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PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY OF NEW ENGLAND: VIEWS FROM MAINE AND THE WEB

Benjamin Graham Jones
University of Kentucky, ben.g.jones84@gmail.com

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<div align="right">

Benjamin Graham Jones, Student

Dr. Jennifer Cramer, Major Professor

Dr. Greg Stump, Director of Graduate Studies

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PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY OF NEW ENGLAND:
VIEWS FROM MAINE AND THE WEB

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THESIS

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A thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the
requirements for the degree Master in Arts in the
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By

Benjamin Graham Jones

Lexington, KY

Director: Dr. Jennifer Cramer, Assistant Professor of Linguistics
Director of Graduate Studies: Dr. Greg Stump, Professor of Linguistics

Lexington, KY

2015

ABSTRACT OF THESIS

PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY OF NEW ENGLAND:
VIEWS FROM MAINE AND THE WEB

Research into the dialects of the New England states (Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Vermont) has traditionally split the region into distinct geographic regions based upon variations in production, primarily along an East-West border. Generally, such regions have been considered relatively stable in terms of their variation (Labov, Ash and Boberg 2006); however, recent work in the area has found that the traditional dialect boundaries have begun to shift (c.f. Stanford, Leddy-Cecere and Baclawski 2012). Such research has focused on very specific regional changes in production, ignoring the perceptual salience of the features observed to be in flux. To date very few studies (Ravindranath and Fernandes 2014) have examined how New Englanders perceive the regional divisions, with emphasis on the collected regions while not focusing specifically on how regions view each other in terms of difference and similarity.

This study examines regional perceptions of dialects in the New England states as seen by a small subset of New Englanders, predominantly residents of Maine and Massachusetts, through two studies: one conducted using a new web-based approach and another using the traditional pen-and-paper method of perceptual dialectology. Speakers have been asked to identify areas with differing varieties through the draw-a-map task (Preston 1989). These responses are then aggregated using Geographic Information Systems (GIS), contrasting results between the two methods. Results are used to identify areas of salient dialectal features across New England, informing contemporary and future research into language change in a region considered as stable. Additionally, methodological concerns and advances are addressed.

Keywords: New England, sociolinguistics, perceptual dialectology, Founders' Effect in linguistics, methods.

PERCEPTUAL DIALECTOLOGY OF NEW ENGLAND:
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By

Benjamin Graham Jones

<div style="text-align:right">

_____Dr. Jennifer Cramer_____
Director of Thesis

_____Dr. Greg Stump_____
Director of Graduate Studies

_____November 30th, 2015_____

</div>

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There are several other people who I would like to thank. My mom, Rie Larson, provided me a base of operations while conducting fieldwork. Several of my friends and colleagues in Maine are also owed direct thanks, although I am finding it ethically questionable to name them here as many volunteered their time as research subjects. Please know that I am honored that you all took part in this experiment, and clearly could not have done it without you. In that same vein, I would like to thank those individuals that took part in the online version of the experiment. I also extend my thanks to my colleagues and friends at the University of Kentucky for all of their assistance.

To conclude this section, I would like to acknowledge that this project benefited greatly from the involvement of others; however, the responsibility for any flaws, oversights or omissions remains solely with me.

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1   Introduction

Research into the dialects of the New England states (Connecticut, New Hampshire, Maine, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Vermont) has traditionally split the region into distinct geographic regions based upon variations in production, primarily along an East-West border. Generally, such regions have been considered relatively stable in terms of their variation (Labov, Ash and Boberg 2006); for example, one of the strongest distinctions between the East-West divide has been the presence of post-vocalic /r/ in the West, a feature that is absent in the East (resulting in the oft-quoted "Pahk yah cah in Hahvahd Yahd" caricature of Boston). Other distinctions include moderate participation in the Northern Cities Shift for Western New England and the fronting of /ɑ/ in Eastern New England (Labov, Ash and Boberg 2006). However, recent work in the area has found that the traditional dialect boundaries have begun to shift (c.f. Stanford, Leddy-Cecere and Baclawski 2012). Such studies have focused on very specific regional changes in production, ignoring the perceptual salience of the features observed to be in flux. To date very few studies (Ravindranath and Fernandes 2014) have examined how New Englanders perceive the regional divisions. What has not been examined is how speakers across this region both perceive and evaluate local regional dialects relative to each other.

There is, of course, the overall question as to why such a project should be conducted in the first place. As will be seen in subsequent sections, this region has a long-standing tradition of being culturally related through both a sense of "New England-ness" and historical population movements, a relationship that has been claimed to be manifested in the dialects of each of these six states (Kermes 2008, Carver 1989, Kurath 1939). However, mounting evidence suggests that the homogenous nature of these dialect regions is beginning to shift as a result of speakers creating local identities that contrast with the former hubs of the established regional dialects (Johnson 2010, Nagy 2001).

The purpose in conducting the research presented here is to enable future fieldwork into dialect boundaries within New England by establishing areas that should be targeted. As will be discussed later, this similar to recent proposals in other perceptual dialectological fieldwork that has been instrumental in showing the emergence of a new

dialect area in the United Kingdom based upon dialect maps produced by non-linguists (Montgomery 2007). This work will allow for a streamlining of subsequent research in that we will not be left with large, overarching areas that need examining but rather smaller, more discrete regions that will serve as launching sites. Thus, the fieldworker will be better informed as to what sorts of areas of variation they should be considering in drawing a more accurate picture of dialect diversity in New England. Important contributions stemming from this project are where New Englanders believe these regions to exist, how they evaluate such features, and what comments they have on the linguistically salient aspects of these dialects.

It is important to note that while New England is not geographically large as a region, it is nonetheless difficult to arrange for travel between the states in order to conduct large-scale research. In order to address the prospect of such a large-scale research project, another consideration of this paper is the use of web-based tools in collecting information pertinent to perceptual dialectology, namely the solicitation of mental dialect maps. To that end, one of the two studies presented here was conducted entirely online through the use of websites that allowed for the respondents to draw on an image. How such a novel approach contributes to perceptual dialectology research is then addressed.

The layout of this thesis is as follows: first, a general background of the sociocultural history of New England is laid out that addresses the Founders' Effect (Zelinsky 1973), or the notion of the culturally shared traits of New England. Following this is an overview of the dialectological work that has been done in the region that has traditionally supported this shared identity through use of common linguistic features. An overview of the research questions, goals, and history of perceptual dialectology is then presented. The two studies conducted for this paper, both online and in person, are then laid out in terms of the methods with a discussion of their results. Finally, the paper concludes with directions for future research.

2   Background to the current project

In order to best understand the research findings and conclusions drawn later in this project, a review of New England from both a historic and linguistic perspective is required. Such a discussion of the sociocultural and historical basis of variation provides support for the motivation of this project as discussed in the introduction, thereby showcasing how a geographically diverse collection of speakers came to share a supra-regional dialect and subsequently began to shift towards more local norms or variants to further distinguish themselves from their neighbors.

2.1   Sociocultural history of New England

The history of European contact in the New World has been extensively documented elsewhere (Bolton 1929); of concern for the present project is the history of the English language as it relates to the New World context, specifically within New England. Use of English along the coasts of New England (and America more generally) can be traced back to the beginning of the 17th Century. Ships' crews would go ashore to gather new provisions during trans-Atlantic fishing expeditions to the Georges Bank[1] (Woodard 2004, Bolton 1929). It was in 1607 that the first British colony was attempted in New England at Popham, Maine (Bolton 1929). This colony was, however, unsuccessful due to challenges in coping with the climate (notably the first winter), and it was not until 1620 that the British created a long-term settlement further south in Massachusetts (Bolton 1929).

The Massachusetts Bay Colony, which would later grow into Boston and its surrounding area, became an important hub for the arrival of colonists to New England (Kurath 1939, Bolton 1929). As new immigrants arrived from England they would first pass through this port before spreading out into the new frontier. Along with the later Connecticut Colony at the mouth of the Connecticut River (the general vicinity of modern-day New Haven, Connecticut), the Massachusetts Bay Colony served as a hearth as defined within cultural geography and anthropology, or cultural starting point from which other regions spread, for northern settlements. Due to their prominent roles in channeling new arrivals into America, these hearths (particularly the Massachusetts Bay Colony and Boston) have been cited as the source for New England culture; or, phrased

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[1] The Georges Bank runs from the coast of Cape Code up into the Canadian Maritimes, and plays an important role in the ecosystem of the area's fisheries.

another way: the culture of New England started at these hearths and then spread outward (Carver 1989, Steinitz 1989).

The cultural geographer Wilbur Zelinsky formalized this cultural spread under the Doctrine of First Established Settlement, also known as the Founders' Effect[2] (Stanford, Leddy-Cecere and Baclawski 2012). The Founders' Effect states that

> "Whenever an empty territory undergoes settlement, or an earlier population is dislodged by invaders, the specific characteristics of the first group able to effect a viable, self-perpetuating society are of crucial significance for the later social and cultural geography of the area, no matter how tiny the initial band of settlers may have been" (Zelinsky 1973: 13).

In this specific case, it means that the culture of the Massachusetts Bay Colony was influential to the new English colonies growing up across New England because it was the first successful and self-perpetuating of such settlements. Thus, it was the culture and custom of Massachusetts that spread to the other New England states.

In the case of New England it should be noted that Zelinsky's discussion of settlement is not one of entering an "empty territory," but rather that an "earlier population [was] dislodged." Even before colonization of the territory, sailors had contact with the native peoples (Woodard 2004); however, as the English began moving into North America they regularly displaced earlier native groups (Vaughan 1965).

Evidence for the sociocultural cohesiveness of this region has been further explored in Kermes (2008), in which she examines how New Englanders collectively formed a regional identity that set them apart from both Europeans and their neighbors in the American South. While her arguments are that the creation and perpetuation of a regional identity was part of an overarching process of forming a national, American identity, her focus on an awareness of a shared regional identity relates well to the Founders' Effect and the present discussion. According to Kermes, elements of the

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[2] It should be noted at this point that this project is following in the tradition of using the term *Founders' Effect* as proposed by Zelinsky and used within cultural geography, which is consistent with the use of the Doctrine of First Established Settlement in other (linguistic) studies of New England (Johnson 2010, Stanford, Leddy-Cecere and Baclawski 2012). However, the term Founders' Effect could easily be confused with the Founders' Principle, which refers to change in genetic characteristics after an event of population bottleneck where one group breaks away from a larger population. This derivative from biology has entered into linguistics independently (Mufwene 2008, Mufwene 2001). As noted by Mufwene (2001), there is no substantial difference as to how the terms are applied within linguistics as the general theoretical principle remains the same: some group leaves the larger population and their linguistic variety spreads through their new environment.

shared culture included many aspects of the Puritan heritage of New England's settlement: self-governance, education, and egalitarianism. One important feature of egalitarianism as it applied to early New England was the equality of the language; summarizing an article in an early Boston magazine, Kermes writes:

> "Unlike Great Britain, where the English language divided the country along geographic and class lines, [...] in New England language was a unifying factor, as all inhabitants spoke Standard English [...] the article asserted, everyone spoke like the English upper class" (2008: 42).

While it is not possible to verify the observations made by the magazine in terms of actual language production, it is possible to view this as what was, at the time, a contemporary view of the language. Thus, New Englanders (or at least a certain set of Bostonians) perceived the region as speaking the same version of the English language, and what can be considered a prestigious variety at that ("upper class," "Standard").

This does not mean one should consider the formation of New England identity as a non-factious event. In fact, the settlement of the various New England states points to many disagreements that fractured the original colonies (most notably, again, the Massachusetts Bay Colony) into the six different states that we have today. Rhode Island was founded by Roger Williams after he was exiled from the Massachusetts Bay Colony over religious disputes (Bolton 1929) and has largely been seen historically as a refuge for religious dissenters (Carver 1989). The Connecticut Colony was also established over disagreements of religious practices, eventually breaking away and becoming prominent enough to become a hearth in its own right (Carver 1989). Vermont, originally part of New France and not acquired by the British until 1763 (Bolton 1929), is the only modern New England state for which the Founders' Effect seems least appropriate. It should be noted, however, that English settlers from the Connecticut Colony did make their way up the Connecticut River and into territory that today is part of the Green Mountain state (Johnson 2010, Kurath 1939). New Hampshire received its independence after a series of land disputes was resolved by the British government, requiring the Massachusetts Bay Colony to remove itself from the region's governance during the 1680's (Adams 1921). Maine, which remained as part of the initial Massachusetts Bay Colony the longest of the modern New England states, had a long period of secession attempts for a number of differing social and economic reasons prior to gaining statehood (Woodard 2004). A

common pejorative demonym for residents of Massachusetts that is common throughout much of New England points to a general cultural distancing between the new states and the old hearth: Masshole. The use of this term has often been seen as asserting a non-Massachusetts (more specifically, a non-Boston) identity in the surrounding states (Nagy 2001).

