Accent levelling in a “posh pocket” of Yorkshire

A study of current changes in the York accent

Ida Syvertsen

Master’s thesis

Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages

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Supervisor: Gjertrud Flermoen Stenbrenden

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Abstract

What current changes are taking place in the York accent today? What are their causes? This thesis aims to explore change-in-progress in York English among ten females in their mid-to-late twenties.

The data was collected through sociolinguistic interviews performed in York in October 2015. A phonetic auditory analysis was conducted in order to explore variation in the realisation of seven lexical sets, STRUT, BATH, FACE, GOAT, NORTH, FORCE and THOUGHT. The phonetic analysis was further used to determine the informants' degree of accent levelling. Second, statistical analyses of the relationship between accent levelling and two extra-linguistic factors, mobility and attitudes, were conducted in order to determine how much of the variation in the informants' realisation of the lexical sets could be caused by these social factors.

The phonetic analysis indicated that the STRUT, NORTH, FORCE and THOUGHT vowels are in the process of being levelled towards the southern standard, RP, although the York realisation of the STRUT vowel might not become entirely similar to its RP counterpart, but rather be a compromise between the former northern realisation and the standard southern realisation. Furthermore, the analysis of the NORTH, FORCE and THOUGHT vowels indicated that the traditional York realisation of these vowels is different from the one generally present in the research literature. The BATH vowel appears to be unchanging. The FACE and GOAT vowels have changed almost completely from being mainly realised by monophthongs to being realised by diphthongs.

The results also revealed that there was a lot of variation among the informants in their realisations of the lexical sets. However, the variation was not random. The statistical analysis indicated that the informants' use of traditional variants correlated strongly with and might clearly be caused by differences in attitudes and degree of mobility. As such, this thesis also contributes to the linguistic discussion on motivations for language change.

Key words: Accent levelling, York, Yorkshire, mobility, attitudes, phonetic variation and change.

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List of Abbreviations

IPA: The International Phonetic Alphabet

ME: Middle English

OE: Old English

p: Probability

Q&A: Question-and-answer section

RP: Received Pronunciation

r: Pearson correlation coefficient

r^2: Coefficient of determination

1 Introduction

> All the world seems to be on the move. Asylum seekers, international students, terrorists, members of diasporas, holidaymakers, business people, sports stars, refugees, backpackers, commuters, the early retired, young mobile professionals, prostitutes, armed forces – these and many others fill the world's airports, buses, ships, and trains. The scale of this travelling is immense.

Thus begins Sheller and Urry's (2006) article, "The new mobilities paradigm" (p.207). Although this article is now a decade old, the picture is probably still the same. We still, for example, see students moving away from home to go to university, as higher education is more widely available and chosen by more people. Once their education has been completed they either stay where they are, move back to their home towns, or move to another place for work.

Meeting new people with different languages and varieties of languages can easily cause complications and misunderstandings. As a student at the University of York, Jack I. Eliot explains in his satirical commentary "The struggle of being a Northerner at York" (2015):

> Like many others, I was delighted to come to York as a fresher in 2013. Having grown up in the slums of West Yorkshire, I anticipated York to feel like a home [away] from home. A step-up, if you will, from the barren towns I've grown up in. Instead, I've been treated like an alien thanks to the hordes of southerners exported up here by their parents, who I'm assuming are wanting them to get a taste of how the other half live… In my first term, I picked up a "uni accent". I toned down my Leeds twang and adopted a neutral RP accent just for the sake of fitting in. It's not worth it.

Eliot (2015) goes on to give a specific example of a time he was misunderstood because of his accent:

> In a recent exchange with a housemate's dad, I attempted to share our simple WiFi password. It's "poll-plant-own". We had no idea why his phone wouldn't connect until he realised that I didn't say "pearl-plant-urn". On a daily basis I'm treated as if I never fully grasped the English language.

As Eliot's (2015) example demonstrates, geographical mobility affects people's language and attitudes to language. It is therefore a very interesting and topical matter for investigation, given that we live in a globalised and mobile world. However, it is beyond the scope of this thesis to look at the effects of mobility and attitudes on all the aspects of language. That is why only accent features of the variety of English spoken in the city of York in the United Kingdom will be studied here.

Why York?

The accent of the city of York was chosen for several reasons. First of all, I have been living in York for a year as an exchange student. During this year I got a social network in York, which was a huge advantage in finding informants for this study. Secondly, York is a very interesting city in general. Like Wales (2006) emphasises:

> York could once make claim to be the capital of a Northern kingdom that rivalled the Southern, and a kingdom that was long regarded as the 'foreign country within' … and relatively independent politically until the end of the medieval period. (p. 211)

In fact, its importance exceeded the medieval period. Up until the eighteenth century, York was "a strong challenger … to London's dominance" (Wales, 2006, p. 6). The accent of York has, unfortunately, not been given the attention it deserves from linguists. In this thesis I want to do something about this, even if only on a small scale.

Scope and focus of the investigation

The number of people speaking the accent of York is large. Thus it would be beyond the scope of the current investigation to research the accent of all age groups and both genders. The conclusions of this thesis, therefore, do not attempt to be representative of all people speaking the accent of York. Instead, it will focus on one age group and one gender, namely females in their mid-to-late twenties, in order to see whether or not patterns are visible even on the level of individuals.

Previous research has shown that twenty-something girls constitute the group of speakers who are the leaders of accent change (Labov, 2001, p. 366; Foulkes and Docherty, 1999, p. 16). Consequently, by studying this subset of the population in detail, the findings might indicate the direction in which the accent of York in general is heading. In this sense the present study is inspired by the MA thesis by Ingebjørg Myrstad-Nilsen (2011), who

researched developments in the accent of the North Yorkshire community of Egton. However, unlike Myrstad-Nilsen (2011), who mainly had a phonetic focus, the present study will have a more sociolinguistic focus. This means that, in addition to a phonetic analysis of current pronunciation, space will be given to analysing the causes of accent variation and change among the informants. The main social factors to be looked at are mobility and attitudes.

Research questions

The questions this thesis will attempt to answer are the following:

1) How are the typical northern vowels and the YORK vowel realised among my informants?
2) Is there any evidence of accent levelling among the informants?
3) Can possible differences in degree of accent levelling be explained by differing attitudes and/or degrees of mobility?

In order to test this, sociolinguistic interviews were conducted and five phonological variables studied. Four of these are the typical northern vowels, the STRUT, BATH, FACE and GOAT vowels. In addition to these general northern vowels, a specific variable for Yorkshire English will also be studied, here called the "YORK" vowel. YORK is not part of Wells's (1982) lexical sets (see section 2.2.2), but has been chosen to represent the vowel used in Wells's (1982) THOUGHT, NORTH and FORCE sets, as the same vowel is used for all these sets, i.e. /ɔ:/. It is the realisation of this phoneme in York that makes it interesting, as it is generally realised as less rounded and more open than in Received Pronunciation, henceforth referred to as RP.

Outline of the thesis

The second chapter will outline previous research into the accents of York, Yorkshire and the North, especially with regards to the five vowels to be studied. Next, in chapter three, there will be an account of the theoretical background of this thesis and an explanation of key terminology used. The fourth chapter will describe and explain the methods used for data collection and data analysis in this study, while the fifth and sixth chapters will treat the findings and analyses of this study. Chapter five presents the findings pertaining to the informants' accents and to accent levelling, while chapter six will attempt to determine the

causes of accent levelling. A discussion will follow in chapter seven, where I will return to the three research questions and discuss the present findings in light of previous research. Finally, chapter eight will provide some concluding remarks on the answers gained from and questions raised in this thesis, some reflections on what I would have done differently in a replication study, the strengths and weaknesses of the present study, and some suggestions for further research.

2 York

This chapter will give a description of the accent spoken in the city of York. The description will be based on earlier studies of the York accent and of the accents of places close to York. A detailed account will be given of the vowels of York English, as well as a brief account of consonants. Before that, however, there will be a very short introduction to the geography, economy and demography of the city of York.

2.1 The city of York

The city of York is a northern English city in the county of North Yorkshire where the River Foss meets the River Ouse (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2014). It is located "approximately midway between the cities of Hull (54 km to the southeast) and Leeds and Bradford (35 and 50 km to the southwest, respectively" (Haddican *et al*., 2013, p. 374). Moreover, it is roughly midway between London and Edinburgh. It used to the centre of the historic Yorkshire county (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2014).

Although the city has some industry, for instance "railway cars as well as shock absorbers, optical instruments, glass containers, and sugar and chocolate candies," it is mainly known for its cathedral, the York Minster, as a cathedral city, and for being a popular tourist destination (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, 2014). Tourism is also the city's main source of income (Haddican *et al*., 2013, p. 375).

According to the U.K. Census of 2011, the population of York is currently just under 200,000 (cited in Haddican *et al*., 2013, p. 375). In addition to the permanent residents, there are more than 20,000 students in York during the academic year, making up just over a tenth of the population. Among these are c. 15,300 students at the University of York and c. 6,400 students at York St John University (The university of York, 2015; The complete university guide, 2015).

2.2 The accent of English in York

Very little research into the *accent* of English in York has been conducted. Instead, the focus has been on the morphosyntactic features of York English (see for instance Tagliamonte, 1998; Tagliamonte and Roeder, 2005; and Tagliamonte and Baayen, 2012). The following section will therefore account for typical features of York where it has been possible to determine these. Furthermore, studies of typical features of the accents of other Yorkshire or

northern English towns will be accounted for as well, since they might provide an indication of what to expect of the accent of English in the city of York today. In order to describe the accent, only the features that are different from RP will be focused on. Thus, RP will here be used as a reference accent, and familiarity with the phoneme inventory of RP will be assumed.

2.2.1 Consonants

There has not been much scientific work on the consonants of the York accent. Therefore this section will give an account of consonant features in Yorkshire English. First, features that are shared with other regional accent across the U.K. will be described. Next, the focus will be on consonant features limited to Yorkshire in general, and Bradford and Hull specifically, as there exist descriptions of the accents of these cities. Since York is, as mentioned above, located between these two cities, there might be some similarities with the accents of both these cities. This is known in dialectology as a "dialect continuum", i.e. "[t]he further we get from our starting point, the larger the differences [between the dialects spoken in those places] will become" (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998, pp. 5-6). Conversely, the closer two geographical areas are to one another, the more similar the accents spoken in these areas will be, perhaps only being separated by one or a few accent features.

Regional accent features

According to Wells (1982) and Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012), Yorkshire accents share certain consonant features with other regional accents in the United Kingdom. One of these is so-called *H-dropping*, which refers to not pronouncing *h*-es[1] at all, whether in stressed or unstressed positions (Wells, 1982, p. 253-6). This is an example of a systemic difference. A systemic difference refers to a quantitative or qualitative difference in the phonemic system of accents (Wells, 1982, p. 76). Phonemes are the smallest contrastive components of language (Nilsen, 2010, p. 34). Thus, if an accent has a different number of phonemes, or the specific phonemes are different from the ones in the reference accent, RP, there is a systemic difference. In regional accents where *h*-es are not pronounced, the phoneme inventory is smaller, since the phoneme /h/ does not exist. H-dropping is listed by Wells (1982) as a feature of accents in the middle north, where he places Yorkshire (pp. 371, 350). Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) also list H-dropping when describing the accents of Bradford and

[1] Here italics will be used to indicate spelling.

Hull (pp. 106, 109). Thus it is reasonable to assume that H-dropping might be a feature of York English as well.

A second consonant feature that Yorkshire accents share with other regional accents is the pronunciation of the–*ing* variable (Wells, 1982, p. 262). The term –*ing* variable denotes the pronunciation of the non-finite verb suffix -*ing*, and sometimes of -*ing* in unstressed positions in words like *ceiling* (Wells, 1982, p. 262). The RP realisation of this variable is /ɪŋ/, while regional accents often pronounce it /ɪn/ (Wells, 1982, p. 262). This is an example of a phonotactic difference, or distributional variation, which refers to variation in where a phoneme can occur in a syllable or word, i.e. variation in the possible distribution of phonemes in a word or syllable (Wells, 1982, p. 75). Thus, the spelling <–ing> will be pronounced /ɪŋ/ in some contexts, like in *sing* (where it is not a suffix, but part of the root), while as an unstressed suffix it will be pronounced /ɪn/ in regional accents, like in *singing*. Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) list this pronunciation as a feature of the Bradford accent, and thus it might also occur in the York accent.

A third Yorkshire consonant feature common to all regional accents is *glottalization*, where the phoneme /t/ is sometimes realised by a glottal stop, [ʔ] (Wells, 1982 pp. 260-1). Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) write that, "[i]n most British regional accents … the glottal stop is … widely used, particularly as an allophone of word-medial and word-final /t/" (p. 67). This is an example of a realisational difference (Wells, 1982, p. 73). Variation in the realisation of phonemes refers to the fact that phonemes can be pronounced, or realised, by various concrete articulations depending on the phonetic context as well as on who is talking. The differences thus lie in which realisations are chosen for the different phonemes (Wells, 1982, p. 73; Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012, p. 40). Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) list glottalling of /t/ in word-final position as a feature of both the Bradford and the Hull accents , and might thus occur in York English too (pp. 106, 109). As it only occurs when /t/ is in word-final position, glottalization could arguably also be classified as a phonotactically determined realisational difference.

Yorkshire consonant features

There are a few consonant features that are specific to Yorkshire accents. One of these, shared with other northern English accents, is *t-to-r*, meaning that /t/ is realised as [ɹ] "when word-final /t/ is followed by a vowel initial word and preceded by a short vowel" (Broadbent, 2008, p. 141; Wells, 1982). Wells (1982) suggests that this comes from the historic process of replacing /t/ with an alveolar tap, [ɾ], in similar contexts; the same process is found in for

example American pronunciation (pp. 370, 248; Broadbent, 2008). According to Broadbent (2008) this process is being replaced by glottalization in the same contexts, but a "*t*-to-*r* fossil is maintained in [a small group of frequent words] in [West Yorkshire]", like "*shut up* [ʃʊɹ ʊp]" (p. 141). In Hull in East Yorkshire, on the other hand, Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) say that /t/ is "highly variable" and that it is sometimes replaced by a glottal stop and other times by an alveolar tap (p. 109). In York, therefore, one might possibly expect both glottal, tapping or rhotic realisational variants of /t/ in these contexts.

Another consonant feature found in Yorkshire, as well as the rest of the north of England, is a weak distinction between clear and dark /l/ (Wells, 1982, p. 370). Like Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) point out in their description of the Hull accent: "As elsewhere in Yorkshire, /l/ is generally quite dark in both syllable onset and coda positions" (p. 109). As such, this realisational difference might be expected in the York accent too.

A feature unique to Yorkshire, and not found in other northern accents, is known as *Yorkshire assimilation* (Wells, 1982). Wells (1982, pp. 366-7) explains that, "[ɪ]t arises when a final voiced obstruent comes into contact with an initial voiceless obstruent, either within a compound word or across a true word boundary, and has the effect of completely devoicing the former consonant." Examples include *live performance* and *wide trousers* being realised in broad phonetic transcription as [ˈlaɪf pəˈfɔːməns] and [waɪt ˈtraʊzəz], respectively (Wells, 1982, pp. 366-7). Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) write about a similar feature in West Yorkshire English, but unlike Wells (1982) they state that devoicing happens to plosives only (p. 106). Regardless of what is characterised as Yorkshire assimilation, it is mainly a feature of West and South Yorkshire (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012, p. 106; Wells, 1982, p. 367). However, Wells (1982) thinks that it might spread to York in North Yorkshire (p. 367).

In addition to the stated consonant features of Yorkshire English, there are a few that are specific to Hull in East Yorkshire. These are pre-aspiration of voiceless plosives; "/k/ … realised as [ʔ] … and as [x]"; TH-fronting, where /θ/ and /ð/ become /f/ and /v/, respectively; and secondary contraction, where, for instance, *can't* is maximally contracted to [k^{h}aːʔ] (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012, pp. 109-110; Williams and Kerswill, 1999). These features might have spread to York English.

2.2.2 Vowels

This thesis is mainly interested in the realisations of vowels in York, mainly because "[v]owels on the whole carry more responsibility than consonants in determining differences

between accents" (Foulkes and Docherty, 1999, p. 12). The current section will therefore be devoted to the description of the vowels of York English and to giving a short account of the historical development of these vowels. However, only the five vowels to be studied will be described. These are the vowels in such words as *strut*, *bath*, *face*, *goat* and *York*. These vowels have been chosen because the first four vowels are the ones that are typically used to distinguish northern accents from RP, and that are well-researched and thus make the current thesis comparable to other studies. The vowel in *York* is chosen because it is specific to Yorkshire in particular.

This section will be outlined as follows. First there will be an explanation of the lexical sets of Wells (1982) that will be used extensively in this thesis. Next, there will be a description of each of the five vowels. Lastly, there will be an explanation of vowel-part systems and the York accent will be placed in such a system.

Wells's lexical sets

Wells (1982) developed a system of classifying vowels. This system has been used extensively since it was introduced. He calls it *standard lexical sets* and it refers to the lexical-incidential differences between accents (Wells, 1982, p. 122). Lexical-incidential differences is the fourth category of differences between accents, in addition to the three previously described ones: systemic differences, realisational differences, and phonotactic differences (Wells, 1982, pp.78-80). It denotes groups of words with the same vowel which might be different from the vowel used in the same group of words by other speakers (Wells, 1982, pp.78-80). For example, some people prefer to pronounce the word *either* /ˈaɪðə/ while others pronounce it /ˈiːðə/ (Wells, 1982, p. 78). This variation between /aɪ/ and /iː/ might be found within several accents, but it refers to incidental rather than systemic differences in pronunciation.

There are other lexical-incidential variations which are more systemic and that can distinguish accents, and this is where Wells's (1982) lexical sets become particularly useful. Wells (1982) managed to create a classification system of words that enables comparison between accents with regards to which vowel they use in each word category (p. xviii). Each of the 24 categories of words is given a keyword with a specific vowel in it to represent the entire category of words where the same vowel is used (Wells, 1982, pp. xviii-xix). The interesting lexical sets in the present description of York English are STRUT, BATH, FACE, GOAT, THOUGHT, NORTH and FORCE. The last three of these will in this study be combined and referred to as "the YORK set".

STRUT

STRUT words include all words which in RP have the vowel quality of /ʌ/, such as *cup*, *run*, *love*, *country* and *blood* (Wells, 1982, p. 132). Because of a split from the Middle English /u/, called the FOOT- STRUT Split, the current RP pronunciation of STRUT is different from the pronunciation of FOOT: today RP has /ʌ/ in words with the STRUT vowel and /ʊ/ in words with the FOOT vowel (Wells, 1982, pp. 132, 196-199). The FOOT- STRUT Split took place only in southern English accents. This left a so-called residualism in northern English accents (Wells, 1982, pp. 196-199, 351-352). Residualisms refer to accent features that are retained, but only in some accents (Wells, 1982, p. 184). Northern accents, without the FOOT- STRUT Split, consequently have a residualism, since they have kept /ʊ/ in all contexts (Wells, 1982, pp. 184, 196-199, 351-352). These accents are therefore more conservative than southern accents.

However, the realisation of STRUT is not necessarily /ʊ/ in all cases. Wells (1982) explains that northern pronunciations of /ʊ/ might sometimes be slightly more open, being realised as [ʊ̞] or [ɤ], or even a stressed [ə] (p. 352). Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013) also observe that,

> [m]any northern English speakers, perhaps under the influence of RP, have a 'fudged' vowel which is between /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ in quality in words such as *but* (and sometimes in words such as *put* as well). Generally, this vowel is around [ə]. (p. 60)

This pronunciation distinguishes STRUT words from FOOT words and would therefore indicate a possible on-going FOOT- STRUT Split in the North. Or perhaps a STRUT-Schwa-Merger is underway, like there has been in Welsh English (Wells, 1982, pp. 132, 380)?

In West Yorkshire the vowel in STRUT words is /ʊ/ according to Wells (1982, p. 365). Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012), whose recordings of the Bradford accent were performed before the first edition of their book was published in 1979, say the same thing, i.e. "[t]here is no distinction between pairs of words like *put* and *putt*: both have /ʊ/" (p. 104). Petyt (1985), however, believes this portrayal to be "over-simplified" (p. 117). He found that there is a lot of variation in West Yorkshire between both /ʌ/ and /ʊ/ and that there actually is "a degree of unpredictability" (Petyt, 1985, p. 117).

East and South Yorkshire, represented by Hull and Sheffield, are fairly similar in that /ʊ/ is the main pronunciation in STRUT words (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012, p. 108;

Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson, 1999, p. 74). According to the research performed by Williams and Kerswill (1999), middle-class speakers in Hull might also be heard using [ə] (p. 146; Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012; p. 108). Studying the accent spoken in the North Yorkshire village of Egton, about 40 miles north of York, Myrstad-Nilsen (2011) found that the STRUT vowel was "moving towards a more central quality," but that realisations still "were pronounced with some degree of lip rounding" (p. 94).

In some areas of the North it also happens that certain STRUT words are realised by the rounded, open back vowel [ɒ] (Wells, 1982, p. 362). This often happens to *one*, which is pronounced /wɒn/ instead of /wʊn/ which one would expect, but it can also happen to words like "*once*, *among*, *none* and *among*" (Wells, 1982, p. 362). According to Wells (1982), "the /wɒn/ area includes Birmingham, Stoke, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield," while people in areas to the east and to the north of these would use /wʊn/ (p. 362). Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson (1999) confirm this in the case of Sheffield. Interestingly, Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson (1999) go on to report that [ɒ] "can be heard occasionally in words such as *money*, *slush*, *other*, *mother*, particularly with females of middle age" (p. 74). Since York is in North Yorkshire, then according to Wells (1982) people in York should pronounce this type of words with [ʊ].

The previous research concerning the STRUT vowel clearly suggests that this is a very fascinating vowel with a high degree of variation. As York is located approximately in the middle of Bradford in West Yorkshire, Egton in North Yorkshire, Hull in East Yorkshire and Sheffield in South Yorkshire, it will be very interesting to see how the present findings compare with previous studies.

BATH

The BATH vowel, /a/, is typically realised as [a] or [æ] in the north of England (Wells, 1982, pp. 134-135, 203-205, 353-356). These are short monophthongs and a residualism from earlier times, as northern accents were not affected by the pre-fricative lengthening of the seventeenth century, which caused the vowel in southern accents to change from /æ/ to /æː/ (Wells, 1982, pp. 203-205). Neither were northern accents affected by the TRAP-BATH Split that took place in the south of England sometime between the middle of the seventeenth century and the twentieth century, causing southern /æː/ to change qualitatively to /ɑː/ and thus clearly distinguishing it from the TRAP vowel, /æ/ (Wells, 1982, p. 232). Because of these two residualisms, northern English accents are labelled flat-BATH accents since the

same vowel is used in both BATH and TRAP, as opposed to broad-BATH accents, where the BATH vowel is the same as the vowel in PALM (Wells, 1982, pp. 134, 353).

According to Wells (1982) there is an attitudinal difference between using the traditional /ʊ/ in STRUT and /a/ or /æ/ in BATH (p. 354). He writes:

> There are many educated northerners who would not be caught dead doing something so vulgar as to pronounce STRUT words with [ʊ], but would feel it to be a denial of their identity as northerners to say BATH words with anything other than short [a]. (Wells, 1982, p. 354).

Given that such an attitudinal difference exists, it will be interesting to see whether differences in attitude might be found among the informants in the present study.

In almost all accounts of the West Yorkshire, East Yorkshire, South Yorkshire and North Yorkshire accents, [a] is used for the BATH vowel, instead of RP [ɑ:] (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012, pp. 104, 108; Wells, 1982, p. 365; Williams and Kerswill, 1999, p. 143; Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson, 1999, p. 74; Myrstad-Nilsen, 2011, p. 94). In addition to [a], Williams and Kerswill (1999) say that a slightly more retracted variant, [a̠], is even more frequent in Hull (p. 143). Furthermore, in Sheffield in South Yorkshire, Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson (1999) state that "[ɑ:], [is] sometimes slightly centralised, for younger speakers" in BATH words (p. 74).

Petyt (1985), on the other hand, uses [æ] in his study of West Yorkshire English (p. 167-168). He even states that, "most speakers cling to /æ/ here – sometimes belligerently" (Petyt, 1985, p. 167). It is difficult to know whether there is a qualitative difference between the BATH vowel used in Petyt's (1985) study and in the others. In the present study both [a] and [æ] will be used with their IPA[2] values in order to indicate a real difference in place of articulation.

FACE AND GOAT

In RP, FACE and GOAT words are realised by the closing diphthongs /eɪ/ and /əʊ/, respectively (Wells, 1982, p. 141; 146). In northern English accents, however, they are frequently realised by either the long monophthongs [e:] and [o:] or the diphthongs [ɛɪ] and [oʊ] (Wells, 1982, pp. 141-142; 146, 192-194). The reason for this is that northern accents have not gone through the processes called the Long Mid Mergers and Long Mid Diphthonging (Wells, 1982, pp. 192-194, 210-211). Before the seventeenth century there

[2] The International Phonetic Alphabet

used to be a distinction between FACE words like *daze* and *days*, which were pronounced with [ɛ:] and [ɛi], respectively, and GOAT words like *nose* and *knows*, pronounced [no:z] and [nɔʊz], respectively (Wells, 1982, pp. 193-194). In the south of England these vowels were merged to [ɛ:]/[e:] and [o:] in both contexts (Wells, 1982, p. 193). In the North, however, these processes did not take place (Wells, 1982, pp. 192-194, 210-211). Neither did the processes were the southern merged vowels, [ɛ:]/[e:] and [o:], diphthongized to [eɪ] and [oʊ] around 1800 take place in northern accents (Wells, 1982, pp. 210-211). Thus the original vowels, the monophthongs [e:] (raised from [ɛ:]) and [o:], and the diphthongs [ɛɪ] and [oʊ], sometimes continue to exist "in rural and conservative urban working-class accents of the north of England" (Wells, 1982, pp. 211, 357). Although Wells (1982) claims that, "[e]ven in the urban accents of the middle north *eight* may fail to rhyme with *late*, [ɛɪt] vs. [le:t]," he also goes on to say that diphthonging is spreading in the North as well (p. 357).

Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) give examples of both diphthongal and monophthongal realisations of FACE and GOAT in Bradford in West Yorkshire, although "younger speakers generally use /əʊ/" in GOAT words (p. 105). Wells (1982) also lists both diphthongal and monophthongal realisations for the accents of the middle north (pp. 364-365). Petyt (1985) does the same in his account of the West Yorkshire accent (pp. 124, 132). At the same time he suggests that the two realisations of FACE are merging into [e:] and that the two realisations of GOAT might merge into [o:] (Petyt, 1985, pp. 124, 132).

Monophthongal realisation of FACE is what is mainly found in Hull and Sheffield, although there are a few [ɛɪ]-realisations as well in words like e*ight* (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012, p. 108; Williams and Kerswill, 1999, p. 146; Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson, 1999, p. 74). The quality, however, is said to be a more open [ɛ:] (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012, p. 108). In addition, a short [ɛ] is reported in the words *make* and *take* in both Hull and Sheffield (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012, p. 108; Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson, 1999, p. 74). In Egton in North Yorkshire, Myrstad-Nilsen (2011) found that "the vowel quality in these lexical sets is still monophthongal" (p. 95).

There has been one important and recent study of the FACE and GOAT vowels in York, namely a real time and apparent time study by Haddican *et al.* from 2013 (Haddican *et al.*, 2013). By comparing data samples from 1998 and 2008 they have found that the FACE and GOAT vowels are in the process of being diphthongized in all contexts (Haddican *et al.*, 2013, p. 395). They also found that, "[s]peakers who expressed the strongest allegiance to the community tended toward conservative monophthongal variant, whereas those who identified less strongly with the community produced more diphthongal forms" (p. 396). It will be

interesting in the present study to see how far this diphthongization process has gone among girls in their twenties.

The monophthongal realisation of GOAT, [o:], appears to be in process of being fronted to [ə:], or the rounded variant [ɵ:], in Yorkshire, starting in Hull and moving westwards and southwards (Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012, pp. 105, 108; Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson, 1999, p. 74; Watt and Tillotson, 2001, p. 269). According to Watt and Tillotson's study from 2001:

> To date, however, our enquiries to West Yorkshire English speakers about the use of such pronunciations in Bradford and Leeds have resulted in responses stating quite categorically that [snɵ:], [bɵ:t] and [blɵ:k] are East Yorkshire pronunciations that people in West Yorkshire would never use. (Watt and Tillotson, 2001, p. 296)

Particularly interesting for the present study, regarding GOAT fronting in York, Watt and Tillotson (2001) also report knowledge gained through personal communication with Sali Tagliamonte, who has researched the York dialect extensively (e.g. Tagliamonte and Baayen, 2012):

> The fronted form may be heard in the speech of York children, according to Sali Tagliamonte (p.c.), who also suggests that it is strongly marked for gender and that it is commonest in the items *know* and *no*. It may also have an interactive function, indicating that [ɵ:] is pragmatically as well as socially significant to young York speakers. (Footnote p. 297).

