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Sociophonetic Variation and Change in a Post-Industrial, South Yorkshire Speech Community.

Kate Burland-Gibson

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The University of Sheffield
School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics

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Abstract

This thesis presents an analysis of the relationship between phonological variation and perceptions of local identity in the dialect of Royston, an ex-mining community located on the border between the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley in South Yorkshire, and the Metropolitan District of Wakefield in West Yorkshire. Previous studies of Yorkshire varieties (cf. Petyt 1985; Stoddart et al. 1999, Haddican et al. 2013) have established that long monophthongal forms of FACE and GOAT constitute a pan-Yorkshire phonological norm. Furthermore, there is also evidence to suggest that long monophthongal FACE and GOAT production represents a 'principal northern shibboleth' (Haddican et al. 2013: 373). However, metalinguistic commentary surrounding the dialect of Royston (cf. Burland 2017) claims that speakers in the township produce distinctive diphthongal variants of both FACE and GOAT (see Chapter 8, Section 8.3.4).

This study analyses FACE and GOAT data from wordlist recordings collected from Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield speakers. Auditory and acoustic analysis supports metalinguistic claims providing evidence of dominant diphthongal Royston forms which differ from the majority monophthongal Barnsley and Wakefield variants, and from pan-Yorkshire monophthongal FACE and GOAT norms. The Royston wordlist data is then considered alongside ideological commentary, collected from ethnographic interviews with older and younger Royston speakers, in order to evaluate the social meanings which underpin this regionally distinctive FACE and GOAT production.

The data is interpreted using dialect contact and language ideology frameworks, and the results question the inevitability of mutual convergence in situations of dialect contact by demonstrating how, and why, three successive generations of Royston speakers have resisted the widespread diffusion of pan-regional phonological norms.

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Chapter 1

Introduction

1.1 Motivations

This study focuses upon the relationship between phonological variation and perceptions of local identity in the dialect of Royston, an ex-mining community located on the border between the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley in South Yorkshire, and the Metropolitan District of Wakefield in West Yorkshire. The research considers the influence of historical migration upon sociophonetic variation and change in this post-industrial speech community. My focus on the Royston speech community was initially inspired by a pilot study (Burland 2010), which considered the attitudes and perceptions of Barnsley speakers in relation to their own vernacular identity. The investigation placed a premium upon speakers' own perceptions of linguistic production in order to gain an insight into the ways in which social values can influence perceptions of linguistic identity and consequently impact upon linguistic practice. During the study, one question in particular provoked a revealing response: when participants were asked if they thought that there was one single, homogenous Barnsley dialect, 45% of respondents strongly disagreed and identified the Royston dialect as being distinctly different from the variety spoken in the remainder of the Barnsley borough. Examples were cited by speakers which focused exclusively upon the production of two vocalic variables (categorised as vowels in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets according to Wells (1982)). Speakers who mentioned Royston also went on to provide an account of the origins of this distinction, and, without exception, this claim related to an influx of Black Country miners at the end of the 19th Century. These responses were surprising in their consistency as all participants were interviewed separately and few knew each other. No other area of the borough was identified by any speaker as being distinctively different.

Metalinguistic commentary surrounding the Royston variety provided the initial motivation to focus on the FACE and GOAT variables as it highlights FACE and GOAT production in the Royston dialect as being regionally atypical. Furthermore, this commentary suggests that the Royston FACE and GOAT vowels are diphthongal in contrast to evidence from previous studies of Yorkshire varieties (explored in Chapter

5) which establishes long monophthongal variants of FACE and GOAT as the pan-Yorkshire phonological norm. In order to determine whether such metalinguistic claims are justified this study will investigate the precise variants of FACE and GOAT found in the dialect of Royston, and examine how patterns of pan-Yorkshire levelling and diffusion have impacted on the Royston FACE and GOAT vowels. In addition, it will consider whether internal, phonological constraints impact FACE and GOAT production in the Royston variety, and explore the external social and ideological factors which have contributed to the development and maintenance of regionally distinctive FACE and GOAT production in the Royston speech community. Crucially this study will consider the Royston dialect in the context of FACE and GOAT production in the surrounding speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield, providing a hitherto neglected account of these three varieties.

Geographical diffusion of dialect forms depends upon mutual linguistic convergence and, to date, relatively little sociolinguistic research has focused upon speech communities which diverge from rather than accommodate to surrounding varieties. According to Kerswill (2002: 187) convergence is often taken as 'something of a 'given'' in studies of dialect contact; an anticipated consequence of this process is the gradual disappearance of linguistically marked and minority variants (Britain and Trudgill 1999:246). However, my findings demonstrate how three successive generations of Royston speakers have resisted the adoption of pan-regional phonological norms, challenging models which predict the inevitability of these processes in situations of dialect contact (see discussion in Chapter 2, Sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2) and highlighting the need for a more nuanced understanding of the impact of dialect contact on peripheral speech communities. By considering the factors which motivate the Royston speech community to resist the diffusion of pan-regional phonological norms, this study will provide an insight which informs our understanding of the processes of language variation and change more generally.

1.2 Aims

This thesis will analyse production data in order to establish the nature and origins of the Royston FACE and GOAT variants. It will explore the extent to which three successive generations in the Royston speech community have resisted convergence to pan-regional phonological norms. The study will analyse qualitative ideological data in order to examine whether or not greater levels of dialect contact lead to the rejection, or suppression, of minority variants and greater linguistic homogeneity. Furthermore,

it will consider whether attempts to reject a homogenous pan-regional identity lead to the assertion of a distinct local identity resulting in the retention and deliberate exaggeration of demographically and linguistically marked forms.

1.3 Research Questions

(1) To what extent are there regionally similar or distinctive patterns of variation in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets across the Yorkshire dialect region?

(2) How have patterns of dialect contact shaped the Royston FACE and GOAT forms; and how do the Royston variants compare to pan-regional phonological norms?

(3) How do levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston variety compare to levels found in the adjacent dialects of Barnsley and Wakefield?

(4) What ideological values do Royston speakers assign to their FACE and GOAT forms; and how do these social meanings contribute to the maintenance of regionally distinct FACE and GOAT production in the Royston variety?

