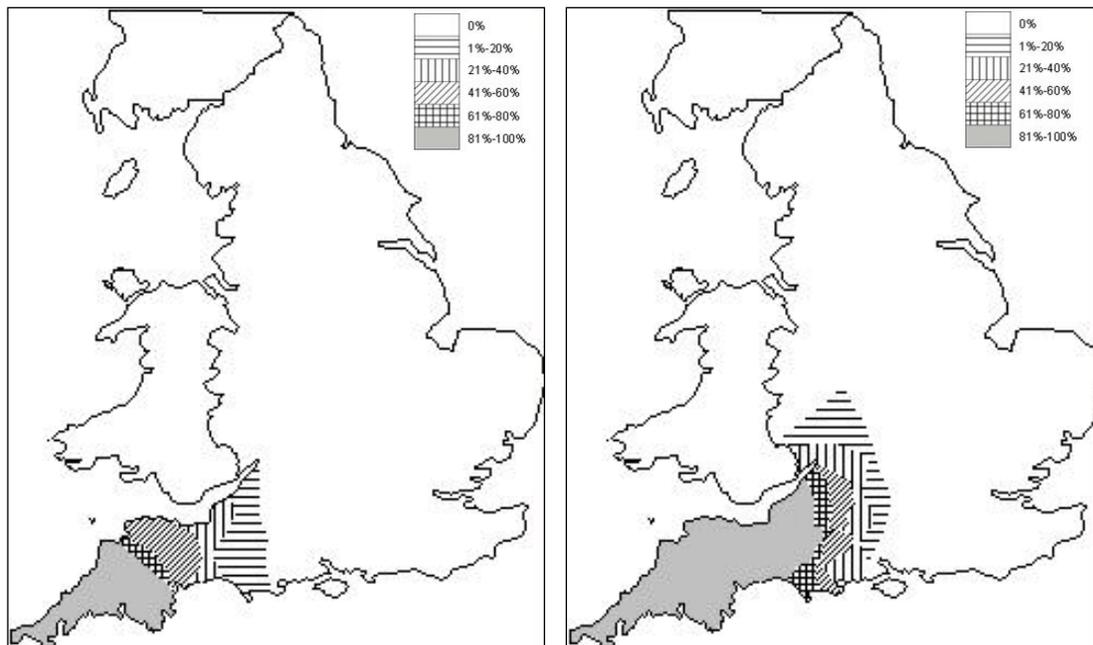
Figure 5.26: Hand-drawn map from male Carlisle informant aged 18

In the case above, the area labelled ‘us’ was placed in the ‘Cumbrian/Carlisle’ category along with areas marked as ‘Cumbrian’, ‘Carlisle’ or ‘Cumbria-Carlisle’. This has

created a category with the unusual characteristic of not being centred over the city that is part of its name. As figure 5.22 reveals, the greatest agreement level is to be found around the west coast of Cumbria and the inclusion of the city of Carlisle in the area ceases at the 41%-60% agreement level. This is an interesting finding which could reflect the small population of the city (see table 5.3) and its retention of strong links with agriculture, historically a prominent sector in the west of Cumbria (see chart 3.4 in chapter 3). Despite the unusual patterning described above in the west of the area, the eastern boundary of the ‘Cumbrian/Carlisle’ area is clear, even at the lowest agreement level. This adds weight to my conclusion above in the discussion of the ‘Geordie’ area that informants from Carlisle do not want to be classed as ‘Geordies’.

‘Cornwall’ and ‘West Country’

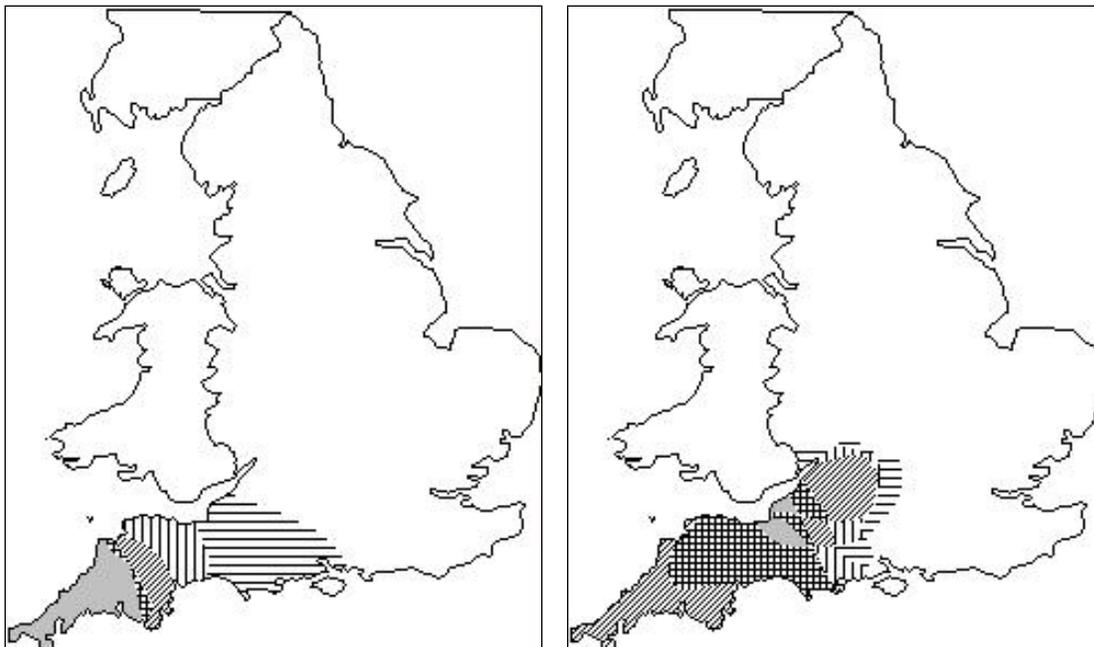
These two areas were recognised by 31 (‘Cornwall’) and 21 (‘West Country’) informants, a recognition level of 11.3% and 7.6% respectively. The reason for their inclusion under the same heading is due to their geographical similarities. Figures 2.27 to 2.32 below show the results for each area by survey location.



Figures 5.27 (l) & 5.28 (r): Carlisle informants’ ‘Cornwall’ dialect area (n=10) (l) and ‘West Country’ dialect area (n=9) (r)



Figures 5.29 (l) & 5.30 (r): Crewe informants' 'Cornwall' dialect area (n=16) (l) and 'West Country' dialect area (n=7) (r)



Figures 5.31 (l) & 5.32 (r): Hull informants' 'Cornwall' dialect area (n=5) (l) and 'West Country' dialect area (n=5) (r)

As the above figures show, the 'Cornwall' and 'West Country' dialect areas occupy parts of the same geographical space at the south west of the country. The county of Cornwall is indeed to be found at the tip of the peninsula in the extreme south east of the country; all survey locations correctly agree on this at the highest agreement level. At the lowest

agreement levels the survey locations show little disagreement and the boundaries of the ‘Cornwall’ area can be found running from the Severn River to the county of Dorset.

The boundary of the lowest agreement level for the ‘Cornwall’ dialect area shows an interesting correlation with the area of most agreement for the ‘West Country’ dialect area, at least in the case of Crewe and Carlisle based informants. It seems that the small numbers of lines drawn in the case of informants from Hull stops the replication of this picture for this survey location as well. This raises a pertinent question dealing with ‘dialect hierarchies’. It seems clear from the figures above that there is an idea that, in terms of occupation of geographical space, the ‘Cornwall’ dialect area is a subordinate of the wider ‘West Country’ dialect area. Although overlapping has been seen to an extent above (see the place of ‘Manc’ in relation to ‘Yorkshire’, for example) and will be discussed below, the phenomenon is not as dramatic as in the case of ‘Cornwall’ and ‘West Country’ here.

What is interesting about this possible ‘dialect hierarchy’ is the thought process undertaken in order to identify varieties. Much work is currently being done in this area (Clopper & Pisoni, 2005), in many cases continuing the techniques used in matched guise and language attitudes studies (Kerswill & Williams, 2002, Lambert et al., 1960). A draw-a-map perceptual study of this kind can provide some answers, but answers that are less good than those arrived at using the techniques pioneered and continued by those mentioned above. It would however be of particular interest to see to what extent informants ‘zone in’ on a particular dialect area using the concept of hierarchy: that is to identify a larger area which then contains smaller perceptual divisions. The following chapter will deal with results of the subjective reactions task component of this study and will discuss this facet of perception in more detail.

‘Potteries’

The ‘Potteries’ (based around the city of Stoke-on-Trent) is the final dialect area to be considered in this section. It received only 14 lines of recognition, 13 of these drawn by

informants from Crewe. With an overall recognition level of just 5.1% it only qualifies for consideration here due to its status in the ten most frequently recognised dialect areas overall, although it is seventh in the list for Crewe-based informants (see table 5.2).

Figure 5.33 below shows the results for the ‘Potteries’ area for Crewe-based informants.

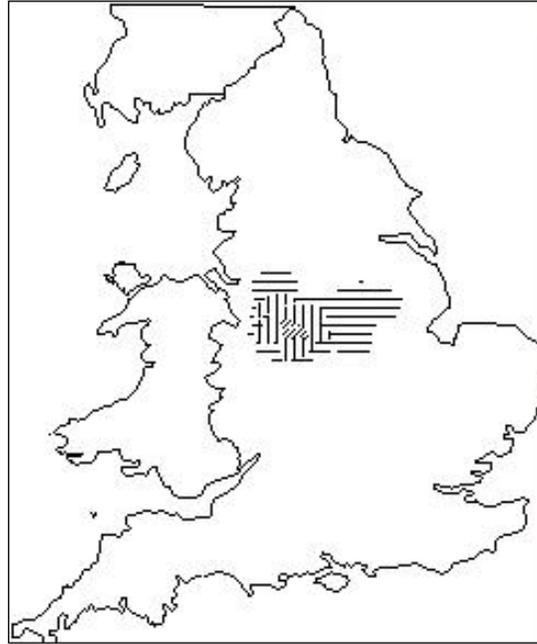


Figure 5.33: Crewe informants' 'Potteries' dialect area (n=13)

Results from Carlisle and Hull-based informants (one line and zero lines respectively) have not been included here as they would not add to the analysis. As with the near-to areas of Carlisle ('Cumbrian/Carlisle') and Hull ('Yorkshire'), the pattern of greater recognition is in evidence here following the premise of proximity. Of interest is the lesser mention of the 'home' area in the lines drawn by Crewe-based informants¹⁸, in a similar way to informants from Hull. For Crewe-based informants, as for those from Hull, there seems to be an acknowledgement of the 'Potteries' area in a similar way to the recognition of the 'Yorkshire' area. Even at the greatest agreement level present there is the virtual inclusion of Crewe within the 'Potteries' area. This may be a deficiency of the large-scale nature of the task which does not allow smaller differences to be marked on the map. Perhaps in this case a smaller scale task could have examined the differences

¹⁸ For Hull-based informants, mentions of the home 'Hull' area were restricted to 6 lines; for informants from Crewe, the home 'Cheshire' area was mentioned only 3 times.

between Crewe and ‘Potteries’, similar to studies in urban southern Italy (Romanello, 2002).

The difference between the Carlisle home area and the ‘Geordie’ area was however evident in the sharp eastern boundary to the ‘Cumbrian/Carlisle’ area and the western boundary to the ‘Geordie’ area, which indicates that informants did not have too much difficulty in differentiating where there was an important distinction to be made. In the case of the Crewe it could therefore be argued that there is little salient difference between the town and the neighbouring city of Stoke-on-Trent.

5.2.3 Observations and composite maps

As the previous sections have demonstrated, there were numerous effects from the constraints detailed in §5.1 on the placement and extent of dialect areas drawn by the informants from the three survey locations. Some of these effects were more predictable than others whilst effects from such things as travel experience are almost impossible to assess. A more extensive questionnaire could have provided more data of this nature but as has been discussed, I considered a shorter questionnaire to be more desirable in this study. However, one of the pieces of biographical data that was gathered and has not been discussed is gender. This was collected along with details of age and hometown. The discussion in §5.1 revealed a strong effect of gender on perception in perceptual dialectology study in Turkey (Demirci, 2002), although this could be due to the strongly male-dominated society. The role of gender is discussed below.

Other factors which have been shown to have effects are proximity, seemingly the most important factor in perception for many informants, along with cultural prominence (salience) fuelled by media foregrounding of regions and areas. This was most clearly seen in the rise of the ‘Manc’ dialect area since Inoue’s (1999) study of perceptions in Great Britain. Administrative boundaries do not seem to have a great deal of impact, although other studies have shown their importance in self-identity (Llamas, 2000, Llamas, 2006). Also of limited importance seemed to be historical considerations, be it

historical boundaries or historical conflicts: there was little recognition of a ‘Lancashire’ area, despite its historical prominence in opposition to Yorkshire. I will consider the effect of linguistic factors below after introducing the composite perceptual maps for each area; however, there seemed to be (with some exceptions) no overall mirroring of linguistic findings. Age, when examined in the case of the ‘Manc’ area, also seemed to have little impact on the levels of area recognition.

Gender effects

The PDQ programme, due to an error, will not calculate and draw maps based on gender. I am not therefore able to examine maps as above, but I am able to present the statistics for each dialect area broken down by gender in order to look for similar patterns as found by Demirci (2002) in Turkey. This study found that men, on average, could perceive more areas than women. Table 5.4 below shows the mean number of areas recognised by survey location overall and by gender.

Survey Location	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull	All
Male average	4.2308	5.9524	4.3824	4.6211
Female average	4.4151	5.3906	3.6774	4.4833
Overall	4.3369	5.5294	3.9271	4.5309

Table 5.4: Mean number of areas recognised, by survey location and gender

As the table above demonstrates, there are differences across the survey locations as well as within them. Crewe-based informants, on average, recognised the greatest number of dialect areas perceiving 5.53 areas compared with Carlisle-based informants’ recognition level of 4.34 and Hull informants’ level of 3.93. There do not seem to be any clear-cut gender effects on the numbers of areas perceived, at least none that could create a general rule such as proposed by Demirci in Turkey. Although there are no significant differences between the numbers of dialect areas drawn for any survey locations, there are small differences between the results. A very small difference of 0.18 in the favour of the female informants can be found in the areas drawn by informants from Carlisle. This is not replicated in the two remaining survey locations where the male informants recognised a greater number of areas, by 0.56 Crewe-based informants and 0.71 for

informants from Hull. This does not translate to a significant difference overall, with a small difference of 0.14 in favour of the male informants in the study. These figures mean that it is safe to argue there is a negligible effect of gender on the number of dialect areas recognised in this study. However, this does not account for the distribution of area recognition, and does not tell us whether the same areas were recognised by male and female informants. Table 5.5 below shows the ten most frequently recognised areas with a breakdown by gender.

Dialect area	Carlisle (n=98)			Crewe (n=85)			Hull (n=93)		
	Male	Female	Tot	Male	Female	Tot	Male	Female	Tot
‘Scouse’	19 (48.7)	29 (54.7)	48	15 (71.4)	52 (81.3)	67	18 (52.9)	26 (41.9)	44
‘Geordie’	20 (51.3)	32 (60.4)	52	15 (71.4)	46 (71.9)	61	16 (47.1)	27 (43.5)	43
‘Brummie’	14 (35.9)	20 (37.7)	34	16 (76.2)	45 (70.3)	61	13 (38.2)	24 (38.7)	37
‘Cockney’	16 (41)	17 (32.1)	33	10 (47.6)	36 (56.3)	46	8 (23.5)	13 (21)	21
‘Manc’	13 (33)	13 (24.5)	26	11 (52.4)	22 (34.4)	33	8 (23.5)	6 (9.7)	14
‘Yorkshire’	3 (7.7)	6 (11.3)	9	3 (14.3)	9 (14.1)	12	9 (26.5)	24 (38.7)	33
‘Carlisle’	15 (38.5)	18 (34)	33	1 (4.8)	0 (0)	1	1 (2.9)	0 (0)	1
‘Cornwall’	4 (10.3)	6 (11.3)	10	7 (33.3)	9 (14.1)	16	3 (8.8)	2 (3.2)	5
‘West Country’	2 (5.1)	7 (13.2)	9	0 (0)	7 (10.9)	7	2 (5.9)	3 (4.8)	5
‘Potteries’	0 (0)	1 (1.9)	1	5 (23.8)	8 (12.5)	13	-	-	-

Table 5.5: Ten most frequently recognised dialect areas, with breakdown by gender. Bracketed figures represent percentage recognition levels by gender

In table 5.5 above, the plain figures are the number of lines drawn representing the area whilst the bracketed figures allow comparison between the recognition levels for each area. The bracketed figures in the cells are arrived at by calculating the percentage recognition level from the total male or female informants from each survey location¹⁹. Observing the table, it appears that there is not a great deal of difference between the percentage recognition levels for the ten most frequently identified areas. Closer inspection however reveals some patterns worth exploring further.

Differences of greater than 10 percentage points seem interesting so long as the numbers involved are relatively high. This does not occur for any dialect area in Carlisle where the greatest difference is 8.9% for the ‘Cockney’ area. However, both Crewe and Hull

¹⁹ The bracketed figure in the cell for ‘Scouse’, Carlisle (Male) is arrived at by the following: $(19/39)*100=48.7$ [(lines drawn/total male informants)/*100]

have an interesting difference between male and female informants in their recognition of the 'Manc' area. Although the overall number of lines drawn in recognition of the 'Manc' area is low for Hull-based informants, there is 13.8% difference between male and female informants in favour of male informants. This compares with Crewe-based informants who have a disparity of 18%, again with the male informants recognising the area more readily. The case is a little stronger in the case of informants from Crewe as the overall number of informants recognising the area is higher (33). More support is provided from the smaller, yet still consistent, difference from Carlisle-based informants; their percentage disparity is 8.5% in favour of male informants. When these figures are taken together, an overall disparity favouring male informants of 11% is revealed, confirming that male informants country-wide recognise the 'Manc' area more readily than female informants. It is difficult to account for this pattern, although the 'Madchester' phenomenon could have been said to be relatively male oriented and if it is this, as hypothesised, that raised the perceptual 'value' of the area then this could have influenced a greater number of male informants (football could also be relevant here). Additional research involving the use of qualitative fieldwork could provide more answers in this case; this is an area which has definite scope for investigation in the future.

Another difference which is of interest can be found for the result for the 'Yorkshire' area for Hull-based informants. This difference of 12.2%, this time in favour of female informants, is not quite as large as that found in the case of the 'Manc' area. It is also not replicated in the other survey locations; however it is of interest due to the area's status as 'home area' for Hull-based informants. Again, uncovering a reason for the difference between male and female recognition levels is not an easy task. It could however be related to the high salience of the 'Manc' area for male informants. As will be discussed below, the 'Manc' area and the 'Yorkshire' area overlap when placed on the same map. In order to stop this overlapping, as informants typically wanted to do, the areas of greatest salience would be drawn first. If after salient areas had been drawn there was no space for other areas, even 'home areas', it is logical to assume that they may not be drawn. This could have been the situation here and provide some explanation for the

disparity between male and female informants. Overall though, despite the two examples above, there seems little major difference between male and female informants.

Composite maps

One of the aims of perceptual dialectology is the examination of the mental maps of dialect areas, on an individual informant level as well as a multiple informant level. The analysis of these multiple informant mental maps has so far concentrated on the extent of agreement over the placement and size of individual perceptual dialect areas. The remainder of this section will deal with composite maps of these individual perceptual dialect areas, introducing maps by individual survey location as well as a map displaying perceptual areas from all survey locations. This replicates work performed by Preston (1999c: 362) and Long (1999a: 188) and also serves to introduce the type of map used as part of the second stage of fieldwork which is discussed in the following chapter.

The creation of composite maps was performed with the use of PDQ. As with the creation of composite maps in pilot studies (done at that time by hand), the composite maps seen below required the removal of ‘outliers’, which could be expressed differently as ‘finding the greatest agreement’. This is of importance to the creation of the composite maps as one needs the map to be legible and for it to represent meaningful data. Although Preston (1999c) does not comment on what his ‘agreement threshold’ is, Long uses a value of 50% (Long, 1999a: 193). This agreement level would not be attainable in this study as I am not able to manipulate the PDQ programme from its default shading boundaries. It was thus decided, due not only to convenience but also the relatively high agreement levels observed, that the ‘cut-off point’ would be 20%. That is to say that the area shaded representing 1%-20% of lines would not be included in the composite maps and the composite would represent all lines above 20% agreement. Inclusion on the composite map for individual survey locations was dictated by table 5.2, and a dialect area’s position as one of the ten most frequently recognised in each survey location. Country divisions, distinct from perceptual dialect areas as discussed above, are not included in the composite maps.

I attempted different composite mapping techniques in order to produce the most 'readable' maps. Previous composites have dealt with colour or greyscale maps, as will the final overall composite map below which was also used as part of the second fieldwork stage. For discussion here however, I have followed Preston's lead in the use of various lines representing the boundaries of perceptual areas as seen in figure 5.34 (Preston, 1999c: 362).

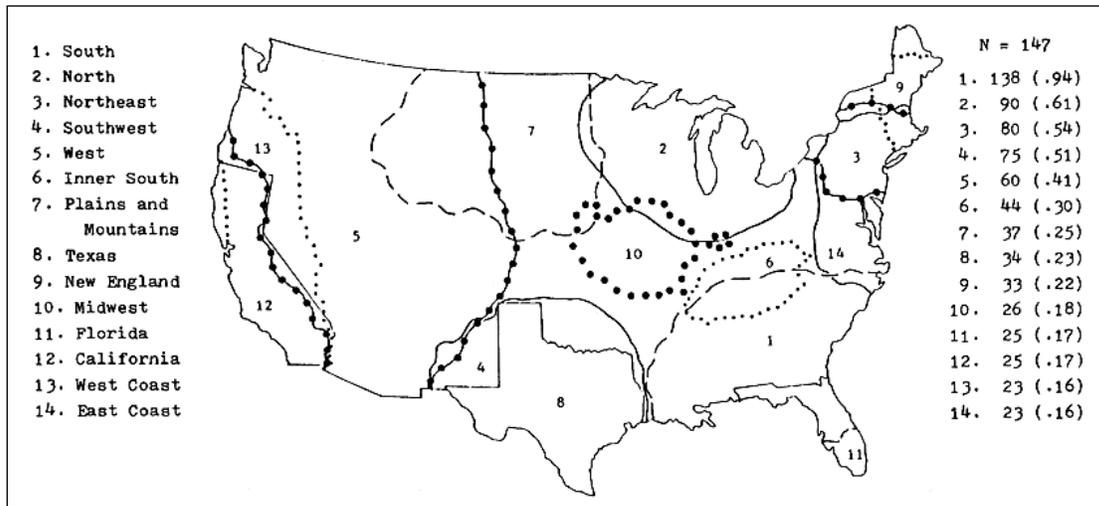


Figure 5.34: Preston's computer assisted generalisation of hand-drawn maps showing south-eastern Michigan informants' speech regions in the United States (Preston, 1999c: 362).

The maps seen in figures 5.35 to 5.37 below have been created with the use of three programmes. The composite map for single areas created in PDQ, as seen above, was taken as the starting point. These maps were then saved as graphics files and the 1%-20% shading was removed using Jasc Paint Shop Pro. Microsoft PowerPoint was then used to trace around the $\geq 21\%$ boundary of each area onto the same blank base map. The style of the traced lines was then changed in order for the composite map to make most readable map²⁰, and the areas represented by lines were numbered according to their rank in the recognition table. These data along with the number of lines and recognition percentage for each area were then added to the final composite, forming a key. It must be noted that the figures included within each composite as part of the key represent the

²⁰ For this reason, the perceptual areas on the composite maps are not represented by the same style of line in all of the maps.

total number of lines drawn representing each area whereas the area boundaries on the map only represent 80% of these totals. I decided that it would be incorrect to display figures representing 80% of the totals as in some cases this may be inaccurate due to the way in which PDQ calculates composite maps (based on pixel shading, see §2.10 above).

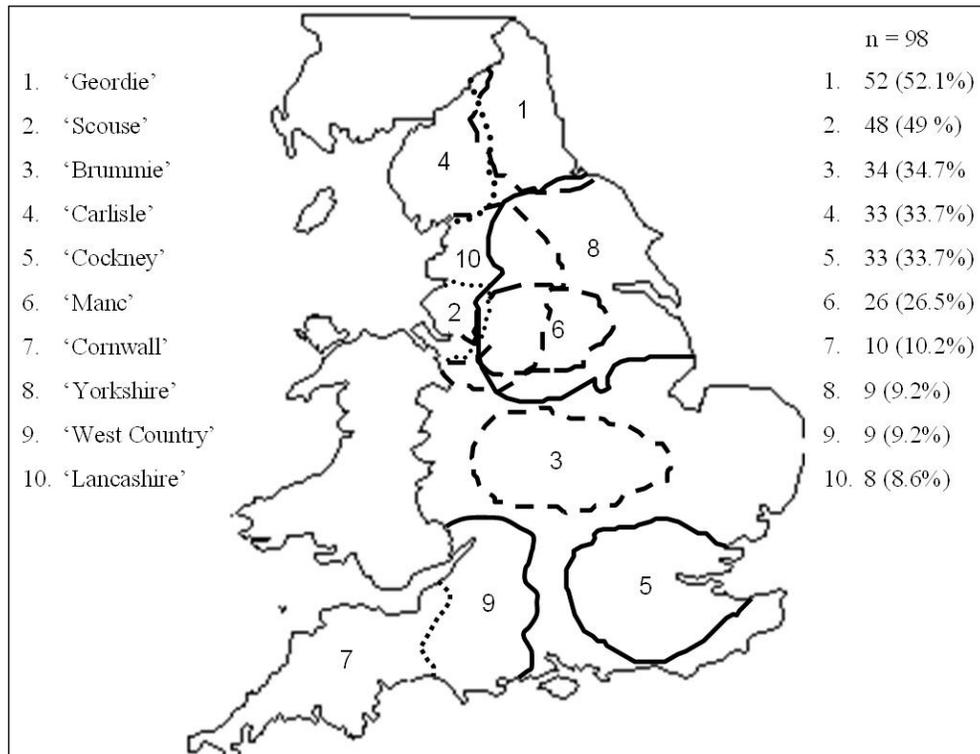


Figure 5.35: Carlisle informants' composite perceptual maps showing results for the ten most frequently recognised dialect areas

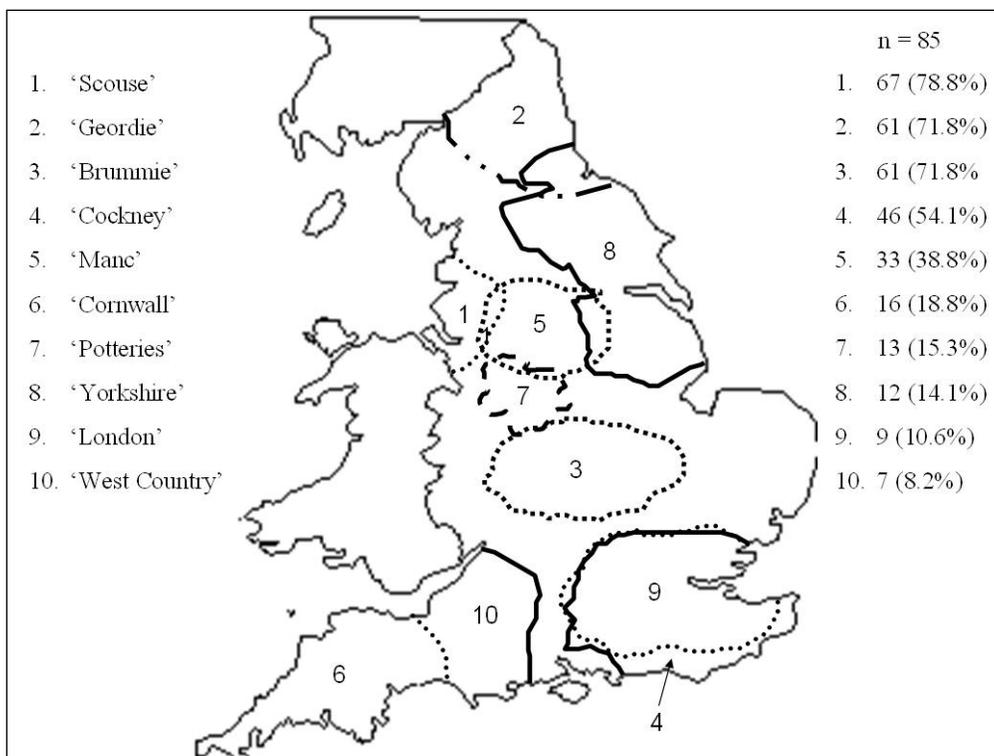


Figure 5.36: Crewe informants' composite perceptual maps showing results for the ten most frequently recognised dialect areas

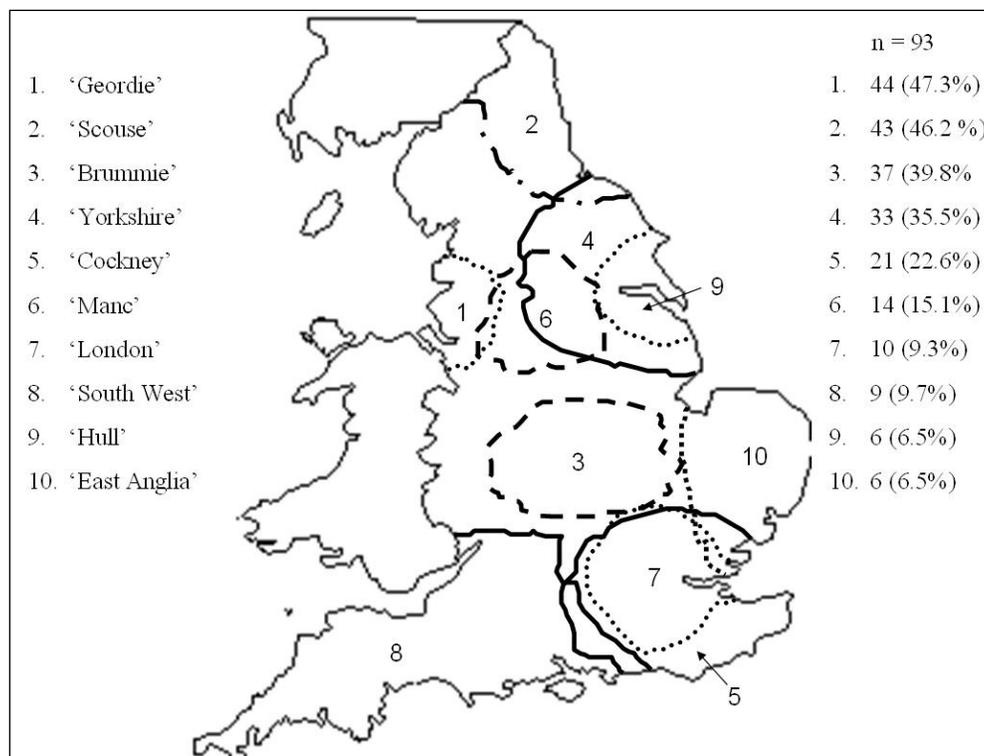


Figure 5.37: Hull informants' composite perceptual maps showing results for the ten most frequently recognised dialect areas

As expected and as could be predicted from the analysis of individual dialect areas across the survey locations, figures 5.35 to 5.37 share many similarities as well as exhibiting some differences. There is a similar ‘dominance’ of five of the cities marked by location dots, and at the $\geq 21\%$ level there is little difference in the placement or extent of these cities. The interaction of the individual areas in each survey location can be seen in the figures above, and despite the similarity in the distribution of lines indicating the areas some of the reasons for different boundaries become apparent on examination of the composites.