Haddican *et al.*'s (2013) study, published twelve years after Watt and Tillotson's (2001) article, find "a somewhat slower rate of change for FACE/GOAT diphthongization than for GOAT/GOOSE fronting" (p. 395).

Wales (2006), quite interestingly, suggest that this phenomena of GOAT fronting took place in the twentieth century and that Orton, the main linguist behind the *Survey of English Dialects*, commented on it even in the beginning of the 1930s:

> Wakelin (1984: 71), following Orton as long ago as 1933, argues that the twentieth-century emergent rounded front vowel /ø:/ in words like, bone, loaf, road in north Durham and Tyne and Wear rather than the traditional and endangered /ɪə/ is an attempt to 'conform more closely' to RP, but this is a matter of debate. (p. 173)

It will be very interesting, therefore, whether present will find more fronted monophthongal realisation of GOAT than diphthongal realisations of GOAT, and whether or not fronted variants of GOAT are rounded.

YORK

The last vowel to be accounted for is the YORK vowel, with the RP pronunciation /ɔ:/. In Wells' (1982) lexical set, this vowel is found in the NORTH, FORCE AND THOUGHT sets (pp. 159-162, 144-146). YORK is thus used to cover all these three, since this is a Yorkshire phenomenon and is occurring in the word *York* itself. The realisation of this vowel in some northern accents is different from the RP realisation, as Wells (1982) points out:

> In the middle north, /ɔ:/ is often fully open in quality, [ɒ:]. This is understandable, given the [ɵ̞:] realization of GOAT and the pressure to preserve a clear distinction between GOAT and THOUGHT, as [lɵ̞:] *low* vs. [lɒ:] *law*. Compare also the word *jaw-bone* [ˈdʒɒ:bɵ̞:n], which sounds almost like RP '*jar-born*' /ˈdʒɑ:bɔ:n/. (p. 360)

Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) use [ɒ̝:] to represent a more open quality of /ɔ:/ sometimes found in Bradford English (p.105). The diacritic also indicates that they see it as less rounded than the RP /ɒ/. In their treatment of the Hull accent, /ɔ:/ is described as open and represented as "typically [ɒ:] … or a fully unrounded [ɑ:]" (p. 109). In the present thesis [ɒ̝:] will be used to represent the less rounded, more open realisation of /ɔ:/ as opposed to the RP-like [ɔ:].

Studies of this feature are rather scarce. In their description of Newcastle vowels, Watt and Milroy (1999) say that the realisation is "[g]enerally [ɔ:], though [a:] is sporadic in [working-class] pronunciations of *walk*, *talk*, *bald*, *all*, *wall fall*, *call*, *ball*, *war*, etc." (p. 28). Thus there is some evidence that [ɒ̝:]-realisations could be a feature of Bradford, Hull and Newcastle pronunciation.

On the opposite side of the River Tyne from Newcastle, in the town of Gateshead, Viereck (1968) states that /ɑ:/ is a dialectal form of RP /ɔ:/ and suggests that it developed from /au/ in Middle English (ME) and, among others, *a* in Old English (OE), though not all the way into /ɔ:/ like in RP:

> ME /au/ SOURCES :
> 1. OE *ag* (saw, law), OE *aw* (claw), OE *āw* (thaw), OE *ēaw* (raw, straw).
> 2. OE *ea* (walk), OE *æ* (small); ON *a* (call); OF *a* (false). Shortly after 1500 ME /a/ before /l/ was diphthongized to /au/.

3. OE *āw* (blow, know, snow), OE *āg* (own), OE *ēaw* (show).

> The second element of ME /au/ was weakened and finally dropped, whereas the first was lengthened and retracted, yielding /ɑ:/ in the standard language and the dialect. In the latter this is the form we usually encounter today (in groups 1, 2, and 3). Thus ME /au/ is levelled with ME /ar/ (+ cons.) in Gateshead speech. In the standard language /ɑ:/ developed further in groups 1 and 2, was raised and finally became /ɔ:/. Today, however, the RP phoneme /ɔ:/ is gradually replacing the dialectal /ɑ:/. (p. 70)

It will be very interesting to see whether the current informants have such an open and un-rounded [ɒ:]-realisation of the YORK vowel, perhaps even as open and non-rounded as / ɑ:/. The present study of the YORK vowel might therefore add to our understanding of back vowels in Yorkshire accents.

Vowel-part system for York English

In order to summarise the assumed vowels of traditional York English, the vowels will be placed in a vowel-part system. Wells (1982), in addition to creating his widely used lexical sets, also established a systematic overview of the vowels of accents in order to make them comparable for a typology (pp. 168-183). The vowel-part system is divided, as the name suggests, into different parts: part A, B, C and D (Wells, 1982, pp. 168-178).

Wells (1982) explains, "[p]art-system A comprises the traditional stressable short vowels" (p. 168). Included in the first part-system we therefore find the STRUT vowel (Wells, 1982, p. 168). "Part-system B comprises those of the traditional long vowels and diphthongs which have a front mid to close quality or (if diphthongal) endpoint" (Wells, 1982, p. 171). In part-system B we find, among three others, the FACE vowel (Wells, 1982, p. 171). Wells (1982) continues to explain that, "[p]art-system C comprises those of the traditional long vowels and diphthongs which have a back mid to close quality or (if diphthongal) endpoint," including the GOAT vowel (p. 173). Finally, "[p]art-system D comprises those of the traditional long vowels and diphthongs which have a relatively open quality or (if diphthongal) endpoint, including under 'relatively open' the mid central quality [ə]" and this is where we find the YORK vowel (Wells, 1982, p. 175).

The BATH vowel is interesting here, since in the reference accent RP, it forms part of part-system D (Wells, 1982, p. 182). In Yorkshire accents, however, the BATH vowel is a short, stressed monophthong and therefore fits into part-system A instead. Wells (1982) has provided a full schematic vowel-part system for the Leeds accent which he takes to be

applicable to the other accents of the middle north as well, including the York accent (pp. 364-365):

ɪ		ʊ	iː				uː		ɪə		ʊə
ɛ			eː	(ɛɪ)			oː		ɛː	ɜː	ɔə
a		ɒ	aɪ		ɔɪ	aʊ	(oʊ)		aː		ɔː

Figure 1: The Leeds vowel system

In Wells's (1982) vowel system for Leeds the NORTH vowel, /ɔː/, is separated from the FORCE and THOUGHT vowels, /ɔə/. In the present study, however, all three vowels are seen as /ɔː/. It will be very interesting to see whether the present study of York English gives a similar vowel-part system, or if perhaps some changes are taking place, for instance to the GOAT vowel or the YORK vowel. Before moving on to the present study and its findings, the next chapter will explain the theoretical background of the current study.

3 Theoretical background

3.1 Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is a very vast field of study. It sometimes has a focus on the language users, what Hymes (1974) calls the "social as well as the linguistic … orientation in sociolinguistics" (pp. 13-14). This orientation includes, among others, "social problems involving language and the use of language" and foreign language didactics (Hymes, 1974, p. 14). Sociolinguistic studies can also focus on what language is used for, which Hymes (1974) calls "socially constituted linguistics" (pp. 13-15). It includes functional linguistics, discourse analysis and pragmatics, to mention some (see for instance Halliday and Hasan, 1976; Thompson, 2014; Cook, 1989; Cutting, 2008).

In the current thesis, however, the term sociolinguistics will be used to refer to what Hymes (1974) calls "socially realistic linguistics" (pp. 13-14). Here the focus is more linguistic than social. Instead, the "social" is used to create categories to understand variations and changes in language use (Hymes, 1974, p. 14). Accordingly, this type of sociolinguistics is often called variationist sociolinguistics (Meyerhoff, 2011, pp. 137, 316), associated with for instance Labov's studies of Martha's Vineyard and New York City (Meyerhoff, 2011, pp. 18-26, 33-40; Labov, 1972), Trudgill's study of Norwich (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 219; Trudgill, 1974) and Britain's study of the Fens (Meyerhoff, 2011, pp. 15-17; Britain, 2013, pp. 484-487). Meyerhoff (2011) gives this definition of variationist sociolinguistics: "The study of language in use with a focus on describing and explaining the distribution of *variables*" (p. 316, original italics). By variable she means "the feature of language that varies" in different dialects, for instance the pronunciation of STRUT (Meyerhoff, p. 10). Each variable can have different variants, or "actual instantiations," in different dialects, for instance STRUT could have the variants, [ʊ] and [ʌ], (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 10).

The aim of the current thesis is to describe and explain variations in the distribution of different realisations, or variants, of the variables STRUT, BATH, FACE, GOAT and YORK. Consequently, this thesis will only focus on the pronunciation of vowels in York, even though variationist sociolinguists of course can study anything to do with a language variety, be it grammar, vocabulary or other aspects. The following section will therefore look more into accent variation and change.

3.2 Accent variation and change

According to Wells (1982), "[t]he fundamental reason why accents differ is that languages change" (p. 93). Thus, accent variation is caused by differing degrees of change in accents, and different kinds of changes taking place in different accents. Most linguists will agree with this. However, when trying to understand the previous stage, why languages change, there is an on-going debate (Farrar and Jones, 2002). Although everyone agrees that the picture is complex, some linguists claim that the key to understanding language change lies within languages, while others mainly focus on language contact, or even influences outside of language itself (Farrar and Jones, 2002). Section 3.2.3 will therefore account for the different views, and explain why, in the current context, the extra-linguistic factors of mobility and attitudes will arguably be the most important factor. Before that, it is important to explain some key concepts and how they are used in this thesis, in addition to presenting an overview of sociolinguistic patterns of variation.

3.2.1 Definition of key concepts

Accent and *dialect*

Linguists use the terms *accent* and *dialect* in different ways. Labov (1972; 1994) uses the term *dialect* as an umbrella term for all kinds of differences between different varieties of a language. For instance, he writes about "syntactic dialects" and "[t]he general phonological pattern of current English dialects" in order to distinguish the type of variation, whether it is syntactical or phonological variation (Labov, 1972, p. 192; Labov, 1994, p. 63). Meyerhoff (2011), on the other hand, uses the term *variety*, since this is perceived to be a more neutral term than *dialect*, which could be causing "complex, sometimes negative connotations" (p. 32). Trudgill (2000) uses *dialect* to refer to "differences of vocabulary and grammar as well as pronunciation" (p. 5). In addition, the term *accent* is used to refer "solely to differences of pronunciation" (Trudgill, 2000, p. 5), that is, the phonological and phonetic part of a dialect. Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013) differ from all of the above in that *dialect* is used exclusively to refer to differences in vocabulary and grammar, while *accent* covers differences in pronunciation (p. 3).

I agree with Labov (1972; 1994) and Trudgill (2000) that the term *dialect* should be used to cover all types of differences between varieties of a language, be it within pronunciation, grammar or vocabulary. This thesis is only interested in differences in pronunciation. Unlike Labov (1972; 1994), I here prefer to use a specific term to refer to

phonological and phonetic differences, rather than using an excessive phrase like "phonological differences between dialects". In the present thesis I am therefore going to use the term *accent*.

More specifically I am going to study a geographical accent, meaning that the accent is limited to the speakers living in a specific geographical area, as opposed to, for instance, a social accent, which is limited to the speakers belonging to a specific social class or life-mode (Wells, 1982, pp. 8-14). The geographical area under investigation here is the city of York. Thus, given that York is an urban centre, I am also researching an urban accent, instead of a rural accent spoken in a rural area (Wells, 1982, p. 11). See more on urban accents below in section 3.2.

Accent levelling

The type of accent change that this thesis is interested in is known as *accent levelling*. Research on accent and dialect levelling began in the 1980s and has been going on for four decades now (Torgersen and Kerswill, 2004, p. 24). It can therefore be seen as quite a recent research topic in accent and dialect studies. According to Torgersen and Kerswill (2004), dialect levelling denotes:

> the reduction in the number of realisations of linguistic units found in a defined area, usually through the loss of geographically and demographically restricted, or 'marked', variants, and the closely related notion of *dialect convergence*, by which two or more varieties become more alike through convergent changes (p. 24).

Since accent is part of dialect, we can assume that the same holds true for accent levelling. In other words, accent levelling consists of two things: features that clearly distinguish one accent from the next are dropped and two or more accents converge, causing the formation of new pronunciations (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 252; Foulkes and Docherty, 1999, p. 13). This process is sometimes referred as koinéisation where the result is the emergence of immigrant koinés or new dialects (Schneider, 2011, p. 47; Kerswill, 2006, p. 14). Sometimes even new accents can be formed, like the accent of Milton Keynes (Kerswill, 2006, p. 14). In the discussion of koinéisation it can be confusing that *levelling*, without specifying *accent levelling* or *dialect levelling*, is solely used to refer to the first part of this process, that is, dropping marked features (Kerswill, 2006, p. 14). In the current thesis, therefore, *levelling*, with or without the premodifier *accent*, will only be used to denote *accent levelling*.

According to Meyerhoff (2011), "[i]n Britain … there is competition and tension between supra-local, non-standard variants (like the glottal and th-fronting), local vernacular variants, and the supra-local prestige forms of Standard English" (p. 142-143). The process of accent levelling, therefore, can sometimes cause "southern features being adopted in the whole country" (Kerswill, 2000, p. 6). At other times, as Kerswill (2000) points out, "particularly [regarding] vowels, this is not so: levelling, instead, is regional in character, usually centred on a big city like Glasgow or Newcastle or Leeds" (p. 6). In Yorkshire, it is therefore reasonable to assume that the people living in villages and the countryside surrounding York will level their vowels to make them more similar to the York accent.

The spread of accent levelling consequently supports the gravity model of how innovations in accents spread geographically. According to the gravity model, linguistic innovations will spread according to the size of the city or town, "the larger the city/town, the sooner an innovation is likely to show up there" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 271; Wells, 1982, p. 13; see more on this below in section 3.2.3). This model of diffusion is different from Schmidt's wave-theory from 1872, where "linguistic changes [are] spreading across the country like waves or meteorological fronts" (Schmidt, 1872 referenced in Wells, 1982, p. 13; Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 252; Labov, 2007). Instead, as Wells (1982) explains:

> the commonest pattern is for an innovation to arise in a large city, particularly the political capital, and to spread out from there to other cities, thence to towns, and thence to villages, in rather the same way that fashions in clothes or hair-styles do. This is why country speech is conservative or old-fashioned, while city speech is innovative and up-to-date. (p. 104)

Foulkes and Docherty (1999) also mentions the association between urban centres and fashion (p. 14). The association with fashion and modernity can also be seen in speech signalling identity. Like the quote cited by Foulkes and Docherty (1999), that Geordie speakers, from the city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, want to "sound like northerners, but modern northerners" (p. 14). They do this by levelling their accents, through "avoiding variants which they perceive to be particularly indicative of their local roots, while at the same time adopting some features which are perceived to be non-local" (Foulkes and Docherty, 1999, p. 14). This makes urban accents very interesting to study, as they might predict how nearby accents will change too (Wells, 1982, p. 11, 104; Foulkes and Docherty, 1999, p. 14).

When accents in several neighbouring areas become similar to each other due to accent levelling, for example as in the quote in the title of Watt's (2002) study of the accent of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, "I don't speak with a Geordie accent, I speak, like, the Northern

accent", this is referred to as either regional dialect levelling or dialect supralocation. Torgersen and Kerswill (2004) explains:

> when dialect levelling is observed over a relatively large geographical area such as the south-east of England, it should be referred to as *regional dialect levelling* … Dialect supralocation, or regional dialect levelling, is then the formation of levelled supralocal varieties, with few local differences within a region resulting from this wider social change. (p. 25)

Perhaps, then, we might, in future talk about the northern accent as opposed to the York accent, Leeds accent or Yorkshire accent.

3.2.2 Sociolinguistic variables

Research has shown that languages change in different ways and at different paces depending on sociolinguistic patterns, or sociolinguistic variables as they are known. Thus, accents vary according to sociolinguistic patterns. The four main sociolinguistic variables are age, gender, social class and social networks. Each of these will be explained in this section.

Age and gender

Age and gender are important variables with regards to how accents vary. A person's accent becomes quite fixed once they have passed into their mid-twenties (Wells, 1982, p. 24; Meyerhoff, 2011, pp. 141, 154). Furthermore, language change happens differently depending on gender. More than men, women usually pick up innovative accent features quickly, be they standard or non-standard features (Meyerhoff, 2011, pp. 220, 225; Foulkes and Docherty, 1999, p. 16). Because of this, I have chosen informants who are all women and well into their twenties, either in their mid- or late-twenties. Thus, any variation between them is not caused by the fact that they belong to different age groups or genders; rather, variation can be linked to extra-linguistic factors, especially mobility and attitudes.

Social class or life-modes

A third sociolinguistic variable that can cause variation is social class. According to sociologist Max Weber, social class consists of "an individual's participation in a complex set of associated behaviours (including speech, his *life style*), and also the importance of aspirations and attitudes (*life chances*)" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 165). There are different ways

of measuring social class, but normally one or more of the following factors are looked at: occupation, neighbourhood, aspirations and attitudes (Meyerhoff, 2011, pp. 165-168).

Recently, "[s]ocial class has fallen out of favour in sociolinguistics … as a non-linguistic variable for study" due to the negative connotations and feelings caused by this term (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 192). As a counterbalance to this, a new way of dividing up social class into seven different classes is being created, based on the BBC's great British Class Survey from 2011 (Savage *et al.*, 2013).

There exists, however, a different term that has been proposed by the Danish sociologist, Thomas Højrup, that can replace any terminology with the word *class* in it, namely *life-modes* (Milroy and Milroy, 1992; Kerswill and Williams, 2000; Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 199). Højrup divided the population of a society into three groups that are "sharing certain social and economic characteristics and life-styles that emerge from this split [and] may loosely be described as classes, but … Højrup offered a more explicitly motivated description in terms of *life-mode*" (Milroy and Milroy, 1992, p. 18). Kerswill and Williams (2000, pp. 2-3) sum up the three life-modes quite neatly:

> *Højrup's life-modes (after Milroy and Milroy 1992)*
>
> *Life-mode 1* groups workers who are self-employed in small family-run businesses such as farming or fishing in rural areas, and corner shops or restaurants in urban environments. Intent on maintaining a successful enterprise, they tend to make little distinction between work and leisure and have a strong solidarity ethic.
>
> *Life-mode 2* comprises wage earners and employees. These workers do not share the strong commitment to work of the life-mode 1 members; for them a job is the means to the achievement of meaningful free time and leisure. There is no ideology of solidarity as in life-mode 1, but solidarity emerges in this group in the face of difficulties and lack of resources. These conditions give rise to the traditional close-knit neighbourhoods of the working class. If a family's income rises, the need for networks to provide support mechanisms is reduced. The family becomes materially better off and may move out of the neighbourhood to better accommodation. The solidarity ethic apparently disappears, only to surface again in times of industrial strife.
>
> *Life-mode 3* members are also wage earners but they see their goal as rising up the hierarchy of the organisation for which they work. This group includes professional people such as doctors, lawyers, lecturers and managers. For them, work is meaningful in itself and the individual is prepared to work long hours and move long distances to fulfil ambitions. As a result, their networks are primarily loose-knit.

The current thesis will use the term life-modes, rather than social class, to classify the informants.

Social networks

The fourth sociolinguistic variable, and in my opinion the most important, is social networks. Milroy and Milroy (1992) define social network as "a boundless web of ties that reaches out through the whole society, linking people to one another, however remotely" (p. 5). Or, put differently, social networks are "groupings based on frequency and quality of members' interaction" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 194).

The reason why I believe that social network is the most important sociolinguistic variable, is that all the other three – age, gender and social class/life-modes – can be seen as forms of social networks. As Meyerhoff (2011) explains regarding gender:

> it is not the fact of being male or female that causes a speaker to be more or less associated with one set of variants; rather, it is the social role(s) we play and the social networks we enter into as women or men that result in the gendered distribution of linguistic variants (p. 231).

Furthermore, people of the same age group usually belong to the same social networks, giving rise to, for instance, teenage talk. People in the same life-mode, too, mainly belong to the same social networks.

Social networks can be dense or loose, depending on how close the ties are between the members of the social network (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 197). Change happens quite slowly in dense networks, perhaps because "members police each other's behaviour" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 197). Loose networks, on the other hand, "make individuals more open to change" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 197). Moreover, these ties can be strong or weak (Foulkes and Docherty, 1999, p. 14). Linguistic changes mainly enter networks with weak ties (Foulkes and Docherty, 1999, p. 14). Thus the looser the network, with weak ties among the members, the more likely it is that sound changes are picked up.

In cities we usually find looser, and more varied, social networks than in the countryside, and this is part of the reason why we find accent levelling, or "more up-to-date" accents, more frequently in urban areas than rural areas (Wells, 1982, p. 11; Nordberg, 1994, p. 4). There is more variation between the members of an urban social network than a rural social network (Nordberg, 1994, p. 4). Urban accents therefore behave differently than rural accents, what Taeldeman (2005) has referred to as "urban insularity" (p. 263). Individuals are

thus more influenced by speakers of other accents in cities than they are in rural areas. Because of this, the current thesis is mainly interested in York as it is an urban centre, as opposed to the areas around York.

The sociolinguistic variable of social networks is, like the other sociolinguistic variables, not an explanation for language change. Instead, language variation and change will behave differently in different social networks. The next section will look further into how we can understand why language changes.

3.2.3 Motivations for accent change

Linguists debate what the most important motivations are for accents to change (Farrar and Jones, 2002; Torgersen and Kerswill, 2004; Haddican *et al*., 2013). Some linguists, like the Neogrammarians and Phillips, argue that language change is caused by language-internal factors (Labov, 1981; Labov, 1994; Phillips, 2006). Other linguists, for example Trudgill, focus on external causes, or contact between accents, as the most important cause (Trudgill, 1986). These are the two main sides. In addition to these two Jones and Esch (2002) add a third motivation, extra-linguistic factors, by which is meant socio-political and economic factors (Farrar and Jones, 2002, p. 1). This same trisection is used by Torgersen and Kerswill (2004) and Kerswill (2006). Torgersen and Kerswill (2004) in addition "include social-psychological factors, especially identities and attitudes" as another subcategory of extra-linguistic factors (p. 23). Taking Torgersen and Kerswill (2004) and Kerswill (2006) together, the following pictures emerges:

Motivations for language change

(1) Internal (intra-systemic/systemic driven)
(2) External (contact-based)
(3) Extra-linguistic (socio-political and economic and social-psychological)

Each of these three factors will be explained in turn.

Internal explanations

Several explanatory models have been proposed to understand accent variation and change. The Neogrammarians of the nineteenth century and Labov have, among others, proposed laws of sound change (Labov, 1981; Labov, 1994; Torgersen and Kerswill, 2004). Others,

like Phillips (2006), have focused more on how innovative features spread through so-called *lexical diffusion*, meaning that sound changes happen in some high-frequent words first, and then spread to other words. Stenbrenden (2010; 2016) through her studies of sound change from the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries, however, has proposed that these two models are not incompatible, but rather focus on two different stages of the same process. She argues, "[t]hus, structuralists and the proponents of lexical phonology may both be right: the latter look at the *mechanisms* of change, whereas the former focus on the end *results* of change" (Stenbrenden, 2010, p. 493).

Another internal factor in language change is what Wells (1982) calls *persistent infantilisms* (pp. 24, 96). He explains that,

> innovations may begin as children's errors, e.g. *thin* with [f] instead of [θ]. Later we usually learn to use the adult form; but in some cases peer-group pressures may prevail, e.g. in a large group of children all saying [fin] for *thin*, in which case an innovation will have occurred, a sound change will have taken place, as the [f]-pronouncing children grow up to be adults (p. 24).

In this view it is physiological factors that motivate language change. Other linguists also focus on other internal explanations, like generativist explanations, typological explanations or functional explanations (see e.g. Hudson, 1997; Aurstad and Faarlund, 1998, pp. 264-270; Bech, 2001).

Accent variation and change can also be understood without explanatory models. Then the focus is not on reasons for a sound change to come into being. Rather, the focus is on how these changes spread. Using the same logic as Stenbrenden (2010; 2016), we can say that internal factors on the one hand, and external and extra-linguistic factors on the other, focus on different stages of the same process. Innovations always start within language, i.e. internally, and then spread due to accent contact and/or extra-linguistic factors. The current investigation is interested in precisely why accent features spread. One such reason is contact with other accents.

External explanations

The external factor of contact between accents is the second main view of language change. Commonly called dialect contact, the idea is that unless an innovation arises within an accent there must have been some form of contact with people speaking a different dialect (Trudgill, 1986). The underlying assumption here is that less contact will lead to less change.

Meyerhoff (2011) puts it this way: "All variation can be seen as the outcome of some form of contact between different individuals or members of different groups" (p. 249).

In Trudgill's (1986) important introduction to dialect contact, *Dialects in contact*, he explains how diffusion, or spread, of linguistic innovations takes place on two levels, the macro-level and the micro-level (p. 39). On the macro-level, changes spread according to the gravity model (see also section 3.2.1), which says that contact-situations consequently arise when individuals go to larger towns and cities than their place of origin. For instance, the nearest larger city to York is Leeds. It is easier for people from York to go to Leeds than to, for example, London. People in Leeds look to London as a larger city. Accordingly, it is more likely for a linguistic innovation to spread from London to Leeds first and then to York, than directly from London to York.

On the micro level, change spreads from one individual to another through face-to-face accommodation that takes place in these contact situations (Trudgill, 1986, p. 39). Accommodation refers to "the strategies speakers use to establish, contest or maintain relationships through talk" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 75). We can establish or maintain relationships through the process of convergence, which "involves a speaker altering the way they talk so that it approaches the norms of their interlocutor and accentuates commonality between the interlocutors" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 75). Conversely, if we want to contest relationships this is done through the process of divergence, meaning that we are "accentuating differences between the speaker and their addressee(s)" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 75). Both processes of accommodation can take place consciously and subconsciously (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 75).

Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005) further distinguish between psychological and linguistic accommodation (pp. 6-7). They explain that "[p]sychological accommodation … has to do with the communicative intentions and attitudes of a speaker towards his [or her] interlocutor or audience" (p. 6). The choice to "establish, contest or maintain relationships" is therefore made, consciously or subconsciously, through psychological accommodation. This choice may or may not attest itself through actual language use, or "linguistic accommodation", which is explained as "the *outcome* of more or less conscious choices on the part of rational social actors" (Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill, 2005, p. 7, emphasis added). Trudgill (1986) argues that "linguistic accommodation to salient linguistic features in face-to-face interactions is crucial in the geographical diffusion of linguistic innovations" (Trudgill, 1986, p. 82).

Dialect contact therefore leads to dialect, or accent, change when "a speaker accommodates frequently enough to a particular accent or dialect", because "then the accommodation may in time become permanent" (Trudgill, 1986, p. 39). The actual spread of linguistic innovations "can be said to have taken place, presumably, on the first occasion when a speaker employs a new feature in the *absence* of speakers of the variety originally containing this feature – when, in other words, it is no longer accommodation" (Trudgill, 1986, p. 40).

The primacy of dialect contact in explaining why accents change does, however, not exclude internal factors. It is perfectly logical to assume that the same change might take place in two accents or dialects where there has been no contact at all. Again, we are back at the distinction between the origin of an innovation and the spread of an innovation. Dialect contact is one way of explaining how innovations spread. There are also other, extra-linguistic, factors that can explain why accents change. Furthermore, some of these extra-linguistic factors are the cause of dialect contact. Dialect contact therefore becomes not the reason for innovations to spread, but rather one way that innovations spread.

Extra-linguistic factors

The last motivation for language change to be accounted for is extra-linguistic factors, i.e. factors that are located outside language itself. Nordberg (1994) urges that,

> [t]he choice of a linguistic form … that a speaker makes cannot be fully explained without reference to a more complex set of conditioning factors and inducements: individual, personal and ideological factors, cultural values and life modes, special occupational requirements, perceptions of self and of self reality and of one's own position in the latter (p. 4).

There are many factors outside language itself that contribute to an individual's choice of linguistic features and which innovations to adopt, as mentioned in the introduction to this section on motivations for or causes of accent change. Here, I will focus on two social factors that I believe might cause variation among my informants, namely mobility and attitudes. These two will be accounted for in turn.

Mobility is connected to the external factor of dialect contact. Arguably, if there is a form of dialect contact there must have been some form of geographical mobility on the part of at least one of the speakers in the contact-situation (Kerswill, 2006, p. 1). The term *mobility* will here be used to refer to movements in space resulting in a change of place of

residence for at least six months, either internally within the same country or externally across two or more countries, and thus used interchangeably with *migration*.

Historically, mobility has been "mainly citywards movements, followed by more geographical mobility through internal migration and circulation in the shape of commuting" (Kerswill, 2006, p. 6). Foulkes and Docherty (1999) elaborate on these recent tendencies and observe "increasing geographical mobility, both long-term (as people move away from city centres) and short-term (for work and leisure)" (p. 14). Students, naturally, move to cities and larger towns to study at universities in order to obtain higher education. Kerswill (2006) points out that when these are "returning to their home towns during university vacations [they] may find themselves with dual allegiances resulting in new dialect-mixing patterns that are not characteristic of the stay-at-homes" (p. 8). Given that the students now are "both insiders and outsiders, [they] form a potential bridgehead for the introduction of innovations for dialect levelling", or what Trudgill (1986) refers to as "language missionaries", meaning that the student will potentially be the ones to introduce new linguistic feature into the accents of their home towns (Kerswill, 2006, p. 8; p. 56).

