Perceptions of non-standardness in an assumed 'Standard' English variety[1]

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INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers the noticeability of features in two samples of speech from a variety of English popularly considered to be 'Standard' or unmarked compared to other regional varieties. First, I discuss definitions of spoken 'Standard English', before introducing the methods and data of this study. Using a real-time methodology that allows respondents to identify features of interest in a spoken guise and then report on which features they identified, I explore the relationship between 'Status' ratings and feature recognition, and go on to examine counterintuitive patterns with respect to 'Status' ratings and the noticeability of regional (non-standard) features. The chapter closes with a recap and an assessment of the methodology used and the patterns found for the empirical study of linguistic 'standardness' on a general level.

Spoken 'Standard English' in England

Spoken 'Standard English' is a contentious topic. Although there is a widespread folk-linguistic view (perhaps most notoriously articulated by Honey 1997) of 'Standard English' as the 'best' and 'most educated' form of English, linguists have struggled to provide a definition on which they all agree. There is agreement that spoken and written 'Standard English' are not the same, and most serious debates relate to the former. Crowley states that using the term "to refer to both writing and speech, without clarification, is a common error" (Crowley 1999: 272). Despite this, Trudgill defines 'Standard English' as follows:

[1] The work presented here is the result of a collaboration with Professor Emma Moore (University of Sheffield, UK). Our collaborative work is cited extensively here; and although she is not a co-author for this chapter, the data I present in this piece would not exist without the research that we have jointly engaged in.

> Standard English is that variety of English which is usually used in print, and which is normally taught in schools and to non-native speakers learning the language. It is also the variety which is normally spoken by educated people and used in news broadcasts and other similar situations (Trudgill 1995: 5)

Despite running close to Crowley's 'common error', this definition highlights the link between 'Standard English' and notions of 'educatedness' which is central to the popular understanding of the concept. As Snell (2018: 370, with reference to Crowley 2003: 126) puts it, there have been "discursive processes" at play "through which spoken 'standard English' in England came to be defined, not in linguistic terms, but in terms of the social characteristics of a privileged group of speakers, as the language of 'the educated' and the 'civilised'". This social definition of spoken 'Standard English' is one of the reasons for debates about the concept in England (Crowley 2003: 259); and it is also one of the reasons why, after Bex and Watts (1999), I have chosen to use capitalisation and inverted commas for 'Standard English'. This reflects its status for some as a variety of English and others as a "social myth constructed for ideological purposes" (Bex and Watts 1999: 9).

Trudgill (1999) defines spoken 'Standard English' according to what it is not – which is, not a language, register, style or accent. He claims that it is instead a dialect of English, and a "purely social dialect" (1999: 124) at that, defined by its grammatical idiosyncrasies. Milroy also assesses what spoken 'Standard English' is not, based on a reading of folk linguistic research that aims to understand what non-linguists perceive about language variation. This results in an accent- and dialect-based definition that Crowley (2003: 260) characterises as "residual":

> […] spoken Standard English might […] be described as what is left after we remove from the linguistic bran-tub Estuary English, Brummie, Cockney, Geordie, Scouse, various quaint rural dialects, London Jamaican, transatlantic slang and perhaps even conservative RP […] (Milroy 1999: 174)

I am concerned here with non-specialist understandings. Specifically, this chapter addresses perceptions of non-standardness in a variety of English that is perceived as 'Standard'. In this way, I deal with Milroy's 'bran-tub' of accent variation and the way in which this is understood in opposition to 'Standard English'. This might seem a relatively straightforward exercise, but it is complicated by the social understandings of 'Standard English'. To illustrate this, the remainder of this chapter will explore the (non-standard) variety of English spoken on the Isles of Scilly, which has a strong folk ideological association with standardness.

'Standard English' and the Isles of Scilly

It is not unexpected to find that residents of a particular location view their own variety as the 'best' or most 'correct' when compared with other varieties (e.g. Preston 1999). What is perhaps less typical is external evaluation of a variety that echoes (or reinforces) internal pride in the local dialect; yet this is what can be seen in relation to Scillonian English, spoken on the Isles of Scilly, which is the focus of this chapter.

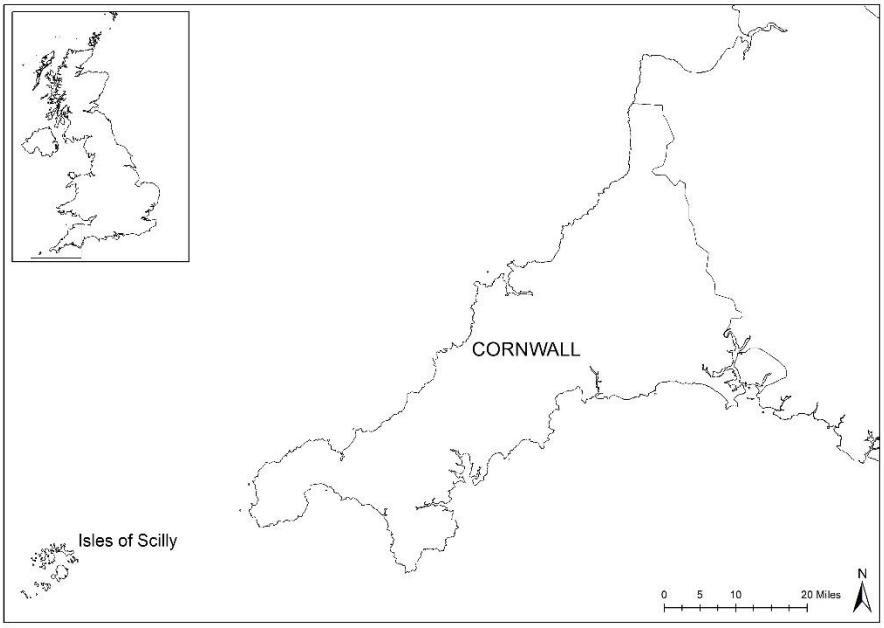

Figure 1: Location of Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly[2]

The Isles of Scilly are a group of islands off the South West coast of England, the location of which is shown in Figure 1. The islands have an interesting history, being leased from the Crown from 1571 to 1920 by a number of 'governors', the first of which came from the Godolphin family. It is suggested by Bowley (1964: 69) that the Godolphins effectively repopulated the islands, and that many of the current residents of Scilly can trace their lineage to the early time of the governorship. In 1834 the islands were leased by Augustus Smith, who is generally credited

[2] Contains National Statistics data © Crown copyright and database right (2020), NRS data © Crown copyright and database right (2020), OS data © Crown copyright [and database right] (2020). Source: NISRA: Website: www.nisra.gov.uk.