Given the Founders' Effect, its relation to cultural diffusion through a region, and the sociohistorical facts of New England's settlement and its eventual separation into multiple individual states, we can turn to the linguistic facts to see what impact these factors have had on dialect development. For if we consider language as a "cultural artifact" (Carver 1989: 7), it should also be seen moving from the hearths and out into new settlements. Is there any linguistic evidence to which we can point that supports such a statement?

2.2   New England through a linguistic lens
      The history of linguistic research in New England is perhaps the most extensive in regards to dialectology in North America. Dialectal research began in New England during the first quarter of the 20th Century with the Linguistics Atlas of New England (LANE) that was produced by Hans Kurath as part of the Linguistic Atlas of North America (Chambers and Trudgill 2008). Kurath's work focused on production data, which was collected in several volumes and the Handbook of the Linguistic Geography of New England (Kurath 1939). This data described lexical and phonological features of residents in all six of the New England states. As is common in such linguistic atlas studies, the data were collected and mapped for the purposes of identifying isoglosses and dialect regions. The researchers used knowledge of the settlement patterns in the region to interpret the data, and a fairly robust correlation between the isoglosses and accounts of population movements was found.

Following this study nearly fifty years later, Carver revisited the isoglosses of New England through an analysis of data compiled in the Dictionary of American Regional English (DARE) dating from the 1960's. Carver found that many lexical changes had occurred since the compilation of LANE and that some isoglosses were no longer apparent. Some of these discrepancies were attributed to over-reliance upon settlement patterns in establishing the original dialect boundaries (Carver 1989: 27-30).

Of particular note, however, was the maintenance of the Eastern and Western New England dialect boundary (see Figure 2.1). Considering the two hearths from which settlers spread through New England, it was concluded that the region was relatively stable and that the Founders' Effect could be demonstrated as having impacted the dialect regions. Regions predominantly settled from the Massachusetts Bay Colony hearth belonged to the eastern region, while those settlements to the west that could trace their lineage back to the Connecticut Colony belonged to the western region.
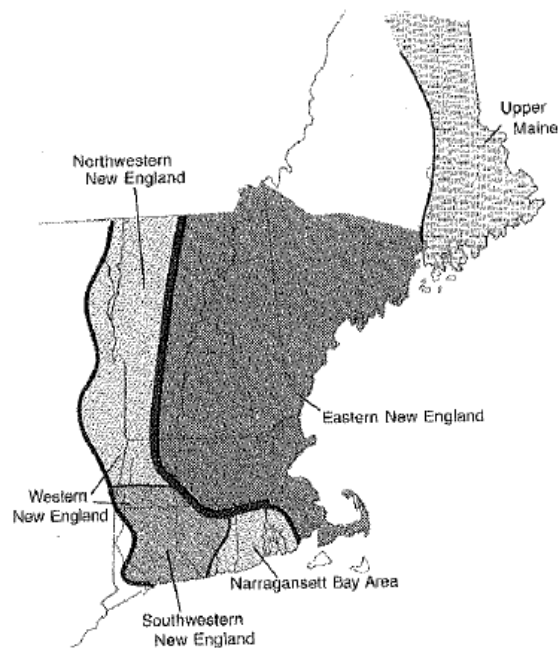
Figure 2.1 Generalized map of the New England dialects (Carver 1989: 31)

After Carver's work (which was general to all of America and not specifically New England), there was again a break in continuity of research on New England dialects. In the early 2000's, a chapter in *A Handbook of Varieties of English* was devoted to describing the phonological features of New Englanders (Nagy and Roberts 2004). The most recent large-scale investigation of dialectal variation for New England was conducted as part of the TELSUR project that generated The Phonological Atlas of North American English, where the earlier established divisions of Eastern and Western New England (and the somewhat more peripheral Northern New England found by Carver) were maintained (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006; see Figure 2.2).

A common thread to all of the aforementioned studies is a shared finding that dialect boundaries within New England have remained stable since the publication of

LANE. As a means of explaining this consistency, dialectologists have often invoked the Founders' Effect (Stanford, Leddy-Cecere and Baclawski 2012; Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006).
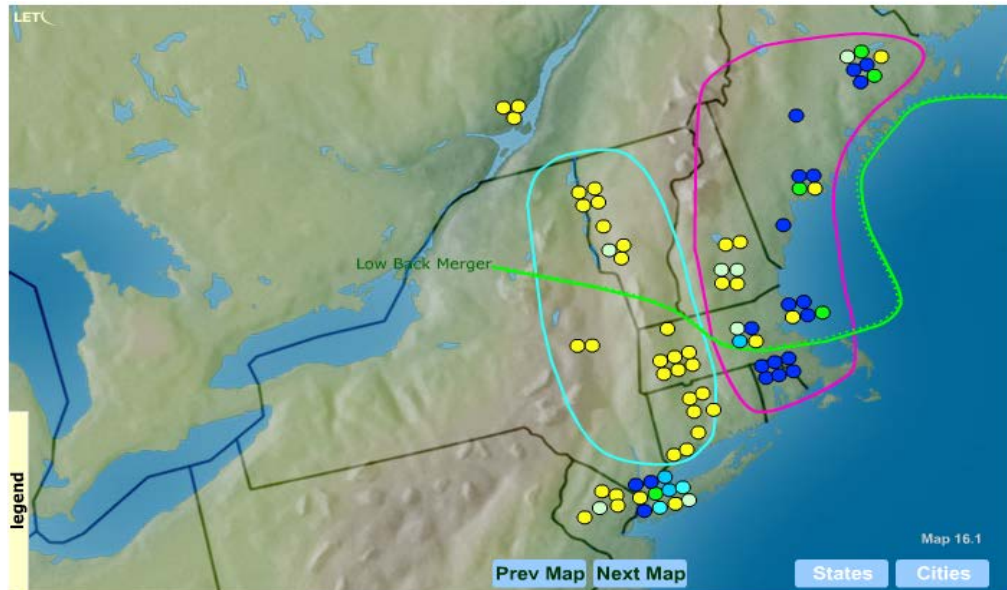
Figure 2.2 Regional dialect map showing the division of Western and Eastern New England (Labov, Ash, and Boberg 2006, online)

However, these results have begun to come under criticism. For one, it has been noted that not all of the field-workers in Kurath's initial study were particularly adept at collecting and classifying their data, resulting in some inaccurately categorized regions in southern New England (Johnson 2010). Furthermore, mounting evidence is showing that the assumption of a Founders' Effect may no longer be valid as sections of New England (most notably in New Hampshire) are beginning to shift away from the features of the Eastern New England dialect. While not large scale in nature, these studies have examined local changes in dialect production that show sections of New Hampshire, once generalized as a part of Eastern New England with much of Massachusetts, are shifting away from this dialect in general, sometimes aligning more with the features of the Western New England dialect (Stanford, Leddy-Cecere and Baclawski 2012).

Examples of this shift are found most readily in research on the dialects of New Hampshire. When comparing differences found between the production of variants in Boston and New Hampshire, Nagy concludes that some of the differences are the result of establishing a separate identity apart from that of the neighboring urban center (2001:

39). Stanford, Leddy-Cecere and Baclawski conducted a study of dialectal features along the Vermont-New Hampshire state border and found that "for younger speakers the most salient east-west contrasts are rapidly dissolving" (2012: 157). Importantly, these studies raise the question as to whether the old dialect borders can still be considered intact. It should be pointed out, however, that something not addressed by these studies is how these borders are perceived by the speakers.

This does not mean that the issue has been completely overlooked in past research. There have been instances where New Englanders have displayed knowledge of dialect differences that have been included in some of these production studies (c.f. Stanford, Leddy-Cecere and Baclawski 2012). But it has been rare for a study to focus on the perceived dialect regions in New England. To date, I am aware of only one study that has looked at how dialect regions are perceived by (and of) New Englanders, and this study focused only upon perceptions by (and of) speakers in New Hampshire and Maine (Ravindranath and Fernandes 2014)[3].

In their study of New England regional dialect perceptions, Ravindranath and Fernandes (2014) employed the tools of perceptual dialectology to elicit the regions where residents of New Hampshire and Maine identified dialectal variants. In addition to gathering geographic data on where these regions existed in the minds of the respondents, attitudinal data was collected showing how each dialect region was perceived. Regional labels including "hicks" and "Massholes" were considered for how the perceived speech was regarded, and social factors of the respondents were also brought into the analysis. One of the findings from this analysis was the existence of variation in the perceptual regions based on age, as seen in Figure 2.3 (showing ratings for correctness, with the left most image representing a composite map for the oldest respondents, the right most the youngest respondents and warmer colors representing more positive ratings). This result raises questions as to whether variance in the location of perceived regions can be attributed to generational shifts reflecting language change in progress or changes in the interactions of people across these regions. This study shows how information about dialect regions can be elicited from speakers and used to further inform linguistic

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[3] Hartley (2005) is a PD study of residents of Boston, but does not (1) encompass New Englanders as a group and (2) does not specifically look at New England in its design, instead focusing on the nation.

research, much in the way that the project presented in this thesis seeks to do. However, one must understand the theoretical practices involved in perceptual dialectology before undertaking such a project.
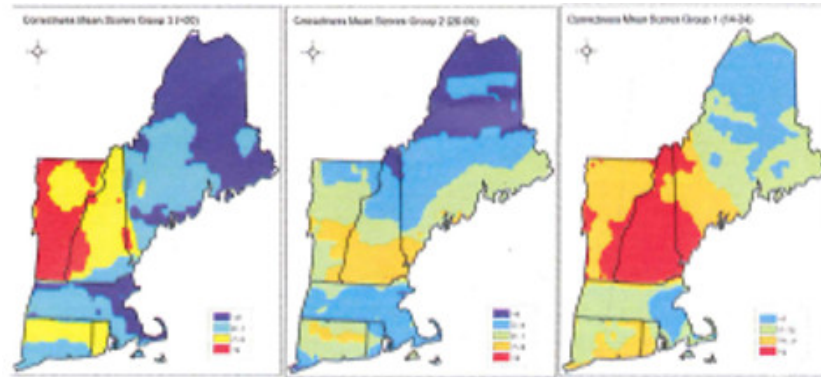
Figure 2.3 Heat maps showing views of linguistic "correctness" across three age categories (Ravindranath and Fernandes 2014)

2.3   Theoretical Framework

Perceptual dialectology (henceforth, PD) follows from the tradition of folk linguistics, wherein non-linguist respondents are consulted about language based upon their own (non-linguistically informed) knowledge (Niedzielski and Preston 2003). To a theoretical linguist, this may appear as rather trivial (if not futile) research, as non-linguists are likely to possess opinions that are not scientifically supported. However, proponents of folk linguistics argue that if we are to understand the social aspects of human language, it is just as important to understand how structural variation is evaluated (perceived) in order to best understand how this variation exists and changes over time (Niedzielski and Preston 2003) as it is to measure these features as they are manifested in speech. Thus, social recognition of language can be added into models of language variation in order to produce more robust theories.

The specific goal of perceptual dialectology within this tradition is to access how speakers view the spatial distribution of dialects (Preston 1989). This method turns the approach of traditional dialectology on its head in that it is not the linguist who is creating isoglosses, but rather the linguist is asking others how they would draw the boundaries. Principles for the basic methods come from the mental maps produced in the field of cultural geography (c.f. Gould and White 1986), where individuals are asked to produce maps of specific environments in order to understand how people store and access spatial

information. Such maps can give insights as to how people view the location of various goods and services as well as their level of recognition of different landmarks. This has been used to the (often humorous) effect of examining how the citizens of specific locales view the rest of the United States, as seen in the often-cited map of the nation produced for the New Yorker in 1976, showing how residents of America's biggest city view the geography of the rest of the nation (Figure 2.4). Such maps have been produced by Daniel Wallingford, who created the map showing a distorted North American continent based upon a Bostonian's view of the United States (Figure 2.5)[4]. However, a natural connection to sociolinguistics can be seen in this method when considering the notions of indicators, markers, and stereotypes found in the Labovian approach to linguistic variation (c.f., Labov 1972). In PD the linguist is eliciting what the markers and stereotypes are of dialects and the regions they inhabit as non-linguists perceive them.

Figure 2.4 Cover of the March 1976 *New Yorker* (Mappery)

To access knowledge held of regional linguistic variation, participants are asked to draw (or circle) regions on a blank map and label where they perceive different dialect regions. Following from this, participants are asked to describe the labels they give to each region; additionally, participants are often asked to rate the language varieties on characteristics such as pleasantness and correctness in terms of state boundaries (i.e., "How would you rate the English spoken in Idaho in terms of pleasantness?"; Preston

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[4] Wallingford also made a map for the view of the United States from New York with a similar visualization, and both maps were produced before the publication of the *New Yorker* cover page (Preston 1989, Gould and White 1986).