Previous variationist research has largely excluded highly mobile informants from their studies (Nordberg, 1994, p. 2). This is partly because it is a relatively recent field of enquiry and because of the difficulties of interpreting the effects of mobility. Like Britain (2013) points out, "[l]argely since the turn of the century, the social sciences have been trying to fully come to terms with the implications of the mobile reality" (p. 487). Some sociolinguists have tried to rectify this previous exclusion of mobile participants, like Kerswill and Williams (2000) in their study of accent levelling in Reading and Milton Keynes. They write:

> It is our aim in the present paper to show that the relationship between class and network that [the Milroys] propose needs modification to take account of highly mobile, but by no means socially marginal, groups of internal migrants whose sociolinguistic patterns are not normally considered in speech community studies. (Kerswill and Williams, 2000, p. 1)

Historically, traditional dialect studies mainly saw mobility as a threat to finding the true and untainted English dialects (Britain, 2013, p. 487-488). When sampling informants for the *Survey of English Dialects* "the "ideal" informants were the now-renowned NORMs –

non-mobile, old rural men" (Britain, 2013, p. 488, emphasis added). Mobile informants were consequently excluded entirely.

Where mobility has been included in dialectological studies, attention has mainly been paid to "the consequences of 'single significant acts' of mobility", i.e. the effects of people moving a significant distance only once and living in a different place from where they where born, "rather than the consequences of 'mobility-in-progress'" (Britain, 2013, p. 489). This exclusion of mobile individuals is problematic. As Britain (2013) points out, "examining non-local mobile members of the community can shed important light on the direction and social embedding of language change" (p. 488). There is still much to be done in this field, also when it comes to mobility over very short distances and very short time periods, like "commuting to work, moving to college, visiting family and friends, participation in the mobile tertiary sector of the economy, the mobilities that entail the consumption of goods and services moving home and reliance on the car" (Britain, 2013, p. 490).

It is clearly important to include mobility in variationist studies. Nordberg (1994), Kerswill (2006) and Britain (2013), through logical reasoning, argue for the importance of mobility as a factor motivating accent variation and change. Psychological studies have discovered that people who choose to move out of their own free will, i.e. voluntary migrants, "have open-minded personalities" and as a consequence "movers may be unusually comfortable embracing the linguistically new" (Urbatsch, 2015, pp. 373, 387).

Empirical studies have moreover found that mobility lead to accent change (e.g. Kerswill, 1993; Kerswill and Williams, 2000; Watt, 2002; Kerswill, 2006; Urbatsch, 2015). Even though all these studies agree that mobility affects accent, it is problematic that they differ (a) in how they define and measure mobility, and (b) in their conclusions. Kerswill (1993) compared rural migrants from Stril who had moved to Bergen with native speakers from Bergen. In other words, he studied "the consequences of "'single significant acts' of mobility" (Britain, 2013, p. 487), and found that the language of migrants from Stril was more "diffuse" than "the 'focusing' of native Bergen speech" (Kerswill, 1993, p. 51), meaning that there was more variation among the Stril migrants.

Kerswill and Williams (2000) compared two generations in Milton Keynes and Reading, where the caretakers/parents came from various places and the children had all grown up in the same place, either Milton Keynes or Reading. They concluded that in Milton Keynes, "the demographic melting-pot" of this new town, caused levelling in "some features, especially vowels, … towards an RP-norm; for others, especially consonants, it is towards a

generalised southern non-standard norm" (Kerswill and Williams, 2000, pp. 11-12). In Reading, they found that "high mobility and low social class are mutually exclusive" (Kerswill and Williams, 2000, p. 12).

Watt (2002) very briefly includes the ultimate consequences of large-scale "immigration from beyond the British Isles" from the 1970s onwards (p. 50) in his study of the accent of Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and concludes, with regards to mobility, that,

> the history of migration, contact and social levelling that gave rise to [Tyneside English] in the first place can in this sense be viewed as a dynamic, ongoing process which allows us to contextualise the findings of a study of the present sort in a coherent and meaningful way. (p. 58)

Thus, mobility's effect on language change is studied over a long period of time, rather than studying the mobility patterns of the participants whose accents were investigated.

Kerswill (2006) looks at migration's effects on language in Fiji, and also refers to the earlier study of Milton Keynes (see Kerswill and Williams, 2000). Both studies on Fiji and in Milton Keynes, again, focuses on "'single significant acts' of mobility" (Kerswill, 2006, pp. 15-19; Britain, 2013, p. 487). The same can be said for Urbatsch (2015), who studied the lexical choices of occupation titles among people who were still living in the same state as they were born in, compared to people who were living in a different state from the one where they were born. He concluded that inter-state movers show "early, disproportionate adoption of newish forms such as *mortician* and *funeral director* regardless of the linguistic preferences of their places of birth and residence" (Urbatsch, 2015, p. 388).

Logically, I would assume that people who have moved more will use fewer traditional variants, basically because they get to know more people and have face-to-face interactions with speakers who have an accent that is clearly different from their own, and there will thus be accommodation in the form of convergence in such contact situations. Like Foulkes and Docherty (1999) put it: "Increasing mobility enables individuals to expand their social networks" (p. 14). Meyerhoff (2011) is very determined, claiming that, "[a]s a rule, [dialect levelling] is the result of new or increased mobility of speakers" (p. 250). It will be interesting to see to what extent this is true in the current study.

The second social factor to be focused on in this study is attitudes. Attitude can be defined as "a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects" and do not need to be connected with any physical forms of contact between speakers of different

accents (Garrett, 2007, p. 116). An attitude can be positive or negative. Garrett (2007) further explains that attitudes are "learned through human socialization, with those acquired early in the life span – like many language attitudes – less amenable to change in later life" (p. 116).

The features and varieties that one has positive attitudes to, have prestige. Prestige can either be overt or covert. Covert prestige is in a sense covered, i.e. the "unconscious norm/target [that speakers are] striving for" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 41). Overt prestige, on the other hand, refers to an attitude that is out in the open, i.e. the "conscious standards, aesthetic, moral evaluation" of an individual (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 41). Kristiansen and Jørgensen (2005) further explain that "[o]vert subjective correlates are the opinions, representations, assessments and beliefs which subjects display when they are aware of commentating on their speech community … (as in questionnaires, interviews, label-ranking experiments" (p. 294). Attitudes can further be divided into "three types of components: cognitive (beliefs and stereotypes), affective (evaluations) and behavioural" (Garrett, 2007, p. 116). In this study I am interested in overt affective attitudes, i.e. their evaluations of the accent of York and whether they like it or not.

As with sociolinguistic studies on mobility, there is variation among the previous studies on attitude as to how the terminology is used. Like Omdal (1994) points out, "it is difficult to come to a single, generally applicable conclusion regarding the strength of the relationship between language modification and language attitudes … the relationship in fact varies … depending on the nature of the attitudes being examined" (p. 147). Giles and Coupland (1991) and Foulkes and Docherty (1999), without stating it explicitly, write about cognitive attitudes (p. 58; p. 14). Omdal (1994) studies affective attitudes (pp. 133, 135, 139).

There is also variation in the approaches and methods used in attitudinal studies. For example, Watt (2002) does not research attitudes himself, but refers to anecdotal evidence of attitudes and stigma (p. 54-56), a general problem in attitudinal studies highlighted by Kristiansen and Jørgensen (2005, p. 301). Fabricius (2005) uses subjective evaluation questionnaires and examples from the popular press (pp. 129-132). Johnsen (2015) reports on earlier studies on the dialects of south-eastern Norway using 'verbal guise' tests to elicit covert attitudes to speakers and dialects, and surveys and conversations on language-related topics to elicit overt attitudes (p. 623).

This variety in approaches can easily cause confusion when surveying the literature. However, Garrett (2007) explains quite simply that "[t]here are essentially three research approaches, usually termed the *societal treatment approach*, the *direct approach* and the *indirect approach*" (p. 116, original emphasis). In the current investigation, the direct

approach will be used to elicit the informants' overt evaluation of the York accent. This "involves simply asking people to report self-analytically what their attitudes are" (Garrett, 2007, p. 117). See also section 6.2.

There is a debate currently going on as to whether or not attitudes should be a part of variationist studies in sociolinguistics (Kristiansen and Jørgensen, 2005, p. 289). Kristiansen and Jørgensen (2005) state that,

> [t]o the extent that it is conceived as a sociolinguistic discipline, the study of language attitudes is usually grouped with the kind of sociolinguistics which has a practical interest in social issues, not the kind of more theoretically and more linguistically oriented sociolinguistics which includes society in order to sharpen our understanding of language. (p. 289)

Instead, "the study of attitudes is considered to be the main subdiscipline of the social psychology of language, a discipline which is concerned not with language change but with the 'contexts and consequences of language'" (Kristiansen and Jørgensen, 2005, p. 290).

There are several reasons why attitudinal data are sometimes left out in variationist sociolinguistic research. Firstly, when Trudgill (1986) writes about how long-term accommodation leads to more permanent dialect change, he says that this can happen "particularly if attitudinal factors are favourable" (p. 39). Kristiansen and Jørgensen (2005) believe that this means that Trudgill (1986) only sees attitudes "as facilitating and not driving change" (p. 290). This could be seen as a reason not to include attitudinal factors in variationist studies.

Another reason could be methodological problems of attitudinal data collection. Kristiansen and Jørgensen (2005) state that "the Milroys no doubt express a widely held view when they argue that problems of validity and reliability are too serious for attitudinal data to be of much interest to the study of language change" (pp. 301-302). This is of course something to be reckoned with when studying the effect of attitudes on accent change. On the other hand, this problem is always there when studying human subjects and should not keep us from doing so.

A more challenging reason could be that Labov and Trudgill have recently stated that attitudes do not matter at all in convergence processes of face-to-face interaction. Johnsen (2015) writes that, "[u]nder a view advocated by Labov … and Trudgill … in recent years, speech convergence is automatic during interactions among people, and their attitudes

towards each other play no role" (p. 614). Since Labov and Trudgill are two of the most famous and important sociolinguists in the world it is evident that their entertaining such a view could easily cause other researchers to exclude attitudinal data from their studies entirely.

However, experimental and empirical studies clearly demonstrate the benefits of attitudinal studies. Fabricius' (2005) study, for example, "highlight[s] the several ways in which variationist and attitudinal sociolinguistic studies can mutually benefit each other" (p. 120). Furthermore, Johnsen (2015) conducted a "meta-analysis of all the existing 25 studies of dialect change in the south-eastern region of Norway" and discovered that experimental studies show "that social attitude plays a role in linguistic accommodation, and empirical studies of attitude and dialect change demonstrate that diffusion patterns and language attitudes are correlated" (p. 635). Johnsen's (2015) study therefore "supports the idea that [diffusion patterns and language attitudes] are causally linked" (p. 635).

The evidence from experimental and empirical studies clearly emphasises the importance of including attitudinal factors in studies on accent variation and change. There are obviously problems regarding methodology and approach. However, like Kristiansen and Jørgensen (2005) conclude, "[i]f we acknowledge people's striving for a positive social identity as the critical factor underlying variation and change, improving our methods of collecting and analysing attitudinal data becomes a priority" (p. 302).

4 Method and data

4.1 Qualitative and quantitative research

The present study used a combination of both quantitative and qualitative research methods. The first research question, concerning how the chosen vowels are pronounced, was approached using a qualitative method, given that the data "deals with *how* something is, as opposed to *how much/many*" (Rasinger, 2008, p. 11). Furthermore, the data is approached inductively in that the interviews were analysed phonetically first and then placed into fitting categories, rather than my using existing categories of phonemes and classifying the ones that did not fit into an "other" category. On the other hand, the analysis is informed by previous research, so it is not entirely a bottom-up approach. Using an inductive approach in this way was especially valuable when analysing the YORK vowel, as this phonological variable has received very little attention in previous research.

The other two research questions was answered by employing different quantitative methods. The reason for this is that the "information … is, in some way or other, *quantifiable*" and I was here "interested in how *much* or how *many* there is/are" of certain variants and variables (Rasinger, 2008, p. 10). The approach is here deductive in nature, as opposed to inductive, in that the aim was to test hypotheses rather than creating new hypotheses (Rasinger, 2008, p. 11). The hypothesis that was to be tested was:

> If it is the case that a high degree of mobility and negative attitudes towards an accent lead to a more levelled accent, then my informants' use of traditional variants should correlate negatively with mobility and positively with attitudes.

Even though the present study is mainly quantitative in nature, it tried not to look at too many variables at once. Thus the number of participants was merely ten in order to study these more in depth for causes of accent levelling. In order for the results to be generalisable, the number of participants should ideally have been larger and included both genders. However, as Wells (1982) puts it, "[c]oncentrating on a small number of variables in this way enables the investigator to keep a research project within bounds while going deeply enough to reveal significant patterns of correlation between the linguistic variables and the non-linguistic parameters" (p. 38). As such, given that this is a master's thesis and not a doctoral

dissertation, it made more sense to look at a smaller number of female only informants and thus study these more in depth.

4.2 Sociolinguistic interviews

The method of data collection used in this study was sociolinguistic interviews. This was the method developed by Labov in his study of New York City English (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 34). Sociolinguistic interviews are "[t]ypically … one-on-one exchanges conducted in person … [and] typically differs from a survey in being relatively less structured" (Milroy and Gordon, 2004, p. 57). The aim of a sociolinguistic interview is to "elicit different styles of speech" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 34) in order to "observe the subject's relaxed, 'natural' usage" (Milroy and Gordon, 2004, p. 58). It usually consists of various questions and reading tasks (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 34). In his New York City study, Labov asked his informants to "read a list of minimal pairs …, read a list of words in isolation …, read aloud a short narrative … [and] talk with the interviewer about their life, some of their beliefs, and their life experiences" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 34).

4.2.1 The present sociolinguistic interview

Labov's sociolinguistic interview was too comprehensive for the present purposes. Therefore, the present investigation used a modified version of the sociolinguistic interview that has been used previously by Myrstad-Nilsen (2011) in her master's thesis, which was "based on that used by Trudgill in the study of the Norwich accent" (p. 41; Trudgill, 1974, pp. 95-97). The interview thus consisted of four main parts (see appendix 1):

(1) Questions about the informants' local background and relationship to the city of York
(2) Reading aloud a short narrative
(3) Reading aloud a list of 100 words
(4) Questions about the accent of York and its surrounding area

The goal of the first part first was to establish basic information about the informants' background: mobility patterns, education and occupation and so on. The first three informants were known to the investigator and were thus not asked about their year of birth. This question was later added to this section. Furthermore, after advice from Paul Kerswill

(personal communication, 09.10.15), a question about the parents' occupation was also added from the fifth informant onwards in order to determine the informants' life-mode backgrounds. The first four informants were asked this after the interviews via Facebook Messenger.

Second, the first part of the interview also aimed to extract the informants' attitudes to the city of York. It also provided an opportunity for the conversation to flow somewhat naturally and thus elicit more informal, vernacular speech. This changed to a slightly more formal speech style when the informants were asked to read aloud a reading passage (see appendix 2), taken unmodified from Myrstad-Nilsen (2011). The reading passage was "devised by Wells" (Myrstad-Nilsen, 2011, p. 41) and can also be found at http://www.phon.ucl.ac.uk/home/wells/accentsanddialects/#testpassage (Wells, 2013).

After the reading passage, the informants were asked to read aloud a list of words. The current sociolinguistic interview thus differs from Myrstad-Nilsen (2011), where the word list was read aloud first, followed by questions about local vocabulary, and ending with the short narrative (p. 41). Firstly, the present study is only interested in the accent of York, not the dialect. There was therefore no need to ask informants what words are typical of the York dialect. Secondly, Labov's study of New York City English demonstrated how reading a narrative is closer to traditional interviews[3] on a formality scale than reading a list of words is (Meyerhoff, 2011, pp. 34-37). In other words, of the three activities, word lists elicit the most formal speech style, followed by reading, and lastly traditional interviews. It consequently made more sense to start with questions and answers, follow up with the reading passage and ending with the word list. Inspired by Watt and Tillotson (2001), I asked the informants "to read [the reading passage and word list] aloud in as natural a way as possible" (p. 276).

The word list was inspired by Myrstad-Nilsen (2011). She was interested in another set of phonological variables and created a word list that contained those variables. In the same way, I also made my own word list of 100 words. Approximately 15 words from each lexical set under investigation in the current study were chosen, based on the words included in Wells' (1982) lexical sets (pp. 131-135, 141-142, 144-147, 159-162), in addition to 40 random words chosen from Wells' (1982) remaining lexical sets (pp. 127-165). The words were then randomised using Excel.

[3] Traditional interview, i.e. questions and answers as opposed to sociolinguistic interviews.

Before the interviews the informants were told only that the aim of the interviews was to research the use of English in York. After the word list had been read out loud, it was assumed that the informants would have guessed that it was their accent that was under investigation. The word list was therefore followed by questions created to extract the informants' attitudes to and perceptions of the accent of York and its surrounding area.

4.2.2 Data types

The data types collected from the sociolinguistic study were a combination of language-use data and verbal reports (Ellis, 2008, p. 913). The language-use data was clinically elicited, i.e. not completely naturally occurring since the informants were asked to answer questions (Ellis, 2008, pp. 917-918). However, a few times during the interviews, the questions prompted a small conversation with more naturally occurring samples, like with informant B (see section 4.1.7 for a key to transcription symbols used):

(1)
Becky: … the only thing I don't like is that- is the housing prices- the- the housing and it- it's just through the roof he- [here]
Interviewer: [Mhm]=
Becky: =so and it's real- so it's fo- difficult if you want to start- start it- it- it difficult to get on the property [ladder]
Interviewer: [Yeah]=
Becky: ='cause it's just erm it's- it's a night- nightmare but=
Interviewer: =It's the same in Norway=
Becky: =Really?=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Becky: =Gosh=
Interviewer: =Mhm. It's annoying [laughter]
Becky: Do- do you have to pay- is it higher taxes as well in Norway as a No- Nordic- ? I know it's like Copen- in erm Denmark and Sweden they say the higher tax prices. Is- is in Norway as well? The higher tax or?=
Interviewer: =Yeah, there's a higher tax and just the prices are so high that first-time buyers have a really hard time getting into the market ... =

Interview B

The question-and-answer sections also provided verbal reports about the informants' mobility patterns, attitudes and perception of the York and Yorkshire accents (Ellis, 2008, pp. 921-923).

4.2.3 Evaluation of method

In general, when performing sociolinguistic interviews the informants know that their language behaviour is being researched and they are also aware that they are being recorded. This can results in a more "'careful style'" than the informants' true vernacular (Ellis, 2008, p. 917). Labov formulated this as the Observer's Paradox: "the only way to obtain good data is through systematic observation but … such observation is likely to contaminate the data collected, making it difficult to sample the vernacular style" (Ellis, 2008, p. 917). This should, however, not stop us from conducting sociolinguistic interviews as they provide important and controlled results that can be replicated.

In order to make the interview situation more relaxed, the interviews for the present study were carried out in cafés in York city centre. This unfortunately led to some background noise during the recordings. However, the background noise did not create a major problem for the orthographic transcriptions and phonetic analyses, as it was more of a buzz than other people's voices. Also, the recorder provided clear speech from the informants. Had the interviews been carried out in a soundproof room on the university campus which would have ensured better sound quality, this would very likely have caused a much more formal atmosphere than the cafés and thus made relaxed vernacular speech more difficult.

The interviews were carried out by myself, a non-native English speaker. This could very well be seen as a problem for the data collection, as the informants might easily accommodate their speech to a non-native speaker. However, as several of the informants pointed out, York as an urban and educational centre is a mosaic of people from different places:

(2)
Anne: … There's a lot of people who move to York as graduates=
Interviewer: =mhm=

Anne: =so there's young professionals, and either students who are staying or people who actually move here because erm.. it's a good place to find work or erm, nice place to live=
Interviewer: =mhm=

Interview A

(3)
Emma: … Because York is now such a melting pot of students and international students or just people coming here to work that aren't originally from York=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Emma: =that you sometimes just don't realise, you know, sort of who you're talking to and whether they're like a native York speaker=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Emma: =If you go out into the surrounding villages then they're much more likely to be native Yorkshire people, you know, there aren't many students or international people living out there=
Interviewer: =Yeah=

Interview E

(4)
Jenny: … and I think because York has quite a lot of people that are from so many different places=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Jenny: =Erm we- we do have a bit of a mixture=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Jenny: =so, you know, you do- you do have like erm people from all over really=
Interviewer: =[Mhm]
Jenny: [you know, especially] when they come to uni. They come from all over [the UK]
Interviewer: [Yeah]=
Jenny: =all over the world, really=
Interviewer: =Mhm=

Interview J

Because of this mixture of people, it is assumed that it affected the data collection less that the interviewer was non-native than if the language of a remote village had been investigated.

As an interviewer, I also aimed at speaking in a casual style and avoid too proper an accent through using e.g. glottal stops. Moreover, given that the informants and I were approximately the same age (mid to late 20s) this could create a more relaxed atmosphere. Finally, apart from informant F and G, the informants were my friends or friends with my friends, thus making the conversations flow more easily as I was "not … a complete outsider" (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p. 32).

Another potential problem with sociolinguistic interviews is that verbal reports could possibly be very different from reality. Wells (1982) states that,

> [i]n Norwich, Trudgill (1972) found similar inaccuracy in self-reporting. He discovered the interesting fact that whereas women tend to report themselves as using a more prestigious pronunciation than they really do, men tended to report their own speech as less prestigious than in reality. (p. 32)

This problem was solved by not asking informants how they themselves speak, but rather what they found to be typical of York speech and what they thought other people's attitudes were towards the accent. The only questions about the informants' own language use were concerned with pronunciations they did not like in their own accent and if they had tried to alter their accent in any way. The answers therefore uncovered both overt and covert prestige associated with Yorkshire accents or accent features, and perceptual dialectological information. According to Meyerhoff (2011), perceptual dialectology is "the beliefs and thoughts that non-linguists have about language are used to distinguish varieties" (p. 69). She continues, "[p]eople's perceptions about language, whether descriptively accurate or not, are just as important to the researcher as the objective facts about how speakers talk" (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 69). Therefore it was seen as more interesting to find out how the informants perceived the accent to be than how the accent could be described objectively. The informants' perception of the accent was combined with observations of their actual language behaviour.

Finally, the sociolinguistic interview is seen as a good method for three reasons: it is replicable; it combines both methods of observation of language use and verbal reports, thus making the data more valid and reliable; and, finally, the differing backgrounds of the informants (see section 4.3.3) reflects the informants' perception of York as consisting of various people, thus making it more representable. The findings do not, however, claim to be

generalisable, as only ten women were interviewed. At the same time, given that the informants were women in their twenties, the findings can indicate a tendency for how the accent in general might develop in the future, as this subgroup of the population often constitutes the leaders of linguistic change (see section 3.2.2).

4.3 Data collection

4.3.1 The recordings

The recordings took place between 6 and 15 October 2015 in cafés in York city centre. The length of the interviews ranged from 8.72 minutes to 28.47 minutes. The average length of the interviews was 16.3 minutes.

The audio recorder used was a Zoom H1 Handy Audio Recorder. The advantage of using this recorder is that it is small, portable and easy to use. It also makes good-quality recordings. The disadvantage with this recorder is that it includes a lot of background noise as well, even though the informants' voices are clearly audible. It contains two microphones in one, so that it records well both the interviewer and the interviewee, and stores the two recordings together. This was an advantage when transcribing the interviews broadly in orthographic transcript, as it was easier to understand the answers of the interviewee when the interviewer was audible as well. On the other hand, it made it a bit difficult at times to transcribe the interviews phonetically. Therefore the programme Audacity was used to separate the two recordings made by the two microphones, to double the strength of the interviewee's recording, and to remove the recording of the interviewer.

Before the interviews took place, the informants were asked to sign an informed consent form (see appendix 4). This consent form was based on a template from the School of Linguistics, Speech and Communication Sciences at Trinity College Dublin (Trinity College Dublin, 2016). As an appreciation of their cooperation the informants were given a symbolic gift of some Norwegian chocolate after the interviews.

4.3.2 The phonological variables

The phonological variables studied in this thesis were the northern shibboleths: the STRUT vowel, /ʊ/, the BATH vowel, /a/ or /æ/, and the FACE and GOAT diphthongs, /eɪ/ and /əʊ/, respectively. In addition, realisations of the /ɔ:/ phoneme, in YORK, specific to Yorkshire accents, were studied.

4.3.3 The informants

Six of the informants were found using my own social network in a church in York. Two were found through my friends in York, a sampling technique that Milroy and Gordon (2003) calls "a "snowball" technique" (p. 32). The last two were found by asking unknown people in cafés in York. In order to ensure their anonymity the informants were given the following pseudonyms:

Table 1: Informant's pseudonyms

Informant number	**Pseudonym**
A	Anne
B	Becky
C	Caroline
D	Daisy
E	Emma
F	Fiona
G	Grace
H	Hannah
I	Ivy
J	Jenny

In order to reduce the number of intervening variables the choice was made to sample only women well into their twenties. Originally the plan was to interview women who were born in York, and had either lived in York their entire lives or had lived in one or more other place in order to see whether mobility patterns had an affect on their accents. However, when dealing with human subjects one has to be willing to change one's sampling criteria according to who is available and willing to be interviewed. All the informants interviewed here were living in York at the time of recording, although not all of them were born in York. The geographical area of York as a birth place had to be expanded to include the areas around Leeds and Goole in West and East Yorkshire, respectively. These two areas are about 30 and 20 miles away from York, respectively, and can easily be accessed from York.

Three of the informants, Daisy, Fiona and Ivy, were born in the south of England. Daisy lived the first four years of her life in Buckinghamshire, Fiona lived the first nine years of her life in Cornwall and Devon and Ivy lived the first two years of her life in Worcestershire. Since Daisy and Fiona have lived the majority of their lives in York and Ivy the majority of her life near Goole in East Yorkshire, not far away from York, they nevertheless were chosen to be part of the study. Finally, Jenny was born in Liverpool, but moved with her family to the York area when she was six months.

Both Jenny and Grace grew up in villages on the outskirts of York. Jenny grew up in Stamford Bridge and Grace in Copmanthorpe, which are 7 and 4 miles from York city centre, respectively. These villages are taken to be part of York.

Since this study's aim, among others, was to test to what degree mobility affects accent levelling, the following information was gathered from the informants during the interviews (see also section 4.2.1):

Table 2: Mobility patterns

Informant	**Year of birth**	**Places lived + age at the time**
Anne	1991	Linton, 0-7 Collingham, 7-18 **York**, 18-present
Becky	1986	**York**, 0-18 Ormskirk, 18-21 **York**, 21-present
Caroline	1988	**York**, 0-22 South Africa, 22-22 ½ **York**, 22 ½-24 Bolivia, 24-24 ½ **York**, 24 ½ -present
Daisy	1990	Milton Keynes, 0-4 **York**, 4-18 Bath, 18-21 **York**, 21-present
Emma	1987	**York**, 0-18 Edinburgh, 18-21 Miami, 21-22 **York**, 22-present
Fiona	1989	Cornwall, 0-3 Devon, 3-9 **York**, 9-19 Australia, 19-20 **York**, 20-present
Grace	1992	Copmanthorpe (**York**), 0-13 Kirriemuir, 13-17 Copmanthorpe (**York**), 17-present
Hannah	1992	Leeds, 0-3 Belfast, 3-7 Cheshire, 7-9 **York**, 9-18 Norwich, 18-19 **York**, 19-present
Ivy	1992	Worcestershire, 0-2 Howden, 2-19 **York**, 19-present
Jenny	1989	Liverpool, 0-½ Stamford Bridge (**York**), ½ -20 Driffield, 20-26 **York**, 26-present

What the table of mobility patterns does not include is information about where spouses are from. However, only two of the informants were married at the time of recording, and no one was living with their boyfriends. Of the two that were married, Caroline had a spouse from Grimsby, which is about 60 miles southeast of York, and Emma had a spouse from Indiana, USA. This might naturally have an effect on the phonetic data. Future studies should therefore try to control for spouses' backgrounds.

In addition to mobility patterns the interviews also included information about informants' life-mode backgrounds, through asking about their parents occupation, because "(in Britain and North America at least) occupation is the class-related measure that is thought to correlate particularly closely with language variation" (Milroy and Gordon, 2003, p. 99). Life-modes were not controlled for during the sampling since previous studies had indicated that York would not be affected by social class as it is not an industrial city (Haddican *et al.*, 2013, pp. 376, 397). See section 7.2.2 for a discussion of this.