1.4 Chapter Summaries

Chapter 2 discusses the key fields of theoretical research which inform this study. Outlining a two-pronged theoretical approach this review illustrates how my study is influenced by both dialect contact and language ideology frameworks. My approach shows that combining these two theoretical strands is vital in order to examine the social meaning which underpins linguistic production and dialect variation.

In order to provide the vital contextual background needed to address research questions (2) and (3), Chapter 3 outlines Royston's position within the wider Yorkshire region and explores key demographic developments in the adjacent speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield. This enables an evaluation of Royston's shifting status within the wider geographical landscape and a consideration of the impact this has had upon the township, its dialect variety (Chapters 6 and 7), and perceptions of local and linguistic identity (Chapter 8). The sociophonetic variation explored in this study arises from the unique intersection of social and geographical circumstances found in the urban township of Royston. This chapter provides an account of salient local events in the historical development of Royston, and outlines

the key geographical and demographic factors which have shaped this speech community.

Chapter 4 discusses my methodological approach. The research questions detailed in Chapter 1, Section 1.3, encapsulate four clear lines of enquiry which direct my study into the nature of FACE and GOAT production in the Royston variety. In order to address these questions my methodological approach consists of four distinct components which are applied to the data collection and analysis reported in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Methodological Approach 1 involves the collation and analysis of legacy data from previous studies which have charted pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT variation and change, this data provides the context within which to investigate the qualities of the Royston FACE and GOAT variants, and to consider whether they are regionally distinctive.

Methodological Approach 2 involves quantitative auditory analysis of the Royston FACE and GOAT vowels to establish their auditory qualities. This will enable a comparison with pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT norms, established by Methodological Approach 1, and a consideration of the influence of pan-regional dialect contact upon the Royston forms.

Methodological Approach 3 involves quantitative acoustic phonetic analysis of the Royston FACE and GOAT vowels, measuring the extent to which the variants are diphthongised in comparison with FACE and GOAT vowels produced in the adjacent speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield. The acoustic analysis provides a further level of rigour to the examination of the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield FACE and GOAT variants.

Methodological Approach 4 applies qualitative analysis to interview data collected from two social groups which emerged from an ethnographic study of the Royston speech community. This qualitative data is utilised to interpret the linguistic production data, analysed in Methodological Approaches 3 and 4, and investigates the ways in which social meaning influences FACE and GOAT production in the Royston variety.

The analysis presented in Chapter 5 synthesises legacy data from previous studies which have charted pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT variation and change. The findings presented in Chapter 5 provide the vital context within which to investigate the qualities of the Royston FACE and GOAT variants. Without previous recordings or studies of the Royston variety this legacy data provides the only means of piecing together a

picture of pan-regional FACE and GOAT variation and change, and of assessing the extent to which the Royston variants may be considered regionally distinctive. In addition to synthesising the existing literature, I present two new analyses of archival FACE and GOAT data across the Yorkshire region: one of data from the *Survey of English Dialects* (SED) (Orton and Halliday 1962), and another of the *Millennium Memory Bank* (MMB 1999) recordings. Using this legacy data, I am able to present an overview of real-time FACE and GOAT variation and change spanning the four counties of Yorkshire, and to investigate the extent to which the Royston FACE and GOAT variants have been influenced historically by pan-regional dialect contact (see Chapter 6).

Chapter 6 addresses Research Question (2) and reports the results of quantitative auditory analysis of FACE and GOAT vowels in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield wordlist data. The findings establish the auditory qualities of FACE and GOAT vowels produced by three successive generations of Royston speakers. This facilitates a direct comparison with apparent time variation and change in the articulation of FACE and GOAT variants in the adjacent Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities. The results are then considered in conjunction with the findings of Chapter 5 in order to evaluate the impact of historical, pan-regional dialect contact upon the Royston FACE and GOAT forms.

Chapter 7 addresses Research Question (3) and reports the results of acoustic formant frequency analysis which build upon the results of auditory impressionistic analysis, discussed in Chapter 6. Quantitative acoustic phonetic analysis of levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties provides a further level of rigour with regard to vowel measurement and quantification. This chapter presents the results of Methodology 3 (see Chapter 4, Section 4.6) which involves the acoustic analysis of FACE and GOAT tokens using the dipDegree formulation outlined in Chapter 4, Section 4.6. As this study provides the first research into FACE and GOAT production in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties, the use of acoustic formant frequency analysis also provides results which can be replicated and compared with current and future research in the field of sociophonetic variation and change. The levels of diphthongisation are interpreted in conjunction with location, age and gender in order to assess the extent to which these social variables impact upon linguistic production.

Addressing Research Question (4), Chapter 8 focuses upon ideological commentary gathered from interviews with two salient social groupings, representing younger and

older generations in the Royston speech community. The qualitative analysis explores the relationship between linguistic practice and perceptions of local identity, and reveals ideological stances which link to the production of the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT variants presented in Chapters 6 and 7. The findings illustrate the range of social meanings which Royston speakers attach to their distinctive FACE and GOAT vowels, revealing the social meanings which underpin Royston speakers' resistance to pan-regional phonological norms.

Chapter 9 provides a final discussion and conclusions which summarise the main findings of this thesis and demonstrate how this study has addressed the main research questions. In this final chapter, my methodological approach is evaluated, the limitations of the study are discussed, and directions for future research are considered.

Chapter 2

Situating the Research: Theoretical Background

2.1 Introduction

The aims of this study (see Chapter 1, Section 1.2) can be separated into two clear frameworks of analysis. The first framework draws upon theoretical approaches to the study of dialect contact, variation and change. The theoretical perspectives in this framework inform the analysis of legacy and production data which examines the Royston variants in the context of pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT variation and change (see Chapters 5, 6 and 7). The second analytical framework draws upon theoretical approaches to the study of language ideology; informing the analysis of qualitative data in Chapter 8, which considers the social meanings which Royston speakers attach to their distinctive FACE and GOAT production, telling us more about the relationship between ideological evaluations and patterns of linguistic variation and change.

2.2 Dialect Variation and Contact

This section reviews frameworks of analysis which consider patterns of dialect contact, and the ways in which these patterns impact upon linguistic variation and change via the processes of levelling, diffusion and resistance.

