Investigating Regional Speech in Yorkshire:

Evidence from the

Millennium Memory Bank

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Abstract

In this thesis I investigate the extent to which accent variation existed in Yorkshire at the turn of the millennium. I do this by examining the speech of a number of speakers from different locations around the region, recorded in 1998-9 as part of the Millennium Memory Bank oral history project conducted by the BBC and British Library. I also use this data to study change over time by comparing two generations of speakers from the Millennium Memory Bank, and also comparing those speakers with data from the Survey of English Dialects. I conduct the study focussing on two phonological variables: the GOAT vowel, and the PRICE vowel. I discuss the changes and variation found, both over time and with regard to place, with reference to dialect levelling as it has previously been described within the region, considering the possibility of the development of a 'pan-Yorkshire' variety. My findings suggest that, although changes have clearly occurred in Yorkshire since the time of the SED, some variation within the region remains robust, and there may even be evidence of new diversity arising as urban varieties in Yorkshire cities continue to evolve.

I also assess the potential of an oral history interview collection such as the Millennium Memory Bank for use in linguistic research, discussing the advantages and drawbacks of such data, and describing ways in which the collection as it currently stands could be made more accessible to linguists.

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For my dad.

Table of contents

Chapter 1 – Introduction

1.1 Background and research questions

This project investigates language variation and change across three locations in the region of Yorkshire in northern England. It does this by examining the variables denoted by Wells (1982) as the GOAT vowel and the PRICE vowel in the speech of male working class speakers from two generations in the cities of Leeds, Sheffield and Hull. Thus, this study has two components: the examination of geographical variation between the three cities, and looking for evidence of change over time.

Yorkshire has a long history of dialect interest and study, with titles both popular and scholarly dating back to the 17th century: an overview of these is given in Chapter 2. There have been a number of recent studies of language variation and change in Yorkshire, Stoddart *et al* (1999) in Sheffield, Watt and Tillotson (2001) in Bradford, Richards (2008) in Morley, Finnegan (2011) who also studied Sheffield, and Haddican *et al* (2013) in York. Hull has also been studied by Cheshire *et al* (1999) and Williams and Kerswill (1999) in comparison with the southern towns of Milton Keynes and Reading.However, no recent study has been made comparing the speech of multiple Yorkshire cities.This project investigates whether local varieties within the region are still maintaining their distinctiveness from one another.

Recent studies of language variation and change have often shown evidence that local varieties are subject to the process of dialect levelling, whereby the most marked local variants are lost (Trudgill 1996:98), or variation within a dialect is reduced, with items disappearing from the linguistic inventory (see Britain 2002, Kerswill and Williams 2002, Torgersen and Kerswill 2004). Dialect levelling and the factors involved in it are explained in more depth in

Chapter 2 below. Watt (2002) suggests the possibility that dialect levelling is leading to the formation of a supralocal regional variety in the north-east of England, with the loss of the most locally restricted variants in favour of variants that are used over a wider geographic area. This study considers the evidence for the formation of a 'pan-Yorkshire' variety by examining whether distinct variants traditionally found in the three locations are being maintained, or lost in favour of variants common to all the locations.

In order to do this, the study uses interview data from a collection of oral history recordings known as the Millennium Memory Bank (MMB), compiled by the BBC and the British Library in 1998-1999. This collection, described in more depth in Chapter 3 below, contains a large number of lengthy interviews carried out by forty BBC local radio stations. The collection offers awealth of speech data, and this project explores how it can be used for research by linguists.

The data from the MMB is also compared with data from the Survey of English Dialects (Orton1962), collected in the early 1950s. The Survey (SED), discussed in more detail in Chapter 2, focussed on finding and recording the oldest and most traditional forms of local dialect speech. This study finds that, although many of the variants found in the SED are not found in the MMB, some traditional variants and distinctive patterns of usage are still maintained today, and are being maintained strongly by younger speakers as well as older. This thesis explores the factors involved in the changes Yorkshire speech has undergone and is still undergoing, and also discusses reasons why changes may be resisted and traditional, local, non-standard variants retained. This includes discussion ofthe importance of factors such as local, regional and class identity in contributing to the usage of particular variants.

This projectwill answer the following research questions:

1. Can evidence of dialect levelling in Yorkshire be found in the Millennium Memory Bank?
2. Does variation still exist within Yorkshire, and if so, does it still exist in similar patterns to those found in the past?
3. Why might, or might not, variation continue to be robust in the region?
4. In what ways is a collection of data such as the MMB suitable for use in linguistic projects?

1.2 Thesis structure

In Chapter 2, I present a review of literature exploring the background and issues relevant to a variationist study such as this, and also introduce previous studies of accent and dialect in Yorkshire.

In Chapter 3, I explain the methodology of the study, including more detailed information about the Millennium Memory Bank and the precedent for use of oral history collections in linguistic study. I also introduce the speakers used in the study, and explain the process of selecting them. I explain the methods of data analysis used and the decisions made during the course of the project.

In Chapter 4, I present the results of the data analysis. I give more detailed background of each of the variables under consideration, including more specific findings from previous studies of these variables.

In Chapter 5, I discuss the results of the data analysis in more depth, comparing them with previous findings and exploring the reasons behind my results in the context of the variationist literature presented in Chapter 2.

In Chapter 6 I summarise my answers to the research questions presented above, and consider the experience of working with the Millennium Memory Bank, and make some suggestions as to its potential for use by

linguists in future work. I also evaluate this project and examine its limitations.

Chapter 2 – Literature review

2.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter I introduce the region of Yorkshire, and give details of its long tradition of linguistic study. I then outline the Survey of English Dialects (SED), including its methods and importance in the history of dialectological study. I then give an overview of studies that have been carried out since the time of the SED, which will be referred to throughout the work and used to situate it in context.

I then move on to discuss various factors that influence language change, including mobility and dialect contact, and introduce the concept of dialect levelling. I discuss the importance of social networks to language change and language maintenance, describing why languages may undergo certain changes and resist others. I also discuss the formation of supralocal varieties that are used over a wider area, and introduce the possibility of this occurring in Yorkshire.

2.2Yorkshire

Yorkshire is a region and historical county in the north of England, bordered by the Pennine hills in the west, and the North Sea in the east. Since the most recent reorganisation of its borders in 1996, it has been constituted of the four counties of North Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, South Yorkshire and the East Riding of Yorkshire, but the area known as Yorkshire has been acknowledged as a named region for almost a thousand years: Hey (2005:1) states that “The earliest surviving reference to Yorkshire is from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in 1065.”

This lengthy history also applies to interest in the language of Yorkshire. There is a long tradition of dialect verse written in Yorkshire dialect: Ruano Garcia (2008) discusses an anonymous broadside issued in York in 1673 entitled *A Yorkshire Dialogue*,and another similarly-titled dialogue was published in 1683, attributed to George Meriton. A century later, in 1788, Joseph Ritson published his *Yorkshire Garland*, a collection of six Yorkshire songs. Its subtitle proclaims it "a curious collection of old and new songs, concerning that famous county", indicating that Yorkshire was already seen as "famous", noteworthy, and of interest. In the early part of the 20th century, F.W. Moorman compiled several volumes of Yorkshire verse, including the substantial *Yorkshire Dialect Poems (1673-1915)*, again exemplifying the use of Yorkshire dialect as a medium for poetry and works of art and literature. This rich body of work indicates the regard with which the language of Yorkshire was held.

Besides literature, the language of Yorkshire has also been the subject of much interest and study through history. Even in 1829, in the preface to his *Hallamshire Glossary*, Hunter (1829:xx) states that

> More attention has been paid to the verbal peculiarities of Yorkshire than of any other county: more at least has been published respecting them.

In his *Glossary*, he compiled a collection of dialect words in use in Sheffield at the time, and this included a list of West Yorkshire words collected by a Mr Thoresby and sent to John Ray in 1703; this was subsequently published as part of Ray's correspondence in 1718. Hunter's *Glossary* also includes a list of Halifax words, published in 1775 as part of John Watson's history of the town. Other glossaries were produced to catalogue the dialects of Wakefield (Banks 1865), Almondbury and Huddersfield (Easther 1883), and there were also other

styles of philological publication. For instance, Joseph Wright, compiler of the extensive *English Dialect Dictionary*, published between 1898 and 1905, first produced a study of his own town of birth, Windhill in the West Riding of Yorkshire, published in 1892. His work took the form of a detailed outline of the grammar of the dialect, with chapters divided according to historical background as Wright used the dialect of his time to investigate the pronunciation of earlier forms of the English language (Wright 1892:vi). Dyer (1891) shares elements of both a glossary and a grammar, with a section containing definitions and explanations of words and phrases used in several locations in the West Riding of Yorkshire, alongside a more anecdotal recount of events of the author's youth in Leeds.

Bywater's (1839) work contained similar anecdotes and stories, from the city of Sheffield, like Hunter, although the two authors' chosen formats differ. Hunter's work is a dictionary-style list of words used in the Sheffield area, complete with definition, whereas Bywater's is more akin to the earlier Yorkshire dialogues mentioned above, featuring letters and conversations. Bywater explains that his published work grew out of the popularity of pamphlets and almanacs published previously, and that this was a way to connect with the ordinary working people of the city (1839:iv). Bywater's almanacs, beginning in 1830, were the first of many similar publications, which seem to have been a phenomenon unique to the West Riding of Yorkshire (Dyson 1975:24) – again demonstrating the strong tradition and wide variety of dialect literature in the region. Moreover, with the increase in literacy during the nineteenth century, these almanacs were aimed at, and produced by, the working man, containing humorous stories and dialogues, reports of local events, and even comment on current affairs. Many of these almanacs ran for many years, showing their

sustained popularity. Dialect works were not just the preserve of poets or scholars of philology, but also produced and enjoyed by ordinary people: dialect was clearly interesting and valuable to them, not something to be spurned or rejected, despite the pressures of the changing world around them at that time.

Several of the above-named authors make reference to these pressures, and the effects on language use that they perceived. Hunter(1829: xiii-xiv), lamenting the loss of words used by the poets and playwrights of earlier times, says

> There are portions of society to whom [custom's] edicts do not descend; or who, having little to lose, do not hesitate to rebel; The rustic and the mechanic will speak as his father spoke before him, and may be heard therefore using words unknown to the educated classes of society, or words still well known to express ideals from which in other circles they have been long disjoined. Hence amongst them may be found fragments of our ancient tongue, relics of what, three or four centuries ago, constituted the language not of the common people only, but of all ranks from the king to the peasant.

His belief was that there was a time when all speakers used words that were by his time restricted to local dialects, and that the greater education and social mobility of the nineteenth century had led to the erosion of many previously-common words. Ellis (1889:3) expressed similar concerns. He observed that

> the peasantry throughout the country have usually two different pron[unciations]., one which they use to one another, and this is that which is required; the other which they use to the educated, and this is their own conception of RP., though often remarkably different from it, is absolutely worthless for the present purpose.

Like Hunter, he believed that changing social conditions had led to bidialectalism amongst the "peasantry". He cites the greater geographic mobility offered by the railways, universal primary education and also work in domestic service as factors that influenced the speech of ordinary people away from dialect and towards a more standard form. His opinion was that received speech and dialect are "natural enemies" (1890:2) and that the lower classes

“naturally strived to imitate” (1890: 2) the speech of the more educated classes, with whom they may come into contact as their employees.

2.3The Survey of English Dialects

This perceived erosion of dialect has been of great concern to scholars of dialect throughout history, and it was this that led to the Survey of English Dialects (SED), originally conceived in 1946, with an ultimate aim of creating a linguistic atlas of England. Because of the apparent loss of dialectal features, the creators of the Survey were keen to capture and preserve the oldest dialect forms, before they were lost with the generation of speakers who used them. Thus, they interviewed “speakers of sixty years of age or over belonging to the same social class in rural communities… for it is amongst the rural populations that the traditional types of vernacular English are best preserved today” (Orton 1962:14). These informants have come to be termed NORMs (Chambers and Trudgill 1998:29), standing for Non-mobile Older Rural Males: elderly, usually male, speakers who had lived in the same rural community for most of, if not all, their lives. However, despite the rural focus of the Survey, four urban locations were also included, and three of those are in Yorkshire: Leeds, York and Sheffield. As much subsequent focus on the study of language variation has shifted to an urban setting, this is a very useful source of older language forms for comparison. Additionally, although the majority of the speakers in the survey were male, a number of female speakers were also interviewed, including 7 from the 34 locations in Yorkshire.

The SED was carried out in a more systematic way than the philological studies of the 19th century. Earlier studies were often conducted by contacting ministers or schoolmasters and asking them to record words used in their

village, and send them back to the scholar. This was a somewhat hit and miss approach, with varying success. For the SED, a lengthy questionnaire was devised, composed of 1322 questions, and fieldworkers were sent to interview the speakers in person, with a number of interviews being partially recorded on tape. The speakers were selected by the fieldworkers when they arrived in each location: Wakelin (1972:55) explains that they made inquiries in order to find dialect speakers in the area, and then met with the suggested people to determine whether they were suitable and willing to participate, and if so, the fieldworker visited them in their home in order to record their dialect usage using the questionnaire.

The majority of the survey questions are concerned with lexis, but some are aimed at recording morphological and syntactic features. 387 questions are explicitly designed to elicit phonological data, but in fact every answer provides this, as the fieldworkers recorded informants' responses phonetically. As the majority of informants lived in rural locations, there are many questions aimed at recording dialect words for farming terms and the countryside way of life, but there are also sections on household and social activities, parts of the body, numbers, time, weather and a slightly more abstract section entitled "States, Actions, Relations", recording, for example, prepositions, modal verbs, and question words. Each question had an identified 'keyword' response, for which the fieldworkers were attempting to obtain a dialect variant: for example, for the keyword *snack* (Book VII.5.11), the question was "Do you have anything to eat between meals?" (Orton 1962: 817).

In order to elicit the target response, the questions often took the form of a sentence with the keyword missing, with the intention that the informant supply the word by filling the gap. In some cases, a drawing or physical item

was often used, with the question being “What do you call this?” If the desired dialect form was not given, the fieldworker would prompt the informant and ask if he had any other word that he might use for the concept in question. Sometimes informants specified an “older” form, or forms that were more modern, more or less polite, more usual, and so on. The fieldworkers recorded these responses in phonetic notation, including any additional details given.

Problems have been noted with the SED, such as the method of elicitation. As explained above, the SED questionnaire was designed to prompt a word for a particular concept – this was controlled quite closely in order to be able to compare results across the whole country. However, it generally resulted in one-word answers, rather than more natural flowing speech. Chambers and Trudgill (1998:24) point out that surveys conducted in this manner “result in only one style of the informant’s speech, a relatively formal or careful style. It is well known that more casual styles increase the occurrences of regional accent and homelier vocabulary.” Thus, the majority of the speech recorded and published in the Basic Materials is of one register. We have little access to the less careful speech produced in more natural settings, as might be spoken to family members or friends. This is in contrast to the data contained in the Millennium Memory Bank, as described in section 3.2 below, which was captured in an interview setting where the speakers were encouraged to speak at length in a more casual style – albeit with an unknown interviewer.

One more possible drawback of the SED data results from the lack of representation of large sections of the community, as Wells (1978) and Stoddart *et al* (1999:81) point out. It seems likely that many of the forms used by speakers in the SED were minority variants, even at the time the Survey was

conducted. However, this seems to rather miss the point of the Survey: it was not intended to be fully representative of the population, but was designed in order to preserve the oldest dialect forms that could be found. In this aim, it is extremely successful, and provides a very thorough and extensive collection of traditional accent and dialect features. Its dense geographical coverage makes it a very valuable baseline for studies in any part of the country – as evidenced by the work of Trudgill (1990), Britain (1997), Stoddart *et al* (1999) and Kerswill (2003).

The SED is the last large-scale dialect survey of its kind in England, and it is clearly a very important marker for comparative study of language change over time. But, as explained above, many of the dialect forms contained within it are now obsolete, and many changes have occurred in both accent and dialect since then.

2.4Studies since the SED

There have been a number of more recent studies within Yorkshire since the SED, though none on quite the same scale. One of the most detailed was the work of Petyt (1985), who produced very thorough accounts of accent and dialect features in the three West Yorkshire towns of Huddersfield, Halifax and Bradford. In contrast with the SED, Petyt used 106 male and female speakers, from teenagers to octogenerians, and classified them as belonging to one of five different social classes (three working class and two middle class). In most cases, he analysed the speech of several different speakers, of both sexes, in each age and class group, giving a much larger sample than that used in the SED. He also recorded his speakers in five modes of speech, from casual conversation to the most careful reading styles and recitation of minimal pairs.

Therefore, Petyt's study was able to represent a broader cross-section of society at the time, and a wider range of speech registers.

Although it was not published until 1985, his data was collected in 1971 – approximately midway between the SED and the MMB. Petyt used the SED as a point of comparison with his own data, in order to track the changes that had happened, and were still happening, since the compilation of the SED. Through his use of a large age range he was able to use both real and apparent time approaches, by comparing his own data to the older SED speakers, and tracing the use of dialect variants amongst the different age groups within his data. His study included a large number of phonetic and morphosyntactic features of West Yorkshire accent and dialect.

Petyt, and also Viereck (1968), suggested that the changes he observed in West Yorkshire were due to the influence of RP. This would imply a situation where all speakers would eventually speak the same standardised variety. However, more recent studies suggest that this is an extreme view that is unlikely to be realised, and evidence from the studies described below suggests that the situation is rather more complex. Since Petyt's extensive study of the three West Yorkshire towns, there have been a number of subsequent studies of other locations within Yorkshire, which are summarised below.

Tagliamonte (1996-1998) constructed a corpus of York English from speech data from 92 speakers, 40 male and 52 female, aged from 15-91 years old. It is "intended to be a representative of vernacular York English speech at the turn of the twenty-first century" (Tagliamonte 2013:40), containing speakers from a range of backgrounds and occupations. The project aimed to track linguistic change over time in York. Tagliamonte and colleagues have conducted research into various features using the corpus, for example

Tagliamonte (1998, 2001), Tagliamonte and Smith (2005), Tagliamonte, Smith and Lawrence (2009) and Tagliamonte and Baayen (2012). Research that has been carried out includes work on *was/were* variation, *come/came* variation and NEG/AUX contraction.

Stoddart *et al* (1999) conducted a study in Sheffield of 24 speakers from various localities in the city. Speakers were evenly split between male and female, and were from three age groups: 12-30 years, 31-55 years, and 56 years and over. There was also a mixture of middle class and working class speakers, although the distribution of each was not even across the age groups. Their data was collected in 1997, and consisted of speakers answering a selection of questions from the Survey of English Dialects, reading a word list, and engaged in free conversation. They summarise the variants they observed for each of Well's (1982) lexical sets, and compare these to the data recorded in the SED. They consider their findings with regard to the variables of age, gender, locality and mobility. As they are particularly relevant to the present study, the results of Stoddart *et al*'s (1999) work are referred to and discussed in more detail at several points in this thesis, particularly in Chapters 4 and 5.

Cheshire *et al* (1999) compiled a project comparing adolescent speech in the towns of Hull, Reading and Milton Keynes. Their data was recorded between 1996 and 1998. Their sample was made up of 32 speakers aged 14-15, 16 male and 16 female, distributed evenly between working class and middle class backgrounds. The speakers were interviewed individually, in pairs, and in groups, and were also recorded reading a word list. Four speakers over the age of 70 (two male and two female) were also recorded, and comparisons were also made with data from two nearby SED locations, Y25 Newbald (also included in the present study) and Y28 Welwick. They analysed 7 phonological

variables and 12 grammatical variables. The speakers were also asked to identify ten recordings of accents, and 40 non-standard grammatical features, and take part in a discussion of linguistic issues. Their aim was to compare the process of dialect levelling (described in more depth below in this chapter) across the three locations.

Arising from Cheshire *et al*'s (1999) project described above, and using data collected during it,Williams and Kerswill (1999) alsoinclude Hull as one of their locations in a comparative study with Reading and Milton Keynes. Like Stoddart *et al* (1999) described above, they summarise the variants used for each of Wells's (1982) lexical sets. They examine the different factors involved in language change across the three locations with regard to the loss or retention of traditional variants, and the adoption of incoming features.The findings of both Cheshire *et al* (1999) and Williams and Kerswill (1999) are discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5 below.

Watt and Tillotson (2001) conducted a study of the GOAT-vowel in Bradford, particularly focussing on the trend towards increased fronting of the vowel in the city. Their data was collected from eight working class speakers, of whom 5 were female, and 3 were male. They ranged in age from 17 years to 75 years old. Each speaker read a word list of 100 words, and 7 short phrases. Acoustic analysis was conducted on the data, with vowel plots produced for each individual speaker. The results of this study will also be considered in more detail, particularly in Chapter 4 below.

Richards (2008) carried out a study of Morley, a suburb of Leeds, in West Yorkshire. She focussed on the variables of Definite Article Reduction, negation, first person possessive pronouns, the lexical items *summat, owt* and *nowt*, past tense BE, (t), TH-fronting and quotatives. These include a mixture of

traditional features found in Morley, and also new incoming forms. Through these variables, she, like Williams and Kerswill (1999) described above, examines the effects of dialect contact and supralocalisation (both discussed in more detail in subsequent sections below), and of factors that act in favour of retention of local traditional variants.

Finnegan (2011) also carried out a study of Sheffield, using a sample consisting of 24 middle class speakers, 12 male and 12 female, evenly divided into three age groups (4 males and 4 females in each group). She made use of identity questionnaires in order to find out how the speakers defined themselves in relation to their community, the wider region, and others both within Sheffield and across Yorkshire. She focussed on three variables: the GOAT vowel, the FACE vowel, and (T)-glottalling. She also made comparisons between her data and the earlier Survey of Sheffield Usage (Nixon 1981).Finnegan's work and results are also discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

Haddican *et al* (2013) conducted a study of York speech, focussing on fronting of the GOAT and GOOSE vowels, and diphthongisation of the GOAT and FACE vowels. Their study utilised data from Tagliamonte's (1996-1998) York English corpus, alongside data of their own, collected between 2008 and 2011. Their own dataset contained 18 speakers, 10 females and 8 males,who were between 18-22 years old. The speakers were recorded speaking in participant pairs, reading a word list, and in an interview situation, again recorded in pairs. Each interview lasted around 20 minutes, and "focused on participants' perceptions of ways the local community waschanging and their perceptions of different accents in the local community" (Haddican *et al* 2013:277). The data collected from these speakers was compared with a subset of 32 speakers, 16 male and 16 female, from the York English corpus

data. This was divided evenly between two groups, one between 17 and 31 years of age, and the other between 59-78 years. This subset was matched as closely as possible with the 2008 data in terms of gender, occupation and educational background. This approach enabled real time comparisons to be made between the two datasets. Haddican *et al*'s (2013) findings are referred to and discussed in more detail in Chapters 4 and 5.

This summarises the main contributions to study of recent and contemporary variation in Yorkshire. The results and findings most relevant to the variables under investigation in the present study are outlined in more detail in Chapter 4. I now move on to explore factors involved in language change, and explain how they seem to be affecting Yorkshire.

2.5Mobility

Ellis, in 1890, had already seen the effect of the increased mobility provided by the railways on dialect speech, and mobility and access to transport became even more widespread during the twentieth century, with the rise of the private car and the continued ease of use of public transport coming to include not just trains and buses, but international and domestic aeroplane journeys too. This increased mobility led, of course, to more opportunities for contact between people who lived further away from each other, and therefore more opportunities for them to encounter dialects they may never have encountered before. Initially, this may have led to difficulties in communication, but, as Giles and Powesland (1975: 157) explain, when speakers of different dialects communicate, they engage in the process of linguistic accommodation, by which they alter their language towards that of their interlocutor and lessen the dialectal differences between them to aid communication. If this occurs often,

then the accommodated language may become the norm – a shared language between people who come from different dialect backgrounds, but who now mix and communicate regularly.

2.6Dialect contact

This kind of situation seems likely to have occurred in Yorkshire as the region covers a large area and a range of terrain, including some remote and historically isolated areas such as the North York Moors. This would preclude much sustained travel and contact outside the immediate area before the advent of mechanised transport. Britain (1997) describes a similar situation in the Norfolk Fens, which only came to be inhabited after marshland was drained in the seventeenth century, leading to movement into the new area and mixing between speakers of different dialects, largely from areas to the west, in the East Midlands, and the east, in East Anglia. From this situation, Britain (1997:16) describes the development of a mixed dialect, "incorporating elements from a number of the ingredient varieties".

Kerswill (1996), Kerswill and Williams (1997, 2000) and Williams and Kerswill (1999) describe a similar situation with regard to the Buckinghamshire New Town of Milton Keynes, although the process there has taken place much more recently, since the formation of the town in the 1970s. Unlike the Fens, the area was not previously uninhabited, but the town, designed to accommodate population overspill from London, subsumed several pre-existing villages. Much of the new population of the town arrived from London and other locations in the south-east of England (Kerswill 1996:242), leading to the mixing of speakers of primarily south-eastern English dialects, and the rapid development of a new Milton Keynes variety. Kerswill describes this variety as showing an "absenceof

regionally-marked features… What we can say is that the high-contact Milton Keynes case is that it seems to represent accelerated dialect levelling" (1996:245, emphasis in original).

2.7Dialect levelling

The process of dialect levelling is the subject of much recent study in Britain, as well as many locations elsewhere, near and far: Trudgill (1986) and Kerswill (1996) both give examples from Norway; Britain (2009) cites Prompapakorn's (2005) study of a new town in Thailand, and Britain (2011:44) lists many other European studies, such as Hernández-Campoy and Villena-Ponsoda (2009) on southern Spain, Armstrong (2002) on France, and Cornelissen (1999) on north-western Germany. Trudgill (1996:98) describes dialect levelling as the "reduction or attrition of marked variants", referring to the loss of the forms that 'stand out' the most and are used by fewer speakers, with forms used by the majority surviving. Others have described it in terms of a loss of variation within a dialect (Britain 2002, Kerswill and Williams 2002, Torgersen and Kerswill 2004), with variables becoming 'streamlined' and possible linguistic options being lost from the inventory of speakers. As will be described in more detail below, there is much evidence of dialect levelling across Britain, and we must assess the extent to which it is also likely to have occurred in Yorkshire.

The situation in Yorkshire is not entirely the same as that described above in relation to newly populated areas such as the Fens, or New Towns such as Milton Keynes: Yorkshire is a much larger area, and there has not been a particular and large-scale migration of people from other areas into the region. But there are similarities, in that there has been a relatively recent large-scale increase in mobility, leading to contact between speakers of different dialects,

even if many of these dialects may have been from different locations in Yorkshire. Yorkshire has an industrial history: from the eighteenth century to the twentieth, many people were employed in traditional industrial occupations, such as cloth manufacture, steelworking, dockworking and coal mining. These occupations were often urban, and many people migrated from the surrounding countryside into the growing cities to find employment. Subsequently, as industry has declined, as in the rest of the country employment has shifted more and more towards the service sector, with more employment flexibility and greater numbers of people both commuting to work, and moving home over greater distances in order to take a new job (Britain 2009).

2.8Social networks

Milroy (1987) explains how these social changes can lead to language change by disrupting the social networks that connect people in the affected communities. She described the inner city working class area of Ballymacarrett in Belfast, where the male residents tended to be employed in ship-building locally. These men worked together, socialised together, lived near to each other and may also have been related – thus giving many different types of connections between the same people: a dense and multiplex social network. Milroy likens this to Dennis *et al*'s (1957) study of a mining village, of which there were many in (particularly West and South) Yorkshire: she states that "the most multiplex and dense networks seem to be found where men are employed in such traditional occupations as mining, shipbuilding or steelworking" (1987:80), all of which were major employers in Yorkshire historically. Milroy shows that these dense social networks and strong ties between local residents have the effect of reinforcing linguistic norms and maintaining local forms: with

little movement into or out of the network, there is unlikely to be significant outside influence. Milroy (1987:160) explains that “personal network structure is in these communities of very great importance in predicting language use: a dense, multiplex personal network structure predicts relative closeness to vernacular norms”. The men of Ballymacarrett, who have high scores on Milroy’s scale of personal network ties, also show high usage of local non-standard forms. This is in contrast to the women of the same community, many of whom worked outside the area and did not have the same multiple ties to other local people. The women showed much lower scores on the network scale, having weaker ties within the local community, and this correlated with a much lower usage of the local forms used frequently by the men.

Milroy not only explores how these networks are maintained, but also *why.* After all, despite the constant reinforcement afforded by the community situation, there are still many pressures towards the standardisation of language, through education and authority. Why should communities with very strongly maintained non-standard speech norms continue to use them, even when they are subject to outside stigma? Milroy explains that these local non-standard forms come to represent not just locality, but solidarity within the community. The areas of Belfast she studied were disadvantaged, with high value placed on neighbourliness and “‘looking after one’s own’” (1987:73): this is associated with a lack of faith in the relevant authorities to display as caring an attitude towards needy people within their community and, further, suspicion and hostility towards those authorities. Thus, retaining non-standard language forms is an act of rebellion against the standardising forces of authority, and a demonstration of the importance of the local community and its own norms.

There is no prestige in using more standard forms associated with the middle classes. Milroy and Milroy (1992:4) state that

> Just as there is strong institutional pressure to use varieties approximating to the standard in formal situations, effective sanctions are in force in nonstandard domains also. For example, in Belfast, New York and (no doubt) elsewhere young men are ridiculed by their peers if they use middle class forms.

Thus, despite the pressures towards standard language use, there are still strong motivations for continued use of non-standard language. It is when such community network ties are broken that their associated language use also declines. Increased mobility is, as described above, one of the major threats to close-knit networks, but sometimes they are broken up forcibly, by relocation schemes such as that described by Milroy in relation to the Hammer area of Belfast. When communities are dispersed and the occupants relocated, the same level of network density does not tend to be achieved in the new community (Milroy 1987:82). Thus, if the residents of an entire community are split up and forced to settle into new areas, it seems unlikely that their speech variety will survive amongst new generations.

2.9 Speaker background, language attitudes and identity

The speakersused in this study, like those in the communities of Belfast described above, are all from broadly working class backgrounds. Their own individual circumstances will be briefly described in section 3.5 below. As described earlier in this chapter, from the earliest dialect literature, it is working class speakers who have been regarded as the most conservative and most likely to use non-standard dialect variants, with Hunter (1829:xiii-xiv) describing the continued use of traditional variants by “rustics”, “mechanics” and “peasants”. He contrasted this with the speech of the “educated classes”

(Hunter 1829: xiii-xiv), from whose speech traditional dialect forms had been lost. Clearly today, with universal education and the reduction in numbers of those employed in traditional working class occupations, the situation is less clearly divided; however, working class speakers are still usually found to have the greatest use of non-standard and local variants (Giles and Billings 2004: 197). Labov (1966) and Trudgill (1972) explained this with reference to 'covert prestige', whereby speakers continue to use non-standard variants even if they are stigmatised, even if the speakers themselves acknowledge this stigma and profess displeasure at their own non-standard language use. Despite social pressures against the use of non-standard local variants, Labov and Trudgill both explore the reasons why people continue to use them, and the appeal that makes them more attractive and useful to speakers than standard or RP equivalents. In Trudgill's study of Norwich, many speakers initially expressed a dislike of the way they spoke, but, when pressed to explore this further, admitted that, in fact, if they were to alter their speech to more closely resemble a prestige variety, "they would almost certainly be consideredfoolish, arrogant or disloyal by their friends and family" (1972: 184). This suggests a feeling that non-standard variants signify qualities such as loyalty and being 'down to earth'. As discussed in the previous section, the working class communities of Belfast expressed similar opinions, and studies such as that of Giles and Powesland (1975) suggest that "non-standard speakers are *upgraded* on traits relating to solidarity, integrity, benevolence, and social attractiveness relative to non-standard speakers" (Giles and Billings 2004: 195), whereas speakers of standard varieties tend to be evaluated more favourably on traits such as competence and intelligence, but less favourably on social traits such as humour and relatability. Socially attractive traits such as loyalty, solidarity and

integrity – “looking after one’s own”, as Milroy (1987: 73) puts it – might be seen as traditional working class values, and so non-standard language variants become important markers signifying class loyalty and group membership.

A number of recent studies have explored these concepts of group membership and identity further by use of identity questionnaires, such as that devised by Llamas (1999, 2001). These aim to uncover speakers’ attitudes towards their own speech variety, their community, the way they define themselves, and how they position themselves in relation to other groups and communities. It is based on an ideological approach to the study of language, where the community is viewed as “locally created by social actors and discoverable by analysis rather than a given” (Milroy 2004: 7), and is thus subject to changes and shifts as circumstances and attitudes change. Information obtained in this way from the speakers can then be correlated with their use of language variants. No such analysis is possible for the MMB data, unfortunately, but Finnegan (2011) employed identity questionnaires in her study of Sheffield, revealing some information that may be relevant to the present study. Her speakers were all middle class, and almost all expressed positive attitudes towards Sheffield and their own accents. They tended to define themselves very much as Sheffield people (as opposed to, for example, Yorkshire people), and some expressed negative opinions about other places in Yorkshire, and other Yorkshire accents (for example, Finnegan 2011: 178). This suggests a strong sense of Sheffield identity, and also a sense of rivalry with other locations in Yorkshire – which may have consequences for language change, if Sheffield speakers do not wish to be perceived as being or speaking like other Yorkshire people. Variants associated with other Yorkshire locations may be more likely to be resisted, decreasing the likelihood of the formation of a

'pan-Yorkshire' regional variety. Unfortunately there is no similar in-depth data from the other cities used in this study: it may be that they too show strong senses of local identity, or it may be that Sheffield is unique in this. Some of Finnegan's speakers suggest that this is perhaps because of its location on the very southern border of Yorkshire (Finnegan 2011: 150), or because of its status compared with Leeds, perceived as more affluent and prominent in the region (Finnegan 2011: 162). Thus, we can see that other studies can provide evidence of pride in local identity whilst also supporting the continued use of distinct local variants.

Finnegan's middle class Sheffield sample also showed awareness of the differences within the city between their own speech and more traditional variants, often describing the latter in quite disparaging terms and professing embarrassment to come from the same area as them (Finnegan 2011: 153). These speakers seem to associate traditional variants with ignorance or a lack of education, suggesting that their own avoidance of such variants is part of the construction of an identity that gives an impression of intelligence and higher achievement – qualities associated with more standard speech, as discussed above. However, this leaves the possibility that other speaker groups in Sheffield may value other qualities over these, leading them to employ those traditional variants in order to differentiate themselves from speakers such as Finnegan's and construct an image that prioritises social values such as friendliness, humour and solidarity over competence traits.

2.10Dialect death – or survival against the odds?