1989). While rating of states was the foundation for the attitudinal aspect of understanding regional differences, there has been a push by some perceptual
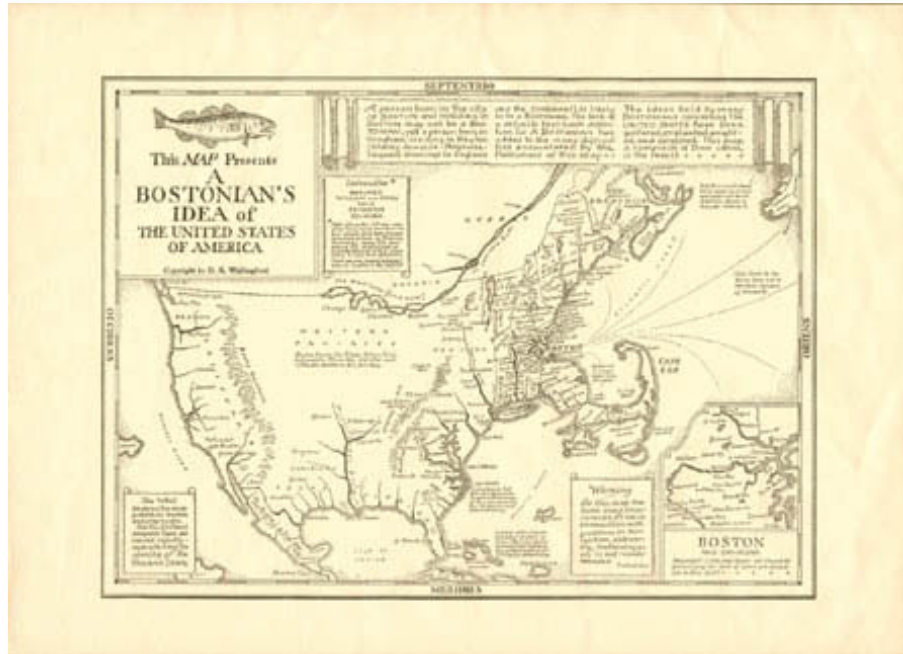
Figure 2.5 Daniel Wallingford's map of the view of the United States from Boston
(George Glazer Gallery)

dialectologists to instead collect ratings for the actual regions drawn by the respondents (Cramer forthcoming). In either event, this method allows the dialectologist to capture mental snapshots of where language varieties are perceived on the national (Preston 1989) and regional levels (Evans 2011 and Cramer 2010 for state-level analyses). Results from these studies tend to be robust in that certain regions will consistently appear amongst the respondents, such as the American South when conducted on the national scale (Preston 1989). In fact, even when the location of the respondents is changed these regions will still appear, such that both Michiganders and Hawaiians have a sense of where "the South" exists, even if they occupy slightly different space in their mental maps (Preston 1989). This replicability has led to the development of a nation-level template for dialect regions of the United States to be used in comparison (Figure 2.6). Furthermore, once the maps are collected they can be compared to other extant maps to gain insights as to how other factors influence perceptions of these locales. Montgomery (2007) demonstrated that perceptual dialect maps in England closely followed traditional North-South distinctions, mirroring divisions found on other maps demonstrating social

differences. Cramer (2010) has shown that the major regions identified in the Commonwealth of Kentucky also reflect larger discourses of cultural regions in that state.
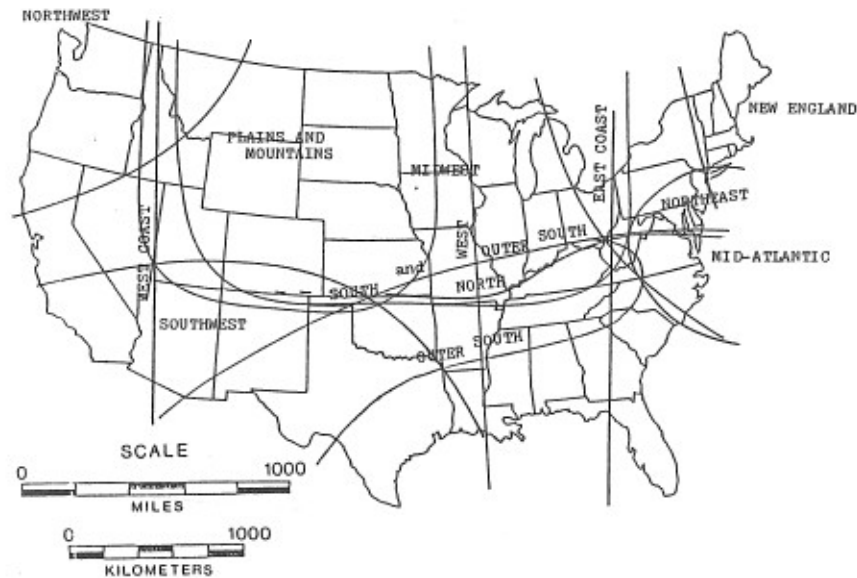
Figure 2.6 Template of perceptual regions in the United States (Preston 1989: 127)

It should be noted that this method first produces a map from an individual. While these isolated maps are of value in themselves, more can be learned by comparing and aggregating the maps. However, the pen-and-paper approach of perceptual dialectology at its most basic prohibits more than the comparison of maps by eye. In order to produce more scientifically sound comparisons, practitioners of PD have turned to using GIS in order to aggregate maps and gain further insights. This is accomplished by digitizing the maps (through scanning the images) and importing them into the GIS to be georeferenced. As the regions of the maps are located within a computerized geocoordinate system they are coded with additional information that allows for comparison. Such comparisons include examining the overlap of regions in order to expose shared perceived regions amongst multiple respondents, such as compiling regions labelled "the South" and producing a region encompassing the levels of agreement on the placement of the region by different respondents. This process poses a challenge for the dialectologist on two levels. First, how does one take the maps of two different individuals, where similar regions may have very different names? For example, one respondent may give a region the name of "South" and another might circle a region

in the same area but label it "twang." At this point, this is largely left to the determination of the dialectologist based upon their best judgements as informed by research of the regions and other descriptive data collected from the respondents (Evans 2011, Cramer 2010). The second problem is the challenge of digitization, a laborious process of carefully "tracing" the scanned image into the software. Acknowledging this problem of the process, Preston and Howe (1987) conducted a study using an early form of touch screen to allow for the respondent to create a map that started in digitized format and was directly imported into an analyzing program. While this method was eventually abandoned due to the constraints upon using such technology at that time, recent advances in technology (including the proliferation of touch screens in what have become common-place consumer devices) are cause to reconsider using digital applications. However, to date no such studies or PD-specific tools have surfaced.

Beyond simplifying the process of map digitization, why should the practitioner of PD want new tools? It should be noted that GIS was not designed with dialectology in mind; instead, it is a tool that has been repurposed by dialectologists to enhance their work. Its contributions to the research methods of the field have been immense (Montgomery and Stoeckle 2013), but it has not addressed all of the needs that perceptual dialectologists still have. First, GIS does not readily allow for respondents to draw on maps as done in Preston and Howe (1987), and has only recently moved into the realm of being touch screen accessible (for example, the recent transition of two GIS platforms, ArcGIS and QGIS, onto tablet devices). Second, it is as yet difficult to deploy in a large-scale research project. This is of particular concern for the dialectologist who wishes to move beyond the confines of their own research institution and carry out surveys of broader regions. The desire to do this is not new to the field; in fact, dialectologists have been interested in the otherwise modern notion of crowd-sourcing data since 1876 and Georg Wenker's atlas of regional German dialects (Chambers and Trudgill 1980). While crowd-sourced mapping programs such as OpenStreetMap exist, they are again not designed for the perceptual dialectologist. Currently, this is still an active area of growth and research within PD.

Finally, the contributions of PD to the field of linguistics require mention. Such research has given insight into how individuals view linguistic variation as a means of

constructing identity and associating with different regions (Cramer forthcoming, Cramer 2010). The salience of such regions to speakers and its role in constructing identity often presents a very fluid picture. For example, Cramer's work (forthcoming) has shown how both out-group and in-group identity can be viewed through the placement and labeling of perceived dialect regions. Montgomery (2012) has also shown how the regional borders will shift based upon the respondent's own proximity to borders that are more or less culturally shared. Additionally, he has also demonstrated how proximity played an important role in the labeling of dialect regions, a finding support by other work within geography relating to spatial perceptions and evaluations (Gould and White 1986). PD has also aided in the identification of new dialect regions, as in the case of the emerging Manchester dialect first identified through perceptual maps elicited in Montgomery (2007), a change-in-progress that could easily have been overlooked by linguists.

The following section outlines the methods taken from PD, as well as some unique to this thesis, that were used in order to elicit perceptual maps of the dialect regions of New England.

3   Methods

For this thesis two iterations of the experiment were conducted, one using an online delivery and the other using the traditional pen-and-paper approach, both of which will be outlined below. The types of data being collected in both versions of the experiment are similar: perceptual maps of dialect regions in New England and corresponding attitudinal data are sought from people living in New England. The purpose in conducting these alternate versions is two-fold: firstly, it allowed for the collection of more data from subjects covering a greater area, and secondly it will allow for a comparison of the two methods (dealt with in Sections 4 and 5).

3.1   Online data collection

The first experiment was conducted using a new, online approach to collecting perceptual maps. This collection technique was innovative in that it allowed for maps to be collected from a larger number of individuals over greater geographic space and did not require a secondary step of digitizing the maps for input into GIS. A survey was created using the available templates in the data collection platform Qualtrics (Qualtrics), with a link to the survey sent via email to colleagues at other academic institutions and through social media websites such as Facebook and Reddit. One advantage to using Qualtrics for such a study is that it automatically reports the location of the IP Address for each unique visitor; thus, the researcher can remove data that is associated with users outside the desired area. Any responses coming from IP Addresses that were not associated with a New England state could then be eliminated from the final results so as to help safe guard the data from any "noise" introduced by subjects that do not meet the geographic criteria.

The survey was broken down into three sections: the first included an instructional video (the link is available in Appendix A) explaining how to use the software for the task of drawing the maps. Respondents were then asked to produce a map based on these instructions and to then provide information about regions they had drawn on the map. Survey questions then asked the respondents to provide certain attitudinal information, all of which is outlined below.

The first section included a link to a website called ImageBot (FlamingText). ImageBot was selected for the experiment because it allows users (in this case, the

respondents) to upload an image, draw on the image using a web-interface, and export the image with the additions back to the user's computer. The ImageBot interface can be seen in Figure 3.1. Respondents were asked to download a map of the six New England states from a link hosted by Dropbox. The map was the product of the Massachusetts Office of Geographic Information and can be seen in Figure 3.2 (MassGIS 2008). Respondents were then asked to draw areas where they perceived there to be particular ways of speaking, giving these areas descriptive names relating to their types of speech. Finally, participants were asked to save their map to their local computer and upload the result into the survey. Following this, respondents were asked to list the names of the regions they had identified and briefly describe the way they perceived the speech of each region in an open text box. The template for the survey itself is found in Appendix B.
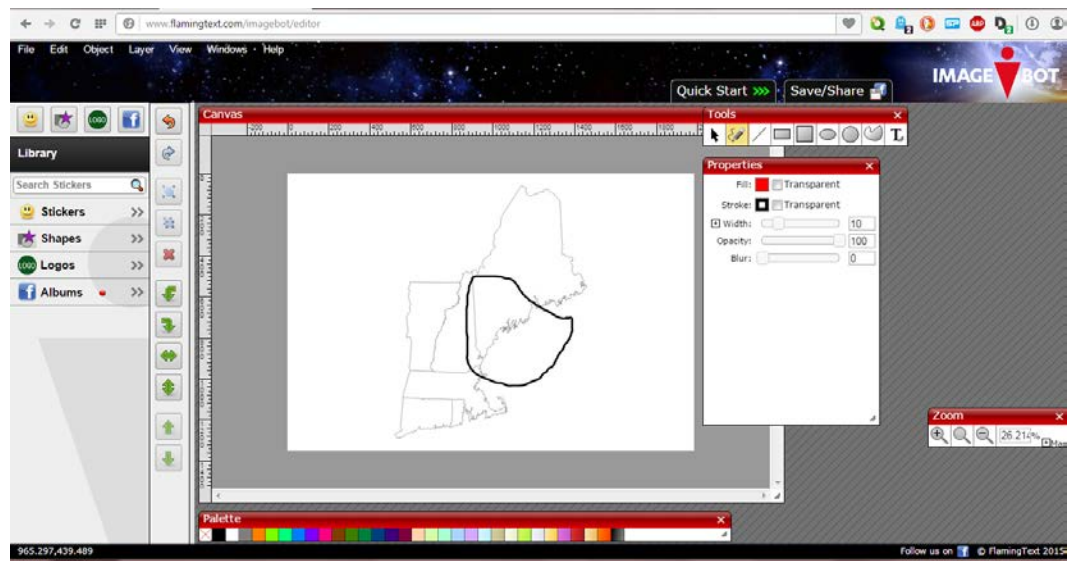
Figure 3.1 The ImageBot interface