Table 3: Life-mode backgrounds

Informant	**Parent's occupation**	**Life-mode background**
Anne	Mother: teacher Father: managing director	3
Becky	Mother: retired clerical assistant/officer Father: retired butcher	2
Caroline	Mother: shop assistant Father: transport	2
Daisy	Mother: speech/language therapist Father: lecturer	3
Emma	Mother: professor Father: teacher	3
Fiona	Mother: teacher Father: structural company, planning	3
Grace	Mother: chemist, home teacher Father: teacher	3
Hannah	Mother: café worker Father: pensions manager	3
Ivy	Mother: voluntary youth assistant Father: accountant	3
Jenny	Mother: supervisor at factory Father: prison officer	2

Finally, the question-and-answer sections also uncovered the informants' overt attitudes to York, staying in York for the rest of their lives, and the accent of York. Inspired

by Binley (2010/2011, pp. 18, 29), attitudes were first rated as positive (P), negative (N) and neutral (or don't mind, D). This gave the following results:

Table 4: Attitudes to York

Informant	**Attitudes to the city of York**
Anne	P
Becky	D
Caroline	P
Daisy	P
Emma	P
Fiona	P
Grace	D
Hannah	P
Ivy	P
Jenny	P

Table 5: Intention to stay

Informant	**Intention to stay in York**
Anne	D
Becky	D
Caroline	P
Daisy	D
Emma	P
Fiona	P
Grace	N
Hannah	P
Ivy	N
Jenny	P

Table 6: Attitudes to York accent

Informant	**Attitudes to the accent of York**
Anne	N
Becky	P
Caroline	D
Daisy	P
Emma	N
Fiona	P
Grace	N
Hannah	D
Ivy	P
Jenny	P

Since all but two of the informants were positive to the city of York, and the two not positive were neutral rather than negative, further investigations into correlations between attitudes to the city of York and accent levelling were not necessary. As can be seen from tables 5 and 6, there is much more variation when it comes to attitudes to staying in York for

the rest of the informants' lives and attitudes to the York accent. These were therefore correlated with accent levelling (see chapter 6).

4.4 Data analysis

4.4.1 Transcription and phonetic analysis

After the interviews had been carried out parts 1, 2 and 5 were transcribed first broadly to "provide a written record in standard orthography" (Ellis, 2008, p. 918, see example in appendix 5). The reading passage and word list were already in written form and did not need to be transcribed broadly. Pauses were marked by three dots, "…". False starts were marked with a hyphen, for example "ca-". Overlapping speech was indicated by square brackets, "[]". Where there was no pause between the end of one utterance and the start of the next the first utterance ended with an equal sign, "=" and the second utterance started with an equal sign, "=".

When the interviews had been transcribed in full, it was possible to highlight the words that contained any of the vowels under investigation to prepare the interviews for a more narrow transcription, an auditory phonetic analysis (Ellis, 2008, p. 918). Each of the phonological variables were given a colour code so as to distinguish between them more easily. For the phonetic analyses, the reading passage and the word list were included in the interview transcription in the same order they had been during the recording (see example in appendix 6).

As this was a qualitative analysis, an inductive and, to some extent, bottom-up approach was chosen. Thus for the first interviews the realisations of the phonological variables were analysed very thoroughly with many diacritics to indicate place and manner of articulation. Subsequently a pattern emerged and it was possible to place the various realisations into different, broader categories of realisations. They were the following:

STRUT realisations: [ʊ], [ə], [ɒ], and [ʌ]
BATH realisation: [æ], [a], and [ɑ:]
FACE realisations: [eɪ] and [e:]
GOAT realisations: [əʊ], [oʊ], [o:], and [ə:]
YORK realisation: [ɔ:] and [ɒ:]

Evaluation of method

Doing a qualitative phonetic analysis is of course a highly individual process. Another researcher might not hear the same sounds and this could possibly weaken the reliability of the analysis. In order to deal with this challenge, and ensure some degree of inter-rater reliability, a second student with the same training as the present student, Kristine G. Lund, also listened to parts of the recordings and was a good discussion partner when I met challenging cases of phonetic classification. Both Lund and myself now agree on the analysis, thus ensuring more reliability.

The fact that the informants have a very varied backgrounds in terms of mobility patterns and birthplace actually improves the representability of this study, at least for women in their 20s, as York is felt to be a very varied city in terms of the make-up of its population (see also section 4.2.3). Also, given that the recordings and transcriptions are attached to the thesis it is easy for other researchers to perform their own phonetic analysis using the same data, thus ensuring replicability.

Finally, an auditory phonetic analysis is seen as a valid method of analysing the data since it easy to perform for a student trained in this type of analysis from courses in phonetics and phonology and it does not require any knowledge of or access to specialised computer programmes, for example PRAAT. Like Gordon (2007) puts it: "Over the last four decades of sociolinguistic research, the most common approach to measuring phonological variation has been to rely on the auditory judgement of the investigators who listen to the recorded speech to determine the variants used" (p. 21). It was also the method used by both Labov and Trudgill in their seminal studies.

4.4.2 Quantitative analysis

The phonetic analysis forms the basis for the quantitative analysis. In variationist linguistics one is naturally interested in how often variants are used. Therefore the variants used were counted and given a percentage to indicate relative frequency, as the interviews varied in length. After having calculated the relative frequencies for the individual variants that were used, the variants were grouped together as either traditional or new variants. The traditional variants were taken to be [ʊ] and [ɒ] in STRUT words, [æ] and [a] in BATH words, monophthongal realisations in FACE words and GOAT words, [e:], and [o:] and [ə:], respectively, and the open, unrounded [ɒ:] in YORK words. The others were taken to be levelled or incoming variants. Taking the use of all the traditional variants together was then

used as a means of measuring accent levelling, i.e. to what extent the informants used the traditional variants as opposed to the new variants.

Statistical analysis

In order to answer the research question about correlation between accent levelling and mobility, and accent levelling and attitudes, different statistical methods were performed. First, Excel was used to generate scatter plots. Second, since the variables to be correlated were continuous instead of categorical and since the scatter plots revealed a linear relationship (see chapter 6), Pearson correlation coefficient (r) was calculated, also by using Excel, to get a statistical score of correlation between -1 and 1. If the results of such a calculation are 1 this "indicates a *perfect positive correlation*, that is, the two variables increase in a linear fashion, that is all data points lie in a straight line" (Rasinger, 2013, p. 163). Similarly, if the results are -1 this "indicates a *perfect negative correlation*, that is, while one variable increases, the other decreases, again, linearly" (Rasinger, 2013, p. 163). Finally if the correlation coefficient is 0, this "indicates that the two variables [d]o not correlate at all. That is, there is no relationship between them" (Rasinger, 2013, p. 163).

Together with correlation coefficients, P-Values were calculated to check whether the correlations were statistically significant and not caused by chance. The P-Values were calculated by using the "P-Value from Pearson (R) Calculator" from the website http://www.socscistatistics.com/pvalues/pearsondistribution.aspx (Stangroom, 2016). P-Values were taken as statistically significant if $p<0.05$. Third, causality was calculated by squaring the Pearson correlation, i.e. multiplying Pearson correlation with itself, to find the coefficient of determination (r^2), as recommended by Rasinger (2013, p. 171).

To check the reliability of the Excel calculations and the P-Value calculator, some of the data was also entered into SPSS, with the help of Christophersen (2009), in order to get Pearson correlation and P-Value. The results from SPSS were the same as the ones found by Excel and the P-Value calculator, thus ensuring the reliability of the statistical methods (see section 6.4).

The relationships between the social factors focused on, mobility, attitudes and life-mode backgrounds, were checked too. The factors attitude and life-mode background were both correlated with mobility using Pearson correlation. Afterwards, attitude and life-mode background were correlated with each other using a chi-squared test since both these factors were categorical as opposed to continuous. The chi-square test for up to 5x5 variables used

was the “Chi-square Test Calculator” from the website http://www.socscistatistics.com/tests/chisquare2/Default2.aspx (Stangroom, 2016).

Evaluation of method

Calculating Pearson correlation coefficient in Excel is seen as a good method for analysing the data since SPSS ensured its reliability and since the P-Values indicate whether the results are significant or not. Furthermore, the data is mainly continuous and therefore Pearson’s correlation fits well. It has to be acknowledged that the data for attitudes and life-mode background are not continuous, and thus continuous data are correlated with categorical data. However, since this is a relatively small data sample with only ten informants, this is not seen as a major problem because patterns are easily visible. Similarly, the fact that there are few informants and thus less than 5 people in each cell in the chi-square test, is seen as problematic by some statisticians (Rasinger, 2013, p. 160). Here, the current thesis will follow Rasinger (2013) who disagrees with this, although it has to be acknowledged that a larger data sample would have presented more clear and reliable results.

Another statistical method that could have been used is ANOVA. This method of analysis would have been beneficial as it could have incorporated several variables at once, so that it could have looked at the relationship between accent levelling, mobility, attitudes and life mode at the same time (Larson-Hall, 2012, pp. 254-255). However, ANOVA is not taught as part of the Master’s degree in English language at the University of Oslo. It was therefore more feasible to choose other statistical methods that required less time to acquire sufficient knowledge about them in order to use them.

5 Phonetic analyses and results

In this chapter the results from the phonetic analyses will be presented. Section 5.1 will first present the results from the phonetic analysis of all ten informants. Next, in section 5.2, the results pertaining to accent levelling will be presented.

5.1 Realisations of phonetic variables

5.1.1 Anne

Anne's interview was the first to be analysed and proved quite difficult at times. The main challenges were faced when I attempted to transcribe the STRUT words phonetically. There was a lot of variation in the realisation of this variable. It varied between the realisations [ʊ], [ʊ̟], [ɤ], [ɘ], [ə], [ɒ] and [ʌ]. At first these realization were transcribed in great detail. However, after having transcribed a few interviews, it became possible to classify [ʊ], [ʊ̟] and [ɤ] as variations of [ʊ], and [ɘ] and [ə] as variations of [ə]. [ɒ] and [ʌ] were kept as separate categories. Furthermore, Anne had quite a few false starts, which was a bit of a challenge since it was the first interview to be analysed.

STRUT

Table 7 shows the raw and relative frequencies of the various realisations of STRUT that Anne uses. As can be seen from the table, there is a lot of variation. The main variant is the stressed form of [ə], followed by [ʊ]. The least used variants are [ɒ] and [ʌ]. The use of [ʌ] is quite interesting. This variant can be found only among four of the informants: Anne, Emma, Hannah and Ivy. Out of these four, Anne uses this variant the most, with 15.57 % of her STRUT words being realised as [ʌ].

Table 7: Anne: STRUT frequencies

STRUT	Q&A[4] part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ʊ]	20	2	0	21	43	20.28%
[ə]	52	12	9	43	116	54.72%
[ɒ]	7	3	0	10	20	9.43%
[ʌ]	20	2	6	5	33	15.57%
Total	99	19	15	79	212	100.00%

[4] Question-and-answer section, henceforth Q&A.

BATH

Table 8 shows the results from the phonetic analysis of BATH. The most frequent realisation of BATH is [æ], followed by [a]. [ɑ:] is also present, with a relative frequency of 7.5 %.

Table 8: Anne: BATH frequencies

BATH	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[æ]	4	6	13	8	31	77.50%
[a]	3	1	0	2	6	15.00%
[ɑ:]	0	0	2	1	3	7.50%
Total	7	7	15	11	40	100.00%

FACE and GOAT

FACE and GOAT are primarily realised by diphthongs. For FACE, the variant [eɪ] is the only used variable, as can be seen from table 9. There is a little bit more variation among the GOAT words. Table 10 shows that three out of the four variants are present. The main variant is [əʊ], with a relative frequency of 89.14 %. [oʊ] is also used to some extent, at 9.71 %. The least used variant of the three is the monophthong [ə:], and this is only used to describe the York accent:

(5)

Anne: … For example [əgˈzæmpɬ] they [ðeɪ] flatten their- like the- like an o [əʊ] or a u sound, so it's like "lo [ˈɬə:]- o [ə:]-"-kind of sound. …

Interview A

Table 9: Anne: FACE frequencies

FACE	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[eɪ]	87	9	14	83	193	100.00%
[e:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	87	9	14	83	193	100.00%

Table 10: Anne: GOAT frequencies

GOAT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[əʊ]	68	6	15	67	156	89.14%
[oʊ]	8	1	1	7	17	9.71%
[o:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
[ə:]	0	0	0	2	2	1.14%
Total	76	7	16	76	175	100.00%

YORK

The variant [ɔ:] is the one chosen 97.55 % of the time. The more open, unrounded [ɒ̟:] is used in merely 2.45 % of the cases. See table 11.

Table 11: Anne: YORK frequencies

YORK	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ɔ:]	78	17	13	91	199	97.55%
[ɒ̟:]	4	1	0	0	5	2.45%
Total	82	18	13	91	204	100.00%

5.1.2 Becky

At times Becky's interview was quite challenging to transcribe, both broadly in orthographic transcript and narrowly in phonetic transcript. This was because she had a tendency to stutter, perhaps due to nervousness. Luckily her vowels were not characterised by as much variation as Anne's, which made the analysis easier.

STRUT

Becky's STRUT words are chiefly realised by [ʊ]: table 12 shows a relative frequency of 84.21 %. [ə] and [ɒ] realisations are also present, being used 9.87 % and 5.92 % of the time, respectively. There are no instances of [ʌ].

Table 12: Becky: STRUT frequencies

STRUT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ʊ]	75	21	15	17	128	84.21%
[ə]	9	1	0	5	15	9.87%
[ɒ]	6	2	0	1	9	5.92%
[ʌ]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	90	24	15	23	152	100.00%

BATH

There is some variation in the BATH words. Table 13 shows that [æ] is the main variant, with a relative frequency of 70.27 %, followed by [a], which has a relative frequency of 29.73 %. There are no instances of [ɑ:].

Table 13: Becky: BATH frequencies

BATH	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[æ]	3	7	13	3	26	70.27%
[a]	4	1	2	4	11	29.73%
[ɑ:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	7	8	15	7	37	100.00%

FACE and GOAT

Even though FACE and GOAT are mainly diphthongs, it is quite interesting that there still is variation in the realisations of these variables, and that monophthongal variations are present. As can be seen from table 14, [eɪ] is used 97.83 % of the time. The monophthong [e:] is used in two instances, with a relative frequency of 2.45 %. What is interesting about this is that the two [e:] realisations are not given by Becky as examples of York or Yorkshire accents: they are found in her answers to the questions posed in part 1 of the interview. See for instance:

(6)
Becky: [Yeah] It was Edge Hill University, that was the name [ne:m] of the univer-=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Becky: =Edge Hill…

Interview B

Table 14: Becky: FACE frequencies

FACE	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[eɪ]	43	9	14	24	90	97.83%
[e:]	2	0	0	0	2	2.17%
Total	45	9	14	24	92	100.00%

The same holds true for the realisations of GOAT. Table 15 shows that the GOAT variable is primarily realised by diphthongs, [əʊ] used 80.14 % of the time and [oʊ] used 15.75 % of the time. Of the monophthongal realisations, [o:] has a relative frequency of 2.74 % and [ə:] 1.37 %. With GOAT too the monophthongal realisations are found in the question-and-answer sections, as in these examples:

(7)

Becky: =realising it- realising it. So [so:] we just [dʒʊst] erm we don't [dəʊn] really- erm

Interview B

(8)

Becky: I think- the thing I don't [də:n] like is the narrow- narrow roads [ʊəʊdz]

Interview B

Furthermore, it very interesting that out of the four [o:] realisations, one of them is found in the reading passage that one would have assumed to contain slightly less regional features:

(9)

So then, was this some [sʊm] very local [ˈɬəʊkᵊɬ] and momentary [ˈmo:mentəri] earth trauma [ˈtrɔ:mə] which had struck [strʊk] us [ˈəz]

Interview B

Table 15: Becky: GOAT frequencies

GOAT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[əʊ]	48	18	14	37	117	80.14%
[oʊ]	10	4	1	8	23	15.75%
[o:]	1	1	0	2	4	2.74%
[ə:]	1	0	0	1	2	1.37%
Total	60	23	15	48	146	100.00%

YORK

The main realisation of YORK is [ɒ:], with a relative frequency of 95.95 %. A few [ɔ:] realizations are also present. These have a relative frequency of 4.05 %.

Table 16: Becky: YORK frequencies

YORK	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ɔ:]	5	1	0	0	6	4.05%
[ɒ:]	71	20	14	37	142	95.95%
Total	76	21	14	37	148	100.00%

5.1.3 Caroline

When analysing the interview with Caroline there were some difficulties in transcribing STRUT words. Caroline's realisations of [ʊ] were somewhat lowered and/or advanced, being more like [ʊ̟], [ʊ̟] or [ʊ̟̈]. At times the realisation of STRUT was therefore somewhat difficult to analyse as either a version of [ʊ], or [ə]. However, after having analysed it several times and discussed the analysis with Lund, the inter-rater, it became easier to distinguish between Caroline's individual realisations of [ʊ] and [ə].

STRUT

The phonetic analysis of Caroline's recording revealed that [ʊ] is the main realisation of STRUT, with a relative frequency of 88.17 %. The variants [ə] and [ɒ] are also present, [ə] being the most frequent, 8.6 %, followed by [ɒ], 3.23 %. [ʌ] is not present.

Table 17: Caroline: STRUT frequencies

STRUT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ʊ]	24	14	14	30	82	88.17%
[ə]	3	2	1	2	8	8.60%
[ɒ]	0	3	0	0	3	3.23%
[ʌ]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	27	19	15	32	93	100.00%

BATH

Table 18 shows that [æ] is the most used variant, with a percentage of 84.62 %. [a] is also present, being used 15.38 % of the time. [ɑ:] is absent.

Table 18: Caroline: BATH frequencies

BATH	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[æ]	1	6	13	2	22	84.62%
[a]	1	0	2	1	4	15.38%
[ɑ:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	2	6	15	3	26	100.00%

FACE and GOAT

As can be seen from tables 19 and 20, the vowels of FACE and GOAT are mainly realised as diphthongs. There is only one instance of a monophthongal realisation, giving [ə:] a relative

frequency of 0.92 % of the GOAT realisations. Like Becky, the monophthongal realisation is spontaneous and not given as an example of the York or Yorkshire accents:

(10)
Caroline: [It's quite similar] yeah. I don't [dəːn] think you would erm I suppose [səˈpəʊz] the- a- a- I guess it depends how far

Interview C

Table 19: Caroline: FACE frequencies

FACE	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[eɪ]	21	9	14	36	80	100.00%
[eː]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	21	9	14	36	80	100.00%

Table 20: Caroline: GOAT frequencies

GOAT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[əʊ]	25	7	15	58	105	96.33%
[oʊ]	0	1	1	1	3	2.75%
[oː]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
[əː]	0	0	0	1	1	0.92%
Total	25	8	16	60	109	100.00%

YORK

Caroline's pronunciation of the YORK variable is quite interesting as her choice of variant is more variable. The [ɒː] is the one used the most, in 74.07 % of the cases, while [ɔː] is used 25.93 % of the time. Caroline therefore has a less of an either-or use of [ɒː] and [ɔː], than Anne and Becky have.

Table 21: Caroline: YORK frequencies

YORK	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ɔː]	8	4	4	5	21	25.93%
[ɒː]	16	13	10	21	60	74.07%
Total	24	17	14	26	81	100.00%

5.1.4 Daisy

With Daisy, the main challenge was the poor sound quality caused by excessive background noise. Therefore, Daisy's interview was kept quite short, thus being the shortest of the ten

interviews, lasting 8.72 minutes. The sound quality was later adjusted using the programme Audacity to double the strength of her microphone and deleting the recording made by the interviewer's microphone.

STRUT

Daisy's use of the STRUT vowel is very interesting in that she has almost equal usage of [ʊ] and [ə], with relative frequencies of 51.56 % and 43.75 %, respectively. Out of the ten informants, Daisy is the only one with this pattern for STRUT. The others have a clear favourite among the four variants. Apart from [ʊ] and [ə], [ɒ] is used 4.93 % of the time and [ʌ] is not present.

Table 22: Daisy: STRUT frequencies

STRUT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ʊ]	9	13	5	6	33	51.56%
[ə]	7	7	10	4	28	43.75%
[ɒ]	0	3	0	0	3	4.69%
[ʌ]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	16	23	15	10	64	100.00%

BATH

As can be seen from table 23, Daisy prefers the [æ] realisation, this variant having a relative frequency of 61.29 %. In 32.26 % of the instances she uses [a]. She also has a couple of instances of [ɑ:], with a percentage of 6.45 %.

Table 23: Daisy: BATH frequencies

BATH	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[æ]	2	6	10	1	19	61.29%
[a]	3	1	4	2	10	32.26%
[ɑ:]	1	0	1	0	2	6.45%
Total	6	7	15	3	31	100.00%

FACE and GOAT

Tables 24 and 25 show that Daisy does not have any monophthongal realisations of FACE or GOAT during the recording. FACE is therefore realised by [eɪ] in 100 % of the cases. GOAT is mainly realised by [əʊ], with a relative frequency of 97.26 %. [oʊ] is used in only 2.74 % of the cases.

Table 24: Daisy: FACE frequencies

FACE	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[eɪ]	10	9	14	20	53	100.00%
[e:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	10	9	14	20	53	100.00%

Table 25: Daisy: GOAT frequencies

GOAT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[əʊ]	23	6	15	27	71	97.26%
[oʊ]	0	1	1	0	2	2.74%
[o:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
[ə:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	23	7	16	27	73	100.00%

YORK

Even more clearly than is the case with Caroline, like table 26 shows, Daisy has less of an either-or usage when it comes to the YORK vowel. [ɒ:] is the preferred variant, with a relative frequency of 64.52 %. However, [ɔ:] is used as many as 35.48 % of the time.

Table 26: Daisy: YORK frequencies

YORK	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ɔ:]	8	6	7	1	22	35.48%
[ɒ:]	9	13	7	11	40	64.52%
Total	17	19	14	12	62	100.00%

5.1.5 Emma

At times it was difficult to distinguish between [ə] and [ʌ] in the recordings of Emma. Apart from that, the phonetic analysis of Emma was quite straight-forward. Emma's interview was the longest, lasting 28.47 minutes, since she was very interested in the topic and had time for a longer interview.

STRUT

As is clear from table 27, the phonetic analysis revealed that Emma's most used variant for STRUT words is [ə], used 71.25 % of the time. [ʊ] is used 15.42 % of the time. Lastly there are some instances of both [ɒ] and [ʌ], being used 8.75 % and 4.58 % of the time, respectively. Emma thus has a very varied pronunciation of STRUT words, although [ə] is clearly the main variant.

Table 27: Emma: STRUT frequencies

STRUT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ʊ]	0	0	1	36	37	15.42%
[ə]	44	15	10	102	171	71.25%
[ɒ]	4	4	0	13	21	8.75%
[ʌ]	2	1	4	4	11	4.58%
Total	50	20	15	155	240	100.00%

BATH

Table 28 presents Emma's use of the different variants of the BATH vowel. The main variant is [æ], with a relative frequency of 76.47 %. [a] and [ɑ:] are used equally, both having a relative frequency of 11.76 %.

Table 28: Emma: BATH frequencies

BATH	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[æ]	1	7	13	18	39	76.47%
[a]	0	1	1	4	6	11.76%
[ɑ:]	0	0	1	5	6	11.76%
Total	1	8	15	27	51	100.00%

FACE and GOAT

As is evident from tables 29 and 30, FACE and GOAT are mainly realised diphthongally. The [eɪ] realisation of FACE has a relative frequency of 96.02 %. The [əʊ] and [oʊ] realisations of GOAT have relative frequencies of 89.22 % and 7.78 %, respectively. In fact, these percentages should have been 100 %, since all the instances of monophthongal realisations are presented as examples of the York accent, and does not come from spontaneous speech, as in this example:

(11)

Emma: =Erm.. So I don't [dəʊn] really know [nəʊ] why they [ðeɪ] think I'm- Maybe [ˈmeɪbi] it's because I say [seɪ] "Kate [keɪt]" rather [ˈraðə] than "Kate [ke:t]" or "no [nəʊ]" instead of "no [ˈnə:]." I don- I don't [dəʊn] really know [nəʊ] how they [ðeɪ]…

Interview E

Table 29: Emma: FACE frequencies

FACE	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[eɪ]	44	9	14	150	217	96.02%
[e:]	0	0	0	9	9	3.98%
Total	44	9	14	159	226	100.00%

Table 30: Emma: GOAT frequencies

GOAT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[əʊ]	77	7	15	199	298	89.22%
[oʊ]	2	1	1	22	26	7.78%
[o:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
[ə:]	0	0	0	10	10	2.99%
Total	79	8	16	231	334	100.00%

YORK

Table 31 reveals that Emma has a really strong preference for the [ɔ:] variant of the YORK vowel. The relative frequency of [ɔ:] realisations is 99.61 %. There is only one out of 255 possible instances that the YORK variable is realised by [ɒ:], giving a relative frequency of 0.39 %.

Table 31: Emma: YORK frequencies

YORK	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ɔ:]	47	19	14	174	254	99.61%
[ɒ:]	0	0	0	1	1	0.39%
Total	47	19	14	175	255	100.00%

5.1.6 Fiona

Fiona was at work in a café during the interview. We therefore had to record the interview in small portions according to when new customers came in. First the questions about her local background were recorded, then the questions about York, and so on. Later the interview was edited together into one audio file and thus did not create any real problems for the analysis. Moreover, despite being at work, she was still able to relax and had time to get through the whole interview.

STRUT

As is evident from table 32, Fiona clearly prefers the [ʊ] realisation of the STRUT variable, using it 90 % of the time. A few times she also uses [ə] and [ɒ], 6.25 % and 3.75 % of the time, respectively. She does not have any [ʌ] realisations.

Table 32: Fiona: STRUT frequencies

STRUT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ʊ]	21	19	15	17	72	90.00%
[ə]	3	1	0	1	5	6.25%
[ɒ]	1	0	0	2	3	3.75%
[ʌ]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	25	20	15	20	80	100.00%

BATH

Table 33 shows that the BATH vowel was most frequently realised by [æ], with a relative frequency of 72.41 %. However, [a] is also used about a quarter of the time. There is one instance of [ɑ:], giving a relative frequency of 3.45 %.

Table 33: Fiona: BATH frequencies

BATH	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[æ]	0	6	13	2	21	72.41%
[a]	0	1	2	4	7	24.14%
[ɑ:]	0	0	0	1	1	3.45%
Total	0	7	15	7	29	100.00%

FACE and GOAT

In tables 34 and 35 we see that FACE and GOAT are mainly diphthongal. This is especially true for the FACE variable, being realised by [eɪ] in all instances. A couple of times GOAT is realised by the fronted monophthong [ə:], and in both of these cases [ə:] is not given as an example of York or Yorkshire accents, but is rather found in spontaneous speech during the question-and-answer sections. For instance:

(12)

Fiona: [No [nəʊ],] he doesn't [dʊzn] buil- No [ˈnə:], he helps- like do the plans for buildings=

Interview F

Table 34: Fiona: FACE frequencies

FACE	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[eɪ]	18	9	14	11	52	100.00%
[e:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	18	9	14	11	52	100.00%

Table 35: Fiona: GOAT frequencies

GOAT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[əʊ]	18	5	15	21	59	85.51%
[oʊ]	4	1	1	2	8	11.59%
[o:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
[ə:]	2	0	0	0	2	2.90%
Total	24	6	16	23	69	100.00%

YORK

From table 26 we find that the main pronunciation of the YORK vowel is [ᵽ:]. This variant has a relative frequency of 98.59 %. [ɔ:] is used only once, giving a relative frequency of 1.41 %.

Table 36: Fiona: YORK frequencies

YORK	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ɔ:]	0	0	0	1	1	1.41%
[ᵽ:]	18	18	14	20	70	98.59%
Total	18	18	14	21	71	100.00%

5.1.7 Grace

There were no major challenges during the recording of Grace's interview.

STRUT

Table 37 shows that Grace mainly prefers the realisation [ʊ] of the STRUT variable, using it in 87.18 % of the possible cases. [ə] is also used in some cases, with a relative frequency of 11.11 %. Finally Grace has a couple of [ɒ] realisations, giving a relative frequency of 1.71 %, and no use of [ʌ].

Table 37: Grace: STRUT frequencies

STRUT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ʊ]	41	18	15	28	102	87.18%
[ə]	7	1	0	5	13	11.11%
[ɒ]	0	0	0	2	2	1.71%
[ʌ]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	48	19	15	35	117	100.00%

BATH

Grace's main pronunciation of BATH is [æ], using it 78.57 % of the time where it could occur, as can be seen in table 38. After [æ], her most used variant is [a], with a relative frequency of 17.86 %. [ɑ:] is used only once, at a relative frequency of 3.57 %.

Table 38: Grace: BATH frequencies

BATH	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[æ]	3	6	13	0	22	78.57%
[a]	2	1	2	0	5	17.86%
[ɑ:]	1	0	0	0	1	3.57%
Total	6	7	15	0	28	100.00%

FACE and GOAT

What is clear from table 39 is that in all possible cases, Grace uses a diphthong for FACE. Furthermore, the GOAT vowel is also realised as a diphthong in all cases, as seen in table 40. Interestingly, this pattern is only found with one other informant, Daisy. All the others have at least one instance of a monophthong, even if it is only used as a example of York and Yorkshire speech.