The death of traditional local dialects is, argues Britain (2009:42), "inextricably linked to dialect contact". He shows the very sharp decline in

recognition of a number of Norfolk dialect words, as well as similar declines in use of a range of morphosyntactic and phonological dialect variants. This decline, he shows, is steepest between groups born pre- and post-1960, with the group born before this time still showing relatively high levels of dialect knowledge and usage, with those born after showing much lower levels, suggesting the 1960s were a watershed in the attrition of dialect (Britain 2009:43). Britain also examines the case of post-vocalic /r/ in England, a feature which has undergone attrition to a severe degree, and now persists only in a much smaller area than that in which it was previously found. The erosion of /r/ was already in evidence in Ellis's time at the end of the nineteenth century, and it was even more advanced by the time of the SED sixty years later, and this rate of attrition would appear to show that post-vocalic /r/ is critically endangered in England. However, Britain also points out that, in situations where a variant is threatened, it can "appear to resist erosion, and occasionally change in ways which diverge from the incoming innovation" (2009:54). In the case of /r/, this has led to evidence of post-vocalic /r/ appearing in contexts where it did not traditionally appear, and is not present in the orthography: for example in words such as *lager* [laɹgə˞] and *sauce* [sɔɹs] (Vivian 2000, cited in Britain 2009:56). These 'hyperdialectisms' are sometimes a "last gasp before attrition", (Britain 2009:55). However, Trudgill (1986:75) suggests that, in the case of /r/, the dialect variant is retained because "'the r-ful pronunciation… becomes a local dialect symbol, and the use of that pronunciation a way of indicating dialect and local loyalty". As with the non-standard variants in Belfast explained above, the presence of /r/ becomes a marker of local pride and solidarity within the community. Even though there may be stigma attached to it

in the eyes of outsiders, the local and social values attached to the variant within the community are more important than overt prestige from non-locals.

A similar situation has been reported amongst young people in Lerwick in the Shetland Islands (Smith and Durham 2011, 2012), where some younger speakers show a very high usage of certain traditional variants, such as the word *yon* for Standard English *that*, even expanding their use into contexts where they were not previously found. On the other hand, others of the same generation are following a more expected pattern of loss of these variants through dialect levelling, instead tending to use Standard Scottish English. Thus, there is a stark disparity between two groups amongst the younger generation, meaning there is heterogeneity of dialect usage amongst speakers of the same age. The reasons behind this are not immediately clear: there is no obvious division along lines of gender, social class, or parents' background – all the young speakers' parents used local dialect, whether their children did or not. It is unclear whether this is the "last gasp" described by Britain – what Smith and Durham term in the title of their 2011 paper a "tipping point in dialect obsolescence" – or evidence of a bidialectism of a "generation of choice" (Anderson 2011, cited in Smith and Durham 2012): those with access to both traditional dialect, and a standard form, which they can choose to use appropriate to the situation. Whether this bidialectalism will persist into future generations remains to be seen, but some of the current young generation of Lerwick people appear to feel it important to hang onto this aspect of their Shetland heritage and use their language to show their Lerwick background and pride. Once again, we can see that, despite outside pressures, dialect usage can persist, sometimes to an unexpected degree, due to particular meaning and significance placed on the use of dialect by the users themselves.

2.11Towards new dialect formation - supralocalisation

These examples show a range of outcomes that can happen in situations associated with dialect levelling and language change – the process is not a unidirectional force erasing all variation in its path: the results of levelling are uneven, situation-dependent and do not necessarily lead to a homogenous speech community. But if levelling is happening, and traditional variants are disappearing, what is coming to replace them? We saw above in the Lerwick example that the young people who do not use local variants tend to instead use the Standard Scottish English equivalents, but it is certainly not always the case that a standard variant is replacing the localised dialect form. Often, as we have seen in, for example, Belfast, a standard variant may be associated with authority or hegemony in some communities and so is unlikely to be evaluated favourably enough to be adopted by the majority of speakers. Instead, levelling may lead to the streamlining of local dialect in favour of one particular variant that may be found locally, but also has currency over a wider area. This has been termed *supralocalisation* (Milroy *et al* 1994, Britain 2010). Watt (2002) explains how this process seems to be taking place in Newcastle in north-east England with regard to the vowels referred to by Wells (1982) as the FACE and GOAT lexical sets. Watt found that usage of traditional Newcastle opening diphthong variants of these vowels ([ɪə] in FACE and [ʊə] in GOAT) showed a sharp decline between older and younger generations. But, although some young speakers, particularly from the middle classes, were beginning to variably use RP-like diphthongs [eɪ] in FACE and [oʊ] in GOAT, the majority variant used by the younger generation was a monophthongal [e:] in FACE and [o:] in GOAT. This variant is found in many other northern British accents,

including those of Yorkshire, and Watt suggests the possibility that this is a sign of a developing north-eastern regional standard, or even a "General Northern British English" (2002:58). Again, as we saw in Belfast, variants associated with standardisation are likely to be viewed unfavourably by the traditionally working class communities of Newcastle, but moreover, in the north of England, variants associated with the south are unlikely to be adopted, as Watt(2002:55-56) explains:

> Many Tynesiders view RP very negatively: resentment against any perceived form of 'southern hegemony' (Beal 1999) and 'centralised aggression' (Griffiths 1999:44) pervades Tyneside society… In many ways the rise of a distinct north-eastern identity… seems based as much on a reaction to the marginalisation and suppression of north-eastern interests by the south-eastern establishment as it is on a shared set of traditions and values in the region, and thus it might be predicted that incoming speech forms are more likely to be rejected if perceived as 'southern' than forms perceived to originate elsewhere

Furthermore, Watt shows that another variant of the GOAT vowel, a fronted monophthongal [ɵ:], is also increasing in use, particularly amongst young middle class men. He hypothesises that this fronted variant is being used to symbolise locality, but in a 'modern' way, without the old-fashioned and perhaps inward-looking associations of the older dialect variants. Again, the [ɵ:] variant is also found elsewhere in the north, being particularly associated with Hull and, increasingly, further west in Yorkshire in Bradford (see Watt and Tillotson 2001). As a fronted GOAT variant was also previously found in the rural areas surrounding Newcastle, Watt is uncertain whether this is an example of repurposing an older variant to emphasise local loyalty, in a similar way to that found by Labov (1963) in Martha's Vineyard and, to an extent, the younger Lerwick speakers mentioned above, or whether it is part of a levelling trend in the same way as the back monophthong variant: a supralocal variant, coming to be favoured across a region and edging out more localised variants.

However, if this were the case, the fronted GOAT variant is showing different patterns of usage in different regions: Watt and Tillotson (2001) found that, in Bradford, it was most common among younger female speakers. In Sheffield, too, Finnegan (2011) found the most usage of the fronted variant from female speakers. Furthermore, in Bradford it appears that, at the time of Watt and Tillotson's research at least, there was no reported awareness of GOAT-fronting as a Bradford phenomenon, it being instead very heavily associated with the East Riding (Watt and Tillotson 2001:228). This indicates that, to the Bradford speakers (and likely to other Yorkshire speakers also), GOAT-fronting has a purely geographic significance, and lacks any overt social indexicality.

Similarly, further work in Hull (Williams and Kerswill 1999) explores why some changes may be adopted quickly, while resistance is shown towards others. They compared the speech of young people in the Yorkshire city of Hull, with that of similar cohorts in Milton Keynes and Reading in the south of England. They found that "the accents of Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull are converging in both inventory and realisations. Yet there are still marked differences between them, especially, of course, when we compare Hull with the southern towns" (Williams and Kerswill 1999:149). Their study examined several variables, including some rapidly-spreading features that have been widely examined in recent years: TH-fronting, whereby [θ] and [ð] are replaced by [f] and [v] in words like *thick* and *brother*; t-glottalling, where intervocalic [t] is replaced by [ʔ]; and h-dropping, a feature commonly and traditionally found in many non-standard accents of English. They found that new variants such as TH-fronting and T-glottalling were being adopted by young speakers in all three cities, but while h-dropping was decreasing in the southern locations, younger speakers in Hull used it just as much as the older generation. H-retention is,

unlike TH-fronting and t-glottalling, a feature of RP and thus associated with standardisation and an undesirable 'poshness' (Williams and Kerswill 1999:158): as in Belfast, the authors attribute this to the close-knit working class communities of Hull, leading to linguistic conservatism – at least in some respects. However, as they found, some new variants are being adopted, and they suggest that this is because these new non-standard variants are associated with youth, and even though they may be linked with a southern origin, through the use of such features "the young Hull speakers are able to signal their identification with the peer group and youth culture, while at the same time retaining their strong links with both their social class and their region of origin" (Williams and Kerswill 1999: 162). They also suggest the possibility that these features are not as salient as, for example, the vowels of STRUT or BATH, meaning that a northern speaker can adopt southern non-standard features without compromising their sense of northern identity.

Williams and Kerswill also draw attention to the differing economic situations of the cities, with Hull having higher levels of deprivation, unemployment, and lack of opportunities. This, they say, can influence young people's decisions on language use, with the pressure towards standardisation present in education having "little impact on children who remain unconvinced of the value of education as a passport to social mobility and have little incentive to modify their accents" (Williams and Kerswill 1999: 160). But is social mobility enough incentive to modify one's accent towards a more southern-like standard for a northern person? Across the north of England, middle class speakers are sometimes reluctant to admit to their socio-economic status, as found by Burbano Elizondo (2008) in Sunderland: being seen as middle class is undesirable to some northern speakers, even by the middle

classes. Furthermore, there is evidence from other Yorkshire cities that speakers choose to retain Yorkshire variants, no matter what their socio-economic background: Stoddart *et al* (1999:85) report that "There appears to be a strong tradition of retaining the main features of local phonology on the part of those living and working in the city, even among professionals in the middle classes." They describe the case of a female speaker from a working class background who made a transition to a middle class occupation and social status, but her language use changed towards standard "only to a limited extent" (Stoddart *et al* 1999: 85). Although the authors did find a decline in use of other dialect features, such as lexicon and morphosyntax, they discovered that "the dialect of Sheffield appears to have experienced comparatively limited change over the past half-century" (Stoddart *et al* 1999: 78). Again, as seen above, they cite strong social and family network ties that lend stability to the language situation and maintain local norms. Some speakers reported maintaining their Sheffield accents even if they moved away from the city, suggesting a local pride in being associated with the city; however, others did not believe this would be the case, again suggesting a further layer of complexity in the language attitudes and meanings as they are understood by individual speakers.

Even in the more affluent Yorkshire city of York there is evidence that speakers continue to use Yorkshire variants. Studying the GOAT, FACE and GOOSE vowels, Haddican *et al* (2013) found a significant correlation between favourable feelings towards York, and high levels of usage of the monophthongal Yorkshire variants [o:] and [e:] in GOAT and FACE. This seems a rather intuitive link, but it suggests that many speakers associate those vowels specifically with York and Yorkshireness: the meaning is geographical, rather than social. However, a small number of speakers did link the usage of

traditional variants with “chav speech” (Haddican *et al* 2013:385) – chavs being a derogatory term used to apply to people who wear cheap or tacky clothing and gaudy accessories, and who may engage in anti-social behaviour such as vandalism, street-drinking and intimidation. ‘Chav’ is a very undesirable label, and none of Haddican *et al*’s speakers self-identified as a chav, even if they used local dialect variants: this, they argue, shows the different meanings attached to the same variants by different members of the same community.

2.12A pan-Yorkshire variety?

Now we have seen some of the ways in which language change through dialect levelling is happening, alongside some reasons why it may be resisted, what is this likely to mean for Yorkshire? We have already seen evidence from some Yorkshire communities, in York, Hull, Sheffield and Bradford, that suggests dialect levelling is happening, but not necessarily in the direction of standard, and not at the expense of all traditional variants traditionally found in Yorkshire. This perhaps indicates that conditions are favourable for the development of a ‘pan-Yorkshire’ variety, such as Watt suggests is developing in the north-east. This would be suggested by a loss of intra-Yorkshire variation, with a move towards majority variants found across the region. However, as we saw earlier in this chapter from Finnegan’s (2011) work, the attitudes of speakers may be unfavourable to such a development. This kind of study has not been carried out in Yorkshire before: the last intensive collection of data from across the region was the SED, over sixty years ago now. There is a lack of studies of supralocalisation in general, as Britain (2011:48) states:

> Supralocalisation is less well evidenced. A robust demonstration of it would require real or apparent-time analysis of data from a number of

> locations all within the same apparent dialect region, with all demonstrating convergence away from locally-restricted dialect forms and towards the common adoption of some feature already enjoying a wide geographical currency.

With the Millennium Memory Bank, we have an opportunity to do exactly this in Yorkshire (and, indeed, other dialect regions). Observing differences between locations within Yorkshire at an earlier point in time, then a lessening of those differences at a point in time years later, would constitute strong evidence of supralocalisation in the region.

2.13 Chapter summary

In this chapter I have introduced information about the history of dialect study in Yorkshire, including previous studies in the region which will be referred to throughout this thesis. I have also explained mechanisms involved in language change, and discussed how they relate to Yorkshire. I have also explored some reasons why language in Yorkshire may be resistant to change. Finally, I introduced the possibility of the formation of a supralocal 'pan-Yorkshire' variety, and described how this can be investigated using the Millennium Memory Bank.

In the next chapter, I move on to explain the MMB in more detail, before introducing the speakers and outlining the methodology used in this study.

Chapter 3 - Methodology

3.1 Chapter overview

In this chapter I begin by discussing the Millennium Memory Bank and the data contained within it. I then examine some other similar oral history resources and the precedent for their use in linguistic study.

I then go on to explain the process that I went through in selecting the speakers used in this study, and the variables examined. I also give some details of the speakers and their backgrounds.

Finally, I explain the methodology used in the project, including the use of the Praat program for acoustic analysis, and how I have presented the data in my results.

3.2 The Millennium Memory Bank (MMB)

The MMB itself was a project conceived by the British Library National Sound Archive and the BBC, which eventually became a collaborative effort between the two. Both organisations wished to create “a ‘snapshot’ of Britain at the turn of the millennium” (Perks 2001:95), and in 1997 they decided to bring their ideas together. The result was the collection of almost 5500 interviews by almost forty BBC local radio stations across the United Kingdom. Each radio station contributed an average of 136 recordings, most of them over an hour, and some much longer. In total, the MMB is made up of around 10000 hours of recordings. This resulted in a huge wealth of spoken data.

The interviews focussed largely on the life stories of ordinary people. The creators were keen to not just include the recollections of older people, but the thoughts and experiences of people of all ages and from a wide range of backgrounds. The interviewees range from primary school children to

centenarians, and include lottery winners, entrepreneurs, aristocrats, MPs, bishops, holocaust survivors, housewives, farmers, spiritual healers, actors, film directors and even prison inmates. Participants were invited to get involved through on-air appeals, local television and press, and other local publicity. The interviews were often carried out in the participants' homes, and the interviewers were given some basic training in oral history interview techniques; they were encouraged to let the interviewers speak for as long as they liked, giving prompts only to stimulate further discussion. With a bank of sixteen topics to ask about, the interviews were usually very free-ranging and the interviewees were encouraged to give opinions and share experiences that were perhaps under-represented in previous oral history work. Thus, many of the interviews contain highly personal stories and some are very emotional. The focus is very much a personal one, and a local one.

The interviews were eventually made by each BBC local radio station into a series of programmes broadcast at the end of 1999 – there were 640 of these programmes, and these were compiled into eight programmes broadcast on BBC Radio 4 the following year. Rob Perks, one of the original creators of the project, describes it as "an experiment" (Perks 2001:104), and he emphasises how the intention to archive the interviews at the British Library National Sound Archive led to the more relaxed interview style, and the recording of more detailed stories.

Although there is a great range of speakers represented within the collection, their differences can make it hard to isolate a suitable sample of individuals for comparison. For example, trying to find speakers of the same sex, of a similar age, with similar backgrounds, in many different locations is extremely challenging. The speakers were not selected using a methodical

sampling approach; thus, certain areas are entirely unrepresented and, particularly in rural areas, the locations represented are included by chance, rather than design.

The sheer size of the MMB works both for and against it. On the one hand, the quantity of lengthy interview data, with usually excellent sound quality, gives great opportunity for a number of avenues of linguistic research. On the other hand, the data at present is in a completely raw format, only easily searchable by the name of the BBC local radio station covering an area. There is variable catalogue information, no system of tagging and incomplete transcription. Even the data itself is not easily accessible - the collection is held on minidisc at the British Library Sound Archive, and the copyright is controlled by the BBC, so obtaining data to work with can be a tricky process. However, as a linguistic resource the volume of data such as that contained in the MMBmakes it a very rich resource.

3.3 Similar studies: the use of oral history in linguistic research

There is precedent for compiling such a corpus from oral history recordings, as in the Freiburg English Dialect Corpus (FRED) and the Origins of New Zealand English corpus (ONZE). The FRED corpus was built from oral history interviews from around Britain in order to investigate features of traditional dialects that had previously not been subject to in-depth study. Anderwald and Wagner (2007:35) explain that “Features of syntax… are much rarer than features of phonetics and phonology and very large quantities of text are therefore necessary”. Thus, the long monologue style of oral history interviews gives a large volume of data for this kind of study. Previous studies, such as the Survey of English dialects, give detailed records of lexis and

pronunciation, but they do not offer as much insight into grammar and syntax. Recordings were made of some SED speakers, but these tend to be short, and even the incidental material only records isolated sentences, not extended speech. Hence, researchers in Freiburg began to compile a collection of traditional dialect data that could be used to study low-frequency speech features. They realised it would be an extremely lengthy process to record their own interviews, so they decided to mine a rich resource already in existence: oral history interviews. The interviews that make up the FRED corpus were recorded between 1968 and 1999. The oldest speaker was born in 1877, and 89% of the speakers were born before 1920 (Anderwald and Wagner 2007:44). In this way FRED differs from the MMB, which was recorded over a period of less than two years. The fact that the MMB only contains recordings made at one moment in time could be an issue for linguistic research, as it does lead to the possibility of age-grading; perhaps the younger speakers, if they differ from the older ones, are displaying linguistic behaviour typical of their age group and thus may change over time as they grow older. However, the MMB contains so much data that it offers the opportunity to trace patterns amongst groups of speakers of all ages.

All the speakers in FRED were selected because they are “traditional dialect” speakers – Anderwald and Wagner stress that “FRED is not designed to be a representative sociolinguistic corpus, but a regionally representative corpus of dialect speech that is as broad as possible” (2007:41). This is again very different to the MMB, which can be described as a ‘time-capsule’ (to borrow a phrase from Allen *et al* [2007]), both linguistic and otherwise. It provides a snapshot of many people of many ages and from many different walks of life, giving us a picture of the range of people – and accents – present

in Britain at the time of its recording. Thus the MMB gives us the opportunity to make apparent-time comparisons between older and younger speakers, and also between speakers of any generation across regional boundaries. The latter is also the major advantage of FRED: for example, an early project using FRED focussed on the use of ‘gendered’ pronouns across several counties in south-west England (Wagner 2005), showing results that seemed to go against previous assumptions. This shows that there is indeed a gap to be filled by corpora like FRED that span a wide geographic area, and further research may well be able to build on these surprising new findings and cause a re-evaluation. Furthermore, just because another corpus made up of oral history recordings has not been used primarily for phonological study, does not mean that this is impossible. Of course, as Anderwald and Wagner point out, such large quantities of data are not *necessary* for such study, but smaller excerpts of lengthy speech passages can be easily accessed and used for this purpose, and this is the method I used with the MMB during this project.

The ONZE corpus covers an even greater timespan than FRED, containing recordings of interviewees born from the 1850s to the 1980s (Gordon *et al* 2007:82) and designed with the aim of "trac[ing] the development of the New Zealand accent" (Gordon *et al* 2007:99). Thus, ONZE is actually made up of some oral history recordings made of elderly speakers in the 1940s; some recordings, again from an oral history perspective, made between the 1960s and the 1990s; and some recordings collected from 1994 onwards, of younger and middle aged speakers. The corpus tracks the development of the New Zealand accent in real time, and as such is different to both the MMB, which was recorded over a period of only two years but contains speakers of all ages, and to FRED, which, although recorded over a number of decades, contains

speakers of one particular ‘type’. Gordon *et al* explain that “all the initial analyses were phonetic/phonological” (2007:99), and extensive use has been made of auditory and acoustic analyses to track the development of several variables so far. The researchers initially considered the possibility of conducting a grammatical study as well, but found that finding sufficient examples to make a decent analysis was too time-consuming, although they do not rule out potential for future study in that area. The initial analyses carried out using ONZE seem more similar to my project using the MMB than the work carried out using FRED: the researchers carried out an initial auditory perceptual analysis to gain an overview of a large number of the speakers, before conducting more detailed acoustic analysis, using programs such as Praat on the speech of a smaller number of speakers whose accent was perceived by the researchers to be “typical”. Taking my example from the ONZE team, this is how I proceeded in my analysis of speakers in the MMB.

The MMB also has advantages over corpora such as ONZE and FRED in that, even though the interviews are oral history based, the focus is not always on the past. Anderwald and Wagner(2007:47) point out that FRED is not particularly suitable for “any investigation into the present tense, as the data typically yield too few examples to make a regional comparison reliable”. In the MMB, however, informants were frequently asked for their opinions on current situations and even the future, so it is possible that it could also prove a useful resource for researchers studying features of tenses other than the past. However, one thing that FRED and ONZE have in common that the MMB does not, is that the data in each have been compiled into actual corpora. The MMB, in its current state, is simply a huge collection of audio files, with varying levels of catalogue records. Some recordings have quite detailed content notes, and

biographical notes including the speaker's occupation, level of education, plus their parents' occupations. Other speakers have none of these details recorded. In ONZE, however, it is apparently "now relatively straightforward to listen to all examples of a particular word throughout the entire ONZE corpus" (2007:101). The corpus has been transcribed and these transcriptions have been aligned with the sound files so researchers can search for what they want to find and listen to it quite easily. To do similar with the files of the MMB would make them much more accessible for researchers.

3.4 Selecting the files for study

Initially, I listened to at least a short portion ofevery file from the Yorkshire area at the British Library. These were recorded by the BBC local radio stations based in Leeds, Sheffield, York and Humberside, and totalled around 600 files. The four stations contributed roughly equal numbers of speakers, although one box of minidiscs from the York set could not be located, and so there were twenty speakers that I was unable to listen to. Some of the recordings were of groups of speakers, or several speakers in succession; some speakers were recorded on multiple minidiscs. Most of the interviews were around an hour long, though some were shorter and many were longer.

In choosing which files to use in my study, the first step I took was to eliminate any unplayable or duplicate files, and any interviews for which there was insufficient biographical data to use the interviews effectively: that is, I removed any interview for which no date or place of birth was listed. Interviewees were not required to provide much personal information at all: when the material was catalogued for the British Library Sound Archive there were certain compulsory fields, although this seems to have been more for

reference purposes than a reflection of the actual information given by the participants – indeed, there are some interviews that are entirely anonymous. In the Millennium Memory Bank project, it was the recording of stories and experiences that was the most important aim, and if informants wished their identity to not be recorded, this was not a problem for the purposes of the project.

There are also a number of files for which no sex is listed – these are mainly files containing interviews with multiple speakers, often schoolchildren. I also removed all of these – unfortunately diminishing the BBC Radio York set, which included two recordings with mixed groups of children.

My next step was to remove from the pool all interviews with people who had been brought up outside Yorkshire, or who spoke RP. This was simply because my study focuses on Yorkshire features, their distribution and use.

With these speakers removed, I was left with less than half the original total number, although this still left me over 250 possible candidates. There were more male speakers (57% of the total) than female, which is broadly in line with the MMB overall, where almost 56% are male. Of course, because it is an oral history collection, most of the speakers in the MMB are over the age of 50, with much fewer speakers under the age of 30.

As described in the previous chapter, some previous studies (eg Petyt 1985, Stoddart *et al* 1999) conducted in Yorkshire utilise the SED as a point of comparison, and the MMB data seems to also lend itself well to this approach, with its wide geographical coverage and high number of elderly speakers. The MMB data could be utilised in order to carry out a similar comparison in other areas of Yorkshire, with the final results being able to show whether change is

occurring in similar ways and directions, and at similar rates, across the region, or whether there are different trends in different areas.

In order to do this, I decided, like Stoddart *et al*, to employ a generational comparison within the MMB, as well as a comparison with the SED. This meant selecting two sets of speakers, one older, one younger. As described above, there are considerably fewer younger speakers, and so although the initial intention was to find speakers of roughly a generation younger than the SED speakers (born around 1920-1930) and then a generation younger again (born around 1960), this was in fact not possible due to the speaker distribution in the MMB. Thus, the scope of the age of informants was broadened, with World War II used as a boundary between the two generations. The war had an enormous effect on social conditions within the UK: not only were lives disrupted and families uprooted, with many forced to move from areas where their families may have lived for many years, but following the war, the British way of life began to change dramatically. Tagliamonte (2013:41) says of her work on the York English Corpus "In virtually all the research studies that have been conducted on the corpus, I have found that the Second World War is a distinct watershed in the community." If this effect was felt so strongly in York, a city less affected by the physical effects of the war than its more industrial neighbours in Yorkshire, it seems likely that the same feeling will exist in other areas too.

Finding enough speakers of both sexes of comparable ages in the same locations within the MMB was very difficult. For this reason I decided to select only male speakers from the MMB for my study. While this does allow me to compare strictly like with like, as the majority of the speakers in the SED were also male, it does eliminate the possibility of comparison between male and

female speakers within the MMB. This is perhaps an avenue that could be explored in future studies, possibly conducted on a smaller geographic scale.

Although the MMB covers the whole of Yorkshire, and there are speakers from many different settlements, many of the smaller settlements are represented by perhaps only one or two speakers, and – because of the relatively low number of younger generation speakers – it is particularly difficult to find older and younger speakers in the same locations, especially those with small populations. Additionally, while at the time of the SED, the focus in dialectology was on capturing rural dialects because they were seen as the 'purest' form of traditional speech, today, the focus of dialect study and sociolinguistics tends to be on urban areas. Thus, I decided that focussing on the major cities of Yorkshire (York in North Yorkshire, Leeds in West Yorkshire, Hull in the East Riding, and Sheffield in South Yorkshire) was likely to prove the most productive avenue of study. Unfortunately, due to the number of missing files and also the wide geographic spread of the speakers in the BBC Radio York set, there were not enough suitable speakers from the city of York to provide a comparable sample. Thus, this study focusses only on Leeds, Hull and Sheffield. Leeds and Sheffield are included in the SED; however, Hull is not. The nearest SED location to Hull is the village of Newbald, approximately 13 miles north-west of the city. In my analysis of the SED data, therefore, I focus on the responses recorded for this location.

With these conditions in place, the potential pool of speakers was greatly reduced. The older speakers eventually selected were what Stoddart *et al* (1999:79) term "NOUMs" – non-mobile, older, urban males (as opposed to the rural NORMs surveyed in the SED). They were speakers who had lived and worked in the local area all their lives (with the possible exception of military

service), in traditional working class occupations such as mining, docking, manufacturing and steelwork. The younger generation of speakers had more varied backgrounds: several were unemployed, but others worked in the service industry, in hotels or shops: that is, in modern working class occupations.

The table below presents my final selection of speakers, their ages and locations of birth.

Table 3.1 MMB speakers selected for use in this study

Name	**Age**	**Location**
OLEEDS1	69	Leeds
OLEEDS2	90	
YLEEDS1	42	
YLEEDS2	41	
OHULL1	69	Hull
OHULL2	73	
YHULL1	33	
YHULL2	29	
OSHEFF1	66	Sheffield
OSHEFF2	81	
YSHEFF1	37	
YSHEFF2	33	

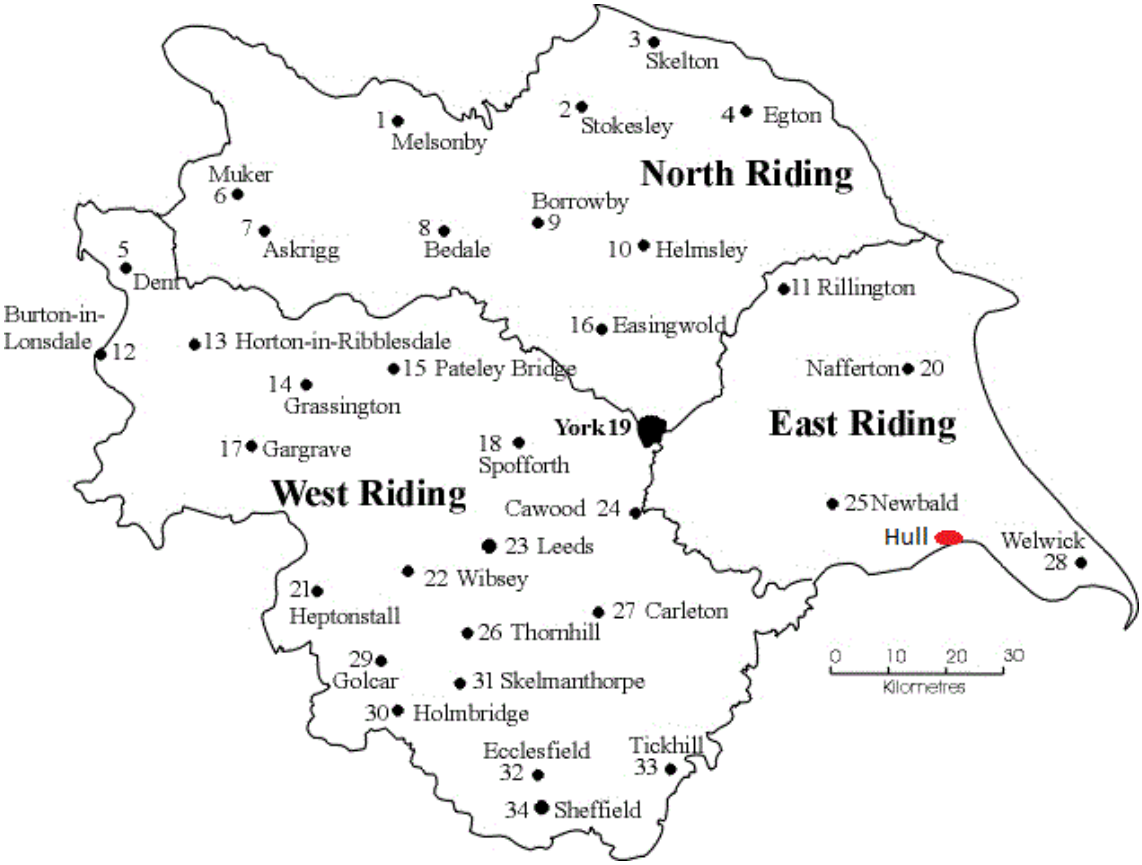
Table 3.2 below presents the same information for the speakers from each SED location. Not all the SED speakers answered each question: the sections (in 'Books' numbered from I-IX) answered by each speaker are noted in the table.

Table 3.2 SED speakers selected for use in this study

Name	**Age**	**SED questions answered**	**Location**
TC	78	Books IV, V, VII-VIII.1.1-6.6	Y23 Leeds (NB Books I-III were omitted in this location)
SP	76	Books VI, IX.1.1-3.10	
AG	76	Books VIII.7.1-end, IX.4.1-end	
SH	63	Books I, IV.1.1-6.22	Y25 Newbald
TB	83	Books II-III	
GB	87	Books IV.7.1-end, VII-VIII	
WM	69	Books V-VI, IX	
WSS	64	Books I-IX	Y34 Sheffield

Map 3.1 below shows the locations used in this study. SED locations Y23 Leeds and Y34 Sheffield were used in both the SED and MMB analysis; SED location

Y25 Newbald was matched with the MMB location of Hull, marked on Map 3.1 in red.



Map 3.1 SED location map showing locations used in this study, including Hull

3.5 The MMB Speakers

Here I offer a brief outline of the background of each speaker selected from the MMB.

OHULL1 (MMB file no. C900/07009)

Born in Hull in 1930, OHULL1 is a former docker and trade union shop steward. He also served in the navy for a period. His father was also involved in dock work, as a lighterman operating a cargo barge, and he describes his upbringing in a terraced house as relatively well-off for the period, with his family owning a piano and being the first in the street to own a wireless set.

OHULL2 (MMB file no. C900/07019)

OHULL2 was born in Hull in 1926, but lived in Withernsea, an east coast resort village about 18 miles away from Hull, for much of his adult life. Like OHULL1, he also worked on the docks, as an engineer. His father worked in the fishing industry and his mother was a housewife.

OLEEDS1 (MMB file no. C900/08626)

OLEEDS1 was born in the Hunslet area of Leeds in 1930, and as a child split his time between his parents' home and his grandmother's nearby. He worked as an engineer after studying at technical college, and spent a short time overseas in the army. He talks about taking a European holiday in the early 1950s, indicating that he had achieved relative affluence by early in his career, from humble beginnings.

OLEEDS2 (MMB file no. C900/08522)

OLEEDS2 was born in the Oulton area of Leeds in 1908, one of twelve children. He describes his life as a member of a large family as poor, but happy and always provided for. He worked in the local mine as an engineer and then mine inspector, before becoming a local councillor, then a Labour MP, representing the West Yorkshire constituency of Normanton for 30 years.

OSHEFF1 (MMB file no. C900/14566)

Born in 1933 and raised around the Nether Edge area of Sheffield, OSHEFF1 was a scissor manufacturer, as was his father before him. He passed the 11 plus exam to go to grammar school, but left at 14 due to a period of illness. After apprenticeship in the cutlery trade and spending time in the forces, he entered the scissor trade and eventually became self-employed, before semi-retiring shortly before the time of the interview.

OSHEFF2 (MMB file no. C900/14633-4)

OSHEFF2 was born in 1918 and brought up in the Pitsmoor and Southey areas of Sheffield. He gives the impression of an area that was rather deprived and home to some “rogues”, and says he was looked down on in school for being a council tenant. He left school at 14 and initially became a farmworker, before moving into the steel industry.He workedfor the same firm for 44 years, until being made redundant at the age of 63.

YHULL1 (MMB file no. C900/07040)

YHULL1 was born in 1960 and brought up in Hull, moving between the city and Withernsea with his family until he was 14. His father was from a Romany gypsy family, and the first in his family to settle in a house. He describes his childhood as relatively privileged on a private estate, but he got involved in anti-social behaviour and delinquency, which he attributes to boredom. He spent time in jail and was determined to avoid crime again, becoming a mobile shopkeeper. However, at the time of interview, he was again in prison.

YHULL2 (MMB file no. C900/07101)

YHULL2 was born in Hull in 1971 and describes a turbulent upbringing in an environment of domestic abuse and delinquency. He has never worked, instead surviving through crime, for which he has spent time in jail. At the time of interview he was technically homeless, having lived in hostels and B&Bs since the age of 15.

YLEEDS1 (MMB file no. C900/08626)

YLEEDS1 is the son of OLEEDS1 and was born in 1957. He was brought up in the Beeston area of Leeds in what his father describes as a middle class area at that time. He gives few details about his adult life, although he briefly mentions working in a school, but his childhood was evidently economically

secure, stable and comfortable, and the knowledge he displays in his interview suggests a high level of education.

YLEEDS2 (MMB file no. C900/08582)

YLEEDS2 was born in 1958 in Leeds into a large family, and after leaving school and working as an apprentice upholsterer, became a professional footballer for a short period. However, this did not work out, causing a rift between himself and his family, and he spent time travelling in Europe and America, including getting in minor trouble with the law. At the time of interview he was a mature student and single parent living in Leeds.

YSHEFF1 (MMB file no. C900/14566)

YSHEFF1 is the son of OSHEFF1, born in 1964 in Sheffield. He attended school until the age of 18, attaining A-levels and a diploma from college, and joined his father's scissor making business for a period. Dissatisfied with this traditional occupation, which he describes as "boring", he spent some months out of employment before joining a government scheme and beginning work at a hotel chain. He worked his way up, and at the time of interview, was a front of house manager at a hotel in Manchester, though he was still resident in Sheffield, in the High Green area.