with instituting widescale improvements in the material and social fabric of the Isles of Scilly (Vyvyan 1953: 35). Compulsory education, for example, was introduced on Scilly before other areas of the country. Such innovations, as well as the islands' atypical system of governance and their island status, mean that Scilly is viewed as quite different to its nearest mainland neighbour, the county of Cornwall[3]. This has been reflected with regard to language for many hundreds of years, for example:

(1) …the Language of Scilly refines upon what is spoken in many Parts of Cornwall; probably from the more frequent Intercourse of the Inhabitants, some more than others, with those who speak the Standard English best… (Heath 1750: 436)

(2) The Islanders are remarkable for speaking good English–far preferable, at least, to what is generally heard amongst the humbler classes of any county, at some distance from the metropolis… (Woodley 1822: 105)

(3) [t]he accent of the county of which electorally they [Scillonians] form a part [i.e. Cornwall] is entirely wanting on their tongues (Banfield 1888: 45)

(4) The English spoken today (1979) by natives of the Isles of Scilly … is scarcely removed from Standard (southern) English, using a slightly modified 'received pronunciation' (R.P.) as of educated persons. (Thomas 1979: 109)

The use of terms such as 'best', 'good English', and 'educated', as well as references to 'Standard English' in these quotations are typical of the ideas associated with standardness that I discussed above. What is also notable is the assertion, especially by Banfield and Thomas, that Scillonian speech is unmarked (i.e. not non-standard) or very similar to "Standard (southern) English" (Thomas 1979: 109). This establishes Scillonian speech in the popular imagination as a 'standard' variety, despite its proximity to Cornwall (itself a heavily stereotyped variety) and distance from the "metropolis" (i.e. London) (Woodley 1822: 105).

Despite this folk perception of standardness (still present in contemporary popular commentary on the variety, e.g. Taylor 2016) there is linguistic evidence that the variety is not as regionally unmarked as the commentaries suggest. Moore and Carter (2015; 2017; 2018), for example, detail numerous non-standard features in this 'standard' variety. This raises an important question about the disconnect be-

[3] Despite the inclusion of the Isles of Scilly in the ceremonial county of 'Cornwall and the Isles of Scilly'.

tween the folk perceptions of the variety and the features that linguists have demonstrated that it actually exhibits.

Linking attitudes and features

In the conclusion of their conceptual attitudes study of British accents[4], Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2005: 152) state that using "real speech data" is vital. Doing so allows an assessment of the extent to which underlying conceptualisations of dialect variation express themselves when spoken data are encountered. This is important in the context of Giles' (1970) early work which found that vocal stimuli were more poorly rated than conceptual stimuli, suggesting that listeners do not simply reproduce their underlying attitudes when they hear speech, but instead judge it based on what they have heard. Bishop, Coupland and Garrett (2005: 152) also point to the need for researchers to understand what it is about a voice that listeners use to categorise or judge it, a point also noted by Campbell-Kibler (2006: 64), who states that "it can be difficult to establish which aspects of the speech trigger which aspects of the evaluation" in traditional attitudes studies.

More recent research has demonstrated that what listeners hear is influenced by what they think they are listening to. Numerous studies have shown that people process speech signals differently based on a number of social factors such as perceived age, gender, and class (e.g. Niedzielski 1999; Hay, Nolan and Drager 2006; Hay and Drager 2010). Similar findings have come out of research that has investigated the social meaning of variation. Campbell-Kibler (2009; 2010) found that listeners' perceptions of speakers' backgrounds (region and class) strongly conditioned the correlation between high use of (-ing) and attributions of high intelligence/education levels (Campbell-Kibler 2009: 141–4). In a similar fashion, D'Onofrio's (2015) study that invoked the 'Valley Girl' persona type showed that listeners who believed a speaker to be a 'Valley Girl' would be more likely to expect the speaker to exhibit TRAP backing (a feature associated with that persona type). Studies like these provide strong evidence that listeners' prior perceptions and stereotypes in relation to geography, class, and persona type can influence reactions to vocal stimuli.

Many of these studies (i.e. Niedzielski 1999; Hay, Nolan and Drager 2006; Hay and Drager 2010; Campbell-Kibler 2010; D'Onofrio 2015) have examined phonetic features in isolation. Whilst this is no doubt useful for examining the ways in which social information interacts with linguistic information, it is not how listeners encounter language in the real world. Therefore, whilst permitting researchers to be

[4] Concept(ual) studies provide respondents with only variety labels as stimuli, and do not play recordings of speakers to their listeners.

more forensic about what they examine, such work does not address how, when, and why listeners attend to specific features as they hear them in natural speech.

In recent years, there have been efforts to examine both the impact of and the attention paid to individual features embedded in longer stimuli. Labov et al.'s (2011) work examining the 'sociolinguistic monitor', for example, looked at the impact of varying amounts of non-standard -ing tokens on ratings of a 'trainee newsreader', showing that small numbers of non-standard tokens would result in lower professionalism ratings. Pharao et al. (2014) showed that fronted (s) in 'Modern Copenhagen' speech indexed femininity and gayness. Both studies were able to tie the ratings that listeners gave to samples to the presence of specific features, with the conclusion that listeners were sensitive to them. Pharao and Maegaard (2017) took this further, investigating the impact of two features on the reactions of listeners. This work points to important ordering effects.

Pharao and Maegaard's (2017) findings also point to the need to understand clusters of features, adding weight to Soukup's (2011: 350) observation (following Auer (2007)) that we need to understand "what constellations of […] distinctive features listeners take to collectively index, and thus constitute, a particular stylistic category". New methodologies are needed in order to address this challenge, which demands some element of tracking 'on the fly' noticing amongst listeners in order to provide a fuller account of the link between the realisation of features and the reactions that they provoke.

Watson and Clarke (2013) designed a method to address this real-time perception in order to examine the salience of the NURSE-SQUARE merger in Liverpool English, something which results "in homophonous pairs of words such as her–hair; fur–fair; stir–stare; purr–pair" (Watson and Clark 2013: 298). Their method included a web-based interface that used a slider that could be controlled by a mouse button. Listeners were instructed to listen to a voice sample and move the slider left or right as the sample progressed in order to indicate how 'posh' they considered the speaker to be. By aggregating slider movements, Watson and Clark were able to examine the correlation between significant changes in the slider value and the location of tokens of merged NURSE-SQUARE vowels, finding that tokens of NURSE were sometimes judged differently from SQUARE words, as well as that NURSE-SQUARE appeared to be a salient feature of English in north-west England.