Table 39: Grace: FACE frequencies

FACE	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[eɪ]	58	9	14	27	108	100.00%
[e:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	58	9	14	27	108	100.00%

Table 40: Grace: GOAT frequencies

GOAT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[əʊ]	71	4	15	47	137	89.54%
[oʊ]	4	2	1	9	16	10.46%
[o:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
[ə:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	75	6	16	56	153	100.00%

YORK

Table 41 conveys that Grace's pronunciation of the YORK vowel is highly varied, even more than that of Caroline and Daisy. She uses [ɔ:] 43.51 % of the time and [ᵽ:] 56. 49 % of the time. Grace is in fact one of two informants with a nearly 50-50 use of [ᵽ:] and [ɔ:].

Table 41: Grace: YORK frequencies

YORK	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ɔ:]	18	11	11	17	57	43.51%
[ᵽ:]	33	7	4	30	74	56.49%
Total	51	18	15	47	131	100.00%

5.1.8 Hannah

At the time the interview was recorded, Hannah was having a break between two lectures, and was thus somewhat in a hurry. Her interview was therefore kept relatively short, 11.37 minutes. Despite this, it was still possible to get through the entire interview.

STRUT

There is quite a lot of variation in Grace's pronunciations of the STRUT variable. As table 42 shows, the most used variant is [ʊ], with a relative frequency of 67.50 %. Both [ə] and [ʌ] are used equally, both being used as realisations of the STRUT variable 12.50 % of the time. [ɒ] is used the least, with a relative frequency of 7.50 %.

Table 42: Hannah: STRUT frequencies

STRUT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ʊ]	8	13	14	19	54	67.50%
[ə]	4	3	0	3	10	12.50%
[ɒ]	2	3	1	0	6	7.50%
[ʌ]	8	1	0	1	10	12.50%
Total	22	20	15	23	80	100.00%

BATH

Table 43 shows that Hannah predominantly uses [æ] for the BATH variable, with a relative frequency of 88.46 %. [a] is used in 11.54 % of all places it could possibly occur. Finally, Hannah has no [ɑ:] realisations.

Table 43: Hannah: BATH frequencies

BATH	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[æ]	2	6	13	2	23	88.46%
[a]	0	0	2	1	3	11.54%
[ɑ:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	2	6	15	3	26	100.00%

FACE and GOAT

As seen in tables 44 and 45, Hannah's FACE and GOAT words are almost exclusively realised by diphthongs. A couple of times she uses the monophthongal realisation [o:] of GOAT, giving a relative frequency of 2.63 %. However, these two pronunciations are only used to give examples of other people's speech, as in:

(13)
Hannah: =but [ˈbə] not- they'd [ðeɪd] never say [seɪ] like, "Oh [o:], you're from Leeds when=
Interviewer: =No=
Hannah: =I'm live in York [jɔ:k] [sort [sɔ:ɾ] of thing]

Interview H

Table 44: Hannah: FACE frequencies

FACE	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[eɪ]	20	9	14	28	71	100.00%
[e:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	20	9	14	28	71	100.00%

Table 45: Hannah: GOAT frequencies

GOAT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[əʊ]	16	7	15	33	71	93.42%
[oʊ]	1	1	1	0	3	3.95%
[o:]	0	0	0	2	2	2.63%
[ə:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	17	8	16	35	76	100.00%

YORK

Table 46 reveals that Hannah uses the [ɔ:] realisation most during the interview. In 83 % of the possible cases she uses this variable. She uses the [ɒ:] realisation too, although only in 17 % of the possible cases.

Table 46: Hannah: YORK frequencies

YORK	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ɔ:]	27	10	10	36	83	83.00%
[ɒ:]	3	7	5	2	17	17.00%
Total	30	17	15	38	100	100.00%

5.1.9 Ivy

No major challenges presented themselves during the phonetic analysis of Ivy's interview.

STRUT

Ivy and Emma are the only two informants that clearly show a strong preference for the variant [ə] instead of [ʊ] in the realisation of the STRUT variable. Ivy's use shows a relative frequency of 72.37 % for [ə], as evident in table 47. The second most used variant is [ʊ], being used in 19.74 % of the possible cases. There are also a few instances of [ɒ] and [ʌ], with relative frequencies of 5.26 % and 2.63 %, respectively.

Table 47: Ivy: STRUT frequencies

STRUT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ʊ]	1	7	2	5	15	19.74%
[ə]	13	7	13	22	55	72.37%
[ɒ]	0	4	0	0	4	5.26%
[ʌ]	0	0	0	2	2	2.63%
Total	14	18	15	29	76	100.00%

BATH

Table 48 shows that Ivy's most used variant for the BATH vowel is [æ], with a relative frequency of 60.71 %, followed by [a], which has a relative frequency of 35.71 %. [ɑ:] is also present, although it is only used once. [ɑ:] therefore has a relative frequency of 3.57 %.

Table 48: Ivy: BATH frequencies

BATH	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[æ]	0	6	9	2	17	60.71%
[a]	0	1	6	3	10	35.71%
[ɑ:]	0	0	0	1	1	3.57%
Total	0	7	15	6	28	100.00%

FACE and GOAT

Like the others, Ivy too has a predominantly diphthongal realisation of FACE and GOAT, as is clear from tables 49 and 50. For FACE, the diphthong is used exclusively. GOAT is a couple of times realised monophthongally, with a relative frequency of 2.41 %, although it is only used to describe the York accent. For example:

(14)
Interviewer: =What do you find to be typical of York speech?=
Ivy: =Erm fairly flat vowels=
Interviewer: =Okay=
Ivy: =erm..=
Interviewer: =So for example?
Ivy: Erm so [səʊ] such [ˈsətʃ] as like an "er [ˈə:]"-sound instead of and "o [əʊ]"-sound=

Interview I

Table 49: Ivy: FACE frequencies

FACE	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[eɪ]	8	9	13	24	54	100.00%
[e:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	8	9	13	24	54	100.00%

Table 50: Ivy: GOAT frequencies

GOAT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[əʊ]	18	7	14	35	74	89.16%
[oʊ]	4	1	1	1	7	8.43%
[o:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
[ə:]	0	0	0	2	2	2.41%
Total	22	8	15	38	83	100.00%

YORK

Table 51 reveals that Ivy is the second informant that, apart from Grace, is the only informant to have a nearly 50-50 realisation of the YORK variable. [ᵽ:] is the one that is most used, with a relative frequency of 52.05 %. However, [ɔ:] is used almost as much, being the realisation in 47.95 % of the possible cases.

Table 51: Ivy: YORK frequencies

YORK	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ɔ:]	13	5	3	14	35	47.95%
[ᵽ:]	10	12	11	5	38	52.05%
Total	23	17	14	19	73	100.00%

5.1.10 Jenny

The only challenge with the transcription and analysis of Jenny's interview was that she had a few false starts. However, since I had transcribed and analysed nine other interviews before this one, this challenge did not cause much of a problem.

STRUT

As is clear from table 52, Jenny mainly uses the [ʊ] realisation of the STRUT vowel, this variant having a relative frequency of 83.12 %. Sometimes she uses [ə] and [ɒ], although not as much as [ʊ]. [ə] and [ɒ] are used in 9.09 % and 7.79 % of the possible cases, respectively. [ʌ] is not used at all.

Table 52: Jenny: STRUT frequencies

STRUT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ʊ]	21	14	14	15	64	83.12%
[ə]	1	2	1	3	7	9.09%
[ɒ]	1	3	0	2	6	7.79%
[ʌ]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	23	19	15	20	77	100.00%

BATH

Jenny predominantly pronounces BATH words with an [æ], this variant having a relative frequency of 76.47 %, as table 53 shows. [a] realisations are also present and are used in 23.53 % of the possible cases. Jenny has no [ɑ:] realisations.

Table 53: Jenny: BATH frequencies

BATH	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[æ]	1	6	14	5	26	76.47%
[a]	2	2	1	3	8	23.53%
[ɑ:]	0	0	0	0	0	0.00%
Total	3	8	15	8	34	100.00%

FACE and GOAT

For Jenny, the FACE and GOAT vowels are mainly diphthongs. Still there are instances of monophthongal realisations of both FACE and GOAT. For FACE, [e:] is used twice, having a relative frequency of 3.23 %. What is very noteworthy is that both these instances are produced during reading exercises: one during the reading passage and the other during the word list reading:

(15)

It must [mʊst] have been two o'clock, or [o̞:] perhaps a quarter [ˈkwo̞:ʔər] of an hour later [ˈle:ʔə], a quarter [ˈkwo̞ʔə] past [pæs] two.

Interview J

(16)

great [gre:ʔ]

Interview J

Table 54: Jenny: FACE frequencies

FACE	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[eɪ]	9	9	13	29	60	96.77%
[e:]	0	1	1	0	2	3.23%
Total	9	10	14	29	62	100.00%

Quite a few times, the vowel of GOAT words is realised as a monophthong. [o:] is used a couple of times and has a relative frequency of 2.15 %. Both these two times it is not given as examples of York and Yorkshire accents. Rather, it is produced spontaneously. The first time it is used is during the first question-and-answer section and the second was during the reading passage:

(17)
Jenny: =and er even though [θo:] I- I liked Driffield, I just- I couldn't- I couldn't not move back to York [jo̞:k] [I love [lʊv] it]

Interview J

(18)
or [o̞:] the gas pedal, as it's known [no:n] in America,

Interview J

[ə:] is used a bit more, eight times. In other words, the [ə:] realisation is used in 8.60 % of the GOAT words. Two of these are examples of how she would speak if she is talking to a person with a very traditional accent:

(19)
Jenny: And like it's when you go [gəʊ] like "er [ˈə:]" at the end or [o̞:] something [ˈsəðɪŋ] like that. Like "you know [ˈnə:]"=
Interviewer: =Uhuh.

Interview J

The other four instances of [ə:] are found in both question-and-answer sections, and two are even found during the reading passage and word list, for example:

(20)

Interviewer: =Mhm. .. Is there anything you don't like about it?

Jenny: Erm no [ˈnəː], not really.

Interview J

(21)

There was a kind of deep groaning [ˈgrəːnɪn] and horrible, awesome [ˈn̩ːsəm] grinding which seemed to fill the air.

Interview J

(22)

total [ˈtəːʔəli]

Interview J

Table 55: Jenny: GOAT frequencies

GOAT	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[əʊ]	22	4	14	37	77	82.80%
[oʊ]	3	1	1	1	6	6.45%
[oː]	1	1	0	0	2	2.15%
[əː]	3	1	1	3	8	8.60%
Total	29	7	16	41	93	100.00%

YORK

Table 56 shows that Jenny mainly uses the variant [n̩ː] for YORK words. The variant has a relative frequency of 95.95 %. [ɔː] is also present, although not as much, having a relative frequency of 4.05 %.

Table 56: Jenny: YORK frequencies

YORK	Q&A part 1	Reading passage	Word list	Q&A part 2	Total	Relative frequency
[ɔː]	1	1	0	1	3	4.05%
[n̩ː]	18	17	16	20	71	95.95%
Total	19	18	16	21	74	100.00%

5.2 Accent levelling

As a means of quantifying accent levelling, the individual informants' use of the traditional variants were used (see section 4.4.2). Inspired by Eriksen (2015, p. 43), Table 57 contains information about all the potential instances of traditional variants, i.e. the total number of all STRUT, BATH, FACE, GOAT and YORK words, the actual number of traditional variants used, and the relative percentage of traditional variants.

Table 57: Accent levelling

Informant	**Potential/Actual (Percentage)**
Anne	824 / 107 (12.99%)
Becky	575 / 324 (56.35%)
Caroline	389 / 172 (44.22%)
Daisy	283 / 105 (37.10%)
Emma	1106 / 123 (11.12%)
Fiona	301 / 175 (58.14%)
Grace	537 / 205 (38.18%)
Hannah	353 / 105 (29.75%)
Ivy	314 / 86 (27.39%)
Jenny	340 / 187 (55.00%)

Like table 57 shows, the informant who uses the most traditional variants in comparison to where she could have used them is Fiona, who uses traditional variants in 58.14 % of the cases. The informant who has the least use of traditional variants, and thus the most levelled accent, is Emma, who uses traditional variants 11.12 % of the time where she could have. Average use of traditional variants among the informants is 37.02 %. The table also shows that there is a lot of variation between the ten informants.

6 Causation: analyses and results

It is always difficult to determine the cause of a linguistic change. Causation is complex and usually a combination of factors. The following analyses do not claim to present the entire picture of causation. Rather it aims to show which social factors correlate most strongly with accent levelling. According to Rasinger (2013) this can be a measure of causality:

> if we square the correlation coefficient, that is, multiply it with itself, the so-called R^2 (R squared) tells us how much the independent variable accounts for the outcome of the dependent variable. In other words, causality can be approximated via R^2. (p. 171)

Therefore, statistical analysis is a tool that makes it possible to say something about the causation of sound change, at least in the sense that different variables can be found to correlate in a non-random fashion.

This chapter will present the results of the statistical analyses for correlation and causation. Only the results that are statistically significant will be presented in detail. The results of the correlation between intention to stay and accent levelling will therefore not be commented on since it is not significant (r=0.17, p=0.64). First, the relationship between mobility and accent levelling will be looked at; second, the relationship between attitudes and accent levelling; and third, a comment will be made about the relationship between attitudes and mobility. Finally, the connection between life-mode background and accent levelling will be looked at briefly.

6.1 Mobility

The main challenge when trying to determine the relationship between mobility and accent levelling was creating a measure of mobility. Few previous studies have investigated the affects of mobility on accent change (e.g. Kerswill and Williams, 2000) Earlier studies have often rather looked at this relationship theoretically (e.g. Nordberg, 1994). Kerswill and Williams (2000) sampled recordings from two generations, where the caregivers/parents were from different places in the United Kingdom and the children had all grown up in the same town, Milton Keynes (Kerswill, 2006, p. 16). They measured mobility by giving the phonetic realisations typical of the accents of the places caregivers were from different scores; for instance for the GOAT variable (Kerswill, 2006, p. 16):

Table 58: Milton Keynes realisations of GOAT

(ou) - 0: [o:], [oʊ]	score: 0	(northern and Scottish realization)
(ou) - 1: [əʊ], [əᵾ]	score: 1	(older Buckinghamshire and London)
(ou) - 2: [əʏ]	score: 2	(fronting)
(ou) - 3: [əɪ]	score: 3	(fronting and unrounding)

The effects of mobility on accent levelling, therefore, were in their study investigated by comparing caregivers' use of the phonological variables with the children's use. The study also reported on the caregivers' birthplace, although this information was only used to investigate the density of the informants' social network, or "as a measure of the *localness* of the network, which can be expected to correlate with density" (Williams and Kerswill, 1999, p.154).

The current investigation has a different approach. Instead of an apparent time study of two generations, like Kerswill and Williams' (2000), the current investigation is interested in seeing whether mobility in terms of living in different locations currently affects people's own accents, and not their children's, as early as their 20s. At present no studies of this kind have been conducted and a measure of mobility therefore had to be invented, based on the informants' mobility patterns. Mobility was therefore measured by years of life spent away from York.

Since the age of the informants ranged from 23 to 29, the years spent away from Yorkshire were therefore changed to a percentage, giving the following results:

Table 59: Mobility according to time away from York

Informant	**Age**	**Years spent away from York**	**Time away from Yorkshire**
Anne	24	18	75.00%
Becky	29	3	10.34%
Caroline	27	1	3.70%
Daisy	25	7	28.00%
Emma	28	4	14.29%
Fiona	26	10	38.46%
Grace	23	4	17.39%
Hannah	23	10	43.48%
Ivy	23	19	82.61%
Jenny	26	6.5	25.00%

Then the time the informants had spent away from York was correlated with their use of traditional variants in a scatter plot.

6.1.1 Results

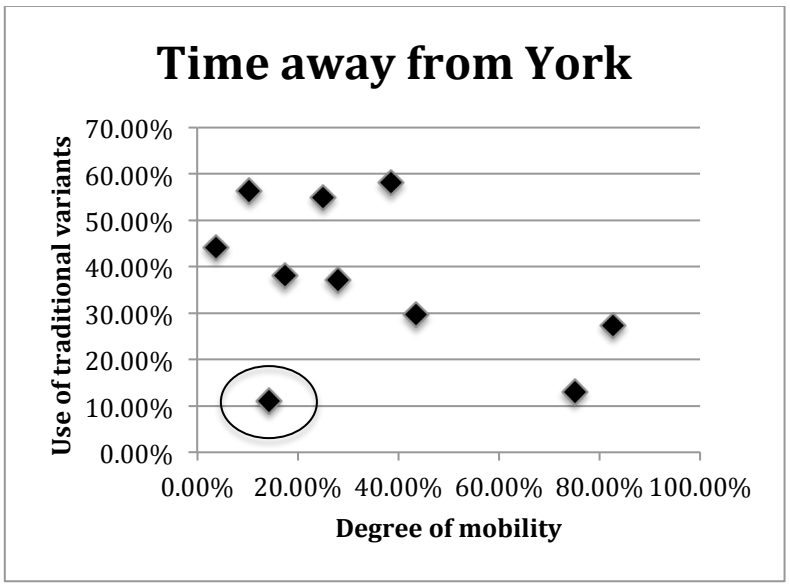

Figure 2: Time away from York

Figure 2 reveals that there is one very clear outlier in the sample (at the bottom left), Emma, who makes the correlation weak and not significant (r=-0.435, p=0.209). Without her, there is a very strong correlation between mobility and accent levelling (r=-0.703), as is also very visible in figure 3.

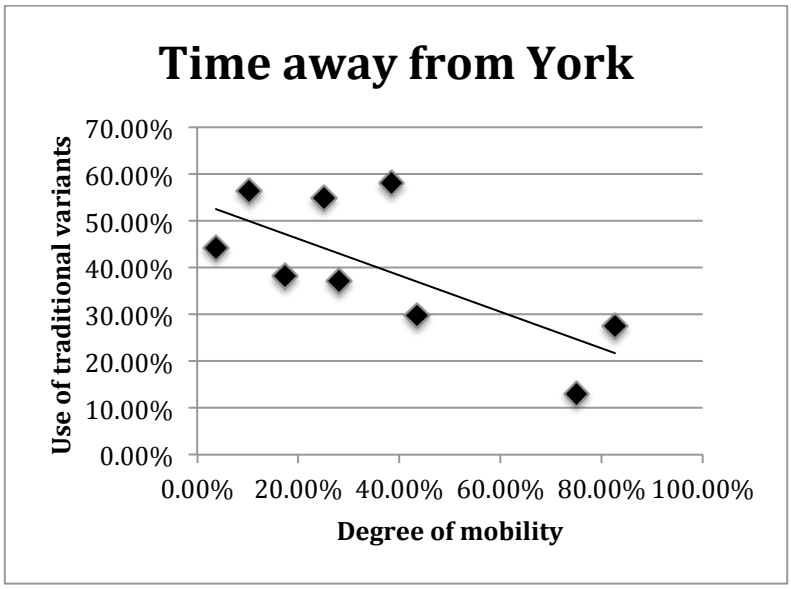

Figure 3: Time away from York, minus Emma

The correlation coefficient is here statistically significant (p=0.035). The coefficient of determination, moreover, tells us that, with Emma excluded, mobility is the cause of almost 50 % of the variation between the informants (r^2=0.494). The correlation is here negative, meaning that the more time the informants have spent away from York, the more levelled their accents are.

6.1.2 The case of Emma

Emma stands out from the rest of the informants. There can be several reasons for this. First of all, at the time of the recording she had been married for two years to an American she met while living in Florida. This is something she mentions herself a few times, for example:

(23)

Emma: … Certainly now erm the only thing that I try and change now is that erm- because I- my hus- my husband is American and because a lot of my friends now are American and because the- we visits my husband's family in America every year, sometimes I find my tones are becoming like a bit American. Like especially my intonation. So I- I try.. I don't know- I try not to be like that because.. I have a lot of friends who are all like, "Oh my God! It's so exciting!" You know, like- like that. And I- so I already say like the word "like" all the time, as you've probably tell, which I always think is quite an American thing. Erm.. and- and now it's got to the stage actually sometimes where people meet me and they're like, "Oh, are you from

America?" or "You sound like you're American." And I'm like, "No! I'm really not. I'm from England," you know, so erm.. I don't really like that, you know- you know, I kind of want to be British. I don't really want to sound American, so I try not to.. I think sometimes it's just the choice of words I use or something that maybe is more American. But whe- Like I said, when you live with an American it's er it's hard not to start sounding like each other.

Interview E

(24)

Emma: So, you know like how I was saying that my accent, I feel, has been shaped by the fact that I spent time in America and I spend time with American people=

Interview E

She also has a national job where she meets people from all over the UK:

(25)

Interviewer: … Erm.. and what job do you do now?
Emma: Erm okay. So I am errr it's difficult to describe.. ah. So erm I am in charge of the department for forestry for the UK=
Interviewer: =Okay. [Wow!]
Emma: [So I'm-] So I work for the government=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Emma: =and I head up the department that is entirely in charge of forestry and woodlands in the United Kingdom=

Interview E

Having a national job that involves commuting naturally means that she regularly finds herself in contact-situations with people who have a different accent from hers. It is therefore likely that this could affect the speed of her accent levelling process regardless of whether or not she actually changes her place of residence.

Moreover, it could be that her process of accent levelling started when she was about ten or eleven. At one point during the interview, she mentions that she liked the way the actors and actresses spoke in Jane Austen costume dramas and that she wanted to sound like that too:

(25)

Interviewer: … So have you ever tried to do anything about it, like specifically trained yourself to.. er don't say that sound for example?=

Emma: =Yeah. I think when I was younger, like not for at long time=

Interviewer: =Mhm=

Emma: =but I think when I was younger I used to be.. I used to do that a lot when I was, you know, yeah. 'Cause I've seen videos of myself as a child, like a very young child, and I- and I- and I had quite a little Yorkshire accent on me, you know, back then. But I remember when I was about ten-eleven I would- I'd- I used to love the erm.. Have you ever seen like *Pride and Prejudice* or someth-?=

Interviewer: =[Yeah]

Emma: [like] all the costume dramas? I just loved them. Like I used to watch them every week=

Interviewer: =Mhm=

Emma: =and I don't know whether I kind of began to emulate what I was hearing=

Interviewer: =[Yeah]

Emma: ['Cause] I saw that as being like really classy and=

Interviewer: =Mhm=

Emma: =erm.. And so I think when I was younger I did try and sort of talk with the right kind of accent.

Interview E

What is clear is that Emma has thought a lot about this and does not want to cause unnecessary misunderstandings when communicating with others. Together with this, it is also evident that she likes RP better than the York accent. Thus it is more likely that she will strive to achieve this accent than a traditional Yorkshire accent. At the same time, she does not want to be perceived as posh or upper-class:

(26)

Interviewer: … Is there anything you don't like about the way you speak yourself?

Emma: Yeah. So erm .. I don- I don't- Despite the fact that I don't really like the York accent, I don- I don't really like the way that I sound so very different sometimes=

Interviewer: =Okay=

Emma: =from.. At school, you know, I- I didn't go to a- like a- to a private school or a fee paying school and erm and- and so a lot of the people in my school talked in a very broad Yorkshire accent and erm.. and I just remember I never did. So it was- sometimes it was quite isolating, that people again made these like snap judgements about=

Interviewer: =Yeah=

Emma: =who I was or how much money my parents earned or, you know, just silly things like that based on what I'm.. erm.. When I get nervous, I get like even posher than I am like=

Interviewer: =Okay=

Emma: =I don't really like that. 'Cause that's really embarrassing. …

Interview E

Clearly, for Emma, then, attitudes play a major role in her accent. The next section will therefore look into the relationship between accent levelling and attitudes to the York accent.

6.2 Attitudes

When I analysed the informants' attitudes statistically, their answers were converted to numerical values. A positive evaluation gave a score of +1. A neutral evaluation gave a score of 0. A negative evaluation gave a score of -1. Thus, the current study follows Omdal's (1994) approach to some extent. Omdal (1994) looked at attitudes to three different parts of language: "[a]ttitude to language modification associated with migration", "[a]ssessment of own identity and speech" and "[a]ttitudes to Setesdal and Kristiansand dialects" (pp. 133, 135, 139). He then gives their answers a score of 1, 3 or 5 for their attitudes to language modifications, 1 "indicating a negative attitude", 3 "indicating an intermediate attitude" and 5 "indicating a positive attitude" (p. 135). In the current context I feel it makes more sense to give scores from -1 to 1, as -1 is a negative score and +1 is a positive score and 0 is in the middle. Using scores from 1-5, on the other hand, seems somewhat random in comparison. To complicate the matters further, Omdal (1994) uses a score of 1, 2, 3, 4 and 5, where 1 indicates the most "pleasant" and 5 indicates "unpleasant" (p. 139). I believe it makes more sense to use the same scoring system for all types of attitudes studied and thus that it would be more logical for "pleasant" to have the same score as positive attitudes. In the current

study, therefore, the same scoring system, -1 to 1, was used for intention to staying in York for the rest of their lives and for attitudes to the York accent.

6.2.1 Results

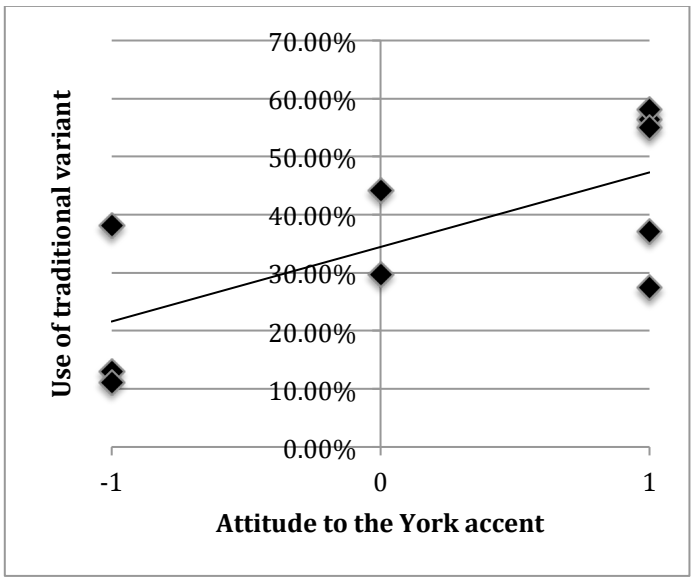

Figure 4: Attitudes and accent levelling

The scatter plot in figure 4 clearly shows that the these two factors, attitudes and accent levelling, correlate strongly. The correlation coefficient was also calculated and showed a very strong association between the two factors (r=0.696). Thus the more you like the York accent, the more you use its traditional realisations. Furthermore, this result is statistically significant (p=0.025) and the coefficient of determination shows that attitudes can account for almost 50 % of the variation among all ten informants (r^2=0.484).

In order to check the reliability of this result, the correlation coefficient and P-Value were also calculated using SPSS. As seen in figure 5, the results from SPSS are exactly the same as the ones gained from Excel and the P-Value calculator: r=0.696 and p=0.025.

		Attitudes	Accent levelling
Attitudes	Pearson Correlation	1	.696
	Sig. (2-tailed)		.025
	N	10	10
Accent levelling	Pearson Correlation	.696	1
	Sig. (2-tailed)	.025	
	N	10	10

Figure 5: Attitudes and accent levelling in SPSS

It is problematic to compare attitudes, which are categorical data, with the continuous data of accent levelling. This is not recommended in introductory books in statistics (Rasinger, 2013). However, the scatter plot in itself clearly indicate that there is a strong connection between the two factors. Therefore it has been included. Also, figure 6 shows that there is a strong relationship between attitudes and accent levelling, even without mixing categorical and continuous data.

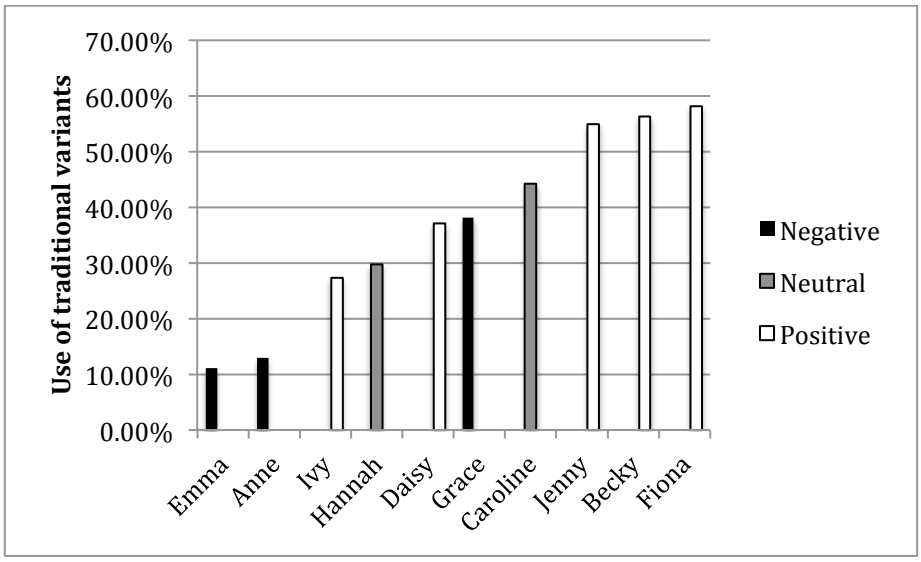

Figure 6: Attitudes and accent levelling displayed categorically

6.3 Relationship between social factors

Pearson correlation was used to check whether there were any relationships between mobility and attitudes, and between mobility and life-mode backgrounds. Again, categorical data are

correlated with continuous data. However, this is only to see whether there is any indication of a correlation.