Next, respondents were asked to provide a demonym for residents of each of the New England states and to rate the speech of each of the states for qualities of intelligence, pleasantness, friendliness, correctness, and similarity to the respondent's own speech. This follows in the tradition of other perceptual dialectology studies wherein the subjects were asked to give each state a rating for some quality in their perceived speech (Preston 1989). Responses to these qualitative assessments were collected using a seven-point Likert scale, with values of "Not at all like me," "Not like me," "Not much like me," "Neutral," "Somewhat like me," "Like me," and "Just like me" for the quality of similarity. For the other qualities, respondents were given a sliding bar which
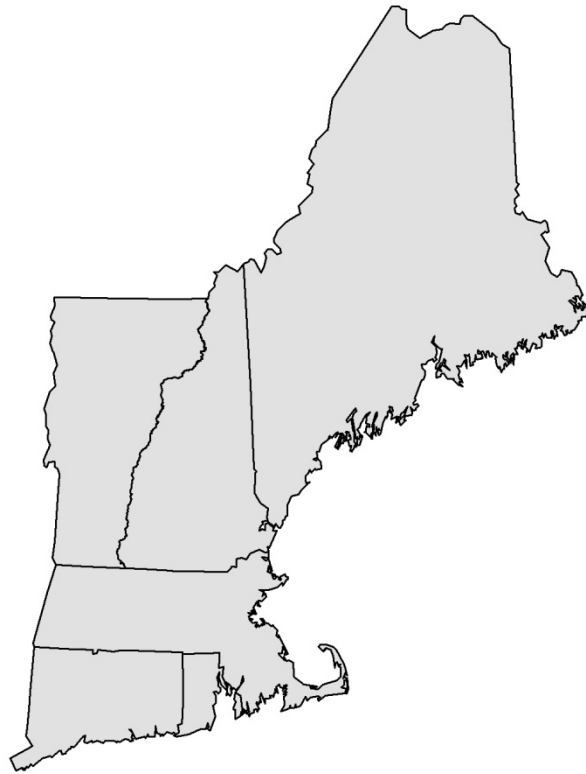
Figure 3.2 Map presented to respondents (MassGIS 2008), shading of interior not present in original.

they could manipulate with their mouse between the extremes of "Very [the quality]" and "Very un[quality]." An example of the sliding input can be seen in Figure 3.3. The decision to have respondents rate the states rather than the regions is they had identified was partly influenced by the aforementioned tradition of rating states in PD research. However, some more recent studies such as those done by Cramer in Kentucky (Cramer forthcoming) have asked respondents to specifically rate the regions that they have produced. While this method was adopted in the second experiment, the decision not to use it in this iteration was related to the technological short-comings of the software in that there was no straightforward way in which to feed information of the drawn regions back into the survey without risking data loss to a follow-up survey. Finally, the survey ended with an open-ended text box wherein respondents could make any comments they wished regarding the experiment.

How educated do people from each of these states sound to you?

Very Educated   Very Uneducated

Connecticut

Maine

Massachusetts

New Hampshire

Rhode Island

Vermont
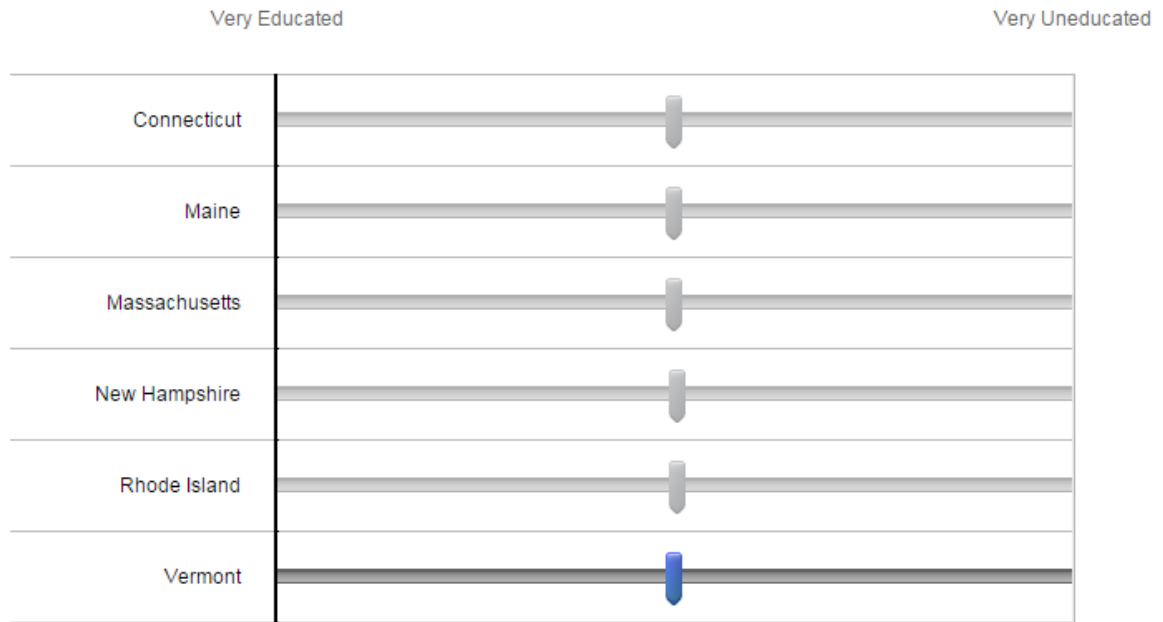
Figure 3.3 Sample of sliding scale input

3.2   Traditional pen-and-paper task

The second, follow-up experiment was conducted as fieldwork in the summer of 2015 in southern Maine. For this experiment, respondents were sourced through friends of the researcher. A printout of the map used for the online experiment was used for the draw-a-map section, with respondents asked to provide the same content regarding perceived speech regions. Following this, the respondents were then given an individual sheet of paper for each of the regions they identified that contained a brief questionnaire about each region. The same Likert scale was used to access attitudinal data regarding perceived similarity and also extended to values of correctness, pleasantness, friendliness, and intelligence of the dialect. A sliding scale was not used in this instance due to the technological differences of the computer program Qualtrics (which automatically assigns a numeric value to the slider's location for data analysis) and the pen-and-paper version. Two open-ended questions completed the questionnaire: the first, "In choosing your label for this region, what factors did you consider?," was intended to solicit mental representations (i.e., markers and stereotypes) held of the dialect regions while the second, "Please provide any further comments you have on this region below," was

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designed to allow for more open-ended commentary by the respondent. An example of this questionnaire is contained in Appendix B.

The maps collected in this fashion were then scanned into a computer for digitization, and all Likert values were given a numeric value between one and seven, with one representing the lowest extreme (i.e., "Very uneducated") and seven representing the highest (i.e., "Very pleasant"). These values were used in computing the results discussed in Sections 4 and 5.

3.3   Data processing

For both versions of the experiment, the digital maps created by the respondents (or from their drawings) were uploaded to ArcGIS. The images were georeferenced to the coordinates of the original map produced by the Massachusetts Office of Geographic Information to allow for geospatial analysis of the regions within the program, as the georeferencing gives the abstract lines drawn by the respondents' values relative to the coordinates of the original map in a way that is consistent across images. Due to the small number of respondents (an issue addressed in Section 5), all regions drawn by participants in both data collection methods are considered in the following analysis. Information regarding the collected attitudinal data from the Likert scales have been tabulated, with very basic statistics (i.e., mean and mode) calculated, again due to such a small sample size hindering more robust statistical analysis.

4   Results

The results of the two studies are broadly outlined in the following two subsections. Comparison of the results, as well as further examination of these initial findings, will be taken up in Section 5.

4.1   Online Experiment

For the online version of the experiment, a total of fourteen usable responses (n=14) from 317 unique IP Addresses were collected, representing a response rate just over 4%; this is considerably lower than what was hoped for in the initial design of the project, a matter that is taken up in Section 5. However, some of the data had to be removed either due to the submission of images that did not produce mental maps (i.e., labels with no boundaries or color swathes on the image that did not correspond to descriptions of the regions) or due the submission coming from an IP Address outside of New England; 7 surveys were not included due to the first issue, and 5 due to the second. Ages of the respondents ranged from 18 to 52, with five of the respondents identifying as female, eight identifying as male, and one as other. As far as location at time of taking the survey, six respondents were in Massachusetts, two in New Hampshire, three in Maine, two in Rhode Island, and one in Connecticut. A summary of this data is presented in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1 Summary of demographic information, first experiment

State of Respondent	No. of Respondents	Gender	No. of Respondents
Connecticut	1	Male	8
Maine	3	Female	5
Massachusetts	6	Other	1
New Hampshire	2		
Rhode Island	2		
			n = 14

The first section of the survey, the draw-a-map task, yielded a total of 74 regions across all respondents. The fewest number of regions to appear on a map was two (two respondents), and the greatest number was nine (one map). The mean number of regions per map was slightly over five, and the mode was five regions per map. Figure 4.1 gives a composite view of all boundaries drawn in representing these regions.

Figure 4.1 Composite of all lines drawn for online experiment

Due to the open-ended nature of the question asking respondents to label and describe these regions, it is somewhat challenging to clearly connect regions across maps. In some instances, the respondent chose not to give the regions explicit labels, instead creating a narrative describing the dialect that they had in mind; in other instances, respondents chose explicit labels, but did not give much detail as to what led them to delineate these regions. Additionally, some regions appeared on only one map and did not clearly correspond to similar regions on any other maps. As such, it is difficult to generalize the regions of the maps for direct comparison in such a way that does not rely upon the intuitions of the researcher. Nonetheless, it is important to understand what regions were particularly salient in terms of their perceived speech area when respondents were completing this task. To that end, all of the labels and descriptions were individually reviewed by the author for comparison based on what can be considered key words, or terms that were frequently used in designating the perceived isoglosses. Many terms only appeared once or twice across maps depending upon the level of distinction each respondent made in their perceptual space. However, certain terms appeared more

frequently: Western New England and a combination of Connecticut and Rhode Island appeared three times; the designation of a "Standard" or "Generic" region appeared four times; Maine, with no other modifier, appeared five times; and Boston appeared as a primary descriptive factor eight times. These results are summarized in Table 4.2. When modifiers are included, other regions also come to prominence (Vermont received three different designations, Maine a North/South and Down East set of divisions, New York City appeared as a descriptor for Connecticut and Rhode Island), and several areas were seen as being some way under the influence of Boston. An example of the Boston influence can be seen in the labels used by the respondent in Figure 4.2. Another interesting feature of this map is the inclusion of a "French Canadian Influenced" region; although not explicitly brought up in all maps, two maps made mention of the influence of French in the dialect of certain regions, generally along the United States-Quebec border.