The use of Watson and Clark's real-time method to examine the impact of one feature (the NURSE-SQUARE merger) on perceptions meant that it was possible to examine if single features mapped on to real-time shifts in evaluation. As well as this, the authors also suggested that the method was well-suited "to any research questions for which fine-grained, timed responses from listeners are required" (Watson and Clark 2013: 321). This meant that it could be used to address another challenge posed by Soukup (2011: 350) "…to elicit listeners' perceptions via natu-

rally occurring, rather than manipulated, speech samples". Watson and Clarke (2015) did just this in their examination of real-time reactions to samples of unmanipulated speech from five (English speaking) locations in the British Isles. Results from this study were less conclusive than in their (2013) paper, with the inevitable clustering of features present in unmanipulated speech making results difficult to interpret. Such difficulties in tying reactions to features led to the method used in Montgomery and Moore (2018) and Moore and Montgomery (2018), which provides the data I will discuss in this chapter. I introduce this method in the next section.

METHODS AND DATA

As noted above, this chapter uses the same method employed in Montgomery and Moore (2018) and Moore and Montgomery (2018). This method was developed in ignorance of Soukup's (2011) work, which used a method that was similar in key respects[5]. The dataset discussed here is the same as that used in these papers, although the analysis I present is a departure from previously published work. The method had three objectives:

i. to develop an interface that permitted swift reactions to speech phenomena
ii. to address the problem of tying reactions to specific features
iii. to deploy the test via a web browser in order to collect as large a dataset as possible

The method that was used to gather the data discussed here used a tool that ran in a web browser and presented listeners with four voice samples (see below for further details) and a 'calibration test' voice sample. At its heart was a simple 'click task' that enabled the collection of swift reactions to specific points in the speech sample. This task used a screen in the web browser, shown in Figure 2, with a 'play' button that listeners clicked to play the voice sample, the length of which was indicated with a soundwave. Beneath the soundwave there was a large green button marked 'Click'. Listeners used a mouse button to click on this button after reading the following instructions: "listen out for anything in the way this person sounds which makes you wonder where he is from (or confirms where you already think he is from) … When you hear something that sounds distinctive, please click the button

[5] This method (see Soukup 2011: 350–353) asked respondents to listen to 12 samples of Austrian German speech and to use a transcript to underline any words or passages 'where they hear dialect/non-standard'. It is therefore a paper-based equivalent of the web-based task reported on here.

below the sound wave straightaway". When listeners had finished listening to a voice sample and making 'clicks' at self-selected points, they were then invited to review all of their click reaction data. To do this, they were presented with fragments of the transcript of the guise +/- 3 seconds from the point of each click and were able to play the audio that accompanied the transcript fragment. For each click, listeners were asked to provide a reason for their click or had the option to check a box indicating that they made mistake and didn't mean to click where they did, or that they didn't know why they had made their reaction.

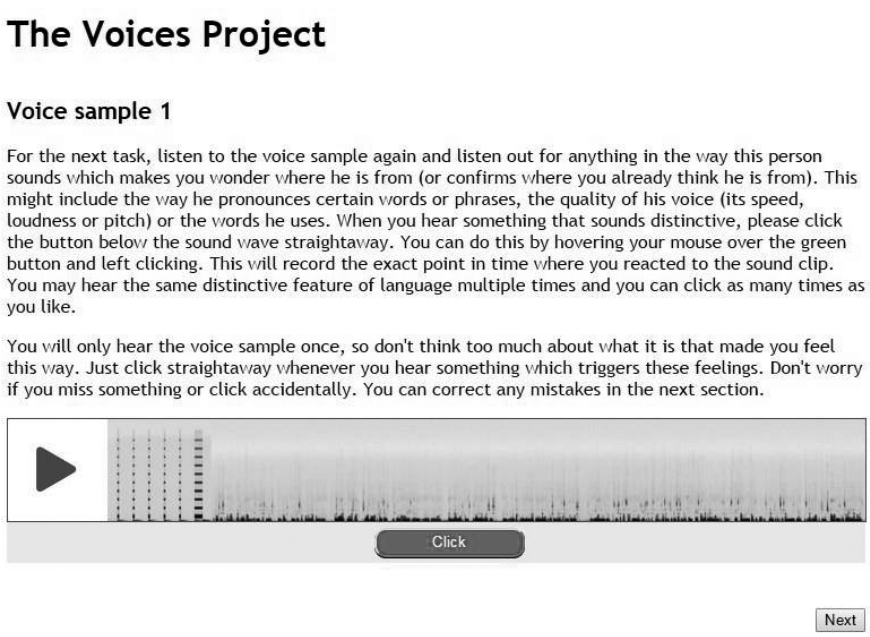

Figure 2: The 'click task' interface

Prior to the 'click task', listeners heard each voice sample once and completed some more traditional language attitudes tasks. The complete set of tasks that listeners engaged in were as follows:

1) Calibration test[6], constructed from the speech of a 65-year-old male from the East End of London[7]

[6] The calibration test used the same interface to be used in the test proper, but required listeners to react to instances of *th*-fronting in the sample. The calibration test therefore had two purposes: to ensure that respondents knew how to use the interface that allowed them to react

2) Collection of respondent demographic information: (including travel history and residence)

For each guise (four in total), a two-stage listening task, involving:
3a) First listening stage: general evaluation of the speaker and the completion of attitudes ratings scales[8]
3b) Second listening stage: Click reaction task and click review stage

The four guises were all constructed from longer narratives spoken by male speakers over the age of 60. The second and fourth guises were samples from a corpus of Isles of Scilly speech (Moore 2014), produced by the same speaker. The other two guises, which served as distractor samples, were taken from corpora of recordings from two other British varieties of English, Stoke-on-Trent (a city in Staffordshire in the North-West Midlands region) and Barnsley (a town in Yorkshire, in the north of England)[9].

The Scilly guises

One of the aims of this research was to assess the extent to which listeners would be able to perceive regionality in naturalistic Scillonian speech, thus rising to Soukup's (2011: 350) challenge relating to the use of unmanipulated data in perception tasks. A further aim was to test the effects of discourse and topic on perception. To this end the Scilly guises were created by editing a single speaker's interview from the 'Scilly Voices' corpus (Moore 2014). The guises were edited using Praat (Boersma and Weenick 2019) in order to produce roughly equal length samples (48 and 49 seconds). The two guises were constructed so that they would contain a similar number of traditional Scillonian features (based on findings from, e.g., Moore and Carter 2015), and in order that they would include different topics and location cues. The first Scillonian guise (henceforth, the 'Farmer' guise) discusses farming topics. The second Scillonian guise (termed the 'Islander' guise), saw the speaker discussing Scillonian traditions and summer events. The full text of the two Scillonian guises can be found in the Appendix. The traditional Scillonian features pre-

in real-time to speech, and to provide baseline reaction times for each respondent to known features.

[7] Thanks to Sue Fox for supplying this sample.