2.2.1 Models of Language Change

Trudgill (1986) sets out a framework for the study of dialects in contact which considers patterns of variation and change resulting from contact between 'mutually intelligible linguistic varieties' (1986: vii). His aim is to, 'predict exactly what will occur when one dialect, with a given set of linguistic and demographic characteristics, comes into contact in a particular way with another dialect with different characteristics' (1986: viii). However, Trudgill (1986: viii) goes on to temper this aim, with the acknowledgment that human beings are unpredictable, and do not fit neatly into sociolinguistic frameworks. Trudgill's primary focus is the nature of dialect change induced by dialect contact, and to this end he utilises Accommodation Theory (Giles et al. 1973), suggesting that, in face-to-face contact situations, speakers will either converge towards the speech style of their interlocutor or diverge, creating distance between the two styles. Despite Trudgill's qualification that human beings are

unpredictable, studies have found that when mutually intelligible dialects come into contact, linguistic accommodation is the most likely scenario (Britain and Trudgill 1999: 245). Trudgill (1986) advocates detailed linguistic analysis of the nature of accommodation between speakers in order to establish which linguistic features in the dialect mix undergo the process of accommodation, and conversely, which features resist. This approach takes into consideration both external and internal factors. External considerations focus on the social background of the speakers involved, the context in which the interaction takes place, and the relationship between the interlocutors. Internal factors focus on the linguistic constraints of any change (Trudgill 1986: 4). In his study of the dialect of Norwich, Trudgill (1986: 11) observes that, when communicating with speakers of other varieties, participants are more likely to 'modify those features of their own varieties of which they are most aware'; thus leading to linguistic convergence or divergence. Here it is useful to turn to Labov's (1972: 178) observations regarding the 'the mechanisms by which sound change proceeds' in the speech community. In a situation of *change from below,* the change is initiated from below the level of consciousness. In this context, Labov (1972: 178) defines an *indicator* as a linguistic variable which exists below the level of social consciousness, and which, 'shows no pattern of stylistic variation in the speech of those who use it'. Conversely, *change from above,* involves linguistic change which is initiated above the level of consciousness. A variant may start out as an indicator, however, subsequent generations may adopt and increase the use of the variable; it then becomes a *marker,* a linguistic norm within the speech community, and is subject to stylistic variation (1972: 179). Linguistic change above the level of consciousness often involves a shift towards the linguistic style of the highest status group or the 'prestige model' (Labov 1972: 179). Alternatively, where the linguistic form undergoing change does not conform to the prestige model, it may attract stigma, becoming a *stereotype,* and hence the 'the overt topic of social comment' (1972: 180). In this scenario the linguistic variable could eventually become 'increasingly divorced' from the forms which are used in the routinized interaction of the speech community (1972: 180).

Trudgill (1986: 39) concludes that, once linguistic variables acquire salience via stigmatization, linguistic change or phonological contrast, they are subject to change or modification within the speech community. In this context, salience refers to the ways in which linguistic variables are perceived, and how these perceptions can differ with regard to varying phonetic realisations (Trudgill 1986: 11). This change can be transient as in acts of short-term accommodation or, in situations of sustained dialect

contact, this can lead to linguistic innovation. However, research by Nilsson (2015:14) suggests that accommodation has an important role to play in both dialect innovation and dialect stability. Nilsson's (2015: 6) study focuses on intra-individual accommodation in interaction; her findings suggest that speakers accommodate to traditional dialect features in addition to standard or innovative forms. This promotes the spread of standard or innovative features, but can also aid the maintenance of more traditional dialect forms. Nilsson (2015: 14) concludes that accommodation is a 'social action' and an 'interactional resource', highlighting the relationship between acts of speaker accommodation, linguistic variation and change, and social factors.

Whether linguistic accommodation results in dialect innovation or maintenance it cannot be assumed that, once a feature has gained currency within a speech community that it will necessarily spread to other locations via mutual convergence. Patterns of dialect contact, in conjunction with ideological factors, can impact on the rate, the extent and duration of this spread, as I explore in subsequent sections.

2.2.2 Levelling and Diffusion

Levelling is 'a process whereby differences between regional varieties are reduced, features which make varieties distinctive disappear, and new features emerge and are adopted over a wide geographical area' (Williams and Kerswill 1999: 149). The anticipated consequence of this process is the gradual disappearance of linguistically marked and minority variants (Britain and Trudgill 1999:246), leading, in some cases, to the creation of a new variety (cf. Kerswill and Williams 2005). In situations of prolonged dialect contact, under conditions of long-term accommodation, levelling is likely to occur (cf. Watt and Milroy 1999 and Kerswill 2002). However, according to Kerswill (2002: 187), dialect levelling has been taken as 'something of a 'given'' in studies of variation and change in dialects of British English. In order to make the case for a more fine-grained definition of this process, Kerswill (2002: 187) argues for a distinction between the concept of *levelling*, which he defines as the, 'outcome of the social psychological process of accommodation'; and *regional dialect levelling*, which he sees as the, 'wider geographical outcome' of the levelling process. In an attempt to analyse the impact of regional dialect levelling, in both urban and rural dialects, Kerswill (2002:187-88) identifies two possible scenarios. Firstly, regional dialect levelling which is confined to situations of sustained contact in relatively compact geographical areas; and secondly, geographical diffusion which he describes as a process 'by which features spread out from a populous and economically and culturally

dominant centre'. However, it is not always the case that patterns of dialect contact and change fall neatly into these scenarios. In their study of the rapid expansion of glottal replacement in the dialect of Buckie in northeast Scotland, Smith and Holmes-Elliot (2017: 323) describe glottal replacement as 'the 'torchbearer' of geographical diffusion' throughout the UK. They anticipate that the increase in glottal replacement in Buckie will be the result of the spread of supralocal forms from the culturally dominant centres of Glasgow and London. However, their findings suggest that the rise of this feature, from minority to majority variant over three generations, is due to the expansion of an existing, more localised form which has spread to other environments (Smith and Holmes Elliott (2017: 344-345).

The concept of diffusion is further compartmentalised by Britain (2004: 623) into relocation and expansion diffusion. Relocation diffusion (cf. Kerswill 2002, Kerswill and Williams 2005), can result from individual or population migration (Britain 2004: 623). The impact of relocation diffusion is demonstrated in the study by Hornsby (2018: 74) into the 'highly unusual new contact variety' which has developed in the former mining village of Aylesham in east Kent. Hornsby (2018:75) observes that the Aylesham variety is considered to be pan-regionally atypical, to the extent that it is locally evaluated as 'northern'. The results indicate that the relocation of vast numbers of coal miners from other UK coalfields during the 1920s is responsible for the pan-regionally unique nature of the Aylesham variety (2018:76).