Table 4.2 Most frequent region labels, first experiment

Region Label	Frequency
Boston	8
Maine	5
Standard/Generic	4
Connecticut and Rhode Island	3
Western New England	3
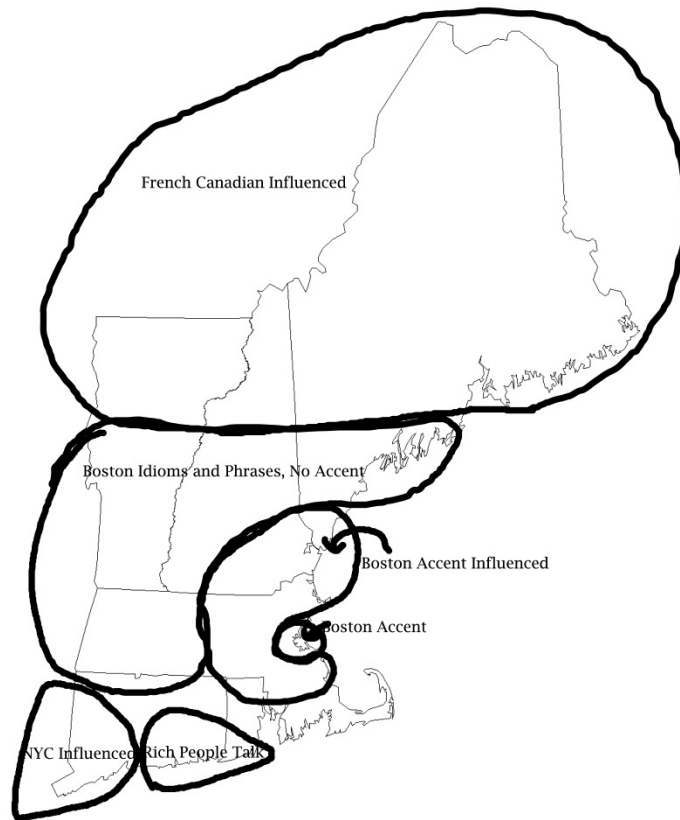
Figure 4.2 Map drawn by a 25 year-old male from Massachusetts

Other interesting features can be seen in looking at other individual maps. For example, in Figure 4.3, the respondent appears to have taken great care in using the state lines of Vermont to specifically identify the state as having its own dialect features that were separate from the rest of New England. This theme was picked up by another respondent who continued to isolate Vermont from the rest of New England, although in this instance the state is mentioned more as an area of unfamiliarity where the respondent still felt that the region merited mention in their map even if they could not think of specific dialectal features (Figure 4.4). This is in stark contrast to the map produced by another respondent, who identified Vermont and New Hampshire as having a shared dialect that is perhaps a "standard" version of English (Figure 4.5).

Figure 4.3 Map drawn by a 19 year-old male from Massachusetts

Figure 4.4 Map drawn by a 52 year-old male from New Hampshire

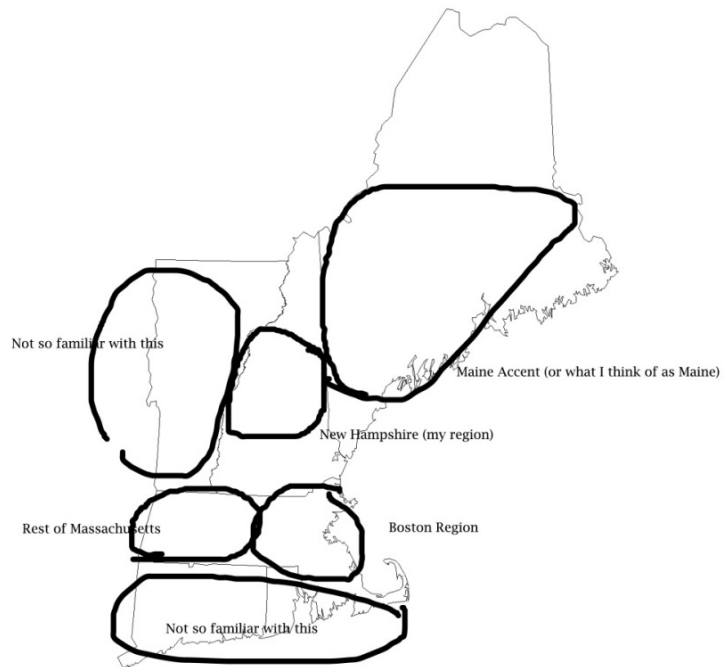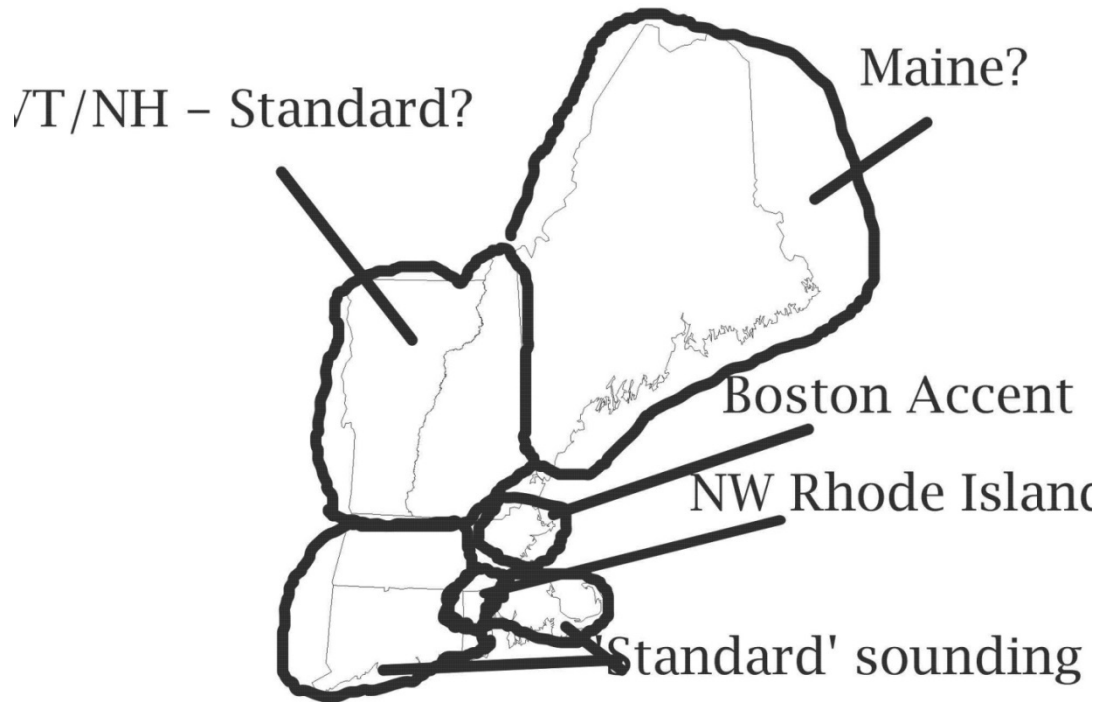Figure 4.5 Map drawn by a 23 year-old male from Connecticut

It should also be mentioned that the tools available within ImageBot were utilized differently by some respondents. While the directions asked that they use the draw feature of the program, other options were explored and used in finishing the experiment. Figure 4.6 shows an example of a respondent utilizing auto-shape features of the program to delineate their regions, while Figure 4.7 shows an example of a respondent using color-coding to help identify their regions. These maps were included in the following analysis due to them still showing dialect regions, although they were accomplished by slightly different means; this will be further discussed in Section 5.

The demonym data collected in the second portion of the survey yielded interesting results in that many of the demonyms were predictable (someone from New England is a "New Englander," while someone from Rhode Island is a "Rhode Islander") while others provided unique names. For example, the term "Yankee" was applied to New Englanders generally by one respondent, while another chose to narrow the use of the term to only residents of Vermont. In some instances the respondent had no name

Figure 4.6 Map drawn by a 23 year-old from Massachusetts

Figure 4.7 Map drawn by an 18 year-old female from Massachusetts

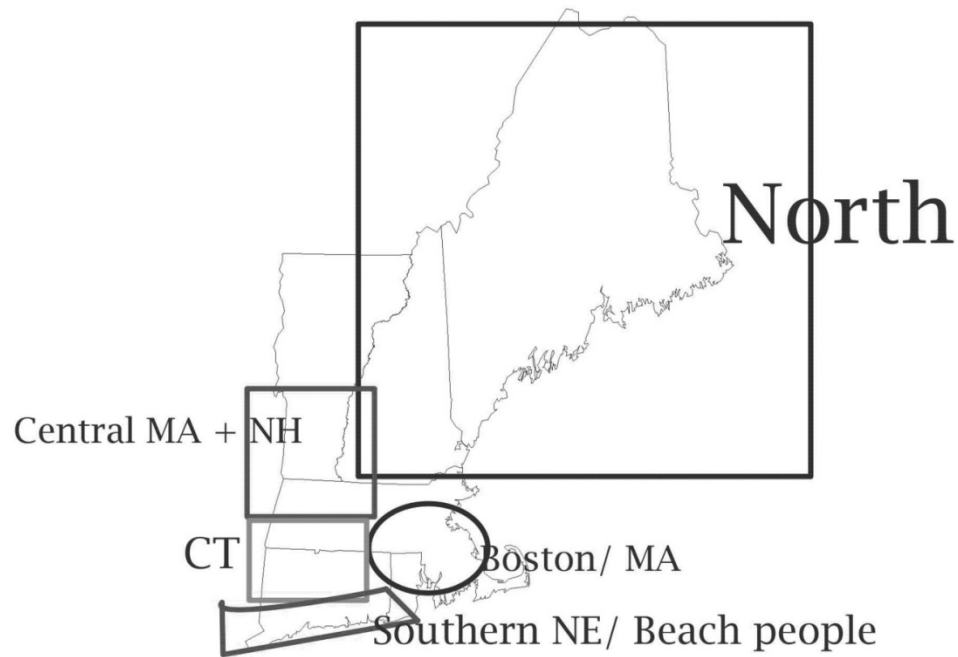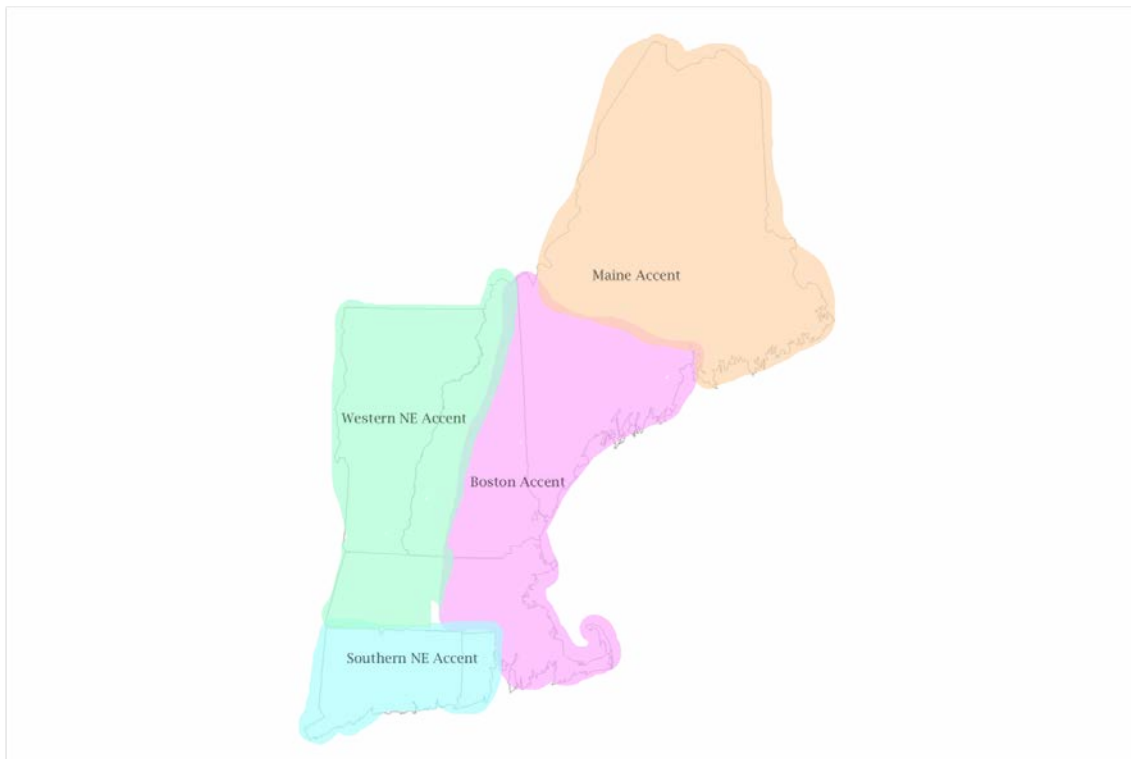they could think of for a resident of a given state, while others chose derogatory terms such as "Hick" or "Yankees fan (sic)[5]." A very common derogatory term was the demonym listed for residents of Massachusetts, "Masshole," which was listed by ten of the respondents (including two of the six respondents from Massachusetts).

The final portion of the survey, the rating of the states for the features of similarity, pleasantness, friendliness, correctness, and intelligence, requires special attention. Upon review of the data, it was discovered that the question asking for ratings of friendliness had instead duplicated the question asking for ratings of pleasantness. This arose from an oversight when importing the questionnaire from an earlier, trial version. The decision was thus made to exclude all instances of the question from analysis[6]. Additionally, it should be mentioned that only nine of the fourteen respondents completed this portion of the survey. Of those that completed the survey, six were from Massachusetts, two from New Hampshire, and one from Connecticut. Thus, these results represent a very small and unbalanced sample size which prevents the drawing of any inferences or statistical validation. It would thus be tempting to throw these results out (and perhaps even advisable), but looking at what was successfully collected gives interesting insight into potential areas that may be considered in future research. For example, it is unsurprising that in terms of similarity, Massachusetts was rated the highest in the mean scores. However, in terms of pleasantness scores, Connecticut had the highest mean value amongst responses while Massachusetts had the lowest. While the responses from the non-Massachusetts residents certainly skewed this result (two gave a rating on the extreme of "unpleasant," with the other not far from it), most Massachusetts respondents also gave the state a low rating, with only two giving a value approaching neutral; there were no positive ratings.