[8] These scales were typical of those used in language attitudes research, as follows: 'educated ~ uneducated', 'ambitious ~ unambitious', 'articulate ~ inarticulate', 'confident ~ shy', 'friendly ~ unfriendly', 'reliable ~ unreliable', 'talking to best friend ~ talking to stranger', 'laid back ~ uptight', 'fast talker ~ slow talker', 'broad dialect ~ not broad dialect'

[9] Thanks to Hannah Leach and Kate Burland for supplying these samples.

sent in the guises are shown in Table 1 below, categorised according to Wells' (1982: xviii) lexical sets for vowels (a heuristic commonly used to study variation in English, subsuming words that typically exhibit the same vowel into groups designated by a prototypical keyword).

Table 1 shows that the same realisations of each variable do not occur at the same rate in each guise, and that there are some features for which one variant realisation is present only in one guise. This was due to the aim of testing the extent to which listeners would be able to perceive regionality in naturalistic speech.

Table 1: Accent features in the two Scillonian guises[10]

Feature	**Traditional Scillonian pronunciation**	**'Farmer' guise**	**'Islander' guise**
BATH	[aː]	plant, last	class, last
CHOICE	[ɔɪ]	joined, boiler	boys
GOAT	[oʉ] *[oʊ]* **[ɛʊ]**	broke, *show*	only, *go*, *go*, only, **boat**, going
MOUTH	[ëʉ] *[əʉ]*	*out*, out, *house*, down	*around*, down, *down*, now, out
PALM	[a(ː)]	father, father	can't
PRICE	[ɑɪ] *[oɪ]*	life, carbide, carbide, prize, nine, time	*time*, *off-islands*, by, quite, *off-islands*, Isles, lie
STRUT	[ʌ]	bull, bull	up
TRAP	[a*(ː)*]	Anzacs, Anzacs, *back*, *that*	Samson, Samson
rhoticity	[ɹ]	started, there, World, War, father, sorts, farmhouse, there, carbide, where, remember, first, or	year, sports, there, were, there, there, weather

[10] This table details the realisations of features present in the guises. The traditional Scillonian realisations for each key word is presented in column 2, with standard, bold, underlined, and italicised text used to indicate the words in which these realisations were found in each guise. For example, the [ɛʊ] realisation of GOAT was only found in the word 'boat' in the Islander guise.

Respondents and final dataset

Data collection began in May 2014 and lasted for six weeks. Respondents were contacted via social media and were asked to complete and share the survey. Over this time, 113 respondents completed the tasks. 10 respondents supplied incomplete data (for either the reactions or biographical data elements of the survey) and were removed from the dataset. This resulted in a final dataset that includes data from 103 participants[11]. 76 respondents were female and 27 were male. The mean age of participants was 32, with a highest age of 72, and lowest age of 16 (standard deviation=13.6). Respondents generally had a good amount of travel experience, measured by asking them which of 10 regions they had visited (based on the Regions of England [ONS Geography 2010] plus the Isle of Wight and the Isles of Scilly), and had visited seven of the regions on average. Respondents lived in 44 of the 124 postcode areas in the UK, and had lived in an average of 3.2 places in the country. Table 2 summarises the biographical data of the respondents, showing numbers for gender, age group, region, and status (either Isles of Scilly resident, someone who had visited the Isles of Scilly, or someone who has not ['Other']).

Table 2: Biographical details of the 103 participants discussed in this chapter

Gender	**n**	**Status**	**n**	**Age group**	**n**	**English region/UK country**	**n**
Female	76	Other	90	16-20	28	Yorkshire and The Humber	28
Male	27	Resident	7	21-28	25	South West	14
		Visitor	6	29-41	28	North West	12
				42+	21	Scotland	12
						East Midlands	9
						London	8
						West Midlands	6
						South East	5
						East of England	4
						North East	3
						Wales	2

[11] This is a slightly smaller number of respondents than those included in Montgomery and Moore (2018) and Moore and Montgomery (2018), where the tolerance for some elements of missing biographical data was higher than in this chapter. The result of this is that some of the figures in this chapter are slightly different to those reported in those publications.

The 'click and review' data collected from respondents were coded according to Wells' (1982) lexical sets for vowels, and by consonantal feature if appropriate. Each review comment was coded by two separate linguists, with disagreements flagged and resolved (further details are available in Montgomery and Moore 2018).

For each Scillonian guise, there were three sets of data: ratings data; time-aligned click data; coded click data. In order to analyse the ratings data, Principal component analysis (PCA) was undertaken on the ten ratings dimensions. This identified three main factors (cf. Kristiansen, Garrett and Coupland 2005: 16). Maximum-likelihood factor analysis identified which dimensions should be grouped within factors. Following the initial analysis in Montgomery and Moore (2018: 636), the three factors are named 'Status', 'Solidarity' and 'Dynamism'[12], and I consider the link between the 'Status' factor and recognised features in this chapter. I turn to the analysis of these data in the following sections.

RESULTS

Predictions

This chapter seeks to examine the link between a concept of 'Standardness' and the features noticed by participants in the two Scillonian guises. This analysis makes an assumption that 'Standardness' and the 'Status' factor calculated from the ratings task are analogous. I do not believe that this equation is particularly problematic, given lay concepts of what spoken 'Standard English' is (see above). Nevertheless, I do accept that these two concepts are not precisely the same, although they do share many features (e.g. 'educatedness', and a lack of 'regionality').

Assuming that the two concepts are closely enough related to produce meaningful results, the prediction that I seek to test here is that more features will be recognised if 'Status' ratings are lower (due to link between perceptions of standardness and perceptions of 'correctness'). This prediction can be examined by guise and would involve a greater number of features being recognised for the guise that has a lower 'Status' rating. It can also be examined within guise, with listeners who provide lower scores for the guise attending to more features. The following sections examine these links, starting with between-guise data.

[12] The factors included the dimensions as follows: 'Status' = 'ambitious ~ unambitious', 'articulate ~ inarticulate', 'educated ~ uneducated', 'reliable ~ unreliable' , 'confident ~ shy'; 'Solidarity' = 'friendly ~ unfriendly', 'talking to best friend ~ talking to stranger', 'laid back ~ uptight', 'broad dialect ~ not broad dialect'; Dynamism = 'fast talker ~ slow talker'.

Guise status and feature recognition

Table 3 shows the results of the attitudes ratings task and shows that ratings for all three attitude components show significant differences. This means that we can be confident that listeners were not able to recognise that the speaker was the same in both guises[13]. The 'Farmer' guise scored more highly for 'Solidarity', whereas the 'Islander' guise has higher scores for the 'Status' and 'Dynamism' factors[14]. Britain has suggested that people's interpretation of non-urban locations is conditioned by "circulating social ideologies about the countryside" (Britain 2017: 174–175), one of which is the view of "the rural as backward, conservative, boring, dangerous, threatening, uncultured and uneducated" (Britain 2017: 174). Given this, is not surprising that the 'Status' and 'Dynamism' scores for the 'Farmer' guise are significantly lower than those for the 'Islander' guise.