Expansion diffusion is a consequence of regular or routinized face-to-face contact (Britain 2004: 623).In terms of expansion diffusion, the *wave model* describes a scenario 'whereby innovations, over time, radiate out from a central focal area, reaching physically nearby locations before those at ever greater distance' (Britain 2004:623). The hierarchical effect is the most frequent type of expansion diffusion with features 'descending down an urban hierarchy' (Britain 2004: 623) from cities and towns before infiltrating the dialects of the rural areas 'in between' (Kerswill 2002:188).

Section 2.2.2 has outlined theories which frame the study of dialect propagation via contact which depends upon mutual accommodation. However, other studies have explored dialect contact situations where mutual linguistic convergence has not occurred, and where the variety under scrutiny resists regionally diffusing forms. These are considered in Section 2.2.3.

2.2.3 Dialect Contact and Phonological Resistance

To date, relatively little sociolinguistic research has focused upon speech communities which diverge from, rather than accommodate to, surrounding or incoming varieties. However, research by Watson (2006) explores the phenomenon of 'phonological resistance' establishing that Liverpool English is not only resisting the regionally diffusing innovation of T-glottalling; but is actually diverging from supra-local phonological norms (2006: 55). As a major city, Liverpool would be positioned at the apex of an urban hierarchy of dialect diffusion (Britain 2004: 623), and yet Watson (2006: 55) describes Liverpool English as 'an accent that is holding its own', creating images of a variety under siege from the invasion of supra-local forms. However, Watson (2006: 57) goes on to establish that the Liverpool variety does not resist all supra-local norms, and shares many features in common with other north-western cities; for example, the lack of a FOOT-STRUT split and the absence of BATH broadening. Nonetheless, Liverpool English does contain a set of more geographically restricted variants which include /t/ elision or 't→h' , where the final /t/ can be elided in absolute final position' (2006: 58). According to Watson (2006: 58-59), this feature 'occurs almost uniquely' in the Liverpool variety and 'is a salient marker of the stereotype'; as such, it would appear to fit the classic definition of a feature which is highly likely to undergo attrition as a result of levelling or geographical diffusion. However, in comparison with data from the 1970s, Watson discovers that, rather than receding, 't→h' has extended with regard to the phonological and lexical environments in which it is used. In the face of competition from supra-local variants this feature appears to have developed into a 'hyperdialectalism' (Labov 1972:180). In such a scenario Labov predicts that linguistic variants risk becoming detached from the forms which are actually used in the speech community. This is clearly not the case in Liverpool English, where 't→h' is not just holding its own, but extending its reach.

Watson' study, does not, however, consider the factors which motivate Liverpool speakers to resist the diffusion of supra-local, or pan-regional phonological norms, and therefore it is not possible to evaluate this linguistic phenomenon with regard to social, ideological and perceptual values that speakers attribute to 't→h'.

The study of FACE and GOAT production in the Royston speech community builds upon Watson's (2006) study, and considers the diffusion of pan-regional phonological norms, in conjunction with speaker commentary, in order to discover more about the ideological motivations which underpin patterns of linguistic variation and change.

Watson's study indicates the importance of place with regard to the use and maintenance of particular linguistic variants, in the next section I explore the ways in which place can be defined.

2.2.4 A Sense of Place

Britain (2013: 471) makes the case for a more rigorous sociolinguistic focus on the ways in which *space* is 'shaping and being shaped by linguistic variation and change'. Whilst acknowledging the breadth of research which considers language use in relation to dialect contact and geographic mobility, he asserts that the concept of space remains 'untheorized'. Drawing upon studies in the field of human geography, Britain (2013: 472) defines three key elements, central to his argument, which together form the concept of *spatiality:*

> '1 Euclidean space – the objective, geometric, socially divorced space of mathematics and physics.
>
> 2 Social space – the space shaped by social organization and human agency, by the human manipulation of the landscape, by the contextualization of face-to-face interaction, by the creation of a built environment, and by the relationship of these to the way the state spatially organizes and controls at a political level.
>
> 3 Perceived space – how civil society perceives its immediate and not so immediate environments – important given the way people's environmental perceptions and attitudes construct and are constructed by everyday practice'

These three elements are interlinked; geometric space is 'appropriated' via human settlement, thus forming social space in which perceptions and ideologies are developed by a sense of spatial awareness (Britain 2013: 472). Crucially, Britain (2004: 472) notes that spatiality is constantly in a state of flux, and is never 'fixed or concrete'. This is evident in the study by Llamas (2007: 582) which examines perceptions of place and local identity in the dialect of Middlesbrough (see Section 2.3.1); the study finds that, far from being static, speakers' perceptions of space emerge from the social characteristics of the speech community and are subject to development and change. Similarly, Cornips and de Rooij (2018:3) consider linguistic place-making and belonging, asserting that perceptions of place are dynamic, and are influenced by a combination of social, cultural and linguistic factors.

With further reference to social scientific study, Britain (2013) outlines three successive theoretical periods which characterise research into spatiality. Prior to the 1960s, Britain (2013: 472) observes that, 'individual areas were analysed for individual unique characteristics'. With regard to the field of dialectology this meant that space was often treated as 'the blank canvas on which dialectological findings could be mapped' (2013: 472). Post 1960s, Britain (2013: 473) points to the 'quantitative revolution'. For dialectological studies, the consequence was a shift away from the focus on geographical space and 'the specific, the individual and the unique', and a move toward greater study of the correlation between macro social factors and linguistic production. Evaluating the dichotomy between the first and second theoretical periods, Britain (2013: 475) observes that, 'the difference cannot be clearer, the former asocially quantifying space, and the latter aspatially quantifying society'. Furthermore, this move from the spatial, to the social, was accompanied by a shift in focus from rural to urban locations.