4.2   Traditional experiment
For the traditional version of the experiment conducted through fieldwork, thirteen respondents in Maine (n=13) were interviewed and asked to complete the task. Of these, eight identified as male, four as female, and one left the question blank. Ages

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[5] The assumption that this is intended as a derogatory term is largely influenced by the author's own experience growing up in the Bath/Brunswick region of Maine.
[6] The scores for both questions were remarkably similar in terms of raw values, showing that respondents were indeed answering the same question.

ranged from 29 to 66. Five of the respondents were in Portland, Maine at the time of the survey, while the other eight were in the great Bath/Brunswick area of Maine's Midcoast region[7]. The demographic data is summarized in Table 4.3.

Table 4.3 Summary of demographic information, second experiment

Region of Maine	No. of Respondents	Gender	No. of Respondents
Portland	5	Male	8
Bath/Brunswick	8	Female	4
		Declined/Blank	1
			n = 13

The draw-a-map portion of the survey yielded a total of 34 regions identified across all maps, with the average being just below three regions per map. The fewest number of regions on any given map was one (occurring on three maps) while the highest number of responses was six (one map). The most frequent, or common, number of regions identified was two (four maps). In the case of the maps with only one region, one specified Massachusetts as the only prominent dialect area, one identified only a section of northern-most Maine, and one identified a larger area that grouped several states as "All sound[ing] the same" (Figure 4.8). Figure 4.9 provides an overview of all boundaries that were drawn in this task.

Figure 4.8 Map drawn by a 33 year-old in the Bath/Brunswick region

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[7] The Midcoast region begins (roughly) in the Bath/Brunswick area and runs along the coast to slightly east of Rockland.

Figure 4.9 Composite map of all lines drawn for the traditional experiment

While the directions for labelling the regions were the same as in the online task, the labels used on the maps were much more readily compared due to a lack of narrative labels. This does not mean that there were no labels that were difficult to compare; for example, the labels "Lobsters taught us English" and "We enunciated our "u"'s as in human" seen in Figure 4.10 are not easily comparable to labels generated elsewhere and the descriptions of the regions provided by the respondent do not give much more insight into how these areas might relate to those identified by others. For example, "We enunciated our "u"'s as in human" was described as being selected based upon negative reception of these people and their speech, which is not easily compared to regions that other respondents have selected. Furthermore, there was no other information provided that would suggest potential linguistic features that this perception could map on to. Therefore, it is difficult to know what linguistic, and not necessarily cultural, factors have created an association of a dialect region for this respondent.
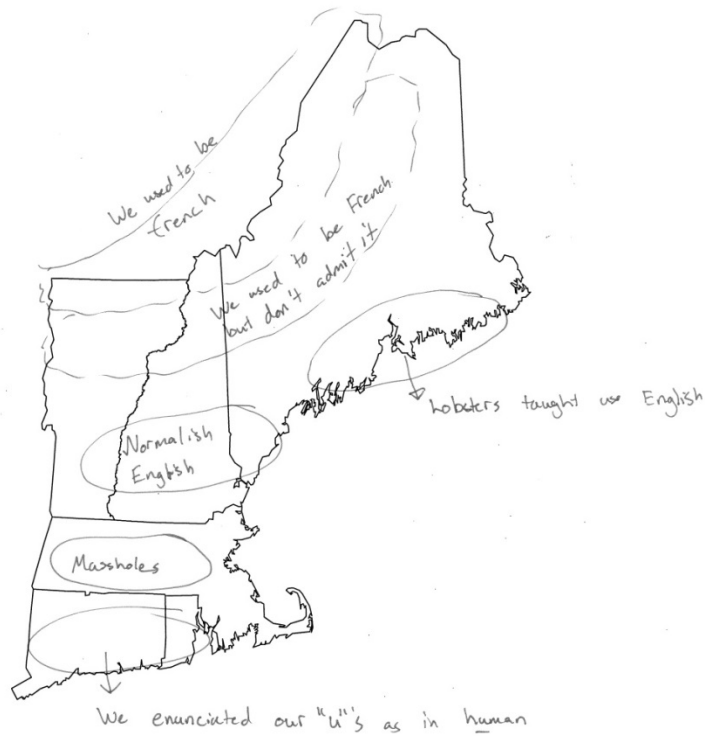
Figure 4.10 Map drawn by a 30 year-old male in the Bath/Brunswick region

As in the previous experiment, the author reviewed labels and descriptions in order to identify salient regional dialects. Boston was again the most frequent label, appearing on eight of the maps. As in the last experiment, there was a region identified as having Boston influence on one map (""Outer-Boston" Talk" Region," Figure 4.11). The next most commonly labeled region was Down East (alternatively, "Downeast"), a region in Maine that appeared on four maps[8]. Following this was a label of French (or French-American), which occupied various locations on three of the maps. While most other labels appeared only once, labels relating to New York and Aroostook County (or "The County") appeared twice. These results are summarized in Table 4.4. Most respondents identified personal experience or media exposure as the driving factor behind why they selected each region.

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[8] The Down East region is also a prominent region in terms of local discourse, including a popular magazine named after the region: *Down East Magazine.*

Table 4.4 Most frequent region labels, second experiment

Region Label	Frequency
Boston	8
Down East	4
French/French-American	3
New York	2
Aroostook County/"The County"	2
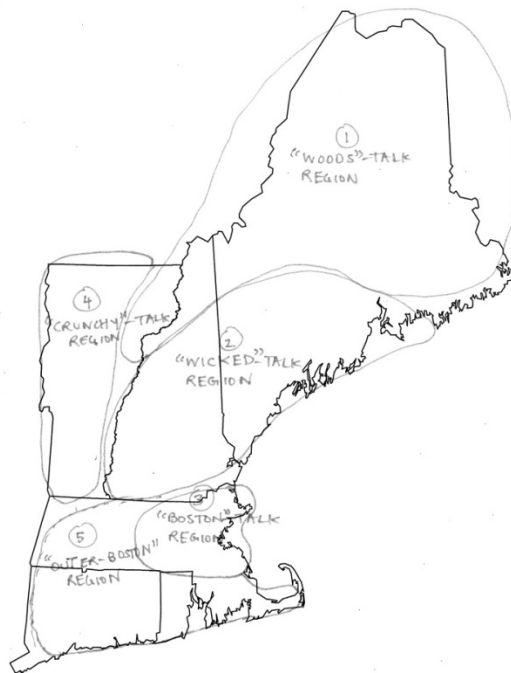
Figure 4.11 Map drawn by a 30 year-old male in the Bath/Brunswick region

Several interesting features emerge when looking at these maps. First, non-rhoticity appears to be an important factor in identifying dialect regions, as seen in the descriptive label used in Figure 4.8 at the beginning of this section. This theme was taken up in other maps; for example, the respondent who produced Figure 4.12 felt it important to highlight the "r's" in "ca<u>r</u> in the ya<u>r</u>d" (likely alluding to the oft-stereotyped rendition of "Park your car in Harvard Yard" as "Pahk yah cah in Havahd Yahd" by Bostonians). Two other respondents chose to highlight features of non-rhoticity in generating their

maps, but not for a Boston region: in Figure 4.13 and Figure 4.14, each respondent used non-rhoticity to identify particular regions of Maine (with "'Ah'" referring to the process where people "Pronounce 'er' as 'ah'").

Figure 4.12 Map drawn by a 48 year-old male in the Bath/Brunswick area
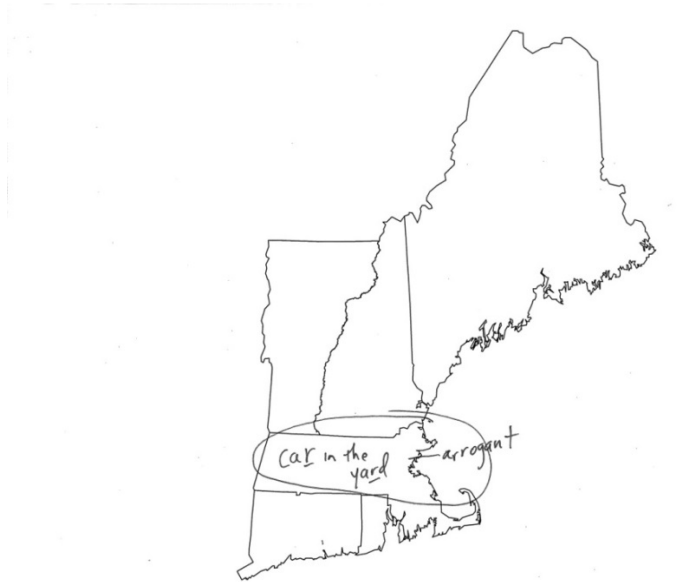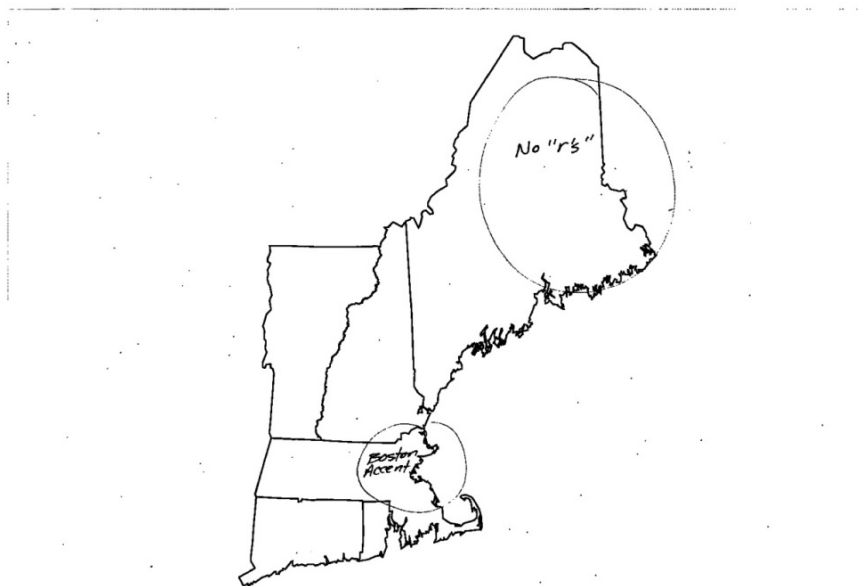

Figure 4.13 Map drawn by a 37 year-old female in the Bath/Brunswick area
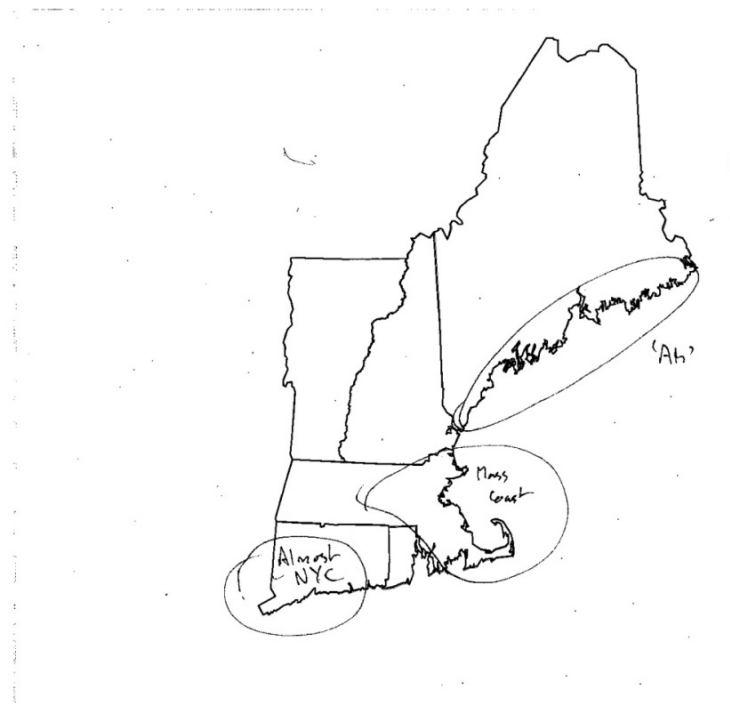
Figure 4.14 Map drawn by a 29 year-old male in the Bath/Brunswick region

The next section of the task, the rating of each identified region, was compiled based on the questionnaire results. As with the previous experiment, the small sample size again makes drawing meaningful statistical inferences problematic; this is further complicated by the fact that not all respondents rated the same regions, as they each provided their own. Therefore, only considered here are the results relating to the two most commonly listed regions, Boston and Down East. For the eight respondents who identified Boston, scores for similarity and the other qualitative features were slightly less than neutral, with mean scores ranging from 3 (for correctness, representing a value of "Somewhat incorrect") to 3.75 for pleasantness (representing a point between "Somewhat unpleasant" and "Neutral"). For the four respondents identifying Down East, results were much more varied. In terms of friendliness, pleasantness, and similarity, the region was rated between "Neutral" and "Somewhat" of the positive of any given feature. Friendliness was the highest rated with a mean value of 5.25 (slightly above "Somewhat friendly"), while similarity and pleasantness had mean values of 4.5 and 4.25 respectively, representing values slightly above "Neutral." However, the region was poorly perceived in terms of correctness and education; in terms of correctness, the

region had a mean value of 2.5 (a value between "Somewhat incorrect" and "Incorrect") while the level of education had a mean value of 2.75 (in this case being between "Somewhat uneducated" and "Uneducated"). It appears then that respondents may have had a more general (mildly) negative perception of Boston speech, yet a stronger reaction to a local dialect in terms of their perceptions of it; Table 4.5 is provided below to help visualize these results. Lower values indicate more negative ratings and a value of 4 is "Neutral." This perceptual data will be further explored in Section 5.