Table 3: The two Scilly guises, mean ratings on the three attitude components, and results of paired t-tests[15]

	'Farmer'	**'Islander'**	***p***
Solidarity	**2.48**	2.26	***
Status	2.38	**2.55**	***
Dynamism	1.29	**1.51**	***

In the 'click task' there were marginally more clicks for the 'Farmer' guise, which received 814 total clicks versus the 'Islander' guise's 810 clicks. This is a very small difference and appears to show no relationship between guise and clicked features. However, it should be noted that these are raw and un-coded data. The figures therefore include all the clicks made by respondents, whether they justified them in a meaningful fashion or not, as well as instances marked as 'don't know' by listeners, along with instances in which features were reported when they were not actually present in the recordings (e.g. 'h-dropping' where there was none). The coded data, summarised in Table 4, demonstrate a quite different picture.

[13] Either this, or some listeners could recognise that they were listening to the same speaker, but provided different ratings none the less (see Soukup 2013).

[14] Note that in Table 3, ratings data have been transformed in order that higher scores equal 'more favourable' ratings. During data collection, scales of 1–5 were constructed with values on the left-hand side of the screen (i.e. closer to 1) representing the most positive score.

[15] It can be observed that the mean scores for the two guises are relatively low (i.e., in the lower half of the 1-5 scale used). These data should be considered in the context of the use of the scales overall. Across the four guises that respondents heard, the extremes of the scales were rarely used, with respondents selecting either '1' or '5' only 12.6% of the time.

Table 4: Coded clicks, possible clicks, and the proportion of clicks for each guise[16]

	'Farmer'	**'Islander'**
Coded clicks	593	566
Possible clicks	5040	4134
Proportion	0.12	0.14

The coding process provided an indication of the features that could have been reacted to by listeners, which in turn permits a proportion of 'successful' possible clicks to be calculated. Table 4 shows these proportion data, revealing a difference by guise and a higher proportion of coded clicks for the 'Islander' guise. A two-proportions z-test reveals a significant difference between the proportions of clicks for the two guises ($z=2.7620$, $p=<0.01$). This means that there is no relationship between a lower 'Status' rating and a greater recognition of regional features when measured between guise. Indeed, not only is there no support for the hypothesis that lower 'Status' ratings would result in higher recognition of regional features, the data show that respondents were significantly more likely to click and provide reasons for their responses for the 'Islander' guise, which was rated more highly on the 'Status' factor. I will return to the implications of this finding after considering the within-guise reactions in the next section.

Within-guise ratings and feature recognition

Not only did the ratings data for each guise differ, but the features identified by respondents also did (as reported in Montgomery and Moore 2018) when considering features common to both guises. Table 5 shows these data, and the outcome of repeated measures logistic regression for each feature using the {lmer4} package in R (Bates, Maechler and Bolker 2011), with speaker as a fixed effect and listener as a random effect.

The data in Table 5 represent 91.5% of all coded click data, with the other 8.5% of the coded data not included as they referred to features not common to both guises. In the following analyses, I work with these common features and attempt to draw conclusions both within and between guises. First, I will discuss the relationship between clicks and 'Status' ratings, before moving on to consider the relationship between clicks, ratings, and other social factors.

[16] The 'Possible clicks' figure was arrived at by summing all of the features that had received at least one click and multiplying this by the number of respondents.

Table 5: Differences between recognition of features common to both guises. Bold font indicates higher level of recognition by guise

Feature	'Farmer' % clicks	'Islander' % clicks	*p*
BATH	8.4	**30.4**	***
CHOICE	3.3	**11.2**	**
GOAT	5.6	**9.8**	N/S
MOUTH	6.3	**17.8**	***
PALM	**30.4**	7.5	***
PRICE	**17.9**	8.4	***
STRUT	**6.1**	1.9	N/S
TRAP	**13.8**	1.4	***
rhoticity	16.0	**25.8**	***

Clicks and grouped 'Status' ratings

To recap, my hypothesis was that listeners who provided lower attitudinal scores for a guise would attend to more features in the click task. This was not the case when considering the whole respondent cohort and the global rating for each guise, although breaking respondents into ratings groups offers the possibility of looking more closely at the relationship between ratings and feature recognition. This should show that higher ratings groups show fewer clicks for individual features, and that lower ratings groups provide a greater number of clicks. To this end, I divided listeners into quartiles based on their 'Status' ratings for each guise, per Table 6.

The 'Status' rating quartile groups represent different ratings scores for each guise, and the groups for each guise contain different numbers of respondents. This reflects both the different ratings for each guise, and the fact that respondents reacted to the guises differently. It was not possible to place participants into one rating group for both guises, as in only 39% of cases was there a match between ratings groups for both guises. Figures 3 and 4 show simple dot plots for the two guises, for the 'Farmer' guise, and 'Islander' guise, respectively. These plots display mean proportion of clicks by attitude group for each of the common features listed in Table 5. These plots show features that received a higher proportion of clicks with a dot further to the right, so, for example, for 'rhoticity' in Figure 3 respondents in ratings group 3 had the highest proportion of clicks for this feature.

Table 6: Classification of quartile ratings groups, based on 'Status' scores per guise, with number and proportion of respondents in each rating group, by guise

		Classification 'Status' ratings		**n and % in each rating group** Farmer guise		Islander guise	
	Rating group	Farmer guise	Islander guise	n	%	n	%
Low ratings	1	Below 1.2	Below 1.2	31	27.68	36	32.14
↓	2	1.3-2.0	1.3-2.2	27	24.11	26	23.21
	3	2.3-2.4	2.3-2.6	28	25.00	16	14.29
High ratings	4	2.6-2.8	2.7-2.8	17	15.18	25	22.32

