**STUDY 1: GENDER IN NZE**

Young trans men consistently pattern with their age group, but they are selective in which vowels they pattern with young men and which with young women (the gender they were socialised into in childhood).

- gender-liminal people provide evidence for which variables carry socially-interpretable gendered meaning

### NZE vowels known to be undergoing change (e.g. Gordon et al. 2004), so age + gender likely relevant.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>queer women</th>
<th>straight women</th>
<th>queer men</th>
<th>straight men</th>
<th>trans men</th>
<th>total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>older</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>18</td>
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<tr>
<td>younger</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>8</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>41</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**GOAT onset (F1)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Coef</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean (Hz)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yow</td>
<td>-56.6</td>
<td>305</td>
<td>617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ycm</td>
<td>-23.2</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>631</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yqm</td>
<td>-22.4</td>
<td>279</td>
<td>625</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>yow</td>
<td>-19.7</td>
<td>190</td>
<td>626</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ytm</td>
<td>-15.4</td>
<td>308</td>
<td>636</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oqm</td>
<td>-4.6</td>
<td>194</td>
<td>662</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ow</td>
<td>-19.0</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>668</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>oqw</td>
<td>37.0</td>
<td>171</td>
<td>681</td>
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<tr>
<td>osw</td>
<td>46.0</td>
<td>285</td>
<td>697</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Gender</th>
<th>Coef</th>
<th>N</th>
<th>Mean (Hz)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>yow</td>
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<td>463</td>
<td>511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ytm</td>
<td>-45.3</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>520</td>
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<td>yqm</td>
<td>-42.4</td>
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<tr>
<td>yow</td>
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<td>342</td>
<td>540</td>
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<td>oqw</td>
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<td>612</td>
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<tr>
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<td>350</td>
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<tr>
<td>osw</td>
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<td>427</td>
<td>706</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

STUDY 2: REGIONAL VARIATION IN UK

Jason Isaacs
- interviewed on BBC by high school acquaintance (2016)
- lauded performance of ‘broad Yorkshire accent’ in *Death of Stalin* (2017)

Brian Palmer
- from Sheffield, Yorkshire
- character in Kes (1969) cited by Isaacs as model for character in *Death of Stalin*

What Isaacs gets “right”
- FOOT/STRUT, TRAP/START, GOAT: stereotypes of Yorkshire English
- Isaacs adapts accent in performance
- GOOSE: not a stereotype of YE
- Isaacs backs towards YE

What Isaacs gets “wrong”
- LOT, DRESS: not stereotypes of YE
- Isaacs maintains his own relative positions in vowel space
- schwa: not a stereotype of YE
- Isaacs unexpectedly lowers

Isaacs is selective in which vowels he adapts in performing a Yorkshire accent, suggesting he can filter by social meaning without compromising the ‘authenticity’ of the accent.

Next steps
1. Triangulation: Elicitation tasks and perception experiments to confirm what production data suggests.
2. Broaden the scope: Explore productivity of liminality in other strata of variation, other languages and varieties, other social identities, etc.
3. Modelling: Are [+social] variables the same as [-social] ones, or are there differences that can help address how synchronic variation tips over into diachronic change?

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**BACKGROUND**

**Gender and LVC**
- gender implicated in LVC models and theories of language change (e.g. Labov’s gender paradox)
- gender an important social dimension of identity

**Social meaning and LVC**
- stereotypes are easy to identify, but under-the-radar social meaning is harder to assess
- models show correlations but not social interpretability
  - young women leading change doesn’t mean innovation signals [+feminine] in speech community
  - do we expect all variation to pattern in the same way regardless of social meaning?
  - structural vs. social motivations

**RQs**
1. Does liminality framework help in identifying socially meaningful variation related to gender and language change?
2. Does liminality also work with other dimensions of identity, or is gender ‘special’?
3. Does it work in more stable language systems?

**NEEDED: FILTER FOR SOCIAL MEANING**
- perception studies – need to already know what you’re testing
- production data – need a principled way to decide what might be carrying social meaning

**Liminality**
- liminal people have crossed a socially recognised category boundary
  - gender, class, region, etc.
  - perceived as (or aiming to be perceived as) authentic once across boundary (different from Rampton’s crossing)
  - Study 1: young trans men liminal wrt gender
  - Study 2: actor as [professionally] liminal wrt UK regional accent

**STUDY 1:**

- Does liminality framework help in identifying socially meaningful variation related to gender and language change?
- Does liminality also work with other dimensions of identity, or is gender ‘special’?
- Does it work in more stable language systems?

**STUDY 2:**

- How does liminality work with other languages and varieties, other social identities, etc.
- Modelling: Are [+social] variables the same as [-social] ones, or are there differences that can help address how synchronic variation tips over into diachronic change?

**SOCIAL MEANING AND LVC**

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- models show correlations but not social interpretability
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  - do we expect all variation to pattern in the same way regardless of social meaning?
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**LIMITATIONS**

- perception studies – need to already know what you’re testing
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**STUDY 1:**

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