YSHEFF2 (MMB file no. C900/14513 and 14632)

YSHEFF2 was born in Sheffield in 1966 and talks extensively about his experience of living in different council flats in the city. He has lived with various mental health problems, meaning he has not worked for many years, and he talks about living with poverty – including feeling forced to shoplift to live decently. His two interviews are conducted before and after he moves from a deprived social housing estate to a more affluent one, and he discusses the differences in the residents, community, expectations and atmosphere in the

different locations, saying he feels perceived much more positively just because of his change of address.

The speakers are all from broadly working class backgrounds, and this seems likely to be a factor in their speech: as discussed above in section 2.9, class identity and the social values associated with it may have a strong influence on the variants people choose in constructing and expressing an identity through their speech.

3.6Selecting the variables

Two vowels were selected for study in this project. In Haigh (2008), I compared the use of two Yorkshire variables in Leeds and Sheffield, one of which was the vowel denoted by the keyword GOAT (Wells 1982). This variable has been the subject of much study, both in Yorkshire and in other areas of Britain: Cheshire *et al* (1999), Watt and Tillotson (2001), Finnegan (2011) and Haddican *et al* (2013) all examine the variable in various Yorkshire locations, while Watt (1999, 2000, 2002) discusses it in relation to Tyneside and the north-east of England. Torgersen and Kerswill (2004) study it in several locations in south-east England, and Cheshire *et al* (2011) examine it in modern Multicultural London English. It is clear that this vowel is of great interest to linguists in many English-speaking areas, and after obtaining suggestive results in my 2008 study, I decided to include it in my study in order to further the understanding of the role this vowel may play in language change in Yorkshire.

In contrast to the much-studied GOAT vowel, I decided to also include in my study a vowel that has not been the subject of as much attention: the vowel denoted by Wells (1982) as the PRICE vowel. It seems that this vowel shows some interesting variation across Yorkshire, with it following a distinctive pattern

in Hull and the eastern part of the region. In this area, the vowel has two distinct allophones: before voiceless consonants as in the word PRICE, it is pronounced as a diphthong; and before voiced consonants as in the word PRIDE, before vowels as in the word *fire*,or before zero as in the word *sky*, it takes a monophthongal pronunciation. This is described in the SED, as well as Williams and Kerswill (1999), and Cheshire *et al* (1999), who found this split only in the speech of working class speakers. The phenomenon is explored in more detail in Chapter 4 below. It is not found elsewhere in Yorkshire, although Wells (1982:358) describes the PRICE vowel as being "variably (?) monophthongal" throughout the region; however, it seems that little detailed study of this vowel has been undertaken in Yorkshire. There is apparently variation, but the exact conditions of how the vowel varies are not currently clear. Using the MMB data, I explore this variation in the different locations used in this study.

3.7Methods of analysis

3.7.1 The SED

The SED data was compiled from the Basic Materials, and is presented in tables in Chapter 4 below. Every token of each variable is noted, and the pronunciation recorded. By reference to Anderson (1987), these pronunciations were traced to the underlying phoneme, and their history is briefly noted. Comparisons are made between the three locations, with reference to historical language boundaries within Yorkshire.

Following this, details of intermediate and contemporary studies of the variants are also explained, and these are compared with, and referred to in light of, the SED and MMB data.

3.7.2 The MMB

In order to obtain an objective and fine-grained analysis of the variables, both auditory and acoustic analyses were performed. Following the practice used in the ONZE study, as described earlier in this chapter, I initially performed auditory analysis by closely listening to the data and recording IPA transcriptions of the quality of the vowels used by the speakers. I then performed acoustic analysis in order to further substantiate the conclusions drawn from my auditory analysis. Acoustic analysis makes use of computer technology to more accurately record and show values for individual vowel tokens. Watt and Tillotson (1999:210) explain the practice as being used

> to reduce individual vowel sounds to a pair of figures representing the frequencies in Hertz of the two lowest formants, which are conventionally labelled F_1 and F_2 (Fry 1979: 75-81)… Formants contain most energy during sonorant sounds such as vowels, and the frequencies of F_1 and F_2 relative to one another are thought to provide the human speech perception system with the cues necessary for the recognition of individual vowel qualities.

Thus, the F1 and F2 values obtained through acoustic analysis can be used to display the position of the vowels produced by a speaker within their own vowel space.

In this study, for each variable, 30 tokens were used per speaker. This is in line with other studies cited above, such as Cheshire *et al* (1999:5), who analysed 20-30 tokens per speaker, and Finnegan (2011) who analysed 30 tokens per speaker. Thomas (2011:159) states that

> For studies in which speakers' entire vowel inventories are mapped, some authorities recommend measuring at least 20 tokens of each vowel. However, I've found that measuring as few as seven to ten is adequate if atypical or outlier tokens were excluded.

However, Milroy and Gordon (2003:164), citing Guy (1980), state that "*N* = 30 is an important dividing line in statistics generally between large and small

samples". They go on to explain that using more than 10 tokens reduces the risk of random fluctuations and has around a 90% conformity with expected norms, and this conformity rises to 100% with the use of 35 tokens. Bearing this and the nature of the MMB files in mind, 30 tokens were selected for each variable from each speaker. Additionally, 20 tokens each of the vowels FLEECE, GOOSE and TRAP were also recorded, in order to show the highest and lowest points of the vowel space, and orient the variables within it. These vowel points are often used as part of the process of normalisation. Thomas (2011:161) explains that, in the field of sociolinguistics, the primary goals of normalisation are:

1. eliminating variation caused by physiological differences among speakers (i.e. differences in vocal tract lengths);
2. preserving sociolinguistic/dialectal/cross-linguistic differences in vowel quality

However, normalisation was not felt to be necessary in this study, for the following reasons. The speakers sampled are all male adults, and therefore there is likely to be less difference in vowel quality than would be found between, for example, male and female speakers, or adults and adolescents. Additionally, absolute values of vowel formants are not compared between speakers in this study: formant plots for each speaker are presented separately, with FLEECE, GOOSE and TRAP vowels used to demonstrate how the GOAT and PRICE vowels are positioned relative to each individual speaker's vowel space. With the variables studied here, it is likely that the presence of diphthongisation and monophthongisation will be key elements in my analysis, and normalisation was not felt to be necessary in order to observe movement in vowel quality.

The vowel tokens were isolated and labelled using Praat software. Figure 3.1 below shows a screenshot taken from Praat of the word *go*with the vowel highlighted. The grey middle section represents the spectrographic analysis: the

dark bands show where vocalisation occurs. The formant values are represented with sequences of dots within the spectrogram: F1 and F2 are shown by the bottom two dot sequences.

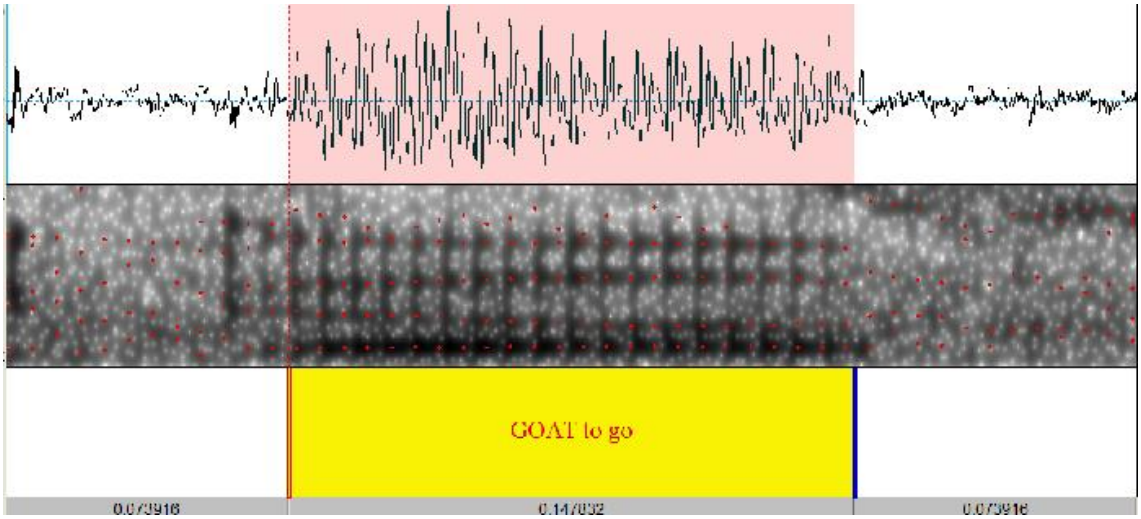


Figure 3.1 Spectrogram taken from Praat software

F1 and F2 values were recorded at 25%, 50% and 75% of each vowel token, again as suggested by Thomas (2011:151-152). These were measured using an automated Praat script. The percentage approach was chosen because the vowel tokens varied greatly in length: Thomas (2011:152) states that

> Use of a specified percentage eliminates the problem of not being able to measure tokens with especially short durations. But there is a tradeoff. The amount of coarticulation with neighbouring segments that is reflected in the measurements can vary tremendously from one token to another because the length (in ms) from onset and from offset will vary depending on the length of the entire vowel.

As a way of attempting to lessen the effect of this latter issue, extremely short tokens were not used, and tokens from as wide a range of different phonetic contexts as possible were selected across all speakers in order to avoid skewing the results. For example, some words occurred quite frequently, such as *know, don't, so, no, home*, *time*, *five*, *nine*, *like*, *life*, and wherever possible, these were sampled from the speech of each speaker. All the tokens produced by each speaker are listed below in Chapter 4.

Because comparisons were necessary across several dimensions (geographic and generational), mean values were calculated for each token in order to obtain results that could be more easily interpreted and understood graphically. Graphs were produced using NORM Suite (Thomas and Kendall, 2007). In order to preserve some idea of the range covered by each token, however, 'box and whisker' plots showing the standard deviation were also included, and plots of the individual tokens for each speaker's variables were also consulted in order to investigate any possible trends relating to phonetic context or lexical conditioning.

3.8Chapter summary

This chapter has explained the Millennium Memory Bank and its potential for use as a linguistic resource, with reference to other oral history collections used in similar ways. It has also given an outline of the speakers used in this study, and some possible background factors that may influence their use of local language variants. I have also introduced my variants and the reasons for studying them. In conclusion, I have explained the use of auditory and acoustic of analysis conducted in this study, and the methods used to carry these out.

Chapter 4 - Results

4.1 Introduction

In this chapter I present the results of my analysis of the MMB data, and compare it to the data found in the SED Basic Materials. The chapter is divided into two parts: the first deals with the GOAT vowel, and the second with the PRICE vowel. Each part follows a diachronic structure, outlining developments in each vowel over time. I begin each part by giving an analysis of the SED data for the vowel, showing the different variants found in the SED, and which words used each variant. I examine the regional differences found between the SED locations. I then present findings of subsequent studies between the time of the SED and MMB, including some contemporary results. I then move on to my auditory analysis of the MMB data, again showing the variants used by the MMB speakers for each token of the vowel, and explaining the regional and generational differences within the MMB. I go on to offer acoustic analyses of the MMB data to visually demonstrate and corroborate my auditory findings. Finally, I conclude by summing up the apparent changes that have occurred in the vowels in Yorkshire between the time of the SED, and the time of the MMB.

4.2 The GOAT vowel

4.2.1 The SED

Presented below is an analysis of all the tokens of the GOAT vowel that occur in the SED at the three locations used in this study. The tokens are grouped together by phoneme, and then this is explored in more depth below, with reference to the historical background of each variant.

Table 4.1 GOAT tokens from the SED Basic Materials for location Y23, Leeds

Question	Word	Vowel	Phoneme
06.05.05	spoke (pt.x2 & pp.)	ɒ	ɒ
08.07.05	stolen (pp.)	ɒ	
09.03.05	broke (pt.)	ɒ	
09.03.05	broken (pp.)	ɒ	
05.01.10	key-hole	ɔɪ	ɒɪ
04.04.05a	coal x2	ɒɪ	
06.04.03	ear-hole	ɒɪ	
06.06.03	throat	ɒɪ	
06.14.06	topcoat	ɒɪ	
06.14.05	coat	ɒɪ	
09.03.01	lose	ɒɪ	
04.09.05	tadpoles	ɔɷ	ɒʊ
04.05.04	mole	ɒɷ	
05.03.08	coal	ɒɷ	
05.10.03	sew	ɒɷ	
08.02.12	folk	ɒɷ	
08.07.05	stole (pt.)	ɒɷ	
08.08.13	no (reply) x2	ɒɷ	
09.03.09	grow x2	ɒɷ	
05.07.21	old	ɔɷ#	
03.07.10	fold (pen)	ɒɷ#	
04.06.13	moulting	ɒɷ#	
06.06.06	shoulder	ɒɷ#	
06.13.17	cold	ɒɷ#	
07.07.10	gold	ɒɷ#	
08.01.20 08.01.22 08.01.24	old x4	ɒɷ#	
08.01.21	older	ɒɷ#	
07.05.02	know	ɔː	ɔː
07.05.02	knows	ɔː	
07.06.13	snow	ɔː	
08.07.07	throw	ɔː	
08.08.08 08.09.06	own (aj.) x2	ɔː	
08.02.12	folks	oᵊ	oː
04.10.02	oak	oː	
05.06.03	dough	oː	
06.04.06	nose	oː	
06.04.06	nose-h**o**les	oː	
08.08.01	bogeyman	oː	
09.05.02	don’t	ɷə	
04.01.10	slope	ɷə	
04.03.12	road	ɷə	
04.06.05	yolk	ɷə	

04.06.22	breast-bone	ɷə	
04.09.07	toad x2	ɷə	
05.06.09	loaf	ɷə	
05.09.07	clothes-basket	ɷə	
06.10.03	toes	ɷə	
06.10.04	twilly-toed	ɷə	
06.14.19	clothes	ɷə	
07.02.11	both	ɷə	
07.05.02	don't	ɷə	
07.07.08	note	ɷə	
08.02.12	grand folk	ɷə	
08.05.01 08.06.01	go x5	ɷə	
08.05.02	home x2	ɷə	
09.03.10	rode	ɷə	
09.04.12	maun't (musn't)	ɷə	
06.09.01	hip-bone	ɷə	
09.05.08	go	ɷ	ʊ
08.02.08	going	ɷ	
05.01.04	smoke	uː	uː
04.02.07	grindstone	ə	ə?

 # denotes vocalised /l/; ɷ represents the sound transcribed as [ʊ] in modern IPA; ɪ represents the sound transcribed as [ɪ] in modern IPA

As Table 4.1 shows, at the time of the SED, there were many variants in use for what Wells (1982) has since termed the GOAT vowel. Some were extremely lexically restricted: [ɒ], [ʊ], [uː] and [ə] were only used in very limited and specific circumstances. However, others were associated with a much greater number of words, inherited from historical lexical sets. The [ɒɪ] phoneme, developed from Middle English /ɔːˌ/, is very regionally restricted, occurring only in the south-western part of Yorkshire, and northern Lancashire (Anderson 1987:114). The [ɒʊ] variant, derived from Middle English /ou/, largely occurs before liquids – many of the tokens of it from this SED location are in the word *old* – and /l/ is often vocalised. The [ɔː] variant is found here exclusively in words ending in *–ow* in the modern orthography, reflecting their development from Middle English /au/. The [oː] phoneme takes three pronunciations in Leeds, although all are derived largely from the historical lexical set associated with the

Middle English vowel /ɔː$_1$/: the most common pronunciation is [ʊə], but in some cases [o:] is used, and in one case [oᵊ]occurs.

There is some variation evident within the Leeds SED data, and this represents both inter- and intra-speaker variation: for example, the [ɒɪ] variant occurs here in *keyhole* and *earhole*, but in the word *nosehole*, *-hole* is pronounced with [o:] by the same speaker. Similarly, the word *go* takes both [ʊə] and [ʊ] pronunciations, and *coal* is pronounced twice with [ɒɪ] and once with [ɒʊ] – again, by the same speaker.

Table 4.2 GOAT tokens from the SED Basic Materials for location Y34, Sheffield

Question	**Word**	**Vowel**	**Phoneme**
06.05.05	spoke (pt. & pp.)	ɒ	ɒ
09.03.05	broke (pt. & pp.)	ɒ	
01.01.07	pigeon-cote	ɒɪ	ɒɪ
03.04.01 03.04.06	foal x2	ɒɪ	
04.01.06	puddle-holes	ɒɪ	
04.03.08	gate-hole	ɒɪ	
04.04.05a 05.03.08 08.09.04	coal x7	ɒɪ	
05.01.10 06.03.08	key-hole x2	ɒɪ	
06.04.03	ear-hole	ɒɪ	
06.04.06	nose-h**o**les	ɒɪ	
06.06.03	throat	ɒɪ	
06.06.05	hole	ɒɪ	
09.03.01	lose	ɒɪ	
02.09.03	mow	ɒɷ	ɒʊ
03.07.10	fold (pen)	ɒɷ	
04.02.07	grindle-coke	ɒɷ	
04.05.04	mole	ɒɷ	
04.09.05	tadpoles	ɒɷ	
05.04.03	cokes	ɒɷ	
05.10.03	sew	ɒɷ	
07.07.10	gold	ɒɷ	
08.08.13	no (reply) x2	ɒɷ	
09.03.09	grow x2	ɒɷ	
03.04.02	colt	ɒɷ#	

04.06.13	moulting	ɒɷ#	
05.07.21 07.07.04 08.01.20 08.01.22 08.01.24 08.01.25 05.07.21	old x10	ɒɷ#	
06.06.06	shoulder	ɒɷ#	
06.13.17	cold	ɒɷ#	
08.01.20	oldest x2	ɒɷ#	
08.01.21	older x2	ɒɷ#	
09.03.09	grow	aɷ	aʊ (?)
02.03.07	scarecrow	ɔː	
03.04.06	thrown	ɔː	
06.07.12	whitlow	ɔː	
07.05.02	know	ɔː	ɔː
07.05.02	knows	ɔː	
07.06.13	snow	ɔː	
08.07.07	throwing	ɔː	
08.08.08 08.09.06	own (aj.) x3	ɔː	
08.08.01	bogeyman x2	ɔ̣ː	
07.08.12	only x2	ɔ̣ːǂ	
01.09.06	spokes (n.)	ɔˑə	
04.06.05	yolk	ɔˑᵊ	
03.05.05	curry-comb	oː	
04.09.07	toad	oː	
09.07.02	you	oː	
04.01.10	slope	o̱ː	
04.10.02	oak	o̱ː	
06.05.05	spoke (pt.)	oːᵊ	
07.05.02 09.05.02	don’t x2	oːᵊ	
08.07.05	stole (pt. & pp.)	oːᵊ	
09.04.12	maun’t (musn’t)	oːᵊ	
03.04.01	foal	oˑᵊ	
05.06.03	dough	o̱ːᵊ	
02.01.05	loading	ɷə	oː
02.01.05	load (n.)	ɷə	
02.05.01	oats	ɷə	
02.09.10	carborundum-stone	ɷə	
03.02.01	rump-bone	ɷə	
04.02.07	grindstone	ɷə	
04.03.12	road	ɷə	
04.06.22	breast-bone	ɷə	
04.09.07	toad	ɷə	

04.09.07	toadstool	ɷə	
05.06.09	loaf	ɷə	
05.09.07	clothes-basket	ɷə	
06.04.06	nose	ɷə	
06.04.06	n**o**se-holes	ɷə	
06.09.01	hip-bone	ɷə	
06.10.03	toes	ɷə	
06.10.04	twilly-toed	ɷə	
06.14.06	topcoat	ɷə	
06.14.15	coat	ɷə	
06.14.19	clothes	ɷə	
07.02.11	both	ɷə	
07.07.08	note	ɷə	
08.02.12	folks	ɷə	
08.05.02 08.05.02	home x2	ɷə	
08.07.09	go	ɷə	
09.03.10	rode	ɷə	
08.05.01 08.06.01 09.05.08	go x3	ɷ	ʊ
08.02.08 08.06.01 08.08.05	going x4	ɷ	
05.01.04	smoke	ɷuː	uː

The phonemes found in Sheffield are very similar to those found in Leeds, with only [aʊ] in *grow* being found in Sheffield and not Leeds, and only [ə] in *grindstone* being found in Leeds and not Sheffield. There are some differences in realisation of some words: for example, the [oːᵊ] variant is used more commonly in Sheffield in words such as *don't* and *slope* which took the [ɷə] variant in Leeds. There is also some intra-speaker variation here: as in Leeds, the word *go*is pronounced with both the [ʊ] variant and the [ʊə] variant by the same speaker.

Table 4.3 GOAT tokens from the SED Basic Materials for location Y25, Newbald

Question	**Word**	**Vowel**	**Phoneme**
03.04.02	colt	ɒ	ɒ
06.05.05	spoke (pp.)	ɒ	

09.03.01	lose	ɒ	
09.03.05	broke (pt.)	ɒ	
09.03.05	broken (pp.) x3	ɒ	
08.07.05	stolen (pp.)	ɔ	
04.02.07	grindstone	ə	ə?
01.01.07	pigeon-cote	ɷə	oː
01.09.06	spokes (n.)	ɷə	
02.01.05	loading	ɷə	
02.01.05	load (n.)	ɷə	
03.02.01	rump-bone	ɷə	
03.04.01	foal	ɷə	
03.05.05	curry-comb	ɷə	
04.03.12	road	ɷə	
04.04.05a	coal x5	ɷə	
04.06.22	breast-bone	ɷə	
04.09.07	toad	ɷə	
05.01.10	key-hole	ɷə	
05.06.09	loaf	ɷə	
06.04.03	ear-hole	ɷə	
06.04.06	nose	ɷə	
06.04.07	n**o**se-holes	ɷə	
06.04.07	nose-h**o**les	ɷə	
06.05.05	spoke (pt.)	ɷə	
06.06.03 06.06.05	throat x2	ɷə	
06.09.01	hip-bone	ɷə	
06.10.03	toes	ɷə	
06.10.04	twilly-toed	ɷə	
06.14.06	topcoat	ɷə	
07.02.11	both x2	ɷə	
07.07.08	note	ɷə	
08.02.12	folks x2	ɷə	
08.05.02	home x2	ɷə	
06.10.03	toes	ɑ̟ə	
08.05.02	home	ɑ̟ə	
06.06.06	shoulder	uː#	uː
08.06.01	going	ɷ	ʊ
05.06.03	dough	ɷ	
08.05.01 08.06.01	go x3	ɷː	
08.06.01	going	aˑ	aː
04.06.13	moulting	ɔɷ	ɔʊ
05.03.08	coal	ɔɷ	
05.10.03	sew	ɔɷ	
08.01.21	older	ɔɷ	
09.03.09	grow	ɔɷ	
09.03.09	grows	ɔɷ	
07.07.10	gold	ɔɷ#	

04.05.04	mole	aɷ	aʊ?
08.07.05	stolen (pp.)	aɷ	
09.03.09	growing	aɷ	
06.13.17	cold	aɷ#	
04.05.04	mole	ɑɷ	
08.01.20	old x2	ɑə#	
02.03.07	scarecrow	ɔː	ɔː
02.09.03	mow	ɔː	
04.06.05	yolk	ɔː	
04.10.02	oak	ɔː	
06.07.12	whitlow	ɔː	
07.05.02	know x2	ɔː	
07.06.13	snow	ɔː	
07.08.12	only	ɔː	
08.07.05	stole (pt.)	ɔː	
08.07.07	throw	ɔː	
08.08.01	bogeyman	ɔː	
08.08.05	progress	ɔː	
08.08.13	no (reply)	ɔː	
08.09.06	own (aj.)	ɔː	
09.03.10	rode	ɔː	
09.04.12	maun't (musn't)	ɔː	
06.13.17	cold	ɔː#	
08.01.20	older x2	ɔː#	
08.01.22	old	ɔə	
08.01.20	old x2	ɔə#	
02.05.01	oats	ɔˑə	
09.03.10	rode	ɔˑə	
03.07.10	fold (pen)	ɔˑə#	
08.01.20	old x2	ɔˑə#	
05.01.04	smoke	ɪə	ɪə
05.09.07	clothes-basket	ɪə	
06.14.19	clothes x2	ɪə	
07.02.11	both x2	ɪə	
07.05.02 09.05.02	don't x2	ɪə	
08.08.13	no (reply)	ɪə	

The Newbald speaker uses several variants not found in Leeds and Sheffield. Some are minority variants, such as [a:], which is only found in the word *going*, but others account for greater numbers of tokens. For example, the [ɪə] variant, derived from Northern Middle English [a:], occurs only in the north-eastern part of Yorkshire (Anderson 1985:112), north of a line between the River Lune on the west coast, and the River Humber on the east coast: this line is described

by Wells (1982:358) and forms an important dialect boundary within Yorkshire, where [ɪə] is a variant found only to the north of this division, while the [ɔɪ] variant described in Leeds and Sheffield is found only to the south of it.

We can also see that in Newbald, the [o:] phoneme always takes the [ʊə] pronunciation, with no tokens of the [o:] pronunciation at all. The [ɔ:] variant is also more common in Newbald, and it also takes the pronunciation [ɔə] (and variants thereof), particularly in words that, in Leeds and Sheffield, take the pronunciation [ɒʊ]. Again, the isogloss between these two structural relationships is the Lune-Humber line: to the south of the line, the word *old* takes a closing diphthongal pronunciation [ɒʊ], but to the north of the line, it often groups with other words, such as *know, snow* and *throw*, from the historical word group associated with the Northern Middle English vowel /au/. As such, it usually takes the phoneme /ɔ:/, as *–ow* words do in Leeds and Sheffield as described above.

A closing diphthongal pronunciation [ɔʊ] is also found in Newbald, but it does not have the fully open onset found in Leeds and Sheffield. A pronunciation with an unrounded onset [aʊ] or [ɑʊ] also occurs, and these closing diphthongs, like those in Leeds and Sheffield, occur with few exceptions in the historical word group associated with Middle English /ou/.

4.2.2 Studies since the SED

As already stated, the GOAT vowel has proved very productive for study in Yorkshire, and numerous investigations have included it as a variable. Probably one of the most important and comprehensive post-SED studies was that of Petyt (1985), who focussed on the cities of Bradford, Huddersfield and Halifax. These locations are not used in this study – the city of Leeds represents

West Yorkshire in my data. However, Petyt's findings are still an important source of West Yorkshire data from roughly the mid-point in time between the SED and the MMB.

Petyt draws up lists of words pronounced with the different variants based on the speech of residents of the three West Yorkshire towns in the 1970s, focussing on the two major variants in modern dialect speech that he denotes as [ɔʊ] and [o:]. By the time Petyt was conducting his research, the variant [ʊə], common in the SED, had all but disappeared, and words that formerly had that pronunciation had come to be pronounced with the long monophthong [o:]. Also found in this [o:] group are words that formerly had the pronunciation [ɔɪ], mentioned above. Petyt also postulates that some other older pronunciations have also been absorbed into this [o:] group. Table 4 below presents Petyt's findings.

Petyt also explains further about the [ɔʊ] variant. According to Petyt's findings, there are some words that are members of this set that were traditionally pronounced with the long monophthong [ɔ:], but by the time of Petyt's study, this had given way to [ɔʊ]. One other possibility is highlighted by Petyt – that is, the word *show*, which traditionally has the vowel [ɛʊ] in the locations of his study, but he found it to be pronounced with [ɔʊ].

Table 4.4 Petyt's summary of traditional and new pronunciations

New pronunciation	*Traditional pronunciation*	*Examples*
[ɔʊ]	[ɔʊ]	roll, soul old, cold, gold, colt, folk, blow(n), bowl, flow, grow, coke, no
	[ɔ:]	blow(v), crow, know, mow, own, slow, snow, sow, throw
	[ɛʊ]	show
[o:]	[ʊə]	both, clothes, cloak, go, goat, hope, no, load, road, so, whole
	[ɔɪ]	coat, close, coal, hole

	[ɒ]	broken, open, over
	[ə]	borrow, fellow, window, yellow
	[ɪə]	won't
	[e:]	spoke

It is clear that, between the SED and the time of Petyt's work, the range of vowels that existed for the GOAT vowel in West Yorkshire had been drastically reduced.

However, since the time of Petyt's work it seems there is a new variant appearing in the Yorkshire region. Research such as Watt and Tillotson (2001), Finnegan (2011) and Haddican et al (2013) has recently been carried out on the incidence of GOAT-fronting in Yorkshire, but it has also been the subject of study in the north-east of England. GOAT-fronting was present in the SED in Northumberland. Watt (2000, 2002), in Newcastle, found that GOAT-fronting was quite highly used by male speakers of all ages and classes, but particularly by younger middle class men. He hypothesised that these young men were choosing this variant as it was not the old-fashioned, stigmatised traditional [ʊə] associated with a different – and, presumably, past – way of life, but the fronted variant was still recognisably north-eastern. These young men, Watt suggests, choose the fronted variant to signify local loyalty, while also seeming modern. Watt found that women in Newcastle seem to avoid GOAT-fronting, with both middle and working class female speakers preferring a supralocal [o:] variant that we also find in Yorkshire.

GOAT-fronting in Yorkshire is heavily associated with Hull, as pointed out by Watt and Tillotson (2001), and is also highlighted by articles in popular media such as the BBC's (2005) 'Guide to Hull dialect'

(http://www.bbc.co.uk/humber/content/articles/2005/02/14/voices_hullspeak_glossary.shtml), which includes such entries as “Burn” (bone), “Erk” (oak) and “Perp” (head of the Catholic church). Williams and Kerswill (1999:146) state that

> The central variant is associated with female, particularly MC, speech, though other females use it too. A diphthong [ɵʊ] or [əʊ] may be used by many MC speakers. There is usually no distinct allophone for this vowel before /l/.

Cheshire *et al* (1999) describe fine-grained variation within the GOAT-vowel in Hull, with GOAT-fronting occurring to varying degrees across the population. They found that young working class speakers of both sexes favoured a moderately fronted variant, with young female middle class speakers showing more advanced fronting, while young male middle class speakers preferred diphthongal variants. This shows a contrast with the north east, where GOAT-fronting was found to be most favoured by young male speakers, but it tallies with research carried out in other parts of Yorkshire, which has also found that female speakers tend to use this fronted variant more extensively than males. Watt and Tillotson (2001:229) found signs that, in Bradford, “the fronting process seems most advanced among the young women recorded for this project, and is hence in all likelihood marked for age and gender in BE [Bradford English]”, but they concluded that more study was required before firmer conclusions could be drawn. Their research suggested that GOAT-fronting in West Yorkshire was not far enough advanced that natives even recognised it as a feature of Bradford English – the perception of it was that it was very much associated with East Yorkshire, where it is a stereotype as described above. Watt and Tillotson (2001:227) argue:

> That BE speakers should seek to modify their GOAT pronunciations in line with an RP-type… closing diphthong at this stage strikes us as unlikely, given the continuing general antipathy toward southern English accents in northern English cities like Bradford, and the absence of obvious signs of convergence among other phonological variables on an RP-like pattern… All else being equal, one might expect the adoption of

> [ɵː] among urban West Yorkshire English speakers to be an indication of a shift *away* from RP, rather than one towards it.

Again, as in Newcastle, this suggests a connection with local loyalty whilst developing a sense of modernity, and also continuing to reject the influence of southern and standard varieties of English. GOAT-fronting, although previously noted in other areas, is clearly a new feature in West Yorkshire, and Stoddart *et al* (1999) do not note it in their data collected in Sheffield just before the MMB.

However, Finnegan (2011) has found it amongst middle class female speakers in Sheffield, suggesting that this could be a new feature incipient in the city. Although it appeared infrequently in the speech of older and middle aged speakers in her sample, this increased substantially in the speech of the female younger generation. As was also the case in Watt and Tillotson's (2001) Bradford study, Finnegan found much greater incidence of GOAT-fronting amongst females, with almost no fronted tokens being produced by males. However, she contrasts this with findings from the Survey of Sheffield Usage (Marshall 1981), which did record more instances of GOAT-fronting from male speakers. She suggests that this is perhaps instability associated with a linguistic change in its early stages (Finnegan 2011:259), and so the data from the MMB is used in the present study tofurther explore about the status of GOAT-fronting amongst male speakers in the city.

Alongside the emergence of GOAT-fronting, Finnegan also found that a diphthongal variant of the GOAT vowel, [oʊ], was becoming the majority variant amongst her sample of middle class speakers. Stoddart *et al*'s (1999) study had shown earlier that diphthongisation was beginning to occur in the speech of middle class Sheffield speakers, and in Finnegan's study, it appears much more advanced. In the older generation of Finnegan's speakers, [ɔː] was the majority variant, but her middle-aged and younger speakers used [oʊ] much more

frequently than they used [ɔː], leading her to conclude “It would seem that the change towards [oʊ] and away from [ɔː] is at a relatively advanced stage” (2011:259). Her data also suggests a bigger shift between the older and middle-aged speakers than between the middle and younger generations. This echoes the findings of Maguire *et al* (2010), who also suggest that language change occurred at a more dramatic rate between the older and middle generations, and that this rate has since slowed between the middle and younger generations. This in turn adds further weight to Britain’s (2009:43) suggestion, mentioned above, that the 1960s – around the time when Finnegan’s middle aged speakers would be born – were a time of great changes in English dialects, including that of Sheffield.

Richards *et al* (2009) and Haddican *et al* (2013) confirm diphthongisation of the GOAT vowel also occurs in York – again, particularly in their data from young middle class speakers. However, this diphthong is not always of the RP-like [əʊ]-type: they have samples of a variant with a fronted onset that is more like [eu]. However, they did not find diphthongisation in the speech of young people in Leeds, which fits more closely with Watt and Tillotson’s stance regarding diphthongisation in nearby Bradford, quoted above.

4.2.3 Auditory analysis of the MMB data

Here I present the results of my auditory analysis of the MMB speakers, tabulated in a similar way to the SED speaker data above. However, as the tables show, the presence of an overwhelming majority variant in the MMB speech data, into which most historical phoneme categories have now migrated, meant that ascribing each variant to an underlying phoneme no longer seemed appropriate. I display each speaker individually, beginning with the older

generation and then moving on to the younger, summarising the variants and patterns used by each speaker, and comparing them both with each other and the data from the SED.

Table 4.5 Tokens of GOAT vowels from MMB speaker OLEEDS1

Token	**Pronunciation**
both	o:
cloak	o:
coach	o:
depot which	o:
disposal	o:
don't	o:
floats	o:
go was	o:
growing	o:
grown	o:
home	o:
lamppost	o:
most	o:
most	o:
motorway	o:
nobody	o:
over	o:
pony	o:
roads	o:
row [pause]	o:
so [pause]	o:
so it	o:
suppose	o:
supposed	o:
taken over	o:
voting	o:
coal	o:
windows	o:
whole	o:
holes	o:
the old	ɒʊ

Table 4.5 shows the loss of variation within this vowel since the time of the SED. OLEEDS1 consistently uses a mid-back diphthong [o:] for the GOAT vowel, with one instance of the traditional diphthong [ɒʊ]. This occurs before /l/ + consonant stop in the word *old*, as it did in the SED, although in the case of OLEEDS1, /l/ is not vocalised as it often was by the Leeds SED speaker. The word *coal* was pronounced by the Leeds SED speaker with both [ɒʊ] and [ɒɪ], neither of which

occur in this word as pronounced by OLEEDS1, with the back monophthong again being used.