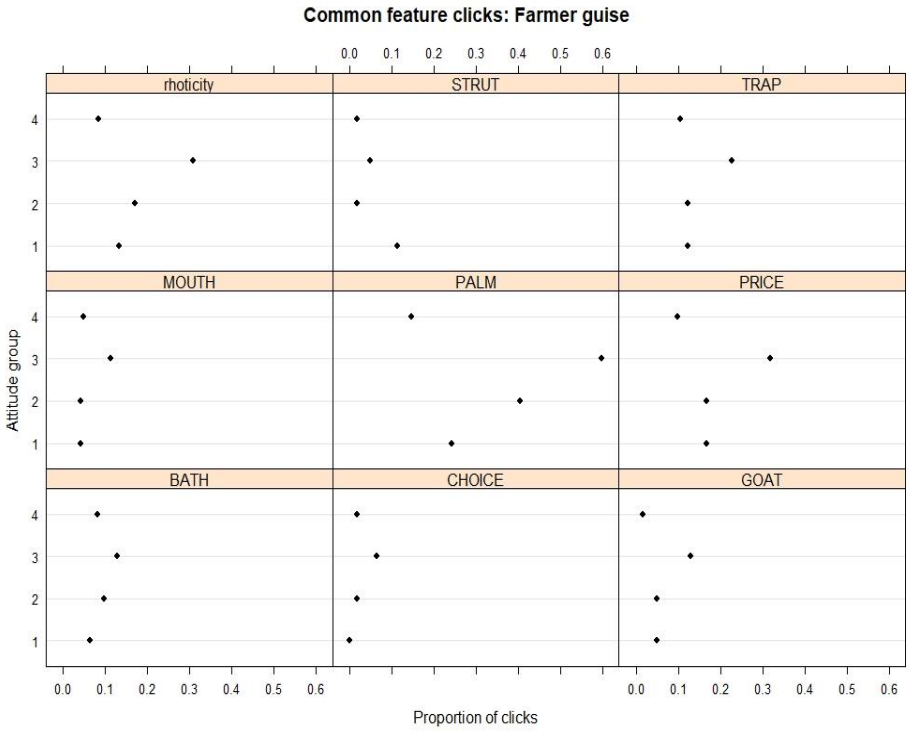

Figure 3: Proportion of coded clicks for features common to both guises, by 'Status' attitude group (1= lower ratings, 4=higher ratings), 'Farmer' guise data

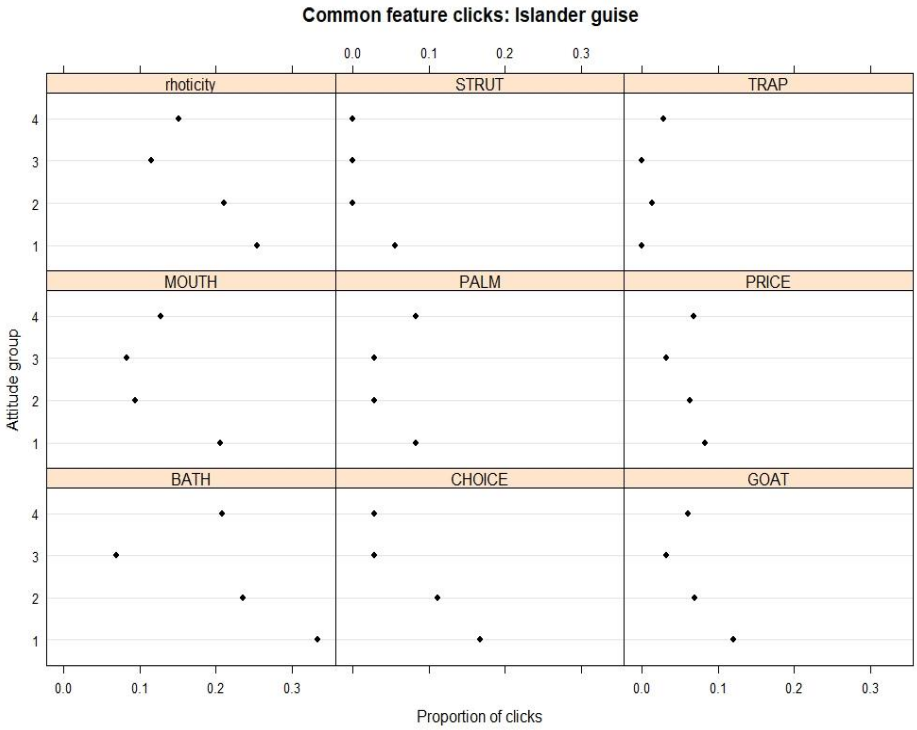

Figure 4: Proportion of coded clicks for features common to both guises, by 'Status' attitude group (1= lower ratings, 4=higher ratings), 'Islander' guise data

It should be noted that Figures 3 and 4 represent proportions data calculated in some cases from quite small numbers of respondents. This means that the data are quite volatile, with one or two clicks for some features having a dramatic impact on the calculation. The patterns in Figures 3 and 4 should therefore be looked at quite conservatively.

Turning first to Figure 3, the patterns present in relation to the 'Farmer' guise do not appear to support my hypothesis that lower ratings will result in a greater number of clicks for features. Instead, most features appear to show indicative patterns which suggest the opposite to my hypothesis (i.e. that features are more likely to be clicked and commented on amongst respondents giving the guise a higher rating), at least when considering groups 1-3. Respondents in the highest rating group (group 4) were less likely in nearly all cases to click and comment on features, potentially showing weak support for the hypothesis.

Figure 4 demonstrates more of the expected pattern. For most features (TRAP and STRUT excepted), there is a slight decrease in the proportion of clicks and comments as 'Status' ratings for the guise become higher, although again, we must

be cautious about these patterns. As with the 'Farmer' guise, the group of respondents who gave the guise the highest ratings disrupted a smooth pattern to some extent. This can be seen in the panels for GOAT and rhoticity, for example, where the respondents in group 4 noted a higher proportion of these features than respondents in the second highest 'Status' rating group.

Overall, the relationship between ratings for the guises and the features clicked and commented on is not a straightforward one. For the 'Farmer' guise, which it should be noted was the guise that scored less highly on the 'Status' component, listeners were more likely to respond to features the higher they scored the guise on the 'Status' component, up to and including the second highest-scoring group. The 'Islander' guise showed a less unexpected pattern, with respondents who gave lower scores for the 'Status' component appearing to recognise a higher proportion of features than those who provided the speaker with higher scores.

Subdividing respondents into ratings groups permitted examination of the relationship between ratings scores and feature recognition, but the resulting small numbers of clicks does make the data somewhat volatile. In order to understand the data further, I ran linear mixed effects regression analysis, with significant effects found only for the PALM and TRAP vowels and ratings groups for the 'Farmer' guise. The 'Islander' guise showed no significant effects. The lack of significant findings via these analyses is most likely due to the problem of small numbers. Ratings data are not the only way to subdivide the respondents, and I examine the effect of social factors on feature recognition in the next section.

Clicks and social factors

This section presents some exploratory analysis of the effects of social and geographical factors on the likelihood of respondents clicking for specific features. I use linear mixed effects regression analyses in order to understand these relationships, although the analyses should again be treated cautiously due to the small number of respondents (and clicks) involved. Tables 7 and 8 show summary results from a series of linear mixed effects regression analyses run on the click and comment data for the 'Farmer' and 'Islander' guises, respectively. Only social/geographical factors that demonstrated significant results (i.e. $p<0.05$) are included in the tables.