Table 60: Relationship between social factors

Factors compared	Correlation coefficient	P-Value	Coefficient of determination
Attitudes and time away from York	r=0.046	p=0.9	r^2=0.002
Life-mode and time away from York	r=0.538	p=0.109	r^2=0.289

In addition, the relationship between attitudes and life-mode was also looked at. Since all the data here is categorical, a chi-square test was used instead of Pearson correlation. The test reveals that the two factors are independent of each other (χ^2=1.9048, p=0.386).

Statistically, there is no significant correlation between the social factors compared with accent levelling. In the current study, they are all independent of each other. This could be due to the small size of the data set. However, the relationship between life-mode background and mobility show some potential, with p=0.109. Perhaps if life-mode background had been controlled for in the sampling there would have been more comparable group sizes.

6.4 Life-mode

Three of the informants have a life-mode 2 background, Becky, Caroline and Emma. Since being a member of a life-mode is categorical and since life-mode is not seen as a factor causing accent levelling, but rather a category within which variation and change might differ, the relationships between these two variables were not correlated using Pearson correlation. Instead, figure 7 indicates that there is a difference in the current sample between degree of accent levelling dependent on life-mode. The three informants with a life-mode 2 background are among the four informants with the highest use of traditional variants and thus least levelled accent. None of the informants with life-mode 2 background uses fewer that 40 % traditional variants. They all therefore use more traditional variants than the average of 37 %. In comparison, only one of the informants with life-mode 3 background uses more than 40 % traditional variables. Since only three of my informants have a life-mode 2 background, it is, unfortunately, not possible to generalise this pattern for people with life-mode 2 backgrounds. On the other hand, it could show an noteworthy tendency.

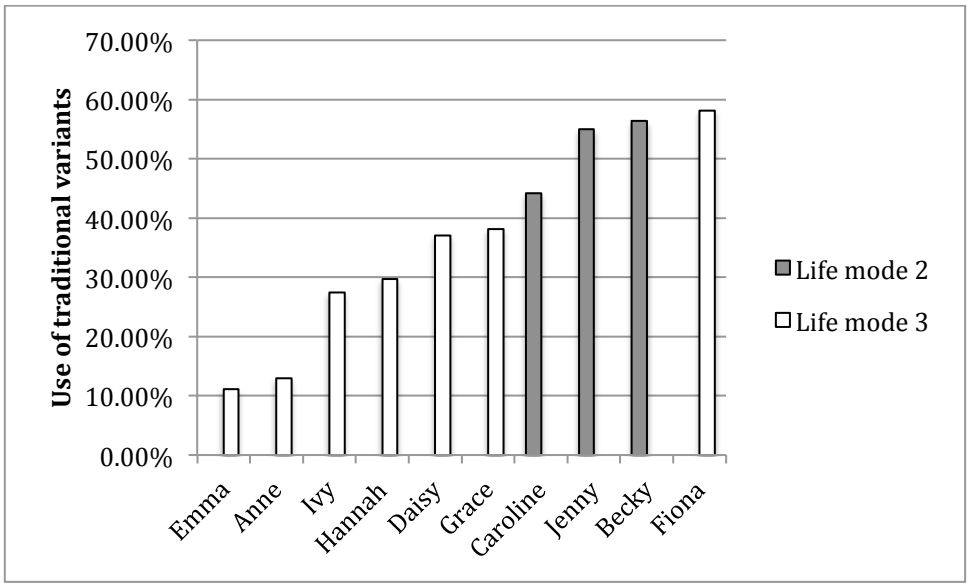

Figure 7: Life-mode background and accent levelling

This shows that life-mode, or social class, is potentially a really important factor in York, despite it not being an industrial city. I therefore disagree with Tagliamonte and Haddican *et al.* (2013) on this topic, as they indicate that social class does not play a major role in language behaviour. More informants with this background need to be studied in order to determine the actual impact of life-mode membership on accent levelling.

7 Discussion

Going back to the research questions of the current study, this is what I wanted to find out:

1) How are the typical northern vowels and the YORK vowel realised among my informants?
2) Is there any evidence of accent levelling among the informants?
3) Can possible differences in degree of accent levelling be explained by differing attitudes and/or degrees of mobility?

This chapter will therefore go through the questions one by one, give a summary of the present findings based on the analyses in chapters five and six, and compare the findings to the previous research outlined in chapter three.

7.1 The York accent today

The phonetic analysis indicates some interesting general trends about the York accent. They can, however, only give a picture of the situation among women in their 20s. At the same time, as has been explained in chapter three, this subgroup of the population might indicate the direction of the York accent, as women in their 20s generally are the ones first to start using incoming or levelled variants. In this section answers to research questions 1 and 2 will be presented and discussed.

7.1.1 STRUT

The STRUT vowel is highly varied among the ten informants. None of the informants use one variant exclusively. At the same time, apart from Daisy, who use the variants [ʊ] and [ə] in almost equal numbers (c. 50 % and c. 40 %), all of the informants clearly favour one variant. Six out of the nine clearly favour [ʊ], while the other three favour [ə]. This shows that [ʊ] still clearly is the main variant, although it is getting competition from [ə].
For almost all the informants, [ɒ] is restricted to certain words. It is the preferred variant in the words *one*, *once*, *someone* and *everyone*. As an example, table 59 shows the results from Daisy's reading passage.

Table 61: Daisy: Strut realisations in reading passage

STRUT	**[ʊ]**	**[ə]**	**[ɒ]**	**[ʌ]**
1	[ˌʊmfəˈgetəbɬ]	[ˈɬənʃ]	[wɒn]	
2	[mʊs]	[ˈəp]	[wɒns]	
3	[ˈsʊdən]	[ˈsədənli]	[wɒns]	
4	[ˈbʊkɪŋ]	[ˈdʒəst]		
5	[sʊm]	[ˈətəli]		
6	[dʒʊst]	[ˈdrəŋk]		
7	[ˈsʊd]	[ˈdəbɬ]		
8	[dʒʊst]			
9	[sʊm]			
10	[strʊk]			
11	[ʊz]			
12	[sʊm]			
13	[ɬʊnʃ]			

The present findings fit very well with previous research. Like in Wells's (1982), Hughes, Trudgill and Watt's (2012), Petyt's (1985), Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson's (1999) and Myrstad-Nilsen's (2011) description of the West, East, South and North Yorkshire accents, the realisation is still mainly [ʊ]. As was expected, although [ʊ] is clearly the main realisation, there is still a lot variation. Wells (1982) lists [ʊ̟], [ɤ] and [ə] as possible variants (p. 352). The slightly less rounded [ʊ̟] is not heard in the present interviews. Instead, the fully unrounded and slightly more open [ɤ] is heard a few times during Anne's interview. These two realisation, [ʊ̟] and [ɤ], are, however, not seen as the main realisations, but rather variations of [ʊ]. The stressed [ə], on the other hand, is clearly its own variant. According to Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) [ə] is a variant heard among many northern speakers (p. 60). The present analysis supports their anecdotal evidence.

Petyt (1985) talks about "a degree of unpredictability" in the STRUT vowel (p. 117) and the current analysis supports this claim, although [ʌ] is not as common among my informants as among his. It could be that he uses [ʌ] where I have used [ə], to represent a centralised, unrounded realisation of [ʊ] that is approaching [ʌ]. However, the present analysis clearly indicates that [ə] and [ʌ] are separate variants.

Williams and Kerswill (1999) found that speakers in Hull with a life-mode 3 background sometimes use [ə]. The results from the present analysis support this. The three informants who mainly use the [ə] realisation, Anne, Emma and Ivy, all have a life-mode 3 background. The three informants with a life-mode 2 background, Becky, Caroline and Jenny, use [ə] the least compared to the other informants, in less than 10 % of the possible cases.

The informants' use of [ə], concurs with what Myrstad-Nilsen (2011) found in the village of Egton in North Yorkshire, that [ʊ] is "moving towards a more central quality" (p. 94). It would seem, therefore, that both a FOOT-STRUT Split and a STRUT-Schwa-Merger is in progress, as the split between FOOT and STRUT is resulting in the STRUT vowel overlapping with schwa, being distinguished by stress only.

If the STRUT vowel starts being realised mainly by a stressed [ə], there might be a second possible overlap between STRUT and NURSE. NURSE is realised by [ɜ:] (Wells, 1982, p. 137), which is articulated in approximately the same place as [ə]. These two might therefore only be distinguished by length. However, during the present interviews it appeared that the NURSE vowel was sometimes realised by a somewhat fronted variant, [ɜ̟:], approaching [ɛ:]. That was not part of the present analysis, but is something for further studies to look into. According to Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012), this is a feature of the Hull and Liverpool accent, and it might have spread to York as well (p. 108).

Finally, the fact that [ɒ] is restricted to certain words supports Wells's (1982) and Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson's (1999) description of northern accents in general and the Sheffield accent, respectively. They also say that [ɒ] is heard in words like *one*, "*once*, *among*, *none* and *among*" (Wells, 1982, p. 362; Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson, 1999, p. 74). Although York is north of Wells's (1982) isogloss for [ɒ] in these words, "Birmingham, Stoke, Liverpool, Manchester and Sheffield" (p. 362), it now seems that the isogloss has moved further north.

7.1.2 BATH

For the BATH vowel, the main variant is [æ] for all the informants. What the tables in section 5.1 do not show, is that there appears to be a pattern in the informants' use of [a]. [a] is the preferred variant in the words *rather, can't* and *half.* Table 58 shows an example of this in Jenny's reading passage.

Table 62: Jenny: Bath realisations in reading passage

BATH	**[æ]**	**[a]**	**[ɑ:]**
1	[læst]	[kaʔ]	
2	[ˈæftə]	[ˈraðə]	
3	[pæs]		
4	[væst]		
5	[ˈæftə]		
6	[æs]		

Previous accounts have often used [a] to describe the BATH vowel in northern accents (Wells, 1982, p. 365; Williams and Kerswill, 1999, p. 143; Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson, 1999, p. 74; Myrstad-Nilsen, 2011, p. 94; Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012, pp. 104, 108). Petyt (1985) differs in that he uses [æ]. The present investigation shows that both are, in fact, needed to describe the BATH vowel in York English, since [æ] is the main variant and [a], clearly different in quality, is restricted to certain words.

Unlike Williams and Kerswill (1999), who found a frequently used retracted variant, [a̠], in Hull, this variant is not present among the ten informants in York. Instead, another feature from the Hull accent is observed. The phenomenon, described briefly in the account of consonants in Yorkshire English (see section 2.1), known as secondary contraction, is observed in many of the informants' pronunciation of *can't* to be [kaʔ], that is, the entire *n't* being deleted and replaced by a glottal stop. However, unlike the realisation described by Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012), [ka:ʔ], this contraction does not cause lengthening of the BATH vowel: it is still a short [a]. Thus, the vowel change, [æ] to [a], and deletion of [n] indicate negation.

Since [æ] is the main realisation of the BATH vowel, this, to some extent, supports Wells's (1982) view of the short, traditional realisation as an important marker of northern identity (p. 354). None of the informants use any other realisation much. In comparison, the STRUT vowel is more varied. At the same time, the informants clearly favour the traditional realisation of the STRUT vowel. Thus, if frequent use is seen as an indication of positive attitudes towards a realisation, then the informants might have very positive attitudes towards the [æ] realisation of the BATH vowel. Since the majority of the informants use [ʊ] as the main realisation of the STRUT vowel, this does not, however, support Wells's (1982) claim of

it being perceived as “vulgar” among “educated northerners”, especially given that four out of the seven informants mainly using [ʊ] had obtained higher education.

7.1.3 FACE and GOAT

FACE and GOAT are essentially realised as diphthongs among the ten informants. However, the few instances of monophthongal realisations reveals that the monophthongal realisations are still in use. This is especially interesting given the fact that several of the monophthongs appeared in the reading passage and word list, where the speech style is more careful than in the question-and-answer sections.

Earlier studies have concluded that the FACE and GOAT vowels are mainly realised by monophthongs; even Myrstad-Nilsen’s (2011) very recent study supports this (Wells, 1982; Petyt, 1985; Williams and Kerswill, 1999; Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson, 1999; Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012; Haddican *et al.*, 2013). Something has clearly happened over the last few years among females in their twenties. Petyt (1985) believes that the few diphthongal realisations that were present during his recordings would merge together with the monophthongal variants and become monophthongal realisations only (pp. 124, 132). According to the present study, if the two realisations have been merged since his study, they have also further been diphthongised.

The diphthongal realisations of the FACE and GOAT vowels have now clearly spread to York, like Wells (1982) said would happen (p. 357). Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) note that diphthongal realisations of GOAT may be heard among young people in Bradford (p. 105). The same can then be said about female young adults in York. Haddican *et al.* (2013) saw diphthongisation as a change in progress. In the present study, it appears that this process is finished.

Fronting of the GOAT vowel to [ə:] has also been described in the research literature as a change in progress (Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson, 1999; Watt and Tillotson, 2001; Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012; Haddican *et al.*, 2013). There is disagreement in the research literature as to whether or not the fronted variant is rounded or not, i.e. [ɵ:] or [ə:] (e.g. Hughes, Trudgill and Watt, 2012, pp. 105, 108; Watt and Tillotson, 2001, p. 269). In this study, the fronted variants of the GOAT vowel, that is found among a few informants, is not rounded, i.e. the realisation is [ə:].Haddican *et al.* (2013) further believed the process of GOAT fronting to be quicker than the process of diphthongisation (p. 395). The current study,

however, clearly indicates that diphthongisation of the GOAT vowel is more common than fronting.

7.1.4 YORK

The phonetic analysis also shows that the YORK variable is very varied. Both the [ɔ:] realisation and the more open, unrounded [ɒ:] realisation are used significantly. Like with the STRUT vowel, the informants are divided in which variant was the more frequent. Three of the informants strongly prefer the [ɔ:] realisation (Anne, Emma and Hannah), while the remaining seven strongly prefer the [ɒ:] realisation. What is very interesting about this divide is that it very much reveals an either-or relationship. Two out of the three informants in favour of [ɔ:] use this variant in almost 100 % of the cases. Similarly, four out of the seven informants preferring [ɒ:] use this variant in almost 100 % of the cases. Two out of these seven have a relative frequency of [ɒ:] of c. 75 % and c. 65 %. The remaining two (Grace and Ivy) stand out as they have more of a 50-50 preference, although [ɒ:] is their main variant. Clearly, [ɒ:] is the most common realisation among the informants, while [ɔ:] is also frequent.

The present study therefore indicates that the traditional variant of the YORK vowel in York English is [ɒ:]. This is the same as what Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) found in Bradford English (p. 105), that the realisation is less rounded and more open that it is in RP. The choice of symbol to represent this realisation, however, differs slightly from the ones used by others in previous accounts: Wells (1982) uses [ɒ], Viereck (1968) and Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012) use [ɑ:], and Watt and Milroy (1999) use [a:]. In the current analysis [ɒ:] is the variant used. There is, however, a certain degree of variability among the informants with regards to degree of unrounding and openness. In all cases where there is less rounding and more openness than in RP [ɔ:], [ɒ:] is chosen to represent this pronunciation. Future studies should therefore study this variant more thoroughly to see whether there are any patterns as to the variation and change within the [ɒ:] sound.

7.1.5 The York accent in Wells' (1982) vowel-part system

The present analysis thus indicates that for females in their twenties in York the main realisations of the phonological variables are

STRUT: [ʊ], although [ə] is gaining importance

BATH: [æ]

FACE: [eɪ]

GOAT: [əʊ]

YORK: [ɒ:]

We can now update Wells' (1982) vowel system for the York accent.

ɪ ʊ	i:	u:	ɪə ʊə
ɛ (ə)	eɪ	əʊ	ɛ: ɜ: ɔə
æ ɒ	aɪ ɔɪ	aʊ	a: ɒ:

Figure 8: The York vowel system

Figure 8 shows that there have been changes over the last three decades. In part-system A, [a] has been replaced by [æ] and [ə] has been added, albeit in parenthesis as it is not the main variant, but increasingly common. In part-system B, [e:] and [ɛɪ] have both been supplanted by the diphthong [eɪ]. The same has happened to [o:] and [ɔo] in part-system C. Instead we now just find [əʊ]. Part-system D has also had a vowel substituted, [ɔ:]. In its place we now rather find [ɒ:]. Have the same changes taken place in other urban centres of the north of England? That is for future studies to find out.

7.1.6 Accent levelling in York

The second research question concerns whether there is any evidence of accent levelling among the informants. The analysis of accent levelling shows that there is accent levelling among all the ten informants, with use of traditional variants ranging from c. 10 % to c. 60 %. This reveals that the York accent might be even more levelled in the future, since the informants, on average, keep the traditional variants in only about 40 % of the cases where they could have used them.

As York is a city, this fits very well with previous descriptions of accents in cities (Wells, 1982, p. 11; Nordberg, 1994, p. 4; Foulkes and Docherty, 1999, p. 14). Urban accents have been found to be more modern and with less regionally marked features, and the same can be said about the accent of the informants studied here, since they use the traditional variants in only 40 % of the cases. Thus, the city of York displays the type of "urban insularity" that Taeldeman (2005) talks about, i.e. that it behaves differently than rural accent.

The informants' answers to questions about the differences between the York accent and the accents spoken in villages and rural areas around York also support this. What became clear during the interviews is that the term *Yorkshire accent* denotes something more traditional and was associated with villages and the countryside, as opposed to the *York accent*, which is associated more with modernity. The following examples illustrate this point:

(27)

Emma: =If you go out into the surrounding villages then they're much more likely to be native Yorkshire people, you know, there aren't many students or international people living out there=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Emma: =so I suppose you could then go on to say that they're all much likely to have a very strong Yorkshire accent, as opposed to, I don't know, fifteen people that you just surveyed here in=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Emma: =York city centre=

Interview E

(28)

Grace: I think so. Yeah. Li- like I say like the- if you go out towards more Leeds way and stuff it gets- like West Yorkshire, it becomes more like I- what I would think of as like a typical Yorkshire accent=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Grace: =whereas in York it's- it's different. I don't know how, but.. [So yeah]
Interviewer: [Mhm]=
Grace: I think there definitely is a difference=
Interviewer: =Okay=
Grace: =within, yeah, boundaries and stuff=

Interview G

(29)

Hannah: I think there is a difference between York and Leeds=

Interviewer: =Okay=

Hannah: =erm to the villages, I think it depends. Like if you come from York I think you're gonna have a sort a well-spoken accent than if you come from like a little farming village=

Interviewer: =Ok-=

Hannah: =like where I- where my parents live, 'cause their quite- very broad and Yorkshire spoken there, whereas York, like you get a diverse range of people, so you get sort difference=

Interview H

(30)

Becky: =I mean I think- I mean I think I prefer the broad- so like the West Yorkshire accent that I- I- I really like. That's probably my favourite, but I mean yeah. My m- I like the- the nice subtle Yo- York accent, yes=

Interview B

Another interesting thing to note from the informants' answers is that even though York is a smaller city than Leeds, its accent is perceived as being more "posh", or more levelled towards RP, than the accent of Leeds. See the following examples:

(31)

Interviewer: =Yeah? What do you find to be typical of York speech?

Daisy: Erm.. I don't know. Erm.. [inaudible] I don't think it's too Yorkshire, but maybe a b- maybe quite posh a bit.

Interview D

(32)

Emma: =I mean, like I say, we still have an accent here, but I think people often see York as a sort posh pocket=

Interviewer: =Okay=

Emma: =within Yorkshire. … Well, yeah, I mean, I suppose, like I said just then, like I- there is this perception that York is sort of the- the posh part of Yorkshire=

Interviewer: =[Yeah]

Emma: [you know,] so as opposed to Leeds or Wakefield or Scunthorpe or like any of these kind of Yorkshire town, Sheffield…

Interview E

(33)

Interviewer: How about the rural areas around York, do they like the York accent?=

Ivy: =I think so=

Interviewer: =Mhm=

Ivy: =I don't know. They might- in some area they might think it sounds posher just because York is perceived as being a posh city=

Interview I

(34)

Interviewer: =Do you think the York accent differs in any way from the accents of the surrounding villages or cities?

Ivy: Erm I definitely think it's different to Hull [and]

Interviewer:[Mhm]=

Ivy: =Leeds=

Interviewer: =Okay. In what ways?

Ivy: Erm [clears throat] so I think Leeds is a- just a heavier-sounding accent.

Interview I

(35)

Daisy: Erm yes. Like I think erm like somewhere like Hull or Leeds I think is a bit more like Yorkshire like real- really broad…

Interview D

(36)

Becky: Mm it definitely differs from Leeds=

Interviewer: =[Mhm]

Becky: [it's-] If you go down the- down towards those the accent is very, very different, definitely. Erm..

Interviewer: In what ways?

> Becky: The- I th- they're more- they've- they've got a broad- they're more broad- they've got a broad very of saying things…
>
> *Interview B*

If it could be proven empirically that the Leeds accent is more traditional than the York accent, this could potentially refute the gravity model of diffusion. Future studies should therefore compare the York and Leeds accents. If southern accent features have not entered the York accent via Leeds, why is it that York has become the "posh pocket within Yorkshire"? There is thus a need for diachronic studies of the York accent as well.

7.2 Causes of accent levelling

7.2.1 Summary of findings

The final research question is whether possible differences in degree of accent levelling can be explained by differing degrees of mobility and/or attitudes. The results from the statistical analyses reveal that the speakers' attitude to the York accent is the social factor that correlates best with accent levelling ($r=0.696$), since no informants stand out and have to be removed, and since there is a 97.5 % chance that the result are not due to chance ($p=0.025$). Thus, the more positive the informants' attitudes are towards the York accent, the more they use its traditional variants. Furthermore, the coefficient of determination reveals that almost 50 % of the variation among all ten informants is caused by this factor ($r^2=0.484$).

The correlation between mobility and accent levelling is weaker when all ten informants are included, and is not statistically significant ($r=-0.435$, $p=0.209$). The scatter plot for mobility reveals that there is one very clear outlier in the data, Emma, who has not spent many years away from York, but still uses very few traditional variants. For the other nine informants, there is a very strong negative correlation between the social factor of mobility and accent levelling ($r=-0.703$), meaning that the more time the informants have spent away from York, the less they used traditional variants. This result is significant ($p=0.035$) and mobility can account for almost 50 % of the variation among the informants ($r^2=0.494$), Emma excluded.

It would of course be best to find a social factor that correlated strongly with accent levelling for all the informants. Only attitude does this and is thus the factor best explaining the variation. However, mobility is potentially an equally important factor. If the data sample

had been larger, for instance if 30 girls in their 20s were interviewed, the special case of Emma might have affected the correlation coefficient less. Mobility can therefore be a potentially very important factor causing accent levelling, but the informants' attitudes explain all the variation as it is.

Interestingly, the analysis of the relationship between attitudes and mobility reveal that these two factors are, in this case, independent of each other. It would be expected that these two factors would show some indication of dependency. Nevertheless, the correlation coefficient demonstrates that here there is in fact no correlation ($r=0.046$) and is it more likely that the result is due to chance ($p=0.9$).

Finally, the quantitative analysis shows that the degree of accent levelling might be different for people with different life-mode backgrounds. The three informants with a life-mode 2 background have the least levelled accents. Future studies should control for this variable in order to test this more accurately.

7.2.2 Comparison with previous research

The present investigation reveals that the more mobile an individual is, the more levelled their accents are. This finding thus corresponds to Trudgill's (1986) view of mobile speakers as "language missionaries" (p. 56). These are therefore the individuals that are very likely to introduce new accent features into York English.

In their studies, Kerswill and Williams (2000), Watt (2002) and Kerswill (2006) look at emerging new dialects and languages resulting from one-time-migration. The current study rather looks at how individuals' mobility patterns affect their own accents. The study is thus more similar to the studies of Kerswill (1993) and Urbatsch (2015), who compare the language use of mobile and non-mobile individuals. No non-mobile individuals are investigated in the current study. However, the current results are the same as theirs: like Kerswill (1993) and Urbatsch (2015) the current investigation reveals a lot of variation in the language use of mobile individuals. The current study even goes one step further and indicates a clear pattern of variability corresponding to time spent away from York.

With regard to the relationship between attitudes and language use, the present study supports the conclusion of Johnsen (2015), that attitudes affect language modification and the spreading of linguistic features. The present investigation has also highlighted a suitable way of studying the attitudes of the speakers whose language use one is investigating when comparing language attitudes and language use. When investigating individuals' language

use, I believe it makes little sense to compare their use with general attitude studies, as the individuals' attitudes might not be the same as the overall attitude of a speaker group. By looking at the individuals' attitudes together with the individuals' language use, it is possible to explore how the one affects the other. The current investigation has demonstrated this, i.e. the result indicates a relationship between attitudes and language use: the more positive attitudes an individual has towards the accent, the more of that accent's traditional phonetic variants she uses. Accordingly, the current study emphasises the importance of including both mobility and attitudes in variationist sociolinguistic studies.

The current study furthermore supports earlier research on the relationship between life-mode background, or social class, and language use, even though Tagliamonte and Haddican *et al*. (2013) indicate that this does not apply to the York accent. The three informants with a life-mode 2 background, i.e. the previously termed working-class background – Becky, Caroline and Jenny – have spent a relatively short time away from York. Since mobility is seen as a feature of speakers with a life-mode three background (Kerswill and Williams, 2000, p. 3), this fits pretty well with Højrup's life-mode system. As they are not very mobile, they naturally have more close-knit networks, which are associated with less levelled accents (Meyerhoff, 2011, p. 197), and thus the findings from the present study support the logical implication of this, that they have a very traditional accent.

Haddican *et al.* (2013) moreover note that the people who are the most loyal to the city of York use monophthongs more than people who are less loyal. The current study does not support this conclusion very strongly. Firstly, there is very little variation in the informants' attitudes to the city of York. Secondly, only three (Caroline, Fiona and Jenny) out of the four informants who use monophthongs are positive to staying in York for the rest of their lives. Thirdly, only three (Becky, Fiona and Jenny) of the four have positive attitudes towards the York accent. It is thus difficult to say that identifying strongly with the city of York leads to higher use of monophthongs. Perhaps life-mode background could be an explanatory or contributing factor, although, again, only three (Becky, Caroline and Jenny) of the informants have a life-mode 2 background. There does not appear to be one factor that can explain all four of them. The only uniting factor is that these are the four informants with the least levelled accents.

8 Concluding remarks

8.1 Summary

This thesis has investigated the use of traditional variants among young women in their twenties in the city of York in the United Kingdom. The phonetic analysis revealed that there is quite a lot of variation in the informants' realisation of the phonological variables in question, namely the STRUT, BATH, FACE, GOAT and YORK vowels. Two of these variables, the FACE and GOAT vowels, showed clear signs of levelling towards RP, with realisations being predominantly diphthongal as opposed to the traditional monophthongal realisations. BATH was still being realised primarily by the traditional short, front vowel [æ] and did not show signs of levelling. The STRUT and YORK vowels were the most varied. The STRUT vowel appeared to be in a process of levelling to some extent, changing from the traditional [ʊ]-realisation to the intermediate [ə]-realisation that is approaching the southern variant, [ʌ], but not quite. The current analysis further revealed that the traditional realisation of the YORK vowel was the less rounded, open variant [ɒ:]. It did, however, appear to be changing towards the southern [ɔ:]-realisation.

The second question that this thesis tried to answer was to what extent the informants' use of the phonological variables indicated or were signs of accent levelling. Their use demonstrated clear signs of accent levelling. The third question was then related to the causes of this accent levelling. Statistical analyses indicated that the social factors of mobility and attitude to the York accent were highly significant causes of the informants' accent levelling.

8.2 Looking ahead

If I were to do a replication study of the current investigation, there are a few things I would have done differently. During the second question-and-answer part of the interview I would have included a question concerning which accent the informants believed they spoke, or which accent they identified with. Did they see themselves as speakers of the York accent, Yorkshire accent, northern accent or a different accent? From the answers obtained in the current sociolinguistic interview it was clear that there was a difference between York and Yorkshire English, therefore it would be interesting to see which one they identified with.

Secondly, I would have aimed to have more similar interview lengths and tried to have about 30 minutes of recording for each of the informants. Naturally, the longest

interview, with Emma, contained much more reliable representations of her relative use of the traditional variants. Controlling the lengths of the interviews was a problem, especially since the informants were available for interviews at different times of the day. Thus some of the recordings were conducted during busier times of the day in the cafés. Finally, I would have tried to meet all the informants at least once before the interviews in order to get to know them a bit more. Meeting them once could have ensured a more relaxed atmosphere to conduct the interviews in, and in which it would have been possible to elicit an even more relaxed style.