Writing in the opening decades of the 21st century, Britain (2017: 181) notes that a focus on the linguistic production of urban populations is still in the ascendancy, and that dialectal studies of rural communities still carry a stigma as a result of their outdated approaches; the rural is still portrayed as 'isolated, conservative, and the preserve of linguistic heritage'. But Britain (2017: 180) warns of the folly of this view, asserting that language variation and change is a feature of rural, as well as urban speech communities. The more recent focus on urban locations should provide an additional dimension to linguistic enquiry, rather than replace a focus on rural speech communities. For example, Tagliamonte (2017:15) considers the impact of increasing urbanisation upon local dialect distinctions in her study of the York variety. The findings reveal that younger generation York speakers are actually maintaining a range of non-standard variants in order to signal specific identities. Tagliamonte (2017: 33) concludes that '[t]he interpretation of linguistic usage must be situated in geographic context'. Furthermore, any examination of the relationship between social factors and linguistic variation and change needs to consider speaker perceptions of geographic space (2017:33).

According to Britain (2013: 481), the third spatial period is characterised by the use of 'gravity models' (cf. Trudgill 1974); allowing dialect geography to join the quantitative revolution, gravity models provide a 'geometric view of space where physical distance and total population … predict the influence of place X on place Y' Trudgill (1986: 39) asserts that, at the macro level, gravity models are able to make, 'reasonably accurate

predictions about the geographical routes to be taken by linguistic innovations'. However less is known with regard to the micro level, and there are a variety of factors which problematize such predictions (see Section 2.2.2). Geometric calculations cannot factor in the multitude of differing social, perceptual and geographic relationships which connect, or disconnect, place X from place Y. Furthermore, Britain (2013) raises concerns that gravity models do not take account of differing levels of mobility and contact between speakers in the locations under comparison. Through charting the evolution of theoretical approaches to the concept of spatiality in dialectology and sociolinguistic study, Britain not only considers changing attitudes towards the treatment of *place* as a sociolinguistic variable, but also highlights the challenges facing the researcher with regard to the very nature and definition of space, and the ways in which speakers perceive and orient towards different spaces. Montgomery (2017:156) explores these challenges in his examination of the role of mapping in perceptual dialectology, advocating the use of geospatial technology which can map participants' perceptions of place onto 'the earth's surface', thus providing a better understanding of the ways in which individuals understand and experience space.

Britain (2013: 496) asserts that, 'we need to understand how people in the area move and have moved, the social meaning of that movement and how the mobile practices of the past help shape those of later times'. This is a central tenet in the study of the Royston variety, as there is a clear need to understand patterns of historical mobility and contact which have shaped the Royston speech community, and to consider the ways in which this impacts upon ideological evaluations which help to shape local and linguistic identities.

2.2.5 Summary

Sections 2.2.1 to 2.2.4 have outlined theories of contact induced language variation and change which will inform the analysis of different spatial patterns of levelling and diffusion of FACE and GOAT variants within the Royston speech community, in the context of pan-regional variation and change. Drawing upon these theoretical frameworks, this thesis will provide an account of FACE and GOAT variation in the Royston speech community, and consider how patterns of pan-Yorkshire levelling and diffusion have impacted on the Royston FACE and GOAT variants, challenging models which predict the inevitability of these processes in situations of dialect contact.

Although these theoretical models consider the different spatial patterns of diffusion, they do not take into account the potential for social and ideological factors to

disrupt these patterns and to cause the spread of linguistic forms to be partial and uneven (see Section 2.2.4). Llamas et al. (2009) find that patterns of accommodation and diffusion differ, not only according to locality, but also according to perceptions of national identity and age. Furthermore, Andersen (1988: 39) draws attention to the fact that patterns of diffusion differ, not just between, but within different locations, noting that, 'there are palpable differences between the kinds of developments that characteristically occur in central and in peripheral speech areas'. These studies highlight the spectrum of different factors which can impact upon the spread and adoption of diffusing forms. Metalinguistic commentary surrounding the Royston variety draws attention to a contrast between the FACE and GOAT variants produced by Royston speakers, and those produced in neighbouring speech communities. This suggests that the trajectory of FACE and GOAT development in the Royston variety does not correlate with patterns of pan-regional diffusion and change. Britain (2004: 618) uses the language of combat to describe the progress of regionally diffusing forms as they spread to each new speech community, noting that 'in each case there will be local outcomes determined by local circumstances, including the structure of the local varieties under attack, and the socio-spatial structures of the community vis-à-vis that of the innovation'. This description is clearly at odds with the image of harmonious mutual convergence in situations of dialect contact and presents the potential for an alternative outcome, in which regionally diffusing forms are resisted, rather than absorbed. This alterative theoretical viewpoint helps to frame the analysis of FACE and GOAT production in the Royston speech community, and informs the approach taken in this thesis, which considers geo-spatial factors in conjunction with linguistic production data in order to consider the relationship between locally salient events and histories, and language variation and change.

2.3 Dialect Variation and Identity

The theoretical models discussed in Section 2.2 will frame the discussion of data which establishes the nature of the Royston FACE and GOAT variants, and explores the impact of pan-regional dialect contact on the Royston forms (Chapters 5, 6 and 7). However, in addition, a language ideology framework is vital in order to evaluate the salient ideological values that emerge from the Royston speech community, and to frame the analysis of qualitative data (Chapter 8) which investigates the social values which underpin language use.

2.3.1 Language Ideology

Irvine and Gal (2000: 35) define ideology as 'the ideas with which participants and observers frame their understanding of linguistic varieties and map those understandings onto people, events, and activities that are significant to them'. Putting forward an argument for a focus on speaker ideologies, alongside an analysis of linguistic production, Irvine and Gal (2000: 36) assert that there is no objective stance, with regard to the evaluation of linguistic production, 'there is no gaze that is not positioned'. It is not merely the case that the study of speaker ideologies provides an additional dimension to the analysis of language variation and change, but more that it is a major constitutive factor in the expansion, restriction, direction and nature of any linguistic variation (Irvine and Gal 2000: 77). Rather than focusing upon factors that produce 'linguistic uniformity', Irvine and Gal (2000: 76) make the case for the examination of linguistic 'differentiation'. By identifying three key semiotic processes; *iconization*, *fractal recursivity* and *erasure*, Irvine and Gal (2000: 37) consider the ways in which speaker ideologies contribute to the character of language variation and change.