Table 7: Summary of results of linear mixed effects regression analysis run on the 'Farmer' guise social and click data.

	rhoticity	STRUT	TRAP	MOUTH	PALM	PRICE	BATH	CHOICE	GOAT
Gender (Male)						**			
Age 21-28	***				*		**		
Age 42+		*							
North West			*						
West Midlands	**								
Resident					*				
Visitor			*						

Table 8: Summary of results of linear mixed effects regression analysis run on the 'Islander' guise social and click data.

	rhoticity	STRUT	TRAP	MOUTH	PALM	PRICE	BATH	CHOICE	GOAT
East of England									**
Scotland									**
South West					*				
Resident	**				*				

Tables 7 and 8 reveal more significant effects for the 'Farmer' guise. This is interesting as it was the least well-regarded sample in terms of the 'Status' attitude component and suggests that respondents who had different social backgrounds reacted to the sample in quite different ways. The 'Islander' guise data suggest a more uniform response to the speaker, with three features showing different reactions. Whereas gender, age, geography, and residence status (i.e. resident on or visitor to Scilly) play a role in the recognition of features for the 'Farmer' guise, only geography and residence status were important in respect of the 'Islander' guise.

It is difficult to make too many generalisations about the patterns shown in Tables 7 and 8, but they do suggest some potentially interesting avenues for further research. In particular, the role of age and recognition of features for the 'Farmer' guise is interesting. This suggests that one of the younger age group (21-28) was particularly sensitive to rhotic variants, and the PALM and BATH variables, at least compared to other age categories. The relative lack of importance of geography in the recognition of features is interesting, as it would be a reasonable expectation that specific features that are diagnostic of 'other' areas would be in some way

salient to listeners. That this was not the case can perhaps tell us something instructive about the perception and meaning of individual features. I return to this topic in my conclusion below.

SUMMARY

The results that I presented show that my assumptions about 'Status' ratings and feature recognition were largely wrong. I made two predictions: firstly, that the guise with the lower 'Status' rating would attract more clicks; the second was that, when examining reactions to individual guises, higher ratings would result in fewer clicks for individual features.

In respect of my first prediction, although the total number of clicks was similar for both guises, the proportion of clicks was significantly higher for the 'Islander' guise. As the 'Islander' guise scored more highly on the 'Status' component, this was the precise opposite of my hypothesis. For the second prediction, the data were slightly less clear-cut than for the first, and the proportion of clicks by 'Status' rating group were not the same for both guises. The 'Farmer' guise data showed the opposite pattern to what I expected, whereas the 'Islander' guise demonstrated patterns that could be considered more in keeping with my hypothesis. Even so, this was only a weak pattern, and only for certain variables. Added to this, in nearly all the cases that the pattern seemed to hold, the highest ratings group behaved in an unexpected fashion.

This leaves some unanswered questions: why did listeners not behave as expected and click and comment for fewer features if they regarded the sample as more statusful? Why were there different patterns for the two guises in terms of the relationship between status ratings and clicks for features? Why did the higher ratings group behave so differently to the other ratings groups for the 'Islander' guise? What do these data mean for the way in which we understand how individual features convey meaning? I address these questions in my conclusion.

CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter was to examine the extent to which the presence of regional (non-standard) features would be noticed in a variety widely considered to be 'Standard' and unmarked. In this sense, folk understanding of the Scillonian variety of English conforms to Milroy's (1999: 174) 'residual' type of spoken 'Standard English'. Of course, the linguistic reality of the variety is far removed from its popular imagining, as shown in Moore and Carter's (2015; 2018) work. It is therefore

unsurprising that respondents had no difficulty in hearing features in the guises that they considered to be regional. That they were then able to provide justifications for the features that they had clicked that often tallied with their fellow respondents demonstrates that there are some features which many non-linguists agree are noticeable due to their regionality (demonstrated in comment data), even in these examples of Scillonian speech.

This seems to suggest that regional features are not generally incompatible with notions of 'Status' for the respondents who took part in this research. Although a conflation of 'Status' and 'Standardness' is not one that was made by respondents, it seems reasonable to view these two concepts as closely related, given the way in which the accent label *A standard accent of English* was judged as highly prestigious (i.e. statusful) in Coupland and Bishop (2007), for example. The patterns in the data are clear: the 'Islander' guise was rated more highly on the 'Status' component; yet despite this, the proportion of listeners' click and comment data for that guise was significantly higher than for the 'Farmer' guise. This underscores the finding that notions of 'Status', and therefore also perhaps Standardness', do not necessarily depend on a lack of identifiable regional features.

Why should this be? In Montgomery and Moore (2018), alongside my co-author in that paper, I argue that the content of a guise is particularly important in determining what listeners pay attention to. The data in Table 5 show the effect of the guise on the features attended to, making it clear that listeners were heavily impacted by the context in which they encountered features. The 'Farmer' guise clearly evokes (negative) rural stereotypes and rated less highly on the 'Status' component. This lower 'Status' rating might lead us to assume that listeners might be predisposed to identify regional features in the 'Farmer' guise, although this was not the case. Contrasting the 'Farmer' guise reactions to the 'Islander' guise reveals that it is the latter guise that has the greater proportion of attention to features. Montgomery and Moore (2018) rely on Rácz's (2013) notion of 'surprisal' (i.e. a feature's unexpectedness) to explain the differential levels of attention given to features between the guises. This means that, because the 'Islander' guise did not prime listeners to think about rurality through its content, when they encountered certain regional features in this guise listeners were more likely to pay attention to them. Montgomery and Moore (2018: 649–653) discuss the differential attention paid to variants of the same lexical set in their paper, but the new analysis here suggests that overall it was more likely that listeners would perceive regional features in the 'Islander' guise. This seems to underscore the importance of 'surprisal' (Rácz 2013) and highlights the contribution of guise content in cueing up stereotypes by which listeners judge speakers and hear regional features, in a similar way to what more controlled studies (e.g. Campbell-Kibler 2010; D'Onofrio 2015) have shown. This

is reflected in the different ratings for the two guises, and the different levels of attention paid to features present within them.

Despite the different content of the two guises, and the different overall 'Status' scores, respondents did not all rate them in the same way. The level of variability in scores was almost identical for each guise (the standard deviations were 0.85 and 0.84 for the 'Farmer' and 'Islander' guises, respectively), pointing towards similar levels of disagreement amongst respondents for each guise. Dividing the listeners into quartiles based on their 'Status' ratings permitted me to examine the proportion of features attended to by listener group. These data demonstrated unexpected patterns for the 'Farmer' guise, with fewer features noticed amongst lower ratings groups, with a more expected pattern for the 'Islander' guise where listeners amongst the lower ratings groups attended to a larger proportion of features. For the 'Islander' guise, listeners in the highest ratings group typically attended to proportionally more features than in the second highest ratings group. Again, I believe that 'surprisal' (Rácz 2013) plays a large role in explaining this: if listeners consider a guise to be more statusful (in this case, possibly due to the topic), they will be more surprised to encounter non-standard features, and more likely to pay attention to them.