Starting in the north of the country, the ‘Geordie’ area occupies a prominent position in the north east for all maps. However, the western boundary for ‘Geordie’ is not something which has full agreement across survey locations. Above, I hypothesised that this was due to the influence of ‘Cumbrian/Carlisle’, and this is borne out in figure 5.35. Whereas the following two figures show a ‘Geordie’ area, acknowledging a western limit but disagreeing on it, informants from Carlisle can be explicit about their perceptions of its western limit, and the resulting composite map is one of complementary areas with no perceptual ‘black holes’. For Carlisle-based informants this complimentary nature of perceptual boundaries is continued to the south of the ‘home area’ before the marking of the northern limit of the ‘Lancashire’ area. In this case, despite the fact that the ‘Lancashire’ area only represents 80% of informant lines, there is an acknowledgement of a clear southern boundary to the ‘Cumbrian/Carlisle’ area, whether what borders it is named (or known) or not.

As we move south and east through the country, the largest perceptual area in the north for all survey locations is found. The ‘Yorkshire’ area, as mentioned above, was not recognised by as many informants as I thought it might be, however it still occupies a very prominent position. Embedded within the larger dialect area of ‘Yorkshire’ for Hull-based informants is the smaller and far less frequently identified area of ‘Hull’ (n=6). This is the home area, appearing in reduced numbers due to informants from Hull claiming ownership of the ‘Yorkshire’ tag. There is a similar idea of the northern boundary of ‘Yorkshire’ with an almost identical limit recognised by Hull and Carlisle

based informants. Interestingly in the composite maps above, there is recognition of the problematic nature of the interaction between ‘Geordie’ and ‘Yorkshire’ with an overlapping of these areas for all three survey locations around the Tees estuary area. This perhaps fits in with the idea of the ‘part of Britain with no identity’ discussed by Llamas (2000).

There is no agreement over the western boundary of the ‘Yorkshire’ area across the survey locations. Despite the inclusion of a ‘Lancashire’ dialect area Carlisle-based informants do not use this area’s eastern boundary in the same complementary fashion as they did in the case of the ‘Cumbrian/Carlisle’-‘Geordie’ boundary; instead there is a large overlap. Crewe-based informants do however show a complementary relationship with the eastern border of the ‘Manc’ area obviously affecting the western border of the ‘Yorkshire’ area. There is no such perception by the informants based in Hull, who show an overlapping of the ‘Manc’ and ‘Yorkshire’ areas. From anecdotal evidence this overlap, in South Yorkshire at least, may have its roots in difficulty in the perception of the difference between this area and Manchester/Lancashire. The second stage of fieldwork, discussed in the following chapter, will examine informants’ perception of voice samples along with their ability to place the samples and attempt to discover whether difficulties do indeed exist.

The ‘Manc’ dialect area does not show a great deal of difference between survey locations but does interact differently with perceptual areas in each composite map. As discussed above, it provides influence over the boundaries of other areas. For Crewe-based informants it provides the northern boundary of the ‘Potteries’ dialect area, although the southern boundary of the ‘Manc’ area does not run any further south for Carlisle or Hull based informants, again perhaps demonstrating that informants recognise that areas have their limits, despite not knowing what lies beyond them. The western boundary of the ‘Manc’ area provides the eastern extent of the ‘Scouse’ area which is almost identical across all survey locations. This is with the exception of the northern limits of the area for Carlisle-base informants, who place it further south, possibly due to the effect of the ‘Lancashire’ area.

Beyond the southern limits of ‘Scouse’, ‘Manc’ and ‘Yorkshire’ white spaces begin to appear on all of the composite maps. There could be many reasons for this, although what appears to be demonstrated in these maps is the lack of perceptually distinctive varieties beyond the southern limits until a line from the Severn to Essex is reached, at least. With the exception of Birmingham, which occupies a similar space around its location dot for all survey locations, there are no areas recognised in the ‘top ten’ until the Severn-Essex line, with the exception of East Anglia for Hull-based informants (n=6). Unfortunately, this ‘perceptual distinctiveness’ hypothesis can not be tested here; neither will it be tested in the next chapter as no voice samples were taken from around the centre of the country.

As the Severn-Essex line is passed, overlapping and embedding of dialect areas becomes more commonplace in both the south east and the south west. In the south east of the country the ‘London’ and ‘Cockney’ areas occupy largely the same geographical space for Hull and Crewe based informants. The ‘Cockney’ area is the larger of the two, extending in both cases to the south coast. There is no embedding for Carlisle-based informants, who recognise only the ‘Cockney’ area in their ‘top ten’. Interestingly, the ‘Cockney’ area for these informants is very similar to the ‘London’ area for the other locations, which as discussed above perhaps reflects different names for the same perceptual area. In the south west embedding is found for Crewe and Carlisle based informants. The ‘West Country’ area occupies a large geographical space within which the ‘Cornwall’ area is found. Hull showed no evidence of the embedding with one area occupying the space of the two for the other locations and simply entitled ‘South West’.

Comparisons of the composite maps for each survey location are of great interest and can tell us more about contemporary perception in England. The way in which informants perceive different dialect areas and the interaction between the perceptions of these different varieties is of interest. I hope that many of the reasons for the perception of particular dialect areas have been explained through the use of single dialect area maps as well as the composite maps above. However, I felt that that conclusions made simply

through the use of hand-drawn maps needed weight adding to them through a second stage of fieldwork. I decided that this should use findings from the first stage, mainly in the form of a composite map, following Preston (1999c: 363). I decided that the composite map should be the same across survey locations. This would allow comparisons to be made between informants from each location. As discussed, this map would be used as part of a ratings and recognition task which would also make use of voice samples from different locations in the north of England.

The composite map has some value on its own, as it allows the comparison of overall results with those from other studies, both perceptual (Inoue, 1999b) and SED-based (Trudgill, 1990). Selection of perceptual areas for the overall composite was based upon the area having a greater than 1% of the total lines drawn. Despite this difference the method of compilation for the overall composite map was the same as explained above. The final overall composite map is shown in figure 5.38 below.

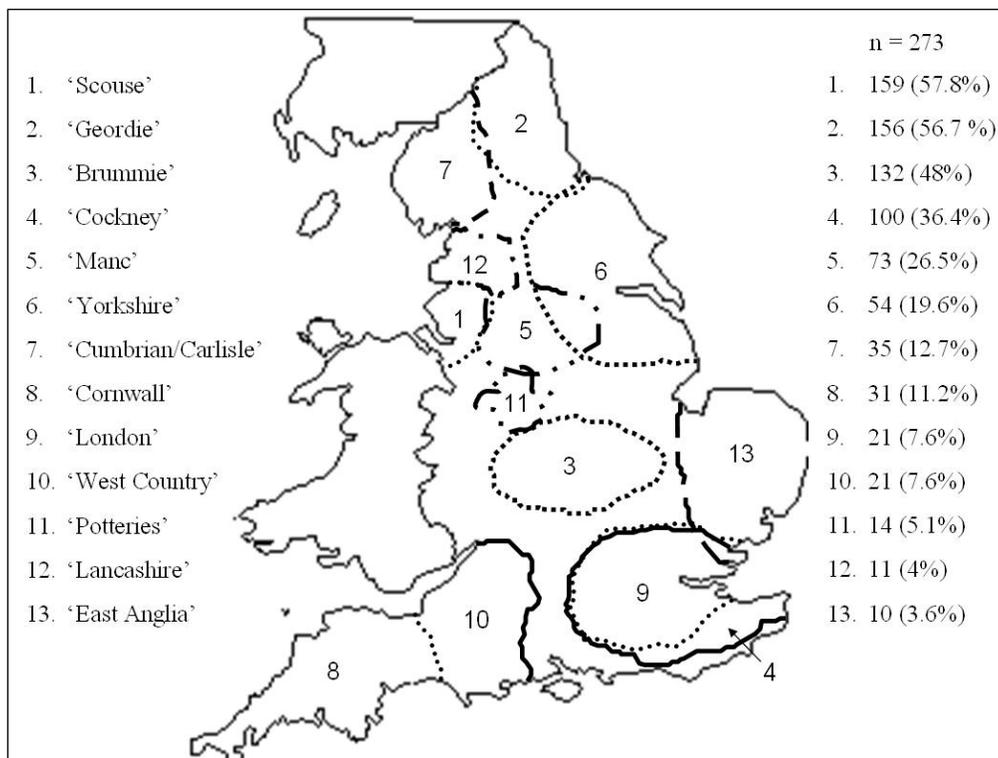


Figure 5.38: All informants' composite perceptual map showing results for dialect areas over 1% of total lines drawn

The overall composite map shows less overlapping in the north of the country, with a clear east-west division following the line of the Pennines until the ‘Manc’ area is reached. The perceptual ‘black holes’ are again in evidence south of the six dialect areas above the Mersey-Lincolnshire line although there is also an interesting lack of coverage in the northern region. This occurs in part of North Yorkshire and represents an area of sparse population. Despite this fact it is of interest that this lack of coverage is only noticed in the overall composite map.

As mentioned above, the overall composite map can be compared with maps produced by other linguists in order to examine the similarities and differences between them. Inoue’s (1999b) perceptual study of Great Britain is perhaps the best starting point for comparison. Figure 5.39 below shows both the overall composite map and Inoue’s composite perceptual map.

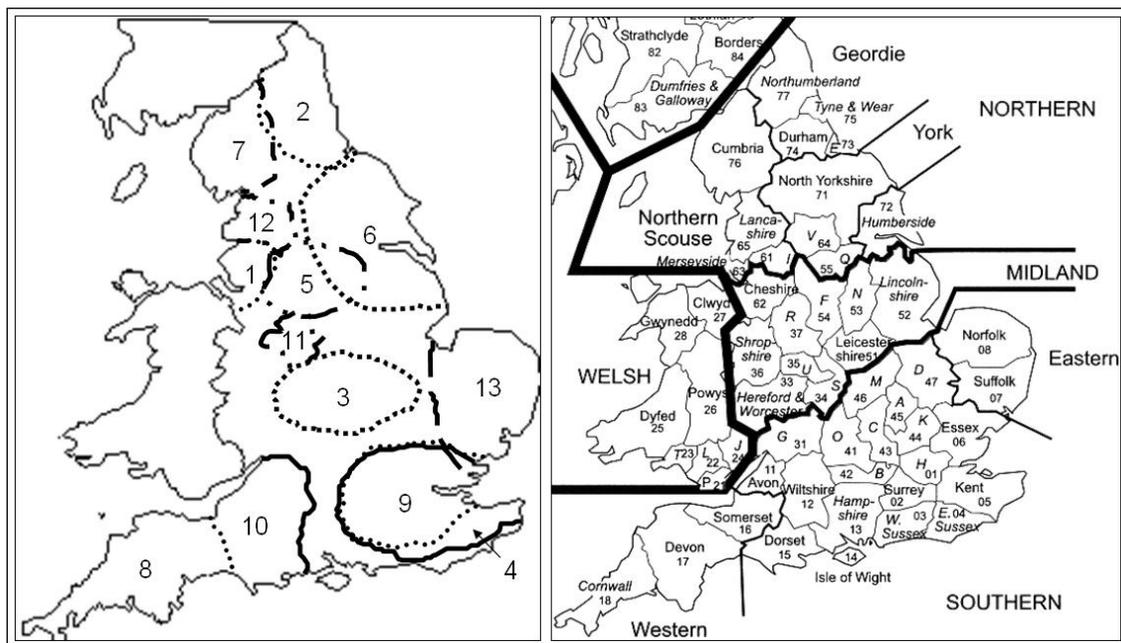


Figure 5.39: Comparison of overall composite map (l) alongside Inoue’s composite ‘subjective dialect division’ map (r) (Inoue, 1999b: 167)

Comparison with Inoue’s composite subjective dialect division map reveals a good deal of difference. This could be due to the different approaches to the gathering of perceptual data, with Inoue employing a map with county and administrative boundaries marked as opposed to some key cities. This would account for the differing focus of the maps.

Inoue's map appears more 'region focussed', with division into 'Northern', 'Midland' and 'Southern' and subordinate delimiting of dialect areas based less around cities (Inoue's only city-focussed areas being 'Scouse' and 'Geordie'). My approach was to separate questions of country division and area identification, as explained above, and thus the composite maps immediately appear different.

If one looks beyond the immediate differences however, there is some similarity present, in both the north and south west of the country. At the far north eastern part of the country, there is a remarkably similar 'Geordie' area on both maps. Both 'Geordie' areas have an almost identical western boundary, a testament to the accuracy of 80% of the informants in the current study as the boundary follows county lines in Inoue's map. The southern boundary of the area is also similar, including the Teesside area within it in both maps. The extended 'Scouse' area which runs northwards to become the north western dialect area in Inoue's map is very different to the three given by informants for the same geographical space in this study. This can perhaps be accounted for by the home locations of Inoue's informants, who were 'from various part of Great Britain, mainly from Essex University' (Inoue, 1999b: 176). It could therefore be tentatively assumed that the majority of informants were from the south of the country. This would account for less detailed perception of the north west due to the effect of proximity: as we have already seen, the far north west is somewhat of a 'black hole' even to informants from further north.

Inoue's 'York' area has similar northern and western boundaries to the 'Yorkshire' area but its southern boundary is very different. The 'Yorkshire' area in the composite straddles the River Humber and occupies space in Lincolnshire, contrary to Inoue's area which has its southern boundary north of the county of Humberside. Interestingly, Inoue's map identifies a 'Humberside' area (not named but delimited none-the-less), which was only noted by very few informants from Hull although again this could be due to the effect of the existence of the administrative county of Humberside. As one passes the 'Midlands' boundary on Inoue's map there are no similarities (with the exception of the 'Eastern' area in the same place as the very infrequently identified 'East Anglia')

until reaching the south west. Here, Inoue's 'Western' area occupies the same space as 'Cornwall' and part of the 'West Country' areas. Overall then there are far more differences than similarities between the two maps, and I believe that this can mainly be accounted for by a difference in approach and the location of informants.

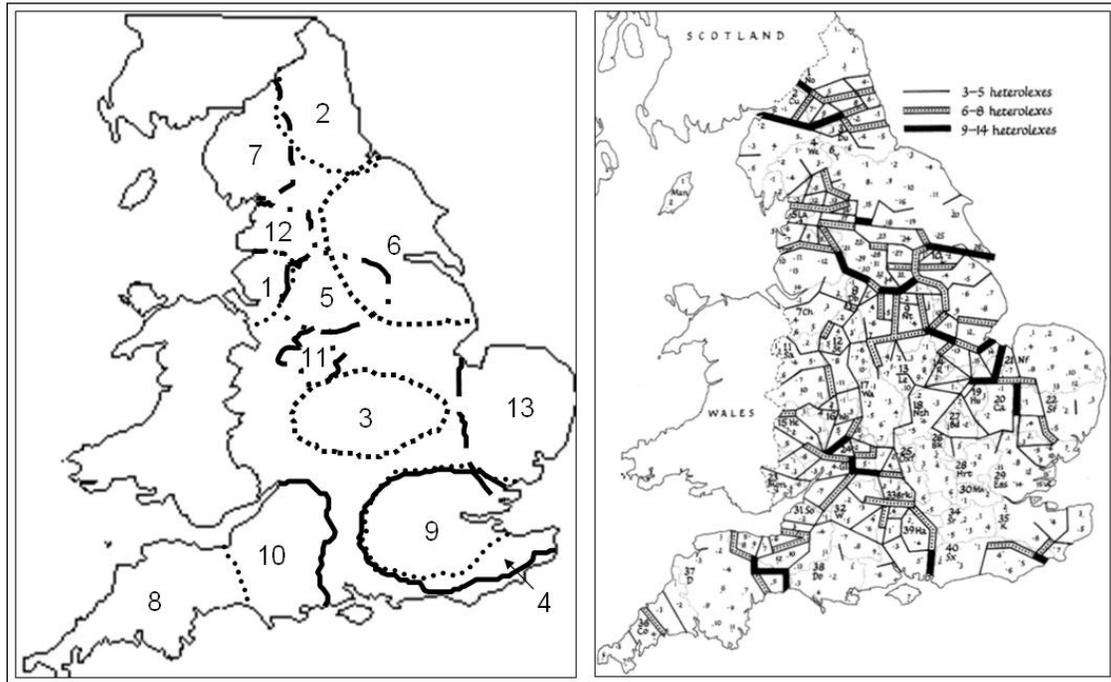


Figure 5.40: Comparison of overall composite map (l) alongside Viereck's map of dialect division by heterolexes (r) (Viereck, 1986b: 250)

The comparison, for the first time, of the overall composite map and a map arrived at through a more traditional approach to dialect study produces the conclusion that there is very little similarity between the two. Despite the lack of similarities between the composite map in this study and the map produced by Inoue, his conclusions about the lack of correspondence between this map and perceptual maps must be supported. There are perhaps some similarities at the northern boundary of the 'Scouse' area and the heterolex in the same place on Viereck's (1986b: 250) map. In a similar fashion, there is some coincidence at the south west of the country, with heterolexes in a similar place to the lines indicating the boundaries of 'Cornwall' and 'West Country'.

Overall however the comparison between Viereck's division by heterolexes and the composite perceptual map produces few similar areas. Despite the exceptions noted

above, most of the perceptual dialect areas are placed over major heterolex boundaries, especially north of a Mersey-Wash line. Even south of this line even if there is no obvious disagreement, there is no agreement either. One could conclude from this that due to the lack of agreement between Viereck's map and the composite map that the study of perceptions is devalued somehow. I do not believe that this is the case however, and feel that two conclusions can be reached from this lack of agreement. The first is that all perceptual maps will differ from maps arrived at through 'traditional' methods, the second is that informants in this study do not use lexical items to distinguish between varieties of English.

It is my belief that both conclusions could hold some relevance and value. I have no data from this study to support the theory that lexical items are important in perception, although Mase has found some correspondence in small-scale Japanese studies (Mase, 1999: 93). I also believe that dialect maps are tools of convenience, and as such cannot be used to present particularly complex data. A map compiler has many choices to make, a fact touched upon by Chambers and Trudgill in their discussion of isoglosses (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980: 103-5). The result of these choices is the map: a visual representation of sometimes (nearly always) complex data. This map, however complete and well thought-out, can never represent 'reality'. Therefore, to compare perceptual maps drawn by language users to dialect maps compiled by linguists and dismiss them due to a lack of correlation is not entirely logical.

The following two figures (5.41 and 5.42) contain maps compiled by Trudgill in the spirit of choice and compromise mentioned above. In an attempt to produce a complete dialectal profile of England, for the past and the present, Trudgill took a number of specific (phonetic) features. Using SED data he compiled maps based on these selected features. As such Trudgill's maps of 'traditional' and modern dialect areas do not represent dialect areas but accent areas. The final maps are the result of the selection of features and further selection of how to represent these features and their boundaries. As such although they are useful guides to variation in England the maps are not 100% reliable and were probably never intended to be, therefore when correlation between

Figure 5.42 exhibits a degree of similarity between Trudgill's map and the composite perceptual map, although as with the comparison between Viereck's heterolex map there is again a good deal of difference. Trudgill's map shows 'Northeast' area, occupying much the same geographical space as the 'Geordie' area in the composite map. The 'Northeast' area is not complemented by a similar 'Northwest' area, or a 'Cumbrian/Carlisle' area as in the composite map. Instead, Trudgill's map shows the 'Lower North' area occupying the space taken by 'Yorkshire' and extending all the way to the Scottish border in the north west. There is an acknowledgement of 'Central Lancashire' by Trudgill, and this area is found directly north of 'Merseyside'. This is similar to the interaction between 'Scouse' and 'Lancashire' in the composite map although both areas are slightly larger than in Trudgill's map. There is more agreement to be found in the south of the country, with the 'Home Counties' area occupying much of the space in which the 'Cockney' area is to be found on the composite. A primary 'Central Southwest' division with a subsidiary 'Lower Southwest' area can be seen on Trudgill's map, a feature echoed by the 'West Country'-'Cornwall' divisions on the composite although here they occupy smaller areas.

The differences between the two maps occur in the space around a line from the Mersey to the Wash, with Trudgill's map disagreeing with the inclusion of 'Manc', 'Potteries' and 'Brummie' as well as the southern extent of 'Yorkshire'. Here, Trudgill views the primary distinction as between the east and west of the country. In the composite map there is a clear east-west distinction but this ceases in the very area Trudgill claims it to start. This could be due to the location of the informants as anecdotal evidence would support the perception of an east-west split in the Midland area of the country. This is of course reinforced with the linguistic evidence selected by Trudgill in order to produce his map.

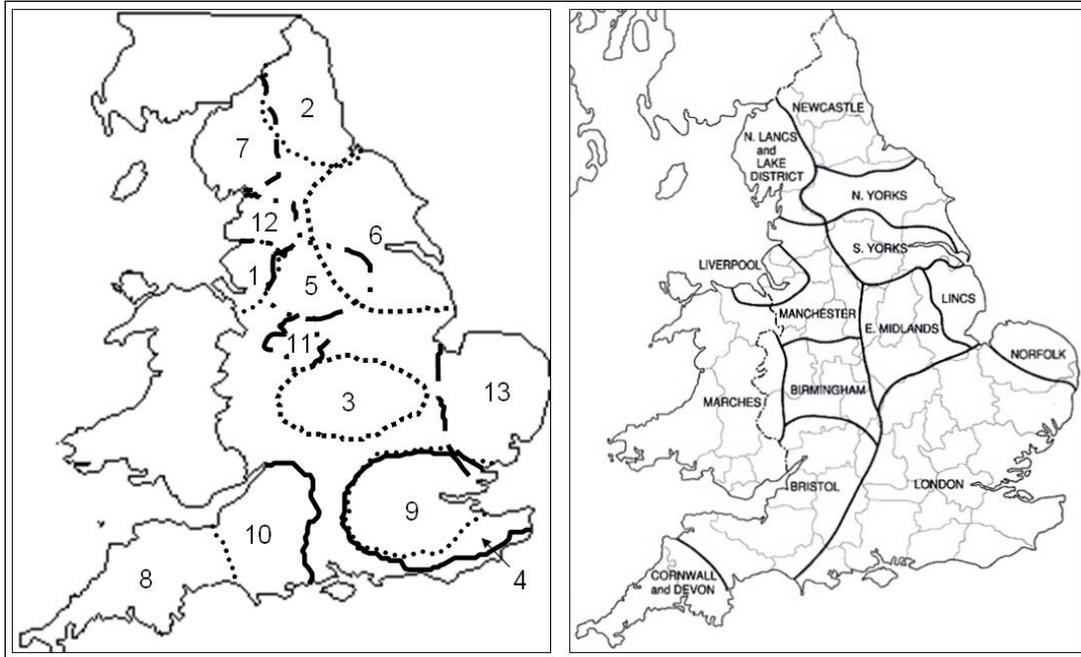


Figure 5.43: Comparison of overall composite map (l) alongside Trudgill's map of possible future dialect (accent) areas (r) (Trudgill, 1999: 83)

The final comparison I wish to make is with Trudgill's map of possible future dialect areas (figure 5.43). This map is of course conjecture (albeit from an informed source); however some of its similarities with the composite perceptual map must be noted. The first major similarity is with the 'city focuses' of many of the possible future dialect areas. The six cities which were included as location dots on blank maps are all represented in Trudgill's map as centres of future dialect areas. The 'Newcastle' area is bordered on its western side by a similar area to the 'Cumbrian/Carlisle' area; there is a prominent place for 'Scouse' ('Liverpool'). This area is bordered by 'Manchester' which extends to replace the 'Lancashire' area on the composite map.

An east-west split is however still present, extending all the way down the country. In this way, Trudgill's map disagrees with the composite perceptual map (although if the 'Manc' area did not extend so far to the east the maps would look far more similar). Trudgill's map also appears to abandon the idea of a north-south split remaining of importance; however the vastly expanded 'London' area does show some similarities to the 'London archipelago' situation described by Dorling (2004b). Despite this differences due to Trudgill's east-west split however, there are remarkable similarities

between the two maps, perhaps indicating that Trudgill's predictions were an accurate reflection of the prevailing perception of variation in the country. Trudgill's map of future dialect areas takes into account the role of levelling and diffusion in language change, and the similarities between Trudgill's map and the composite map may suggest that these phenomena also have a role to play in perception.

Using the composite perceptual maps in further fieldwork

As mentioned above, the overall composite map was to be used in further fieldwork designed to examine the role of voice identification in perception. For this reason the map needed to be simplified. I decided that this simplification would involve the use of colour (which would be reproduced as greyscale in fieldwork). The main barrier to this approach was the overlapping and embedding present on the map.

The overlapping and embedding in the south of the country has been described above and is present in the combined composite, with 'London' and 'Cockney' and 'West Country' and 'Cornwall' occupying some of the same geographical space. As mentioned, the embedding of dialect areas is a barrier to the clear reading of the map. As I am primarily interested in the perception of northern varieties of English, and the embedding only occurred in the south, I decided that when embedding such as described above took place the dialect area with the greatest number of lines should be included on the map with the area with the smaller number removed. This has the effect of simplifying the map, and the map presented to informants can be seen below in the following chapter (figure 6.1), in which the precise way in which the map was used is discussed in detail.

5.2.4 Dialect area characteristics

The final part of the draw-a-map task asked informants the following:

'Once you have completed the tasks above, think about what people from the areas you have drawn and labelled are like. How might you recognise them? If you have time you can write some of these thoughts on the map.'

Following Long's suggestions for categorising characteristics given in draw-a-map tasks (1999b: 213), I have counted the characteristics given by informants according to the following classification:

- i) Nonlinguistic characteristics
 - a. Attributes (cold, crude, rough, farmer)
 - b. Comprehensibility (incomprehensible, hard to understand)
 - c. Classification/Comparison (standard, similar to x)
- ii) Linguistic characteristics
 - a. Paralinguistic (mumbling, fast-talking, nasal, loud)
 - b. Phonetic (excluding prosodic characteristics)
 - c. Prosodic (pitch accent of words, intonation of utterances)
 - d. Lexical/Morphemic (specific lexical or morphemic examples)

(Long, 1999b: 213)

After Long, I have split three of the categories (i. a. and b. along with ii. a.) comments which have either positive or negative connotations. It is of course sometimes difficult to ascertain exactly how a certain comment was intended, and where I could not tell the comment was not counted under either heading. However, as will be seen below some comments or labels that I assumed to have a pejorative 'tone' (e.g. 'Posh') have been included under the heading of 'negative'. Tables 5.7 and 5.8 below show the numerical breakdown of characteristics given for any dialect areas which were labelled with such information by Carlisle-based informants. In all of the following tables, some informants' data is included in more than one group.

Nonlinguistic Characteristics – Carlisle					
Dialect Area	Attributes		Comprehensibility		Classification/ Comparison
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	
‘Brummie’		5			
‘Cockney’		2			
‘Cornwall’	1	3			
‘Cumbrian/Carlisle’		3			
‘East Anglia’		1			
‘Geordie’	8	2			
‘London’	2	7			
‘Manc’		1			
‘Scouse’	2	5			
‘West Country’		2			
‘Yorkshire’		2			
Totals	13	33	-	-	-

Table 5.6: Carlisle informants’ classification of nonlinguistic characteristics by dialect area

Linguistic Characteristics – Carlisle					
Dialect Area	Paralinguistic		Phonetic	Prosodic	Lexical/ Morphemic
	Positive	Negative			
‘Brummie’					1
‘Geordie’		1			2
‘Leeds’					1
‘Scouse’		1		1	1
Totals	-	2	-	1	5

Table 5.7: Carlisle informants’ classification of linguistic characteristics by dialect area

The tables show a clear preference for labelling dialect areas with nonlinguistic characteristics. This is clearly a departure from Long’s findings in Japan, where not only were data of this kind far more abundant but also the linguistic characteristics given far outweighed the nonlinguistic characteristics (Long, 1999b: 213). Taking nonlinguistic characteristics first (table 5.6) it can be seen that only the ‘Attributes’ column contains data, of which the majority is negative (71.7%). The only specific dialect area which has an overall positive attributes balance is the ‘Geordie’ area with eight comments to two. Both are patterns repeated for the other survey locations.

Beyond the numerical data there are general patterns which can be seen. One of the most striking patterns is a rural/urban disparity. This disparity is not however, as found by Evans, a prejudice 'towards more rural varieties' (2002b: 90) but the opposite. I believe that 'Farmer' in this context is being used in a pejorative (perhaps also jocular) fashion, and this is a term used to describe characteristics of 'Cornwall', 'Cumbrian/Carlisle' (the home area, but the more rural parts), 'East Anglia', 'West Country' and 'Yorkshire'. The term 'Farmer' is used alongside others such as 'Country' ('West Country'), 'Very Broad' ('Yorkshire') and 'Weird' ('Cornwall'). I believe the inclusion of the term 'Farmer' alongside these terms to carry negative urban stereotypes.

However, that the perceived rural areas do not appear to be too well supported by informants in this study does not mean that major urban centres perform particularly 'well' either. There is no obvious patterning of the characteristics given for urban centres which is in evidence for rural areas, and the negative characteristics in these cases seem area specific. The 'Brummie' area receives no positive comments and has three negative characteristics mentioned: 'Slow' (two mentions), 'Annoying' (two mentions), along with 'Nasty'. The 'Cockney' area receives two comments, 'Big headed' and 'Full of themselves', both negative. The 'Geordie' area as mentioned above is the only area to receive more positive comments than negative. Despite receiving the negative comments of 'Rough' and 'Nutters' (which could be read as positive in some cases), the positive characteristics of 'Friendly' (three mentions), 'Funny', 'Sexy', 'Kind', 'Good' and 'Party Animals' outweigh these negative characteristics. Also viewed as 'Friendly' and well as 'Brilliant' was the 'London' area, although negative comments for this area were greater in number ('Rude' (two mentions), 'Posh', 'Nasty', 'Organised crime/Gangsters' and 'Fucking Southerners'). The 'Manc' area had a single negative comment ('up themselves') and no positive characteristics. The final area to receive any mention of characteristics was the 'Scouse' area which despite receiving two positive comments ('Good' and 'Friendly'), had five negative characteristics cited ('Scallies', 'Criminals', 'Not to be trusted', 'Thick' and 'Shoot the lot').

As mentioned, the nonlinguistic characteristics far outweighed the linguistic characteristics given by informants (46 to 8). Only four dialect areas had linguistic characteristics attributed to them (table 5.7). The ‘Brummie’ area was attributed one lexical/morphological characteristic ‘ta-ra’. ‘Geordie’ was said to be a ‘deep’ variety (counted as an example of a negative paralinguistic characteristic) and two lexical/morphological examples were given (both ‘why-aye’). ‘Leeds’ had another example of lexical/morphological data (‘what’s tha do’). The ‘Scouse’ area had characteristics given in the greatest number of categories, with an example of stereotypical lexical/morphological data (‘calm down’), a prosodic characteristic (‘sing song’) and a negative paralinguistic characteristic (‘nasal’).

Despite their greater number, Carlisle-based informants did not detail as many characteristics as informants from Crewe whose data can be seen in tables 5.8 and 5.9.