There are certain limitations with the analyses performed here, as has been pointed out throughout this thesis. One of them is the number of participants. However, since this was a master's thesis it was not possible to include more informants. Future studies could therefore benefit from including more participants. Another limitation is the use of sociolinguistic interviews conducted by a non-native investigator and not observations of naturally occurring language between native speakers from York. For such a small project as this, it was more valuable and feasible to conduct sociolinguistic interviews with myself, the researcher, as the interviewer, also from an ethical point of view. In larger studies it might be possible to combine several methods of data collection, including more naturally occurring language. A third limitation is the auditory analysis which is dependent on the hearer. It could be beneficial to include an acoustic analysis as well, in addition to an auditory analysis like the one performed here. Fourthly, future studies, with more time and resources to find informants, should control for more factors in the sampling of informants, for instance whether or not the informants are married or living with a partner, and where their spouses are from.

The phonetic analysis also uncovered several fascinating topics for further investigation. Among the phonological variables, the STRUT and YORK vowels deserve more research, because they both are highly variable, and, in the case of the YORK vowel, because Yorkshire accents clearly have a different traditional realisation of this variable than has been described in much of the research literature.

As a whole this thesis has also demonstrated that the York accent is very fascinating and deserves future studies. The accent of York should be compared to the accents of other Yorkshire cities and town, especially the Leeds accent, in order to test whether the gravity model holds true or not. The York accent should further be studied both synchronically and diachronically to find out why York is perceived as a posh part of Yorkshire. Is this a recent phenomenon? Regarding its accent it would seem so, as Haddican *et al.* (2013) did not find

diphthongal realisations to be the main variants of the FACE and GOAT vowels, but rather that monophthongal variants were very much present too. If the "poshness" of the York accent is a very recent phenomenon, when exactly, how and why, did this perceived "poshness" spread from being, presumably, a stereotype of the inhabitants to characterising their accent use too?

The present analysis and discussion of causes of accent levelling indicated that two major factors are mobility, measured by time away from York, and overt affective attitudes. Future variationist studies should therefore include these two factors in their analyses of causation. With a higher number of participants, including speakers from both genders, all ages, and all life-mode backgrounds, future research could test the true relationship between accent levelling, mobility and attitudes. Especially the relationship between mobility and attitudes should be looked at in studies with more participants, as the statistical analyses work better with larger samples. Torgersen and Kerswill (2004) write that "an understanding of the balance between 'contact' versus 'identity' or 'attitudes' in explaining the diffusion of change is in its infancy" (p. 25). In many ways it still is. In this thesis, I therefore hope to have inspired students and researchers to look further into this topic, especially in a more general sense, given that the people of our world are, at present, very much on the move.

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Appendix 1: Interview questions

Local background

1. Where have you lived apart from York, and for how long?
2. Where do your parents/spouse come from?
3. What job do you do?
4. Where did you do you education?
5. What did you study?

The City of York

1. What do you think about York as a place to live?
2. What do/don't you like about it?
3. Would you rather live somewhere else?
4. Since you can remember, has York changed very much? In what way? For the better or worse?
5. What do you think is the best time of year in York?
6. Would you like to live in York for the rest of your life?

Reading passage and Word list

The way people speak

1. Do you like the way people speak in York?
2. What do you find to be typical of "York speech"?
3. What in particular do/don't you like?
4. Is there anything you don't like about the way you speak yourself?
5. Have you ever tried to do anything about it?
6. Do you like to hear the York accent on TV? Why (not)?
7. Has anyone outside York ever laughed at you for the way you speak?
8. Has anyone recognised/made a mistake about where you come from by the way you speak?
9. Do you think people outside of York like the way people speak here?
10. Do you think the York accent differs in any way from the accents of the surrounding villages or cities?

Appendix 2: Word list

path	country	bus	born	York
fatal	form	jerk	Laura	beak
task	business	joke	bath	beautiful
strut	company	daft	boat	total
paint	home	work	take	choose
father	love	further	dance	youth
example	important	can't	old	owner
budget	also	Tom	birth	Europe
butter	much	name	came	pearl
broad	fuss	lazy	great	agree
eighty	soft	throat	goat	faith
cake	punch	pudding	rush	don't
both	daughter	number	idea	mate
cat	ice cream	after	late	court
foamy	blood	Victorian	half	friend
know	break	ask	road	floor
dough	career	make	for	cup
farce	girl	toe	false	young
staff	advantage	egg	class	yawn
laugh	nasty	sing	before	joy

Appendix 3: Reading passage

One day last year, when I was driving back to work after I'd had lunch, I had an amazing and unforgettable experience. It must have been two o'clock, or perhaps a quarter of an hour later, a quarter past two. It was an incredible thing, really. I was sitting there at the steering wheel of my new car, waiting for the lights to change, when all of a sudden the car started to shake, this way and that, rocking from side to side, throwing me backwards and forwards, up and down. I felt as if I was riding a bucking horse. Worse than that, some mysterious spirit or hostile force seemed to be venting its vast fury upon the earth. And the noise! There was a kind of deep groaning and horrible, awesome grinding which seemed to fill the air. And then, a short while after, the whole paroxysm had stopped, just as suddenly. Everything was calm and smooth again, quiet and peaceful once more. I put my foot down, just a gentle pressure on the accelerator, or the gas pedal, as it's known in America, and drove off. Everything was utterly normal once more. So then, was this some very local and momentary earth trauma which had struck us, or I asked myself, was it a supernatural visitation, some fiery storm of diabolical wrath, or was it rather merely that I had drunk a double vodka or two during my lunch?

Appendix 4: Informed consent form

University of Oslo, Norway

Faculty of Humanities

Department of Literature, Area Studies and European Languages

Consent Form

MA Dissertation in English Linguistics

Ida Syvertsen

Supervisor: Gjertrud F. Stenbrenden, Associate Professor of English Language

I am invited to participate in this research project which is being carried out by Ida Syvertsen. My participation is voluntary. Even if I agree to participate now, I can withdraw at any time without any consequences of any kind.

The study is designed to investigate the use of English in York.

If I agree to participate, this will involve me a) answering questions about my background and about York, and b) reading a short text and a word list out loud.

Any information or data obtained from me during this research that can be identified with me will be treated confidentially. This will be done by my name being replaced by a number. Only Ida Syvertsen will be able to identify my name with this number.

The interview will be recorded. The original recording and all copies will be available to the present investigator (Ida Syvertsen), her supervisor (Gjertrud F. Stenbrenden), the external examiner, and to investigators in other academic institutions engaged in similar work.

If I have any questions about this research I can ask Ida Syvertsen (idasy@student.ilos.uio.no). I am also free, however, to contact her supervisor, Gjertrud F. Stenbrenden (g.f.stenbrenden@ilos.uio.no) to seek further clarification and information.

I understand what is involved in this research and I agree to participate in the study.

_____ _____

Signature of participant Date

I believe the participant is giving informed consent to participate in this study.

_____ _____

Signature of researcher Date

Appendix 5: Example of orthographic transcription

Q&A Part 1

Interviewer: Now.
Anne: Mhm.
Interviewer: Where have you lived apart from York and for how long?
Anne: So I've lived in a, a village called Linton. Er, I lived there 'til the age of seven [and]
Interviewer: [Mhm].
Anne: that's er, probably 45 minutes to an hour away from here=
Interviewer: =Mhm.
Anne: Erm, probably about, actually, probably less than that. It's probably 45 minutes. Depends on where you're going. Then I moved to another village which is like the next door one
Interviewer: [Mhm].
Anne: [which] is called Collingham. And I lived there with my parents for … fifteen years? Something [like that]
Interviewer: [Ah]
Anne: Thirteen? Fiftee-, like until I went to university.
Interviewer: Mhm.
Anne: Erm, I haven't got the math perfectly there. But then I went to university in York.
Interviewer: Ehe.
Anne: So, only about 45 minutes from home really. A:nd, and erm .. But York is kind of the local.. The local cities are Leeds and York, to be honest. And erm, so yeah. And I grew up in- and then I've been in York since university, since the age of 18. I'm now 23 – so five, this is my fifth year. Maybe even sixth, 'cause I'm turning 24 this year.
Interviewer: Great. Okay. So, erm, why did you choose to move to York? Why York?
Anne: Eerm.. … I looked at all the other universities. So I had- you have- you choose like five on your list. And erm, .. and just, er, York was my favourite one. So even though I wasn't, erm, I wasn't against being to- erm, far away from home, but I wasn't, kind of, too

bothered about it either. A lot of people move a long way away from home for university, just to try something different. But for me it was more about the actual place rather [than]
Interviewer: [Mhm].
Anne: going somewhere new. Erm.. so: I chose York 'cause it was, erm, ended up just being my favourite, erm, in terms of best for, erm, English literature, which is what I studied. And then, and yet the course is more suited to me. I really liked the city as well. Erm, it's a lovely place to live.
Interviewer: Great. Okay. So, erm, your parents, are they from Linton as well?
Anne: No. So, my parents, well they:, erm, they've- I've lived with them in all the places, in Linton and Collingham, obviously. And that's where I was born and where I was grew up. But my mum is from Middlesbrough, erm, which is up north. My dad is from Newcastle=
Interviewer: =Mhm.
Anne: But I don't sound at all like them. They've both, erm, they've both dropped their accents, erm, and they both- Actually, my mum, when she was 18 she moved to London. And, erm, literally they just- it's quite hard- they did- it was kind of a purposeful thing, but also, erm, to, to drop their accents, but also, erm, I think it just kind of wore off=
Interviewer: =Mm=
Anne: =And when they were both in London, and they- they met each other when my dad kind of in his late twenties and my mum was in her early twenties. Erm, I think they just kind of influenced each other. And when they moved to Yorkshire, erm, and they weren't as far north anymore they just=
Interviewer: =Mm.
Anne: started speaking differently, which is .. strange, I guess [laughter]
Interviewer: [laughter]
Anne: just to: change they way you talk but=
Interviewer: =yeah
Anne: Who knows?
Interviewer: Mhm. .. Okay. What job do you do now?
Anne: So I work for a church, erm, and I work with students there. So I'm a student worker. And the church is called G2, and it's part of St Michael Le Belfrey (…)
Interviewer: .. Eeer, Yeah. You said that your education that was in York=
Anne: =Mhm=
Interviewer: =Er .. and you studied English lit.
Anne: Yeah.

Interviewer: Good. And then I'm going to ask you some questions about York, the city.
Anne: Yeah.
Interviewer: Mhm .. Er.. You've talked about it a bit already, but what do you think about York as a place to live? What in particular do you like about it?
Anne: Mmm=
Interviewer: =or don't like, for that matter?
Anne: Erm.. I think it's quite narrow in terms of – that's something I don't like, I guess – is I don't think it's very diverse at all, or it doesn't seem … I think there's- there's a bit of a.. erm.. strange thing of, because it's so beautiful. That's one of the lovely things about York; how historic it is. Erm.. it's a beautiful place to live. Erm.. you get a lot of tourism there, which can be annoying, but it's erm.. it's actually quite nice that it's a place worth visiting … by lots and lots of people. Erm… I think the sad thing about 't is that you don't get to see … I don'- I don't think you the kind of a full spectrum of all the diffe- different kinds of people who live here=
Interviewer: =mhm.
Anne: and you kind of get a bit of a *false* layer on top of kind of the touristy, kind of.. dream of what it looks like=
Interviewer: =mhm=
Anne: =but actually.. it erm… but actually it's quite a different place, and it is a city=
Interviewer: =mhm=
Anne: =It doesn't feel like a city wandering around, that's one of the lovely things=
Interviewer: =yeah=
Anne: =but actually.. there is the depth and the diversity and the difference that is within it, but it's all kind of hidden, which is not.. I think that's a=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Anne: =funny thing, so it can… I think it can be a bit a of a façade, I guess.
Interview: Mhm=
Anne: =erm… But I love it. I think it's erm… I think it feels quite erm.. quite friendly.. erm, as a city. Erm.. even though it's big… Erm…
Interviewer: Yeah=
Anne: =as a big culture of people my age as well actually. There's a lot of people who move to York as graduates=
Interviewer: =mhm=

Anne: =so there's young professionals, and either students who are staying or people who actually move here because erm.. it's a good place to find work or erm, nice place to live=
Interviewer: =mhm=
Anne: =a nice place to settle, I guess=
Interviewer: =yeah=
Anne: = so, er.. so, yeah. I like it a lot.
Interviewer: Yeah. Good. Erm.. Have you ever thought about living somewhere else, and if so where?
Anne: Erm.. so, how seriously? Just thought about it or just kind of properly considered it?
Interviewer: Up to you=
Anne: Erm.. I guess.. I've thought about living in lots of different places. I've thought about- the two that stick out the most=
Interviewer: =mhm.
Anne: erm, that I've come to [inaudible] quite seriously
Interviewer: Mhm.
Anne: are erm.. Cambridge and London. Erm, and that's because I'm engaged=
Interviewer: =mhm=
Anne: =so erm.. my.. erm.. then boyfriend, now fiancé=
Interviewer: =[mhm]
Anne: [he] er.. So he was based in Cambridge. That's where he went to university. And then he did his masters there. And he was really settled there. So we spent a long time tryin' a way up whether we should go somewhere new together.
Interviewer: [Mhm]
Anne: = [And] an obvious place would be somewhere, somewhere like London or around there=
Interviewer: =[yeah]
Anne: [because] there's a lot of opportunity for work.. erm.. for both of us. And it was new to us both. Erm.. my- but my parents having lived there, they were like: "It's not all it's cracked up to be"
Interviewer: ooh=
Anne: =and it's- and it's hard=
Interviewer: =[tiny laughter]=
Anne: =and it's expensive=
Interviewer: =yeah

Anne: Erm.. and then we also looked at- we also thought about Cambridge really seriously … Erm… and that's a lovely place. 'Cau'- It's got a lot of similarities to York, [actually]
Interviewer: [mhm]=
Anne: =wandering around. You.. Yeah. It- The two are like=
Interviewer: =yeah=
Anne: =they're almost like related, I think.
Interviewer: Mhm=
Anne: =Er.. And we really enjoy being around there=
Interviewer: =yeah=
Anne: =but in the end, the best place for [name]'s Ph.D., which is what he's doing=
Interviewer: =yeah=
Anne: =erm.. was York. And that's-
Interviewer: [Okay]
Anne: =[and I-] I didn't reall- I didn't want to move. I didn't want to leave. I reall- I really like living here and I feel very settled here.
Interviewer: Yeah.
Anne: And I like being near my family and- and [name]'s family is up here as well. So, erm.. in the end it made more sense to settle here. But I thought about Cambridge and London quite seriously.
Interviewer: Mhm=
Anne: =Erm.. Yeah, I probably would've enjoyed them as well.
Interviewer: Yeah. So now you've decided that this is the place?
Anne: Yeah, at least for the next few years=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Anne: =definitely.
Interviewer: Mhm. Erm.. Okay. Something a bit different=
Anne: =mhm=
Interviewer: =Since you can remember, the time that you've spent here=
Anne: =mhm=
Interviewer: =has York changed at all?
Anne: Just over the last- since I can remember?=
Interviewer: =Yeah.
Anne: Oh, right back into erm.. like when I used to visit- when I used to come here was younger as well=

Interviewer: =mhm=
Anne: =beyond uni… erm.. before uni, rather.. erm… I was thinking of this this morning, and it isn't very obvious thing, erm.. Lots of places have shut down [laughter]
Interviewer: Yeah=
Anne: =like I wa- I was just thinking that this morn': that shop's gone and that one and that one. So I guess=
Interviewer: =mhm=
Anne: =funny change is that- and things have kind of switch around.
Interviewer: Yeah=
Anne: =I think… Maybe I've- maybe I've only just grown aware of it
Interviewer: Mhm=
Anne: =and I think this has happened in lots of places. But erm.. from when I was younger to now, erm.. there's a lot more places, even just like this, but also lots more independent places.
Interviewer: [Mhm]
Anne: [York] is- Like, one of the first things I'd say about it, that I didn't say earlier, sorry! [laughter]
Interviewer: [laughter]
Anne: Was that it's actually it's full of really good independent businesses, really good independent shops and=
Interviewer: =mhm=
Anne: =coffee shops, particularly coffee shops=
Interviewer: =mhm=
Anne: =as you know=
Interviewer: =Yeah.
Anne: And restaurants and things like that. And erm.. and actually, I think that's something that's- that's grown in that- and it- it's produced that kind of.. culture.
Interviewer: Mhm=
Anne: =D'you know what I mean? York is actually=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Anne: =the kind of- it's kind of- the kind of people who live here're students and young professionals and things like- Actually more and more people have gone up. And I think, also… Maybe this is my parents- It might not be me remembering it, 'cause what- I don't know why I would be interested in it when I was a child, but I think a lot more people

actually are a lot more interested in living in places, like cities, up North. And York is a really good one, because actually.. erm.. because there's so much erm.. culture and history=
Interviewer: =Mhm.
Anne: And there's some things that- Like, for [name], moving up from Cambridge to here, he's- he's- you know, he says: "actually there's something about it which is- which you don't have in Leeds or Manchester or anything else which is a much bigger, much more cosmopolitan, much [more]
Interviewer: [mhm]
Anne: =almost industrial feeling"=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Anne: =I don't know.. er.. he says actually it feels- it feels quite southern, which can [be a]
Interviewer: [yeah]
Anne: good thing or a bad thing. So I think that's kind of- that's grown a lot more=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Anne: =So I guess, in terms of how things change, I think it- I think it feels a lot more like a major city maybe?
Interviewer: Mhm.
Anne: Erm.. Or maybe it feels less like a major city [laughter]
Interviewer: [laughter] … Mhm. Er.. What do you think is the best time of year in York?
Anne: Christmas.
Interviewer: Mm=
Anne: =Definitely. Erm.. That's when- well, that's when everyone comes to visit, so it must be. Erm.. but summer's pretty good as well. Summer- I think- summer's good because actually it's a bit quieter. Students all leave.
Interviewer: Mhm.
Anne: But my f- and act- and that's really… and we just seem to get- like we did in this year. Last year we had this great weather. And there's lots of big parks and open spaces=
Interviewer: =Mhm.
Anne: And people kind of just seems to picnic all the time. But then I also think Christmas, like, the ultimate, because it's just- you- like, there's nowhere else like it=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Anne: =There's nowhere else that has places like the shambles and=
Interviewer: =I know=

Anne: =erm.. all that- it feels- lots of people love it because it feels like going back into the- back in time=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Anne: =and erm.. And it's good for shopping as well. Erm.. so it's actually quite practical.
Interviewer: Mhm.
Anne: Well, apart from the parking. But erm=
Interviewer: =laughter=
Anne: =it's quite practical for erm, for Christmastime. It's like the per- 'Cause that's the thing you want. You wanna be able to get all your Christmas presents, erm.. and it has that- you can do that here.
Interviewer: Mhm.
Anne: It's not just.. kind of quaint. Erm.. but also it's erm … but also it's got that lovely feel to it where.. Yeah, it just feels really.. special and different. And lots- and so many people come for like the markets. And they- they do- many make a big effort as well. I dunno- I dunno who organizes it. But there=
Interviewer: =mhm=
Anne: =there seems to be lots of events and
Interviewer: Yeah=
Anne: =market, the big Christmas market and things like that. And the minster do like big carol services and=
Interviewer: =yeah.
Anne: It's a great- Yeah, it's a great time of year=
Interviewer: =Mhm. I agree=
Anne: =Yeah [laughter]
Interviewer: [laugher] So, final question of this section: erm… Would you like to live in York for the rest of your life, as you see it today?
Anne: … Would I like-? Ooooh=
Interviewer: =or is it more like: we'll see? Maybe? For now?
Anne: Oooh. I guess- Yeah, I don't think I will=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Anne: =but I would like to. Does that make sense? I'm always like: We'll see=
Interviewer: =It [does]
Anne: ['Cause I' m] like I'll probably move because I'll be dissatisfied=
Interviewer: =Yeah.

Anne: That's not- that's a complicated answer. Sorry. [laugther]
Interviewer: [laughter]
Anne: I think I'll end up moving because… erm... yeah, I think I'll al- but I'll always enjoy living here. But I think it's more of a "we'll see" in a way.
Interviewer: Yeah.
Anne: So I really like it=
Interviewer: =Mhm.
Anne: And I could… I could live here for a very long time. But I don't think I will. So therefore I can't want it that much. [laugher] 'Cause I'm not like "whatever happens."
Interviewer: [laugher]=
Anne: =Erm.. I'm kind o- Now that I know- which I didn't a while ago, now that I know I have at least three or four years, I'm kind of like, "Great!" [laughter]=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Anne: That's it. That'll give- that's enough for now=
Interviewer: =Yeah. Good. Thanks.

Q&A Part 2

Interviewer: Okay.
Anne: Mhm.
Interviewer: Do you like the way people speak in York?
Anne: Ah, such a mix. There's a big mix … erm.. Generally, I'm not that keen on like the Yorkshire accent. But I don't know whether I actually- 'cause I don't- I don't have it, well not really… Erm.. I think I've got elements of it. But the.. the York*shire* accent, which is more.. er, general- there're actually very different ones. But not particularly, no. I'm not a fan.
Interviewer: Mhm. Okay. Two. What do you find to be typical of York speech?
Anne: Erm…
Interviewer: What do you notice that makes you say that that person has a typical accent?
Anne: Aah. Gosh. Erm… People use certain words… Erm… But, I dunno. That's not really an accent, but they'll kind of say "love." But they'll- For example they flatten their- like the- like an o or a u sound, so it's like "lo- o-"-kind of sound. Erm.. I think people drop their T-s? Or maybe they add any T-s? … Erm.. What else do people do? It can be a bit nasally as well.
Interviewer: Okay=

Anne: =I think. [Laughter]
Interviewer: [Errr..] So you say you have mixed feelings about it?=
Anne: =Mhm=
Interviewer: =And you're not particularly keen on it=
Anne: =No.
Interviewer: Could you point out what in particular that it is that you don't like? Is it a specific sound or is it the way they say something? Or is it just in general the melody pattern or…?
Anne: Erm… I think I fall into it sometimes, so I feel very hypocritical for saying it. But erm … I'm tryin'a think- I'm tryin'a find like a person in my mind- I'm tryin'a be like that's- ["that's it"]
Interviewer: [Mhm]
Anne: that's they way it is, that's- person talks. Erm … And it's the thing- it's the thing- I think it's almost like that nasally sound, so instead of like saying [aɪ], so it's like [?]
Interviewer: [Mhm]
Anne: Like an [?] [kind of]
Interviewer: [Mhm]
Anne: noise. Erm.. [laughter] Erm.. and it's probably something a bit- being a bit- it's a lit- it's not really that familiar, because I've grown up in my parents kind of- they've always- always- always had kind of- they're accents have been not "Yorkshiry" at all. They've been a lot more like erm. if anything like that kind of Northern erm.. al- almost Geordie like kind of sound, which is actually quite different=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Anne: =Erm.. I guess it's a little bit of unfamiliarity as well. And my parents have=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Anne: =it's probably a little bit of weird rivalry from the [childhood]
Interviewer: [laughter]=
Anne: =or something and they're not keen on it either, so. And that's the thing I've been trained at of speaking like as well, because obviously that's at lot- that's the way a lot of my friends at school or things like that would speak and so my parents would kind of go: "Ma- don't speak like that" [laughter]
Interviewer: [Okay] =
Anne: ="Don't- please don't- like make sure you [speak..]"
Interviewer: [Yeah]=

Anne: =Erm.. I think my mum used to- she spo- she used to speak more properly when we were younger than she does now. Now she's a lot more relaxed, but actually I swear they used to talk- they actually used to talk differently when we were younger=
Interviewer: =[Mhm]
Anne: [which] I think is quite strange really. They used to speak properly, almost like stage speech to make sure that we copied [them]
Interviewer: [Yeah]
Anne: =And now that we're older they're just like: "oh, [inaudible] actually it doesn't really matter"=
Interviewer: =No.
Anne: So=
Interviewer: =[laughter]=
Anne: =maybe because they've trained themselves out of it=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Anne: =Erm.. to kind of use more- slightly more Received Pronunciation=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Anne: =Erm.. to be more similar to that=
Interviewer: =[Mhm]
Anne: [Erm..] They'll [inaudible] kind of great, 'cause I've been told not to speak like that.
Interviewer: Okay. Erm ... Is there anything you don't like about the way that *you* speak?
Anne: Ooh.. Lots of things. Erm..
Interviewer: What is it that you're trying to avoid?
Anne: In an- in- in my accent or just?=
Interviewer: =Yeah.
Anne: Erm… What am I trying to avoid? What do I work on? I try and speak a lot more slowly. I realised when I was a teenager that I was starting to like stutter. Erm.. Because I think I talk quite fast, but I guess that's not really my accent. Erm... I'm t- often trying to get the line between, 'cause I- 'cause since coming to York my voice has got more like posh sounding I think. Erm.. I speak more like I did in high school, 'cause I went to high school in Harrogate. I did- so- if I'd- like- I'd kind of- so was- like- very much erm.. almost like erm.. it's more Southern sounding, so quite a few people will say- ask- When they ask where I'm from, they'll ask if I'm from the south, 'cause Harrogate's got quite a funny- they way you say Harrogate, whereas erm.. I'd say someone from York might go- would drop the H maybe and go "'arrogate." [laughter]

Interviewer: [Mhm]
Anne: They probably wouldn't, but that's- that's my perception I guess.
Interviewer [Yeah]
Anne: [Erm..] Or someone maybe just from this area would- Erm.. So Harrogate's like "Harrogate," rather than
Interviewer: [laughter]=
Anne: =-[gət]. You'd say- actually, if someone- I would't say- I'd say gate, but if it's something on the end of it I'd probably- like Castlegate. Like it would probably be- anyway. And it's funny- like it's… Erm ... Naturally, I don't think a- that- a normal kind of York accent wouldn't necessary say "gate" in the same way. So it's a f- Anyway, I can't remem- even remember what the question was.
Interviewer:[That's fine]
Anne: [What would I wanna do?] So I'm tryin'a- I'm tryin'a always make sure I'm- I'm somewhere in the middle, where I'm not kind of=
Interviewer: =Yeah.
Anne: 'Cause sometimes I can almost erm.. emphasize it to the point where I- I'm- I would never say /bɑ:th/ instead of /bath/, but still, I have to make sure I don't, just 'cause it almost sounds- it- I think it sounds like it suits my voice better.
Interviewer: Okay=
Anne: =Ju- that sounds very strange, but do you know what I mean? I'm- have to make sure that I keep my own- I still sound a bit more regional. [Laughter]
Interviewer: [Yeah], I see what you mean. Yeah.
Anne: Yeah.
Interviewer: Okay. Erm.. Yeah. The next question- you've already answered that: if you've tried to do anything about it, and you try to find a middle way, so=
Anne: =Yeah=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Anne: definitely. But then I'm also- so I'm also like I wanna pronounce my T-s, but I wan- and I wanna do nice vowels. [Laughter]
Interviewer: [Laughter]
Anne: But at the same time I wanna.. [sound too much]
Interviewer: [take away too much?]
Anne: Yeah. And I also don't wanna sound too.. But I do watch- I try and watch a little bit the way I speak.