The first of these processes, iconization, considers the ways in which linguistic features can become emblematic of social groups (Irvine and Gal 2000: 37). Here the linguistic feature acts as a homogenising symbol of the social group, enabling the projection of ideologies, and the creation and perpetuation of stereotypes (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38). However, speakers can also project these ideologies onto their own in-group linguistic production. Kirkham (2013: 228) studies adolescent friendship groupings in a Sheffield high school in order to locate the social meanings of variation. Observing the production of a tense realisation of word-final word /i/, Kirkham (2013: 228) finds that adolescent girls in one friendship group use tenser realisations of final word /i/ 'in stance clusters involving evaluation and in-group mockery'. He concludes that these stances, 'consolidate a quirky cool persona through a series of persona-level associations that naturalise the link between self-mockery and other social characteristics, such as coolness and geekiness'. The use of a tenser final /i/ is recognized by in-group members as an iconic symbol of these social meanings, and is utilised in performative linguistic acts which draw attention to social attributes perceived to be emblematic of the friendship group. Thus, via their use of iconic linguistic features, speakers are able to signal 'alignment' or 'disalignment' with different social groupings (Snell 2018: 677).The second process, fractal recursivity (Irvine and Gal 2000: 38), describes the reproduction and perpetuation of oppositions,

within and between groups, and involves 'the projection of an opposition, salient at some level or relationship, into some other level. In this way, broader social divisions and oppositions can recur at a more localised level'. Kirkham (2015: 647) finds that broader ideological associations linked to 'working-class' versus 'middle-class' identities recur at the more localised level of the school environment and are ideologically restructured as 'anti-school' versus 'pro-school' associations. Similarly, in her study of children's language in Teesside, Snell (2018: 684-685) finds that local dialect features are used to negotiate peer-group solidarity and status, signifying broader associations with ideologies of social class. Irvine and Gal's (2000:38) third semiotic process, erasure, considers a scenario in which factors that do not fit with the 'ideological scheme' are ignored or bypassed. Starting with the premise that a linguistic ideology represents 'a totalizing vision', Irvine and Gal observe that factors which do not conform to this vision 'must either be ignored or transformed'. This does not mean the literal erasure of the elements that do not fit, but rather the ideological or perceptual erasure. The facts that do not fit with the projected image go 'unnoticed or get explained away' (2000:38). This process, again, allows the enhancement of difference between speech communities, and reinforces opposing identities, 'defining the self as against some imagined 'Other' (2000: 39). Similarly, in research by Bucholtz and Hall (2005:598), the concept of 'relationality' explores aspects of similarity and difference, and considers the ways in which speakers position themselves in relation to a perceived other.

Whilst these three processes provide a framework for the evaluation of linguistic production through the prism of speaker ideologies, Irvine and Gal (2000: 78) strike a note of caution with regard to the perspective of speakers who provide the commentary, and the linguists who interpret the ideological data. The ideological perspectives of participant and researcher are likely to reflect, 'inherent hierarchical, moral, aesthetic, or other properties within broader cultural systems that are themselves often contested and rarely univocal' (2000: 78). However, whilst these ideological perspectives may be flawed and partial, they nonetheless provide an invaluable insight into the social meanings that underpin linguistic variation and change. Furthermore, Niedzielski and Preston (2000:4) warn that ignoring folk commentary on linguistic practice 'overlooks both its sophistication and the clues it carries for further investigation'.

Preston's work on *folk metalanguage* (2004) provides an effective frame within which to analyse the ideological commentary made by non-linguists in relation to linguistic

production. Preston divides the concept of folk metalanguage into three different levels. *Metalanguage 1* concerns the conscious discussion of speakers' own linguistic production by contrast to that of the ideologically defined 'other' (2004:75). In this way, *Metalanguage 1* involves the conscious process of talk about talk; whereas Metalanguage *2,* refers to the more routinized reference to talk in everyday language (2004: 85). Although still conscious at one level, this kind of attention to speech does not involve the kind of ideological evaluation found in *Metalanguage 1.* Preston (2004: 87) describes *Metalanguage 3,* as the, 'unasserted *Metalanguage 1* beliefs which members of speech communities share'. Preston (2004: 87) exemplifies this type of metalanguage with reference to commentary regarding African American Vernacular English (AAVE); 'You can't understand what they're saying. And - I just don't think there's any excuse for it. It's laziness and probably – maybe it is you know, because they are low class and they don't know how to bring themselves up'. As Preston's example illustrates, Metalanguage 3 commentary is possibly the most revealing aspect of folk belief about language as it gives access to the 'presuppositions which lie behind much *Metalanguage 1* use' (2004: 87). The interplay between *Metalanguage 1* and *3* considers the ways in which speakers make ideological, or value judgements, regarding their own linguistic production in relation to that of the 'other'. These ideologies are also shaped by membership of a wider speech community, which has its own set of 'presupposed' and 'deeply-rooted folk beliefs about language' (Preston 2004: 89). Work by others (cf. Dyer 2002; Dyer and Wassink 2004; Johnstone et al. 2006; and Llamas 2007) has also recognized the importance of placing folk metalanguage at the forefront of analysis of variation and change, in order to understand the social and ideological motivations which underpin linguistic variation. The study by Llamas (2007:123) focuses upon the dialect of Middlesbrough, a town which lies in a geographical 'transition zone' between the North East of England, and the uppermost tip of the County of North Yorkshire. Middlesbrough's border town identity, alongside its recent history of changing administrative status, combines to create its 'transitional character both geographically and dialectically' (2007: 128). Llamas (2007) examines levels of glottalling and glottalisation of the three voiceless stops (p), (t) and (k) across three generations of Middlesbrough speakers in order to consider how the changing geographical status of Middlesbrough may impact upon manifestations of local and linguistic identity. The findings reveal an apparent time increase in the use of the North East glottalised variant, and a decrease in the unmarked released variant, which is typical of Yorkshire varieties. Viewed in isolation these results could indicate that younger speakers are converging towards linguistic variants more typical of North East

varieties, whilst abandoning variants which signify a Yorkshire identity. However, Llamas (2007: 143), combines this phonological analysis with a focus upon the ideological commentary of her participants. The metalinguistic commentary produced by older speakers indicates a clear orientation towards a Yorkshire identity, reflecting historical ties with this county. However, metalinguistic commentary produced by younger speakers expresses clear hostility towards associations with the Tyneside or Geordie accent. Instead, younger speakers are using increased levels of glottalisation, not to identify with the North East, or to disassociate themselves with historical links to a Yorkshire identity, but to assert a distinctly Middlesbrough identity (Llamas 2007: 143). In this way, the younger speakers have ideologically reconstructed the values associated with their linguistic practice to signal a distinctly local Middlesbrough identity. A focus upon the ideological commentary of speakers allows Llamas to evaluate the social values that subsequent generations of Middlesbrough speakers assign to their linguistic practice. This combined approach enables the observation of the motivations which underpin speakers' local and linguistic affiliations.