Nonlinguistic Characteristics – Crewe					
Dialect Area	Attributes		Comprehensibility		Classification/ Comparison
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	
‘Brummie’	1	14			
‘Bristol’		2			
‘Cockney’		4			
‘Cornwall’	1	2			
‘Geordie’	8	2			
‘Home Counties’	1				
‘Lincolnshire’		1			
‘London’	2	7			
‘Manchester’	2	4			
‘Potteries’		3			1
‘Scouse’	1	14			
‘South Coast’	1				
‘West Country’		2			
Totals	17	58	-	-	1

Table 5.8: Crewe informants’ classification of nonlinguistic characteristics by dialect area

Linguistic Characteristics – Crewe					
Dialect Area	Paralinguistic		Phonetic	Prosodic	Lexical/ Morphemic
	Positive	Negative			
‘Cockney’		1			1
‘Geordie’		1			2
‘Potteries’					2
‘Scouse’				2	
‘West Country’					1
Totals	-	2	-	2	6

Table 5.9: Crewe informants’ classification of linguistic characteristics by dialect area

Again, despite the greater numbers of characteristics given overall by informants from Crewe, there is a very large disparity between the number of nonlinguistic and linguistic characteristics noted. There is however a greater number of dialect areas mentioned in the nonlinguistic characteristics table (table 5.8) with 13 dialect areas ascribed characteristics from Crewe-based informants compared to the 11 areas mentioned by those from Carlisle.

Again, as seen above for informants from Carlisle, the rural/urban split is in evidence: ‘Bristol’, ‘Cornwall’, and ‘West Country’ area all described as ‘Farmers’, although interestingly no variety to the north of the south west is. Very similar characteristics are given for the other urban dialect areas in table 5.8 to those given by Carlisle-based informants. Interestingly the ‘Brummie’ and ‘Scouse’ areas receive a far greater number of mentions by the informants from Crewe, probably due to the effect of proximity, although the characteristics are broadly in the same vein as those given by informants from Carlisle. Again, despite the effect of proximity mentioned above on the characteristics given for ‘Brummie’ and ‘Scouse’, the ‘Geordie’ area again receives eight positive mentions and two negative, mirroring the results from Carlisle. The ‘Potteries’ area is given only negative characteristics (‘Rough’, ‘Drugs’ and ‘Posh’) along with the first ‘Classification/Comparison’ comments (‘Similar to Brummie and Scouse’). This is of interest due to the hypothesised status as proxy ‘home area’ for Crewe-based

informants mentioned in the discussion above, although as seen from table 5.6, the home area can experience negative ratings by its inhabitants.

Although the number of areas mentioned in the linguistic characteristics table (table 5.9) remains at only five, these areas are slightly different to those mentioned in table 5.7 and there are a greater number of characteristic given. The ‘Cockney’ area is said to be ‘Loud’ (negative paralinguistic), and an example of lexical/morphological data is given (‘apples and pears’). The ‘Geordie’ area is again described as ‘Loud’, and two lexical/morphological characteristics are given (‘pet’ and ‘why-aye’). The ‘Potteries’ area has two identical examples of lexical/morphological characteristics (‘duck’) whilst ‘Scouse’ has ‘high pitched’ and ‘accentuation of some words’ which I have listed as prosodic features. Finally, the ‘West Country’ area has ‘ooh-arr’, again listed as a characteristic under the lexical/morphological heading.

The results from Hull, the final survey location, can be found in tables 5.10 and 5.11 below. Informants from Hull listed an average amount of nonlinguistic characteristics and although they still outnumber the linguistic characteristics, informants in this location produced the greatest number of the latter.

Nonlinguistic Characteristics – Hull					
Dialect Area	Attributes		Comprehensibility		Classification/ Comparison
	Positive	Negative	Positive	Negative	
‘Brummie’		7		2	
‘Bristol’	2				
‘East Anglia’		2			
‘Geordie’	3	2		3	
‘Lancashire’					1
‘London’	5	13			
‘Manc’	1	6			
‘Northumberland’		1			
‘Scouse’	1	8		1	
‘South West’		4			
‘West Country’		2			
‘Yorkshire’	1				
Totals	13	45	-	6	1

Table 5.10: Hull informants' classification of nonlinguistic characteristics by dialect area

Linguistic Characteristics – Hull					
Dialect Area	Paralinguistic		Phonetic	Prosodic	Lexical/ Morphemic
	Positive	Negative			
'Cockney'			1		
'Geordie'		1	1		
'Hull'			2		
'Humberside'			1		
'London'			2	1	
'Manc'			1		
'Scouse'			1		
'South West'			1		
Totals	-	1	10	1	-

Table 5.11: Hull informants' classification of linguistic characteristics by dialect area

As with results from the two previous survey locations detailed above, the rural/urban split is again in evidence, with similar areas labelled in similar ways representing the perceived rural areas ('East Anglia', 'Norwich', 'South West' and 'West Country'). The results from Hull-based informants are of interest here as although the labels used to represent city-focussed dialect areas are again similar, both in content and weighting in favour of negative characteristics. There are also 'Comprehensibility' characteristics given for the first time. Although only six in number and all negative, these are the first instances of such characteristics and they also compliment the linguistic characteristics given by informants.

The 'Brummie' area's comprehensibility characteristics are said to be 'drag[ing] words out' and 'hard to understand'. Also 'hard to understand' is the 'Geordie' area, which is also said to be 'Fast', these three negative characteristics are despite the small majority of positive characteristics given in the 'attributes' column (three positive to two negative). The 'Scouse' area is also 'hard to understand'. These problems in understanding for the 'Geordie' and 'Scouse' areas could be due to the linguistic characteristics given by informants of 'shortening vowels' (in both areas, phonetic characteristics), although these comments could merely be comparing the varieties to Standard English. This does not

explain why the ‘London’ area is said to ‘stretch out vowels’, although one informant does attempt to indicate what is meant through the use of IPA notation (‘a:’). Rhoticity is noted for the ‘South West’ dialect area, with one mention of a ‘long ‘R’’ for this dialect area. There are also three mentions of ‘H-dropping’ (two for the ‘Hull’ area and one for ‘Humberside’). The greater number of linguistic characteristics mentioned by informants from Hull either displays greater linguist awareness or a more advanced linguistic training. I believe it to be the latter, although it is reassuring to know that some areas were drawn along linguistic lines.

5.3 DISCUSSION

The draw-a-map task was a success. Despite some problems, mentioned above, the task fulfilled its aims and produced in many cases very complete mental maps of the dialectal situation in England. Despite my main prioritisation of northern English varieties, informants from the three (northern) survey locations showed that their perceptions did not stop at a north-south division and gave a good deal of opinion on dialectal variation in the south. This goes some way towards addressing Preston’s (2005a) concerns about the methodological approach taken here. The inclusion of a north-south (or other) division did not inhibit or prevent informants from drawing areas beyond it (or them).

The great number of lines drawn representing a wide range of perceptual areas was encouraging, although the relatively small number of areas receiving significant numbers of lines was not so encouraging. I believe that I have however demonstrated adequately that the method of ensuring geographical equivalence between informants did not overly influence or impact on the results. The choice of only providing detailed commentary on the ten most frequently recognised dialect areas was made for two reasons: space and relevance. There would simply not be enough space to account for every single dialect area drawn by informants. Also, the relevance of a dialect area receiving one line is not as great as a single area receiving over 100, or one which has a recognition level of over 50%. These two facts then are the reason behind the choice of areas to consider in more detail. As mentioned above, appendix 3 contains a full breakdown of all dialect area

results, and I hope that all the principles I have outlined in this and the previous chapter can be used to account for the patterns seen within them.

Of all the principles and constraints I have discussed, I believe the principle of proximity to be of most importance in perception in this case. This appears to tally with the results of previous studies, which Preston states as finding that: '[informants] first draw stigmatised and then local areas most frequently' (1999b: xxxiv). This observation also fits with the reason for the huge salience of the 'Scouse' variety as this was not only the most frequently identified but also the most stigmatised (see the discussion on characteristics, §5.2.4). I could add cultural salience to Preston's observations, as was seen in the case of 'Manc', 'Geordie' and 'Scouse'.

Gender, although clearly playing some role, does not appear to be as important as in Turkey, and age seems to have an even more negligible affect on area recognition and placement. I disagree with Inoue's comments on the possible influence of school maps as there appears to be very little in this study. Geography does however appear to play a role, but mainly in the location of geographical locations around which to base areas (see the delimitation of the south western dialect areas). Nonetheless, there does seem to be some interference from the Pennines in providing borders for areas at higher agreement levels. Historical considerations appear to play little or no role in the perception of dialect areas. There seems to be little correlation between dialectological maps and overall composite maps, although the lack of linguistic characteristics makes it difficult to assess the impact of these when drawing perceptual 'dialect areas'. I would still contend however that the hand drawn maps do indeed reflect the perceived linguistic situation, and the correlation with Trudgill's projected map is striking.

Overall, I believe that questions of perception are by no means simple and that even to place one line indicating a perceived area an informant has to perform huge set of mental processes. All the factors listed in the introductory section to this chapter and discussed above probably play some sort of role. Providing commentary to generalised composite maps and teasing out the reasons for certain placements is not an easy task and another

reading of such maps could produce contradictory results. The following chapter will discuss an extension to the methodology, as briefly touched on above, that could help in understanding both individual and composite maps further in the hope of gaining more understanding of the phenomenon of mental mapping.

7. RATING, RECOGNITION AND PLACEMENT OF DIALECT AREAS AND SPEECH SAMPLES

6.1 INTRODUCTION TO RATINGS TASK

As discussed in §2.9 and chapter 5, an additional fieldwork component was undertaken after the initial processing of draw-a-map task results. The aim of this additional component was to examine the perception of dialects in a different fashion to the draw-a-map task. The additional task however, as explained above, utilised results from the draw-a-map task. This follows Preston's use of his initial results in the undertaking of a similar secondary task (1999c: 363) involving the use of a composite map. Establishing a link between the draw-a-map task composite and the secondary fieldwork is in keeping with Preston's idea of 'cognitively real' dialect areas (1999c: 368), maps of which can be used in a variety of ways.

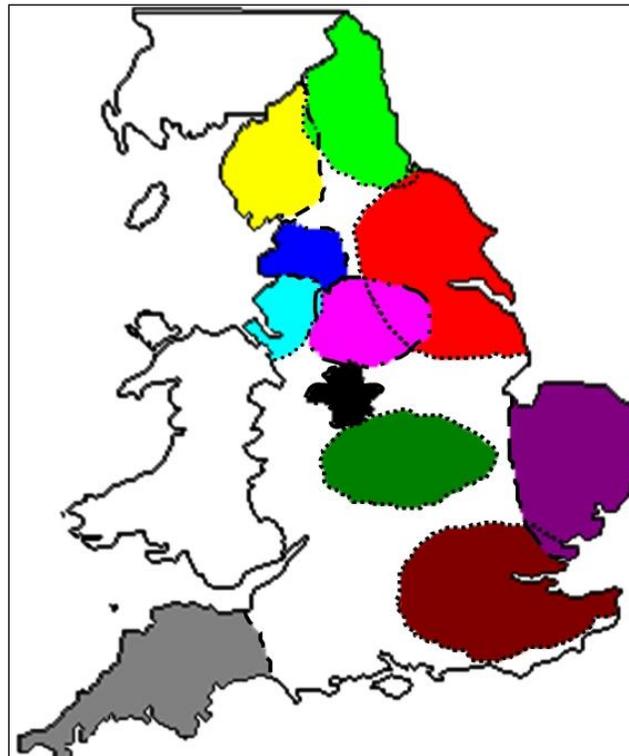


Figure 6.1: All informants' simplified composite perceptual map showing results for dialect areas over 1% of total lines drawn with embedded dialect areas removed

The secondary fieldwork (hereafter 'ratings task', despite involving more than simple ratings) used a simplified version of the overall composite map, as shown in figure 6.1

above. This overall composite map, which displays results from *all* locations, was used in the fieldwork so as to present informants with the most statistically reliable map. The use of the overall composite had the side effect of presenting dialect areas which informants from certain locations ('Cumbrian/Carlisle' for Crewe-based informants or 'Potteries' for those informants from Hull, for example) would not recognise due to the effects of various perceptual constraints. The two previous chapters (4 and 5) detail the reasons for this lack of recognition. As lack of recognition is part of the perception of variation I do not view it as a problem; instead I view it as a strength of the methodology as it allows more assessment of the factors involved in perception along with testing of some of the hypothesised reasons behind the patterns of perception discussed in chapters 4 and 5. The ratings task was split into two components: area ratings, which used the composite map in figure 6.1, followed by the rating and placement of eight voice samples. This chapter will first discuss the background to previous studies (§6.2) before the results of the placement and ratings tasks (§6.4), followed by the area ratings tasks (§6.5).

The area ratings task involved requesting informants to rate each dialect area from the overall composite along five scales: 'Correctness', 'Pleasantness' and 'Difference' (Preston, 1999a: xxxiv), along with 'Friendliness' and 'Trustworthiness'. They were also asked to name each perceptual area. The ratings element links the perceptions of dialect areas in free map drawing exercises to perception in more structured tasks. Ratings of the different perceptual areas can then be compared with the dialect area characteristics given in the draw-a-map task (see §5.2.4). The ratings of dialect areas are also of use in comparison to the results from the second component of the ratings task. Finally, the naming of dialect areas by informants in the ratings task could be compared to the names given to the original areas in the draw-a-map task and comparisons made. This area ratings task was administered first in the fieldwork, followed by the second stage of rating and placement of voice samples, but the results will be discussed after those from the second stage.

This second stage of the ratings task involved the departure from the simple ratings process and was designed to assess informants' perceptions of actual speech samples. The primary perceptions sought from informants were not however the same as those gathered from classic studies of language attitudes but involved the perception of the location of voices, again following Preston (1989b, 2002b). A blank map was used for this task, after the decision was taken that the use of the composite would be too leading. The question asked of informants was simple: place a cross on the blank map where they believed the voice sample to originate. A more detailed description of the task and results processing can be found below. There was a ratings task to complete alongside the placement task, allowing results for each voice sample to be compared to the ratings of individual perceptual areas. The ratings task would also allow comparison to results from previous matched-guise and matched-guise type tasks (Giles & Powesland, 1975, Paltridge & Giles, 1984, Ryan & Giles, 1982).

The primary focus on dialect identification and placement allows a certain weight to be added to conclusions from this second fieldwork stage, as suggested by Preston (1989b: 3). The request to locate voice samples also adds more rigour to the testing of language attitudes; it may be quite clear to a linguist interested in the perception of a specific variety, for example Birmingham, that the speech sample played to informants is indeed a true representation of that variety. However, if the informants do not realise that the voice sample is from that location, any conclusions drawn from the research reflect reactions to a voice whose provenance is unknown or wrongly identified. Thus any extrapolation which claims that 'Birmingham speech is perceived as x' cannot be completely justified unless a question of provenance has been asked.

The processing method used for the voice placement task is a departure from that used by Preston, who presented informants with nine voices along a 'dialect continuum' (1999b: xxxv). Crucially it seems that informants knew the provenance of the nine samples, but did not know which sample came from which location. What informants then had to do was to listen and 'match up' the voice sample to its location. The results show an ability to perceive voices relatively accurately along the continuum, with variation between

survey locations (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003: 82-6). I have departed from Preston's approach insofar as I have abandoned the continuum as well as not permitting informants to know the provenance of the voice samples used in the task. In such a large country as the United States there may well be a need for the more structured task in order to keep results 'under control'; however in the north of England I did not feel that this was necessary. The approach taken in this study also allows a direct comparison between the results from the placement task and the dialect area placement.

Final task and administration

The final components of the second fieldwork stage involved two discrete tasks, as previously detailed in §2.9. The data used in the final ratings task was however different to that used in the pilot (which was designed to test the effectiveness of the process). As mentioned above the first component of the ratings task was the completion of the perceptual areas ratings sheet (see appendix 2). This sheet, as discussed above, contained the composite map showing the 11 perceptual areas²¹ which were represented by >1% of the total lines drawn. This was a departure from the pilot worksheet which followed the same >1% rule but had only eight perceptual areas for informants to rate and name. The ratings requested from informants were also different to those requested in the pilot study. Informants were asked for ratings along all five scales ('Correctness', 'Pleasantness', 'Difference', 'Friendliness', 'Trustworthiness') instead of only the first three as in the pilot study. I decided that all the scales should be used for both ratings tasks to ensure comparability between results.

The second component of the ratings task involved the rating and placement of voice samples. Whereas the pilot study involved the plating of six voice samples, eight were used in the final fieldwork. The voice sample from Stoke-on-Trent was not included due to the reasons given in the discussion of pilot study results. This left three more samples

²¹ 'Cumbrian/Carlisle', 'Lancashire', 'Scouse', 'Manc', 'Potteries', 'Cornwall', 'Cockney', 'East Anglia', 'Brummie', 'Yorkshire', 'Geordie;.

to be recorded which were taken from speakers from Hull, Crewe and Carlisle. Figure 6.2 shows the location of the eight voice samples used in the final ratings task.



Figure 6.2: Locations of speakers recorded for voice samples

The London voice sample remained in the final task as a ‘control’ voice, and also so as to not to present exclusively northern samples. The concentration of five of the samples around a Mersey-Humber line was a deliberate choice made to test perception around the geographical space which showed the greatest overlapping in the draw-a-map task results. As mentioned above I had initially aimed to gather samples from each of the survey locations although as can be seen this was not achieved for Crewe. This was due to a request not to use the recording I had made from there and lack of time to replace it.

The impact of linguistic and extra-linguistic factors upon the recordings must be addressed before any further discussion of the results is undertaken. The voice samples used in this study are not ‘equal’ in respect of factors which could impact on perception (and have been found to impact on production throughout the history of sociolinguistic investigation). Far from being ‘male, middle-aged ... lower middle to upper class’ (Preston, 1989b: 128), the contributors to the voice samples were of varying age and

gender. Table 6.1 displays the relevant biographical data for each speaker in the voice sample recordings.

Sample	Location	Age	Sex	Profession/occupation
A	Barnsley	28	Female	PhD Student
B	Newcastle	50	Male	Teacher
C	Warrington	40	Male	Journalist
D	London	30	Male	PhD Student
E	Liverpool	23	Female	PhD Student
F	Hull	20	Female	Student
G	Preston	20	Female	Student
H	Carlisle	25	Male	Art Student

Table 6.1: Biographical data for each contributor to voice sample recordings

As the table shows, there is no consistency across the samples of either age or gender. There is at least an equal split between male contributors and female, however this is of no relevance in the placement or rating of voice samples. Where there is consistency however is in class and profession/occupation. All speakers could be said to belong largely to an upper working to middle class and all have a relatively advanced level of education (all are graduates or working in graduate professions). The passage read by speakers is also consistent, differing from Preston's use of casual speech about language variation (Preston, 1989b: 128). The 'broadness' of the speakers does vary although not to a great extent. The most regionally distinctive sample is sample A (showing evidence of 'h-dropping', realisation of 'closely' as [κλ□ ̄σλI] short 'a' in BATH words and lack of STRUT-FOOT split), and the least distinctive is sample G (although the lack of STRUT-FOOT split is in evidence in this sample also)²². Sample G was not originally intended to be used in the study but was a replacement for the sample recorded by the contributor from Crewe who withdrew her permission. I decided that sample G should be included in order to maintain an equal male/female balance across the samples.

²² Regionally distinctive features could be found as follows in the other samples: Sample B, lack of STRUT-FOOT split, short 'a' in BATH words, 'take' realised as [τɛIκ]; Sample C, lack of STRUT-FOOT split, short 'a' in BATH words; Sample D, STRUT-FOOT split present, long 'a' in BATH words, 'cloak' variably realised as [κλɛIκ]; Sample E, lack of STRUT-FOOT split, short 'a' in BATH words, velar nasal plus present in 'stronger' [στρANγ↔], 'first' realised as [φɛ↔στ]; Sample F, possible 'fudged' realisation of STRUT-FOOT split, long 'a' in BATH words, 'cloak' variably realised as [κλɛ̄Iκ]; Sample H, lack of STRUT-FOOT split, short 'a' in BATH words, 'cloak' variably realised as [κλAκ].

Due to the selection of the voice samples the results of the second fieldwork stage are open to criticism, especially in relation to the ratings element of the task. I do not believe however that they are entirely without merit and, especially in the case of the sample placement task, can inform the results of the draw-a-map task and increase understanding of the perception of English dialectal variation. I would also contend that, given the gender balance of the 'judges' of the voice samples (informants from the three survey locations), recordings of exclusively male or female voices would be open to criticism in any event due to the differing reactions of male or female judges. The only way to ensure the least amount of gender bias would be include both a male and female sample from each area. This would have doubled the time taken to perform the fieldwork. Thus, despite the obvious advantages of this approach, the time which would have been taken in its administration meant that this could not be considered.

Despite the potential problems in voice sample selection I aim to prove that the gender of the voice sample contributor is not important in the process of geographical placement of the voice. The important factors will be seen to be proximity and cultural salience, as well as an interaction between these and attitudinal factors. Ratings may differ, however in this thesis I am more concerned with the geographical placement of samples.

The ratings task was undertaken in the same educational establishments as the first stage, with the exception of Carlisle in which only the college took further part. The profile of these establishments can be found in the previous chapter and the informants were studying at the same levels as mentioned there. It must be noted that in some cases the ratings task was undertaken up to a year after the first task. The result of this was that some of the informants in this task had not participated in the first draw-a-map task, and those that had had undergone another year of language study. It was not anticipated that this would be a problem for the results as in most cases these two factors seemed to cancel each other out. Previous lack of participation was however catered for as relatively detailed verbal instructions were given to all informants, explaining how the composite map had been arrived at as well as what was expected of informants in completion of the tasks.

The ratings task was administered in a structured way at all survey locations. The explanation of the task was supported by overhead projection of the composite map (in colour) as the first worksheet was handed out; this contained the composite map along with boxes for each dialect area which contained the ratings scales. The city location map used in the first fieldwork stage (see figure 2.11) was projected whilst the area ratings task was undertaken in order to ensure geographical consistency. Informants, depending on their progress were allowed between five and ten minutes (but no longer) in order to complete the map-based ratings task before being asked to stop. Once the first component had been completed (or the task stopped, whichever came sooner), the second component was introduced.

The second component's introduction was again supported by overhead projection, this time indicating how informants should complete the sample location task (by drawing a cross at the perceived provenance and labelling the cross clearly with the sample's identification letter). The city location map was projected as the eight voice samples were played to informants twice, one to eight (A-H) and then one to eight again. Throughout the completion of this task the city location map was left projected, again in the aim towards geographical consistency. The previous worksheet was left in the informants' possession until the end of both tasks. Once both tasks were complete, informants were instructed to fill out the biographical data (age, gender and home town) and hand both sheets back.

The whole process took around 25 minutes and as such made much more of an impact on lessons in the various establishments than the first draw-a-map stage of fieldwork. The main practical result of this was the number of informants I was able to gain data from (i.e. fewer). I was not aiming to gather data from as many informants as for the draw-a-map component; a large number still however had to be aimed for. Due to heavy time pressures on the college in Crewe, I was only able to gather data from 36 informants in from there, compared to 54 in Crewe and 47 in Hull. Overall a total of 137 informants is not a small amount, although results would be more comparable had I been able to collect

more data in Carlisle. The total of 36 informants from Carlisle is, although small, an amount from which some conclusions can be drawn nonetheless. The data from Carlisle are further complicated by the age and gender breakdown; there are only six male informants out of the 36 overall (just 16.6%) compared to 33.3% in Crewe and 42.5% in Hull. This is in addition to the average age of informants of 31.3 years, compared to 16.6 for Crewe-based informants and 16.8 for those from Hull. This presents challenges to the interpretation of results although, as discussed in the previous chapter, there seemed to be little effect from age and gender on the perception of dialect areas.

6.2 EXPECTATIONS AND PREVIOUS STUDIES

There are four areas of previous study which indicate what I may expect to find in the ratings task, of which a major part is the recognition (placement) task. These are previous matched-guise and matched-guise type studies, work performed using similar approaches by Preston, findings from this and other studies on the role of constraints in perception (see chapters 4 and 5), and the pilot study testing the methodology used (see §3.8.3). It is important however that the second stage of fieldwork is not viewed in isolation from the first stage. It was designed and undertaken in order to support and enhance the findings from the draw-a-map task and gain a more complete understanding of perception of dialects.

The findings of matched guise and matched guise type studies have been well documented and are familiar to those with an interest in perception. The studies do however have their limitations, as acknowledged by Preston (1989b, 1999b). Nonetheless their findings have proved influential and, in the ratings sections of the second stage of fieldwork at least, these findings will be of interest in comparison to the results gathered from my informants. As discussed in previous chapters principal findings from research using the matched-guise technique found disparities between perceived 'standard' and 'non-standard' varieties. Clopper and Pisoni observe that there appears to be 'a general tendency to relate linguistic standardness with intelligence' (Clopper & Pisoni, 2002: 273), supporting Ryan and Giles's (1982) findings. This

contrasts with non-standard varieties which rate highly on social attractiveness traits (Paltridge & Giles, 1984: 71). Further studies have adapted the matched-guise method and through subjective reactions tests have investigated similar phenomena to those mentioned above as well as the effects of racial categorisation (Giles, 1977: 9). The majority of the ‘classic’ studies however never asked whether informants knew where the voices were from.

Although this has now been addressed to an extent in England (Kerswill & Williams, 2002) in relation to dialect levelling, it is research in Wales (Williams, Garret & Coupland, 1999) which is most applicable to this study. Williams et al’s research focuses on dialect recognition in Wales as well as rating along semantic scales. Williams et al discuss some of their findings in relation to Preston’s ‘modes of folk linguistic awareness’ (1996a), in which he ‘identifies four independent continua along which awareness²³ might be identified at different levels’ (Williams et al., 1999: 354). These four continua are ‘availability’, ‘detail’, ‘accuracy’, and ‘control’ (Preston, 1996a: 40-1), upon which a number of factors impact and contribute to the level of awareness. Williams et al identify that in a dialect recognition task the first three continua are of most importance with simple recognition reflecting availability, correct recognition reflecting accuracy and detail the amount of information provided about the sample by informants.

Williams et al move on to discuss the continua of accuracy and find explanation for some recognition (and misrecognition) in the phenomena of ‘claiming’ and ‘denial’ (Williams et al., 1999: 356). ‘Claiming’, in this case, is the way in which informants will hear a voice sample and if they have rated it highly misattribute it to their ‘home area’. In a similar fashion, the informants will ‘deny’ the voice samples which they rate lowest and place them further away. Williams et al claim that ‘the processes of claiming and denial...find a theoretical foundation in theories of social identity and self-categorisation’ (Williams et al., 1999: 356) and these findings will be of interest in comparison with the

²³ ‘Awareness’ in this case means ‘the degree of consciousness non-linguists have in general about language’ (Preston, 1996: 72)

results from the ratings task. If Williams et al's findings are echoed in the present research, voice samples with positive ratings will show a skewing in the starburst graphs towards the survey locations attributing the positive ratings. The 'Difference' ratings scale will add weight to any conclusions made from the skewing of sample placements, with lower ratings on this scale reflecting a perceived lack of difference.

Any previous research which simply deals with language attitudes can not inform what may be expected in this study to any great extent. General patterns may be replicated, it is however studies such as the one mentioned above which build upon the classic studies in the field that allow most useful comparison. Voice placement studies performed by Preston add further important data which can be used to indicate the patterns that could be expected here. As discussed above, Preston's main study dealing with the placement of voice samples involves a north-south continuum (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003: 82). He found a disparity between the placement of voice samples (despite the more rigid nature of the task requesting locations from a list) and hand-drawn perceptual boundaries (Preston, 1989b: 129). Preston's approach employs a computation of placement boundaries which allows this direct comparison, and this comparative technique is available here, although in a slightly different fashion. The way in which results are calculated in this study, using starburst charts, allows comparison of the degrees of error. In this way, the starburst charts can be overlaid onto the perceptual maps and the correlation between the two examined.

Traditional studies of perceptual dialectology have not examined the role of auditory factors as part of the approach to perception. They instead preferred to concentrate on attempts to calculate perceptual boundaries and compare these with production boundaries (Mase, 1999, Sibata, 1999). There could be many reasons for this, although the impracticality of playing voice samples to informants at the time of the early perceptual studies were undertaken was possibly the most pressing of reasons. Whatever the reasons for the lack of employment of voice samples in the investigation of perception, one is forced to examine more recent perceptual studies in order to find the use of recordings and the comparative results. Despite the more recent employment of

voice samples however there are still a good deal of studies which use only maps (of perceptual areas or state/province boundaries) in order to investigate evaluatory perception.

After reviewing the results of classic language attitudes studies, Evans requested her informants to perform a task differing from the research presented here (Evans, 2002b: 76-7). Informants in Evans' study were given a map of eastern Canada and requested to draw lines indicating different perceptual areas and name the areas. They were subsequently requested to rate varieties of Canadian and world French along the scales of 'Correctness', 'Pleasantness' and 'Difference' suggested by Preston (1999b: xxxiv). This is an interesting approach as it removes the link between map-based perception and evaluatory perception. Preston believes that it important to maintain this link as it allows informants to view perceptual isoglosses which display 'cognitively real' dialect areas (Preston, 1999c: 368). Evans's approach means that informants could be rating areas with no 'folk linguistic status' (Preston, 1999c: 368). Evans does account for these potential problems by including various national varieties of French, as well as the regional Canadian varieties. A definite strength of the approach however is the large amount of data Evans is able to gather by asking informants to rate predetermined varieties. This allows Evans to perform sophisticated statistical techniques on the data and draw some interesting and rigorous conclusions, something which is not always possible from the data in this study, as will be discussed below.

Another study in Canada (McKinnie & Dailey-O'Cain, 2002) concentrated on the rating of provinces in the country along with a draw a map task as a separate component. Again although eliciting ratings for provinces should have the effect of ensuring data, the link between map-drawn perception and attitudinal data is lost. Indeed, as McKinnie and Dailey O'Cain found, the boundaries that were drawn by informants did not in all cases match province boundaries (McKinnie & Dailey-O'Cain, 2002: 291). The result of this is a lack of attitudinal data on the perceptually important (salient) dialect areas. The absence of voice sample rating in both of the above studies is a notable omission. Other perceptual studies have used voice samples to investigate a variety of phenomena. For

van Bezooijen, the aim was to investigate the interaction of attitudes towards standard and regional varieties of Dutch as well as the attitudes towards the language as a whole (van Bezooijen, 2002: 13). Diercks' aim was to assess the effect of various factors (such as age and occupation) on 'dialect orientation' (Diercks, 2002). Paul Kerswill's (2002) investigation of the Bergen dialect in Norway used nine voice samples in order to examine the identification of the dialect. The study was successful in finding correlations between identification and morphological and lexical factors and relative judgments of 'nativeness' (Kerswill, 2002: 168). In a separate study involving informants in Hull, Reading and Milton Keynes, the relationship between 'speech community focussing' (Kerswill & Williams, 2002) and dialect perception was investigated using voice recordings by Kerswill and Williams. They found 'no direct correlation between the two' (Kerswill & Williams, 2002: 201) although the area with the highest amount of focussing (Hull) was found to have the highest dialect recognition levels. The areas with lower levels of focussing, Reading and Milton Keynes, showed lower recognition levels although there was found to be greater complexity in both of these areas.