Table 4.6 Tokens of GOAT vowels from MMB speaker OLEEDS2

Token	**Pronunciation**
approach	o:
local	o:
came home	o:
know a little	o:
microphones	o:
most	o:
no holidays	o:
owners	o:
road	o:
slogan	o:
so therefore	o:
those	o:
those	o:
coal	o:
dole	o:
our own	o:
don't	o:
go [pause]	o:
nobody	o:
throw it away	o:
nowhere	əʊ
low [pause]	əʊ
stone	əʊ
close	əʊ
go [short pause]	əʊ
broken	ɒʊ
it only	ɒʊ
(grow) older	ɒʊ
grow (older)	ɒʊ
golden	ɒʊ

OLEEDS2 is unique in my sample in pronouncing some tokens with an RP-like central-onset diphthong. He produces several tokens of the [ɒʊ]-type GOAT vowel – in fact, more than any other speaker – but he also produces the same number of tokens of this more RP-like variant. Indeed, OLEEDS2 also differs from the other speakers in other ways, particularly in his regular use of a centralised STRUT vowel, which Wells (1982:352) describes as “characteristic of northern Near-RP”. OLEEDS2 is by no means an RP speaker, and displays

many Yorkshire accent characteristics, but it seems that, in the MMB interview situation at least, he utilises careful speech that includes some more RP-like variants. However, Table 4.6 shows that the majority of his tokens of GOAT take the monophthongal [o:] variant.

Table 4.7Tokens of GOAT vowels from MMB speaker OSHEFF1

Token	**Pronunciation**
ago	o:
bows	o:
bows	o:
clothes	o:
don't	o:
go	o:
know why	o:
knows	o:
load	o:
no sorry	o:
nobody	o:
road	o:
road	o:
road	o:
road	o:
Roman	o:
said okay	o:
so	o:
so Wheeler's	o:
stoves	o:
stoves	o:
telephone	o:
there's only	o:
those	o:
though	o:
was only	o:
whole	o:
you know [pause]	o:
old	ɒʊ
old	ɒʊ

Table 4.8Tokens of GOAT vowels from MMB speaker OSHEFF2

Token	**Pronunciation**
(go) home	o:
ago now	o:
although	o:
Bleaklow [pause]	o:
closed	o:
don't	o:
don't	o:
enclosure	o:

erosion	oː
goes	oː
known	oː
load	oː
local	oː
most	oː
no toilet	oː
only	oː
road	oː
rogues	oː
smoke	oː
so but	oː
so many	oː
social	oː
suppose	oː
their own	oː
those	oː
well over	oː
which opened	oː
old	ɒʊ
rolls	ɒʊ
sold	ɒʊ

The Sheffield MMB speakers both show similar patterns to OLEEDS1, with their consistent use of the mid back monophthong [oː]. Again as in OLEEDS1's case, they also use the traditional diphthong [ɒʊ] in words where the GOAT vowel is followed by /l/ + consonant stop – and, in one token produced by OSHEFF2, where GOAT is followed by /z/.

Table 4.9Tokens of GOAT vowels from MMB speaker OHULL1

Token	**Pronunciation**
95 per cent own	o̟ːˑ
close	o̟ːˑ
closer	o̟ːˑ
closer	o̟ːˑ
don't	o̟ːˑ
go	o̟ːˑ
go	o̟ːˑ
go [pause]	o̟ːˑ
go	o̟ːˑ
I don't	o̟ːˑ
if they owned it	o̟ːˑ
in their own	o̟ːˑ
I've only	o̟ːˑ
know	o̟ːˑ
known	o̟ːˑ
my house backs onto the main road	o̟ːˑ

no [pause]	ɒːˑ
no [pause]	ɒːˑ
okay	ɒːˑ
others don't	ɒːˑ
owned	ɒːˑ
phone	ɒːˑ
quite a turnover	ɒːˑ
radio	ɒːˑ
so [pause]	ɒːˑ
so [pause]	ɒːˑ
so [pause]	ɒːˑ
so [pause]	ɒːˑ
stroke	ɒːˑ
suppose	ɒːˑ

Table 4.10Tokens of GOAT vowels from MMB speaker OHULL2

Token	**Pronunciation**
boats	ɒːˑ
broke	ɒːˑ
bulldozer	ɒːˑ
burns holes	ɒːˑ
closed	ɒːˑ
closing	ɒːˑ
clothes	ɒːˑ
coast	ɒːˑ
coastal	ɒːˑ
donated	ɒːˑ
go and	ɒːˑ
go on	ɒːˑ
go to	ɒːˑ
goes	ɒːˑ
knows	ɒːˑ
lamppost	ɒːˑ
local	ɒːˑ
nobody	ɒːˑ
nowhere	ɒːˑ
progress	ɒːˑ
road	ɒːˑ
road	ɒːˑ
smoking	ɒːˑ
so [pause]	ɒːˑ
socialist	ɒːˑ
taken over	ɒːˑ
the hotel	ɒːˑ
those	ɒːˑ
though you	ɒːˑ
won't	ɒːˑ

Both the older Hull MMB speakers consistently use a monophthongal variant for GOAT, with a slight degree of fronting: the notation here is that used by

Cheshire *et al* (1999) in their discussion of the Hull GOAT vowel. GOAT-fronting is not described in the SED data for Newbald, but as this was a rural location, it does not necessarily reflect speech in the city at the time of the SED, so it is possible that GOAT-fronting has existed in the city for longer than this comparison may suggest. Amongst the older Hull MMB speakers, fronting is clearly observable, but is not at an advanced stage.

I now move on to present the MMB data from the younger speakers.

Table 4.11 Tokens of GOAT vowels from MMB speaker YLEEDS1

Token	**Pronunciation**
ago my	o:
almost	o:
blowtorch	o:
come home	o:
ghost	o:
(going) over	o:
grocer's	o:
Grove	o:
if you opened	o:
knowing	o:
leftovers	o:
most	o:
notes	o:
noticed	o:
programmes	o:
so anonymous	o:
soak	o:
suppose	o:
the only	o:
their own	o:
to go	o:
closed	o̟:˖
exposing	o̟:˖
focus	o̟:˖
home	o̟:˖
road	o̟:˖
slow-moving	o̟:˖
those	o̟:˖
whole	o̟:˖
little bit older	ɔʊ

As with the older speakers, YLEEDS1 uses a back monophthong the majority of the time. However, on a number of occasions he produces a slightly more

fronted variant. The fronting is, again, not at an advanced stage, and so I have once more described it using Cheshire *et al*'s (1999) notation. There does not seem to be a clear pattern of which tokens of GOAT are more likely to be fronted: they occur in a number of different phonetic environments, although several of the fronted tokens produced by YLEEDS1 appear before /z/. A larger sample would be necessary in order to draw any firm conclusions, although Watt and Tillotson (2001:223) also report in their study of GOAT-fronting in Bradford that the vowel appears "fairly unconstrained with respect to lexical identity and following phonological context". YLEEDS1 also produces one diphthongal token, in the word *older* – again, occurring before /l/ + consonant stop. Although I assess it as being of the traditional type, it does not seem as wide a diphthong as those produced by some of the other speakers, with a less open onset.

Table 4.12 Tokens of GOAT vowels from MMB speaker YLEEDS2

Token	**Pronunciation**
[pause] open	o:
[short pause] only	o:
at home	o:
been over	o:
blown	o:
broke	o:
coaches	o:
don't	o:
elbowed	o:
go [pause]	o:
go watch	o:
heroes	o:
it opened	o:
Joe Jordan	o:
know me	o:
known	o:
local	o:
nobody	o:
nose	o:
phoned	o:
road	o:
so much	o:
social	o:
stoned	o:

thrown	o:
toe boots	o:
goals	o:
you know [pause]	o:
it'd hold	ɒʊ#
upholsterer	ɒʊ

YLEEDS2, in contrast to YLEEDS1, more consistently uses the same GOAT variants as the older Leeds speakers. He uses the back monophthong [o:] the majority of the time, and also produces two diphthongal tokens that are of the traditional type: both occur before /l/ + consonant, and /l/ in the word *hold* is vocalised, as it often was in the SED data. Comparing YLEEDS1 and YLEEDS2 shows some evidence of divergence amongst the younger generation of Leeds speakers, with speakers such as YLEEDS2 maintaining some of the traditional variants, while others, such as YLEEDS1, adopt innovative ones that were not used by previous generations in the area.

Table 4.13 Tokens of GOAT vowels from MMB speaker YSHEFF1

Token	**Pronunciation**
goalkeeper	ɒʊ
season ticket holders	ɒʊ
lowest	ɒʊ
a few O-levels	o:
at home	o:
diploma	o:
don't	o:
every home match	o:
hotels	o:
no support	o:
October	o:
opened	o:
progress	o:
show commitment	o:
show skill	o:
so	o:
sort of only	o:
telephone	o:
told	o:
you know [short pause]	o:
close (adj.)	o̟:˖
know [short pause]	o̟:˖
local	o̟:˖
notice	o̟:˖

Novotel	o̟ːˠ
row it	o̟ːˠ
though that	o̟ːˠ
top hotels	o̟ːˠ
you know	o̟ːˠ
hotel	o̟ːˠˠ

YSHEFF1 shows the greatest variation within the GOAT vowel, producing tokens of the mid back monophthong, the traditional diphthongal type, and also a number of fronted tokens. One of these fronted tokens is slightly more fronted than the others across the sample, in the word *hotel*, and another token of the same word also shows some fronting. However, another token of the word is more backed, showing a lack of consistency; as with YLEEDS1, there does not seem to be a clear pattern indicating phonetic environments that are more likely to favour GOAT-fronting. This variation can often occur when language is in a state of ongoing change such as an incoming new variant, as described by Finnegan (2011: 259), cited above.

Table 4.14Tokens of GOAT vowels from MMB speaker YSHEFF2

Token	**Pronunciation**
(so and) so's	o:
although at first	o:
be open	o:
below [pause]	o:
bloke	o:
boat	o:
closed	o:
cope	o:
don't	o:
driving over	o:
floats	o:
goes	o:
hose	o:
I'm hoping	o:
knows	o:
moment	o:
Moses	o:
no character	o:
noticed	o:
phoned	o:
road	o:
so different	o:

soap	o:
telephones	o:
the only	o:
woken	o:
your home	o:
your own	o:
sold	ɒʊ
told	ɒʊ

YSHEFF2 shows a pattern more like the older generation of speakers, favouring the back monophthongal variant, with two tokens of the traditional diphthong, both before /l/ + consonant stop. This echoes the situation in Leeds, where we also saw one speaker adopting the innovative fronted variant, while the other strongly maintains the variation pattern used by the older speakers. Thus, there is evidence in the MMB of divergence between groups of younger speakers in both Leeds and Sheffield.

Table 4.15 Tokens of GOAT vowels from MMB speaker YHULL1

Token	**Pronunciation**
ago [pause]	o̟:˖
almost	o̟:˖
although he	o̟:˖
although we	o̟:˖
both	o̟:˖
Bransholme	o̟:˖
close	o̟:˖
close (adj.)	o̟:˖
close (n)	o̟:˖
don't	o̟:˖
go	o̟:˖
go	o̟:˖
groceries	o̟:˖
groceries	o̟:˖
homes	o̟:˖
know	o̟:˖
know	o̟:˖
left home	o̟:˖
local	o̟:˖
local	o̟:˖
mobile	o̟:˖
mobile	o̟:˖
no problem	o̟:˖
roaming	o̟:˖
so	o̟:˖
so	o̟:˖
so [pause]	o̟:˖

the home	ɒːˑ
+L sold	ɒʊ

Table 4.16 Tokens of GOAT vowels from MMB speaker YHULL2

Token	**Pronunciation**
again hopefully	ɒːˑ
ago so	ɒːˑ
boasting	ɒːˑ
clothes	ɒːˑ
don't	ɒːˑ
dopey	ɒːˑ
go	ɒːˑ
Grove	ɒːˑ
I hope	ɒːˑ
know [pause]	ɒːˑ
know do you	ɒːˑ
know people	ɒːˑ
loads	ɒːˑ
loads	ɒːˑ
local	ɒːˑ
loner	ɒːˑ
mellowed	ɒːˑ
Melrose	ɒːˑ
my own	ɒːˑ
no good	ɒːˑ
road	ɒːˑ
smoke	ɒːˑ
smoke	ɒːˑ
so [short pause] messed up	ɒːˑ
stereos	ɒːˑ
control	ɒːˑ
goal	ɒːˑ
control	ɒːˑ
suppose	ɒːˑ
arseholes	ɒʊ

As was the case with the older Hull speakers, the younger generation in the city also consistently use the same slightly fronted monophthongal variant. Fronting amongst these speakers does not appear to have advanced any further from the variant used by the older generation. However, both speakers produce one diphthongal token each of the form traditionally found in Leeds and Sheffield – that is, occurring before /l/ + consonant. These diphthongs were less common

in the SED data from Newbald, and tended to have a less open onset, but they are recorded to have occurred in similar contexts (see Table 4.3 above).

4.2.4 Summary of trends observed through auditory analysis

The main and most striking difference between the speakers in the MMB and the data recorded in the SED is the reduction of available variants in the speakers' inventories, as was also shown in Petyt's findings above. Many of the variants that were in common use in the SED are not found in the MMB, or are restricted to occasional utterances, usually for comic effect or as a stereotype: for example, the [ɔɪ] variant can be heard in the speech of locally well-known Huddersfield eccentric Jake Mangelwurzel, who was interviewed as part of the MMB collection. This speaker seems to go out of his way to use variants such as [kɔɪl] for *coal* etc, despite being quite a careful speaker in other ways: he does not use some of the marked phonological variants that the broader speakers in the MMB use. He appears to be using these shibboleths to emphasise his eccentricity and express it through his Yorkshire identity: in other words, it is a part of his performance of an eccentric local character. Finnegan (2011:239), in her discussion of the [ɔɪ] variant in Sheffield, also notes that "present-day usage may be largely restricted to performances of authentic local identities". Similarly, the [ʊə] variant can only be heard occasionally in the speech of the oldest, broadest speakers, such as an elderly lady from near Wakefield (MMB file number C900/08553), who describes her life and upbringing as very disadvantaged: she uses many dialect variants that are now obsolescent, including [ʊə] in words such as*bones* (uttered at time 0:44:19):

I used to buy bones [bʊənz]*, you could buy some bones*[bʊənz]

Some of the minority variants, however, can still be heard in the MMB: for example, particularly amongst the older speakers, [ʊ] in *go* and *going* was still very much in evidence, and one of the younger speakers, YSHEFF1, also uses this vowel in the word *ago.* YHULL1 uses the [ɒ] variant several times in the word *broke*, and several speakers use [ə] in unstressed positions such as in the word *windows* – but others do not, pronouncing these words with the majority variant [o:].

Besides these, through auditory analysis two additional variants can be detected: a diphthongal variant with an open onset, like the traditional variant [ɒʊ] which is found in the SED, and a more fronted monophthongal variant, although the incidence and degree of fronting varies both between speakers, and speaker-internally. Although the Hull speakers used a fronted variant consistently, this variant was not extremely fronted: this is consistent with Cheshire *et al* (1999:26)'s description of a continuum of pronunciations in the city, from fully backed to a centralised variant. The Hull speakers in my sample appear to use a variant similar to the one that Cheshire *et al* (1999) denote 'cent 1' [o̟ː˖], and they use this variant quite consistently, as did the young working class speakers in Cheshire *et al*'s sample. GOAT-fronting in the other cities is less systematic: the older speakers in Leeds and Sheffield consistently use a fully-backed variant, and although some of the younger speakers show a trend towards fronting, it is more variable, and only particularly notable in a few instances – for example, in YSHEFF1's pronunciation of the word *hotel*. However, fronting amongst my all-male sample of speakers does not seem to be at an advanced stage – again correlating with other studies of Yorkshire such as Watt and Tillotson (2001) and Finnegan (2011), which suggest GOAT-fronting is more favoured by female speakers in the region.

4.2.5 Acoustic analysis of the MMB data

Here I present the findings of my acoustic analysis, demonstrating more clearly the contrast between monophthongal and diphthongal variants used by the MMB speakers. All the tokens were measured in the same way, as described in Chapter 3 above, and mean values produced and plotted in the graphs below. Initially, mean values were plotted for all tokens, and then token groups were separated according to whether the variant had been assessed, through auditory analysis as described above, to be a monophthong or diphthong. This was in order to demonstrate that tokens assessed as monophthongs showed very little movement, whilst the diphthongal ones can be shown to take a much wider trajectory.

For example, Figures 4.1 and 4.2 show the graphs plotted for OLEEDS1. Figure 4.1 shows the mean of all his tokens of GOAT; Figure 4.2 shows the mean of his monophthongal tokens (labelled GOAT), and the mean of his diphthongal tokens separately (labelled GOAT 2). The standard deviation for each mean value is also shown with dotted lines.

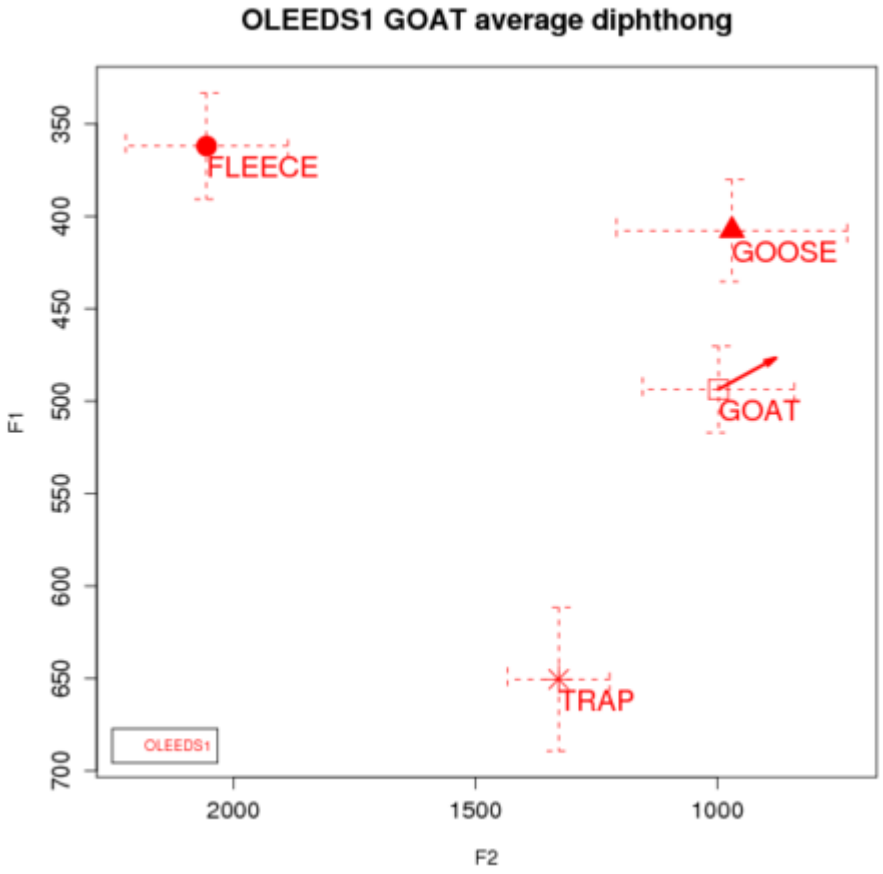


Figure 4.1 Trajectory of mean value forall GOAT vowels of OLEEDS1

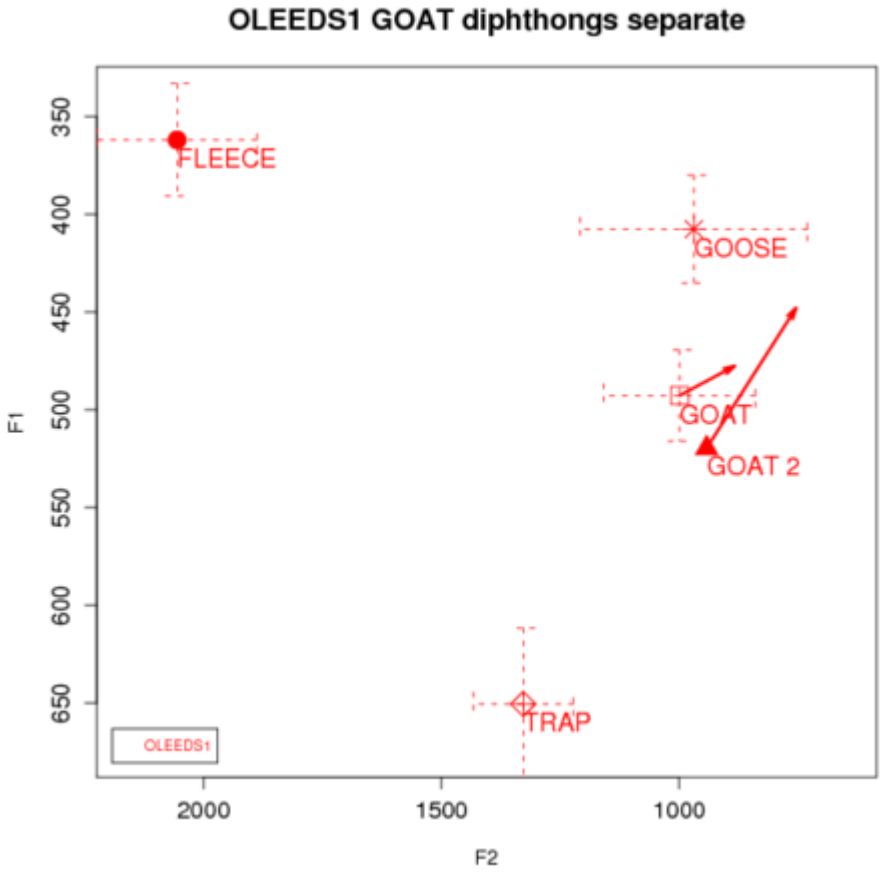


Figure 4.2 Trajectories of mean values for monophthongal and diphthongal GOAT vowels for OLEEDS1. GOAT n=30; GOAT 2 n=1 ([the] old)

Although token numbers for the diphthongal variant are small, they tend to show a greater movement than the standard deviation of the mean monophthongal value.

Figures 4.3 and 4.4 below show a similar comparison for OLEEDS2. Because he produces three separate variants, Figure 4 displays three separate trajectories: his mean monophthongal token value (labelled GOAT), the mean of his RP-like variant (GOAT 2), and the mean of his traditional diphthongal variant (GOAT 3).

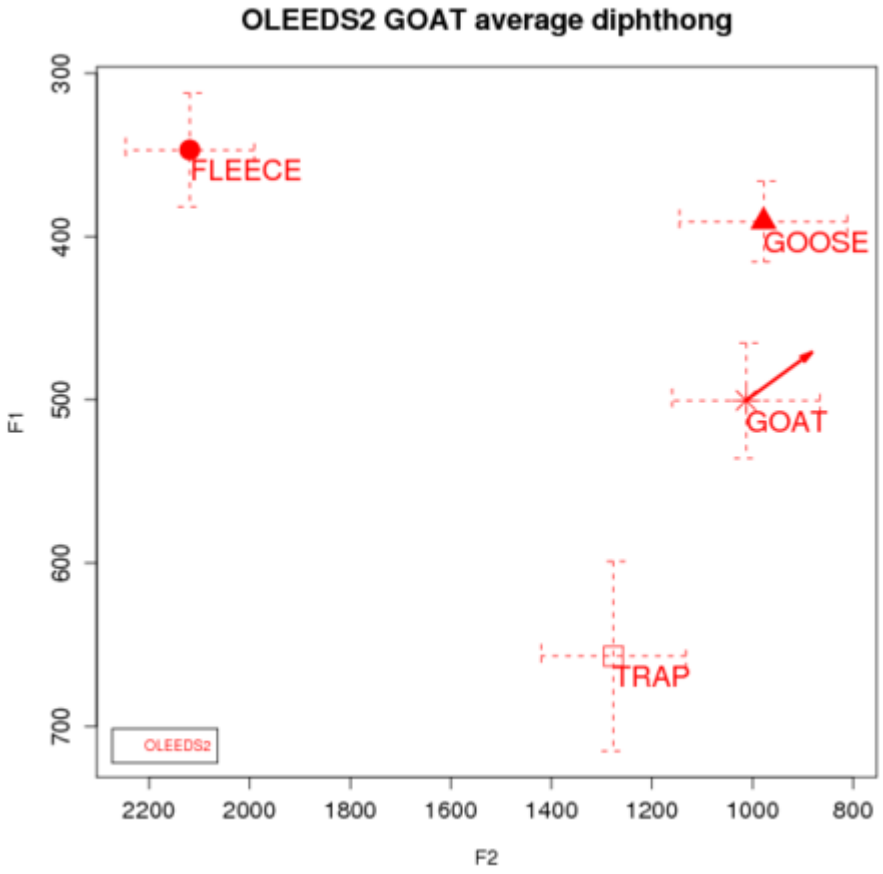


Figure 4.3 Trajectory of mean value for all GOAT vowels of OLEEDS2

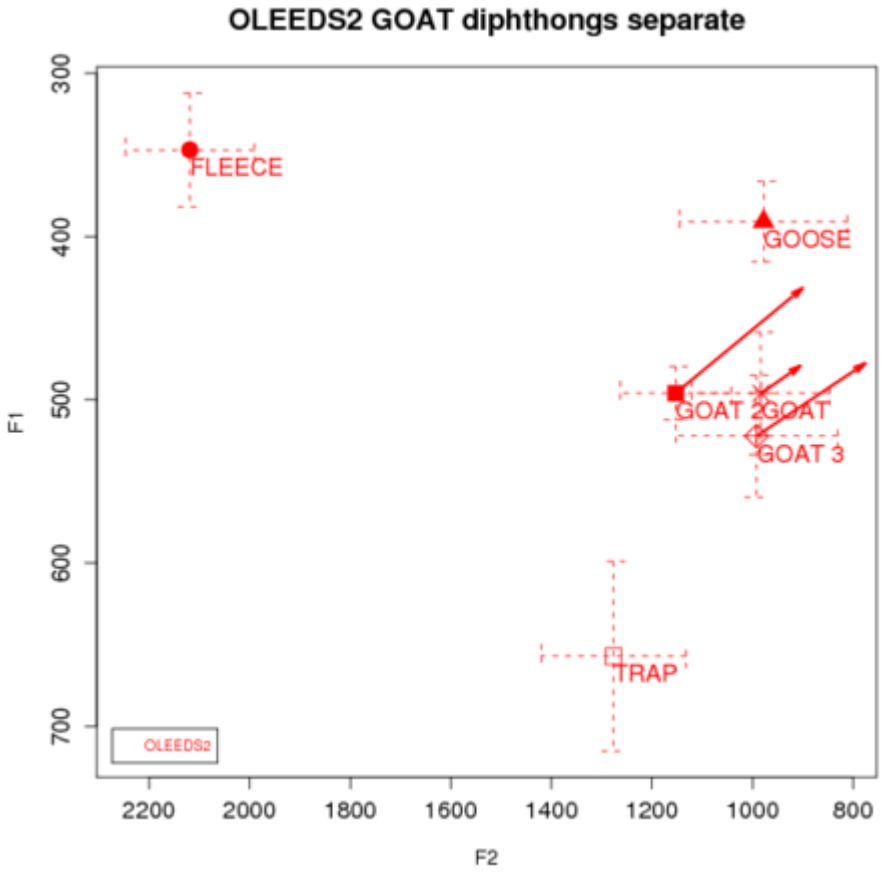


Figure 4.4 Trajectories of mean values for monophthongal and diphthongal GOAT vowels for OLEEDS2. GOAT n=20; GOAT 2 n=5 (close, go, low, nowhere, stone); GOAT 3 n=5 (broken, golden, grow, older, only)

Figure 4.4 clearly shows the very different trajectories taken when the variants are separated.

Figures 4.5-4.8 below show the same comparison for OSHEFF1 and OSHEFF2.

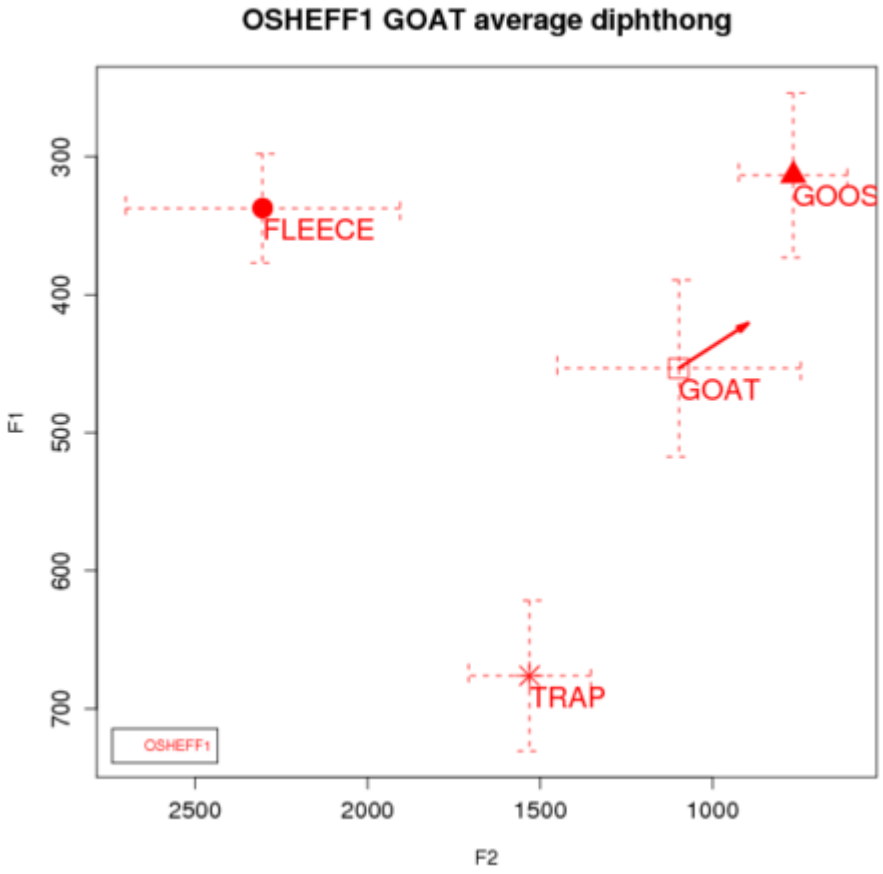


Figure 4.5 Trajectory of mean value for all GOAT vowels of OSHEFF1

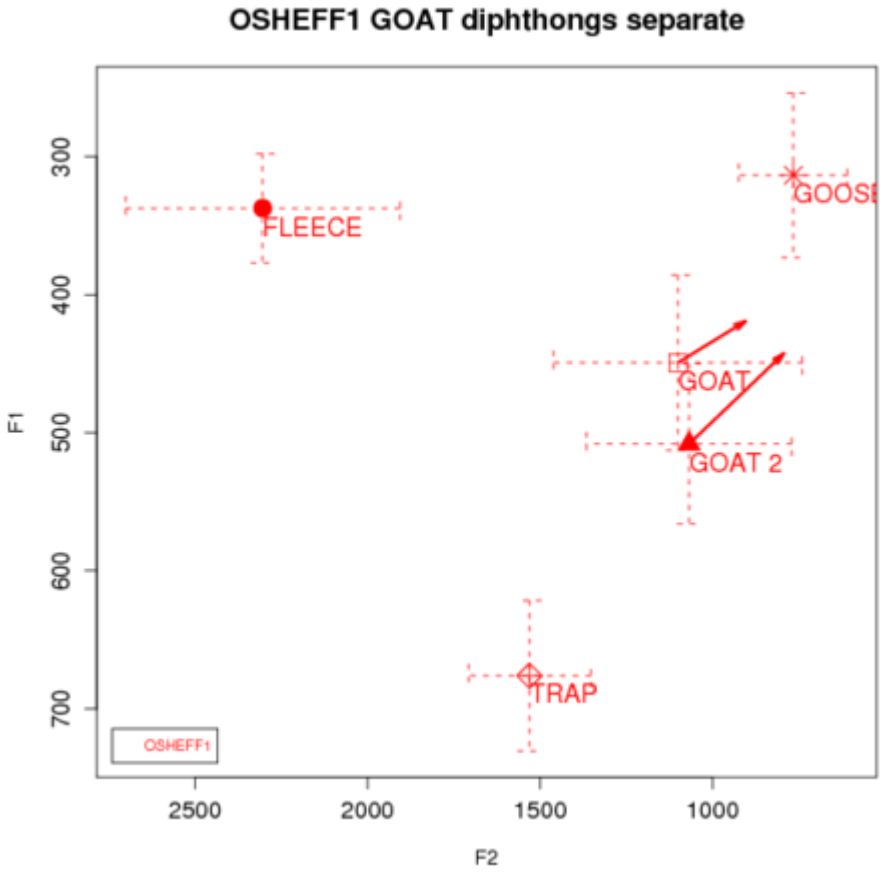


Figure 4.6 Trajectories of mean values for monophthongal and diphthongal GOAT vowels for OSHEFF1. GOAT n=28; GOAT 2 n=2 ([the] old [two tokens])

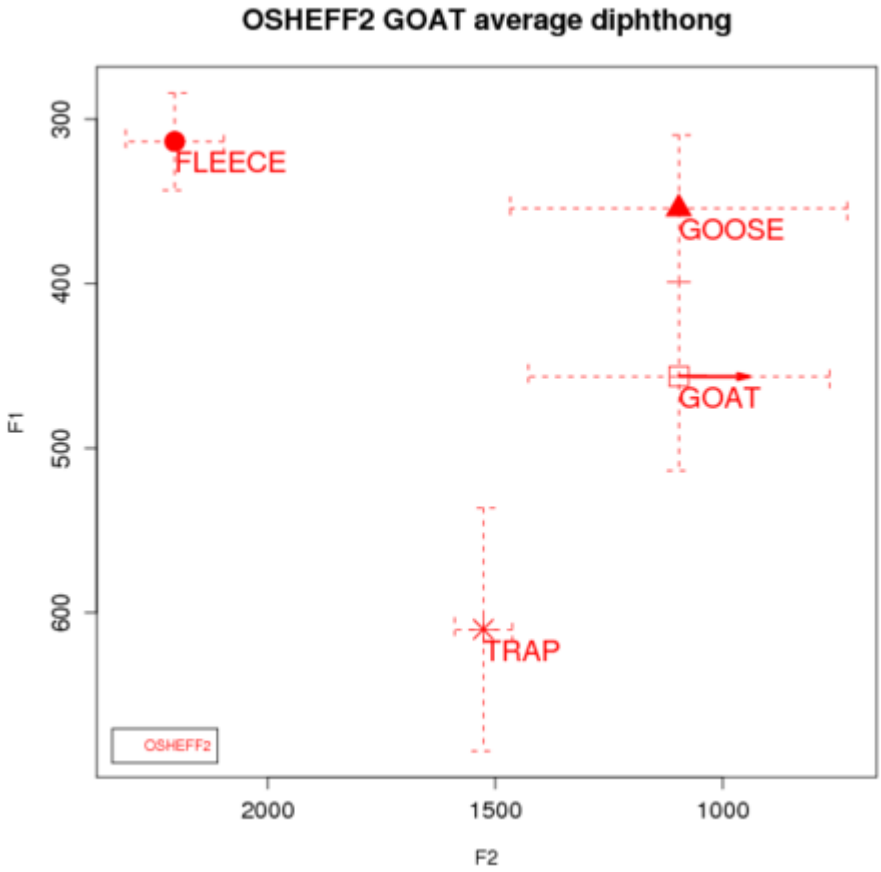


Figure 4.7 Trajectory of mean value for all GOAT vowels of OSHEFF2

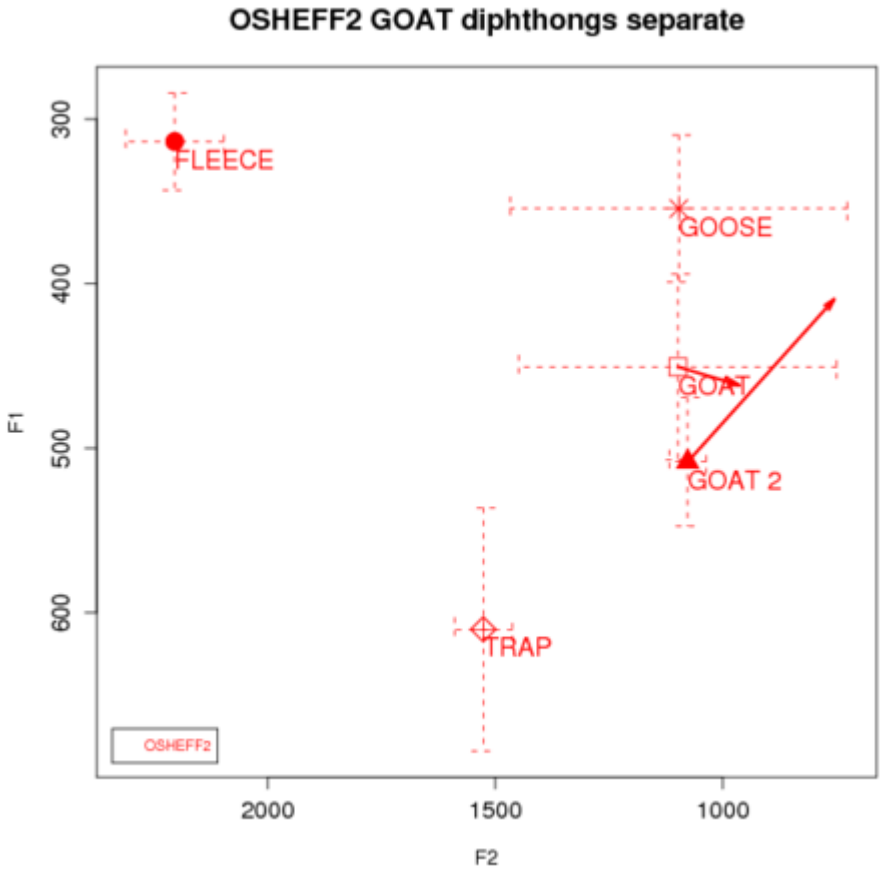


Figure 4.8 Trajectories of mean values for monophthongal and diphthongal GOAT vowels for OSHEFF2. GOAT n=27; GOAT 2 n=3 (old, rolls, sold)

OHULL1 and OHULL2 produced tokens of only one variant, a monophthong. Figures 4.9 and 4.10 display their results below.