Interviewer: Mhm. Yeah. Erm.. Do you like to hear the York accent on TV?
Anne: Yeah, I do=
Interviewer: =[Yeah]
Anne: [It's quite] comforting, I guess=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Anne: =hearing something which is like local to you. But it depends how it's being portrayed, I suppose. If it's just on an advert, it's quite nice.
Interviewer: Mhm. Er… Has anyone outside York ever laughed at you for the way you speak?
Anne: Err… No, tends to be inside of York, 'cause they don't believe that I'm actually from round here. [Laughter] Erm..
Interviewer: Yeah.
Anne: A couple of people have, 'cause I'll kind of go "I'm from like the Leeds sort of area"=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Anne: =and people will be like "Really?" And than I- if I go "I'm- I went to school in Harrogate," Harr- how I say Harrogate or [Harrogate]
Interviewer: [Mhm]
Anne: depends the way I'm speaking. Erm.. and people will kind of go "Ah, yeah." You can tell from [the way]
Interviewer: [Mhm]
Anne: that you- 'cause it- it's- I guess it's- it doesn't sound- it doesn't sound like Yorkshire accent at all.. or it doesn't to people's perceptions any way.
Interviewer: Yep. Erm.. Has anyone been able to recognize that you're from Linton or from that area?=
Anne: =Someone's pinpointed Harrogate before but not [the]
Interviewer: [Yeah]
Anne: the village, I guess- so it's quite- pretty close- like a town is- that- like the nearest town is a pretty good spot. They [just went]
Interviewer: [Okay]
Anne: "You're from- I can tell you're from Harrogate" 'Cause they said "You've got Yorkshire kind of elements in it=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Anne: =but then you've also clearly posh Yorkshire. [Laughter] Posh Yorkshire sounding anyway=

Interviewer: =Mhm.
Anne: Erm.. so, “You must be from Harrogate-kind-of area.” And I was like, “Yeah.” It was really weird. But that’s only happened once.
Interviewer: Okay.
Anne: Most of the time- at university lots of people said- would go “Are you from the South as well?” [Erm..]
Interviewer: [Okay] Mhm=
Anne: =and they’d just assume that that’s where I was from=
Interviewer: =Mhm. Do you think that people outside of York like the way that people- that people speak *here*? Like people from the South, what do you think they.. [think of the York accent?]
Anne: [Yeah, I think so.]
Interviewer: Yeah=
Anne: =I think so, ’cause lots- eee… I dunno. People might think it’s funny. Erm… Yeah, I think generally, ’cause it isn’t too.. Erm.. I think there are other accents which people find more odd or interesting. Like lots of people think like Birmingham or Liverpool- like those accents are almost- erm.. people find them funnier, I think, whereas a Yorkshire accent I don’t think- I don’t think there’s- it’s not- it’s not quite so obvious, or maybe it is? Oh, it’s so hard to tell when you’re inside it=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Anne: [Laughter] Erm.. Yeah, I think so. I think generally people wouldn’t find it erm.. as weird. And I´m sure I’ve heard somewhere- like a trustworth- what was it? Like trustworthy accents or something. Like=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Anne: =there’s been some studies and stuff, hasn’t there? And I feel like we’re on the list. Were we on the li- I don’t know.
Interviewer: Okay. Last question: Erm.. Do you think the York accent differs in any- in any way from the accent- accents of the surrounding villages and cities? Can you pinpoint, like, [is it]
Anne: [Oooh]=
Interviewer: =different or just the same? Everything Yorkshire is the same?=
Anne: =No, there’s loads of differences=
Interviewer: =Yeah=

Anne: =there's loads of differences. So the place where I grew up.. I guess th- yeah, the village where I grew up and Harrogate have got- There's- there's a similar kind of.. erm.. that- I guess that's kind of- that- like people- it's like Southern kind of sounding and whatever, whatever Southern is, you know. Erm.. that more kind of Received Pronunciation, I suppose. There's more of that sound. Erm.. But then also- my best friend, who grew up in Harrogate all her life, she's got that erm.. she's got this kind of flat- those flat U-s. So she says like fun- funny erm… which is real- which I find really interesting, 'cause she got all the same kind of elements, but then she's got this very- slight different thing, which is almost- which is more- more Yor- I'd say it more like a Yorkshire than mine is. And- but I suppose everyone just thinks they're like normal and different from everyone. Erm.. But then I'm like- But then there's the- the Leeds accent, is a very different kind of Yorkshire accent from the one that you'll find in York. There's some similarities, but I ca- I ca- I feel I can tell the difference. That's almost why it's hard to- when you're- when you said, "Oh, can you- what's the York accent like?" I'm like, "Ah, that's really hard to think through, 'cause I can hear like a Leeds one and I can hear- and then the area is more kind of East Yorkshire - I think it's East Yorkshire – like Wakefield there'll- like Wakefield, Castleford area erm.. erm.. that's a com- that's a whole other accent, so I-=

Interviewer: =Mhm=

Anne: =that's my church that I went to- growing up to spend quite a lot of time- significant amount of time with people from erm.. around there, erm.. 'cause that's the church my parents took me to. Erm.. and that's another- that's another completely different kind of Yorkshire accent from the Leeds one=

Interviewer: =Mhm=

Anne: =Erm.. I don't even know how to describe how, but there's just certain things. Like with Leeds I think- I notice more- more like dropping T-s and things, whereas you'd find more in this area you'd- like when people say ah- like people put T-s before things, like t'up this to that. Do you know what I- do you know what I=

Interviewer: =Yep. Yeah=

Anne: =It's so hard to describe but=

Interviewer: =I know what you mean=

Anne: =Yeah. Whereas in T-s you'd say-=

Interviewer: =Yeah=

Anne: =in Leeds it's- I feel- like the more I notice about it- 'cause [name] speaks with more of a Leeds accent and=

Interviewer: =Okay=

Anne: =like he'd say Briggate. Like- for it's- so there's a place- there's a street called Briggate, erm.. B-R-I-G-G-A-T-T-E, something like that. I don't know whether it's double D=

Interviewer: =Mhm=

Anne: =But anyway, double G or double T. But I'd say Briggate, and I pronounce my T-s. From my area- whereas [name] would just say Briggate=

Interviewer: =Mhm=

Anne: and there'd be- just- ends after the A. [Laughter]

Interviewer: Yeah. [Laughter]

Anne: [Laughter] So that's it. Erm.. Yeah. Funny little nuances like that. So you can kind of spot who's- a little bit- it's- it's not- not really easy, but you can kind of spot where people are from in the area. Erm.. And it varies a lot=

Interviewer: =Mhm=

Anne: =Even just North Yorkshire, West Yorkshire=

Interviewer: =Yeah=

Anne: =East Yorkshire, South Yorkshire. South Yorkshire is completely like- again- totally different, I think. Similar elements though, I guess.

Interviewer: Mhm. Well. That was it. Thank you.

Anne: Mm.

Appendix 6: Example of phonetic analysis

Q&A part 1

Interviewer: Okay. So in which year were you born?
Jenny: Erm 1989 [ˈeɪtiˌnaɪn] =
Interviewer: = Mhm. And where have you lived apart from York? =
Jenny: = Er I was born [bn̩:n] in Liverpool =
Interviewer: = Mhm. ..And when did you move to York? =
Jenny: = Er my family moved when I was- I was six months [mʊnθs] =
Interviewer: = Mhm. .. And then you've lived in York ever since? =
Jenny: = Yeah. Well I lived in Stamford Bridge, which is part of York [jn̩:k].
Interviewer: Okay =
Jenny: = on the outskirts =
Interviewer: = Stamford
Jenny: Yeah =
Interviewer: = Bridge =
Jenny: = Bridge =
Interviewer: = one word? =
Jenny: = Er it's two separate words =
Interviewer: = Yeah =
Jenny: = Yeah.
Interviewer: So that's a village outside York? =
Jenny: = Yeah =
Interviewer: = Yeah. Mhm. .. That's fine. Er and your parents, are they from York as well? =
Jenny: = Er they're both [bəʊθ] from Liverpool =
Interviewer: = Okay. Cool. … And what do they do?
Jenny: Erm my mum's [mʊm] is a supervisor erm of a plastic factory.
Interviewer: Supervisor at er plastic factory =
Jenny: = Yeah.
Interviewer: Mhm =
Jenny: = Er and that's in er Stamford Bridge =
Interviewer: = Okay. And your dad? =

Jenny: = Erm she erm he [laughter]
Interviewer: [Laughter] =
Jenny: = He is erm a prison officer erm at Full Sutton [ˈsəʔən] Pri- =
Interviewer: = Okay =
Jenny: = Prison.
Interviewer: Cool. Okay. So er what job do you do?
Jenny: Erm I support [səˈpˌ:ʔ] people with learning difficulties =
Interviewer: = Mhm.
Jenny: Erm and er I erm er assistant manages to [inaudible] so [soʊ]..
Interviewer: Mhm =
Jenny: = [Laughter]
Interviewer: So tha- is that sort of part of the social service in York?
Jenny: Erm yeah. It's erm a company [ˈkʊmpəni] erm that erm is independent living =
Interviewer: = Okay. Yeah =
Jenny: = Erm yeah. So [səʊ] =
Interviewer: = So private sector? =
Jenny: = Yeah =
Interviewer: = Yeah. … Okay. Er so what education do you have?
Jenny: Erm I have- well, I- I did performing arts at College =
Interviewer: = Mhm...
Jenny: Well, I er I didn't er carry on =
Interviewer: = Okay. So College, what age- year is that? =
Jenny: = Erm what year? =
Interviewer: = Yeah. How old were you? =
Jenny: = Er I was 17 =
Interviewer: = Okay. So s- 17 to 18? =
Jenny: = Erm yeah =
Interviewer: = Yeah. That's good. And that's in York? =
Jenny: Er yeah. York [jˌ:k] College =
Interviewer: = Yeah. .. Cool. Okay. Erm and then some questions about York. What do you think about York as a pl- place to live? =
Jenny: = Erm I love [lʊv] it. I er I moved erm to Driffield about erm six years ago [əˈgəʊ] and then I moved back 'cause I wanted to live in York [jˌ:k].
Interviewer: Sheffield was it? =

Jenny: = Er Driffield =
Interviewer: = [Driff-]
Jenny: [It's er] D-R-I-F-field =
Interviewer: = Okay =
Jenny: = Yeah =
Interviewer: = And where is that? =
Jenny: = Erm it's erm about 20 minutes from Bridlington =
Interviewer: = Oh, yeah. [Cool]
Jenny: [Yeah] =
Interviewer: = Mhm. And you stayed there for how long? =
Jenny: Erm well, I was there for about six years =
Interviewer: = Mhm.
Jenny: But apart from that it's been like York [jɒ̟:k] [has been]
Interviewer: [Mhm] =
Jenny: = my- my home [həʊm] and- but [bʊ] I er I- I used to come [kʊm] in- my- visit my dad =
Interviewer: = Yeah =
Jenny: = Erm 'cause my- my parents are separated [ˈsepəˌreɪʔəd] =
Interviewer: = Okay =
Jenny: = so [səʊ] I er would go [gəʊ] and live with my mum [mʊm], but then come [kʊm] and see my dad =
Interviewer: = [Mhm]
Jenny: [like] every weekend or [ɒ̟:] =
Interviewer: = Yeah =
Jenny: = like once [wɒns] a week 'cause [inaudible] =
Interviewer: = How old were you during those six years? Was it during your childhood, youth [or?]
Jenny: [Erm] six years. It was when I was.. moved last [læs] year, so [səʊ] er 20 to 26 years when I =
Interviewer: = Okay =
Jenny: = Yeah, so [səʊ]- Well =
Interviewer: = Yeah =
Jenny: = Yeah, that's when I [laughter]
Interviewer: [So why] did you choose to move back to York then? =

Jenny: =Erm Well, I- I only [ˈəʊnli] moved to Driffield really because erm of my living situation=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Jenny: =so [səʊ] erm but [bʊ] I always knew I wanted to move back to Driffield=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Jenny: =Er to York [jɒ̟:k]=
Interviewer: =Yeah.
Jenny: Get my words right [laughter]
Interviewer: [Laughter]=
Jenny: =and er even though [θo:] I- I liked Driffield, I just- I couldn't- I couldn't not move back to York [jɒ̟:k] [I love [lʊv] it]
Interviewer: [Mhm]
Jenny: Just- it's just a really- really nice little city really=
Interviewer: =Mhm. .. So what is it in particular that you like about York?
Jenny: Erm it's just [dʒʊst]- it's- it's- it's a small [smɒ̟:l] city erm you- it's really easy to get around=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Jenny: =Erm it's really easy even if you- even if you don't [dəʊn] drive=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Jenny: =it's- it's quite easy with like busses [ˈbʊsɪz] and erm you can- it's got like bike- erm cycle tracks as well and=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Jenny: =Erm and erm it's just [dʒʊst]- it's just really beautiful as well
Interviewer: =Mm=
Jenny: =like the scenery and stuff [stʊf], so..
Interviewer: Is there anything you don't like?
Jenny: About York [jɒ̟:k]?=
Interviewer: =Mhm.
Jenny: N-no [ˈnə:] [laughter] I can't [kan] think of anything=
Interviewer: =Yeah=
Jenny: =Yeah.
Interviewer: So would you rather live somewhere else?
Jenny: No [ˈnə:], I c- I couldn't imagine living in a bigger city=
Interviewer: =No=
Jenny: =Erm like I 've been to Manchester [and]

Interviewer: [Mhm] =
Jenny: = like Leeds and stuff [stʊf] and no [ˈnəː] =
Interviewer: = [No]
Jenny: [I don't [dəʊn]-] I don't [dəʊn] like it. Erm if I didn't- if I- if I had to choose- like it would be York [jp̩ː] [erm]
Interviewer: [Mhm] =
Jenny: = but [bʊ] if- but [bʊ] if like for some [sʊm] reason I- I had to move away [əˈweɪ] from York [jp̩ːk], it would have to be a smaller [ˈsmp̩ːlə] like town or [p̩ː] =
Interviewer: = Mhm =
Jenny: = like Driffield =
Interviewer: = Yeah.
Jenny: But [ˈbʊ] I don't [dəʊn]- I can't [ka] see myself moving away [əˈweɪ] from York [jp̩ːk] =
Interviewer: = Mhm.
Jenny: There'd have to be a- a really good reason [laughter] =
Interviewer: = Yeah. [Laughter] Since you can remember, has York changed a lot?
Jenny: Erm I think some [sʊm] of the shops have =
Interviewer = [Mhm]
Jenny: [Erm] over [ˈəʊvə] the six years. Erm.. And then obviously we don't [də] have the fountain anymore [ˌeniˈmp̩ː] [what was it?]
Interviewer: [Foun- fountain?] =
Jenny: = Yeah, there's a fountain erm erm erm and erm Parliament Street =
Interviewer: = Oh, yeah =
Jenny: = Yeah. Like they [ðeɪ] don't [dəʊn] use that now =
Interviewer: = [Mhm]
Jenny: [It's all [p̩ːl]] block off and =
Interviewer: = Yeah =
Jenny: = [inaudible] Erm I think the only [ˈəʊnli] thing that's changed [tʃeɪnʒd] really is like- the market is like more [mɔːr] in the centre of York [jp̩ːk] now.
Interviewer: Mhm =
Jenny: = Erm from what I can remember, I don't [dəʊn] think it was like that ten years ago [əˈgəʊ] =
Interviewer: = Yeah =
Jenny: = Erm but other [ˈʊðə] than that I don't [dəʊn] think it has really =
Interviewer: = Mhm =

Jenny: =not in a, you know [nəʊ], not in a bad way [weɪ] anyway [ˈeniˌweɪ]=
Interviewer: =Yeah. So in general it's changed for the better?=
Jenny: =Yeah=
Interviewer: =Yeah.
Jenny: We might get a Primark [laughter]
Interviewer: [Laughter] So what do you think is the best time of year in York?
Jenny: Erm.. I think- I think when like there's any kind of festival on=
Interviewer: =[Mhm]
Jenny: [Like] or anything like- like Halloween [ˈhæˌloʊˈiːn] or like Christmas. Like you just have that nice feeling of like celebrations and [it's really nice]
Interviewer: [Mhm] .. And would you like to live in York for the rest of your life?
Jenny: Erm there'd have to be a really good reason for me to move away [əˈweɪ]=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Jenny: =Erm but [bʊ] yeah. I can- I can see myself erm like growing [ˈgrəʊɪŋ] old [oʊld] here [laughter]
Interviewer: [Mhm] … Okay.

Reading passage

One [wɒn] day [deɪ] last [læst] year, when I was driving back to work after [ˈæftə] I'd had lunch [ˈlənʃ], I had an amazing [əˈmeɪzɪn] and unforgettable [ˈʊnfəˌgeʔəbl] experience. It must [mʊst] have been two o'clock, or [ɒː] perhaps a quarter [ˈkwɒːʔər] of an hour later [ˈleːʔə], a quarter [ˈkwɒʔə] past [pæs] two. It was an incredible thing, really. I was sitting there at the steering wheel of my new car, waiting [ˈweɪɪn] for the lights to change [tʃeɪnʒ], when all [ɔːl] of a sudden [ˈsʊdən] the car started to shake [ʃeɪk], this way [weɪ] and that, rocking from side to side, throwing [ˈθrəʊɪŋ] me backwards and forwards [ˈfɒːwədz], up [ʊp] and down. I felt as if I was riding a bucking [ˈbʊkɪn] horse [hɒːs]. Worse than that, some mysterious spirit or [ɒː] hostile force [fɒːs] seemed to be venting its vast [væst] fury (up)on the earth. And the noise! There was a kind of deep groaning [ˈgrəːnɪn] and horrible, awesome [ˈɒːsəm] grinding which seemed to fill the air. And then, a short [ʃɒːʔ] while after [ˈæftə], the whole [hoʊl] paro- - I can't [ka] say [seɪ] that word – had stopped, just [dʒʊst] as suddenly [ˈsʊdənli]. Everything was calm and smooth again,

quiet and peaceful once [wɒns] more [mp̩:]. I put my foot down, just a gentle pressure on the accelerator [əkˈselə˛reɪʔə], or [p̩:] the gas pedal, as it's known [no:n] in America, and drove [drəʊv] off. Everything was utterly [ˈʊtə] normal [ˈnp̩:məl] once [wɒns] more [mp̩:]. So [səʊ] then, was this some [sʊm] very local [ˈləʊkəl] and momentary [məˈmentəri] earth trauma [trp̩:mə] which had struck [strʊk] us [ˈəz], or [p̩:] I asked [æs] myself, was it a supernatural visitation [˛vɪsəˈteɪʃən], some [sʊm] fiery storm [stp̩:m] of diabolical wrath, or [p̩:] was it rather [ˈraðə] merely that I had drunk [drʊŋk] a double [dʊbl] vodka or [p̩:] two during my lunch [lʊnʃ]?

Word list

Path [pæθ]

Fatal [ˈfeɪtəl]

Task [tæsk]

Strut [strʊʔ]

Paint [peɪnʔ]

father

example [egˈzæmpl]

budget [ˈbʊdʒɪʔ]

butter [ˈbəʔə]

broad [brp̩:d]

eighty [ˈeɪti]

cake [keɪk]

both [bəʊθ]

cat

foamy [ˈfəʊmi]

know [nəʊ]

dough [dəʊ]

farce

staff [stæf]

laugh [læf]

country [ˈkʌntri]

form [fɒ:m]

business

company [ˈkʊmpəni]

home [həʊm]

love [lʊv]

important [ɪmˈpɒ:ʔən]

also [ˈɒ:lˌsəʊ]

much [mʊst]

fuss [fʊs]

soft

punch [pʊnʃ]

daughter [ˈdɒ:ʔə]

ice cream

blood [blʊd]

break [breɪ]

career

girl

advantage [ədˈvæns]

nasty [ˈnæsti]

buss [bʊs]

jerk

joke [dʒəʊk]

daft [dæft]

work

further

can’t [kan]

Tom

Name [neɪm]

Lazy [ˈleɪzi]

Throat [θrəʊʔ]

pudding

number [ˈnʊmbə]

after [ˈæftə]

Victorian [vɪkˈtɒ̟:riən]

Ask [æsk]

Make [meɪk]

Toe [təʊ]

egg

sing

born [bɒ̟:n]

Laura [ˈlɒ̟:rə]

Bath [bæθ]

Boat [bəʊʔ]

Take [teɪk]

Dance [dæns]

Old [ould]

birth

came [keɪm]

great [gre:ʔ]

goat [gəʊʔ]

rush [rʊʃ]

idea

late [leɪʔ]

half [hæf]

road [rəʊd]

for [fo̞:]

false [fo̞:s]

class [klæs]

before [biˈfo̞:]

York [jo̞:k]

beak

beautiful

total [ˈtə:ʔəli]

choose

youth

owner [ˈəʊnə]

Europe [ˈjɒ:rəp]

pearl

agree

faith [feɪθ]

don't [dəʊn]

mate [meɪʔ]

court [kɒ:ʔ]

friend

floor [flɒ:]

cup [kʊp]

young [jʊŋ]

yawn [jɒ:n]

joy

Q&A part 2

Interviewer: Do you like the way people speak here in York? =
Jenny: = Er yeah =
Interviewer: = Mhm.
Jenny: Er so you get- you get a variety of things I think =
Interviewer: = Mhm. .. So what do you find to be typical of York speech? =
Jenny: = [inaudible] Erm [laughter] Can I- hard to think on the spot. Er like "now-" "now then" [laughter]
Interviewer: Mhm =
Jenny: = Erm.. er It's really hard really. Erm .. er and I've lived here all [ɒ:l] my life as well [laughter] =
Interviewer: = [Laughter]
Jenny: Erm just.. like how they [ðeɪ] speak like erm like "you aright?" [Laughter] =
Interviewer: = Mhm =

Jenny: = Erm don't ask [æs] me to spell it [laughter] =
Interviewer: = That's fine.
Jenny: Er like "now then gaff"
Interviewer: Mhm =
Jenny: = [Laughter]
Interviewer: Okay.
Jenny: [Laughter]
Interviewer: What in particular do you like about the York accent?
Jenny: Erm.. It's not that I erm- it's not like there's anything in particular really. It's just [dʒʊst]- it just feels like home [həʊm] really =
Interviewer: = Mhm. .. Is there anything you don't like about it?
Jenny: Erm no [ˈnəː], not really.
Interviewer: No =
Jenny: = Mhm.
Interviewer: Is there anything you don't like about the way you speak yourself?
Jenny: Erm.. sometimes [ˈsʊmˌtaɪmz] it's the fact that I speak too fast [fast] =
Interviewer: = Mhm =
Jenny: = Erm.. and er like there are times where like I think people don't [ˈdə] understand [ˌəndəˈstænd] the way [weɪ] I say [seɪ] things =
Interviewer: = Mhm.
Jenny: And like it's when you go [gəʊ] like "er [ˈəː]" at the end or [pˌː] something [ˈsəðɪŋ] like that. Like "you know [ˈnəː]" =
Interviewer: = Uhuh.
Jenny: and stuff [stʊf] and sometimes [ˈsʊmˌtaɪmz] I can get really Yorkshire [ˈjpˌːkʃə] and then there's times where I can change [tʃeɪnʒ] and be quite posh. And I think it is depending on where I am =
Interviewer: = Mhm =
Jenny: = like if I'm at work I have to sort [spˌːʔ] of watch how I say [seɪ]- say [seɪ] things =
Interviewer: = Mhm.
Jenny: Erm so it depends really. What company [ˈkʊmpəni], well, what company [ˈkʊmpəni] I'm in =
Interviewer: = Yeah =
Jenny: = Erm.. [yeah]
Interviewer: [Do you] try to change it er consciously or is it just automatic? =

Jenny: =Erm it- I think it's- it's not as automatic [ˈp̩:ʔəˌmætik] erm and I- and then obviously I- it depends like if- if I'm round people that are quite posh then I do sort [sp̩:ʔ] of think of- "I better- I better change [tʃeɪnʒ]." But [bʊ] most [məʊs] of the time it's just [dʒʊst] automatic [ˈp̩:ʔəˌmætik] =
Interviewer: =Yeah. Mhm. And do you try to er specifically speak slower when you talk to people? =
Jenny: =Yeah =
Interviewer: =Yeah.
Jenny: I'm a lot better at that now then I was [laughter]
Interviewer: Okay. Erm do you like to hear the York accent on TV or radio?
Jenny: Say [seɪ] again, sorry =
Interviewer: =Do you like to hear [the York accent on TV]
Jenny: [Yeah. Yeah] =
Interviewer: =or radio? =
Jenny: =Yeah. It's quite- it's quite nice =
Interviewer: =[Mhm]
Jenny: [Erm] it mak- yeah, it just makes [meɪks] you feel like you're closer [ˈkləʊsə] to that person =
Interviewer: =Mhm =
Jenny: =because of their accent =
Interviewer: =Yeah. ... Has anyone outside of York ever laughed at you for the way you speak?
Jenny: Erm [clears throat] A lot of people have laughed [læft] at me [laughter]
Interviewer: [Oh] [laughter] =
Jenny: =I dunno [dəˈnəʊ] whether it's to do with my accent or [ɔ:] =
Interviewer: =[Laughter] =
Jenny: =Erm.. I think people- people laugh [læf] at me because they [ðeɪ] think I- 'cause I can go [gəʊ] from Yorkshire [ˈjɔ̩:kʃə] to like sounding quite posh and then erm and then because I wa- my family is from Liverpool =
Interviewer: =[Mhm]
Jenny: [I do] have that little twang sometimes [ˈsʊmˌtaɪmz] =
Interviewer: =Mhm =
Jenny: =So [səʊ] I think people laugh [læf] more [mɔ̩:] because they don't [doʊ] know [nəʊ] where.. like what kind of accent I have [laughter] =

Interviewer: =Mhm.. Okay. So er then you've sort of answered the next question, if anyone has been- er made a mistake about where you're from by the way you speak=
Jenny: =Yeah. They [ðeɪ]- they [ðeɪ] can never pick it=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Jenny: =Yeah.
Interviewer: Er so no one has been able to recognise where you're from=
Jenny: =No [nəʊ]=
Interviewer: =by your speech. So where do they usually place you then?
Jenny: Erm they [ðeɪ] don't [dəʊn] know [nəʊ]. That's the [laughter]
Interviewer: [Laughter]=
Jenny: =that's the thing. Like they [ðeɪ] erm like they [ðeɪ] can- they [ðeɪ] can never tell=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Jenny: =So [səʊ]=
Interviewer: =Okay. Mhm. .. Do you think people outside of York like the way people speak here?
Jenny: Erm I can't [ka] say [seɪ] I've heard anyone [ˈeniˌwɒn] say [seɪ] that they [ðeɪ] don't [dəʊn] like the accent erm it's more [mp̩:]- I've heard people say [seɪ] that they [ðeɪ] don't [dəʊ] like the Liverpool accent=
Interviewer: =[Mhm]
Jenny: [or [p̩:]] they [ðeɪ] don't [dəʊ] like- like the Scottish accent=
Interviewer: =[Yeah]
Jenny: [but I've] never really heard anyone [ˈeniˌwɒn] mention the Yorkshire [ˈjp̩:kʃɪr] accent=
Interviewer: =Mhm. … Okay. And then the last question: Do you think the York accent differs in any way from the accents of the surrounding villages or cities?
Jenny: Erm.. I- I can't [kãn] say [seɪ] that I notice [ˈnəʊʔis]=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Jenny: =er really. Erm.. but I suppose [səˈpəʊs] because my family's from Liverpool=
Interviewer: =Mhm=
Jenny: =and stuff [stʊf]- like I don't [dəʊ] really- I don't [dəʊ] really think about it=
Interviewer: =[Mhm]

Jenny: [because] when I go [gəʊ] and see my mum [mʊm] it's different 'cause, you know [nəʊ], she's from Liverpool and she didn't have a Yorkshire [ˈjɒ̟:kʃɪr] accent, even though [θəʊ] she's lived in Yorkshire [ˈjɒ̟:kʃə] =
Interviewer: = Yeah =
Jenny: = like- for like 26 years =
Interviewer: = Mhm =
Jenny: = Erm and I think- and I think because York [jɒ̟:k] has quite a lot of people that are from so [səʊ] many different places [pleɪsɪz] =
Interviewer: = Mhm =
Jenny: = Erm we- we do have a bit of a mixture =
Interviewer: = Yeah =
Jenny: = so [səʊ], you know [nəʊ], you do- you do have like erm people from all [ɒ̟:l] over [ˈəʊvə] really =
Interviewer: = [Mhm]
Jenny: [you know [nəʊ], especially] when they [ðeɪ] come [kʊm] to uni. They [ðeɪ] come [kʊm] from all [ɒ̟:l] over [ˈəʊvə] [the UK [ˈjuːˈkeɪ]]
Interviewer: [Yeah] =
Jenny: = all [ɒ̟:l] over [ˈəʊvə] the world, really =
Interviewer: = Mhm =
Jenny: = Erm =
Interviewer: = So would that be different in erm the villages around York or the countryside?
Jenny: Yeah. Prob- probably, yeah =
Interviewer: = Mhm. So how would they speak in the countryside?
Jenny: Erm.. Again it's really difficult, ['cause I'm-]
Interviewer: [Mhm] =
Jenny: = for me 'cause like I don't [dəʊn]- I don't [dəʊn] really- I don't [dəʊn] really notice [ˈnəʊʔis] it [very well]
Interviewer: [Mhm] =
Jenny: = Erm.. 'Cause I- I just- I just think people sound really similar =
Interviewer: = Mhm.
Jenny: Er =
Interviewer: = Yeah. Well, that's fine. Do you notice anything when you go to visit your mum in East Yorkshire?
Jenny: Erm.. not really. I'm- I'm- I'm like the worst person =

Interviewer: =[Laughter]
Jenny: [erm] to sort [sˌ:ʔ] of compare like people's accents unless [ˌənˈles] it's like a proper like change [tʃeɪnʒ] [from like]
Interviewer: [Yeah] =
Jenny: =Newcastle [ˈnju:ˌkæsl] =
Interviewer: =[Mhm]
Jenny: [or [ˌ:] something [ˈsʊmθɪn]] Like- If it's just [dʒʊst] like gradual change [tʃeɪnʒ] I [don't [dəʊn] think]
Interviewer: [Mhm] =
Jenny: =I really- I really erm- but then- I- I know [nəʊ] a lot of people in Driffield who have moved this area as well, [so [səʊ]]
Interviewer: [Yeah] =
Jenny: =Again it's like a mixture =
Interviewer: =Mhm =
Jenny: =of erm of different sort [sˌ:ʔ] of- but [bʊ] they're not like- they're not completely different to the point where I'd notice [ˈnəʊʔis] =
Interviewer: =Mhm. Yeah That's fine. Thank you.