As shown by the above, whether previous perceptual studies have used voice samples or not there is still not a great deal of the findings which can be applied to the current study. The findings by Preston (1989b) remain the most comparable, however even the methodology used in his study differs in a major respect to that employed here (eg. the listing of locations to match with the voice samples). Thus there are no studies that are directly comparable to the present study. Although this could be a cause for concern it need not be as many of the studies mentioned above allow for partial comparison and could provide answers in some situations. However, I believe that one can return to the discussion of factors affecting the recognition, placement and delimiting of dialect areas for some helpful indicators of what might be expected from voice sample placement. These factors were introduced in the previous chapter under the headings of 'Social', 'Linguistic', 'Interference' and 'Locational' factors, for a full discussion of these headings see §5.1.

6.3 INTRODUCTION TO RESULTS

The analysis technique for the results of the second stage of fieldwork has been discussed in §3.8.3 which also introduces the results of the first pilot study undertaken using this method. Along with graphs indicating the mean scores along the ratings scales for each perceptual area and voice sample in order to compare scores, ‘starburst charts’ are also used to examine the placement of voice samples (see figure 6.3 below).

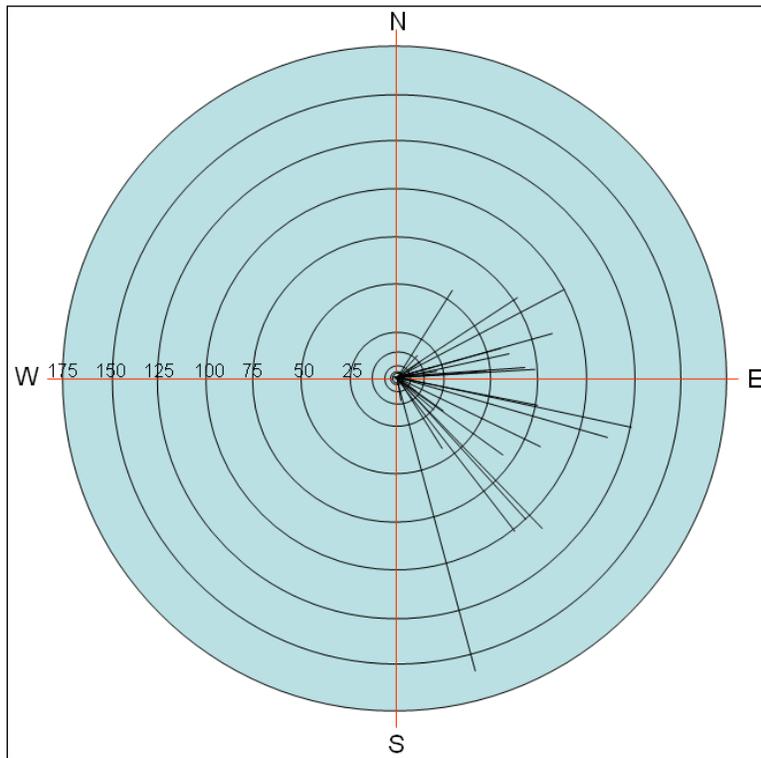


Figure 6.3: ‘Starburst chart’ from pilot study showing informants’ placements of Liverpool voice sample

As discussed above, although such ‘starburst charts’ have not been employed in this type of task before, the principle of representing this type of data in this way is not new. The Romanian Dialect Atlas (Embleton et al., 2005) contains a similar type of data representation and the concept of connecting ‘lines to a common midpoint’ (Embleton & Wheeler, 1997: 8) has been used in investigations of SED data. The concept of examining the pattern of distance and direction is also one familiar to students of the sport of cricket who examine a batsman’s ‘wagon wheel’ which shows where the ball was hit during his innings. In the case of the present study the starburst charts serve to show the directional skew of voice placements for each survey location. The concentric

circles which indicate an increasing distance of 25 miles allow further examination of the degree of 'error' in the placement of voices by informants from each survey location.

The starburst charts from each survey location can then be compared for each voice sample and the patterning of placements examined. The addition of measurements on the starburst charts has the advantage of enabling the calculation of the 'error' in miles for the voice sample placements from survey locations. A final advantage of this method of data processing is the ability to remove the chart and retain the lines indicating the placement of voice samples. This enables the superimposition of placement lines onto the composite maps in order to examine correlations between voice placement and area identification and delimitation.

It is the placement of voice samples which will be the primary concern of this chapter. The ratings of areas and voice samples are of course of interest but they are of secondary importance here. This study is interested in the perception of dialects in geographical space and although the place a voice sample or perceptual area occupies on a 'stigmatism scale' has been shown to influence recognition in many previous studies (Preston, 1999b: xxxiv) I believe that other factors have been shown to be more important here. Therefore, the discussion of results below will contain less discussion of the ratings of perceptual areas and voice samples and more examination of the placement of voice samples. I feel that this will, in combination with some discussion of ratings, most help to understand the reasons for the initial drawing of certain perceptual areas. It will also enable some examination of the 'accuracy' of perception as well as accounting for some of the more unusual or unexpected patterns in perceptual area placement. In many cases however, the evaluative judgements made by informants will and do affect the placement of samples, in the same way as the 'claiming' and 'denial' phenomena seen in research in Wales (Williams et al., 1999: 356). Thus, the discussion of voice sample placement will contain within it discussion of the sample ratings, where appropriate.

6.4 VOICE SAMPLE PLACEMENT AND RATING

As discussed above, informants in the voice placement component of the second stage of fieldwork were asked to listen to each of the eight voice samples twice. During this informants were requested to rate the voice samples and place them on a blank map by drawing a cross where they thought the voice to originate. Informants were assisted in the location task with the display of a projected map which gave the locations of well-known towns and cities in England (informants did not however know the provenance of the eight voice samples). The voice samples were played twice in order to ensure maximum completion rates of both rating and placement tasks. After completion, the placement data were processed in the manner described in §2.8.2 and displayed on starburst charts (see §2.8.2 and figure 6.3). As discussed above, these charts enable the calculation of the amount of ‘error’ in voice sample placement. Table 6.2 below shows the high, low and mean ‘errors’ (in miles) for each sample placement by survey location and table 6.3 shows the same data for all survey locations. Appendix 4 contains all of the voice placement data and appendix 5 shows the results of one-way ANOVA tests performed on the data.

Sample ²⁴	Carlisle (n=34)			Crewe (n=55)			Hull (n=47)		
	High	Low	Mean	High	Low	Mean	High	Low	Mean
A	124	6	66.7	222	11	51.2	122	0	46.1
B	187	0	34.6	227	0	55	227	0	63.2
C	152	0	40.9	115	0	39	160	7	49.1
D	186	8	77	224	3	51.4	177	0	58.4
E	195	0	67.8	190	0	55.9	109	0	50.3
F	170	11	87.5	177	11	90	258	0	82.8
G	230	27	116	185	27	100.2	237	16	107
H	295	130	170	282	0	110.6	285	0	109.6

Table 6.2: High, low and mean ‘errors’ (in miles) for voice sample placements by survey location

Sample	All
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²⁴ Voice sample locations are as follows: A: Barnsley; B: Newcastle upon Tyne; C: Warrington; D: London; E: Liverpool; F: Hull; G: Preston; H: Carlisle

	High	Low	Mean
A	222	0	54
B	227	0	51.6
C	160	0	42.9
D	224	0	61.5
E	195	0	58
F	258	0	87.1
G	237	16	107.3
H	295	0	130.9

Table 6.3: High, low and mean 'errors' (in miles) for sample placements for all survey locations

If we first examine the figures in table 6.2 it is apparent that informants were relatively successful in most of their voice placements. There are of course large degrees of error in the 'high' column, although as chart 6.1 shows even the sample placement with the largest high-low difference (Crewe informants' placement of sample H) shows the preponderance of placements below the mean error.

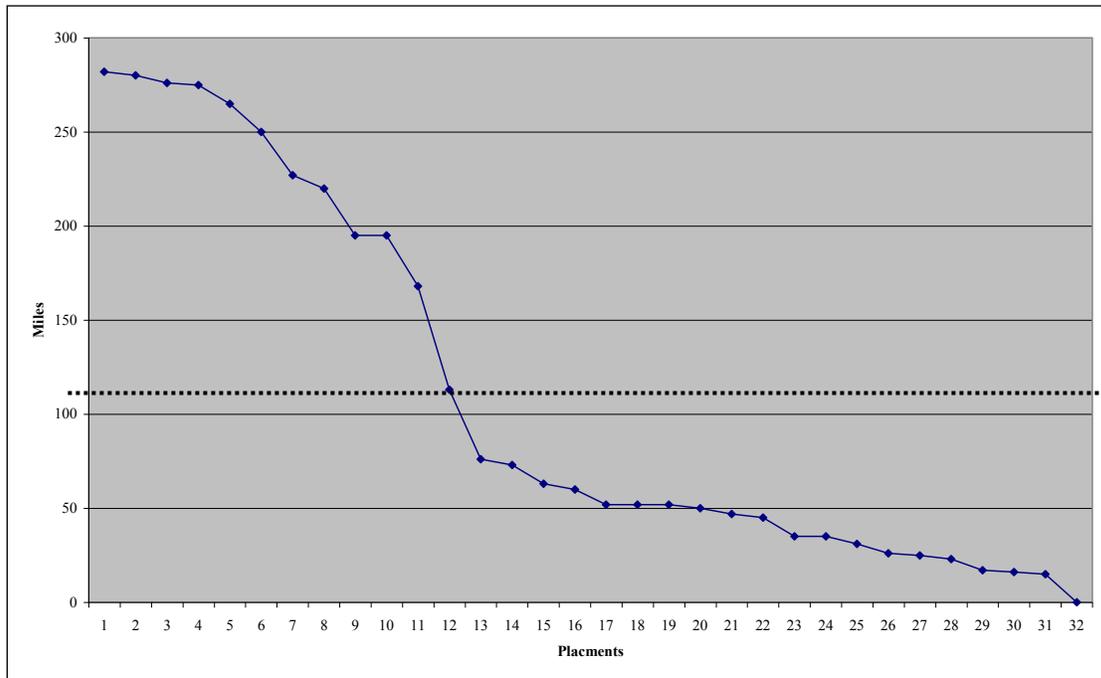


Chart 6.1: Placement errors (in miles) for sample H (Carlisle) from Crewe-based informants

Chart 6.1 shows each placement of sample H (Carlisle) (n=32) from Crewe-based informants. The additional dotted horizontal line is placed at the 110 mile point and indicates the mean error of placement of voice sample H. The median value for the placements is 56 and twelve (37.5%) of the placements are above the final mean error.

This indicates the skewing effect of the high error placements and is a pattern which is consistent for all sample placements, with 338 of 839 placements (40.29%) above the mean error of 71.6 miles²⁵. I believe that this indicates that informants were overall relatively good at placing all voice samples, despite some very inaccurate placements.

Table 6.2 also indicates the affect of proximity on the mean error of placements. There are statistically significant relationships between the placements of ‘near to’ or ‘home’ voice samples, with those closer to the provenance of the sample likely to place the voice sample with greater accuracy. For sample A (Barnsley) informants from Hull had a mean placement error of 46.1 miles which was significantly different ($p < 0.05$) from the mean error from Carlisle-based informants of 66.7 miles²⁶. Interestingly, sample F (Hull) did not show any significant effect of proximity, although Hull-based informants placed the sample with slightly more accuracy. This may be due to Hull-based informants’ desire to associate with the wider area of Yorkshire, as seen in the drawing of Yorkshire with Hull as its centre in the draw-a-map task.

Also of interest is the placement of the final voice sample (H), taken from a male speaker in Carlisle. In this case, Carlisle-based informants show significant differences in their placement of the sample. However, proximity seems to be having an opposite effect to what may be expected: the Carlisle informants show significantly less accuracy ($p < 0.05$) in the sample placement than informants from the other two survey locations. The reason for this are most probably attitudinal and as such will be discussed below in the next section, although it is perhaps most helpful to state at this point that sample H scored lowest on all of the ratings scales in the evaluations component of the task.

Consideration of Carlisle informants placement of the ‘near to’ sample (B) from Newcastle reveals a conventional proximity effect with the lowest mean error in the placement (34.6 miles). This is significantly more accurate than the placement of sample B by informants from Hull, although not significantly different to the mean error of Crewe-based informants.

²⁵ The median error value for all voice sample placements was 52 miles.

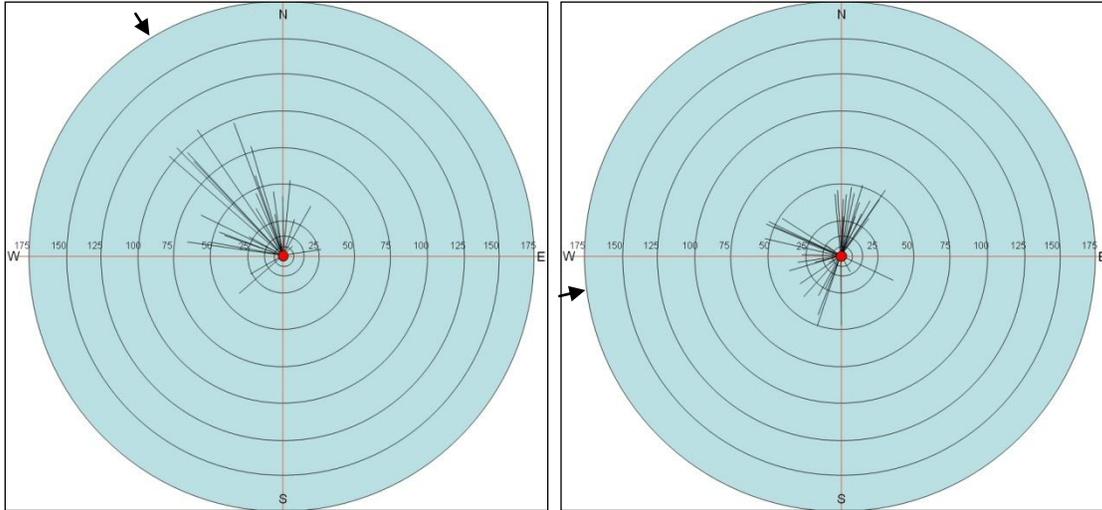
²⁶ One-way ANOVA tests with Tukey’s HSD post hoc tests were run on all voice sample placement data in SPSS 14 for Windows

For reasons mentioned above it was not possible to include a voice sample from a Crewe-based speaker and as such there is no data which can be examined as above. Analysis of a 'near to' sample can however be undertaken as sample C was taken from Warrington, previously part of the county of Lancashire but now part of Cheshire. In this case however, informants from all survey locations were relatively accurate in their placement of the sample. Indeed, consideration of table 6.3 reveals that sample C was most accurately identified overall, with an average error of 42.9 miles. Due to the overall accuracy of the placement it was unlikely that Crewe-based informants would be significantly more accurate than other survey locations' informants. This is the case, and although informants from Crewe do have the most accurate placement mean (of 39 miles), it is not significantly different to the mean placement errors of the remaining survey locations.

The high, low and mean placement error figures can however only reveal so much about how informants perceived the different voice samples. The starburst charts allow a greater appreciation not only of the error in voice sample placement but also the general direction of placement error. The remainder of this section will discuss the starburst charts for each voice sample in turn before combining the data with the composite hand-drawn map in order to look for correlations between sample placement and hand-drawn dialect areas. In keeping with the agreement threshold used in the previous chapter's analysis of hand-drawn dialect areas all starburst charts are the result of the removal of 20% of the placement lines. All charts are thus presented at the $\geq 21\%$ agreement level. An addition to the charts is the marking of the relative position of the survey location to the provenance of the voice sample; this position is represented by the arrow outside the main chart area.

6.4.1 Starburst Charts

Sample A (Barnsley)



Figures 6.4 (l) and 6.5 (r): Carlisle informants' placement of Sample A (Barnsley) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=26$), mean error= 66.7 mi.; Crewe informants' placement of Sample A (Barnsley) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=38$), mean error= 51.2 mi.

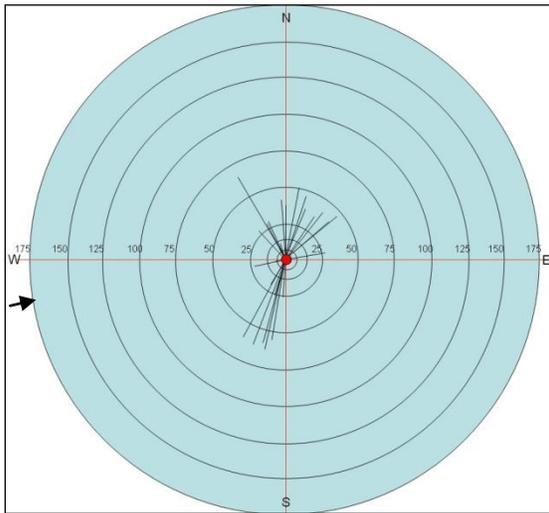


Figure 6.6: Hull informants' placement of Sample A (Barnsley) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=29$), mean error= 46.1 mi.

The starburst charts in the above figures show the placement errors of informants from the three survey locations, also indicated (through the use of an arrow outside the area of the charts) are the approximate positions of the survey locations in relation to the provenance of the voice samples. As previously discussed, the difference in placement errors is significantly different between Carlisle and Hull-based informants (figures 6.4

and 6.6 respectively). Crewe-based informants' placements of sample A are not significantly different to either survey location's placements and occupy a 'middle ground' in terms of placement error. A basic explanation of proximity could be offered for this patterning of placement error although I do not believe this to be the dominant factor in this case. Table 6.4 shows the location of all voice samples and the approximate distance (in miles) from each survey location (all distances calculated using Google Earth (Google, 2006)).

Sample	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
A – Barnsley	110	51	48
B – Newcastle upon Tyne	53	134	98
C – Warrington	105	21	94
D – London	261	147	155
E – Liverpool	103	30	110
F – Hull	130	97	0
G – Preston	79	47	95
H – Carlisle	0	126	130

Table 6.4: Straight-line distances of from survey locations to provenance of voice samples

Table 6.4 shows that Crewe and Hull are roughly equidistant from Barnsley, from where sample A is taken; Carlisle is twice the distance away. This, as mentioned above, could be used to explain the reason for less accurate placements. I do not however believe this to be the case, a belief supported by the lack of significant correlation between distance and placement²⁷. In this case I feel that the examination of the starburst chart in conjunction with the rating of the voice sample can best help to explain the reason for the less accurate placement of voice sample A by Carlisle-based informants. Table 6.5 below shows the mean ratings by survey location for each of the semantic rating scales.

²⁷ Pearson's correlation coefficient tests run in SPSS 14 for Windows

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	6.21875	5.788462	6.488372
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	6.666667	6.442308	6.186047
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	4.848485	5.377358	4.47619
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Friendliness	6.823529	6.673077	6.302326
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	6.5625	6.653846	6.27907
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
All	6.574627	6.389423	6.313953
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS

Table 6.5: Mean ratings for Sample A along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

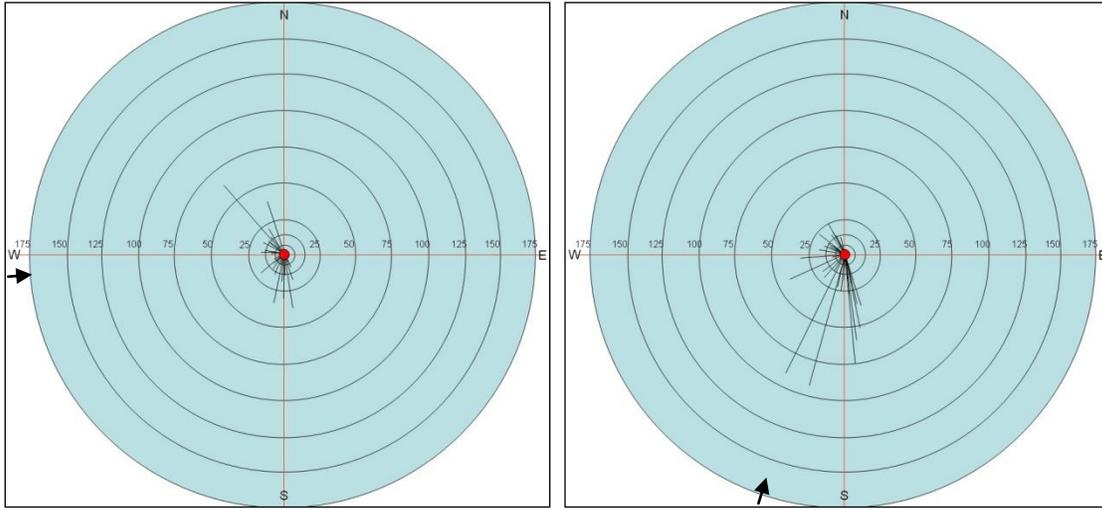
The table displays the mean ratings for each scale in the row corresponding to each semantic scale (either ‘Correctness’; ‘Pleasantness’; ‘Difference’; ‘Friendliness’; ‘Trustworthiness’). The two rows beneath the mean figures show the results of the test for significant difference (Tukey HSD post-hoc tests after one-way ANOVA tests). The first row displays the results of the comparison between survey two of the survey locations (thus, CA-CW = Carlisle compared with Crewe), with the second row showing the result of the Tukey HSD test for significance of mean difference. The result is expressed either as NS (not significant) or the significance level ($p < 0.05, 0.01$). Significant differences are displayed in bold type in order to assist the reader. The final section of the table contains the mean of the ratings for all scales with the exception of ‘Difference’ along with the results for the test of significant difference.

The reason for the exclusion of the 'Difference' ratings is the way in which this scale was designed. All scales were completed following the instruction that 1 = least and 10 = most. Thus if an informant gave a sample a score of 1 for 'Correctness', 1 for 'Pleasantness', 1 for 'Friendliness' and 1 for 'Trustworthiness' and 10 for 'Difference', the informant would be giving the sample a very low rating on all scales as well as rejecting the sample as similar to his or her variety (10 = highly different). The exclusion of 'Difference' from the combined mean therefore acknowledges this differing function to that of the other rating scales.

I believe that the results presenting in table 6.5, when viewed alongside the starburst charts of directional placements of Sample A create a weak case for the 'claiming' of the sample by Carlisle informants, in a similar fashion to that seen in Wales (Williams et al., 1999: 356). The ratings in table 6.5 alone go some way towards indicating a general preference towards the sample by Carlisle-based informants. Although not significantly different, the final overall means found in the final section of the table show that Carlisle-based informants rated the sample highest (6.574 compared to 6.389 and 6.314 for Crewe and Hull respectively). This slightly higher overall mean is supported by the lack of significant difference for the 'Difference' rating.

The most supportive evidence for the 'claiming' of Sample A by Carlisle-based informants is however the starburst chart which can be found in figure 6.4. The chart, which shows the location of $\geq 21\%$ of the voice placements for Sample A, indicates a dramatic north-western skew. This north-western skew reflects the location of Carlisle in relation to the provenance of the voice sample (represented by the arrow outside the chart area). I believe that this skewing, or 'lightbulb effect', in conjunction with the higher overall mean and the lack of significant difference on the scale of 'Difference' leads to the conclusion that, in this case, the Carlisle-based informants are attempting to claim the voice sample due to its perceived positive attributes. This is not the case for informants from the other two survey locations as the placements do not fit into such a regular pattern as those from Carlisle-based informants.

Sample B (Newcastle upon Tyne)



Figures 6.7 (l) and 6.8 (r): Carlisle informants' placement of Sample B (Newcastle) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=27$), mean error= 34.6 mi.; Crewe informants' placement of Sample B (Newcastle) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=38$), mean error= 55 mi.

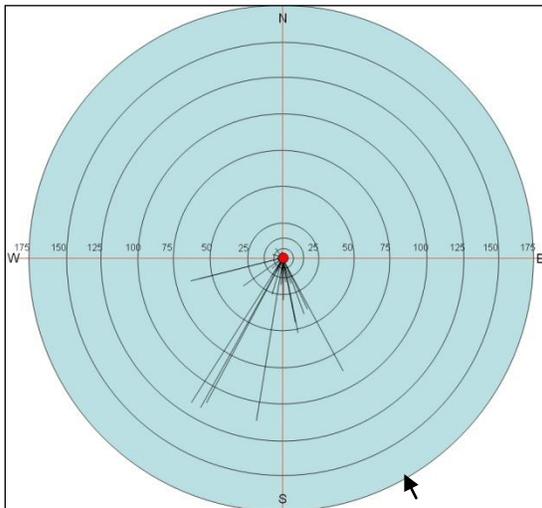


Figure 6.9: Hull informants' placement of Sample B (Newcastle) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=29$), mean error= 63.2 mi.

The above figures show the starburst charts for Sample B (Newcastle upon Tyne) and the relative locations of the three survey locations to the provenance of the sample.

Reconsideration of table 6.2 and 6.3 reveals that sample B was one the most accurately placed samples, with an overall mean error of 51.6 miles. It was also one of only two samples (along with Sample E, Liverpool) to gain absolutely accurate placements (0 miles) from informants at all survey locations. The pattern is not unexpected due to the prominence of both areas in the draw-a-map task (see previous chapters).

As table 6.4 shows, the mean error of placement shows little relation to the straight-line distance from voice provenance to survey location. Although the closest survey location (Carlisle) has the lowest placement error of 34.6 miles, Hull (only 15 miles further away than Carlisle) has the greatest placement error of 63.2, Crewe-based informants produce a mean error which sits between the other survey locations. The difference between the mean errors for Carlisle and Hull is significant ($p < 0.05$) and demands further explanation.

I believe that the reasons for the disparity in voice placements again involve the 'claiming' phenomena seen above, although in this case it is operating in conjunction with 'denial'. Although the evidence for this possible reason for the placement of sample B is not as clear as the evidence for the placement of sample A, I do believe that there is some validity to the claim. This is again due to the apparent affect of the location of survey locations on the voice placements. Examination of figure 6.9 (Hull informants' placements) reveals that the errors in sample placement are almost exclusively southern in direction, with around half of these errors located towards the survey location (indicated by the arrow). This contrasts with the sample placements by informants from Carlisle who are significantly more accurate than their counterparts in Hull. Not only are these informants significantly more accurate but there also seems no effect of the survey location on the results; that is to say that the 'lightbulb effect' of placements streaming towards the survey location does not happen in this case.

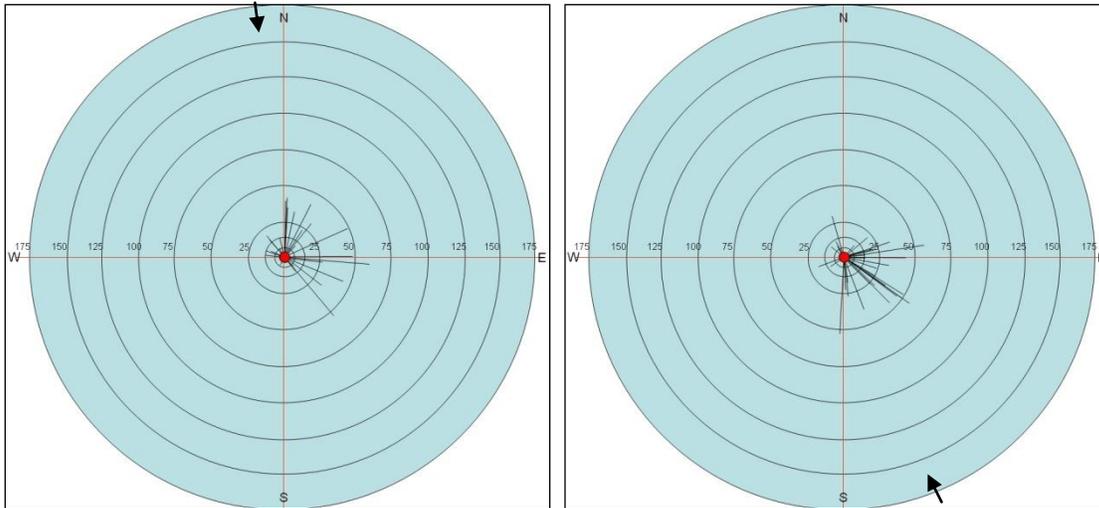
As was the case in the discussion of the previous sample, the table (6.6) below displays the mean ratings for each scale along with the overall mean (excluding 'Difference').

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	6.5	5.884615	6.883721
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	0.05	NS
Pleasantness	6.44444444	6.403846	6.372093
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	5.2	5.226415	5.190476
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Friendliness	6.33333333	6.461538	5.976744
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	6.02777778	6.431373	6.404762
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
All	6.32638889	6.294686	6.409357
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS

Table 6.6: Mean ratings for Sample B along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

Taking the above discussion into account I believe that there is weak evidence of ‘claiming’ by Hull-based informants and strong evidence of ‘denial’ by the informants from Carlisle. Support for this can be found in the overall mean ratings shown in table 6.6, with an insignificant but interesting greater overall mean for sample B from Hull-based informants than those from Carlisle. Hull-based informants also have a slightly lower ‘Difference’ rating (therefore, more similar). Although the evidence for ‘claiming’ is not as strong as in the previous discussion, I do believe that there is very good evidence of ‘denial’ by Carlisle-based informants who seem to be reinforcing their hand-drawn maps by stating that they are *not* ‘Geordies’ (see the ‘Geordie’ discussion in §5.2.2).

Sample C (Warrington)



Figures 6.10 (l) and 6.11 (r): Carlisle informants' placement of Sample C (Warrington) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=27$), mean error= 40.9 mi.; Crewe informants' placement of Sample C (Warrington) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=33$), mean error= 39 mi.

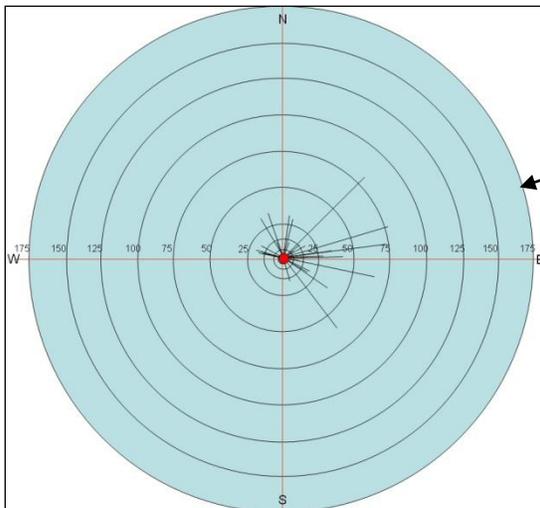


Figure 6.12: Hull informants' placement of Sample C (Warrington) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=29$), mean error= 49.1 mi.