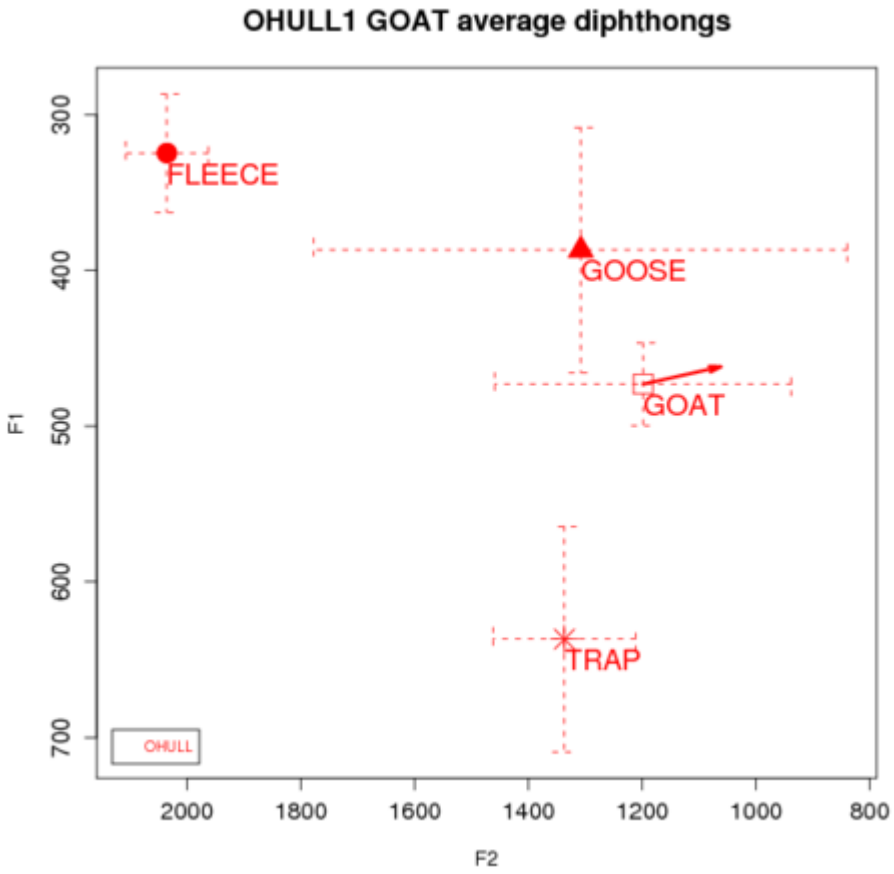


Figure 4.9 Trajectory of mean value for all GOAT vowels of OHULL1

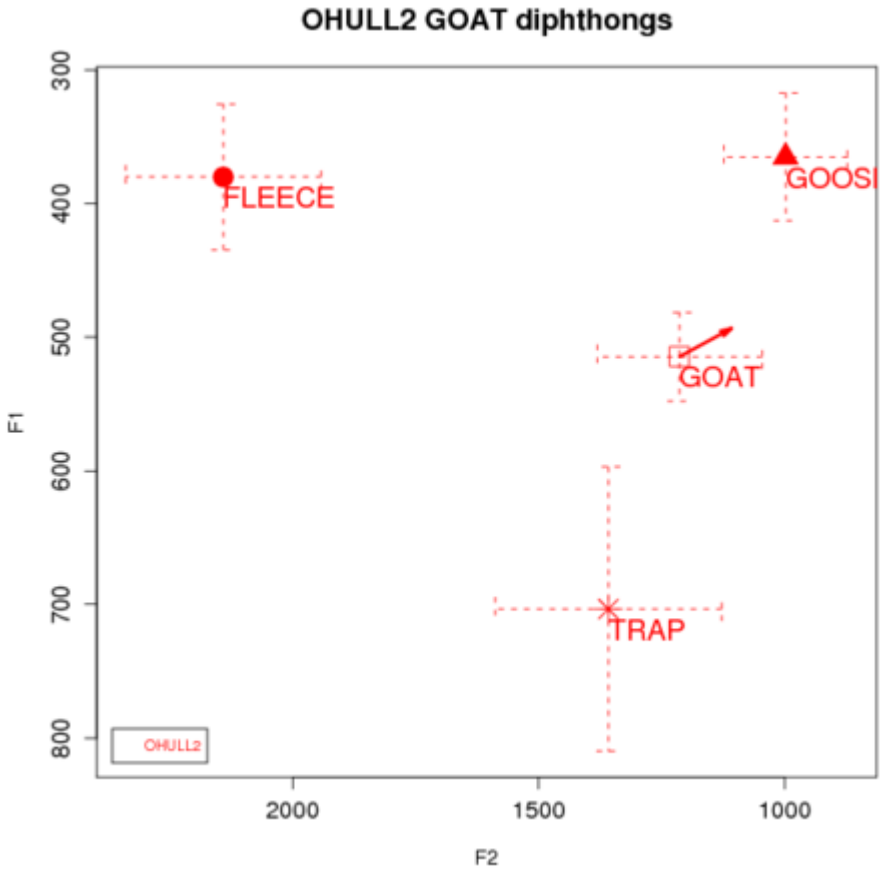


Figure 4.10 Trajectories of mean values for monophthongal and diphthongal GOAT vowels for OHULL2

The above figures show that the older speakers of Leeds and Sheffield maintain two distinct allophones of the GOAT vowel, one diphthongal that occurs almost always in contexts before /l/+consonant, and one monophthongal that occurs in all other contexts. The older speakers from Hull, however, do not seem to have such a distinction – this is in line with Williams and Kerswill's (1999:146) assertion that Hull speakers do not have a distinct allophone of this vowel before /l/.

The figures below present the data from the younger speakers in a similar manner.

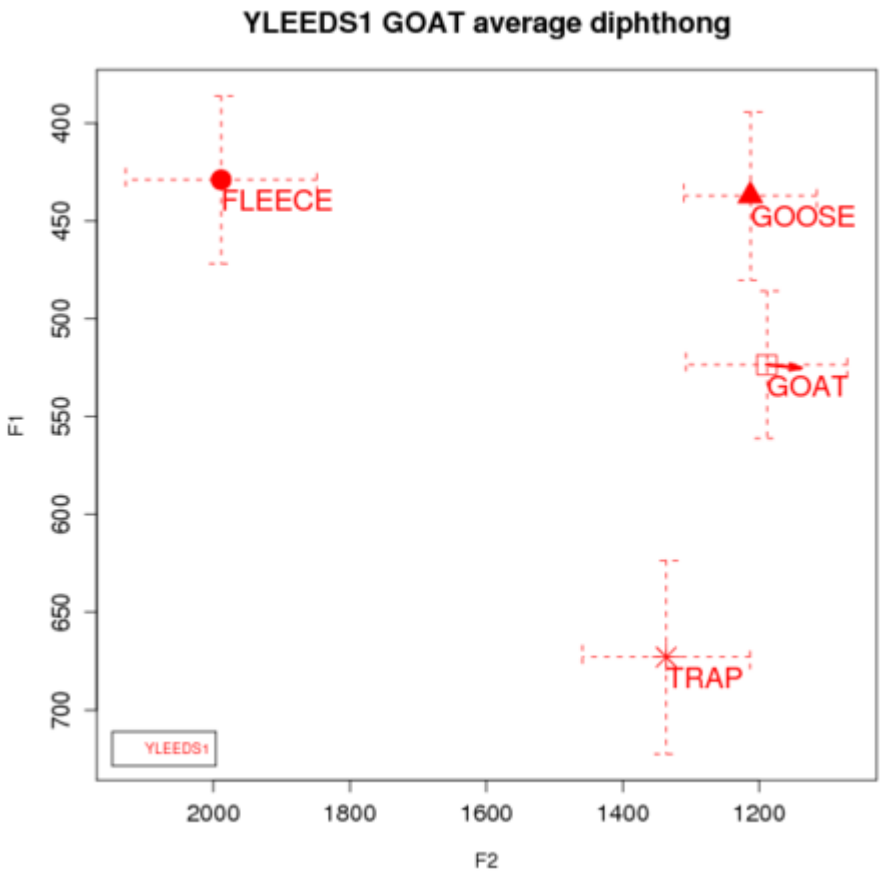


Figure 4.11 Trajectory of mean value for all GOAT vowels of YLEEDS1

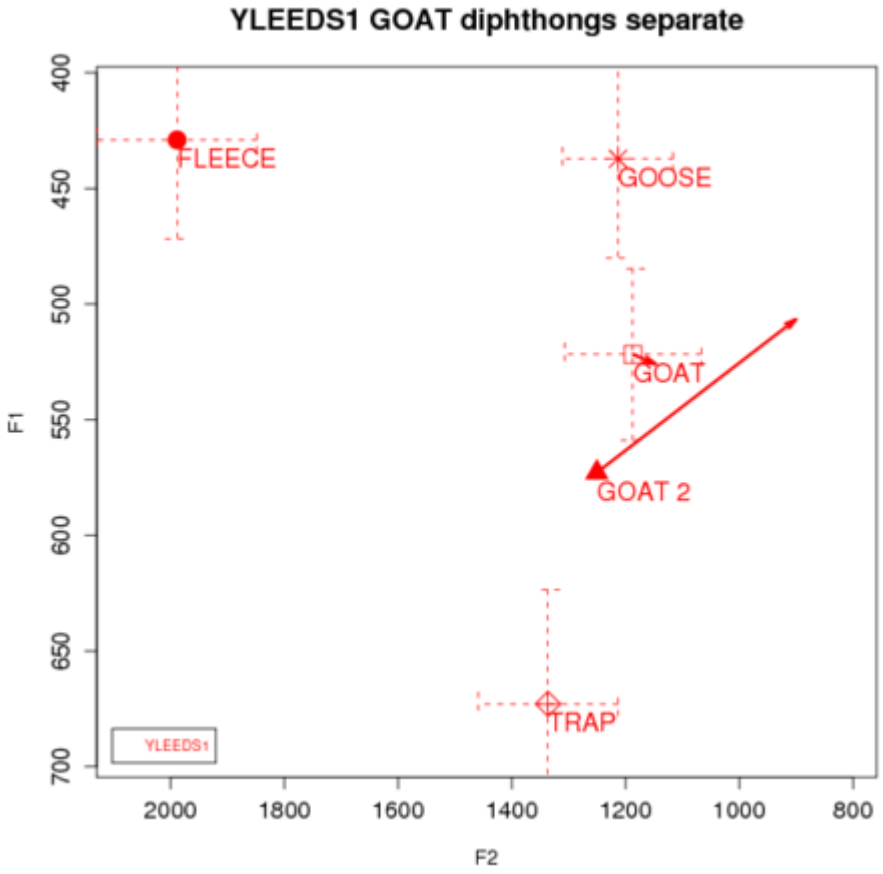


Figure 4.12 Trajectories of mean values for monophthongal and diphthongal GOAT vowels for YLEEDS1. GOAT n=29; GOAT 2 n=1 ([a bit] older)

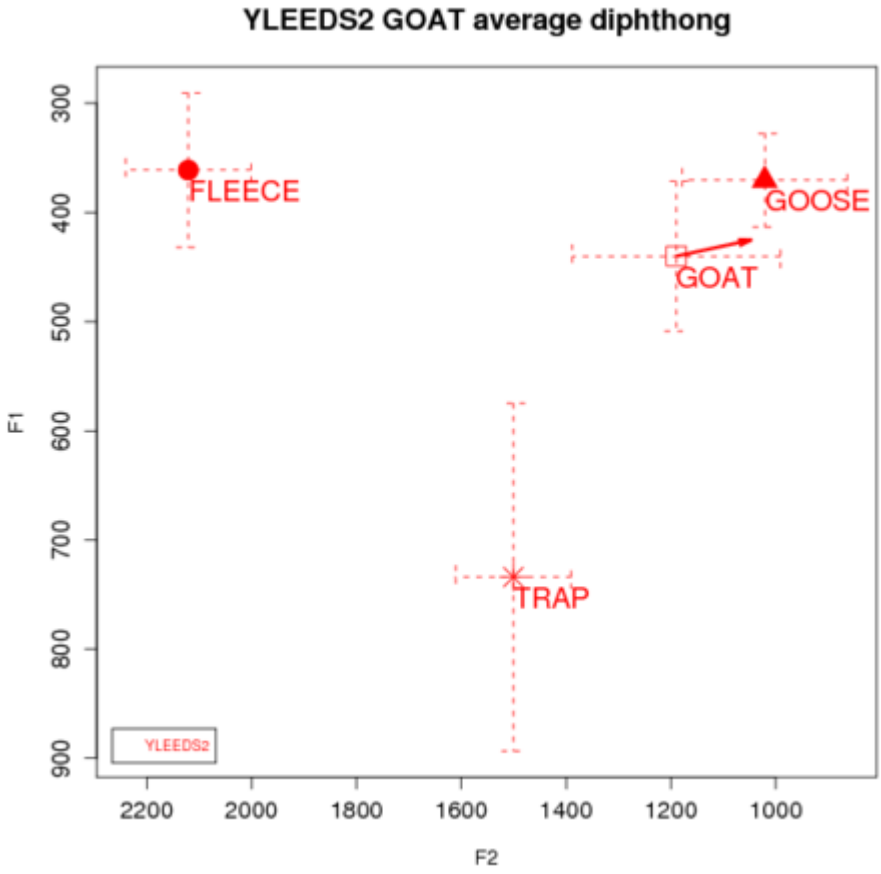


Figure 4.13 Trajectory of mean value for all GOAT vowels of YLEEDS2

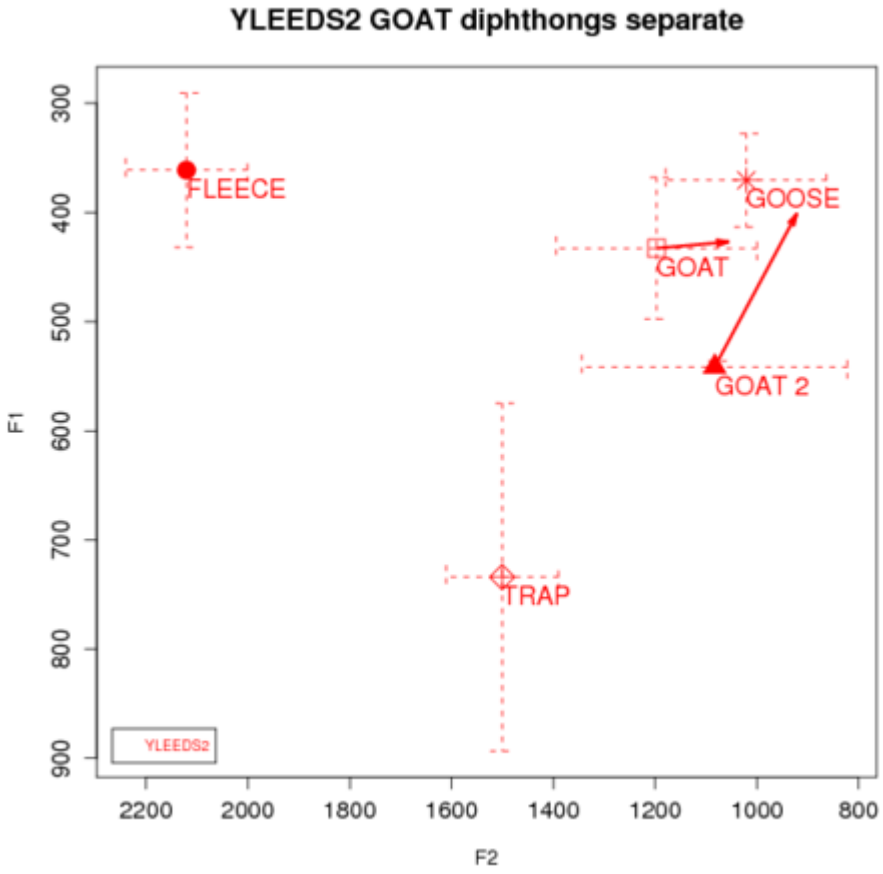


Figure 4.14Trajectories of mean values for monophthongal and diphthongal GOAT vowels for YLEEDS2. GOAT n=28; GOAT 2 n=2 (hold, upholsterer)

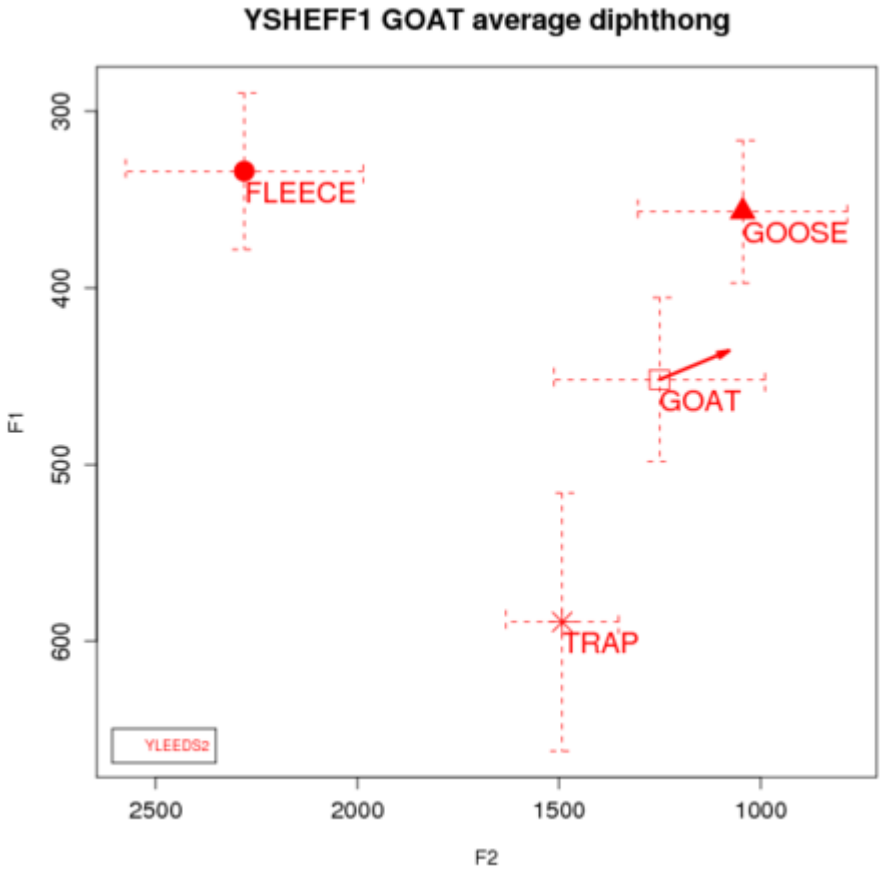


Figure 4.15 Trajectory of mean value for all GOAT vowels of YSHEFF1

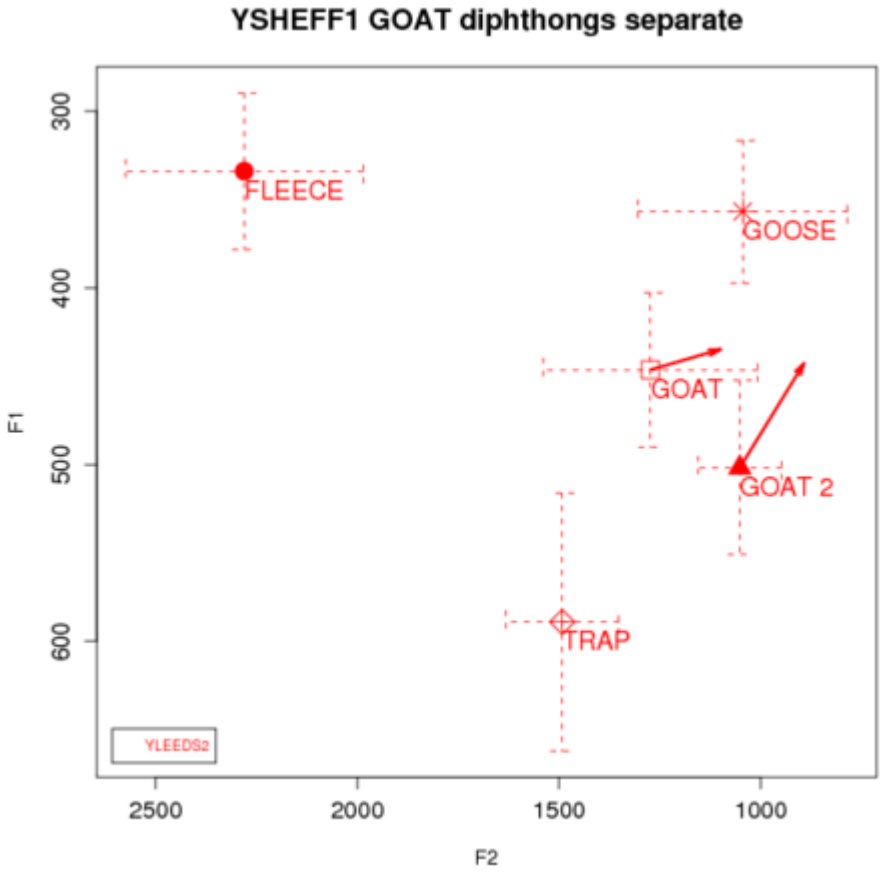


Figure 4.16 Trajectories of mean values for monophthongal and diphthongal GOAT vowels for YSHEFF1. GOAT n=27; GOAT 2 n=3 (goalkeeper, [ticket] holder, lowest)

Figure 4.16 suggests that the monophthongs produced by YSHEFF1 tend to be more fronted than the onset of his diphthongs – in line with the auditory analysis, which showed YSHEFF1 to be the speaker who produced the highest number of fronted tokens of GOAT.

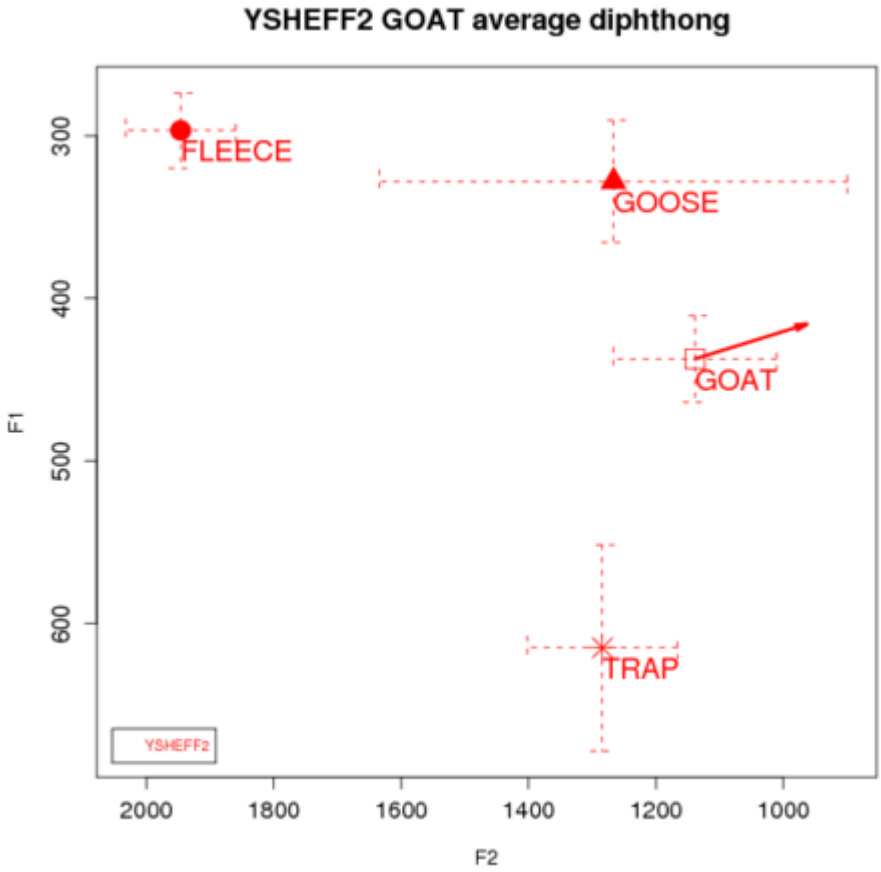


Figure 4.17 Trajectory of mean value for all GOAT vowels of YSHEFF2

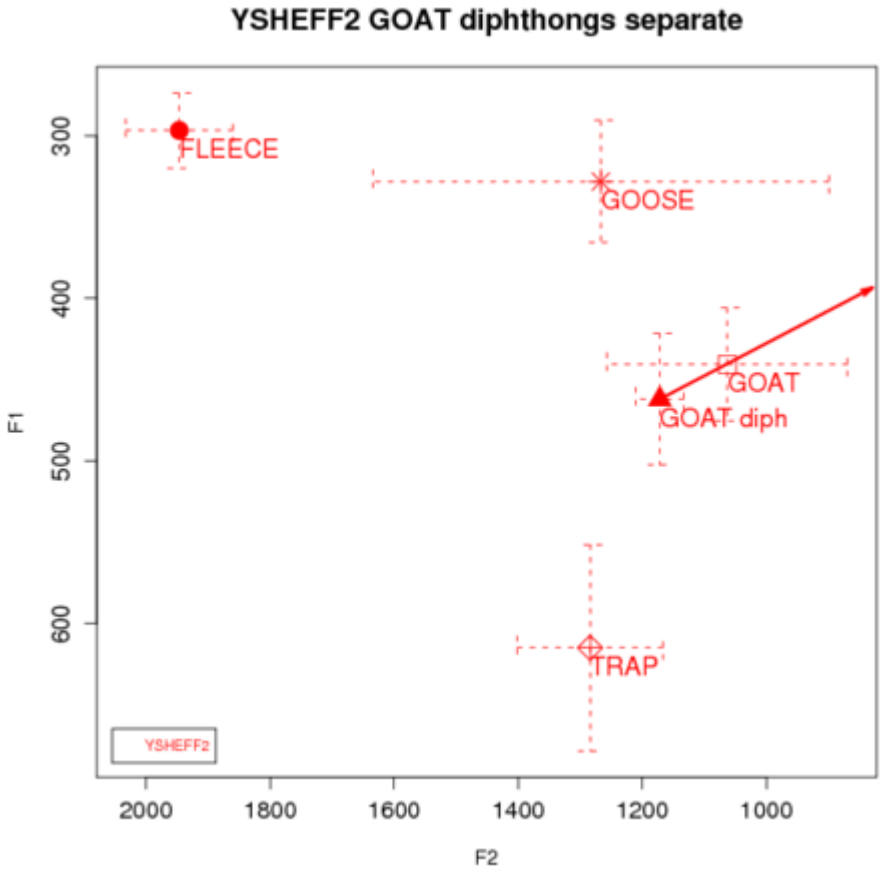


Figure 4.18 Trajectories of mean values for monophthongal and diphthongal GOAT vowels for YSHEFF2. GOAT n=28; GOAT 2 n=2 (sold, told)

As with the older speakers from Leeds and Sheffield, figures 4.11-4.18 show the contrast between the monophthongal tokens and the diphthongal tokens that occur in contexts before /l/+consonant. Again, the diphthongal tokens show movement that is often outside the standard deviation of the mean monophthongal value, showing that this traditional diphthong is still being maintained by the younger generation.