Table 4.5 Summary of attitudinal data for Boston and Down East regions

Feature	Mean for Boston	Mean for Down East
Similar	3.125	4.5
Educated	3.625	2.75
Pleasant	3.75	4.25
Friendly	3.625	5.25
Correctness	3	2.5

4.3   Summary

While these two experiments each yielded a small pool of responses, certain trends are visible. In both versions of the experiment, the city of Boston was seen as a prominent dialect region; in these cases, it was the most prominent of all regions drawn regardless of experiment delivery type. In addition to this, Boston represented a region that was not evaluated positively in terms of attitudinal data; for the evaluations where it was evaluated as its own region (the second experiment) reception could be described as tepid, and when it was evaluated as seen as part of its larger geographic placement (i.e., within the state of Massachusetts, the first experiment) again it received some negative marks. As these two experiments differed, it is difficult to draw direct comparison between these results; nonetheless, this is attempted in the following section detailing an analysis of the data presented here.

5   Analysis and Discussion

Before launching into a full analysis of the data presented in Section 4, an important methodological problem encountered in this project must be addressed: the online version of the experiment received a very low response rate. A total of 291 of the original 317 responses had to be excluded from the survey due to the fact that, after clicking the initial agreement to take part in the survey, these respondents provided no additional information. Admittedly, this is due to shortcomings of the design of the survey, although I would argue not with the method itself. Several respondents reported technological issues in using ImageBot on their own computers. While no errors were reported during a pilot run of the survey, comments on the link to the survey posted to Reddit made several remarks regarding inability to use the image editor. Unfortunately, due to ImageBot being a tool maintained by a third party, little could be done to address this issue, especially because information regarding the users' technological set up (i.e., operating system and web browser) was not available. Furthermore, the survey in itself was cumbersome for many potential respondents; one remark left in the comments of the Reddit link described the video as "tedious," and several made mention about the amount of time and work asked of the respondents. Thus, the survey design itself caused many respondents to turn away due to the commitment of time they were asked to volunteer (the links to comments provided on Reddit can be found in Appendix A).

Another issue with the online deployment appears to have been the sense that potential respondents had regarding the legitimacy of the research. While some respondents did not see potential value in this sort of perceptual study, others appeared to have reacted negatively to one particular aspect; namely, that the researcher was associated with an institution outside of the area in question. When respondents first clicked the link, they were provided with a disclaimer and agreement page that specifically mentioned that the research was being conducted by a linguist at the University of Kentucky. This prompted one commenter to associate problems with the survey with their negative perceptions of Kentucky[9] (a state well outside of New England) while another commenter assumed that explaining that "most" New Englanders spoke Standard American English (providing a link to an external website to support their

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[9] Kentucky is also commonly associated with the American South dialect region, a region that regularly receives negative appraisals in PD research (c.f. Preston 1989).

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claim) was sufficient response to the survey[10]. While these issues may have been encountered in a face-to-face implementation of the survey, it is striking that they appeared very readily in the online version of the study. This may very well be associated with the concept that an outsider is seeking to research the language of another group, and in this case the outsider being associated with what may be perceived as a different linguistic group. Unfortunately, this is not an issue that can be easily overcome in a virtual environment.

That being said, the results of the two experiments do not indicate that pursuing future online PD experiments should be discontinued. While the first experiment contained some problems in terms of its delivery, the results were not so different than the second experiment to suggest that the method cannot elicit perceptual maps of dialect regions. For instance, the highest average number of regions drawn and the greatest instance of regions on a single map both came from the online version of the experiment. While the manner in which the respondents were able to access the features available to them in ImageBot varied (recall Figures 4.6 and 4.7), those respondents that were able to access the website were able to generate perceptual maps. Furthermore, the maps produced online were just as detailed as those produced by drawing on a sheet of paper, and even produced similar results in terms of prominent regions and descriptors.

One of the first results that can be seen as being shared across experiment types is the status of three of the New England states: Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont. One respondent referred to all three states as being areas with which they had no familiarity (Figure 4.4) while others largely omitted them (for example Figure 4.13). Connecticut and Rhode Island were often separated from the rest of New England by the perceptual boundaries drawn by respondents. Furthermore, these two states (and in particular Connecticut) were associated with a non-New England region, New York, and labelled as such by both online and in-person respondents. This suggests that, at least to these respondents, these two states don't belong with the regional speech of the other New England states. Vermont is interesting in that, while one respondent considered Vermont and New Hampshire to be part of the same dialect region (Figure 4.6), the

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[10] Interestingly, this may also reflect a perpetuation of the belief held centuries ago that all of New England spoke the same, standard variety of English as discussed in Section 2.

majority that included Vermont made it distinct from its geographic neighbors. While Stanford, Leddy-Cecere and Baclawski (2012) may have found distinctions between the Vermont and New Hampshire dialects (Western and Eastern New England, respectively) to be dissolving, this is not reflected in the perceptions of these regions in these experiments.

The status of these three states also raises a question about central and peripheral New England dialects; how are these three states viewed in terms of their linguistic relationship to their neighbors? When respondents were asked to label the dialects of New England, these regions remained largely uncharted. Unfortunately, there were insufficient responses (or in some cases, no responses) from residents of these states, which prevents examining how they view their relationship in regards to the rest of the region.

Continuing from this, Boston was the most named region on all perceptual maps whether they were gathered online or on paper. What is interesting to note, however, is that Boston's location and influence is not seen in a uniform manner. In Figure 5.1, we see an overlay map of all regions that were labelled Boston as collected online, with Figure 5.2 showing the same map but composed of those maps collected in person. The black star, added to each map and not presented when the original maps were drawn, indicates the location of the city. Darker shading of regions shows a greater level of agreement between respondents.
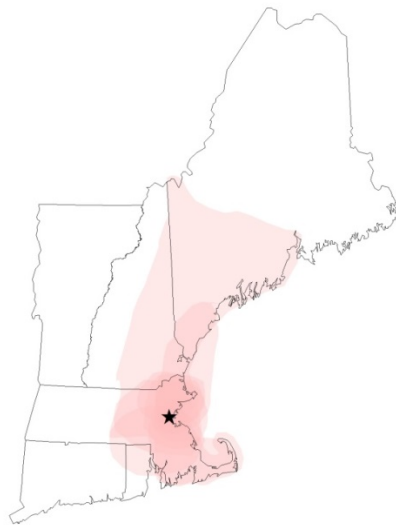

Figure 5.1 Overlay map of the Boston region, as collected from online respondents
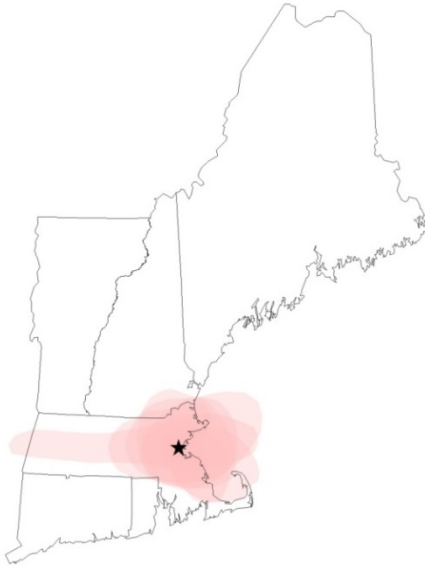
Figure 5.2 Overlay map of the Boston region, as collected traditionally

When comparing these maps, two different trends emerge: one representing a view that the Boston dialect goes from the city and expands along a north-south coastal region, the other that the dialect region centers on the city but occupies an east-west region within Massachusetts. While one could argue this represents a difference between the online (north-south) view and the in-person (east-west) view, I instead argue that this represents a difference in location. The in-person view where the Boston dialect does not extend into Maine is the one proposed by residents of Maine; it is the respondents who replied online (and were largely situated within Massachusetts) that believed the region extended to the coastal regions of Massachusetts, New Hampshire, and Maine. This suggests that the view from Massachusetts is that the Boston dialect expands beyond the state, while Mainers view their linguistic varieties as being distinct from the variety found in Boston (perhaps distancing themselves from the urban area as proposed for residents of New Hampshire by Nagy (2001)). What is not clear is how Mainers view their variety as being distinct.

This distinction of Maine varieties from the variety of Boston is complicated by how such regions are described through their non-rhotic qualities. While one respondent combined several New England states and described them through their non-rhoticity (Figure 4.8), others focused on how distinct regions had this feature, but were not connected (see for example Figure 4.13, Figure 4.14). Unfortunately, it is not clear what

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other factors cause these regions to be distinct to the respondents as such information was not explicitly stated. However, it is possible that this may be a result of proximity. For the respondents in Maine, the non-rhotic regions may be more salient for their non-rhoticity due to their existing within the same state, while Boston is two states away.

Following the idea that proximity may have some influence on perceptions (Montgomery 2012), taking a brief aside and considering a finding particular to the traditional version of the experiment gives an interesting view of a regional dialect of Maine. Down East, which was the second most labelled region for those that hand-drew their maps (Table 4.4, but it was also mentioned in the online maps as well), appears to cover a very wide area with only sections of overlap. In Figure 5.3, which shows an overlay of all regions labelled Down East in the second experiment, we can see that there is a fair amount of agreement between respondents in that the region is coastal and eastern in the state. However, the extent to which that region expands beyond the eastern-most corner of the state shows some variation. Some respondents suggest that it is constrained to only the most eastern portion of the state (representing roughly an area of Hancock, Penobscot, and Washington counties), others suggest that it expands down through Maine's Midcoast region and one respondent identified it as being present along the border with New Brunswick, Canada and up into the inland region of Fort Kent, Maine[11]. It is unfortunate, then, that the sample size of this experiment was as small as it was, as it would be interesting to see just how extensive the region of Down East is perceived to be by Mainers.

Given the data presented in this and the previous sections, what can we say about the perceptual landscapes of dialects for New Englanders, and what courses are open for future research into the region? The next section addresses this question.

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[11] The actual location of Fort Kent, not indicated on the map, is not important for present purposes; it is sufficient to say that it is both located in a very northern and inland portion of the state, away from regions traditionally identified as being Down East.
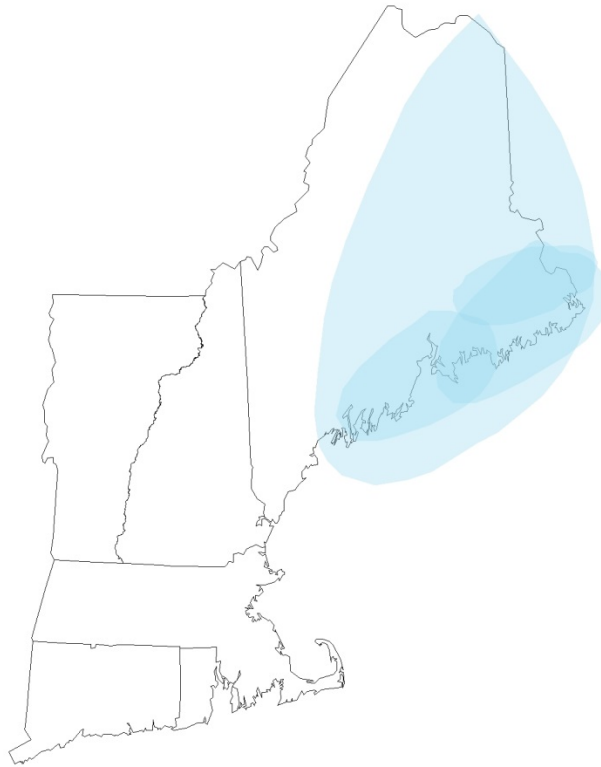
Figure 5.3 Overlay map of the region labelled Down East in the traditional experiment

6   Conclusion and Directions for Future Research

What I hope to have demonstrated in this thesis is that it is indeed possible to crowd-source perceptual maps to further our understanding of how dialects are viewed. However, in doing this, it has also been shown that the method requires further refinement in terms of creating a tool that is user-friendly and not overly cumbersome for the respondents. To that, one open avenue for future work is the creation of tools that will be better suited for, or tailored to, the collection of perceptual maps and attitudinal data of dialects without requiring the digitization of hand-drawn maps. I suspect that this is not too far from being a possibility given recent advances in GIS technologies (for example, the move of both ArcGIS and QGIS to tablet platforms), although I will concede that deploying these programs in such a manner so as to allow crowd-sourcing will encompass a much larger project in the future. Nonetheless, I do believe that I have demonstrated that these crowd-sourced maps are similar enough to those produced by hand that future research will be able to allow for such maps to be combined in future analysis (an analysis not done in this project) in order to maximize the amount of data available to the researcher.