Sample C was the most accurately placed voice sample of the eight, receiving an overall mean error of just 42.9 miles (see table 6.3). Due to the low overall mean error it is unsurprising therefore that there are no significant differences between the mean errors of placement across individual survey locations. Indeed the starburst charts share similar placement distributions, with no 'lightbulb effect' seen in the charts for Carlisle and Hull. The placements by Crewe-based informants however do seem to be affected by the town's relative location, as do the mean ratings (displayed below in table 6.7)

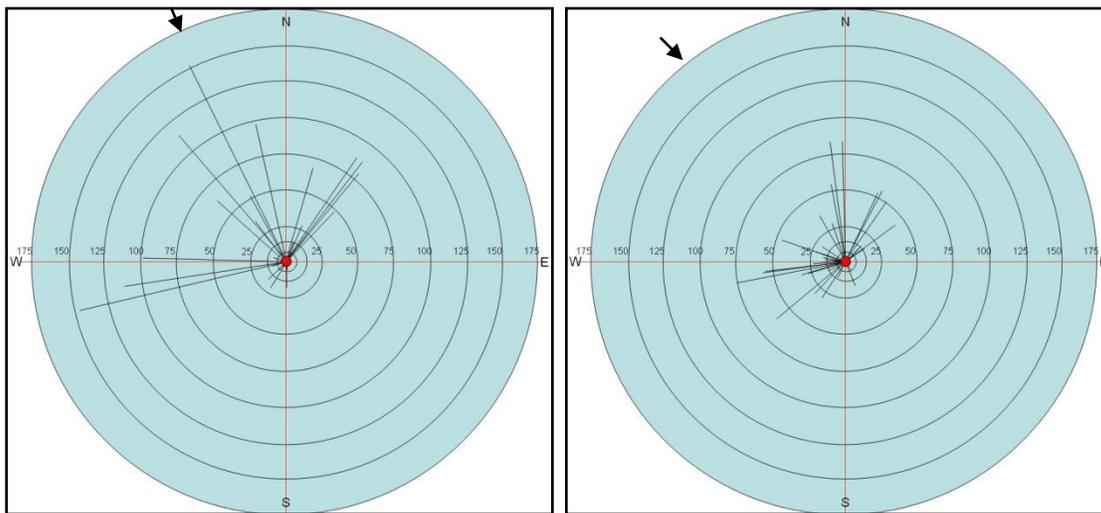
	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	5.37142857	5.826923	5.465116
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	5.28571429	5.471698	4.581395
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	0.05	NS
Difference	5.29411765	4.528302	5.6
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	0.05	NS
Friendliness	5.17142857	5.509434	4.666667
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	4.84848485	5.226415	4.414634
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
All (w/o diff.)	5.17391304	5.507109	4.786982
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	0.05	NS

Table 6.7: Mean ratings for Sample C along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

Examination of figure 6.11 reveals the ‘lightbulb effect’ for the Crewe-based informants, with placement of the sample skewed towards the location. I believe this is the strongest case of ‘claiming’ witnessed so far as the placement error exceeds the distance of the survey location from the provenance of the voice sample. In this case, I believe that Crewe-based informants perceive the sample as an example of a ‘home’ variety due to the direction of the placement errors, many of which run over Crewe or terminate around the approximate location of the town (21 miles south east of Warrington). The nature of the task and the location map given to assist informants in the completion of the placement exercise places such error well within the margin of error which would be expected.

Support for the claiming of Sample C can also be found in table 6.7. There are no significant differences between the mean ratings from Carlisle and Crewe, which could perhaps be due to the location of the sample west of the Pennines. However, when comparing the mean ratings from Crewe-based informants with those from Hull, there are significant differences for all ratings with the exception of ‘Correctness’. The mean for all ratings (excluding ‘Difference’) is also shown to be significantly different between ratings from Crewe and Hull ($p < 0.05$). This indicates that sample C was judged significantly more favourably by informants from Crewe than those based in Hull. Not only was the sample viewed more favourably by Crewe-based informants but they also judged it to be significantly more similar (less different) to their own variety ($p < 0.05$). I believe that all of the factors discussed above together create a strong case for the ‘claiming’ of sample C by informants from Crewe.

Sample D (London)



Figures 6.13 (l) and 6.14 (r): Carlisle informants' placement of Sample D (London) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=27$), mean error= 77 mi.; Crewe informants' placement of Sample D (London) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=33$), mean error= 51.4 mi.

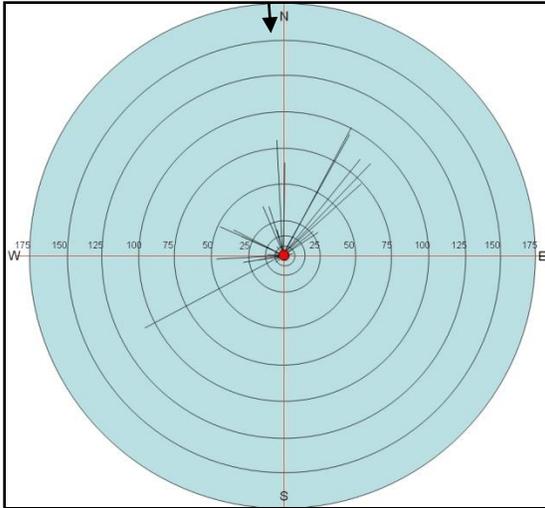


Figure 6.15: Hull informants' placement of Sample D (London) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=28$), mean error= 58.4 mi.

Sample D is of interest as it is the only voice sample which can be definitively said to be southern (the sample displays the STRUT-FOOT split along with the long 'a' in BATH words) which was included in the ratings task. It was partly included in order to ensure that informants did not realise my primary area of interest was in varieties of northern English. Nonetheless, the placement and rating of this sample is still of interest. The overall mean error of placement was 61.4 miles; a relatively accurate overall placement in comparison to other voice samples. The mean placement errors increased with the distance of the survey locations away from the provenance of the sample, although there are no significant differences in placement error. The direction of the placement errors is revealing: informants from all survey locations realise that the sample is southern, even if they do not know from exactly where in the south it is taken from. There appears to be little evidence of 'claiming' or 'denying' as seen for the previous voice samples. There is however contradictory evidence which can be found in table 6.8 below which displays the mean ratings given to Sample D.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	6.68571429	7.490566	8.093023
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	0.05
Pleasantness	4.81428571	6.113208	5.790698
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	NS	NS
Difference	5.35294118	4.215686	6.309524
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	0.05	NS
Friendliness	4.37142857	5.58	4.930233
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	5.05555556	6.339623	6.27907
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	NS	0.05
All	5.23049645	6.392344	6.273256
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	NS	0.05

Table 6.8: Mean ratings for Sample D along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

Table 6.8 reveals some contradictory evidence due the significantly lower overall mean ratings from Carlisle-based informants to those from Crewe and Hull. Here, from what has been discussed above, it would be expected that Carlisle informants would display the greatest amount of ‘denial’ in voice sample placement. However, this is not the case, as shown in figure 6.13. Indeed, Carlisle-based informants are the only ones to display some ‘lightbulb effect’ in the voice placement. I believe however that the reason for this can be found in conjunction with the premise of ‘exclusivity’ discussed in relation to the north-south country division task. Here, I think that the premise of exclusivity means that Carlisle-based informants recognise that the sample is southern and do not respond well to it, but the precise location of it does not matter to any great extent. I would expect that

informants placing the sample closest to Carlisle to also draw their north-south division lines just to the south of their home location.

This pattern does not explain the results from Crewe-based informants who simultaneously claim that the sample is significantly less different to their own variety without demonstrating this in the starburst chart. I think that is perhaps important to restate that the starburst charts in the figures above only show placement lines at the $\geq 21\%$ level. This means that the chart displaying 100% of the placement lines could be expected to exhibit a greater ‘lightbulb effect’ than the $\geq 21\%$ chart. The 100% starburst chart can be seen below in figure 6.16.

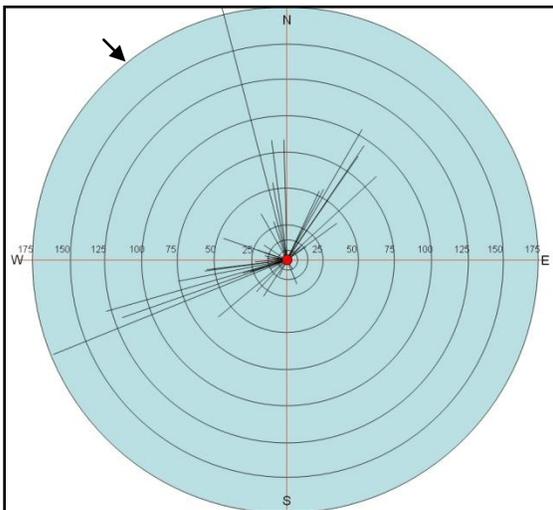
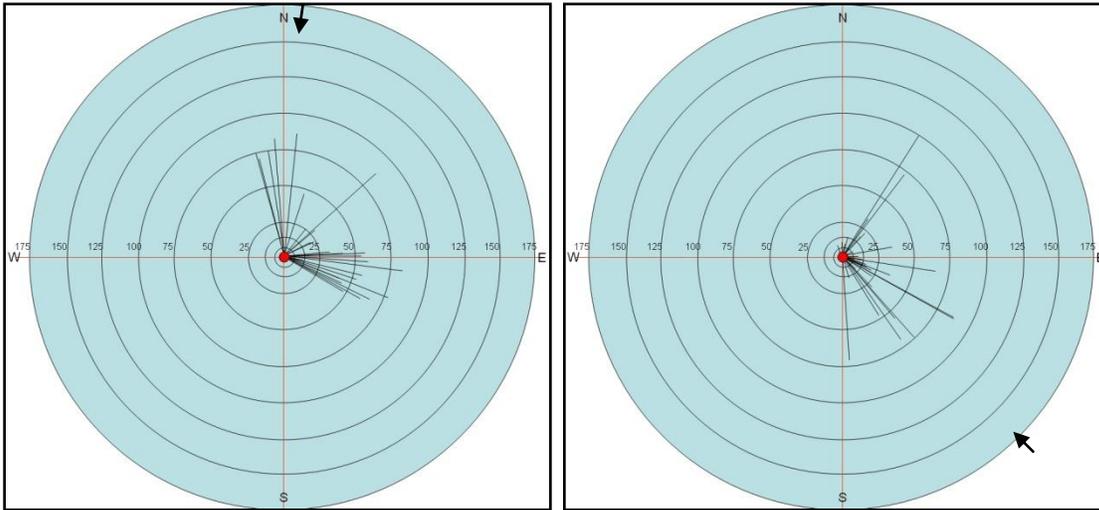


Figure 6.16: Crewe informants' placement of Sample D (London) at $\geq 1\%$ agreement level ($n=41$), mean error= 58.4 mi.

As figure 6.16 shows clearly, there is no ‘lightbulb effect’ present in this case, something which is problematic given the significantly different mean ‘Difference’ (i.e. more similar) rating from Crewe-based informants. I am therefore forced to assume that in this case the mean rating for the ‘Difference’ scale given by Crewe-based informants is an ‘aspirational’ rating, based on how the informants perceive themselves or wish to be perceived. In this scenario, the informants know where the sample originates but aspire to it, leading to the lack of ‘lightbulb effect’ but the relatively low ‘Difference’ ratings.

Sample E (Liverpool)



Figures 6.17 (l) and 6.18 (r): Carlisle informants' placement of Sample E (Liverpool) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=27$), mean error= 67.8 mi.; Crewe informants' placement of Sample E (Liverpool) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=34$), mean error= 55.9 mi.

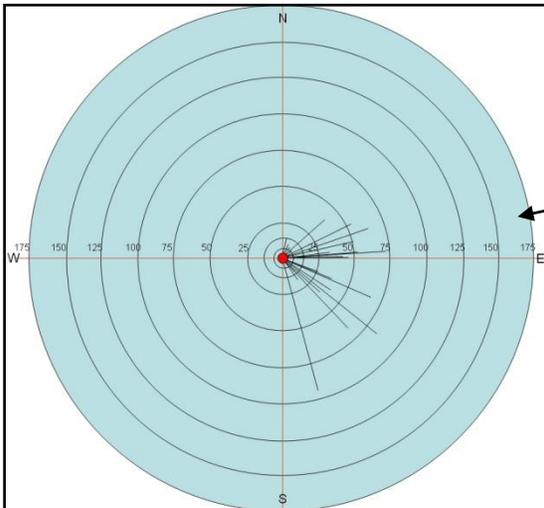


Figure 6.19: Hull informants' placement of Sample E (Liverpool) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=26$), mean error= 50.3 mi.

As mentioned above, Sample E shares with Sample B the distinction of having three completely accurate placements from one or more informants from all three survey locations. Again, this is of little surprise due to the number of lines drawn representing the 'Scouse' area, from which Sample E is taken. I believe that this underlines the importance of cultural salience in identification and recognition of not only areas but also voice samples. The distribution of placements for this sample again does not conform to the principle of proximity and there is no correlation between the straight-line distances

from the voice provenance to the placement of the sample. Table 6.9 below shows the mean ratings along all scales, as seen for previous voice samples.

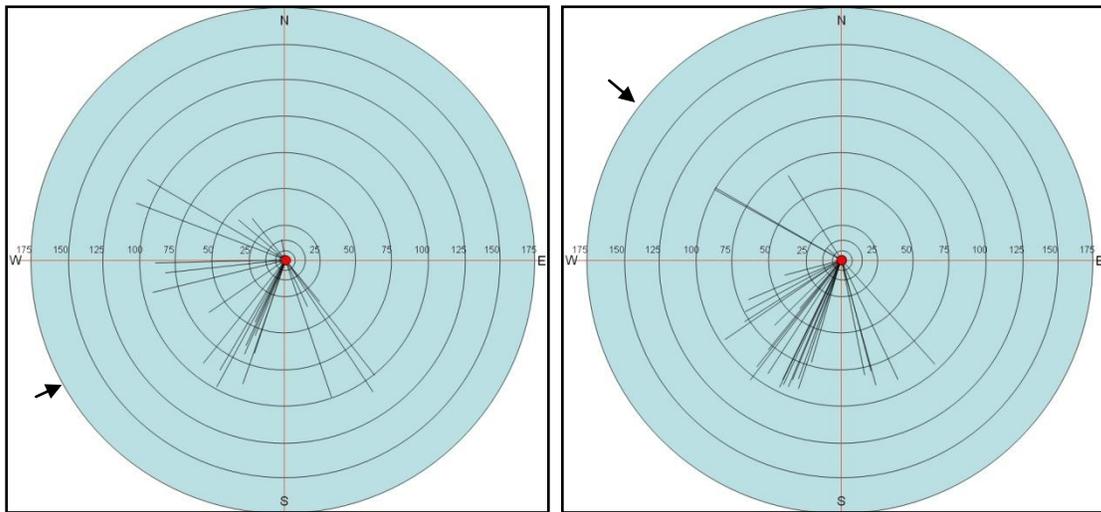
	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	6.19444444	6.176471	6.159091
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	6.11428571	6.313725	6.431818
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	5.20588235	4.755102	5.093023
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Friendliness	6.42857143	6.42	6.477273
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	6.08823529	5.9	6.295455
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
All	6.20714286	6.20297	6.340909
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS

Table 6.9: Mean ratings for Sample E along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

Sample E was the first of three female voice samples which, although all regionally marked in some way were not so broad as the previous samples (or Sample H). For this reason, despite the relative accuracy in the placement of the sample (an overall mean error of 58 miles), table 6.9 shows very little difference in the mean ratings by survey locations (and certainly no differences of significance). Due to the lack of significant differences in the mean ratings it is difficult to account for the voice placements as I have done for previous samples. What can be observed is that there appears to be little ‘claiming’ of the sample. There is indeed an apparent ‘lightbulb effect’ towards Crewe (figure 6.18), it is however not particularly different to the pattern of voice placement for

the other survey locations which also exhibit a south-eastern skew. I believe that this excludes the possibility of ‘claiming’ in this case, despite the slightly lower mean score for ‘Difference’ by the Crewe-based informants. There is also no evidence of ‘denial’, and in the case of Sample E informants from all locations seemed to believe that the provenance of the voice was some way to the south and east of Liverpool. I will discuss below whether the pattern of placement fits within the ‘Scouse’ dialect area on the composite hand-drawn maps.

Sample F (Hull)



Figures 6.20 (l) and 6.21 (r): Carlisle informants' placement of Sample F (Hull) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=25$), mean error= 87.5 mi.; Crewe informants' placement of Sample F (Hull) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=25$), mean error= 90 mi.

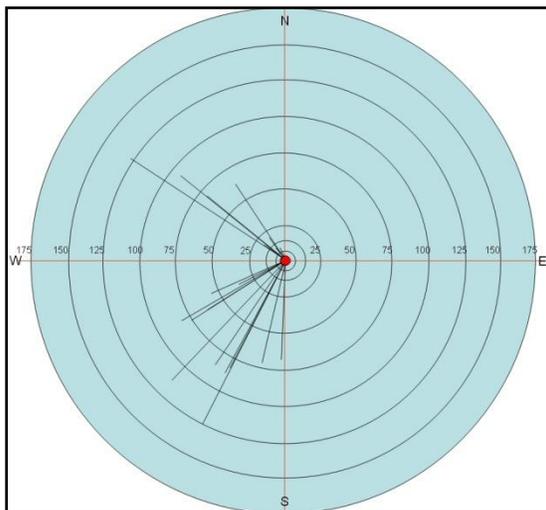


Figure 6.22: Hull informants' placement of Sample F (Hull) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=21$), mean error=82.8 mi.

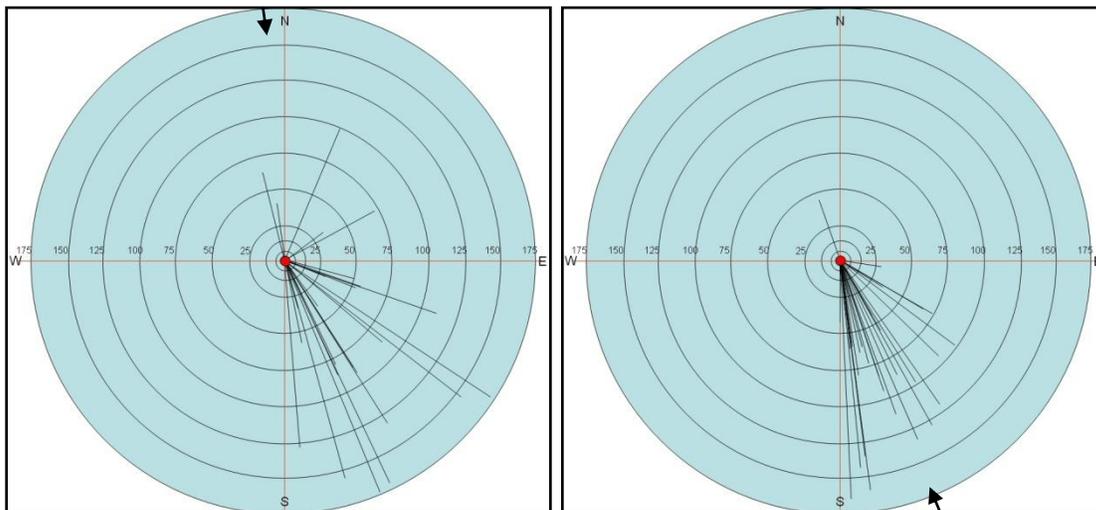
The overall mean error of placements for Sample F was relatively high (87.1 miles) and this is reflected in the starburst charts. The direction of placement errors is also particularly wide. If one considers the coastal provenance of the sample and the impact on where it could be placed (i.e. not in the north-east quarter of the chart as this would place the sample in the sea) the wide disagreement over the placement is even more striking. There seems to be some consensus amongst all informants that the sample is placed to the south and west of the actual provenance, however this is not a universal idea and there are other placements in other quarters of the chart also. In a similar fashion to Sample E, the mean ratings (below in table 6.10) do not indicate reasons for the patterning.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	5.77777778	5.653846	5.804878
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	5.27777778	5.019608	4.926829
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	5.26470588	5.142857	4.725
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Friendliness	5.17647059	4.918367	4.738095
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	5.08571429	4.960784	5.317073
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
All	5.31	5.142857	5.193939
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS

Table 6.10: Mean ratings for Sample F along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

There are no significant differences in the above table, again (as I believe) a result of the lack of regional distinctiveness of the voice sample (although some marked features were present). The mean ratings for the ‘Difference’ scale are however of interest in the table. The results show that Hull-based informants produced a lower (although not significantly different) mean score. This indicates some acknowledgement of the sample’s ‘home area’ status. Weight can be added to this observation by table 6.2 which shows that Hull-based informants were the only group to indicate the sample with 100% accuracy (albeit in only one case). Whilst one may have expected the Hull-based informants to recognise their ‘home area’ sample more readily, it is perhaps no surprise that other survey locations had difficulty in placing the sample due to the lowly positions occupied by ‘Hull’ and ‘Humberside’ (22nd and 31st respectively) in the draw-a-map task. The inaccuracy witnessed above for Carlisle and Crewe-based informants would surely have been replicated even had the voice sample been more regionally distinctive.

Sample G (Preston)



Figures 6.23 (l) and 6.24 (r): Carlisle informants’ placement of Sample G (Preston) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=26$), mean error=116 mi.; Crewe informants’ placement of Sample G (Preston) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=26$), mean error= 100.2 mi.

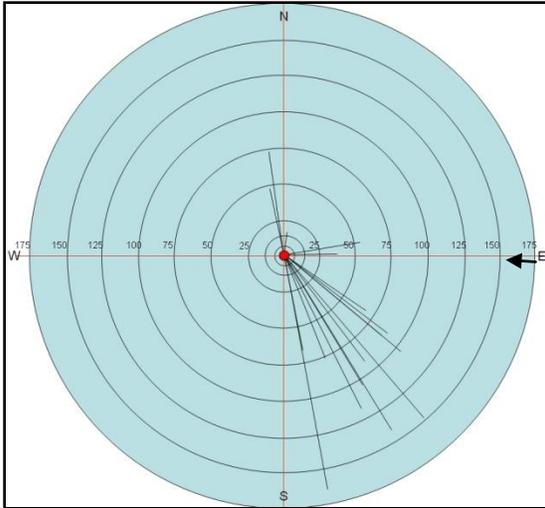


Figure 6.25: Hull informants' placement of Sample G (Preston) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=17$), mean error=107 mi.

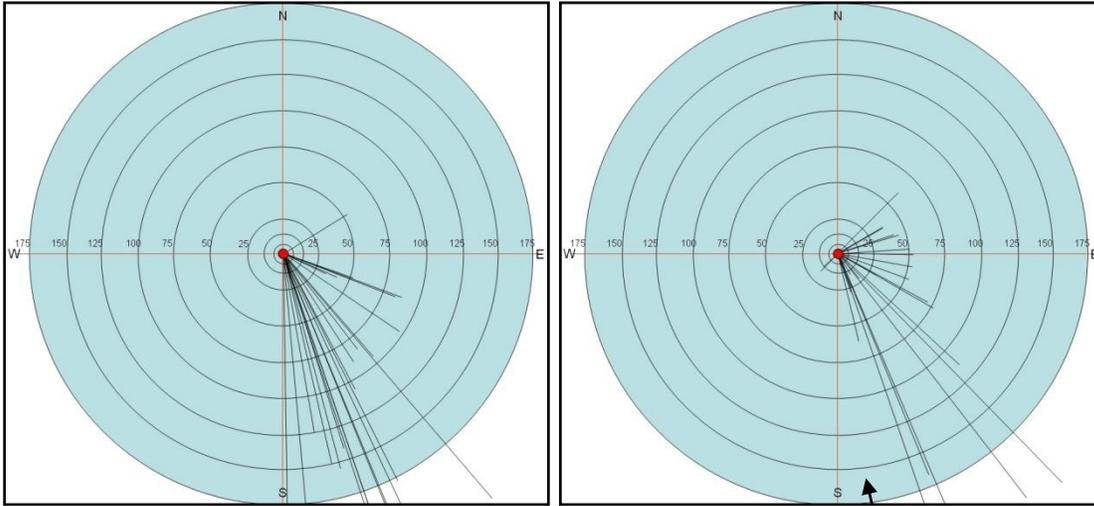
Sample G was perhaps the closest sample to a regionless variety of English in the voice samples. As previously mentioned, this sample was not originally intended to be included in the exercise but was a (poor) replacement for a sample from Crewe which was withdrawn upon the contributor's request. The non region specific nature of the sample is reinforced in the placements from informants in all survey locations. They perceive the sample as essentially regionless but originating from the south east of the country; this can be seen in the heavy south and east skewing of placements. This is true in the case of Hull and Carlisle-based informants but less so of informants from Crewe. Justification for this statement can be found in table 6.11 below.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	6.47222222	6.627451	7.113636
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	6.75	6.882353	7.113636
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	5.17647059	3.313725	4.97561
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	0.05	NS
Friendliness	6.80555556	7.265306	7.09
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	6.38235294	6.882353	7
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
All	6.6056338	6.910891	7.08
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	0.05

Table 6.11: Mean ratings for Sample G along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

Of particular interest in the above table is the mean rating by informants from Crewe for the ‘Difference’ scale. Here, the mean rating is significantly different to that from both Carlisle and Hull-based informants ($p < 0.05$) and it is clear that Crewe-based informants perceive this sample as their ‘home area’ sample. The mode of the voice placement errors (58 miles) is also of interest. This distance is within the margin of error if informants were intending to ascribe the sample to Crewe, which is 47 miles away from Preston in a straight line. Here then, it seems that there is a clear case of ‘claiming’ of Sample G by Crewe-based informants, which perhaps is a happy coincidence as the sample replaced what would have been an example of the survey location’s actual speech.

Sample H (Carlisle)



Figures 6.26 (l) and 6.27 (r): Carlisle informants' placement of Sample H (Carlisle) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=26$), mean error= 170 mi.; Crewe informants' placement of Sample H (Carlisle) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=26$), mean error= 110.6 mi.

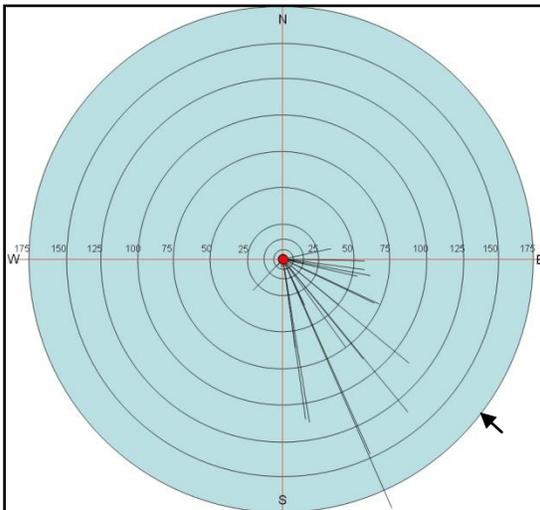


Figure 6.28: Hull informants' placement of Sample H (Carlisle) at $\geq 21\%$ agreement level ($n=22$), mean error= 109.6 mi.

Sample H was the final sample played to informants and its placement on the starburst charts above can be seen to be of particular interest, if only for the sheer inaccuracy by informants from all survey locations. Sample H scored lowest on most of the ratings scales, and this may have something to do with informants' difficulty in placing the sample. The results are so inaccurate that a discussion of the placement errors can be restricted to noting that informants from all survey locations show a south and east skew in their placements of the sample. This is a relatively universal pattern and the clearest

skewing witnessed across survey locations thus far. What is of particular interest is that Sample H was the ‘home area’ sample for informants from Carlisle. Table 6.12 below displays the mean ratings for all scales.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	4.19444444	4.32	4.604651
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	3.86111111	3.921569	3.511628
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	4.85714286	6.45098	6.380952
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	NS	0.05
Friendliness	3.55555556	3.686275	3.465116
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	3.74285714	4	3.477273
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
All	3.83916084	3.980296	3.763006
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS

Table 6.12: Mean ratings for Sample H along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

Again, as with so many of the previous voice samples’ ratings, the main area of interest is the ‘Difference’ scale. Here, it can be seen that Carlisle informants recognised that Sample H is the least different sample to their own variety. The mean rating is significantly different to that from Hull and Crewe-based informants ($p < 0.05$). Despite this acknowledgement of least difference, Carlisle-based informants exhibit the greatest mean error in voice placement (170 miles, see figure 6.26). I believe that this shows a clear case of ‘denial’; whilst simultaneously identifying the sample’s similarity (least ‘Difference’) the informants from Carlisle attempt to place it as far away as possible. It

is difficult to account for the reasons for this, other than the fact that Sample H has such low overall ratings that even its home informants do not want to be associated with it. This phenomenon could work together with the ‘aspiration’ towards certain samples which was discussed above in relation to Sample D.

6.4.2 Composite placement maps

As discussed in the previous section, it appears that the most important factors in voice sample placement are ‘claiming’ and ‘denying’; proximity can be viewed as a peripheral factor in the case of voice sample placement. The starburst charts are extremely useful in viewing the extent of placement error and its direction; however they are of no use in examining where the placement errors fall on the map of England. This is of interest as it allows investigation of the extent of correlation between placement errors alongside the composite maps of perceptual dialect areas. This comparison is of particular use in finding some explanation for overlapping in the case of perceptual areas.

The process of returning the voice placement lines to the blank map is relatively simple and involves grouping the placement lines together from the starburst chart (in PowerPoint) and returning them to centre on the dots representing each sample location. This creates overlay maps which can be seen in figures 6.29 to 6.31 below showing the composite dialect area maps alongside the composite voice placement maps in order to ensure ease of reading.



Figure 6.29: Carlisle informants' perceptual dialect areas (l) and voice sample placement errors (r), both at $\geq 21\%$ level

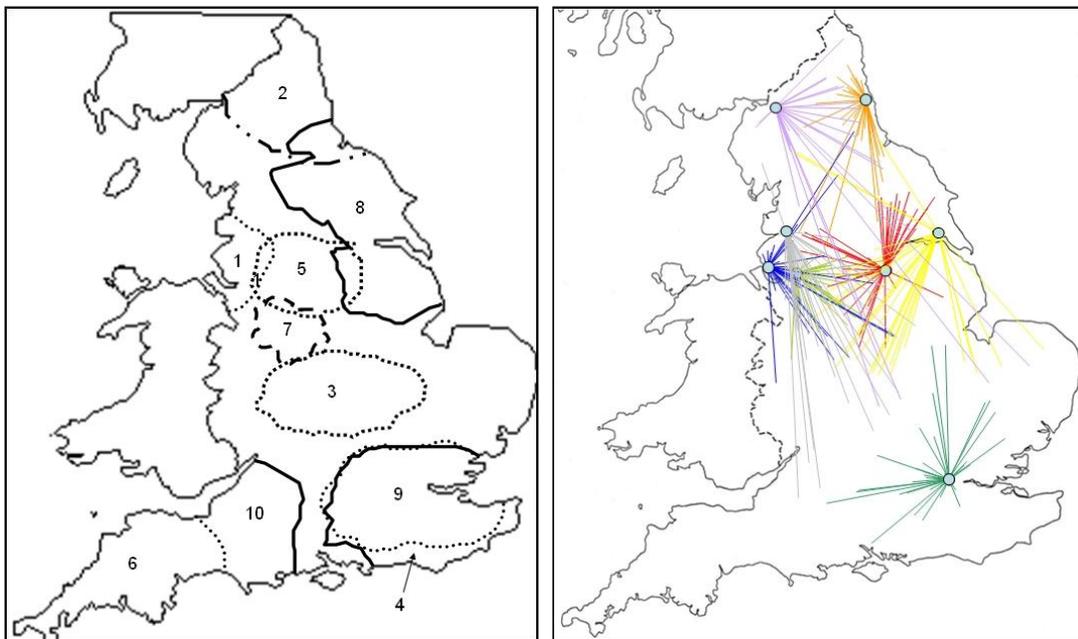


Figure 6.30: Crewe informants' perceptual dialect areas (l) and voice sample placement errors (r), both at $\geq 21\%$ level



Figure 6.31: Hull informants' perceptual dialect areas (l) and voice sample placement errors (r), both at $\geq 21\%$ level

The key to each composite perceptual map can be found in figures 5.33 to 5.35. As can be seen from the above figures, there is a complicated picture in the composite placements map. There is a good deal of overlapping for almost every voice sample at each survey location and as such the maps are difficult to read. Part of the problem is the placement lines for voice samples that exhibit greater than 80 miles average error. Further figures, found below, will show the same composites with these samples' (F, G, and H) placements removed. Discussion of the patterns seen above must however be attempted before removing sample placements.