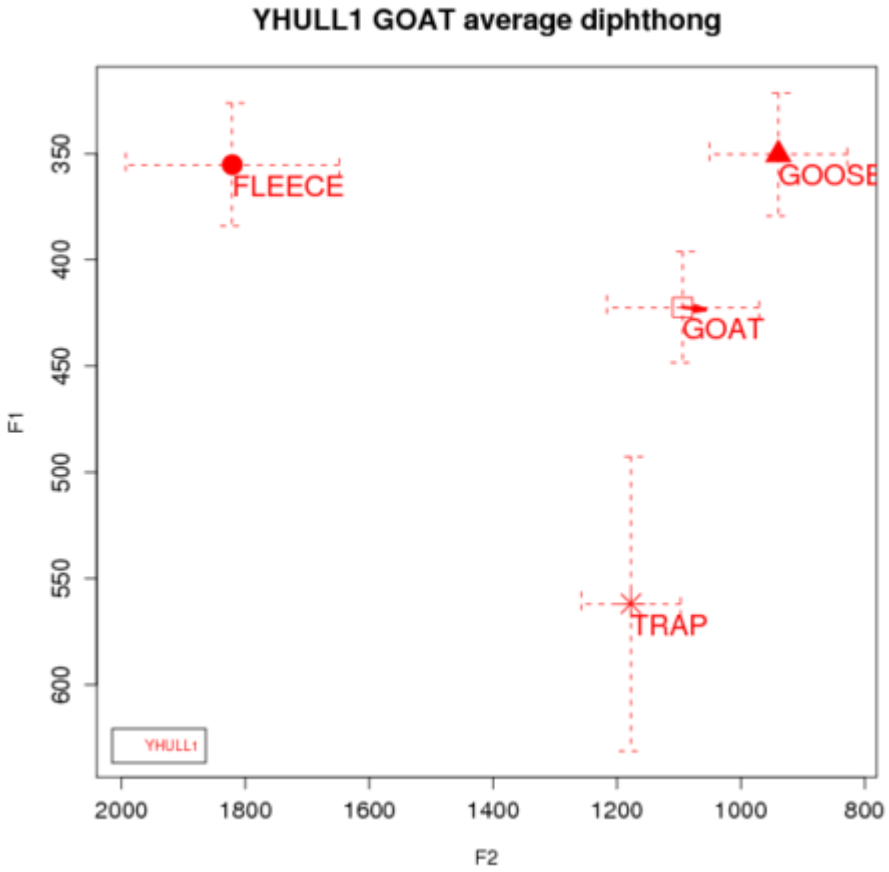


Figure 4.19 Trajectory of mean value for all GOAT vowels of YHULL1

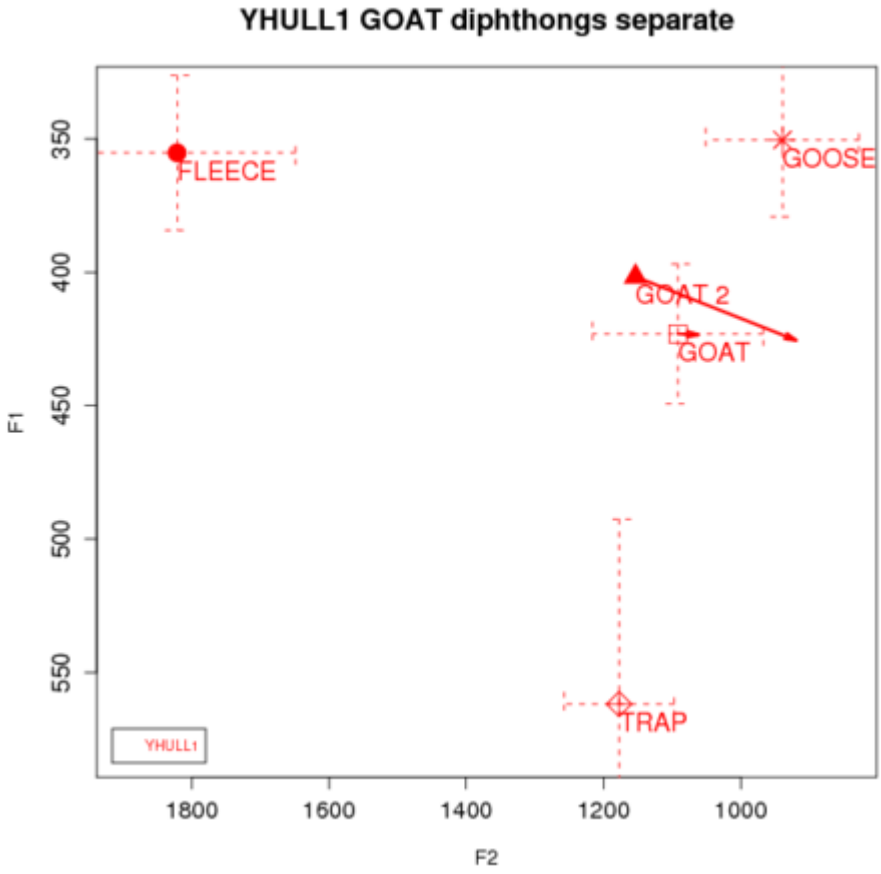


Figure 4.20 Trajectories of mean values for monophthongal and diphthongal GOAT vowels for YHULL1. GOAT n=28; GOAT 2 n=1 (sold)

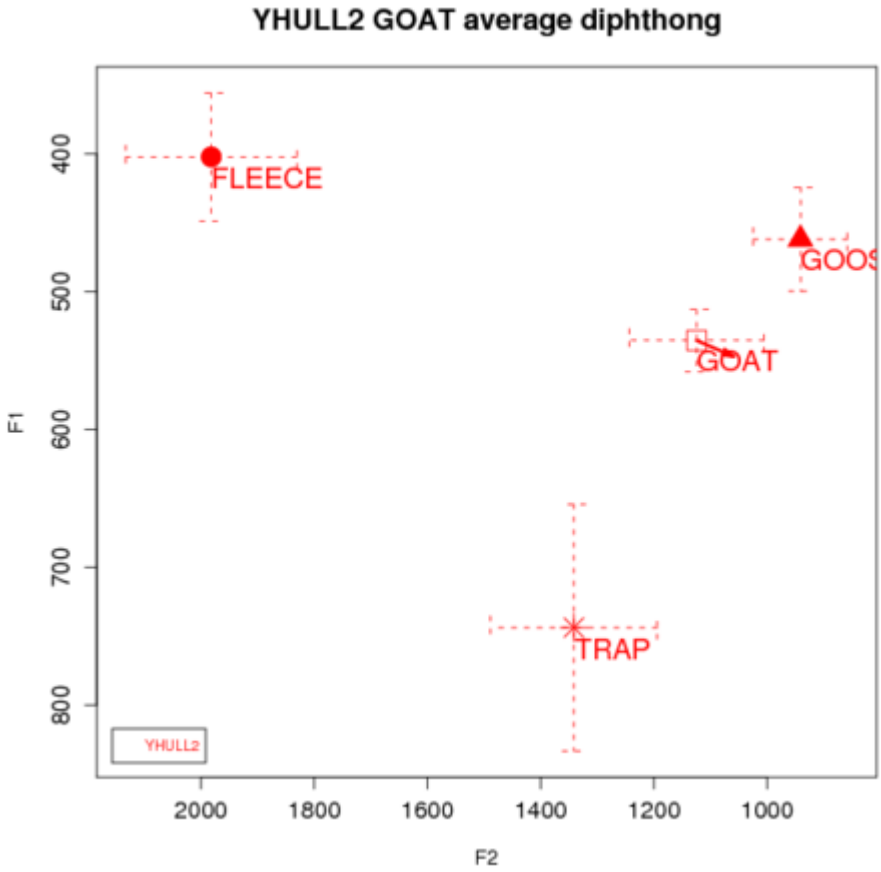


Figure 4.21 Trajectory of mean value for all GOAT vowels of YHULL2

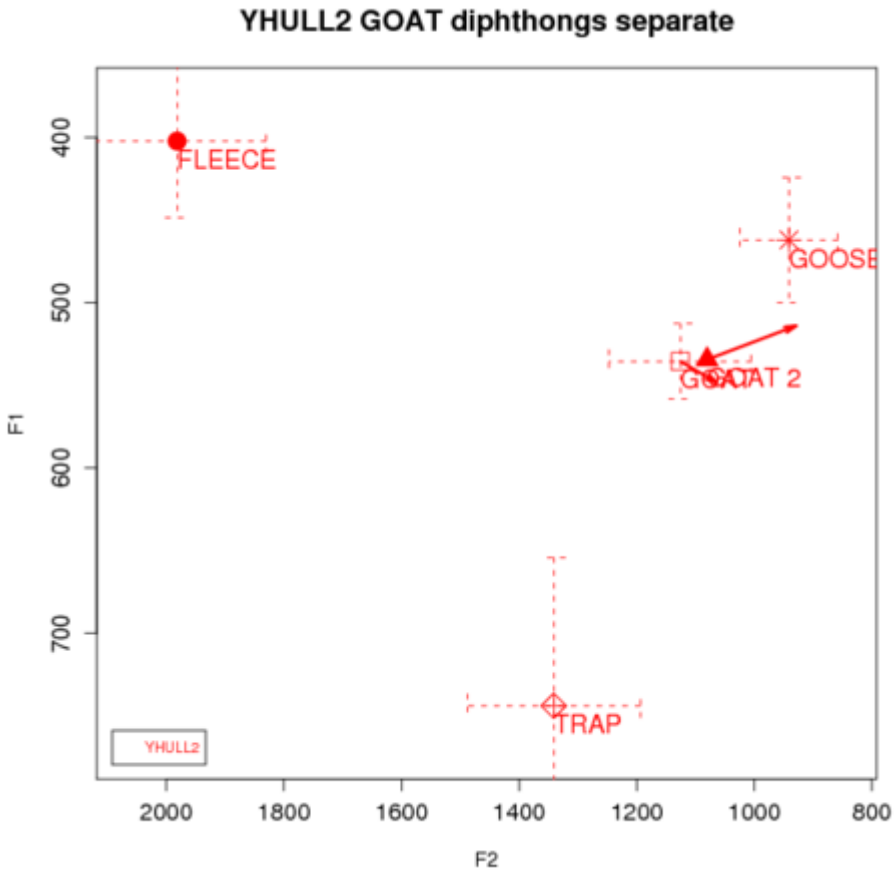


Figure 4.22 Trajectories of mean values for monophthongal and diphthongal GOAT vowels for YHULL2. GOAT n=29; GOAT 2 n=1 (holes)

Unlike the older Hull speakers, who produced only monophthongal tokens, the younger speakers produce one diphthongal token of GOAT each. This is a small number, but could possibly indicate a change towards the pattern found in Leeds and Sheffield.

4.2.6 Summary of acoustic analysis

As shown by the diphthongal tokens listed beneath each chart, where the diphthongal variant [ɒʊ] occurs, it is almost invariably in contexts where the GOAT vowel is followed by a liquid, and usually the context is /l/+consonant.

Usually this consonant is /d/ - words such as *old, sold* and *told* are commonly pronounced as diphthongs – but there are two instances of /z/ (in the word *rolls*, produced by OSHEFF2, and *holes*, produced by YHULL2), one instance of /s/ (in the word *upholsterer*, from YLEEDS2), and one instance of /k/ (in *goalkeeper*, produced by YSHEFF1). There is also one instance of the GOAT vowel preceding /w/ in the word *lowest*, produced by YSHEFF1. All of these diphthongs are of the [ɒʊ]/[ɔʊ] type found in the SED. In the SED, all GOAT vowels followed by /l/+stop (with the exception of the words *colt* and *shoulder* in Newbald) are closing diphthongs, exclusively of the [ɒʊ] type in Leeds and Sheffield, but with some variation between [ɔʊ], [aʊ], [ɔə] and [ɑə] in Newbald: this includes both inter-speaker and intra-speaker variation. In many cases in the SED, /l/ is vocalised, and this persists in the speech of some of the MMB speakers, particularly YLEEDS2.

With one exception (the word *told*, produced by YSHEFF1), all instances of GOAT followed by /l/+stop produced by my sample of the MMB are diphthongal. This subset may only account for a small number of tokens, but it seems that this variant is still being used consistently by speakers across Yorkshire in the same context as was found in the SED.

The fronted variants were more difficult to demonstrate using acoustic analysis. As the degree of fronting varied somewhat, it was difficult to definitively collate the fronted tokens for separate analysis in the cases of YLEEDS1 and YSHEFF1. However, Figure 4.16 above does seem to suggest a higher degree of fronting in the GOAT vowels produced by YSHEFF1. A larger sample and more complex acoustic analysis may be better able to demonstrate how fronting is being used by speakers in Yorkshire, and whether it is significant.

4.3 The PRICE vowel

4.3.1 Evidence from before the SED

The vowel denoted by Wells (1982) as the PRICE lexical set has not been subject to the same depth of study as the GOAT vowel. However, some earlier historical observations have been made about this vowel in Yorkshire. An early comment on the PRICE vowel appears in the preface to *Yorkshire Dialect Poems (1673-1915) and Traditional Poems*, compiled by F. W. Moorman in 1917. He says in a footnote (quoted in *Transactions of the Yorkshire Dialect Society 2012* p.25) "Both the south-west and the north-east have a word *praad* – with a vowel sound like the 'a' in *father* – but whereas in the south-west it stands for *proud*, in the north-east it stands for *pride*." Although this is not an explicit reference to the split between the vowels in the words PRICE and PRIDE, it acknowledges the monophthongal nature of the PRIDE vowel in North and East Yorkshire, whilst also implying that this variant is not found in PRICE vowels in the west and south, but rather is a variant of the MOUTH vowel there.

4.3.2 The SED

Table 4.17PRICE vowel tokens from the SED Basic Materials for location Y23 Leeds

Question	Word	Vowel	Phoneme
08.09.05	I	a	a
09.04.03	I'll x2	a	
04.02.07	grindstone	ɪ	ɪ
06.03.04	blind	ɪ	
07.03.02	fortnight	ɪ	
09.03.02	find x2	ɪ	
03.07.02	died (pp)	i:	i:
04.08.05	flies	i:	
05.02.12	light	i:	
06.03.01 06.03.03	eyes x2	i:	
06.03.01	eye	i:	

07.03.09 07.03.11	night x2	i:	
07.03.12	tonight	i:	
07.06.22	lightning	i:	
08.02.09	sight	i:	
08.08.02	frightened x2	i:	
09.02.02 09.02.03	while x2	ɛ	ɛ
03.13.06	fight	ɛɪ	ɛɪ
06.07.13	right-handed	ɛɪ	
06.10.09	height	ɛɪ	
08.03.02	right x2	ɛɪ	
06.03.06	cross-eyed	æɪ	aɪ
01.07.18	knife	aɪ	
04.01.07	low-lying	aɪ	
04.02.02	dike	aɪ	
04.02.09	stile	aɪ	
04.03.02	uprights	aɪ	
04.04.05	iron	aɪ	
04.05.01	mice	aɪ	
04.08.01	lice	aɪ	
04.08.08	hive	aɪ	
04.08.09	spider	aɪ	
04.10.10	ivy	aɪ	
05.03.01 05.04.02	fire x2	aɪ	
05.06.10	slice	aɪ	
05.08.04	spice	aɪ	
05.08.14	side	aɪ	
05.10.07	white	aɪ	
06.02.06	sideboards	aɪ	
06.03.09	eyebrows	aɪ	
06.05.03	wipe	aɪ	
06.05.07	eye-teeth	aɪ	
06.05.09	bide	aɪ	
06.05.18	nice	aɪ	
06.09.03	thigh	aɪ	
06.13.09	pined	aɪ	
07.01.08	nine	aɪ	
07.04.04	Friday x2	aɪ	
07.05.01 07.05.09	time x3	aɪ	
07.05.05 07.05.06	five x2	aɪ	
07.06.01	sky	aɪ	
07.06.06	white	aɪ	
07.06.11	icicles	aɪ	
07.06.12	ice	aɪ	

07.06.19	dry	aɪ	aɪ
07.08.09	miser	aɪ	
08.04.04	wright	aɪ	
08.06.06	writing	aɪ	
08.07.01	slide	aɪ	
08.07.06	hide	aɪ	
08.08.04	tried	aɪ	
08.08.13	aye x2	aɪ	
08.08.15	side	aɪ	
08.09.02	shy	aɪ	
09.08.05	thine	aɪ	
09.08.05	mine	aɪ	

As with the GOAT vowel, we can see that there were several different variants in use within the lexical set denoted by Wells (1982) as the PRICE vowel. Most of these are highly lexically restricted: /a/ only occurs in *I* and /ɛ/ only occurs in *while*, whilst /i:/ and /ɛɪ/ tend to occur in words such as *right* and *night* which historically were followed by /x/ (although *wright* and *uprights* are both pronounced with [aɪ]). In Leeds, however, we can see that the clear majority variant is an RP-like /aɪ/. Again, as with the GOAT vowel there is intra-speaker variation: the word *eye* is pronounced with [i:], but in compound words such as *eyebrows* and *eye-teeth* it takes the [aɪ] variant.

Table 4.18PRICE vowel tokens from the SED Basic Materials for location Y34 Sheffield

Question	**Word**	**Vowel**	**Phoneme**
03.13.06	fight	ɛɪ	ɛɪ
06.07.13	right-handed	ɛɪ	
06.10.09	height	ɛɪ	
08.03.02 08.08.05	right x2	ɛɪ	
01.01.05	pigsty	a^{I}	a?
01.05.05	whippin-lines	aɪ	aɪ
01.10.04	hind-door	aɪ	
02.09.06	scythe	aɪ	
04.04.05	iron	aɪ	
04.07.02	fly	aɪ	
04.08.08	hive	aɪ	
05.03.01	fire	aɪ	

05.04.02	firewood	aɪ	
05.07.04	gridiron	aɪ	
05.07.07	liven	aɪ	
05.08.04	spice	aɪ	
06.03.04	blind	aɪ	
07.05.01	time	aɪ	
08.01.02	child	aɪ	
03.12.06	rind	ɑɪ	
04.05.01	mice	ɑɪ	
05.06.10	slice	ɑɪ	
06.01.04	like	ɑɪ	
07.05.05	five	ɑɪ	
07.06.19	dry	ɑɪ	
03.11.07	hide	ɑ̃ɪ	
03.12.05	brinebath	ɑ̃ɪ	
04.02.07	grindstone	ɑ̃ɪ	
04.08.05	flies	ɑ̃ɪ	
01.07.18	knife	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
04.08.01	lice	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
05.06.10	slice	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
05.10.07	white	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
06.09.03	thigh	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
07.04.04	Friday x2	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
07.04.08	Whitsuntide	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
07.05.01 07.05.09	time x2	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
07.05.06	five	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
07.08.09	miser	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
08.04.04	wright x2	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
08.06.06	writing	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
08.07.04	climb	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
09.01.03	cockeyed	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
09.02.03	while	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
09.02.05	side	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
09.03.02	find	ɑ̃ˑɪ	
02.04.06	pie	ɑ̃ˑᴵ	
04.02.09	stile	ɑ̃ˑᴵ	
04.08.06	alive	ɑˑɪ	
04.08.08	hive	ɑˑɪ	
04.08.09	spider	ɑˑɪ	
05.10.07	white	ɑˑɪ	
06.03.01	eyes	ɑˑɪ	
06.03.01	eye	ɑˑɪ	
06.03.03	eyes	ɑˑɪ	
06.03.06	cross-eyed	ɑˑɪ	
06.05.03	wipe	ɑˑɪ	
06.05.07	eye-teeth	ɑˑɪ	
06.06.05	windpipe	ɑˑɪ	

07.01.08	nine	ɑˑɪ	
07.06.01	sky	ɑˑɪ	
07.06.06	white	ɑˑɪ	
07.06.11	icicles	ɑˑɪ	
07.06.12	ice	ɑˑɪ	
08.02.09	sight	ɑˑɪ	
08.08.04	tried	ɑˑɪ	
08.09.02	shy	ɑˑɪ	
09.02.02	while	ɑˑɪ	
09.08.05	mine	ɑˑɪ	
09.10.07	like	ɑˑɪ	
07.03.16	time	ɑˑᵻ	
02.02.10	dandelion	ɑːɪ	
03.07.02	died (pp)	iː	iː
05.02.12	light	iː	
07.03.11	night	iː	
07.03.12	tonight	iː	
07.06.22	lightning	iː	
08.08.02	frightened	iː	
08.08.02	frightened x2	ᵻiː	
07.03.09	night	ᵻiː	
07.03.02	fortnight	ɪ	ɪ
08.08.13	aye	ɑ̃ː	ɑː
08.08.13	aye	ɒː	ɒː
08.09.05	I	a	a
09.04.03	I'll	a	

In Sheffield as in Leeds, we find a similar range of variants in similar usage, with /a/, /ɪ/, /iː/ and /ɛɪ/ occurring in similar words, although they seem even more restricted in Sheffield, with words like *eyes* and *blind* taking a diphthongal pronunciation. The /aɪ/ variant also occurs in Sheffield, but we can see that backing of the onset is a more common realisation of this vowel here, with a variety of lengths of onset and also nasalisation also occurring. The backed variants only occur in the south-western fringe of Yorkshire, being found also throughout the midlands, south-east and parts of Lancashire (Anderson 1987:44-45). In Sheffield, these backed variants appear to be in free variation with the fronted-onset realisation, and do not seem to follow any particular conditioning.

Table 4.19 PRICE vowel tokens from the SED Basic Materials for location Y25 Newbald

Question	Word	Vowel	Phoneme
03.07.02	died (pp)	i:	i:
04.08.05	flies	i:	
04.08.05	flyblown	i:	
05.02.12	light	i:	
06.03.01 06.03.03	eyes x2	i:	
06.03.01	eye	i:	
06.03.06	cross-eyed	i:	
06.03.09	eyebrows	i:	
06.07.13	right-handed	i:	
07.03.09 07.03.11	night x4	i:	
07.03.12	tonight	i:	
07.06.22	lightning	i:	
07.06.22	lighten	i:	
08.02.09	sight	i:	
08.04.04	wright	i:	
09.01.03	cockeyed	i:	
06.07.13	right-handed	ɯi	
01.05.02	blinders	ɪ	ɪ
02.02.04	bindweed	ɪ	
06.03.04 08.09.04	blind x2	ɪ	
07.03.02	fortnight	ɪ	
08.07.04	climb	ɪ	
09.03.02	find x2	ɪ	
08.09.05	I	a	a
09.04.03	I'll	a	
04.08.09	spider	a:	a:
07.05.01	time	a:	
07.05.01	time	a:	
09.08.05	thine	a:	
09.08.05	mine	a:	
01.07.10	tines	ạ:	
01.07.18	knife	æɪ	æɪ
01.8.08	slipe	æɪ	
01.8.08	slipe	æɪ	
03.13.06	fight	æɪ	
04.02.02	dike	æɪ	
04.02.11	diking	æɪ	
04.04.05	iron	æɪ	
04.05.01	mice	æɪ	
04.08.01	lice	æɪ	

04.08.01	sheeplice	æɪ	
05.03.01	fired	æɪ	
05.06.10	slices	æɪ	
05.07.04	gridiron	æɪ	
06.05.03	wipe	æɪ	
08.04.04	wright	æɪ	
08.04.04	wright	æɪ	
08.06.06	writing	æɪ	
08.08.13	aye	æɪ	
09.04.13	might	æɪ	
02.09.14	hayknife	æɪ	
03.04.04	entire	æɪ	
03.10.07	white	æɪ	
04.08.01	lice	æɪ	
05.04.02	firewood	æɪ	
05.10.07	white	æɪ	
07.06.11	icicles	æɪ	
07.06.12	ice	æɪ	
08.01.09	like	æɪ	
08.01.24	wife	æɪ	
01.01.05	pigsty	aɪ	aɪ
02.03.04	offside	aɪ	
01.06.04a	nearside	aɪ	
01.06.04a	offside	aɪ	
01.07.10	tines	aɪ	
02.02.10	dandelion	aɪ	
02.04.06	pie	aɪ	
02.04.06	pie	aɪ	
02.05.01	rye	aɪ	
02.06.02	tie	aɪ	
02.06.02	ties	aɪ	
02.06.02	tied	aɪ	
02.07.01	pike	aɪ	
03.01.09	dry	aɪ	
03.03.08	gist [gaɪst]	aɪ	
03.07.02	died (pp)	aɪ	
03.08.01	swine	aɪ	
03.10.07	my	aɪ	
03.11.7	hide	aɪ	
03.12.06	rind	aɪ	
04.02.09	stile	aɪ	
04.06.20	rive	aɪ	
04.08.06	alive	aɪ	
04.08.08	hive	aɪ	
04.10.10	ivy	aɪ	
05.03.01	fire	aɪ	
05.03.01	fireplace	aɪ	
05.05.02	sile	aɪ	

06.02.06	sideboards	aɪ	
06.02.08	rive	aɪ	
06.05.09	bide	aɪ	
06.07.11	idleback	aɪ	
06.08.07	kite	aɪ	
06.09.03	thigh	aɪ	
06.10.09	high	aɪ	
07.01.08	nine	aɪ	
07.04.04	Friday x2	aɪ	
07.05.05 07.05.06	five x2	aɪ	
07.05.09	time	aɪ	
07.06.01	sky	aɪ	
07.06.06	rime	aɪ	
07.06.19	dry	aɪ	
07.08.09	miser	aɪ	
07.08.16	kind	aɪ	
08.03.06	lie	aɪ	
08.07.01	slide	aɪ	
08.07.06	hide	aɪ	
08.08.04	tried	aɪ	
08.08.06	why	aɪ	
08.09.02	shy	aɪ	
09.02.02 09.02.03	while x2	aɪ	
09.08.05	mine	aɪ	
07.03.16	time	aːɪ	
07.05.01	time	aːɪ	
03.11.05	lights	ɛɪ	ɛɪ
05.10.07	white	ɛɪ	
06.07.13	right-handed	ɛɪ	
06.10.09	height	ɛɪ	
04.02.07	grindstone	ɷ	ʊ

In Newbald, we see several variants that were also found in Leeds and Sheffield: the /iː/, /ɪ/, /a/ and /ɛɪ/ variants all occur in similar groups of words to those in the other locations. However, in Newbald we see an important distinction between phonetic environments. Where the vowel is followed by a voiceless consonant, it takes the [æɪ] variant, but in any other context, it takes either the monophthong [aː] or open onset diphthong [aɪ]. This pattern is found only in the eastern part of Yorkshire, and the division is categorical: the fully

open onset variant never occurs before a voiceless consonant (Anderson 1987:42, 48).

4.3.3 Studies since the SED

More recently within Yorkshire, the vowel has mainly been discussed with regard to Hull, as in Williams and Kerswill (1999:97). They point out that the city

> has two very distinct variants of the PRICE vowel, a monophthong before voiced consonants and a diphthong elsewhere; this pattern is restricted in England to Humberside and parts of East Yorkshire as well as an area in the Fens (Britain 1997).

Britain's (1997) work on the Fens concerns the presence of a "Canadian /ai/-raising"-like phenomenon, whereby, before voiceless consonants, the onset of the PRICE vowel is raised (giving pronunciations such as *right* [rəit]), but in other contexts the onset is open (in words such as *time* [tɑim], *fire* [fɑiə], *buy* [bɑi]) (Britain 1997:16). As the name "Canadian Raising" implies, this distinction is also found in Canada, showing that these phonetic conditions lend themselves to such a split in other varieties too, but, as Trudgill notes, in the parts of East Yorkshire where allophony of /ai/ is found, "the phonetic forms bear no resemblance at all to Canadian Raising" (1986:156).

Kerswill and Williams (2002:97) further explain that

> In Hull and parts of the surrounding East Riding of Yorkshire, there is a striking allophonic difference between two variants of PRICE, a monophthong [a:] before voiced consonants, as in *ride*, and a diphthong, typically [aɪ], before voiceless consonants, as in *bik**e**…* Despite its localized nature, there is little convergence with the South on this vowel and, more interestingly, there is also little convergence with other northern accents, which do not have this feature.

This is slightly different to the situation described in the SED above, where the variant found before voiceless consonants was recorded as [æɪ], and [aɪ] was described as occurring in voiced/zero contexts. However, Kerswill and Williams'

work highlights that the distinction between these contexts still exists, and this lends important support to the view that variation persists in the region even in the face of seemingly strong influences from elsewhere: Kerswill and Williams compare and contrast it with the adoption of GOAT-fronting and T-glottalling, which have increased among younger speakers in Hull, whilst the PRICE vowel retains this traditional localised characteristic among the same speakers. Levelling of this feature towards the standard appears to be being resisted, despite the close geographic presence of a more standard-like pattern in neighbouring West Yorkshire.

Wells (1982) does not mention this split between vowels in contexts before a voiceless consonant (referred to in this study as 'PRICE-type' vowels) and in other contexts (referred to as 'PRIDE-type' vowels), but he does discuss variation in the vowel across the midlands and the north of England, beginning with "a back starting point in the midlands via a front [a] in the middle north to a less open [ɛ] in the far north" (1982:358). Wells also discusses the offglide, saying that "in much of the middle north the diphthong is a very narrow one" (1982:358), whereas in the midlands and far north the endpoint is closer. Wells (1982:358) also acknowledges that the vowel is "(variably?) monophthongal". With regard to the PRICE diphthong, he describes a "back starting-point, [ɑ ~ ɒ ~ ɔ], in the midlands via a front [a] in the middle north" (1982:358).

Petyt's (1985) extensive work in West Yorkshire describes the situation as it was at the time of his fieldwork in the 1970s, and compares it with the "traditional" dialect described by linguists earlier in the 20th century and before. He describes, as outlined above in discussion of the SED, a situation where several subsets of words existed in the traditional dialect, the largest subset including for example *like, my, time, why* etc. He also points out the differences

within West Yorkshire, with this largest subset taking the RP-type [aɪ] in Bradford, but a monophthong [ɑː] in Huddersfield. However, by the time of his study, he found that "pronunciation of '/aɪ/ words' with [iː] or [ɛɪ] was very rare; as were [ɑː] in Huddersfield… My conclusion is that for virtually all my informants… /aɪ/ [is] now [a] fully established member… of their vowel inventory" (1985:139). He attributes this to the influence of RP. Thus, he concludes that variation in this vowel between different towns in West Yorkshire had almost entirely disappeared by the 1970s, speakers having adopted a levelled, RP-like variant. However, he notes that, despite the /aɪ/ vowel becoming part of the *inventory* of West Yorkshire speakers, whereas before it was absent in Huddersfield and lexically restricted in other areas, there are still some differences in *realisation*. He says that a "variant of (aɪ) seems to occur in [ɑᶦ] the length of the first element, where in a minority of cases there appears to be some prolongation, and probably also the start-points, may be among the regional features which persist" (1985:164-5). In fact, he comments that it is difficult to discern through his auditory analysis alone whether the first element of the diphthong is prolonged, or where exactly the start point of the diphthong is; but he wonders if further analysis might be possible using more advanced technology. As today we have easier access to technology of this type, I am able to further investigate Petyt's suggestions below.

This previous evidence raises some interesting questions about the PRICE vowel. Is the split between monophthongal and diphthongal contexts being maintained in Hull? Is there any evidence that it, like GOAT-fronting, might be spreading? And if monophthongal pronunciations exist elsewhere in Yorkshire, what is the quality of these monophthongs? Is their variability

governed by any other rules, and are they too being maintained? These are questions which I investigate below.

4.3.4 Auditory analysis of the MMB data

Table 4.20 Tokens ofPRICE vowels from MMB speaker OLEEDS1

Token	Pronunciation
arthritis	aɪ
frightening	aɪ
life	aɪ
like	aɪ
nice	aɪ
night	aɪ
quite	aɪ
site	aɪ
sited	aɪ
slices	aɪ
twice	aɪ
type	aɪ
behind	aɪ
Friday	aɪ
fry it	aɪ
lines	aɪ
lining	aɪ
mind	aɪ
modernised	aɪ
nineteen	aɪ
outside	aɪ
pigsties	aɪ
private	aɪ
side	aɪ
size	aɪ
supply but	aɪ
time	aɪ
time	aɪ
mile	aɪ
wild	aɪ

Table 4.21 Tokens ofPRICE vowels from MMB speaker OLEEDS2

Token	Pronunciation
life	aɪ
like	aɪ
microphones	aɪ
nice	aɪ
night	aɪ
quite	aɪ
slices	aɪ
strike	aɪ

white	aɪ
wife	aɪ
buy a	aɪ
buy much	aɪ
by [pause]	aɪ
five	aɪ
hidings	aɪ
lines	aɪ
mind	aɪ
miners	aɪ
mining	aɪ
my father	aɪ
nineteen	aɪ
ninety	aɪ
outside	aɪ
sign	aɪ
sometimes	aɪ
strive	aɪ
tie [pause]	aɪ
why do	aɪ
schoolchild	aɪ
wildest	aɪ

As seen in the GOAT vowel, many variants of the PRICE vowel that were found at the time of the SED in Leeds are no longer found in the MMB data. Both the older Leeds speakers show a very regular and standard-like PRICE vowel. There is no observable variation between vowels that occur before voiceless consonants, or those that occur in other phonetic environments.

Table 4.22 Tokens ofPRICE vowels from MMB speaker OSHEFF1

Token	**Pronunciation**
sometimes	a:
time	a:
might	aːˈ
types	ɑːˈ
time	ɑːˈ
alright	aɪ
it's alright	aɪ
knife	aɪ
like	aɪ
paradise	aɪ
quite	aɪ
Whiteley's	aɪ
write	aɪ
applied	aɪ
enterprise	aɪ
five	aɪ
grinder	aɪ

grinding	aɪ
High Storrs	aɪ
High Storrs	aɪ
nineteen	aɪ
nineteen	aɪ
nineteen	aɪ
signed	aɪ
why [short pause]	aɪ
behind	ɑɪ
my [pause]	ɑɪ
part time	ɑɪ
rise	ɑɪ
why can't	ɑɪ

OSHEFF1 produces mainly diphthongal tokens of a standard-like [aɪ] type, although some have a backer onset. The SED data for Sheffield shows that the majority of PRICE variants recorded there had a backed onset, and many also showed nasalisation of the onset, which I did not observe in the MMB data. OSHEFF1 also produced some monophthongal tokens, or tokens with only a slight offglide: several of these occur in the word *time*.

Table 4.23 Tokens ofPRICE vowels from MMB speaker OSHEFF2

Token	**Pronunciation**
quite	a:
highLIGHTS	ɑːˈ
spite	aɪ
twice	aɪ
buy uniform	aɪ
grinder	aɪ
kind	aɪ
organisation	aɪ
Pye Bank	aɪ
you either	aɪ
cycle	ɑɪ
life	ɑɪ
life	ɑɪ
light	ɑɪ
like	ɑɪ
like	ɑɪ
night	ɑɪ
rifle	ɑɪ
buy books	ɑɪ
by the way	ɑɪ
countryside	ɑɪ
decided	ɑɪ
five	ɑɪ
guides	ɑɪ

on high days	ɑɪ
the HIGHlights	ɑɪ
time	ɑɪ
why we	ɑɪ
while	ɑɪ

OSHEFF2 also produces mainly diphthongal tokens of PRICE, but many more of his have the backed onset. As one of the oldest speakers in the sample, it is perhaps unsurprising that he retains this conservative variant that was used so heavily in the SED. OSHEFF2 does not, however, use any of the other traditional variants recorded in the SED. There also does not appear to be any clear conditioning associated with variants that have the back onset, nor any clear difference in pronunciation between vowels occurring in PRICE-type words and vowels occurring in PRIDE-type words: tokens of each type are pronounced with both [ɑɪ] and [aɪ]. Comparing his use of [ɑɪ] with that of the younger OSHEFF1, it is possible to see a decline in usage between the two speakers.

Table 4.24 Tokens ofPRICE vowels from MMB speakerOHULL1

Token	**Pronunciation**
(expensive) item	ai
bike	ai
bike	ai
fight	ai
fight	ai
life	ai
life	ai
life	ai
lighter	ai
lighters	ai
my wife	ai
nice	ai
quite friendly with them	ai
slight	ai
twice	ai
[pause] idea	a:
arrived	a:
drive	a:
dry that	a:
five	a:
lines	a:

mind	a:
mine	a:
my jobs	a:
nine	a:
realise	a:
ride	a:
side	a:
tried	a:
childhood	a:

Table 4.25Tokens ofPRICE vowels from MMB speaker OHULL2

Token	**Pronunciation**
frightens	ai
life	ai
life	ai
like	ai
like	ai
night	ai
right	ai
right	ai
right	ai
types	ai
wife	ai
Wright	ai
your ice cream	ai
alongside	a:
by the	a:
cry from	a:
died	a:
direct	a:
diverted	a:
eye [pause]	a:
find	a:
fined	a:
five	a:
my family	a:
nineteen	a:
side	a:
sky's	a:
terrified	a:
time	a:

Both older Hull speakers also show very regular patterns. As described in the literature, they both show a clear split between monophthongal and diphthongal variants, with diphthongs occurring before voiceless consonants (PRICE-type words), and monophthongs occurring in all other environments (PRIDE-type words). The diphthongal variant found in Hull also has a higher offset than the

diphthongs produced by the Leeds speakers. The onset, however, appears fully open – in contrast to the SED data from Newbald, which records a diphthong with a raised onset but more standard-like lowered offset, [æɪ].

Table 4.26 Tokens of PRICE vowels from MMB speaker YLEEDS1

Token	**Pronunciation**
an icon	aɪ
cycled	aɪ
frightening	aɪ
ignited	aɪ
life	aɪ
liked	aɪ
nice	aɪ
nice	aɪ
quite	aɪ
quite	aɪ
right	aɪ
white	aɪ
wife	aɪ
Wrightson	aɪ
died	aɪ
Friday	aɪ
homogenised	aɪ
ideal	aɪ
kind of	aɪ
mines	aɪ
my (ideal)	aɪ
nearby and	aɪ
nineteen	aɪ
pie or	aɪ
primary	aɪ
primeval	aɪ
side	aɪ
side	aɪ
sky always	aɪ
child	aɪ

Table 4.27 Tokens of PRICE vowels from MMB speaker YLEEDS2

Token	**Pronunciation**
time	a:
time	a:
fight	aɪ
frightened	aɪ
knife	aɪ
life	aɪ
night	aɪ
quite	aɪ

quite	aɪ
right	aɪ
right	aɪ
sometimes	aɪ
United	aɪ
by not	aɪ
five	aɪ
five	aɪ
five	aɪ
knives	aɪ
my (life)	aɪ
nineteen	aɪ
nineteen	aɪ
realising	aɪ
seen eyes	aɪ
side	aɪ
side	aɪ
signed	aɪ
times	aɪ
while	aɪ
like	aˈ
time	aˈ

As with the older Leeds speakers, YLEEDS1 uses only one variant of the PRICE vowel: a standard-like [aɪ]. YLEEDS2 also uses this variant for the majority of his tokens, but he also produces a small number of monophthongal or near-monophthongal tokens – again, as with OSHEFF1, most of these occur in the word *time*.

Table 4.28 Tokens of PRICE vowels from MMB speaker YSHEFF1

Token	**Pronunciation**
might	aː
time	aː
time	aː
quite	aːˈ
cried	aːˈ
cry me and you	aːˈ
five	aːˈ
time	aːˈ
like	aɪ
like	aɪ
might	aɪ
quite	aɪ
United	aɪ
by I just	aɪ
five	aɪ
five	aɪ
five	aɪ

grime	aɪ
High Green	aɪ
job-wise	aɪ
nine	aɪ
nine	aɪ
nineteen	aɪ
ninety-six	aɪ
side	aɪ
side	aɪ
strides	aɪ
time	aɪ
miles	aɪ
like	aˡ

Table 4.29 Tokens of PRICE vowels from MMB speaker YSHEFF2

Token	**Pronunciation**
rise	a:
sometimes	a:
time	a:
bikes	aɪ
life	aɪ
like	aɪ
like	aɪ
piping	aɪ
behind	aɪ
besides	aɪ
design	aɪ
driving	aɪ
environment	aɪ
five	aɪ
high (rise)	aɪ
Kelvin flats Hyde Park	aɪ
nine	aɪ
not hygienic	aɪ
outside	aɪ
private	aɪ
private	aɪ
riding	aɪ
sky and	aɪ
suicide	aɪ
surprised	aɪ
alight	aˡ
alright	aˡ
nicer	aˡ
ninety	aˡ

Neither of the younger Sheffield speakers produce any tokens with a backed onset – showing evidence that this particular Sheffield feature has become obsolete in a relatively short period of time. Most of the tokens they produce are

the standard-type [aɪ] variant, but they also produce as many, if not more, monophthongal or near-monophthongal tokens of PRICE. As with OSHEFF1 and YLEEDS1, several of these occur in the word *time*, suggesting an element of lexical conditioning for this particular word. However, other words pronounced with a monophthong vary: there is no immediately apparent phonetic conditioning that favours a monophthongal pronunciation, such as the split between PRICE-type words and PRIDE-type words found in Hull. Again, larger numbers of tokens from more speakers may be able to help determine if such conditioning exists.