So far in this conclusion I have focussed on the general patterns in the data, looking for overall patterns in relation to attitude groups and likelihood of paying attention to specific features. It has not escaped my notice that this is somewhat removed from the task that listeners were asked to engage in, which was to note when they heard a feature of note, and to justify their reaction. The data collected in this manner therefore have the ability to tell us something about the 'social salience', or "relative availability of a form to evoke social meaning" (Levon and Fox 2014: 185) of particular features. Given that this chapter has focussed on the more general patterns in the data, I refer readers to the different analysis of the data in Montgomery and Moore (2018) which deals with the potential social meanings of the features present in the guises. In brief, the findings in that paper showed that features realised in a fashion readily indexical of 'Cornish English' (i.e. the vowels in PALM, PRICE, and TRAP) were noticed significantly more frequently in the 'Farmer' guise than the 'Islander' guise. Other features that were either generally non-standard or realised according to Scillonian norms (the vowels in CHOICE and MOUTH, for example) were significantly more frequently recognised in the 'Islander' guise. Rhoticity was a special case, as it was very frequently noted in both guises but significantly more so in the 'Islander' guise. Given rhoticity's strong associative link with farming, and farming's stereotypical link with the South West of England, Montgomery and Moore state that the higher rate of noticing in the 'Islander' guise is due to 'surprisal' (Rácz 2013) as the more general topic in this guise contained fewer stereotypical indexes of place, unlike the 'Farmer' guise.

To this brief summary, I add the following observations about the task that respondents engaged in and what it can tell us about how specific linguistic features are attended to by non-linguists. The first is that everything occurs somewhere, in a (social and linguistic) context. As I think my analysis has demonstrated, this context affects how listeners will react, from the global rating they might give to a voice, to the attention paid to features within that voice. This is not a new finding (see, for example, Hay and Drager 2010; Hay, Drager and Gibson 2018), but is important to bear in mind as we attempt to uncover how listeners deal with and understand variability as they encounter it in speech. My second observation relates to the ability to understand precisely which feature(s) result in particular types of reaction in non-experimental settings. Real-time tasks have the ability to begin to shed some light on this, but often have hard-to-interpret results, either due to the method (e.g. Watson and Clark 2015) or (as in this work) the ways in which multiple features of note may occur in quick succession. My final observation concerns the utility of methods such as the one I have discussed here in generating hypotheses for later testing in more controlled, experiment, settings. Grounding the selection of features for further analysis in the findings of research such as this means that the temptation of testing what researchers think 'should' have an impact on listeners is lessened.

I will finish this chapter with some reflections on the methodology and the data. Although the ability of the tool to capture listeners' justifications for the features they had clicked on is a positive feature, it relies to a large extent on respondents' ability to put this into words. If listeners were not able to translate their thoughts into words, they could have not provided information, or selected the 'don't know' option. Even if listeners were able to write something for their click data, this then needed to be coded, and could have been removed from the dataset at that stage as irrelevant or ambiguous. This is a particular problem for features that might be important to listeners in the moment but which are less amenable to easy classification (e.g. a vocalic feature might be quite easy for a listener to account for and to be coded, but something like intonation would be very difficult to report on for non-linguists, and then to code for in a systematic fashion). A potential complication of the work is the task that listeners were asked to undertake, which was to "listen out for anything that makes you wonder where the speaker is from, or confirms where you already think he is from"[17]. This was not the same as monitoring the samples for non-standardness, although I have equated regionality and non-standardness here. However, it is still the case that had listeners been asked to listen for 'non-standard', or 'incorrect' features the results might have been different in important

[17] As well as this instruction, in the ratings element of the task, respondents were asked to select where they thought the speaker was from, from a list of locations as well as adding a specific location in a text box. Respondents were more able to correctly identify the 'Farmer' guise speaker than the 'Islander' guise (in both the location selection and free text tasks).

respects. Finally, it is important to note that although ratings data were sought from respondents, the data here do not represent evaluations in real-time, but assessments of regionally indexed features in real-time.

Despite these methodological observations, I hope to have demonstrated here that non-linguists are sensitive to regional features, even in samples of speech that are deemed to come from a 'Standard English' variety. Furthermore, I have shown that context is particularly important in determining the level of sensitivity that listeners will have towards particular features, which is important when reporting on people's perceptions of 'varieties' of a language as monolithic entities. Lastly, I have shown that the presence of regional features is not incompatible with high 'Status' ratings.

This has important implications for how we undertake research into notions of linguistic 'standardness', as well as for our understandings of standard (British English) language. That listeners can hear samples that contain some regional features and still consider them to be to some extent 'standard' suggests that accent is not the only or even most important aspect of the standard. Methodologically, because I have shown that recognition of regional and/or non-standard features do not negatively impact on listener judgements of status and that context plays a large role in the recognition of these features it is imperative that researchers take this into account when designing experiments that examine speech perception. It seems clear that the same feature will be differently reacted to depending on where (and when) it occurs, and stimuli should be designed with this in mind. Free-choice tasks of the type described in this chapter (either web-based or using a paper-based approach seen in Soukup's (2011) work) can help to identify candidate features to be used in manipulated stimuli, or free-choice tasks themselves can be used to assess the role of contextual factors. This could open up a new and exciting field of research in the perception of language variation in order to assess the role of single features, co-occurring features, and constellations of features and the ways in which they interact with listener attributions of standardness.

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APPENDIX: FULL TEXT OF THE SCILLY GUISES

'Farmer' guise

[Six seconds of beeps]...So he started to make a life out there. World War One broke out he joined the Anzacs and he got wounded at Gallipoli, came back to the UK to recuperate. Father went into pigs and all sorts of green crops and that you know the farmhouse up there had carbide gas there was a little carbide plant in where the boiler house used to be. I also remember, must have been the last one they did but they used to have an agricultural show as well, father used to take his bull down and cos he used to keep a bull here then – registered bull. He usually won first prize with his, must have been eight or nine at the time.

'Islander' guise

[Six seconds of beeps]...I mean the only time we met up with the off-islands was one day a year. Occasionally they came to Samson picnic with us, Samson picnic was funded by May Day. The top class of the boys would go around with collecting tins and we quite often had a sports day with them as well er the last one was down one of the long fields down there. When we were kids we could go to one of the off-islands and be the only one there or one of the Eastern Isles and be the only one there. I mean you can't even do that in the middle of the week now, everybody's got a boat, and the other thing - kids - we used to lie in bed and listen to, every evening, a weather plane going out.