The most easily accessible placement of a sample can be found in the south east of the country, with sample D from London. Despite the skewing exhibited in this sample's starburst charts for each survey location it can be seen that at this agreement level nearly all informants correctly identified the sample as a southern variant. Almost without exception there are no placements north of the Severn-Wash line which was the most southerly north-south line discussed in chapters 1 and 4. However, despite the acknowledgement of the southern nature of sample D, the accuracy of the placement in the south is not particularly high. This could be a reflection of the role of levelling and diffusion in the south east, as observed in other recognition studies (Kerswill & Williams,

2002) and in Trudgill's future dialect area map (1999: 83) as well as work by Britain (2005).

Other patterns are not as accessible as the placement of sample D, due to the relatively close proximity of each sample. What is apparent is the amount of overlapping of sample placements along a line drawn from the Mersey to the Humber. This is the case for all survey locations. Although the pattern is inevitably disrupted by the more inaccurate placements of samples G and H it is interesting that, 'lightbulb effects' considered, the placement errors appear to run to around this imaginary line drawn between the two estuaries. This could explain the reason for the overlapping of the 'Scouse', 'Manc' and 'Yorkshire' dialect areas (to lesser or greater extents) for each of the survey locations and add weight to the anecdotal evidence of a difficulty in placing voices around the South Yorkshire/Greater Manchester area.

This confusion in sample placement means that there is little similarity with Trudgill's future dialect areas map as was observed above for sample D. Trudgill's map shows a clear east-west division for all northern dialect areas and this is notable by its absence. Indeed, the east-west dimension is not present in sample placements until the far north of the country. Here, despite the particularly inaccurate placements of sample H (Carlisle), there is more acknowledgement of an east-west division due to the relatively accurate placement of sample B (Newcastle upon Tyne). Without the removal of some of the sample placements however it is difficult to make sense of the other placements, figures 6.32 to 6.34 below show comparison maps as above with average sample placement errors greater than 80 miles removed.

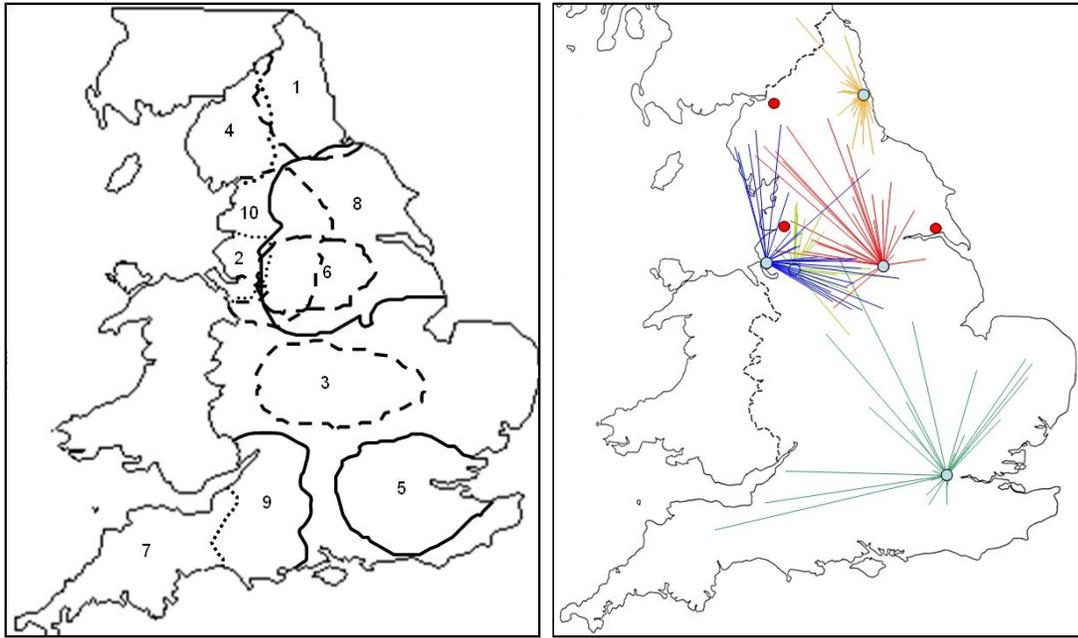


Figure 6.32: Carlisle informants' perceptual dialect areas (l) and voice sample placement errors (r), both at $\geq 21\%$ level with samples with placement errors of > 80 miles removed

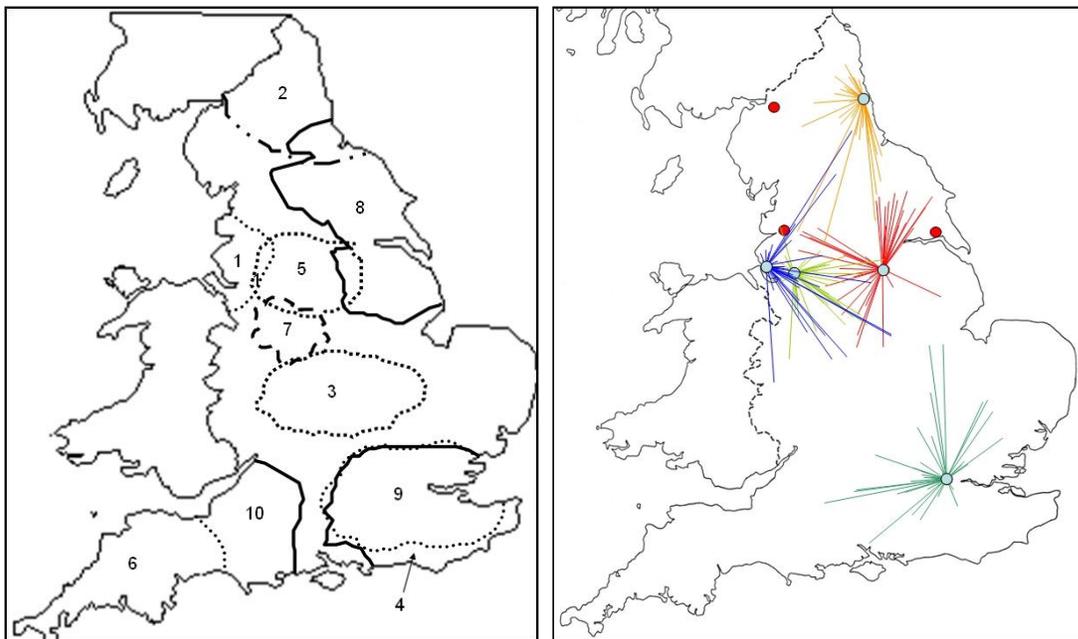


Figure 6.33: Crewe informants' perceptual dialect areas (l) and voice sample placement errors (r), both at $\geq 21\%$ level with samples with placement errors of > 80 miles removed

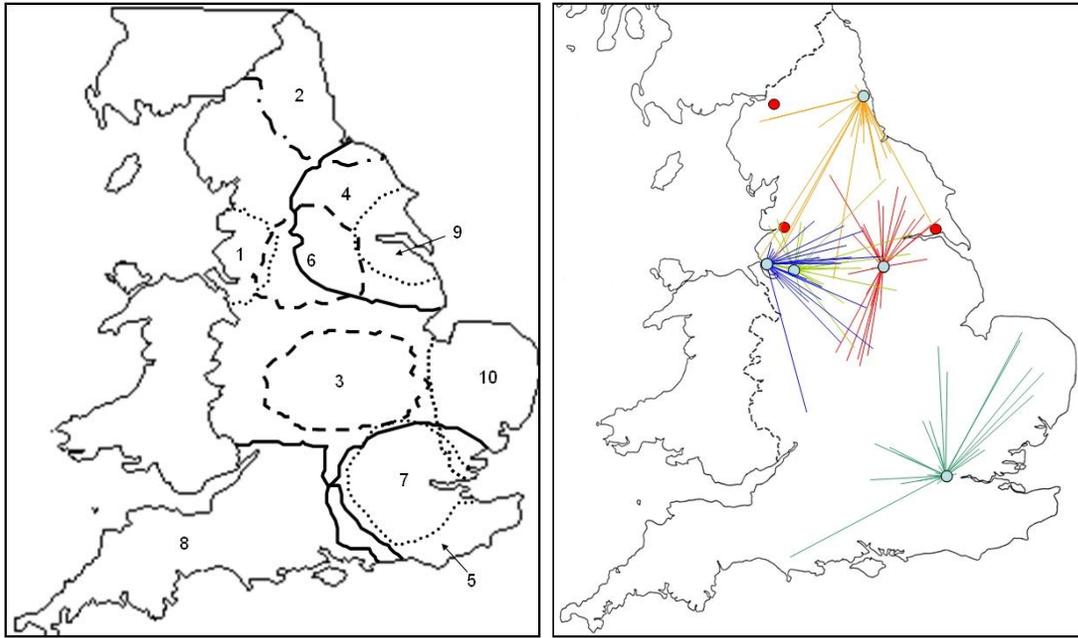


Figure 6.34: Hull informants' perceptual dialect areas (l) and voice sample placement errors (r), both at $\geq 21\%$ level with samples with placement errors of > 80 miles removed

Once the samples with an average placement error of greater than 80 miles have been removed the picture becomes clearer, although placements still lie beyond the boundaries of the composite perceptual dialect areas from the draw-a-map task. I do not believe that this presents a problem in attempting to interpret the results and merely reflects the complex nature both of perception and the linguistic situation in the north of England (which is where overlapping of dialect areas and placements is at its greatest).

The removal of large sample errors from the composite maps above focuses attention on the Mersey-Humber line which was an area of constant attention throughout the first stage of fieldwork and remained so in the planning of the second stage: samples A, C, and E (along with the now removed sample F) are the samples taken from this continuum. The area around this line is the site of the greatest amount of dialect area overlaps and it is this area on which my discussion will focus. I believe that overlapping of sample placements merely reinforces the complex picture of perception around this area and adds weight and confidence to the results of the draw-a-map task if nothing else. Figure 6.32, which shows the placement of voice samples by Carlisle-based informants, shows the clear influence of the 'lightbulb effect' discussed above. However, when this

effect is ignored the majority of the placement lines not 'claimed' by the informants from Carlisle fall within the large geographical space designated as 'Lancashire' or 'Yorkshire' in the composite dialect areas map. The southern boundaries of these areas are not breached by any placement lines. Although both samples C and E (Liverpool and Warrington, respectively) are not placed wholly within the 'Scouse' or 'Manc' dialect areas, their placement within the larger areas in which the smaller areas are embedded testifies to the difficulty informants encountered in placing the samples along with the role of the larger (older) counties in perception for Carlisle-based informants.

Figure 6.33 reveals a different picture for Crewe-based informants who again display a 'lightbulb effect' which focuses the sample placements towards Crewe. This means, due to the close proximity of Crewe to the provenance of each of the three samples, that the southern boundaries of the dialect areas are breached by placements for all samples. The pattern of placement is less straightforward than the placements discussed above for Carlisle-based informants. The individual placements of samples have been discussed and individual patterns have been accounted for there, however it is important to note here the split in the placement of sample A (Barnsley). Crewe-based informants' placement of this sample either shows evidence of 'claiming' (south western placements) or 'accuracy' (those placements north east of the provenance, firmly within the 'Yorkshire' area). The placement of the remaining two samples (C and E) exhibits a good deal of 'accuracy' in terms of placing the samples within the city-based dialect areas ('Manc' and 'Scouse' respectively). I believe that in this case, despite some overlaps which testify to the complex situation around this area, the placement of voice samples reflects and reinforces the results from the draw-a-map task.

The results for Hull-based informants, shown in figure 6.34 show a good deal of north-south variation in the placement of sample A (Barnsley). The results in some placements of the sample in the 'Brummie' dialect area which is surprising considering the significantly lower difference rating (from Crewe informants) given to the sample by the Hull-based informants. In this case it is possible that a similar but less extreme version of the placement of sample H (Carlisle) by Carlisle-based informants is being exhibited.

Again, the placements not skewed too far to the south west of the provenance of the sample do fall within the 'Yorkshire' area as designated by the hand-drawn maps. The samples from Warrington and Liverpool (C and E, respectively) were both placed with a majority eastern skew, with the exception of the four placements of sample E which are skewed south and westwards. This skewing again reflects the overlapping nature of dialect areas and reinforces the findings of the draw-a-map task.

Overall, the above figures have a lot in common. There are, as would be expected, location-specific placement patterns; however when all the results are considered together the common features outweigh the differences. All display overlapping in sample placements, especially along a line from the Mersey to the Humber. This overlapping confirms the difficulties in perception reflected in overlaps in the results of the draw-a-map task. Voice placement has also been shown to be influenced by voice rating, echoing the findings of previous research (Williams et al., 1999).

6.4.3 Voice sample rating correlations

Although the rating of speech samples has been discussed in relation to the placement of the samples, I have not yet explored how the ratings of samples interact: that is to say, whether there is any correlation between the rating for a sample along each scale. One would hypothesise that this would be the case for some of the scales, as has been discovered in previous ratings exercises (Giles & Powesland, 1975, Lambert et al., 1960, Ryan & Giles, 1982). I may expect therefore, that a high rating on the 'Correctness' scale may coincide with a lower 'Friendliness' rating, or vice-versa. The following discussion involves the results of Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient tests run on the ratings for each scale and each voice sample in SPSS.

There are ten possible correlations for each voice sample at each survey location which can be examined; these are 'Correctness' vs. 'Pleasantness'; 'Correctness' vs. 'Difference'; 'Correctness' vs. 'Friendliness'; 'Correctness' vs. 'Trustworthiness'; 'Pleasantness' vs. 'Difference'; 'Pleasantness' vs. 'Friendliness'; 'Pleasantness' vs.

‘Trustworthiness’; ‘Difference’ vs. ‘Friendliness’; ‘Difference’ vs. ‘Trustworthiness’; ‘Trustworthiness’ vs. ‘Friendliness’. This results in the possibility of examining 240 individual results in order to give a complete commentary on the extent of correlation between the ratings on all scales. Here however I will give an overview of the general patterns seen across all survey locations for each possible scale. The full results of all Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient tests can be found in appendix 8. Table 6.13 below shows a ‘cleaned up’ version of the tables to be found in appendix 8; it exhibits the results of correlation tests run on Carlisle informants’ ratings of sample A (Barnsley).

		Correctness	Pleasantness	Friendliness	Trustworthiness	Difference
Correctness	Pearson Correlation	1	.715(**)	.643(**)	-.316	-.077
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.000	.000	.089	.686
	N	32	32	31	30	30
Pleasantness	Pearson Correlation	.715(**)	1	.800(**)	-.390(*)	.072
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000		.000	.027	.689
	N	32	36	34	32	33
Friendliness	Pearson Correlation	.643(**)	.800(**)	1	-.102	-.038
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.000	.000		.591	.836
	N	31	34	34	30	32
Trustworthiness	Pearson Correlation	-.316	-.390(*)	-.102	1	.124
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.089	.027	.591		.522
	N	30	32	30	32	29
Difference	Pearson Correlation	-.077	.072	-.038	.124	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.686	.689	.836	.522	
	N	30	33	32	29	33

Table 6.13: Results of Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient tests run in SPSS for Carlisle informants ratings of sample A (Barnsley) (**)= significant correlation at the 0.01 level (2-tailed), (*)= significant correlation at the 0.05 level (2-tailed)

Table 6.13 can be read by finding the pair of ratings (by locating the relevant row and column) one is interested in the possible correlation between and following the selection until they bisect. Thus, if one was interested in the relationship between ‘Correctness’ and ‘Pleasantness’ one would locate the ‘Correctness’ row and the ‘Pleasantness’ column (first and second, respectively). Where the row and column bisect the Pearson correlation can be seen to be .715, which is marked (**) indicating a significant

correlation at the $p < 0.01$ level. The table represents the same data twice, and column one and row two returns the same result. The tables found in appendix 8 can all be read in the same way as table 6.13.

In order to give an overview of the degree of correlation between the various ratings given to the samples by informants from the three survey locations I counted the number of significant correlations (<0.05) between each scale for each table. This enables an assessment of the extent of significant positive correlations for each voice sample by survey location. Table 6.14 below shows the result of the counting exercise.

Test	Carlisle (A-H)	Crewe (A-H)	Hull (A-H)	Total (A-H)
'Correctness' vs. 'Pleasantness'	8	8	8	24
'Correctness' vs. 'Difference'	1	0	0	1
'Correctness' vs. 'Friendliness'	7	7	5	19
'Correctness' vs. 'Trustworthiness'	0	2	6	8
'Pleasantness' vs. 'Difference'	3	0	0	3
'Pleasantness' vs. 'Friendliness'	8	8	8	24
'Pleasantness' vs. 'Trustworthiness'	1	7	7	15
'Difference' vs. 'Friendliness'	1	0	0	1
'Difference' vs. 'Trustworthiness'	0	0	0	0
'Trustworthiness' vs. 'Friendliness'	0	7	8	15

Table 6.14: Number of significant positive correlations (<0.05)²⁸ for each survey location and sample

The table does not make a distinction between correlations significant at the $p < 0.01$ level and those at the $p < 0.05$ level; it does however provide a useful overview of the results of the correlations tests run in SPSS 14 for Windows. What is clear is that there are a number of scales which show clear significant correlations and that two of the scales ('Correctness' vs. 'Pleasantness' and 'Pleasantness' vs. 'Friendliness') display significant correlations for each voice sample in each survey location ($8*3=24$). Scales involving the 'Difference' ratings, included here for the sake of completeness, are best ignored as the data they display are different to that in other scales, as discussed above. This said

²⁸ Significant negative correlations were found in the following: Carlisle: Pleasantness vs. Trustworthiness (1 test); Crewe: Difference vs. Trustworthiness (2); Difference vs. Correctness (1); Pleasantness vs. Difference (1); Friendliness vs. Difference (1).

however, tests run with the 'Difference' data produced the least significant correlations (and greatest number of negative correlations), a not unexpected result.

Of the tests which achieved the maximum number of significant correlations the one of most interest is perhaps that which involves the 'Correctness' vs. 'Pleasantness' scales. This is an unexpected result as one would have expected there to be a negative correlation between these two scales. Had the scale been labelled 'Standardness' the result could perhaps have been different and more in line with what may have been anticipated. However, it is possible that the informants reacted differently to the scale than was envisaged at the planning stage of the research: experimenting with the informants' own scales could have produced results with more relevance to the informants. Further down the table is found a more expected result for the 'Correctness' vs. 'Trustworthiness' which shows less significant positive correlations between the two scales than seen above, this perhaps echoes previous findings which demonstrate the inverse relationship between standardness and social attractiveness (Paltridge & Giles, 1984: 71). This is undermined somewhat by the 19 positive correlations between 'Correctness' and 'Friendliness' and the lack of negative correlations which would more directly support previous study in the area.

The correlation between 'Pleasantness' and other scales is expectedly strong, with the maximum of 24 significant positive correlations between it and the 'Friendliness' scale. 'Pleasantness' and 'Trustworthiness' are also related, with 15 significant correlations between the two scales across all survey locations. The relationship between these two scales is however complicated by the lack of correlation between the two for Carlisle-based informants, something which is replicated in the results for 'Trustworthiness' vs. 'Friendliness'. This indicates an unusual pattern of rating by informants from Carlisle and shows that they clearly react differently to the voice samples played to them. This is difficult to account for at this point and would require some follow-up questions in order to ascertain the reasons behind the pattern shown, if any.

The ratings task is difficult to generalise from in terms of the correlations between the ratings of each voice sample. Whereas the selection of samples from speakers of differing ages and sexes was not such a problem when asking informants to place them on a map, when examining the data for correlations between ratings there are problems due to the number of variables which could be working in competition with each other. As such, generalising is not too helpful and although the correlation test results can be found in appendix 8, the discussion of results of correlation tests will conclude at this point.

6.5 DIALECT AREA RATINGS

Recognition levels

As I am more interested in this thesis with geographical perception I chose to present the analysis of the placement of voice samples before the results of the area ratings task. To recap, this task involved the use of the overall composite map (figure 6.1) which informants were requested to rate along the same semantic scales as used with the voice samples.

Although presented after the voice placement and ratings component results, the results from the rating of the dialect areas from the composite map are of interest as they can tell us a good deal about stereotypical reactions to the ‘cognitively real’ dialect areas. Also of interest is informants’ ability to rate dialect areas of which they appeared to have no knowledge of in the draw-a-map task. For the dialect area ratings task the overall composite map was employed (as seen in figure 6.1) which showed 11 perceptual areas, some of which were not recognised by informants from all survey locations (‘Cumbria/Carlisle’, for example).

For these areas it is of interest whether informants will, prompted by the map showing the dialect areas, be able or unable to rate those areas of which they displayed no prior knowledge. If not, I could conclude that these areas had very low prominence for

informants from far-away survey locations and attempt to account for these patterns.

Chart 6.2 shows the overall percentage of informants rating each dialect area by survey location.

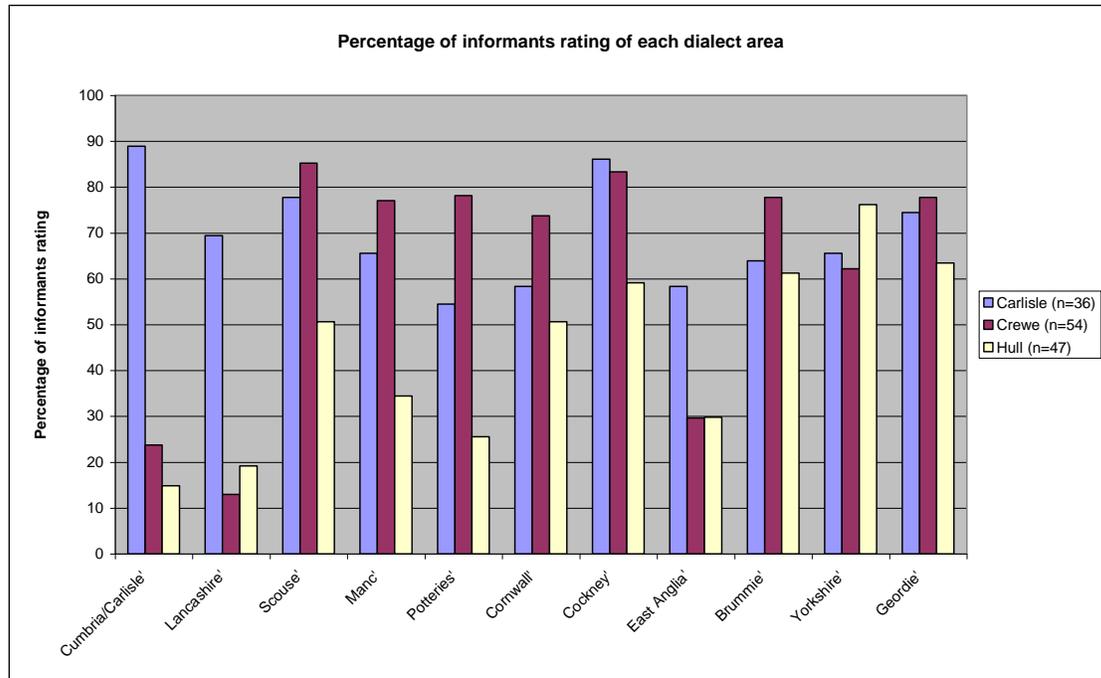


Chart 6.2: Percentage of informants rating each dialect area by survey location

The chart shows the mean percentage of informants rating along all scales for each dialect area. It appears to clearly show the impact of proximity on the ability to rate dialect areas. The first two dialect areas ('Cumbria/Carlisle' and 'Lancashire') both rated by far greater numbers of informants from Carlisle than from the other survey locations. Similarly, the percentage of ratings from Crewe increases with closer proximity to the survey location ('Manc', 'Scouse' and 'Potteries'); there also seems to be a similar occurrence for Hull informants' rating of 'Yorkshire'. This local effect can be seen more vividly when contrasting tables 6.15 and 6.16 below.

Carlisle (n=36)		Crewe (n=54)		Hull (n=47)	
Dialect area	% informants rating area	Dialect area	% informants rating area	Dialect area	% informants rating area
Cumb./Car.	88.88889	Scouse	85.18519	Yorkshire	76.17021
Cockney	86.11111	Cockney	83.33333	Geordie	63.40426
Scouse'	77.77778	Potteries	78.14815	Brummie	61.2766
Geordie	74.44444	Brummie	77.77778	Cockney	59.14894
Lancashire	69.44444	Geordie	77.77778	Scouse	50.6383
Manc	65.55556	Manc	77.03704	Cornwall	50.6383
Yorkshire	65.55556	Cornwall	73.7037	Manc	34.46809
Brummie	63.88889	Yorkshire	62.22222	East Anglia	29.78723
Cornwall	58.33333	East Anglia	29.62963	Potteries	25.53191
East Anglia	58.33333	Cumb./Car.	23.7037	Lancashire	19.14894
Potteries'	54.44444	Lancashire	12.96296	Cumb./Car.	14.89362
Mean	69.34343	Mean	61.95286	Mean	44.10058

Table 6.15: Dialect areas ranked by percentage of informant ratings by each survey location

Carlisle (n=98)		Crewe (n=85)		Hull (n=93)	
Dialect Area	% informants drawing area	Dialect area	% informants drawing area	Dialect Area	% informants drawing area
Geordie	56.52174	Scouse	71.76471	Scouse	45.83333
Scouse	52.17391	Geordie	71.76471	Geordie	44.79167
Brummie	36.95652	Brummie	71.76471	Brummie	38.54167
Cockney	35.86957	Cockney	54.11765	Yorkshire	34.375
Cumb./Car.	35.86957	Manc	38.82353	Cockney	21.875
Manc	28.26087	Cornwall	18.82353	Manc	14.58333
Cornwall	10.86957	Potteries	15.29412	East Anglia	6.25
Yorkshire	9.782609	Yorkshire	14.11765	Cornwall	5.208333
Lancashire	8.695652	Cumb./Car.	1.176471	Lancashire	3.125
Potteries	1.086957	East Anglia	1.176471	Cumb./Car.	1.041667
East Anglia	1.086957	Lancashire	0	Potteries	1.041667
Mean	25.19763	Mean	32.62032	Mean	19.69697

Table 6.16: Dialect areas ranked by percentage of informant drawing recognition in draw-a-map task

The tables reveal some particularly interesting disparities and underline the importance of proximity when rating dialect areas, which appears to be of greater importance than when drawing the same dialect areas. All the recognition percentages are dramatically greater

for the ratings task than the draw-a-map task (+44.15% for Carlisle-based informants; +29.33% for Crewe-based informants; +24.40% for those from Hull). This is not unexpected as the composite map functions as a visual aid to assist the informants. The greater ratings percentage of dialect areas previously on the periphery in the draw-a-map task is however unexpected and seems to reflect a greater acknowledgement of such areas ('Potteries' for Crewe-based informants, for example) when informants are reminded that they are there.

At the other end of the scale, where informants demonstrated relatively low recognition levels (such as 'Cumbria/Carlisle' and 'Potteries' for Hull-based informants), the ratings task does not result in an elevated position. The five most frequently recognised dialect areas ('Scouse'; 'Geordie'; 'Brummie', 'Cockney' and 'Manc') all maintain their prominence in the ratings task, although 'Geordie' is less prominent than might have been expected whilst 'Cockney' achieves greater recognition. All of these patterns are however disrupted by the proximity effect as discussed above which results in the 'home' or 'near-to' dialect areas achieving the greatest percentage of ratings.

Ratings

Now that the effect of proximity has been reiterated, a discussion of the ratings given to dialect areas by informants from the three survey locations can now be undertaken. In the same way as in the discussion of ratings given to voice samples, all ratings have been subjected to one-way ANOVA. The tables of results are the same as previously seen for the voice samples ratings. Again, this means that the final section of the table (All) excludes the mean rating for 'Difference' in acknowledgement of its differing function in the ratings task. Below I will discuss the ratings for each dialect area although for completeness, as the one-way ANOVA run on the data assumes approximately equal variance (Hinton, Brownlow, McMurray & Cozens, 2004: 165), I will state where Levene's test for homogeneity of variances is significant (i.e., variances are significantly different), which makes results less reliable.

Area 1 – ‘Cumbria/Carlisle’

Table 6.17 shows the mean ratings on all scales for dialect area 1 (‘Cumbria/Carlisle’), with significant differences between ratings, as above, flagged in bold type.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	5.375	4.307692	4.142857
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	6.06060606	5.538462	6.428571
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	5.06451613	7.166667	6.285714
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Friendliness	6.625	6.461538	7
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	6.21875	5.307692	6.714286
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
	NS	NS	NS
All	6.06976744	5.403846	6.071429
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS

Table 6.17: Mean ratings for Area 1 (Cumbria/Carlisle) along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

This dialect area, as seen above in table 6.15, received the highest percentage of ratings by informants from Carlisle for whom it was the ‘home area’. The other survey locations did not rate the area at anything like the percentage for informants from Carlisle. For this reason it is difficult to compare the mean scores with any degree of confidence. This is perhaps the reason for the lack of significant differences between the mean scores in the table.

What are of interest are the relatively high ratings given for the area, and the contrast of the mean ratings with those from the voice sample rating component of the exercise. The voice sample received the lowest ratings, not achieving a mean of greater than 4 (see table 6.12) yet the area was rated far higher. In this case I believe that those informants from Crewe and Hull did not have a great knowledge of the speech of this area, yet knew the speech to be different and therefore rated the area as they assumed it to be. When hearing the sample the informants did not know where it came from, and those that had a better clue (i.e. the Carlisle-based informants) ‘denied’ the sample. The uncertainty over the provenance of the voice led to the low ratings and the disparity with the ratings when faced simply with the composite map and the area.

Area 2 – ‘Lancashire’

Table 6.18 shows the mean ratings on all scales for dialect area 2 (‘Lancashire’), with significant differences between ratings flagged.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	5.03846154	5.571429	3.666667
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	5.41666667	5	4
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	5.2	6	6.444444
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Friendliness	5.96	5.857143	5.333333
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	5.48	5.714286	4.444444
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
	NS	NS	NS
All	5.47	5.535714	4.361111
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	0.05

Table 6.18: Mean ratings for Area 2 (Lancashire) along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

The percentages of ratings for the ‘Lancashire’ dialect area were again low from informants based in Hull and Crewe and for the Carlisle-based informants. This pattern is consistent with the role of proximity on perception and can be seen in graph 6.2 along with table 6.15 above. The low number of ratings from Crewe and Hull-based informants again makes it difficult to draw conclusions from the data in the table. What is notable however is the reaction to the area from the Hull-based informants, who produce the lowest total mean and one which is significantly different to that of Crewe-based informants. The disparity in numbers of informants from Hull and Carlisle rating the area probably stops a significant difference occurring here also. It is difficult to account for the relatively low rating from Hull-based informants although they could perhaps be demonstrating a continuing Lancashire-Yorkshire rivalry.