Table 4.30 Tokens of PRICE vowels from MMB speaker YHULL1

Token	**Pronunciation**
life	ai
lifestyle	ai
like	ai
like	ai
like	ai
like	ai
night	ai
night	ai
quite	ai
quite	ai
quite	ai
right	ai
writing	ai
child	a:
died	a:
drive	a:
find	a:
mine	a:
mine	a:
mobile	a:
nine	a:
nine	a:
nineteen	a:
of Irish	a:
relied	a:
sign	a:
time	a:
time	a:
wise	a:
lifestyle	a:

Table 4.31 Tokens of PRICE vowels from MMB speaker YHULL2

Token	Pronunciation
alright	ai
Endike	ai
life	ai
life	ai
lights	ai
like	ai
liked	ai
Mike	ai
night	ai
quite	ai
right	ai
right	ai
twice	ai
United	ai
White	ai
an idea	a:
because I've	a:
by cos	a:
crime	a:
driving	a:
find	a:
five	a:
kind	a:
legalise	a:
my personal	a:
primary	a:
realise	a:
side	a:
time	a:
while	a:

Both the younger Hull MMB speakers appear to be maintaining the split between monophthongal and diphthongal pronunciations in the same way as the older speakers.

4.3.5 Summary of trends observed through auditory analysis

As with the GOAT vowel, there has also been a reduction in the number of variants used in Yorkshire in the PRICE vowel since the time of the SED. The traditional [i:] variant in *eyes, night* etc is not heard at all in any of the MMB files I evaluated. The [ɛɪ] variant is not produced in my sample, but it can be heard

occasionally in the MMB, for example in the word *fight*, notably from a young male speaker in prison (MMB file no. C900/14602), who reports that he had no formal education: he is an extremely broad speaker who also uses *thee* and *thou*, amongst other heavily marked Yorkshire variants. As Stoddart *et al* (1999:75) also found, the [a] variant is also still heard in *I*, *I'll*, *I'm* etc, in unstressed positions, but other minority lexically-restricted variants such as [ɪ] in *blind, find* etc have disappeared.

Nonetheless, several different variants can still be heard in Yorkshire, and localised patterns of usage are still evident.

It was immediately clear from auditory analysis that there are two distinct variants of this vowel in use in Hull, as described by Kerswill and Williams (2002). Before voiceless consonants in words such as PRICE, a diphthong with a high offset is used; before voiced consonants in words such as PRIDE, as well as before vowels and zero contexts, the variant used is a monophthong. This split is being maintained just as strongly by the younger generation as by the older.

Through auditory analysis of the data from Leeds and Sheffield, there does appear to be some variation between monophthongs and diphthongs within both PRICE and PRIDE vowels, although it does not appear to be as clearly defined by the following linguistic context as it is in Hull. In Leeds, auditory assessment suggests the majority of tokens are of a diphthongal type [aɪ], sometimes with an even more fronted onset, particularly from the younger speakers: this has echoes of the SED findings, where [aɪ] was by far the majority variant used. In Sheffield on the other hand, diphthongisation seems not quite as pronounced – the first element of the diphthong seems elongated, which corresponds with what Anderson (1987:40) says of the Midland dialects

in the SED, with which Sheffield shares similarities within the PRICE vowel (Anderson 1987:44-45). More tokens of this vowel appear to be near-monophthongal, with less diphthongal movement, and the onset sounds more backed, particularly amongst the older speakers – this is in line with Stoddart *et al* (1999:75)'s findings for the PRICE vowel in Sheffield, which they describe as "[ɑɪ] or [ɑː] for males". Although the younger speakers appear to have lost this element of backing, they are using as many, if not more, monophthongs than the older MMB speakers.

4.3.6 Acoustic analysis of the MMB data

For the acoustic analysis of the Leeds data, diphthongs and monophthongs were not separated, as a number of speakers either did not produce any monophthongal tokens, or their use of monophthongs was not entirely distinct: as described with regard to GOAT-fronting above, monophthongisation of the PRICE vowel appeared to exist on a continuum, with both monophthongal and near-monophthongal tokens being used by some speakers. However, mean values of PRICE-type tokens and PRIDE-type tokens were calculated and analysed separately, for all speakers. This was in order to demonstrate the clarity of the split in Hull, and also to investigate whether this split did in fact have an effect on the vowels used in the other locations.

As explained above, in Leeds, the PRICE and PRIDE vowels show very similar diphthongal trajectories, indicating little difference between the qualities of vowels in the two different phonetic environments. Figures 4.23-4.24 below demonstrate this in the acoustic analysis of the older Leeds speakers.

Figure 4.23 Trajectories of mean values for PRICE and PRIDE vowels for OLEEDS1. PRICE n=12; PRIDE n=18

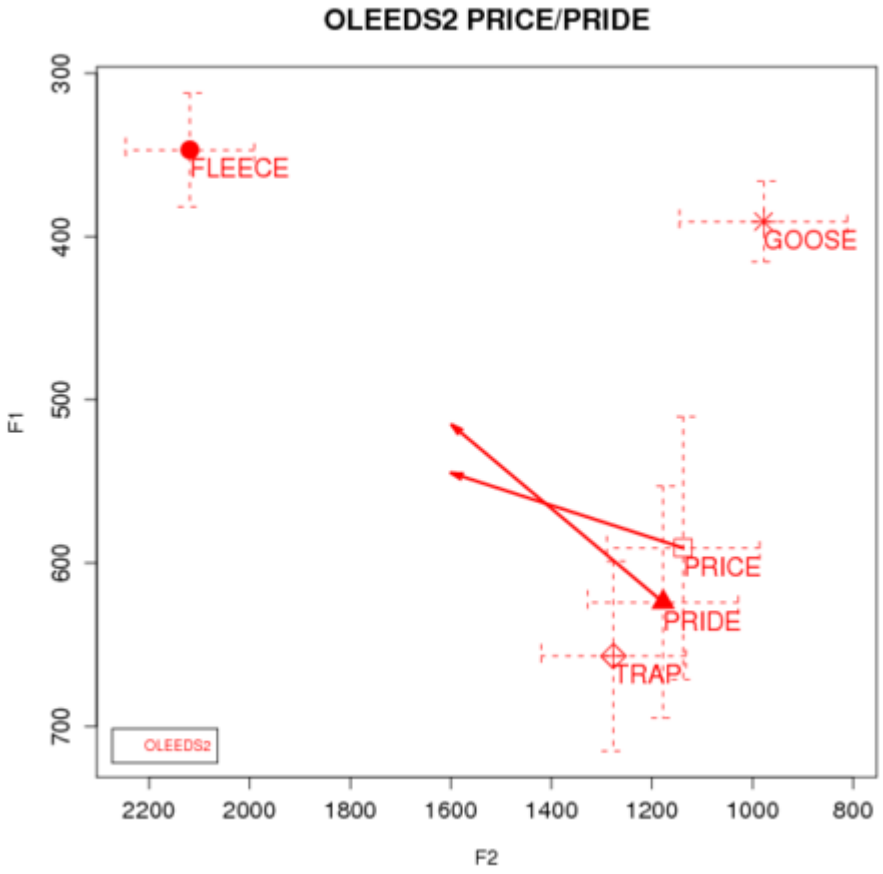


Figure 4.24 Trajectories of mean values for PRICE and PRIDE vowels for OLEEDS2.

PRICE n=10; PRIDE n=20

Figures 4.25-4.26 display the acoustic analysis of the older Sheffield MMB speakers.

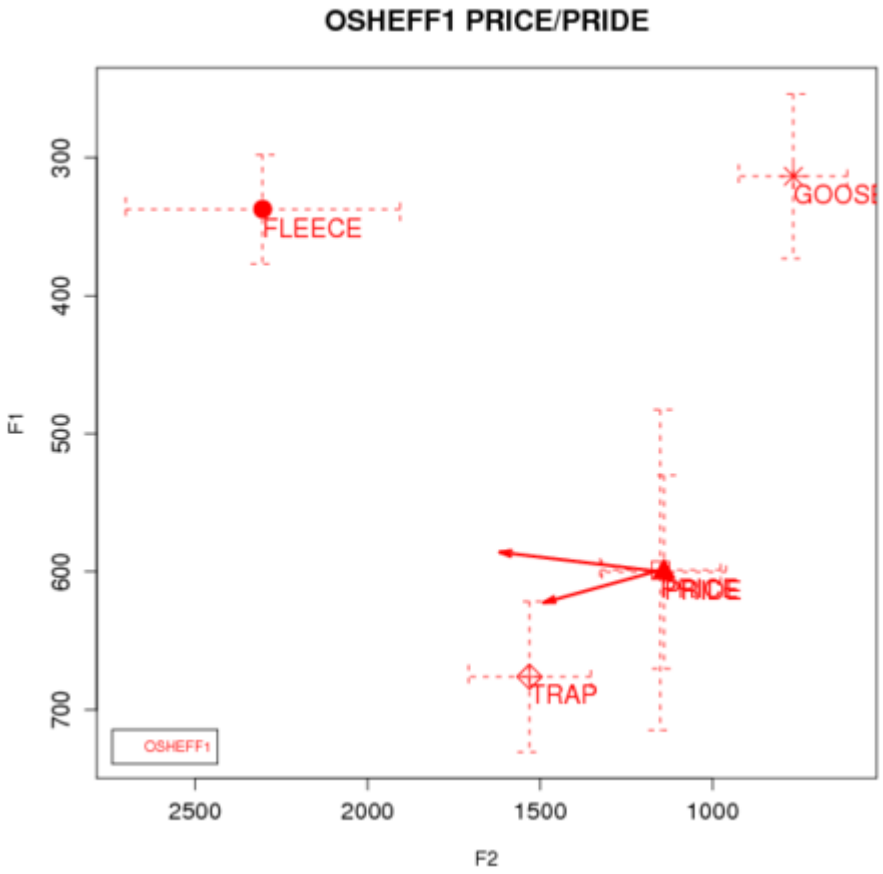


Figure 4.25Trajectories of mean values for PRICE and PRIDE vowels for OSHEFF1. PRICE n=10; PRIDE n=20

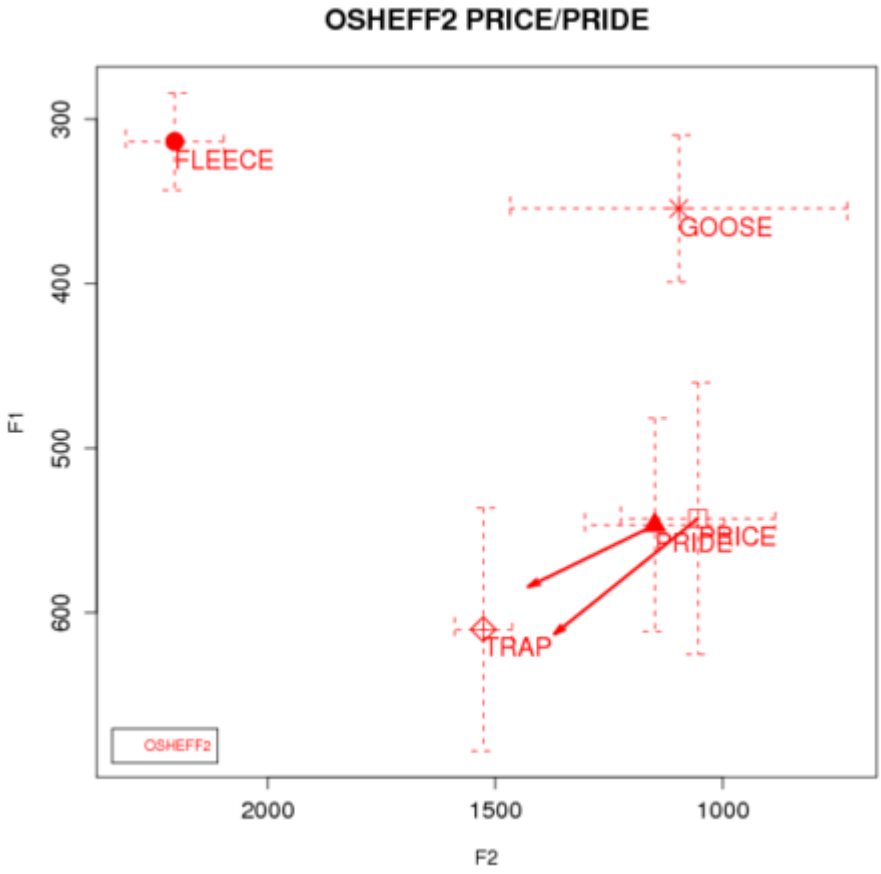


Figure 4.26 Trajectories of mean values for PRICE and PRIDE vowels for OSHEFF2.

PRICE n=12; PRIDE n=18

Figures 4.25 and 4.26 show rather unusual trajectories, particularly in the case of OSHEFF2, but the fact that both the older Sheffield speakers appear to show slightly opening diphthongs suggests that this is a Sheffield characteristic. It seems possible that this is a factor of the backing of the onset of the PRICE vowel amongst the older Sheffield speakers – particularly as the opening movement is most noticeable from OSHEFF2, who uses a backed-onset diphthong the majority of the time.

Figures 4.27-4.28 below show the acoustic analysis of the older Hull MMB speakers

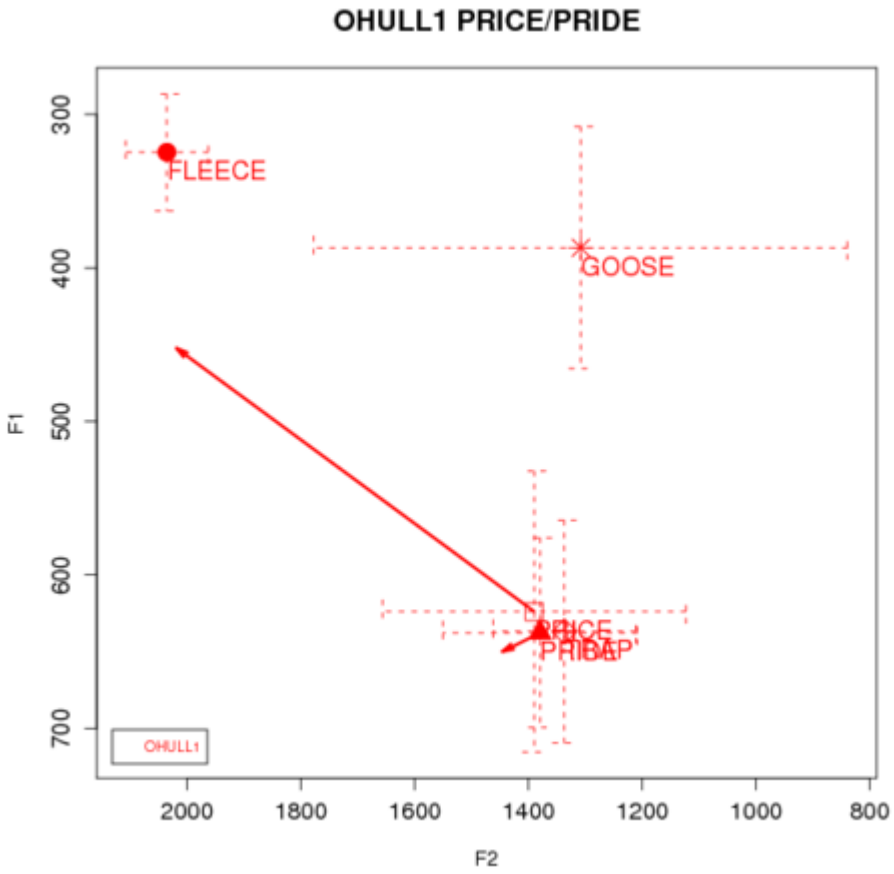


Figure 4.27 Trajectories of mean values for PRICE and PRIDE vowels for OHULL1.

PRICE n=15; PRIDE n=15

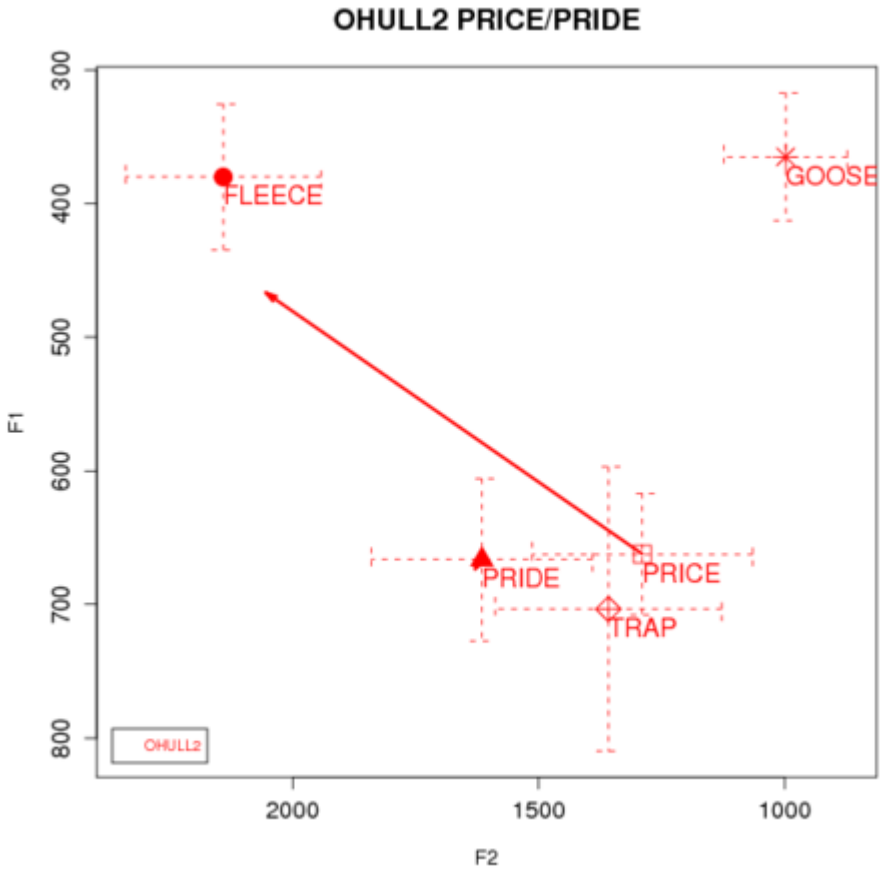


Figure 4.28 Trajectories of mean values for PRICE and PRIDE vowels for OHULL2.

PRICE n=13; PRIDE n=17

In contrast to the graphs for the Leeds and Sheffield speakers, Figures 4.28 and 4.29 show an almost complete lack of movement in the PRIDE-type vowels for the Hull speakers, whereas the PRICE-type vowels show a high degree of movement. The acoustic analysis of the Hull speakers clearly shows the difference in quality of the vowels depending on the following phonetic environment.

I now move on to present the acoustic analysis of the younger speakers.

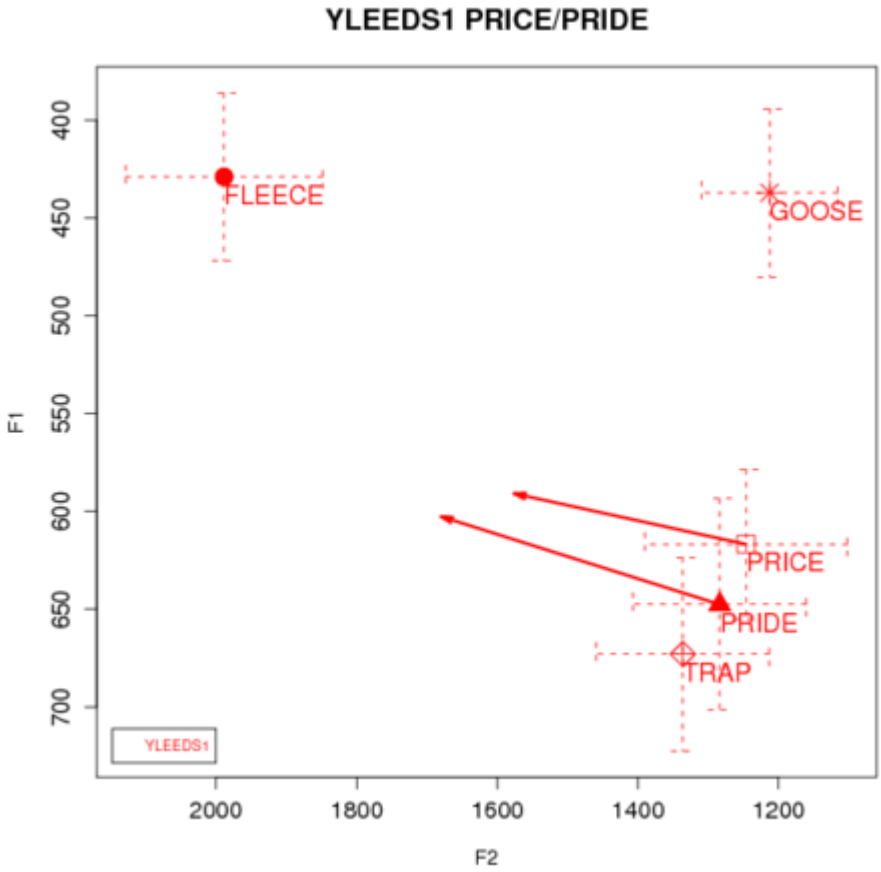


Figure 4.29Trajectories of mean values for PRICE and PRIDE vowels for YLEEDS1

PRICE n=14; PRIDE n=16

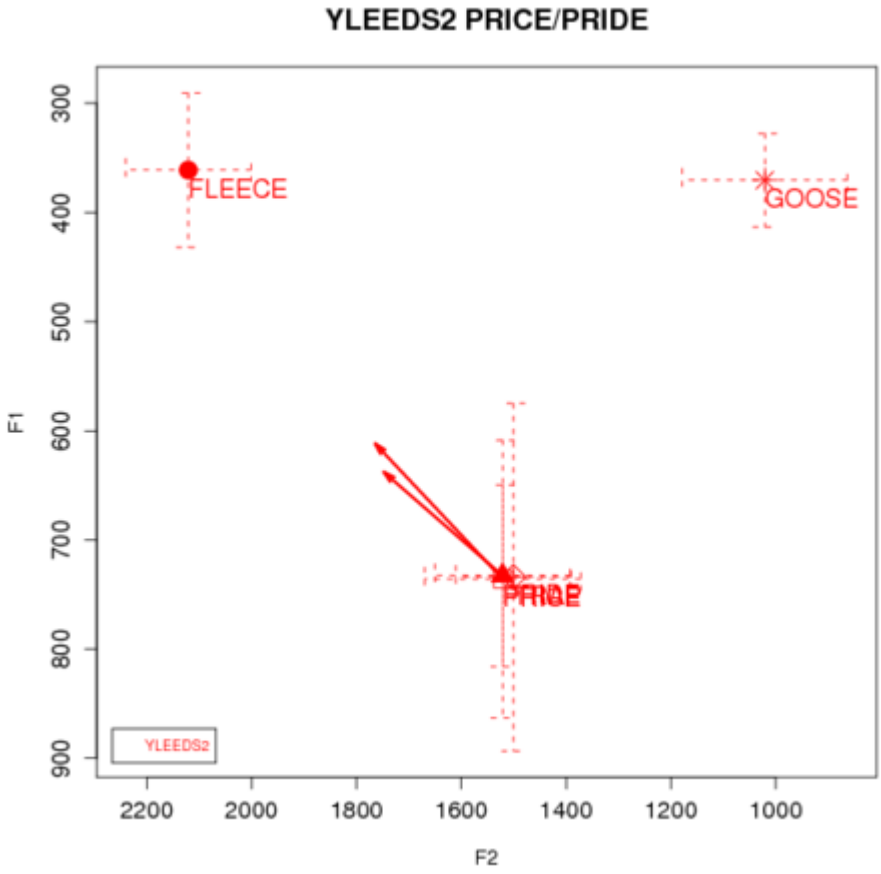


Figure 4.30 Trajectories of mean values for PRICE and PRIDE vowels for YLEEDS2.

PRICE n=12; PRIDE n=18

Like the older Leeds speakers, the younger generation also show similar trajectories for both PRICE and PRIDE vowels. Both younger speakers show perhaps slightly less diphthongal movement than the older speakers. Note also that the TRAP vowel of YLEEDS2 in Figure 4.30 is at almost exactly the same point as the onset of both PRICE and PRIDE vowels.

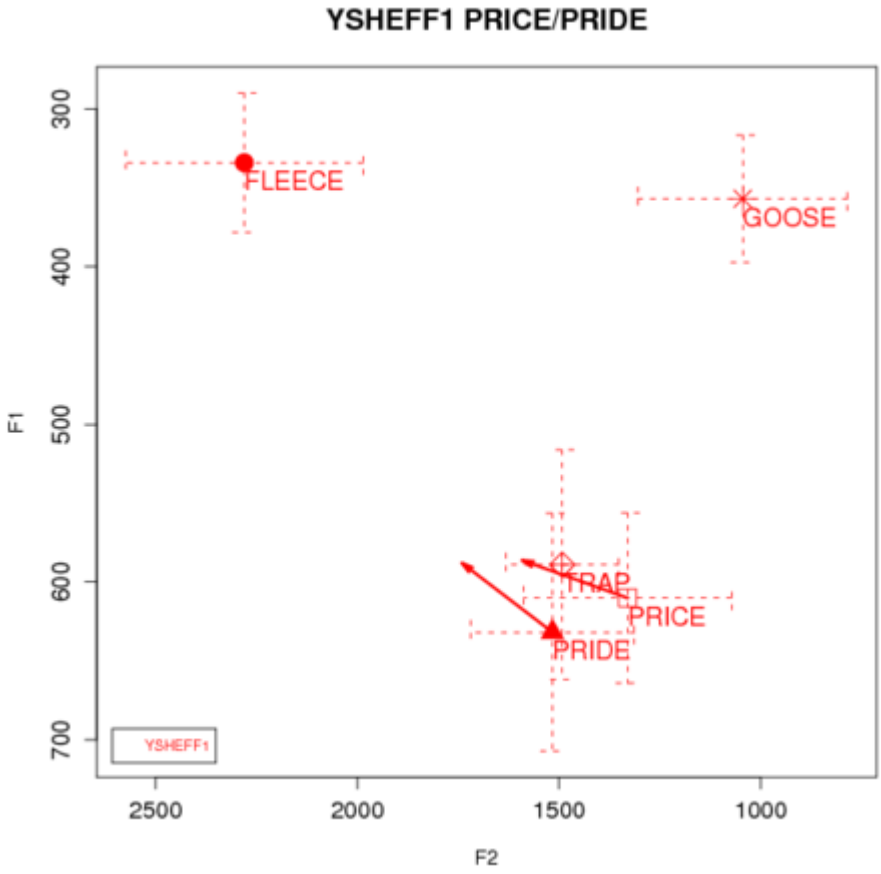


Figure 4.31 Trajectories of mean values for PRICE and PRIDE vowels for YSHEFF1.

PRICE n=8; PRIDE n=22

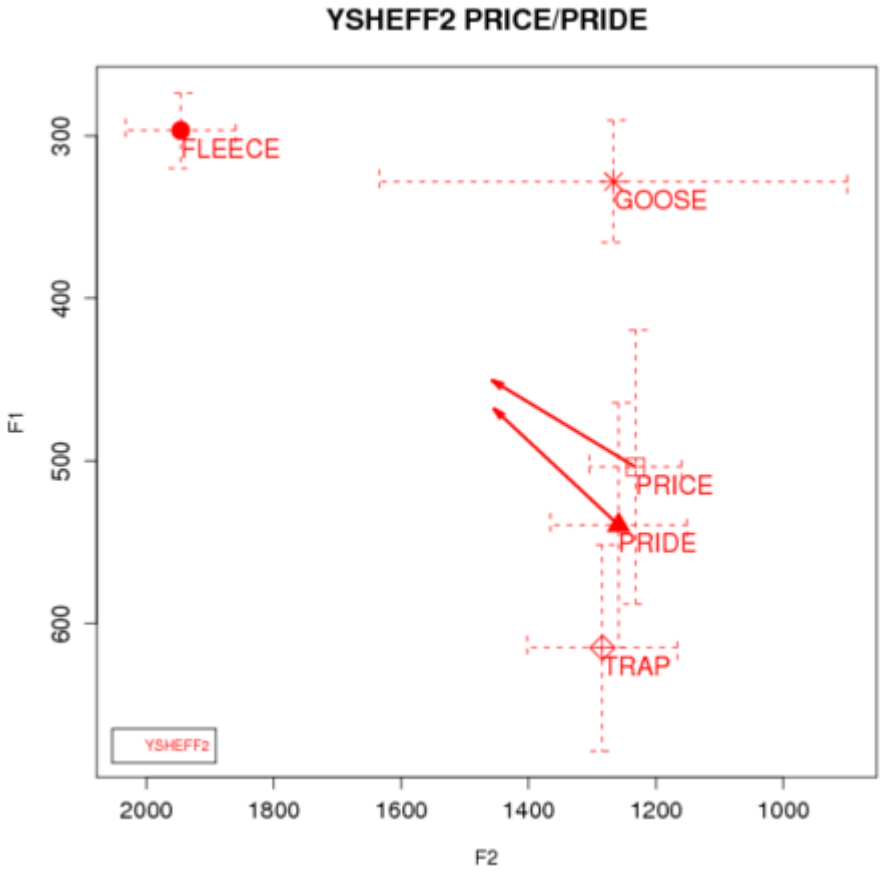


Figure 4.32 Trajectories of mean values for PRICE and PRIDE vowels for YSHEFF2.

PRICE n=8; PRIDE n=22

Figures 4.31 and 4.32 show indications that a change may be under way in the PRICE vowel in Sheffield. Both YSHEFF1 and YSHEFF2 show more closing diphthongal movement than the older speakers – in YSHEFF1's case this movement is relatively small, but the trajectory of YSHEFF2's is comparable to that of the younger Leeds speakers. Comparing this with the older speakers as shown above, this may demonstrate the disappearance of onset-backing in Sheffield. The small degree of movement in YSHEFF1's trajectory also appears to correspond with his relatively high use of monophthongal and near-monophthongal PRICE variants.

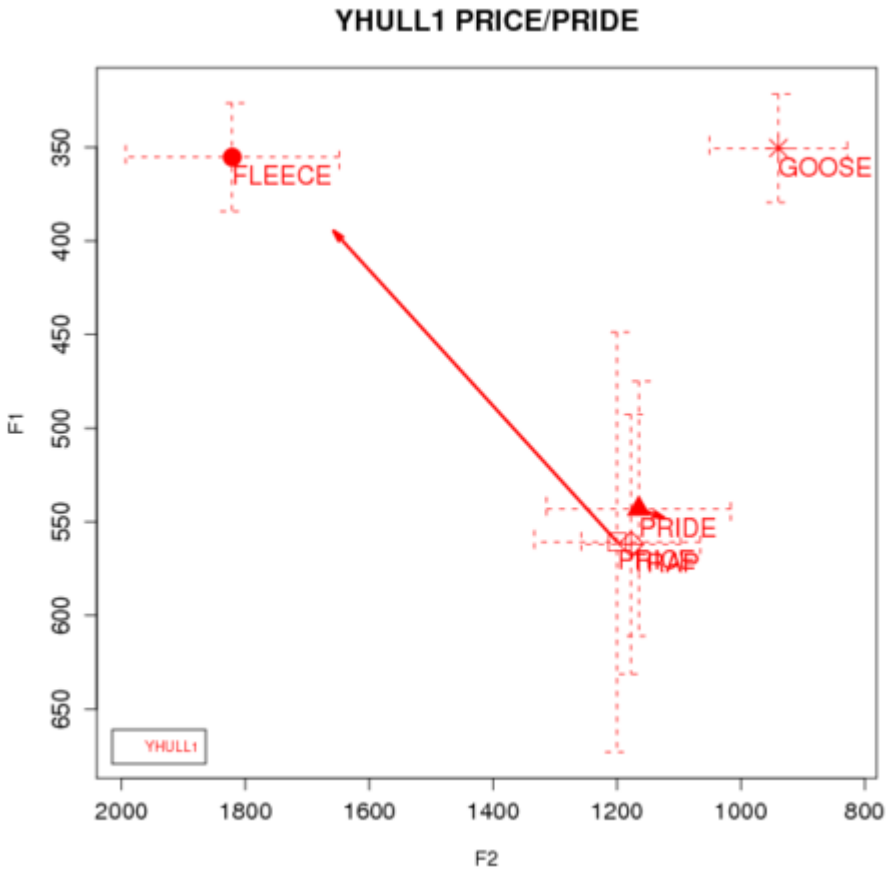


Figure 4.33 Trajectories of mean values for PRICE and PRIDE vowels for YHULL1.

PRICE n=13; PRIDE n=17

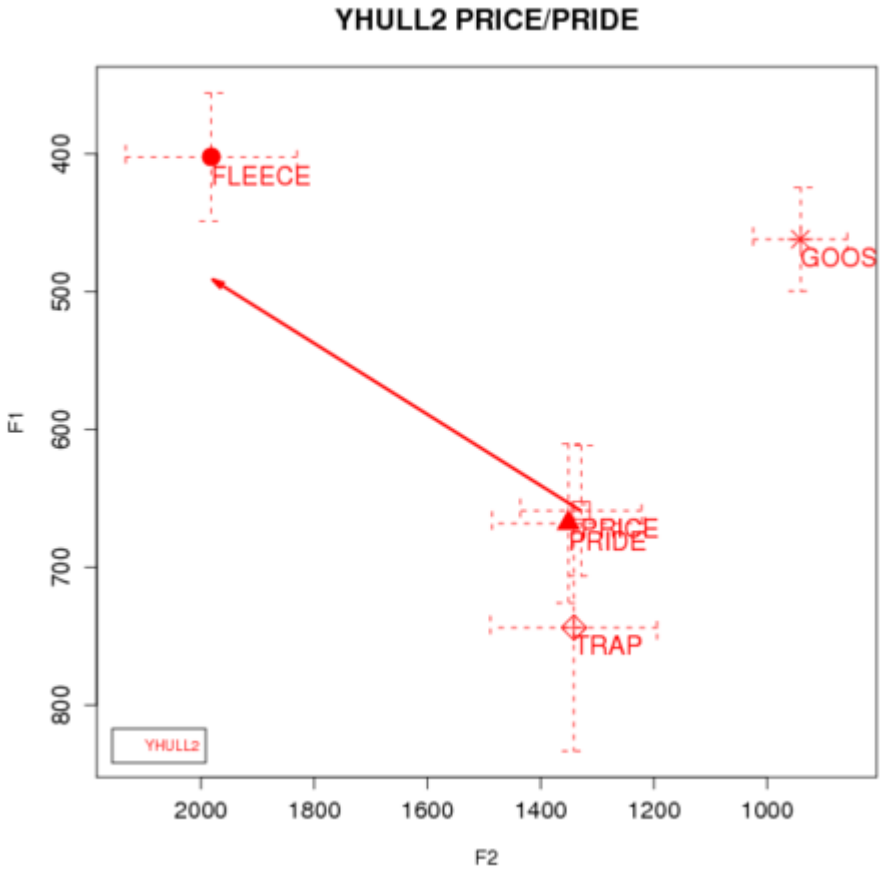


Figure 4.34 Trajectories of mean values for PRICE and PRIDE vowels for YHULL2.