Considering the similarity of detail in both the online and hand drawn maps, one open research path not taken is this project would be to examine the salience of French or French-influenced Englishes in New England. While French was not mentioned frequently enough in the individual experiments to merit closer analysis here, combining these results to get a view of a French dialect region could provide an interesting, alternative view of the linguistic landscape of New England, as perceived by New Englanders.

I also hope to have demonstrated areas for future research into the production of dialects of New England in terms of differences of regional perceptions. If we are to continue the notion of New England as a set block of dialect regions, how will residents of those regions agree with what linguists are determining? If we more closely examine their perceptions, what linguistic features that we were not looking for will emerge? For example, what is it that causes Mainers to view their non-rhotic varieties as distinct from those of Massachusetts? Is it cultural, or are there variants in the language that have heretofore been overlooked by linguists? As mentioned in Section 5, the extent of the

Down East region as a perceptually salient dialect area is also an open research question; while the sample size was insufficiently large in this project to gain a clearer view of the region, subsequent work could shed more light on where Down East is considered to exist, and what features set it apart from other New England varieties. All of these are questions that will require more extensive work in the field.

Finally, I hope to have shown that New England is an important area for work in perceptual dialectology and variationist linguistics in regards to language attitudes and dialects. One of the findings from the analysis of this project is the notion of a "core" New England (Maine, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire) and a more peripheral one (Connecticut, Rhode Island, and Vermont) in terms of sociolinguistic salience. Do these distinctions represent a linguistic change in progress? Further work in both production and perception will be required, including gathering more data from more points in New England. For example, the peripheral states are much more poorly captured in this data due to a lack of responses; how might a resident of Vermont delineate the dialects of their New England neighbors? This will be important if we are to continue with the notion that the Founders' Effect, once so pivotal in understanding New England dialect variation (Carver 1989, Kurath 1939), is no longer sufficient in describing how New Englanders speak (Stanford, Leddy-Cecere and Baclawski 2012). It will be even more important to examine how the old cultural hearth, Boston, is modernly perceived if we wish to understand how other New Englanders may be attempting to distance themselves from the city (c.f. Nagy 2001). Perceptual dialectology will play an important role in this field of research for understanding the linguistic variation of New England, especially as we see that traditional dialect maps (Labov, Ash and Boberg 2006) reveal an image that is becoming outdated. Further examining how a sample of all New Englanders perceive the region, and not the subset examined in this project, will likely give future researchers a much clearer vision of the linguistic geography of the region first extensively covered in American dialectology.

Appendix A: External Links

Link to YouTube video shown to respondents:

https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=opZW_BmVGzw

Links to Reddit comments regarding the online experiment:

In r/massachusetts:

https://www.reddit.com/r/massachusetts/comments/2y5mx5/xpost_rnewenglandacademic_dialect_perceptions_of/

In r/newhampshire:

https://www.reddit.com/r/newhampshire/comments/2y2uqm/xpost_rnewenglandacademic_dialect_perceptions_of/

In r/connecticut:

https://www.reddit.com/r/Connecticut/comments/2y24v2/xpost_rnewenglandacademic_dialect_perceptions_of/

In r/vermont:

https://www.reddit.com/r/vermont/comments/2y1qjx/xpost_rnewenglandacademic_dialect_perceptions_of/

Appendix B: Surveys

Online survey:

Block 2

Consent to Participate in a Research Study
A Perceptual Dialectology of the New England States

WHY ARE YOU BEING INVITED TO TAKE PART IN THIS RESEARCH?
You are being invited to take part in a research study about perceptions of dialects in New England because you are from one of the New England states (Connecticut, Maine, Massachusetts, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, or Vermont) and over the age of 18.

WHAT IS THE PURPOSE OF THIS STUDY?
By doing this study, we hope to learn about how people in New England view dialect variations within their own region in terms of social characteristics and geographic area.

ARE THERE REASONS WHY YOU SHOULD NOT TAKE PART IN THIS STUDY?
You should not take part in this study if you are not from New England or if you are under 18 years of age.

WHAT WILL YOU BE ASKED TO DO?
You will be given a list of all the states, plus Washington D.C. and New York City, and will be asked to rate them in terms of difference, pleasantness, and correctness.

WHO IS DOING THE STUDY?
The person in charge of this study is Benjamin Jones of the University of Kentucky Department of English, Linguistics Program.

HOW LONG WILL THE STUDY LAST?
You will need to complete the task only <u>one time</u> during the study. This activity will take about <u>20 minutes</u>. The total amount of time you will be asked to volunteer for this study is <u>20 minutes</u>.

WHAT ARE THE POSSIBLE RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS?
To the best of our knowledge, the things you will be doing have no more risk of harm than you would experience in everyday life.

WILL YOU BENEFIT FROM TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?
You will not get any personal benefit from taking part in this study. Your willingness to take part, however, may, in the future, help society as a whole better understand this research topic.

DO YOU HAVE TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY?
If you decide to take part in the study, it should be because you really want to volunteer. You will not lose any benefits or rights you would normally have if you choose not to volunteer. You can stop at any time during the study and still keep the benefits and rights you had before volunteering.

IF YOU DON'T WANT TO TAKE PART IN THE STUDY, ARE THERE OTHER CHOICES?
If you do not want to be in the study, there are no other choices except not to take part in the study.

WHAT WILL IT COST YOU TO PARTICIPATE?
There are no costs associated with taking part in the study.

WILL YOU RECEIVE ANY REWARDS FOR TAKING PART IN THIS STUDY?
You will not receive any rewards or payment for taking part in the study.

WHO WILL SEE THE INFORMATION THAT YOU GIVE?
We will make every effort to keep private all research records that identify you to the extent allowed by law.

Your information will be combined with information from other people taking part in the study. When we write about the study to share it with other researchers, we will often write about the combined information we have gathered. You will not be personally identified in these written materials. We may publish the results of this study; however, we will keep your name and other identifying information private. Final data will be retained for a minimum of 6 years after the study is over.

CAN YOUR TAKING PART IN THE STUDY END EARLY?
If you decide to take part in the study you still have the right to decide at any time that you no longer want to continue. You will not be treated differently if you decide to stop taking part in the study.

The individual conducting the study may need to withdraw you from the study. This may occur if you are not able to follow the directions as given to you or if they find that your being in the study is more risk than benefit to you.

NOTICE
Please be aware, while we make every effort to safeguard your data once received from the online survey/data gathering company, given the nature of online surveys, as with anything involving the Internet, we can never guarantee the confidentiality of the data while still on the survey/data gathering company's servers, or while en route to either them or us. It is also possible the raw data collected for research purposes may be used for marketing or reporting purposes by the survey/data gathering company after the research is concluded, depending on the company's Terms of Service and Privacy policies.

WHAT IF YOU HAVE QUESTIONS, SUGGESTIONS, CONCERNS, OR COMPLAINTS?
Before you decide whether to accept this invitation to take part in the study, please ask any questions that might come to mind now. Later, if you have questions, suggestions, concerns, or complaints about the study, you can contact the principal investigator, Benjamin Jones at bgjo223@uky.edu. If you have any questions about your rights as a volunteer in this research, contact the staff in the Office of Research Integrity at the University of Kentucky at 859-257-9428 or toll free at 1-866-400-9428.

BY CLICKING "I Agree" BELOW YOU ARE CONSENTING TO PARTICIPATE IN THIS STUDY.

- ○ I agree to participate in this study and understand the disclaimer above.

- ○ I do not agree to the terms above and do not wish to participate in this study.

Block 5
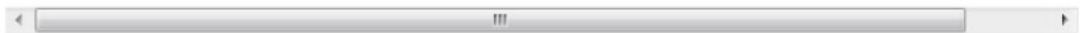
In what state were you born?

In what state do you currently reside?

In what state do you work/attend school?

Please enter your age below:

What is your gender?

- ○ Female
- ○ Male
- ○ Other

Please watch the YouTube video found by clicking here.

Block 4

Having watched the video, download the image found by clicking the following link (as in the video): IMAGE
Using the technique described in the video, please upload the picture into ImageBot: IMAGEBOT

In ImageBot, please draw on the map regions where you believe people to speak in a shared

manner. Please label each of these regions using the text feature in ImageBot.

When completed, please download you map as a pdf image and upload it here.

Choose File   No file chosen

In the text area below, please list the regions you drew on your map (with their labels). Please describe these regions, explaining why you selected them.

◄   III   ►

Block 4

What would you call someone from New England?

◄   III   ►

What would you call someone from Connecticut?

◄   III   ►

What would you call someone from Maine?

◄   III   ►

What would you call someone from Massachusetts?

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What would you call someone from New Hampshire?
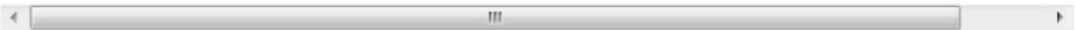
What would you call someone from Rhode Island?
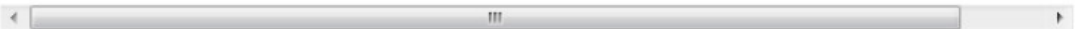
What would you call someone from Vermont?

Block 4

Please rate each state for how similar its residents sound to your own speech. Who else speaks like you?

	Not at all like me	Not like me	Not much like me	Neutral	Somewhat like me	Like me	Just like me
Connecticut							
Maine							
Massachusetts							
New Hampshire							

Rhode Island		
Vermont		

How educated do people from each of these states sound to you?

Very Educated   Very Uneduc

Connecticut		
Maine		
Massachusetts		
New Hampshire		
Rhode Island		
Vermont		

How pleasant do speakers from each of these states sound?

Very Pleasant   Very Unplea

Connecticut		
Maine		

50

Massachusetts		
New Hampshire		
Rhode Island		
Vermont		

◄   ▭   III   ▭   ►

How correct does the English sound when spoken by people from the following states?

Very Correct   Very Incorr

Connecticut		
Maine		
Massachusetts		
New Hampshire		
Rhode Island		
Vermont		

◄   ▭   III   ▭   ►

How pleasant do speakers from each of the following states sound?

Very Friendly   Very Unplea

Connecticut	
Maine	
Massachusetts	
New Hampshire	
Rhode Island	
Vermont	

Thank you for taking the time to complete this survey. In the box below, please feel free to provide any feedback on the survey.

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Traditional/in-person survey form for individual dialect regions:

Name of region:

How similar would you say the speech of this region is to your own speech?

Not at all like me	Not like me	Not much like me	Neutral	Somewhat like me	Like me	Just like me

How educated does this speech sound to you?

Very educated	Educated	Somewhat educated	Neutral	Somewhat uneducated	Uneducated	Very uneducated

How pleasant does this speech sound to you?

Very pleasant	Pleasant	Somewhat pleasant	Neutral	Somewhat unpleasant	Unpleasant	Very unpleasant

How friendly does this speech sound to you?

Very friendly	Friendly	Somewhat friendly	Neutral	Somewhat unfriendly	Unfriendly	Very unfriendly

How correct does this speech sound to you?

Very correct	Correct	Somewhat correct	Neutral	Somewhat incorrect	Incorrect	Very incorrect

In choosing your label for this region, what factors did you consider?

Please provide any further comments you have on this region below:

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Vita

Benjamin Graham Jones

Education

B.A. in Linguistics, *summa cum laude*, University of Southern Maine, 2013

A.S. Pharmacy Technician, with high honors, Santa Rosa Junior College, 2009

Professional positions

Teaching Assistant for the University of Kentucky Linguistics Program, August 2013-
May 2015