Area 3 – ‘Scouse’

Table 6.19 shows the mean ratings on all scales for dialect area 3 (‘Scouse’), with significant differences between ratings flagged.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	3.85714286	3.557692	4.375
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	4.93103448	4.134615	4.791667
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	6.81481481	7.117647	6.217391
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Friendliness	5.32142857	4.735849	5.208333
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	4.10714286	3.09434	4.291667
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
	NS	NS	NS
All	4.55752212	3.841346	4.666667
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	0.05	NS

Table 6.19: Mean ratings for Area 3 (Scouse) along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

Area 3 (‘Scouse’) was the first dialect area to receive approximately similar numbers of ratings from informants in the three survey locations (25 in Carlisle; 33 in Crewe; 21 in Hull). As such it is easier to make conclusions from the results presented in the table. As was seen in the previous chapter, ‘Scouse’ was regarded relatively negatively by all informants, with 27 negative ‘attributes’ (see tables 5.6 to 5.11) making it the second most negatively evaluated area behind ‘London’. Crewe-based informants viewed the

area the most negatively, with 14 of the negative ‘attributes’ ascribed by informants from this location.

The results in the table above seem to reinforce this negative perception towards ‘Scouse’ by Crewe-based informants. The total mean rating is significantly lower than the ratings from both Hull and Carlisle-based informants whose overall mean ratings are very similar. Not only are the overall means significantly different but the ‘Difference’ mean is also higher for informants from Crewe (although not significantly so). This indicates that Crewe-based informants do not wish to be associated with the ‘Scouse’ variety, which could be another example of ‘denial’ as seen above in the discussion of voice sample placement.

Area 4 – ‘Manc’

Table 6.20 shows the mean ratings on all scales for dialect area 4 (‘Manc’), with significant differences between ratings flagged. Levene’s test for homogeneity of variance is significant ($p < 0.05$) for ‘All’ ratings row.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	5.25	5.23913	5.125
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	5.39130435	5.043478	4.9375
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	6.125	4.670213	4.529412
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	NS	NS
Friendliness	5.83333333	5.173913	4.8125
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	5.30434783	4.956522	4.625
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
	NS	NS	NS
All	5.44680851	5.082418	4.875
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS

Table 6.20: Mean ratings for Area 4 (Manc) along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

As for many of the mean ratings, those for area 4 ('Manc') suffer the problem of the middle value. That is to say the informants, when presented with a scale, will tend to mark it towards the middle unless they feel particularly strongly about whatever it is that they are being asked. As a result, the ratings in the table above are all mostly clustered around 5 which is the approximate median value (the true median value of course being 5.5). With this being the case the results above indicate very little about the perception of the 'Manc' dialect area, other than that Carlisle-based informants seem not to want to be associated with it (see their significantly higher mean 'Difference' rating compared to Crewe-based informants' rating).

Area 5 – ‘Potteries’

Table 6.21 shows the mean ratings on all scales for dialect area 5 (‘Potteries’), with significant differences between ratings flagged. Levene’s test for homogeneity of variance is significant ($p < 0.05$) for ‘Pleasantness’, ‘Difference’, ‘Friendliness’ and ‘All’ ratings rows.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	6.05263158	4.354167	5.583333
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	NS	NS
Pleasantness	6.05	4.680851	5.833333
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	NS	NS
Difference	6.5	4.265306	5.5
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	NS	NS
Friendliness	6	5.270833	6.083333
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	5.63157895	4.833333	5.833333
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
	NS	NS	NS
All	5.93589744	4.804233	5.833333
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	0.05	NS

Table 6.21: Mean ratings for Area 5 (Potteries) along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

Dialect area 5 (‘Potteries’) is a similar dialect area, in terms of recognition by near-to or home locations, to the first two areas discussed here (‘Cumbria/Carlisle’ and ‘Lancashire’) and as with those areas there is a disparity in the percentage of informants rating the area (see graph 6.2). As a result, caution should be exercised with the results in the table above.

This said however, the results do make for interesting reading as an unusual pattern is in evidence. This pattern sees a similar proximity effect on the overall mean rating for Crewe-based informants to that seen for the ‘Scouse’ area (table 6.19). Here, as there, the closer proximity to the area seems to manifest itself in a significantly lower overall mean than for the other locations. Where the pattern differs however is in the ‘Difference’ mean. For this scale, Crewe-based informants display a relatively low mean (indicating similarity) which is significantly different to that displayed by Carlisle-based informants and widely different (although insignificant) to the mean rating from informants from Hull. This display of ‘contentment’ with the near-to dialect area which is rated relatively low overall is unusual and differs from the phenomena of ‘claiming’ and ‘denial’ seen elsewhere.

Area 6 – ‘Cornwall’

Table 6.22 shows the mean ratings on all scales for dialect area 6 (‘Cornwall’), with significant differences between ratings flagged.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	5.14285714	5.522727	4.5
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	6.57142857	6.666667	6.5
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	6.66666667	6.47619	6.73913
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Friendliness	6.95238095	6.75	6.958333
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	6.23809524	6.431818	6.791667
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
	NS	NS	NS
All	6.22619048	6.331395	6.1875
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS

Table 6.22: Mean ratings for Area 6 (Cornwall) along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

This dialect area again suffers from the ‘middle value’ problem seen in the results for the rating of the ‘Manc’ dialect area, and the results are resultantly very similar (if higher than those for ‘Manc’). Interestingly, the means for each scale (except ‘Correctness’) seem to demonstrate ‘aspirational’ rating. This potential ‘aspiration’ is however cast into doubt upon examination of the ‘Difference’ means, which are all relatively high.

Area 7 – ‘Cockney’

Table 6.23 shows the mean ratings on all scales for dialect area 7 (‘Cockney’), with significant differences between ratings flagged.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	5.19354839	4.979592	6.12069
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	4.51612903	5.571429	5.714286
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	5.80645161	6.88	7
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Friendliness	4.16129032	5.74	5.964286
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	NS	0.05
Trustworthiness	4.12903226	4.68	5.232143
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
	NS	NS	NS
All	4.5	5.214286	5.761062
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	NS	0.05

Table 6.23: Mean ratings for Area 7 (Cockney) along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

Dialect area 7 ('Cockney') was clearly one which provoked a strong reaction from the informants and little uniform perception was seen, as for the previous dialect area. Carlisle-based informants rated the area least favourably, with an overall mean which was significantly different to those from Crewe and Hull-based informants. The significant differences do not end here however, and the overall means for both the remaining survey locations were also significantly different to each other as well as Carlisle informants' mean (to differing levels of significance). Despite the widely differing overall means, there were no significant differences present in the 'Difference' means.

Area 8 – ‘East Anglia’

Table 6.24 shows the mean ratings on all scales for dialect area 8 (‘East Anglia’), with significant differences between ratings flagged.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	5.04761905	4.9444444	6.785714
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	0.05
Pleasantness	4.9047619	5.470588	6.214286
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	6.09090909	5.5	5.642857
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Friendliness	5.04761905	5.722222	5.785714
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	5	5.888889	6.464286
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
	NS	NS	NS
All	5	5.463768	6.3125
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	0.05	0.05

Table 6.24: Mean ratings for Area 8 (East Anglia) along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

Area 8 (‘East Anglia’) was an area on the periphery of the perceptions of informants in the draw-a-map task, and was only just included on the composite dialect area map. Unsurprisingly then, the area received the lowest percentage of ratings from informants in the three survey locations. Despite this, the similar low ratings allow some comparison of the means for each scale to be made. Hull-based informants gave the area some of the highest ratings thus far and the overall mean rating was unsurprisingly significantly

higher than both Crewe and Carlisle-based informants'. The 'Difference' scale however shows no significantly lower mean scores from Hull-based informants, meaning that there is probably little evidence of 'claiming' in this case. This high rating of area 8 could be due to the eastern nature of the area, which is shared with the city of Hull.

Area 9 – 'Brummie'

Table 6.25 shows the mean ratings on all scales for dialect area 9 ('Brummie'), with significant differences between ratings flagged.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	3.95833333	4.458333	4.689655
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	4.04347826	4.666667	4.482759
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	5.81818182	7.163265	6.407407
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	NS	NS
Friendliness	4.65217391	5.387755	5.655172
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	4.43478261	4.604167	4.733333
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
	NS	NS	NS
All	4.2688172	4.748691	4.888889
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS

Table 6.25: Mean ratings for Area 9 (Brummie) along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

Dialect area 9 ('Brummie') is perhaps the most historically stigmatised; in the comments section of the draw-a-map task it received 26 negative 'attributes' (§5.2.4), just one less

than the ‘Scouse’ area. In the ratings task, as the table above shows, the area was consistently rated relatively low, although its mean scores were not as low as those for the ‘Scouse’ area. There are no significant differences between the overall means. All locations’ ‘Difference’ scales are above 5, although Crewe-based informants dramatically distance themselves from the area, which results in the significant difference to those from Carlisle ($p < 0.05$).

Area 10 – ‘Yorkshire’

Table 6.26 shows the mean ratings on all scales for dialect area 10 (‘Yorkshire’), with significant differences between ratings flagged. Levene’s test for homogeneity of variance is significant ($p < 0.05$) for the ‘All’ ratings row.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	5.75	4.783784	5.097222
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	6.33333333	6.2	6.135135
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	5.875	6.25	2.628571
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	0.05	0.01
Friendliness	6.56521739	6.756757	6.666667
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	6.26086957	6.611111	6.342857
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
	NS	NS	NS
All	6.22340426	6.055944	6.059028
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS

Table 6.26: Mean ratings for Area 10 (Yorkshire) along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

The 'Yorkshire' dialect area is another which has universally similar ratings, resulting in a lack of significant differences. This is not the case for all scales however and the 'Difference' scale reveals the most significant difference thus far with Hull-based informants in no doubt that this is their 'home' area. The mean rating of just 2.63 results in highly significant differences between it and those for Crewe and Carlisle-based informants, who share relatively similar means for this scale. The low difference ratings for the Hull-based informants possibly reflect the fact that it was their drawing of the 'Yorkshire' dialect area which most informed the final extent of the area on the composite map.

Area 11 – 'Geordie'

Table 6.27 shows the mean ratings on all scales for dialect area 11 ('Geordie'), with significant differences between ratings flagged.

	Carlisle	Crewe	Hull
Correctness	4.81481481	4.148936	4.566667
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Pleasantness	6.51851852	5.702128	6.7
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Difference	6.65384615	7.104167	6.603448
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Friendliness	7.2962963	6.4375	7.066667
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	NS	NS	NS
Trustworthiness	6.40740741	5.5	6.4
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
	NS	NS	NS
All	6.25925926	5.425532	6.183333
	CA-CW	CW-HL	CA-HL
<i>p</i>	0.05	0.05	NS

Table 6.27: Mean ratings for Area 11 (Geordie) along ratings scales for each survey location, with significant differences flagged

The ‘Geordie’ dialect area was the second most recognised area when informants completed the draw-a-map task, only registering three lines fewer than the ‘Scouse’ area overall. I have hypothesised that this is due to the cultural prominence of the north east in general and the city of Newcastle upon Tyne in particular. It is interesting therefore to observe the ‘Geordie’ area rated by a lower percentage of informants than other areas which were drawn by lower numbers of informants (see table 6.15). Despite this interesting finding, it can be seen from table 6.27 that the mean ratings were universally similar for the ‘Geordie’ area with Crewe-based informants again underlining difference, with high ‘Difference’ ratings and a low overall mean. Despite the lack of difference between the individual mean ratings for each scale, when all the scales are considered

(without ‘Difference’), there are significant differences ($p < 0.05$) between the ratings from Crewe and the other survey locations.

Overall, the mean ratings for each individual composite dialect area are of interest. However, the tendency for informants to cluster their ratings around the median value makes it difficult for the results to be as useful as they could have been. Interesting patterns have been discovered, such as the (continuing) impact of proximity on the perception not only of the presence and proximity of dialect areas but also in the rating of these areas. The patterns of correlation will not be discussed here; however, where significant correlations exist the pattern is similar to that found in the rating of voice samples. I believe the rating of dialect areas to have been of value in assessing the perception of language variation country-wide; this is despite the lack of examination of the link between the ratings of dialect areas and voice samples thus far.

Although the rating of voice samples and dialect areas has in some cases been shown to be significantly different between different survey locations, for the purposes of comparison between area ratings and voice sample ratings I grouped ratings from all areas together (with the exclusion of ‘Difference’). After grouping, I was able to compare ratings for perceptual dialect areas with the ratings for the voice sample taken from within that area. This permitted seven comparisons to be made²⁹ (the ‘Lancashire’ area had too few ratings to be considered, and the voice sample was not ideal, as discussed above). Unpaired t-tests were run on the ratings for both perceptual dialect areas and voice samples in order to find significant differences between the means. The results are displayed in chart 6.3 below.

²⁹ ‘Carlisle/Cumbria’; ‘Scouse’; ‘Manc’; ‘London’; ‘Yorkshire’ (Barnsley); ‘Yorkshire’ (Hull); ‘Geordie’

All ratings mean (excluding 'Difference'), voice and area ratings tasks, showing results of unpaired t-tests

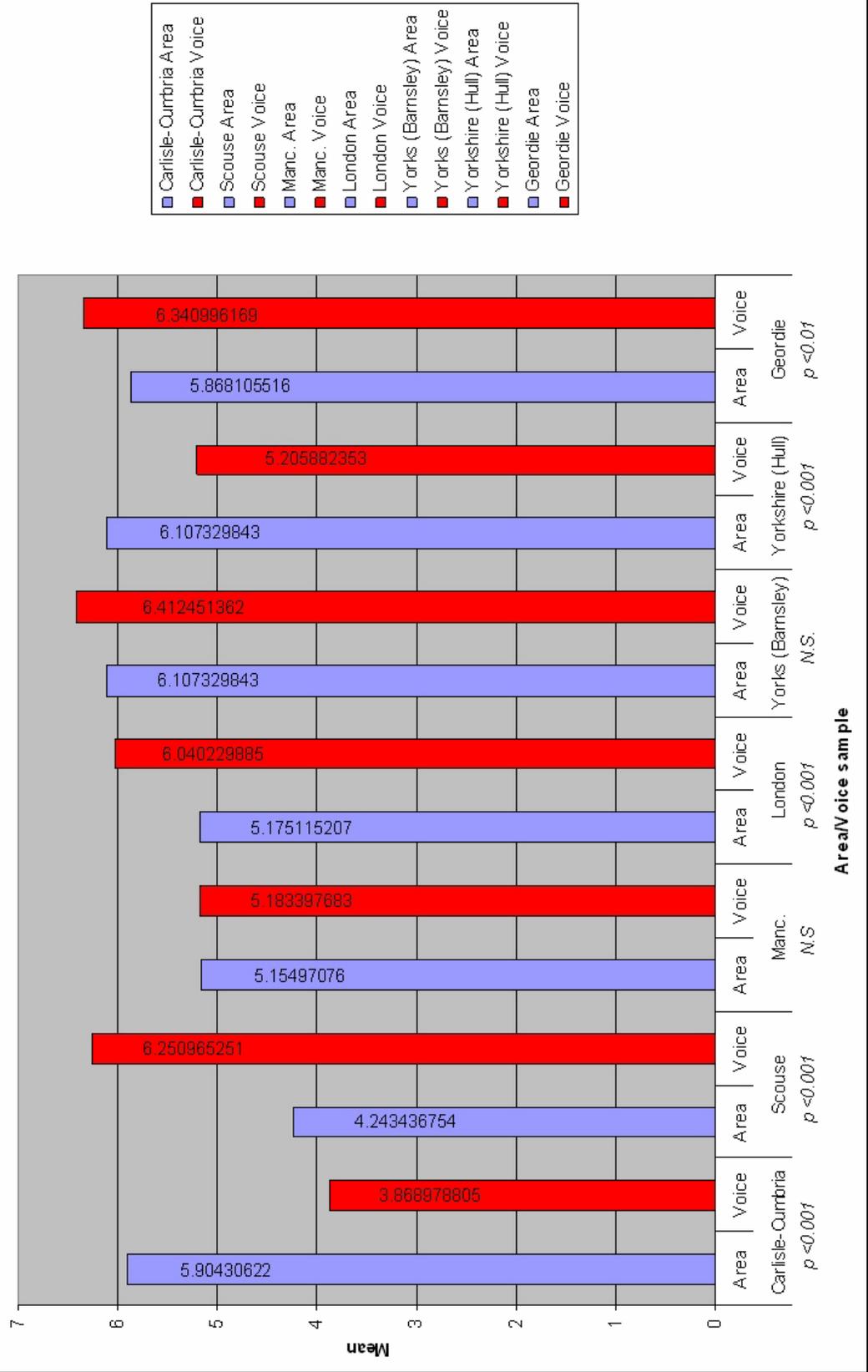


Chart 6.3: Mean ratings by all survey location for all scales (excluding 'Difference'), for both areas and voice samples, with results of unpaired t-tests displayed along the x-axis

The chart reveals interesting results, with significant differences present between the means in five of the seven comparisons. Where significant differences occur the results are not uniform, insofar as they do not reveal a consistent higher or lower rating for voice samples when compared to perceptual areas. I believe that this indicates that informants from the three survey locations are quite happy to rate dialect areas on a map (when they know which areas are represented), but are not averse to giving voice samples a different rating. As has been seen, voice sample placement has been shown to be relatively accurate, and in many cases within the boundaries of perceptual areas. The results in chart 6.3 indicate then that informants will 'take voice samples as they find them', and will be happy to give a significantly different rating to that which they would give an area as a whole.

6.6 SUMMARY

Despite some problems with the selection of voice samples and the employment of a rating scale which allows informants to cluster their responses around a median value I believe that the employment of a rating and placement exercise has been justified. It has allowed comparison between the results produced from draw-a-map tasks and results from the placement exercise. The use of starburst charts allows the placement of samples to be investigated in a rigorous fashion, with patterns accounted for through the use of responses to the ratings exercise.

The effect of proximity has been shown to impact on the rating of both dialect area and voice samples. However, it is the phenomena of 'claiming' and 'denying' which have been seen to be of particular importance in the placement of speech samples. Gaining access to both factors was important in making sense of the voice placements, and allowing a move away from the assumption that proximity is the most important factor in perception. The following chapter will bring the discussions in the three previous results chapter together and present an overview of perception from the north of England not

only of northern English but English countrywide before discussing further research and areas for improvement.

7. CONCLUSIONS, EVALUATION AND AREAS FOR FURTHER RESEARCH

This chapter will assess the results from all stages of the fieldwork process and make links between them where these have not been explicitly made in the previous three chapters. The first sections will discuss how the results can inform knowledge of variation in England. The salient factors affecting perception, introduced in chapters 4 to 6, will be discussed further resulting in a clearer picture of non-linguists' vision of language use across the country. The chapter will include further sections which will evaluate the fieldwork's strengths and weaknesses before examining ways in which to continue the important study of perception in England.

7.1 CONCLUSIONS

Throughout the discussion of results in the above chapters, three major factors/principles stand out as contributing the greatest amount to the perception of language variation in England, both in the hand-drawn map and ratings stage. Although specific details of the perceived varieties have been hard to find, the factors certainly seem to support Preston's view that 'what details of language non-linguists are aware of appears to depend more on a considerable amount of sociocultural rather than linguistic facts' (Preston, 1996a: 72). These three factors/principles are 'cultural salience' (pp. 189-190, 205-207, 215-217), 'claiming/denial' (p. 266) and 'proximity' (§4.1.2). I am not stating that these are the only factors which have an influence over perception in England since, as has been discussed, there was some influence from geography and gender amongst other factors on a more peripheral level (pp. 254-256). The phenomenon of 'claiming and denial' did not appear until the ratings stage of the fieldwork, when proximity appeared to have less of an effect; I believe that this provides justification for the two-stage nature of the fieldwork, as it allows access to informants' different 'perceptual levels' and reflects differing responses to different tasks.

Cultural salience

Although the two stage approach gained access to the different ‘levels’ of perception, and appeared to show that different factors were important to informants at each stage, there must be some relationship between the drawing of maps of variation and the reaction to voice samples. I believe that the best way in which to access the relationship between hand-drawn maps and reactions to voice samples is to first examine the phenomenon of cultural salience. Discussed at length in chapter 5, cultural salience has been shown to play a large role in perception in this study. As tables 5.2 and 5.3 (p. 197 and 205 respectively) displayed, there is no relationship between the size of population and the amount of recognition from informants. I concluded that this was due to the phenomenon of cultural salience, which is the prominence of certain population centres in the national consciousness. It is of course difficult (if not impossible without a large amount of time) to accurately measure this cultural ‘salience’ or ‘prominence’³⁰ and I therefore had to rely on an impressionistic reading of the position of the population centres in the national imagination.

I found support for this in the data for the ‘Manc’ dialect area (see discussion on pp. 214-217) which displayed a high level of recognition (drawn by 73 informants overall). This contrasts with the lack of recognition of a Manchester-based subjective area in the only other perceptual study in the UK (Inoue, 1999b: 167). This is despite the presence of other city-based areas in Inoue’s study which was county-boundary based (1999: 168). I concluded that the high recognition level for the ‘Manc’ dialect area could be due to an increase in popular cultural prominence since Inoue’s study took place. I believe that this is the only explanation for the increase in recognition from *seemingly* nothing in 1989 (when Inoue’s data were collected) to a recognition level of 26.5% in 2005. Cultural salience also helps to explain the high recognition of the ‘Geordie’ dialect area, as despite

³⁰ One way to measure this ‘prominence’ could be a long-term study of the amount of space/time given over in the national media to cities/areas/regions in England, although this would necessarily take a large amount of time and is fraught with its own difficulties.

its relatively small size in terms of population (see table 5.3, p. 205), its recognition level was particularly high (56.7%), second highest amongst informants. I believe that this proves that population size is of no matter to informants when thinking about their important dialect areas; what is of issue is the prominence of the area. This is not to denigrate the importance of proximity in the perception of dialect areas; however salience is something which I believe to be of equal if not greater importance in perception overall.

I believe cultural salience to be the most important factor in perception due to its seemingly overriding importance in the perception of dialect areas both in the draw-a-map task and in the ratings task. I believe that this is clearly shown in the discussion of the draw-a-map task in chapter 5 and demonstrated in the results of the placement task (tables 6.2 and 6.3, p. 272). If we take the overall results table (6.3), this shows the voice samples from Barnsley ('Yorkshire'), Newcastle upon Tyne ('Geordie'), Warrington ('Manc'), London ('London') and Liverpool ('Scouse') receiving the most accurate placements; I believe this to be in large part due to the salience of these varieties. Table 7.1 shows the percentage recognition levels in the draw-a-map task for each area with a corresponding voice sample by survey location along with mean error of placement for the voice sample in the ratings task.

Rank	Area	Sample	Carlisle		Crewe		Hull	
			% I.R.	Error	% I.R.	Error	% I.R.	Error
1	'Scouse'	E	49 %	67.8	78.8 %	55.9	47.3 %	50.3
2	'Geordie'	B	53.1 %	34.6	71.8 %	55	46.2 %	63.2
5	'Manc'	C	26.5 %	40.9	38.8 %	39	15.1 %	49.1
6	'Yorkshire'	A	9.2 %	66.7	14.1 %	51.2	35.5 %	46.1
8	'Cumbria'	H	33.7 %	170	1.2 %	110.6	1.1 %	109.6
12	'London'	D	10.2 %	77	10.6 %	51.4	2.2 %	58.4
21	'Hull'	F	6.1 %	87.5	0 %	90	0 %	82.8
N.R.	Preston	G	0 %	116	0 %	100.2	0 %	107

Table 7.1: Percentage recognition of areas in draw-a-map task with mean error of voice placements for corresponding voice samples, by survey location

Rank	Area	Sample	All	
			% I.R.	Error
1	'Scouse'	E	57.8 %	58
2	'Geordie'	B	56.7 %	51.6
5	'Manc'	C	26.5 %	42.9
6	'Yorkshire'	A	19.6 %	54
8	'Cumbria'	H	12.7 %	130.9
12	'London'	D	7.6 %	61.5
21	'Hull'	F	2.2 %	87.1
N.R.	Preston	G	0 %	107.3

Table 7.2: Percentage recognition of areas in draw-a-map task with mean error of voice placements for corresponding voice samples, overall

In the above tables the rank of the perceptual area in the draw-a-map task is shown in the first column, followed by the name of the dialect area and its corresponding voice sample in the ratings task. The columns following these are the results of the draw-a-map task (percentage informant recognition: % IR.) and the mean error of the placement of the samples.

Although the tables indicate that there is no significant correlation between recognition levels of areas and the ability to place the corresponding samples (an indication supported after running Pearson product-moment correlation coefficient tests on the data in SPSS), there is some evidence to support this hypothesis. The tables are of course skewed by the high error value for the sample H (Carlisle) due to the denial phenomena. However, if one ignores the data for sample H there does seem to be a general trend which results in lower recognition levels displaying higher error values. This is not so apparent where the recognition levels are above or around 20%, however below this recognition level the error values increase, especially in table 7.2 above. I believe that this indicates that salience is of importance to informants when both drawing areas and placing speech samples. More research dealing specifically with this link is of course needed to add any weight to this tentative conclusion, despite the logic that a sample must be familiar or important to an informant if they are to place it with any degree of success.

Claiming/denial

The skewing effect of sample H on the tables above was a result, I hypothesised, of the phenomena of ‘denial’ which was much in evidence in conjunction with ‘claiming’ in the discussion of sample placement throughout chapter 6 (the concept was introduced on p. 266). First discussed in Williams et al’s (1999) results from their dialect recognition study undertaken in Wales, the phenomena of ‘claiming’ and ‘denial’ related to the recognition or misrecognition of speech samples (Williams et al., 1999: 356). Introduced in a section dealing with the ‘likeability’ of speech samples, Williams et al found that a high ‘likeability’ score resulted in the sample placed in informants’ home area more often; the results of the placement task seemed to support the findings from Williams et al’s study.

I believe that the link between the ‘claiming’ of certain voice samples with high scores along the relevant ratings scales as well the ‘denial’ of certain voice samples with low scores has been proved in the previous chapter (see discussions on pp. 281-282 and p. 297, amongst others in chapter 6, which demonstrate the relationship between scores and placement). However, I have not examined the ‘claiming’ and ‘denial’ phenomenon in relation to the maps produced in the draw-a-map task, with the exception of the case of the ‘Geordie’ area/speech sample (p. 282). In this case, there appeared to be clear evidence of ‘denial’, with the placement of the sample all comfortably within the ‘Geordie’ area, as shown in figure 7.1.

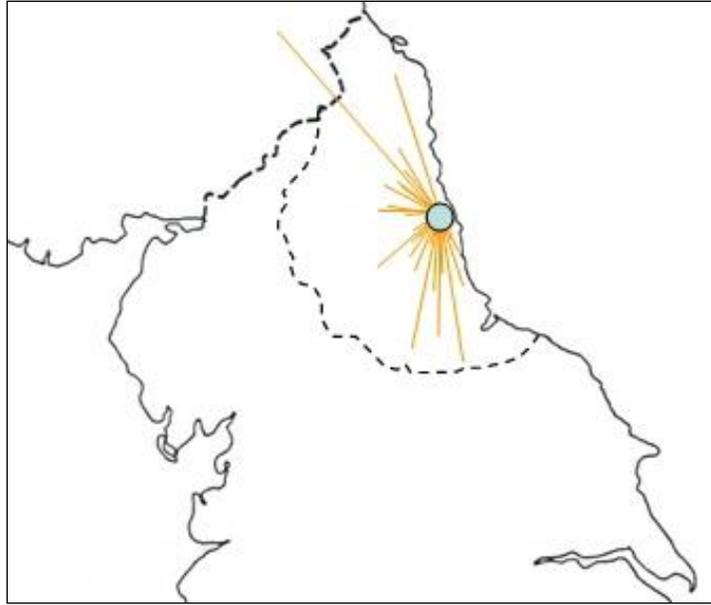


Figure 7.1: 'Geordie' dialect area at >21% agreement (dotted line), with voice placement results from Carlisle-based informants displayed

Figure 7.1 is what would be expected from a combination of correct identification and denial of the sample (seen in the relatively high mean 'Difference' rating of the sample in table 6.6, p. 281), indicating that informants from Carlisle are not Geordies. Placement, rating, and area drawing data from Carlisle can again be used to demonstrate 'denial' in the case of sample H, the most extreme case seen in the study. Figure 7.2 shows the placement and dialect area data for the 'Cumbrian/Carlisle' area along with the placement of sample H.

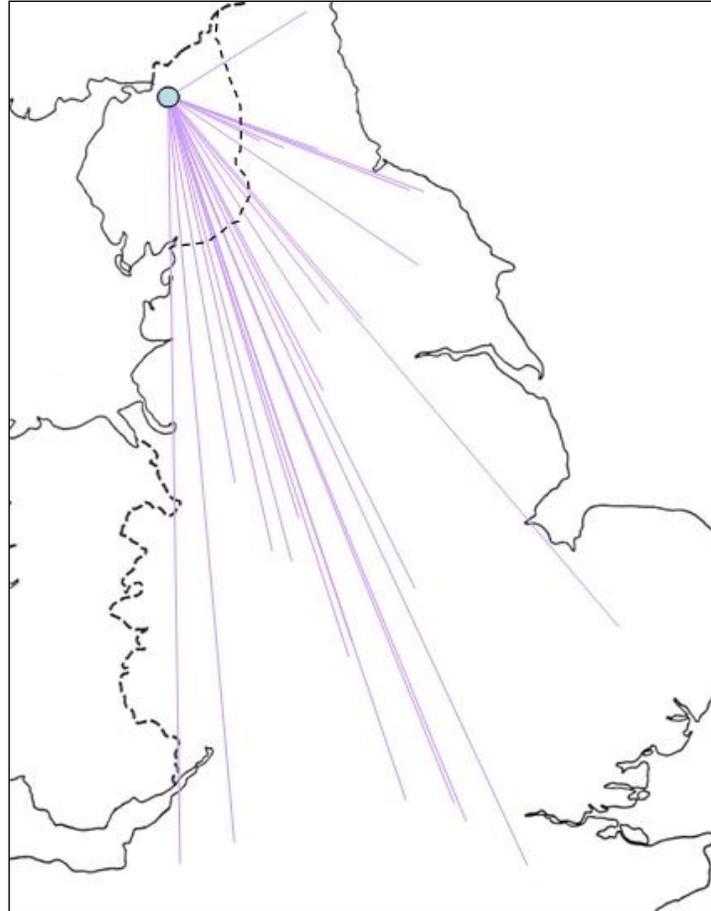


Figure 7.2: 'Cumbria/Carlisle' dialect area at >21% agreement (dotted line), with voice placement results from Carlisle-based informants displayed

Figure 7.2 shows the clearest example of 'denial' seen in this study, mainly due to the fact that it is the 'denial' of the 'home area' sample. What is striking about this result of course is the fact that informants apparently knew this to be the most similar sample to their own speech. Table 6.12 (p. 297) shows this to be the case, with significantly lower 'Difference' (i.e. significantly more similar) ratings for sample H by Carlisle-based informants than by Crewe or Hull-based informants. This means that some Carlisle-based informants knew that sample H was their 'home' sample and rejected it completely, resulting in the largest mean error of placement seen for any sample from any survey location (see table 6.2, p. 272).

It is not however simply voice placements that can show 'claiming' or 'denial'; I believe that a combination of area drawing and voice placements, along with ratings, can also

indicate the phenomena. One of the strongest examples of ‘claiming’ was to be observed in the results for the drawing of the ‘Manc’ dialect area and the placement and ratings results for sample C (Warrington, in Greater Manchester) by informants from Crewe. Figure 7.3 displays the ‘Manc’ area at >21% agreement, and voice placement results from Crewe-based informants.