More recent research by Montgomery and Moore (2018: 629) examines the ways in which social evaluations are attributed to linguistic features; their study elicits reactions to two 'topically distinct guises' recorded by the same speaker. The survey instrument developed for the study enabled respondents to provide real-time responses to the recordings in order to indicate linguistic features of note (2018: 635). Participants were then asked to provide metalinguistic commentary, where possible, to explain their real-time responses to the recordings (2018: 638). The real-time data revealed differing perceptions of the two guises and, by eliciting metalinguistic commentary, Montgomery and Moore (2018: 653) were able to examine the reasons behind these real-time responses. The metalinguistic commentary helped to confirm that topic influenced listener's perceptions, thus providing an invaluable insight into the social information that listeners attach to certain linguistic features.

The ideological framework developed by Irvine and Gal (2000) demonstrates that, social values are attributed to discrete linguistic variables via the attachment of ideological perspectives to linguistic behaviour. The work by Preston (2004) advocates a focus on the metalinguistic commentary of speakers, in order to access these ideological links; and the studies by Llamas (2007) and Montgomery and Moore (2018) show how this focus can be operationalised, demonstrating how linguistic forms come to signify or *index* social meanings (cf. Silverstein 2003; Ochs 1991). Section 2.3.2.

considers theoretical approaches which examine the relationship between linguistic forms and the social meanings that are assigned to them.

2.3.2 Indexicality and Linguistic Identity

Silverstein (2003: 227) makes the connection between language and the construction of identity, emphasising the indexical link between linguistic forms and social value judgements. His concept of an indexical order illustrates that social or indexical values are not inert, and asserts that an effective indexical analysis must acknowledge the 'duplex' nature of language use, namely that it is both 'pragmatic' and 'ideologically informed'. Silverstein (2003: 193) states that ''indexical order' is the concept necessary to showing us how to relate the micro-social to the macro-social frames of analysis of any sociolinguistic phenomenon'. This concept of an indexical order then enables us to interpret the folk metalinguistic commentary assigned to linguistic production.

According to Silverstein (2003:211), *n*-th-order order indexicality 'depends on the existence of a cultural schema of enregisterment of forms', and links a particular linguistic form with a recognisable social grouping, or function, indicating a correlation between a linguistic form and an ideological or social value (2003: 194). *n*+-th-order indexicality describes the potential, either intentionally or subconsciously, for speakers to reallocate forms to index locally salient identities, 'hence for any indexical phenomenon at order *n,* an indexical phenomenon at order *n*+1 is always immanent, lurking in the potential of an ethno-metapragmatically driven native interpretation of the *n*-th-order' (Silverstein 2003: 212). This image of the ever present, permanently pervading *n*+-th value represents the constant competition between the *n*-th and the *n*+th orders, and the potential for the latter to ultimately displace the former. Moore and Podesva (2009) operationalise this theory when revisiting data from Moore's (2003, 2004) ethnographic study of female adolescents in a high school in northwest England. Their study considers the social meaning of tag questions, finding a correlation between this linguistic form and the *n*-th-order indexical value, 'conducive', across the four school-based social groupings under scrutiny (2009: 458). However, Moore and Podesva (2009: 477) find that different localized ideological values have been attributed to tag questions in the four social groupings, and that the *n*-th-order value 'conducive', can be interpreted as a number of *n*+th-order values including 'knowledgeable' 'cool', 'popular' and 'working-class'. The indexical values attributed to tag questions have been 'repackaged and combined in unique ways to create quite distinct local identities' (2009: 477).

The study of Pittsburghese by Johnstone et al. (2006) also draws upon Silverstein's concept of indexical order to chart the ways in which linguistic forms can become synonymous with ideological judgements about social class, education and personality traits. However, where Moore and Podesva (2009) focus on the fluidity of Silverstein's indexical order, acknowledging that social values attached to linguistic forms are dynamic and constantly open to refunctionalisation, Johnstone et al. interpret the concept, simplifying it into a hierarchical model. In the Johnstone et al. (2006) model, first, second and third order indexicality correlate more closely to Labov's (1972) system of indicators, markers and stereotypes, in which the meaning of the variant moves between levels depending upon its salience within the speech community. Silverstein's *n*-th-order indexical level is reinterpreted by Johnstone et al. (2006: 82) as first-order indexicality, linking linguistic production to social group membership. For example, regional variants can be correlated with being from Pittsburgh, or with being working-class. Crucially at this stage, awareness of these correlations may be below the consciousness of socially non-mobile speakers as 'everyone speaks that way' (Johnstone et al. 2006: 82). Johnstone et al. (2006: 82) interpret the *n*+1-th-order as 'second-order indexicality', a stage at which 'regional features become available for social work'. At this stage regional features are above the level of speaker consciousness, and can be used to index differing meanings as Johnstone et al. (2006: 79) observe:

> 'Linguistic forms that were previously unnoticed in the community, because everyone in a speaker's social network used them, become noticeable in contrast with new forms emanating from elsewhere, and variability can become semiotically linked with social categorization in new ways.'

This inevitably leads to style shifting, where the speaker is conscious of a locally marked feature and may enhance or reduce their use of the marked form depending on their desire to identify with, or distance themselves from, the local variety (Johnstone et al. 2006:84).

Johnstone et al. (2006: 83) define third order indexicality as the stage where features of the local dialect have become so pronounced that they are in danger of becoming a stereotype, and can be used ironically, or humorously to 'perform local identity'. The Pittsburgh study finds that increasing mobility draws greater attention to local affiliations in the face of competing identities; regional forms become, 'increasingly heard as signals of authentic local identity and can be used to project localness' (2006:93). Pittsburghers who travel away from the area encounter claims from other Pittsburghers that they now 'sounded funny' (2006: 94). However, the consequence of

such attention is not necessarily a rejection or suppression of the distinctive features highlighted; it can also result in the retention and deliberate exaggeration of such features in an attempt to assert a distinct local identity.