PRICE n=15; PRIDE n=15

Figures 4.33 and 4.34 also show very little movement in the PRIDE trajectory, while the PRICE trajectory shows more movement than was observed in the vowels of the younger speakers in Leeds and Sheffield. This suggests that the distinction between PRICE-type vowels and PRIDE-type vowels is being maintained just as strongly by the younger generation in Hull. Both generations also show the same high offset.

4.3.7 Summary of acoustic analysis

The figures above demonstrate very clearly that there is a difference between PRICE-type vowels and PRIDE-type vowels that is observed in Hull,

but not in the other locations. This pattern is being maintained just as strongly by the younger generation as by the older speakers.

However, the acoustic analysis also appears to confirm that, in Sheffield, some kind of change is underway, with a pattern that appeared to be restricted to Sheffield only giving way to one more similar to that found in Leeds.

4.4 Chapter summary

This chapter presented the results of my analysis of the data from the SED Basic Materials, followed by discussion of findings of other studies of the variables, and then the auditory and acoustic analyses of the data from the MMB. In the next chapter, I analyse my results in more depth and discuss the possible reasons behind my findings.

Chapter 5 - Discussion

5.1 Summary of findings

The most striking finding from the results described above is the reduction in variants in use in the MMB, in comparison with the SED. This is evidence of levelling not only in Trudgill's (1986:98) sense of the "reduction or attrition of marked variants", but also in the sense of loss of variation within the dialect, a definition offered by Britain (2002), Kerswill and Williams (2002) and Torgersen and Kerswill (2004). However, it is also notable thatthe younger generation of MMB speakers are maintaining some distinctive localised patterns within the region, such as the PRICE/PRIDE split, whilst also adopting some non-standard variants that were not used by older speakers, but are used over a wider area in Yorkshire and the north of England, such as GOAT-fronting. Thus, my findings provide evidence of dialect levelling, dialect maintenance, and supralocalisation.

5.2 The GOAT vowel

The reduction in variants is particularly evident in the case of the GOAT vowel, where many variants that were once in common use, such as [ʊə], [ɒɪ], and [ɔə], have now almost entirely disappeared. Words that previously took these variants have been subsumed into another traditional set, which took the variant [o:]: it is this variant that has also become favoured as an outcome of levelling in the north-east, as described by Watt (2002). As explained above, Watt suggests that the rise in usage of this feature over other traditional variants is a move towards a 'northern standard' pronunciation, and indeed, its spread in Yorkshire into contexts in which it was not previously found appears to add weight to this suggestion.

The loss of variation in Yorkshire is perhaps not unexpected: besides Watt's postulation of a developing northern standard, other studies such as Petyt (1985) and Stoddart *et al* (1999) also highlight this development. However, what is also clear from the results presented here is that there is a much less obvious degree of change between the older MMB speakers, and the younger generation. Distinctive usage patterns such as the split between PRICE and PRIDE in Hull are still just as much in evidence in the speech of the younger speakers as they are in that of the older generation, and monophthongal GOAT is very much the majority variant for speakers of both generations. Additionally, the traditional diphthongal variant [ɒʊ] before liquids is also still in common use, being used in nearly all possible instances by the younger MMB speakers. This indicates that there is seemingly no shift towards a more standard RP-like model, with monophthongal variants of GOAT being replaced by diphthongal variants such as [oʊ] or [əʊ].

This finding is in contrast to that of Stoddart *et al* (1999) and Finnegan (2011), who reported that, in Sheffield, younger speakers were indeed using these diphthongal variants. However, these were not in evidence in my MMB sample, in Sheffield or in the other cities: the only speaker to use any RP-like diphthongal tokens was in fact the oldest speaker, OLEEDS2. OLEEDS2 had been an MP for many years: therefore he is likely to have spent time surrounded by highly educated non-Yorkshire speakers, in a southern and political context where such features may have been subject to overt stigma. Thus, he is the speaker most likely to have been exposed to RP and to have interacted with RP speakers in conditions favourable towards him adopting RP features. Nevertheless, even OLEEDS2 still only uses these RP-like GOAT variants a minority of the time, favouring the back monophthong variant the

majority of the time, and also using the traditional Yorkshire monophthong [ɒʊ] on several occasions.

Why, then, have other studies found such differing results? It seems likely that the answer lies with the speakers sampled. My speakers were all from working class backgrounds, and – with the exception of OLEEDS2, and possibly YLEEDS1 – had been employed in working class occupations all their lives. Finnegan's results were based on the speech of a sample of middle class speakers; Stoddart *et al*(1999) sampled both working and middle class speakers. Finnegan's results showed a marked shift from use of the traditional monophthongal variant – already the outcome of levelling and loss of variation, as described above – to a majority use of the diphthongal [oʊ] amongst middle aged and younger speakers. As the MMB data was collected around 10 years before Finnegan's, it is likely that her middle aged speakers were the same generation as the younger speakers in the present study: this might lead us to expect a similar large shift between the older MMB speakers and the younger generation. But we see remarkable similarity between the two age groups in the MMB. Stoddart *et al*(1999) also report the increasing use of diphthongal variants in Sheffield, but they also emphasise the relative conservatism of the Sheffield variety: this apparent contradiction reflects the difference between the findings of this study, and those of Finnegan. Stoddart *et al*(1999) do not provide many statistics of the usage of each variant within Sheffield, nor do they emphasise the differences between the usage of variants by different social classes: rather, they state that "age difference seems to be the most important factor influencing phonological variation in vowels across the sample" (1999:86). However, this does not seem to apply to the MMB sample used in this study. From the evidence presented by Finnegan (2011), Stoddart *et al*(1999) and the

present study, we might infer that the speakers who use the diphthongal variants in Stoddart *et al*'s (1999) study are the middle class speakers in the sample, whereas those who retain the conservative back monophthongal variants are the working class speakers. Thus, rather than younger speakers from all backgrounds beginning to use diphthongal variants, it seems more likely that it is the middle class speakers who are using them at a higher rate. Indeed, all of the older speakers in Stoddart *et al*'s (1999) sample are working class, thus potentially further skewing their results towards the conclusion that age is the most important factor in their findings.

These two studies focus on Sheffield, and data on diphthongisation of the GOAT vowel in Leeds and Hull is lacking in comparison. However, Finnegan postulates a contact-based explanation for the increase in GOAT diphthongisation in Sheffield, due to the city's proximity to areas where diphthongisation is traditionally found, such as Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. Finnegan (2011:241-2) demonstrates that the "general trend is for open-mid or close-mid monophthong GOAT variants to be found in areas north of Sheffield, whilst closing diphthong variants are found in areas south of Sheffield." Thus, it seems likely that speakers in Sheffield, near the traditional border between monophthong-using and diphthong-using areas, are more likely to have opportunities to interact with diphthong-users, facilitating the spread of the variant through regular contact. But again we must ask: why should this affect certain populations almost totally, according to Finnegan's findings, and others not at all, as evidenced by the lack of diphthongisation in the MMB sample used here? Both are equally close to the diphthong-using areas.

Britain (2011) suggests that the reason some – largely middle class – populations are the ones adopting the diphthongal variants is that they have

more opportunities to interact with speakers in the diphthong-using areas through greater mobility. He states that “Many of the mobilities that are affecting England (and other Western societies) are disproportionately middle class and rural mobilities” (2011:45), explaining that in fact, from the late 20th century onwards, the majority of migration in England takes place from cities into the countryside, as people move home from urban areas to more rural locations. Britain (2011:53) quotes Champion (2001:44), saying that “professional and managerial workers [record] the highest rates of departure and manual workers the lowest rates”. In other words, it is wealthier middle class people who are leaving the cities and settling into desirable – and thus expensive – rural locations, with the possibility of commuting to work in the city. For the less well-off working class, this is not possible, meaning mobility tends to be primarily a middle class phenomenon. This, in turn, contributes to the preservation of denser and more multiplex social networks such as those described by Milroy (1987), with city dwellers more likely to be able to regularly see fellow city-dwelling work colleagues in a social setting, thus reinforcing local linguistic norms.

Indeed, Finnegan (2011:324-5) makes the point that the border area between South Yorkshire and Derbyshire, which includes the south-western suburbs of Sheffield and rural North-East Derbyshire, is an area that is “broadly middle class in character”. Sheffield, as the nearest and most easily accessible major city, is a popular commuter destination for people from these areas, leading to the likelihood that Sheffield speakers come into the most sustained contact with diphthong-users within the city, in a workplace context. It is perhaps likely that these mobile middle class speakers work in professional occupations in which they are more likely to come into frequent contact with

other middle class people, thus reducing the likelihood of transmitting variants either from or to the non-mobile, city-dwelling working class speakers. However, this seems a simplistic picture. For example, within the MMB sample used in this study, YSHEFF1 is a working class speaker who is mobile, living in a northern suburb of Sheffield (High Green) and commuting to Manchester to work. As reported by Milroy (1999), GOAT diphthongisation has also been reported in Manchester amongst middle class speakers – leading Finnegan (2011:323) to identify it as a possible source of diphthongisation in Sheffield too, via popular commuter routes. YSHEFF1 also works in an occupation – hotel administration – which brings him into contact with many people from across the country, and probably beyond, which may lead to situations of language accommodation with speakers of other varieties, and the loss of local Sheffield forms for ease of communication with speakers unfamiliar with those forms. However, YSHEFF1 shows no evidence of diphthongisation, except the traditional Yorkshire diphthongal variant in contexts before liquids. Despite the potential in YSHEFF1's line of work for linguistic accommodation and exposure to other varieties, he still retains Sheffield features. This may be due to his work in customer service: working in a role that involves face to face contact with customers makes it likely that he wishes to appear friendly, pleasant and helpful. Speakers with non-standard accents were found by Giles and Powesland (1975:67-69) to be rated more highly on social traits such as these by both RP and non-standard speakers. On the other hand, when YSHEFF1 is asked if he feels like he is part of the "new Sheffield", as opposed to the "old Sheffield" represented by his father, who was a scissor manufacturer, this is his answer.

> **YSHEFF1:** Well I work in Manchester don't I, and live at High Green, so it's quite difficult to, er, get involved – maybe

His answer is quite non-committal, and he compares Sheffield to Manchester, which he describes as “very affluent”, while Sheffield suffers in comparison economically. His somewhat neutral response to the question of Sheffield identity perhaps correlates with his usage of supralocal variants that have a wider linguistic currency – for example, he is the biggest user of the fronted GOAT variant, which is also increasingly found in locations across Yorkshire and the north-east. Perhaps, like the young north-eastern speakers described by Watt (2002), he feels this is an expression of a more modern northern identity, far away from the steelworking heritage of Sheffield. YSHEFF1 worked with his father in scissor manufacturing for a short time and he describes it as “boring… hated it. The muck, the grime… It were awful.”

There is also pressure amongst working class speakers to avoid variants that are associated with overt prestige and middle class speech, as explained by Milroy and Milroy (1992): young, working class male speakers would face ridicule if they modified their speech towards RP. That being said, Finnegan (2011: 329) points out that “the variants acquired in Sheffield appear to be more similar to the north midland realisations of… GOAT than to any southern or RP variants”. This suggests that even middle class Sheffield speakers do not necessarily wish to be associated with southern speech variants – indicating a strong antipathy towards “southern hegemony” as Beal (1999), cited in Watt (2002:55), terms it, or the standardising force of the southern British establishment, even amongst those, such as the middle classes, for whom standard speech holds less stigma or risk of ridicule. Thus, rather than – or, indeed, alongside – a sense of class loyalty, Yorkshire speakers may resist trends associated with southern standard speech out of a *northern*– or, at least, non-southern –loyalty.

This is also indicated by YLEEDS1. He seems to have had an upbringing that is more middle class than any of the other speakers sampled in this study, as is evident from his description of the house he grew up in in Beeston:

> **YLEEDS1:** They were fairly large houses, which I understand were often lived in by schoolteachers or solicitors, it was regarded as quite a nice area to live in.

However, he, too, shows no sign of any non-traditional diphthongisation of GOAT. In his interview, he speaks very positively and nostalgically about his upbringing in Leeds, suggesting a strong emotional connection with the area which may indicate pride in his origins and a desire to retain links with this local heritage. The interviewer picks up on this and asks him about it directly:

> **YLEEDS1:** I can always rememberHunslet had a particular atmosphere about it…
> **Interviewer:** What was that? Because you've got a lot of fond memories of it haven't you, you think very fondly of it.
> **YLEEDS1:** I do really, yes.

Thus, it seems possible that, to him, the local variants he uses symbolise local identity and his wish to be associated with Leeds and, perhaps, the wider region of Yorkshire. Like the young people of Lerwick who featured in the work of Smith and Durham (2011, 2012), YLEEDS1 may have his own reasons for retaining local speech variants, even if others from similar backgrounds may not. Similarly, we might point to OLEEDS2 as a further example of the strength with which Yorkshire speakers are attached to local speech variants even in perhaps unlikely circumstances: as a politician, OLEEDS2 is likely to have faced pressure to use standard speech, in order to be taken seriously, particularly during the period of the mid-late 20th century when he was an MP. However, we can see in this study that even a politician with many years of attendance at Westminster can retain a high level of Yorkshire variant usage: OLEEDS2 uses some RP-like GOAT diphthongs, but these are a small minority.

If we compare this with a speaker such as YHULL2, we can perhaps see a different interpretation of his usage of monophthongal GOAT variants. As noted above in section 3.5, YHULL2 is the youngest speaker in the sample at 28 years of age, and he has led a somewhat itinerant life, with a history of delinquency, drug use and petty crime, which he discusses with amusement and even signs of pride, describing his experiences with drugs as “ace”. He is also the only speaker to use profanity in his interview. However, as shown above, he uses monophthongal variants of GOAT at the same rate as the most middle class and careful of the younger speakers in my sample, YLEEDS1. Again, this raises several possible explanations for speakers from such different backgrounds to exhibit such similar behaviour. Perhaps for a speaker such as YLEEDS1, the retention of GOAT monophthongs is a part of his identity as a person from Leeds, Yorkshire, or the north, as opposed to the south, the subject of such great antipathy in the region. YLEEDS1 also displays some fronting of GOAT, as also found amongst young men in Watt’s (2002) study of Newcastle. Watt suggests that this variant is chosen as a more ‘modern’ version of the traditional monophthongal variant; a diphthongal variant that may appear too ‘southern’, but the back variant used by previous generations may seem too old-fashioned. Perhaps, too, to speakers such as YLEEDS1, the back variant has become associated with ‘chav’ speech, as was the case amongst some speakers in York (Haddican *et al* 2013:384): no speaker in the York study self-identified as a ‘chav’, and when the term was used it was always with negative connotations. A fronted variant is perhaps chosen to distance the speaker from sounding either old-fashioned, or being part of what might be considered an undesirable social group.

On the other hand, non-standard variants are associated with values such as toughness, masculinity and a streetwise lifestyle (Trudgill 1972:183), which seem to be part of the image YHULL2 is projecting in his interview. The use of drugs and participation in crime suggests a strong disregard for authority and the law, and this attitude can also extend to language use, with non-standard features being favoured as an act of defiance – as demonstrated by the work of the Milroys in Belfast (Milroy 1987, Milroy and Milroy 1992), and Eckert in Detroit (1989, 2000, 2008). Interestingly, although YHULL2 is a born and bred Hull speaker, he does not display a high degree of fronting – certainly not to the extent of other speakers in the MMB, particularly young females such as a teenager from the coastal village of Withernsea (MMB file C900/07073). This correlates with other studies of Yorkshire, such as Watt and Tillotson (2001) in Bradford and Finnegan (2011) in Sheffield, who found that fronting was most advanced amongst younger female speakers. It is also evident from Cheshire *et al*'s (1999) study of Hull that more advanced fronting is found the most in the speech of young middle class females, with working class speakers of both sexes favouring a variant that is only slightly fronted. Perhaps this, too, emphasises the masculinity, toughness and perceived working class values associated with less fronted variants, leading speakers such as YHULL2 to disfavour fronting as 'posh speech' or 'female speech', even in areas heavily associated with fronting, such as Hull.

So the speakers in the MMB show us evidence that even speakers from very different backgrounds can use the same variants of the GOAT vowel, suggesting that different speakers may attach different social meanings to those same variants – as also found by Haddican *et al* (2013) in York, and, again, by Eckert (2008:466), who states:

> Since the same variable will be used to make ideological moves by different people, in different situations, and to different purposes, its meaning in practice will not be uniform across the population.

5.3 The PRICE vowel

The findings from investigation of the GOAT vowel suggest that non-standard variants continue to be favoured in the region, but the same non-standard variants are found in different locations across Yorkshire. However, the results of the PRICE vowel study indicate that variation is still found between different cities within the region.

As with the GOAT vowel, we see quite similar results amongst both the younger and older speakers in the MMB – although, as we also saw with regard to the GOAT vowel, there is a substantial loss of variation from the time of the SED to the time of the MMB. The most notable feature of PRICE in the region is the split between contexts before a voiceless consonant, where the vowel takes a diphthongal pronunciation, and contexts before a voiced consonant, vowel or zero, where the vowel is pronounced as a monophthong. This only occurs in the north-eastern part of Yorkshire, and is particularly common in Hull. The Hull speakers in my sample from the MMB are also strongly maintaining this feature. However, Cheshire *et al* (1999) found this feature only in the speech of working class speakers, with middle class adolescents almost entirely avoiding the monophthongal variant. They also found a slight decline in the usage of the monophthong amongst working class young people, although they still used it the majority of the time in contexts before voiced consonants. Williams and Kerswill (1999:146) also state that middle class speakers use only a diphthongal variant. Like Stoddart *et al* (1999:78-79) in Sheffield, Cheshire *et al*(1999:7) describe the vowels in use in Hull as “strongly conservative”, despite the middle class usage of less local, more standard-like variants. The fact that

this highly localised pattern is still favoured by young speakers goes against suggestions of the formation of a 'pan-Yorkshire' variety – or, if this local pattern is being lost, it appears to only be happening very slowly. As Williams and Kerswill (1999:150, 154) point out, Hull is a city of limited in-migration, which will lead to fewer opportunities for contact with other varieties. Unlike Sheffield, with its position as a central 'border town' close to a number of dialect boundaries, and within commuting distance of several other large cities, Hull's relatively remote coastal location make it less likely that residents will commute into or out of the city to or from a variety of different language areas. This, again, is likely to contribute to the tight-knit nature of social networks within the city, and acts as a conservative force, preserving local variants such as the distinct patterning in the PRICE vowel. As this pattern also appears to be an almost entirely working class feature, it may also be that it has become associated with working class speech in the area – and, as we saw above, with regard to GOAT-fronting, is favoured by speakers who wish to reinforce their working class credentials and avoid being seen as 'posh'.

5.4 Dialect levelling in Yorkshire

What can these results add to our understanding of dialect levelling in Yorkshire? Firstly, it is clear that there is no evidence in my sample of the MMB that convergence with southern standard varieties of English is taking place, with Yorkshire variants for GOAT and PRICE being used by both older and younger speakers. Although some drastic dialect levelling and erosion of local features has taken place since the time of the SED, it seems that, amongst the speakers in my sample, this process has slowed, at least with regard to the variants studied here. Although studies such as Finnegan (2011), Maguire *et*

al(2010) and Britain (2009) suggest that the 'watershed' of levelling occurred around the 1960s, with the biggest change consequently appearing between the older and middle-aged generations, it seems that this has not happened for the speakers in my sample, who, in comparison with other studies, fall into those two categories, with the younger generation in my sample being born around the 1960s. This suggests several possibilities: firstly, that the most major change occurred between the SED generation and the older generation of MMB speakers, and that the levelling process has now tailed off, with successive generations still preserving the localised variants. Of course, even if this were the case, it does not preclude further language change in the future – a 'watershed' of change may not have occurred yet, but may at some point in time, or change may be progressing at a slower rate for working class Yorkshire speakers such as the ones sampled here, than middle class ones such as those in Finnegan's (2011) study. Of course, this study focuses on only a small number of individuals, so any apparent patterns would require a larger study to investigate whether they do, in fact, constitute widespread trends. It must also be noted that this project studied only male speakers. Many studies, including those cited here, such as Trudgill (1972), Petyt (1985), Stoddart *et al* (1999), Watt and Tillotson (2001), and Finnegan (2011), indicate that male speakers are more conservative than females, meaning males will retain traditional non-standard variants more tenaciously, while female speakers tend to be quicker to adopt incoming supralocal variants.

A follow-up study amongst similar groups of younger speakers today could track the progress of change, and see if the next generation – for example, speakers born around 1990 – are also maintaining the localised variants as found in this study. Cheshire *et al*'s (1999) study of adolescents in Hull suggests

that they are, with the small decline in the usage of the distinctive PRICE/PRIDE patterning between elderly and adolescent speakers pointing to change away from the most local forms, but at a slow rate. There are clearly pressures which operate in Yorkshire which act against levelling towards the standard, with RP having negative connotations of both southernness and 'poshness', both of which are undesirable, for reasons described above. We can see from speakers such as YSHEFF1 and YLEEDS1 that, despite factors such as increased social and geographic mobility, resulting in more opportunities for language contact, the younger generation are still keen to maintain local variants – at least, the variants investigated in this study. Although local variants of GOAT and PRICE are still being maintained, other variants may show different patterns of change. For example, although YLEEDS1 consistently uses monophthongal variants of GOAT, in his interview he is not heard to use other Yorkshire variants that other speakers in the sample do, such as definite article reduction or secondary contraction. Further investigation of a wider range of variants may be able to determine if there is a 'hierarchy' of dialect erosion, whereby some variants are considered unacceptable to some speakers while other speakers use them habitually and consider them an important part of their linguistic inventory. In other words, it seems possible that a 'pick'n'mix' effect exists, with speakers using a range of combinations of variants, with some more susceptible to loss than others. A study involving more variants and a wider range of speakers from a variety of social groups would be needed in order to establish how such a hierarchy would operate across Yorkshire.

At several points previously in this thesis I have mentioned the notion of the formation of a 'pan-Yorkshire' variety as a result of supralocalisation in the

region. We have established that levelling towards the standard does not seem to be taking place, but is levelling happening on a more regional scale, perhaps across Yorkshire or the wider north, as suggested by Watt (2002) based on his work in the north east? As we saw above, consideration of the PRICE vowel suggests only a very slow rate of change in this vowel. Local patterns are largely being retained, with the distinctive PRICE/PRIDE split in Hull still being strongly maintained by young working class Hull speakers, and young Sheffield speakers still favouring a more monophthongal pronunciation of PRICE in comparison to other parts of Yorkshire. There are some indications that these features are beginning to weaken slightly, but at the time of the MMB there were still notable distinctions in this vowel in the three locations studied here.

With regard to the GOAT vowel, however, there is slightly more evidence of change. The data from the MMB suggests that some younger male speakers outside of Hull are beginning to use fronted variants for GOAT, but this is highly variable. YSHEFF1 and YLEEDS1 are the two speakers for whom GOAT-fronting is the most advanced, and these speakers are the ones who appear to demonstrate the most social and geographic mobility, so, bearing in mind other studies conducted in the region, it seems that fronting is associated with more middle class and upwardly mobile speech in males – and, even then, it is only sporadically used. As such, the use of fronting has, if anything, increased variation within the region, particularly in Leeds and Sheffield where these variants were not previously found at all, as the younger speakers are now using three variants, rather than the two used by the older generation. Even if fronting were to become more widespread and consistently used, it would be a replacement of the backed variant. If the traditional diphthongal variant found before /l/ were also to be replaced with a monophthongal variant, this would be

a clearer indication of levelling. However, the younger speakers from Leeds and Sheffield in my MMB sample used this as consistently as the older speakers.

On the other hand, Williams and Kerswill (1999:146) state that in Hull "[t]here is usually no distinct allophone for this vowel before /l/". This was true for the older MMB speakers in the city, who used solely monophthongs, but the younger speakers produced one diphthongal token of GOAT each, before /l/. This is a small number, but nevertheless, this could indicate the beginning of a change towards the pattern found in other parts of the region. This would in fact be a change away from standard, as no such allophonic patterning is found in RP. However, the presence of this variant in Hull, where it was not traditionally found, alongside the apparent spread of GOAT-fronting into West and South Yorkshire, where it was also not previously found, gives us evidence that, in the GOAT vowel at least, supralocalisation is taking place to an extent. This gives the impression that a pan-Yorkshire GOAT pattern – if not single variant – could be developing across the region.

Chapter 6 – Conclusions

6.1 Answers to the research questions

In chapter 1 of this thesis, I posed the four following research questions. I consider each of these below, in light of this study's findings.

1. Can evidence of dialect levelling in Yorkshire be found in the Millennium Memory Bank?

In this study I have shown that there is evidence of dialect levelling in the Millennium Memory Bank by comparing it with data from the Survey of English Dialects, conducted 40 years previously. Since the time of the Survey, the number of variants of both the GOAT and FACE vowels has reduced drastically, with many localised variants having now fallen out of use. However, this does not mean standard variants have necessarily replaced them: the favoured variant for the GOAT vowel in the MMB sample used here is a long back monophthong [o:] which was traditionally found in Yorkshire. This loss of more locally nuanced patterns, with the disappearance of variants unique to particular areas of Yorkshire, confirms that the MMB shows us the results of levelling in the region.

2. Does variation still exist within Yorkshire, and if so, does it still exist in similar patterns to those found in the past?

The MMB also demonstrates that there is still variation around the region, as shown by the study of the PRICE vowel. In particular, the locally-restricted pattern found in Hull that gives a wide diphthong [aɪ] before voiceless consonants, and a monophthong [a:] before other contexts is still being strongly maintained by the younger generation in my sample. Likewise, speakers in Sheffield still show a tendency towards more monophthongal pronunciations

than speakers in Leeds, so there are still distinctive patterns of variation in different locations.

3. Why might, or might not, variation continue to be robust in the region?

In the previous chapter, I discussed reasons why the speakers in my sample may have retained these local variants, even though other studies have recorded different results. Although it is difficult to offer a definitive answer due to the nature of the material contained in the MMB, I suggest that there are both social class and regional identity-based motivations for retaining local features, despite pressures to the contrary. Working class speakers such as most of those contained in my sample are less likely to participate in mobility across a wide geographic region, giving them less opportunity to mix with speakers of other dialects, and also helping to preserve close-knit local networks that act as a conservative force in language use. At the same time, speakers in Yorkshire may be reluctant to adopt more standard-like variants because of their undesirable association with 'posh' speech, the language of authority: capitulation to this authority might seem like a betrayal of working class speakers' background and identity. Even for those speakers who are mobile, both geographically and socially, the loss of certain Yorkshire features in favour of southern standard speech variants may seem undesirable as a betrayal of *Yorkshire* background and identity. Northern speakers, including those in Yorkshire, are unlikely to attach prestige to southern standard varieties of English, bearing in mind the continued antipathy felt by Yorkshire people towards the south of England and its accents, as described by Watt and Tillotson (2001:227).

4. In what ways is the collection of data in Millennium Memory Bank suitable for use in linguistic projects?

It must be pointed out that, in its current state, the MMB is a somewhat unwieldy resource, due to its size, and held as it is in individual files, some electronic, some on minidisc. This is compounded by the fact that it is not organised as a linguistic corpus, and thus there is no information about language features used by each speaker. This makes searching the collection for linguistic purposes a somewhat laborious process. If the collection were compiled into a corpus, such as ONZE or FRED, a system of searchable tags could be employed which would make it much easier to isolate linguistic features or types of speaker. Such a tag system could include straightforward determiners such as age and location, but also some features of their speech: for example, dialect words, non-standard grammatical features, even some phonological features. The ability to search using multiple tags would also make it easy to look for similar speakers – for example, searching “male” “born 1930-1935” “definite article reduction” would return results under those parameters, highlighting the use of that particular dialect feature and letting researchers examine its geographical range and the speakers who use it. Features could be searched in combination – for example, inputting “definite article reduction” “h-dropping” “secondary contraction” would show up speakers who use all these features, allowing researchers to compare and examine speakers who have these features in common.

Constructing a corpus from the MMB in its current state would be a mammoth undertaking, but one that would be of huge value to linguistic researchers. The oral history corpora discussed in chapter 2, ONZE and FRED, have both been transcribed, as representatively as possible, and in ONZE these transcriptions have been aligned with the sound files so researchers can search for what they want to find and listen to it quite easily. In the MMB, in a few cases

quite detailed annotations already exist, drawing attention to particular features. If this could be compiled into a system of tags so particular features could be easily searched for and found, then cross-regional comparison could be made more straightforward: for example, being able to compare usage of non-standard relative pronouns in different areas, or investigate the geographic range of a feature such as definite article reduction or secondary contraction. This would open the door to the study of supralocalisation in the manner described by Britain (2011:48), with the possibility of "real or apparent-time analysis of data from a number of locations all within the same apparent dialect region".

Some samples from the MMB have already been made available on the internet through the British Library Sounds Familiar and Sound Archive websites, where the public can listen to audio clips from the SED and the MMB to compare different words and pronunciations across the country, and researchers are currently working on the BBC Voices project, a similar undertaking to the MMB but with a more specifically linguistic aim – to record the dialect features still used by people across the UK. A searchable, versatile corpus may still be a long way away, but ONZE and FRED show us that it is very possible to compile a corpus for linguistic use out of oral history materials, and with time and the necessary resources, the MMB could be a very useful update to already extant resources such as the SED and FRED, allowing for real-time study with these collections as well as apparent time and cross-regional comparisons within the MMB itself.

With its quite comprehensive coverage of speakers across the country, it is possible to visualise such a corpus as a sort of latter-day SED, giving a baseline to future real-time research. The strength of a collection such as the

MMB is its depth and breadth. Although most of the speakers are indeed past middle age, there are also interviews with younger people and children, and it offers a many-layered cross-section of British society at the turn of the millennium.

Nonetheless, a reason why the MMB needs to be treated with care by linguists is the relative lack of information about the speakers. As noted above, we are given very little background information about YLEEDS1, either by the compilers of the MMB or the speaker himself: his interview largely discusses his childhood, with little mention of his education, job or current lifestyle. Therefore, there is an element of doubt regarding some speakers' social class or circumstances, which makes correlating these factors with their language use difficult. Also, due to the historical nature of the MMB, few speakers ever discuss language use at all. One elderly speaker from Holmfirth, West Yorkshire (MMB file no. C900/08585) reminisces that when he was young the local children would speak "broad Yorkshire", which he claims is not the case today, but by and large, the topic is not broached. This means we have little insight into the speakers' opinions and feelings about the use of accent and dialect features, or, indeed, about how they feel about their own class and regional identity. This type of information is used in studies such as Llamas (2007), Burbano-Elizondo (2008), Finnegan (2011) and Haddican *et al* (2013), often collected via questionnaires in order to investigate speakers' attitudes towards the language used by themselves and others, along with their own affiliations and sense of identity. This varied information can be correlated with, and help to explain, language use by different social groups. This type of information appears only occasionally and coincidentally in the MMB.

However, the issues described above should not prevent the MMB from

being seen as a resource with huge potential for linguistic research. Even if we do not necessarily know the attitudes of the speakers and how it may affect the language they use, the MMB is a huge collection of speakers using language. It is possible to obtain lengthy samples of uninterrupted speech data in order to examine the frequency of certain features, and the wide cross-section of speakers means groupings can be constructed and comparisons made between them. There is also the possibility that, if pre-determined labels are not attached to the speakers, the data can be explored without the preconceptions associated with those labels. The focus would become more individualistic, looking at each speaker's linguistic behaviour: rather than trends being observed through the streamlining of social classes or groups, speakers could be assessed purely on their language use. It would be more appropriate to say, for example, "speakers who do x also do y", instead of "this type of speaker tends to use this variant". This could also provide insight into the 'pick 'n' mix' effect mentioned above, determining the features that are most entrenched in the speech heard in a particular location, and those that are restricted to the fewest speakers.

6.2 Evaluation of the project

This project can be said to represent an innovative type of dialectological research, by seeking to compare a number of locations within the same broad dialect area, in order to investigate change over time. Many projects concentrate on one location, and have access to many speakers in that location: the MMB covers a large geographic area, but speakers from the same location are not always easy to find. As such, while undertaking the project I faced a number of challenges – not least of which was selecting the speaker

sample. I eventually chose only male working class speakers, but including female speakers would have added an extra dimension to the study, as there are a number of documented differences between male and female speech in Yorkshire, including the advanced state of GOAT-fronting amongst female speakers across the region. However, the addition of another facet to a study which already included both a geographic component and the comparison of three points in time may have made the project more unwieldy. It would also have made comparisons with the SED more problematic, as there are no female speakers recorded at the SED locations used in this study.

The study of a wider range of variables would also offer greater insights: the speakers studied here often showed quite diverse behaviour in their speech, perhaps using quite conservative or local variants for the features studied in this project, but innovative or non-local variants for other features – and vice versa. There are a number of features that display varying patterns across the region, including lexical and morphosyntactic features that could only be adequately observed with large amounts of speech data. That, however, is something that the MMB has in abundance, and is a strength of such a collection.

Another potential avenue could have been the inclusion of middle class speakers. However, as explained above, without more detailed identity data and self-analysis from the speakers themselves, it is difficult to determine who fits into this category from external evidence alone. Another approach would be to examine data from a higher number of speakers from several locations but from one generation, and examine the speech of every speaker in more detail, comparing more variables and building up a more complete picture of the range of speech that exists in Yorkshire. Even amongst the speakers studied here, there is evidence of divergence between different speakers within the same city

– but without further information about the speakers' own attitudes, it is difficult to definitively explain why these differences occur between these particular speakers.

Nevertheless, the MMB is full of evidence that these differences do continue to exist, within the older generation and amongst younger speakers, and this is why it is a valuable resource that deserves deeper exploration. Unlike the SED, which sought to capture the speech of only one particular type of speaker, the MMB holds speech from a huge range of speakers. The data contained therein could be compared with more recent data, including information about speakers' identities, particularly if speakers with similar backgrounds were interviewed.

There were many challenges involved in working with the MMB, but I hope that this project at least gives a small insight into the data it contains, and suggests some potential ways in which to use it.

6.3 Concluding remarks

In the MMB we can observe evidence of both dialect levelling, and dialect maintenance. Although many traditional Yorkshire variants found in the SED have disappeared, others are still firmly entrenched and continue to be used by young speakers. Some of these usage patterns are found across the region, showing evidence of the formation of a supralocal Yorkshire variety, but others are still much more locally restricted, showing that within Yorkshire there are still distinctive varieties on a smaller geographic scale. This contrasts with evidence from other studies conducted in the region, but this demonstrates that Britain's (2011:57) suggestion of "diversity in uniformity – heterogenous homogenisation" is a fitting description for the situation in turn of the century Yorkshire.

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