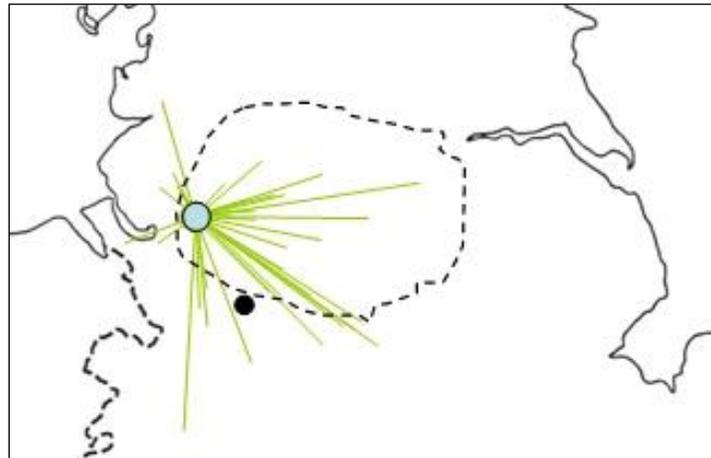


Figure 7.3: ‘Manc’ dialect area at >21% agreement (dotted line), with voice placement results from Crewe-based informants displayed, black dot represents position of Crewe

As figure 7.3 shows, there is an effect of the location of Crewe on the placement of voice sample C (Warrington), skewing around 50% of the placements towards it. Some of the placements are beyond Crewe; however I believe this to be within the margin of error for informants wishing to place the sample in the town. The rating of sample C along the various scales was also of interest; although there were no significant differences between Crewe-based informants’ ratings and those from Carlisle-based informants, all of the ratings were significantly different to those given by Hull-based informants, with the exception of ‘Correctness’ (see table 6.7, p. 284). This could be evidence of ‘denial’ by Hull-based informants although it is not easy to draw that conclusion. Another interesting finding is the proximity of Crewe to the perceptual ‘border’ in figure 7.3; it almost appears, when taking the ratings and voice placement into account that informants wish Crewe to be part of the ‘Manc’ dialect area. Thus, the results appear to demonstrate the ‘claiming’ of ‘Manc’ by Crewe-based informants.

Williams et al suspect that ‘processes such as claiming and disavowing are an intrinsic part of dialect recognition processes’ (1999: 358), and I believe that this has been shown to be the case in this study. This study differed from Williams et al’s as it offered the informants a free choice when placing the voice samples (as opposed to the nine options given to informants in Williams et al’s study (1999: 350)), and I believe that this fact allows bolder conclusions to be reached about ‘lightbulb’ effects seen in the starburst charts. In Williams et al’s study (as well as the similar dialect continuum study by Preston (1989b: 128), informants were presented with the correct answer (as well as a ‘don’t know’ and open ended option) and as such could ‘respond to and manipulate the group designations ... offered to them’ (Williams et al., 1999: 357). The free choice offered to informants in this study meant that informants were not presented with the correct answer and had a free choice as to where to place samples, in turn allowing me to examine the ratings given to the samples alongside the free-placements. In this way, similar to Williams et al’s study, I was able to assess not only geographical cognition but also ‘*social cognition*’ (Williams et al, 1999: 357, italics in original). The relationship between ratings and placement was seen to be a strong one in many cases and perhaps allowed brief access to what informants ‘know about varieties but also how they construct this knowledge and how they use it constructively’ (Williams et al., 1999: 358).

Proximity

‘Proximity’, in the case of this study, was taken to mean the ‘closeness’ to an area (see discussion in §4.1.2). I hypothesised that, notwithstanding barrier-effects, closer proximity would enable informants to distinguish a greater amount of dialect areas, or be more accurate in their recognition of boundaries. Following Preston’s findings that after drawing stigmatised areas, informants would draw ‘local areas more frequently’ (1999b: xxxiv) in draw-a-map tasks, proximity did indeed seem to be of great importance to informants in this study. Its effects were noted in the draw-a-map task (both in the country-divisions element and in the area recognition/delimitation element) and, to an extent, in the dialect recognition task. There is some interaction in the case of proximity with cultural salience, discussed above. I believe that it is useful to reconsider figure 5.1

(p. 178) at this point, which shows a diagram of ‘Man’s perception map simplified’ (Goodey, 1971b: 7). The diagram shows the clear importance of ‘near to’ places, which are shown as ‘personal space’. ‘Far places’ are beyond the limits of personal experience, only registering through the mechanisms of ‘Radio places’, ‘Talked of places’, ‘TV and film places’ and ‘Printed places’. I believe that, with the addition of ‘Internet places’³¹ to the mechanisms of experience, this diagram is a useful way of understanding the roles of proximity and cultural salience in perception. These mechanisms help to explain how immediate proximity is overridden by the mechanisms which allow experience of the far places.

I believe that the ability to ‘experience’ far places is of great importance in the perception of language as it is in many cases differences (as opposed to similarities) which are noted by language users although Preston (1999b: xxxv) does notes that close proximity will allow informants to make more detailed distinctions, with fewer detailed distinctions made in the case of ‘far-off’ varieties. This finding carries with it an acknowledgment that ‘far-off’ varieties will be perceived as ‘different’ or ‘very different’ and a fine reading of the systematic way in which the varieties differ will be difficult. This will not be the case for ‘near-to’ varieties in which a much finer reading will be enabled through the listeners’ prolonged exposure to them. Of course, the perception of ‘far-off’ varieties will only be enabled if, through the mechanisms listed above, the varieties are present on the listener’s ‘radar’ (i.e. if they are culturally salient). If the varieties are not present on the ‘radar’ then the informant will most likely not draw any areas³². I believe then that Goodey’s (1971b: 7) diagrammatical representation of perception offers a good way of understanding the relationship between proximity and cultural salience, and is of great use in explaining why certain varieties are more prominent than others.

There is a good deal of evidence from this study which supports Goodey’s inclusion of personal space at the centre of mans’ perception. In the draw-a-map task this is shown in

³¹ ‘Internet places’ would deal with web-based news services, email communications, along with peer networks such as ‘MySpace’ which allow virtual peer networks to exist regardless of geographical location

³² There were very few instances of informants simply drawing the ‘home’ area and no others; it was usually the case that informants who drew detailed maps, including many areas, included the ‘home’ area

the results for the ten most recognised areas, which can be seen in table 5.2 (p. 217). In this table, the ‘home areas’ (or areas in close proximity) feature prominently in the results for each survey location. Carlisle informants place the ‘Cumbria/Carlisle’ area in fourth place (33.7% I.R.), Crewe-based informants show ‘Potteries’ to be seventh most salient (15.3%), and informants from Hull view ‘Yorkshire’ (centred around Hull and Humberside) in fourth place (35.5% I.R.). When considering the total number of lines drawn representing each ‘home’ area, the effect of survey locations is striking, as shown in table 7.3, summarising the discussion on p. 218.

Dialect area	Carlisle (% of total)	Crewe (% of total)	Hull (% of total)
‘Cumbria/Carlisle’	33 (94.3%)	1 (2.9%)	1 (2.9%)
‘Potteries’	1 (7.7%)	13 (92.3%)	0 (0%)
‘Yorkshire’	9 (16.7%)	12 (22.2%)	33 (61.1%)

Table 7.3: Number of lines drawn representing ‘home’ dialect areas, by survey location

The table shows the number of lines drawn representing each area, the bracketing figures indicate the percentage of the total the lines drawn represent. It shows the clear influence of survey location on the identification of the ‘home’ area, and thus the importance of proximity on the perception (or at least, the recognition) of dialect areas. Even for the ‘Yorkshire’ dialect area, which is recognised by informants in both Carlisle and Crewe, the Hull-based informants account for nearly two-thirds of the lines drawn indicating the area.

Proximity was also seen to have an effect on the placement of the north-south country division. As hypothesised, close proximity to the ‘agreed’ north-south boundary did produce greater agreement (see figures 4.18, 4.20 and 4.22, pp.146-147) with Crewe-based informants displaying the least, followed by those from Hull and then Carlisle-based informants. Proximity to the boundary did however produce an unexpected result, which I have termed ‘shifting’. ‘Shifting’ was apparent when examining the results using the PDQ processing method. When I took the results at the median agreement level (41%-60%), it became apparent that for Crewe-based informants there appeared to be an unusual pattern. I was able to isolate the results at the 41%-60% agreement level for each

survey location and place them onto a map along with the overall composite of north-south divisions (figure 4.25, p. 160). Once the overlay map was completed it appeared that Crewe-based informants had what I termed a ‘southern-shifted’ view of the north-south division. This ‘southern-shifting’ guarantees Crewe-based informants’ their northern status by ensuring that the boundary is far enough to the south so as to ensure that they are not threatened by its proximity. I believe that the ‘shifting’ phenomenon grants us some access to the key perceptual factors at work in the Crewe-based informants. It is possible of course that they were responding to a ‘false choice’ of north versus south, and with no request for a division would not have made one, or with a northern-midlands-southern request would have placed themselves in the midlands division. It is not possible to assess the answers to these questions at this point. However, they do underline the need for more research in this area, perhaps of a qualitative nature, which would allow more detailed access to the interaction between imagined borders and proximity to them.

Proximity also played a role in the perception and placement of voice samples in the ratings task. Significant relationships were found between some of the mean placements and survey location which showed that ‘near-to’ samples would in some cases be more correctly identified than ‘far away’ samples (see table 6.2, p. 272). However, the role of ‘claiming’ and ‘denial’ appeared to have the greatest effect on voice sample placements, as discussed above, which led Carlisle-based informants to exhibit significantly less accuracy in the placement of their ‘home’ sample than informants from Crewe and Hull.

Summary and key findings

In summary then, the three factors which have been shown to have the greatest effect on the perception of language in this study are cultural salience, claiming and denial and proximity. These factors do, without doubt, interact with other factors discussed in the results chapters (chapters 4 to 6). What I have not discussed however is the overall ‘picture of perception’ from the three survey locations in the north of England, and what this means in linguistic terms.

As a starting point, I would like to associate myself with Preston's comments regarding the importance of perceptual study, insofar as 'studies of non-linguists' perceptions of linguistic facts ... surely contribute to a more general understanding of the shape and function of overt linguistic knowledge' (Preston, 1989b: 131). This statement, along with the observation that 'the discovery of what non-linguists believe about and do with language [is an issue] worthy of study not only for its independent scientific value but also for the undeniable importance it has in the language professional's interaction with the public' (Preston, 1996a: 72) are both used as a justification for the study of folk linguistics and I believe that both statements demonstrate the huge importance for linguists of folk linguistic study. The innovation of actually asking language users about language means that the responses can be used to find new ways of analysing variation and change, and conclusions made about variation and change can be examined alongside what the language users themselves believe.

In the case of this study, the informants from each survey location provided a great deal of complex data which showed the importance of certain factors on their perceptions of the geographical distribution of variation, as well as their responses to voice samples from around the country. Once compiled and examined, the patterns present within the responses (specifically in the draw-a-map task) have gone some way towards updating the perceptual picture first examined by Inoue (1999b). What I intend to look at in the remainder of this section is this new and updated picture of perception, and what this can inform us about conclusions and predictions made by linguists.

The most striking result of the draw-a-map task was what the compilation of the maps showed the pattern of perception to be. There seemed to be an overwhelming dominance of city-based dialect areas in the responses given by informants from the three survey locations. As discussed, there were survey location specific factors which affected which other areas were included on the maps, along with factors which affected the placement and delimitation of the frequently identified areas, however this dominance of city-based areas was striking. The situation seemed at odds with dialectal studies such as the SED

(and the data presented from it by Trudgill (1990, 1999)) along with more recent re-investigations of SED material (Viereck, 1986a, Viereck, 1986b) as well as, unsurprisingly, the older research carried out by Ellis (1889) (see figures 5.39 to 5.41, pp. 239-243).

Comparison with the composite map produced by Inoue (figure 5.39, p. 239) also showed a good deal of difference, with no place for a ‘Manc’ or ‘Brummie’³³ dialect area within Inoue’s composite which only had room for two city-based dialect areas: ‘Geordie’ and ‘Scouse’ (Newcastle upon Tyne and Liverpool respectively). As discussed, this is perhaps due to Inoue’s use of a map with county boundaries shown although as an example of some the raw data shows, informants were not averse to disregarding the county boundary lines in their completion of the task (Inoue, 1999b: 165). An important question must thus be asked: what has changed in the period from Inoue’s research to the present research?

I hypothesised that in the case of the ‘Manc’ dialect area it was the increase in cultural salience which had resulted in the change in recognition from Inoue’s research, carried out in the late 1980s. I believe that this is the case; however, it does not explain the change from county or region-based divisions in Inoue’s map to the largely city-based areas in this study. Although the use of city location dots could have affected the results, I contend that the use of names for the dialect areas in place of the city name (such as ‘Scouse’ for Liverpool) is indicative of the salience of the varieties which informants wished to name. I believe that this underlines the importance of cities as the ‘focal point’ of salient dialect areas delimited by informants.

The use of cities as ‘focal points’ for dialect areas led to a comparison with Trudgill’s map of ‘possible future dialect areas’ (Trudgill, 1999: 83). This map was constructed by Trudgill as an informed exercise in predicting what the linguistic situation might be as a result of levelling and diffusion. Trudgill details a number of features said to be ‘spreading’ or ‘declining’ and constructs his map based on an extrapolation of

³³ ‘Brummie’ was however included in Inoue’s Hayashi 3 analysis (1999: 170)

contemporary trends. His future dialect areas are ‘city-based regions’ (Trudgill, 1999: 84), of which there are seven. These city-based dialect regions have a focal point around the city that lends the area its name and occupy a relatively large geographical area.

Comparison of the composite perceptual map with Trudgill’s future dialect area map (figure 5.43, p. 244) demonstrated a striking similarity between the two. Both maps had city-based dialect areas and included a Manchester-based area, something which had been conspicuously absent in other maps produced by linguists. The comparison was most accurate in the north of the country, a not unexpected pattern (due to the survey locations’ northern status), with the south displaying less similarity. Although not a perfect match, the similarity between the two maps does appear to have some significance and suggests that the role of levelling and diffusion predicted by Trudgill through his map is already well established and is shaping the perception of language users. That the composite map and Trudgill’s map are so similar has implications for further linguistic study as it indicates that non-linguists have a role to play in testing hypotheses such as this. It also suggests that non-linguists are adept at detecting language variation and change as it happens.

I believe that this study has gained access to some of the key perceptual facets of the informants who took part in it. It has demonstrated that such studies are valuable in their own right as well as in their comparability to other investigations in the field of social dialectology. An examination of the key factors in perception, proximity, claiming and denial, and cultural salience, has been permitted. The role of levelling and diffusion has been examined, and maps produced which will allow comparability between the results of this and other map-based research.

7.2 EVALUATION

This section will deal with areas in which the methodology could have been refined or applied more effectively. Along with the discussion regarding methodological approach, issues of data processing will be highlighted (§7.2.1). The implications of the shortfalls

of my approach will also be discussed in relation to the prospect of further perceptual study in England (and the UK). Areas in which I feel my approach was successful will also be discussed (§7.2.2), and recommendations made for future research on the basis of these successes (§7.3).

7.2.1 Problems encountered in design, administration and processing of research

I have included this section before a discussion of the successes of the approach as although I believe that some results of great interest and importance have been discovered through the course of my research, there were many areas in which I could have made improvements. These areas included but were not restricted to questionnaire design, the lack of qualitative data gathered, type of informants and problems with accounting for patterns in results. I will discuss each of these in order below.

I believe that the questionnaire sheet used in the second stage of fieldwork (ratings task, see appendix 2) was a clear as it could have been, and the instructions accompanying it were as explicit as possible. As such I do not believe that, unless I had completely re-conceptualised the task, the ratings task questionnaire could have been improved dramatically. However in retrospect, I do believe there were better ways of presenting the draw-a-map task which would have resulted in results which were clearer and less susceptible to the distorting affect of the information included within the task.

The information included within the task which I have referred to is of course the location of the six key cities on the blank map (see discussions in §2.8.1 and §5.2.1). The city location dots were of course included in order to ensure a consistent amount of geographical knowledge for informants undertaking the draw-a-map task, this having previously been the major problem in pilot studies (see conclusions of discussion in §2.8.1). The decision to include location dots on the blank map was taken so as to ensure that informants labelling a specific dialect area were doing so without making ‘mistakes’. These ‘mistakes’ were mostly made with regard to the interior of the country, and led to the placement of Manchester and Birmingham near coasts or in other completely

incorrect locations. Informants making these mistakes clearly had a perception of these varieties but their lack of geographical precision resulted in maps which would skew the investigation of patterning to be undertaken through the use of composite maps.

This use of city location dots, as I have alluded to throughout discussion of the results of the draw-a-map task, could be open to criticism as it creates the focus for informants on the cities. Previously, I viewed this as a potential problem in so far as the ability to skew the results to favour cities above other dialect areas. However, in view of the above discussion regarding levelling, diffusion and city-focussing, the inclusion of city dots on the blank maps could be viewed as doubly problematic. It could be that the differences present between my study and Inoue’s (1999b) study in the focussing of dialect areas (on cities and counties, respectively) could be due to the differences in methodological approach. However, I do not believe this to be the case, and support is offered by a comparison between tables 7.4 and 7.5 which show the results from draw-a-map task undertaken before and after the inclusion of city location dots on the blank map.

March 2004 –Mixed (n=130)		October 2004 – Newcastle (n=16)		October 2004 – Sheffield (n=14)	
Area	% IR	Area	% IR	Area	% IR
Geordie	27.7%	Scouse	81.3%	Geordie	100%
Yorkshire	20.8%	Cockney	81.3%	Yorkshire	92.9%
Scouse	20%	Yorkshire	75%	Midlands	78.6%
Cornish	19.2%	Geordie	68.8%	Scouse	71.4%
Manc	19.2%	Manc	43.8%	Cockney	71.4%
London	16.2%	Cornish	43.8%	Manc	57.1%
Brummie	16.2%	Brummie	37.5%	Brummie	57.1%
Cockney	11.5%	Northumbrian	31.3%	Cornish	35.7%
Midlands	8.5%	North East	25%	Southern	28.6%
Norfolk	8.5%	Cumbria	25%	East Anglia	28.6%

Table 7.4: Ten most frequently recognised dialect areas in three pilot studies of draw-a-map task, before the inclusion of city-location dots

Final Pilot Study		Final Fieldwork					
January 2005 – Hull (n=30)		Carlisle (n=98)		Crewe (n=85)		Hull (n=93)	
Area	% IR	Area	% IR	Area	% IR	Area	% IR
Yorkshire	66.7%	Geordie	53.1%	Scouse	78.8%	Scouse	47.3%
Scouse	63.3%	Scouse	49%	Geordie	71.8%	Geordie	46.2%
London	53.3%	Brummie	34.7%	Brummie	71.8%	Brummie	39.8%
Brummie	46.7%	Cumbria	33.7%	Cockney	54.1%	Yorkshire	35.5%
Geordie	46.7%	Cockney	33.7%	Manchester	38.8%	Cockney	22.6%
Midlands	26.7%	Manchester	26.5%	Cornwall	18.8%	Manchester	15.1%
West Country	26.7%	Cornwall	10.2%	Potteries	15.3%	London	9.3%
Manc	23.3%	Yorkshire	9.2%	Yorkshire	14.1%	South West	9.7%
East Anglia	20%	West Country	9.2%	London	10.6%	Hull	6.5%
Bristol	13.3%	Lancashire	8.6%	West Country	8.2%	East Anglia	6.5%

Table 7.5: Ten most frequently recognised dialect areas in final pilot study and final fieldwork using draw-a-map task, after the inclusion of city-location dots

A comparison of the above tables, in which the ten most frequently recognised dialect areas along with the percentage of informant recognition for each area is shown, reveals that the inclusion of city location dots on the blank maps did not seem to dramatically change the data provided by informants. Table 7.4 shows that the major innovation which affected results was the inclusion of the city location map which was displayed during the introduction to the task from the second pilot study onwards (October 2004 – Newcastle). This had the affect of dramatically increasing the number of lines drawn representing areas, but did not change the actual areas which were drawn. Across table 7.4 there is a uniformity of areas drawn and differences, where present, can be explained as the results of proximity.

Table 7.5 shows the results of the draw-a-map task after the inclusion of the city location dots for the final pilot study and the final fieldwork. This again demonstrates that the location dots do not seem to influence the percentage of informants drawing lines representing dialect areas based on the cities. The dots appear to do what was intended of them: provide an accurate location on which the informants based their dialect areas in order that the amount of agreement over the extent of the dialect area could be assessed. I can therefore conclude that informants were not led by the city dots; if the area was salient then informants drew lines representing it (see the ‘Manc’/Manchester area,

present for each pilot study and all final fieldwork), if it was not then informants did not draw it (see the data for Bristol, one of the location dots but only in the 'top ten' once). I believe therefore that although the inclusion of the city location dots could be viewed by some as a shortfall of the methodology, they were not. They achieved their aim of providing geographical information on which informants could base their maps and ensured that I was working with the most accurate data possible when examining patterns present in composite maps.

The blank map component of the draw-a-map then was designed with the benefit of this investigation in mind, and I believe that the inclusion of city location dots has been shown to have had the intended effect (i.e. consistency in the amount of geographical knowledge). However, the map on which the city dots were placed could have been problematic. The move to a smaller map with greater detail, which only included the countries of England and Wales, limited the draw-a-map task. It meant that an investigation of the border between England and Scotland was not permitted. This could have produced interesting results, especially given the history of the relationship between the two countries (see chapter 1).

In terms of the biographical information gathered from informants completing the draw-a-map task the questionnaire could have been improved. The only data gathered were the age, gender and home-town of the informant completing the task. There have been, at points throughout the discussion of results, areas in which a greater amount of biographical information would have been beneficial (for example, see the role of 'visited places' in figure 5.1, p. 178).

This information was not gathered during the draw-a-map task due to pressures of time. This was not a pressure of time on myself but pressure on the time of those completing the draw-a-map task (i.e. teachers and students). The school/college timetable is increasingly congested and due to this I needed to make sure that my questionnaire could be administered as swiftly as possible. This made a very brief questionnaire of utmost importance. One of the strengths of the methodology was the speed in which it could be

undertaken and still generate many responses of good quality, which was the aim from the outset. I had not met the teachers in the schools and colleges before carrying out the research and it was always going to be easier to request a very brief time period in which to carry out the research. Had time not been an issue I would have wished to include many more questions, perhaps adopting an adapted version of the 'Bibliographical Information' sheet from the SuRE methodology (Llamas, 1999: 111). This would have enabled an investigation of perception in relation to many other factors. Had the 'identification score index' (Llamas, 1999: 107) also been used it would have been of great interest to investigate the relationship between perception and identity (both in the results of the draw-a-map task and the ratings task).

The relationship between perception and identity could also have provided a starting point for the gathering of qualitative conversational data which could have been discussed alongside the quantitative data, contributing to the conclusions I have made. The gathering of quantitative data is recommended by Preston (1999b: xxxiv-xxv) in order to provide context and explanation for quantitative results. Again, the reason for not including conversational fieldwork was the pressure of time on the educational establishments I visited, which were willing to give me only limited time in which to carry out fieldwork. The benefits of qualitative data alongside quantitative are obvious, even if the time taken in their analysis is greater, and it is a definite shortcoming of the methodology employed in this study that such data were not gathered.

A final problem with the methodology, this time specifically in the ratings task, was in the selection of voice samples. Although education level (and partly class) was similar for each person recorded for the samples, their ages and genders were not. There was a 50:50 split between males and females, although this is perhaps irrelevant for such a task. Preston rightly assumes that contributors to voice samples should be the same sex, and of similar age and class (Niedzielski & Preston, 2003: 83, Preston, 2005b: 149). If replicating this study, I would ensure that this was the case.

It is self-evident that a greater amount of survey locations would have produced a more complete picture of perception, and fieldwork could have been carried out in one or two more locations without a great deal of difficulty (so long as the schools/colleges allowed me to investigate in their establishments). These additional locations could have been Newcastle upon Tyne, which would have investigated perception on the opposite coast to Carlisle, and a location in the centre of the north (such as Ripon) which would have provided an approximate midpoint between all other survey locations. These other locations would have permitted greater perceptual 'coverage' and added to the findings from this study. However, the time taken to input the data from these additional locations would have prevented a complete analysis. The two weeks working at Tokyo Metropolitan University was only just enough time to permit the input of data from the 293 completed blank maps, therefore, although more survey locations could have added to the 'picture of perception', the time taken to input the data would have prevented their investigation. In a similar observation, a greater amount of locations within the individual survey locations would also have benefited the investigation. This was not possible however as the establishments that finally participated in the investigation were the only ones in each location which agreed to take part.

A final observation of the way in which I analysed results is that, in the discussion of the ratings task, I was unable to account for the reasons behind placements, misplacements and ratings of speech samples. I was able to demonstrate where informants thought voice samples originated and display the patterns of error (or otherwise), along with showing how mean ratings differed but was unable to say why certain samples were misplaced or poorly rated. This is due to the reasons for the reactions to samples being linked to acoustic salience; that is to say that there are certain acoustic cues which point informants in a certain direction when attempting to locate the placement of a sample (or respond positively or negatively to it). There is much current work which attempts to gain access to these cues (Clopper & Pisoni, 2005, Kerswill, 2001), and any further study of perception, placement and ratings would have to take this into account.

7.2.2 Research successes

Although there are many areas in which this research could have been improved, there are also areas of success. The approach taken allowed access to a large number of informants who, despite the pressures of time, produced a good deal of extremely valuable data. This data was comparable with other similar studies as well as with the results of other, more conventional, studies.

I believe that the decision to include a question specifically dealing with the concept of north and south in the country correct: it allowed access to a key sociocultural phenomenon in the country as well as providing a good ‘jumping off point’ for the completion of the draw-a-map task. The results of the north-south task showed some of the most important factors involved in perception clearly. These were subsequently shown to also be of importance in the perception of individual dialect areas. The decision to follow Preston’s approach ensured comparability between the results from this and other studies and, supplemented with the findings from previous perceptual studies in the field of geography, allowed interesting conclusions to be reached.

The use of starburst charts allowed the link between the draw-a-map task and the ratings task to be investigated in an effective manner. Although reasons for the reactions to samples were not accounted for, I believe that results of the ratings task were communicated effectively and with successful employment of the innovation of the starburst charts.

Overall, I believe the study to have been a success, with the inevitable areas for improvement noted in the section above. No methodology can be completely successful, and there will always be more unanswered questions than answered in the field of linguistic investigation. It is these unanswered questions, and further research which could provide the answers, which I turn to in the following section.

7.3 Recommendations for further research

In this section it is assumed that the problems present in the research methodology discussed above (§7.2.1) will be overcome, although some of the recommendations will attempt to combat some of the shortcomings in the research presented here. The field of folk linguistics and perceptual dialectology is potentially vast and the United Kingdom has previously experienced very little study in this area; there is therefore great scope for new perceptual research in the country.

The first recommendations for further study are the regions in which a study of this type has not been undertaken before: the midlands and the south of England. Although this study has gained access to country-wide perceptions, and data collected on the perception of varieties in the south and the midlands, this has been from a northern perspective. Throughout the discussion of results there have been many questions raised about how the perception would differ in these other regions, but especially the midlands.

The midlands, throughout this investigation has been treated as somewhat of a ‘no-mans land’, without a place in the country. The discussion of the first chapter, covering the division between north and south, made reference to the midlands before concluding that for the purpose of this study it would be considered largely as part of the north. This was reflected in the design of the draw-a-map task and although I believe a question of north and south was important for the reasons noted above, it may have had the effect of forcing some into a false division. This was not however the case for the informants who drew the tripartite division regardless. I believe that this reflects the salience of the midlands for many, even in the face of the concept of ‘north and south’; this should provide justification for an investigation of perception in the midlands area (without a north-south task). This would give a voice to the forgotten language users from the middle of the country, who have a right to feel abandoned with the prominence of the discussion of the ‘north-south divide’ and media as well scholarly output (with the notable exception of some (Asprey, 2006, Upton, 2006)).

This is not to neglect the role of the south in a further study of perception, which could provide more valuable information about perception in the remainder of England. Perception along the English-Scottish border could also be of interest, and could perhaps be part of a wider investigation into perception in Scotland by including part of the north of England as part of a draw-a-map task. These further perceptual projects could be carried out using the same methodology as used here, adapted in order to combat the identified shortcomings. Precise timings for each methodological component are now known, and the inclusion of a questionnaire sheet requesting further bibliographical information would not be too difficult to achieve. Qualitative data could also be gathered as part of a follow-up task after initial data processing.

Data processing is however problematic. For any other perceptual studies to be undertaken using the draw-a-map task to be carried out successfully, the programmes and plotting equipment provided by Daniel Long at Tokyo Metropolitan University cannot be relied upon. Although the hardware and software does what is required at the present time, its age means that this is not a situation which will continue indefinitely. Distance and cost is also an issue, and it is surely not desirable to have to travel to Tokyo (with the time and cost implications of this) to process results of draw-a-map tasks. What is needed is the development of software in the UK which will process data in the same way. The programme needed for the task is not complex, and a replication could be accomplished in short time period. This would enable a great deal more value to be extracted from the results of hand-drawn maps and ensure comparability with other studies worldwide. Unless a suitable programme is created (or adopted from other fields), analysing results from further perceptual study using a draw-a-map is to be either incredibly time-consuming or prohibitively expensive. However, assuming that such a programme (and the relevant hardware) could be made available in this country, further perceptual studies in the midlands and the south of England would add to the understanding of perception in the country as well as contributing to the knowledge of language variation and change.

Further draw-a-map tasks could be included as part of other, more conventional, fieldwork as an additional questionnaire component. These draw-a-map tasks, administered correctly, could provide important perceptual information that could help in the interpretation of results from the study in which they were used as well as contributing to the overall knowledge of perception. It seems that this knowledge would be of importance in allowing access to the country-wide linguistic situation as the language changes, especially when considering the similarity of the overall composite map to Trudgill's 'future' map (see discussion above and in §5.2.3).

The finding of the overlapping of the perceptual dialect areas around the south Pennines area (see figure 5.37, p. 234) along with the overlapping of voice placements (see figures 6.32-6.34, pp. 302-303 and the discussion in p. 303) seems to reflect a good deal of confusion for informants around this area. A study focussing on this area, perhaps following Preston's voice continuum (Preston, 1996b) exercise might allow access to perception in the detailed way in which it clearly needs to be addressed. Such a study would, following Preston, allow for recordings of a number of voice samples along a continuum to informants who would be required to identify them. The continuum in this case would not be from north to south but west to east (from Liverpool to Hull, roughly following the path of the M62). I would continue the use of starburst charts, and not allow informants to know the correct answers to the placements. I believe that such an investigation, with the correct use of techniques to discover *why* informants placed sample where they did, would be of great interest in what was clearly a problematic area for informants in this study.

I conclude this thesis with a reflection that overall, the research was successful. It has achieved its aims of providing access to the perceptions of dialects from the north of England. Despite methodological problems, perception has been shown to differ between locations for a variety of reasons, and composite maps have been produced which allow comparisons with other research and provide reasons for perceptual differences. Above all, I believe that perceptual dialectology and folk linguistics have been shown to be of great value in the investigation of language variation.

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