Bailey's (2019:3) study focuses on the social status of [ŋg] in North Western varieties of British English, and demonstrates the existence of multi-layered indexical fields at a stage when there is no community wide agreement on the social evaluation of this variant. For older generation speakers, [ŋg] is below the level of consciousness and not evaluated any differently from [ŋ] (2019:3); whilst, for the younger generation, [ŋg] is gaining social salience. However, Bailey (2019: 3) finds that 'at this incipient stage of social meaning' there is no consensus in terms of the indexical values attributed to this variant by younger speakers. Whilst there is some agreement among younger speakers that [ŋg] indexes 'northerness' (2019:24), and consequently 'decreased professionalism', Bailey's results also suggest that [ŋg] indexes clarity of speech, resembling the orthographic norm more closely. The disparity between the older and younger generations, in terms of consciousness of the [ŋg] variant, is resonant of Johnstone et al.'s (2006: 82) first-order indexicality, linking linguistic production to social group membership and demonstrating how the indexical meaning of a variant can vary depending upon its salience within the speech community. Furthermore, Bailey's findings, along with those of Johnstone et al. (2006) and Moore and Podesva (2009), provide clear evidence which reinforces Silverstein's (2003: 227) assertion that indexical values are not inert, and that linguistic forms do not index the same social meanings to all speakers; nor do they necessarily index the same social meanings to a single speaker in all contexts and stages of their life. In the following section, I consider empirical studies which demonstrate the changing social values of linguistic forms within the speech community.

2.3.3 Socio-Stylistic Reallocation

Work by Britain and Trudgill (1999) considers the ways in which the social meanings attached to linguistic variables can be adapted or *reallocated*, thus revealing complex and multifaceted aspects of local and linguistic identity. Reallocation is a scenario in which 'variants in the dialect mix survive the levelling process but are refunctionalised, evolving new social or linguistic functions' (Britain and Trudgill 1999:246). This is posited as occurring in a situation of new dialect formation, but reallocation can also be a factor in the retention of regionally marked forms. Where local variants resist levelling to pan-regional, or supra-local norms, part of this resilience could be

attributed to a process of 'socio-stylistic reallocation' (Britain and Trudgill 1999:246), whereby new social values are attributed to locally-marked linguistic forms. This clearly resonates with Watson's (2006) findings in his study of Liverpool English, where the use of 't→h', a feature which was previously stigmatised in Liverpool English, increases rather than recedes when faced with competition from supra-local T-glottalling. With no available ideological data from the Liverpool speakers is it not possible to determine the social or indexical values attributed to this usage; nonetheless, the phonological and lexical extension of this variant suggests that it carries local prestige, rather than stigma, and has become an overt symbol of the Liverpool identity.

In their study of the dialect of the Isles of Scilly, Moore and Carter (2017: 269) find that local dialect variants of TRAP and BATH vowels have been 'refunctionalised'; observing that, in a process of ideological recursivity 'male Scillonians have adapted variants of TRAP and BATH to construct oppositional local identity types: one concerned with education and aspiration, and one concerned with local island knowledge'. Similarly, research by Dyer (2002) into the distinctive dialect of Corby in Northamptonshire, charts the changing indexicality of distinct phonological variables adopted into the Corby dialect through a period of intense dialect contact. Corby had a population of approximately 1500 in the 1930s; this rose dramatically to over 36,000 in the 1960s following a period of sustained migration by steel workers from in and around Glasgow, after the closure of steel plants in these areas (2002: 100-101). In Corby the influx peaked in the 1970s, and the steel plant closed in 1980 (Dyer 2002: 10). However, Dyer (2002: 101) finds that, despite the loss of the industry that drew the Scottish workers to Corby in the first instance, there remains 'a distinctly Scottish culture .... in many aspects of town life'. Furthermore, Dyer (2002: 101) finds evidence of a distinct Scottish influence even in the youngest of her Corby participants who are English-born and have only a tenuous link to the town's Scottish heritage. Dyer concludes that the new Corby dialect has undergone some degree of levelling as a result of the merging of the Scots and English varieties; however, the situation does not fit comfortably with the definition of levelling put forward by Williams and Kerswill (1999) (see Section 2.2.2). What Dyer (2002: 109) observes in the Corby dialect is far more complex, and she notes that:

> 'the features of the new Corby dialect cannot be accounted for entirely within a dialect levelling framework for three reasons: minority and regionally restricted (Scottish) features have been adopted; these regionally restricted features are themselves from a stigmatised variety; and the new dialect cannot

> be termed a levelled dialect because it is so locally distinct and is recognised by local outsiders as the Corby dialect.'

In order to explain this phenomenon, Dyer looks for an alternative to the deterministic theories of new-dialect formation, utilising a language ideology framework in order to consider the social factors which contribute to the maintenance of the distinctive Corby variants. Dyer (2002: 104-106) finds that the use of minority and regionally restricted Scottish features in the Corby variety index distinctly different identities for the three generations of speakers under scrutiny. Where traditional variationist studies may look at the linguistic production data alone, and conclude that younger generation Corby speakers are employing traditional Scottish-English variants in order to index a Scottish identity; Dyer (2002: 112) examines ideological data and finds that these forms have undergone a process of socio-stylistic reallocation and have been 'assigned a new sociolinguistic function'. The younger speakers have ideologically reconfigured the local meaning of the historically Scottish variants to signal a contrast between the Corby and Kettering identities, rather than a contrast between Scots and English as found in the older generation (2002:112). However, these new sociolinguistic functions do not replace the indexical meanings assigned to the variants by older generation speakers, but exist alongside them within the community. As Dyer (2002: 113) observes, 'by adopting an historically Scottish norm, young Corby men are perceived as Scottish by those unfamiliar with the town's new dialect, and by their elders, who employ evaluative criteria based on their own linguistic and social experience'.

Dyers' (2002) findings reveal a spectrum of ideological evaluations assigned to the historically Scottish variants which would have been overlooked were it not for a sustained focus upon ideological commentary drawn from individuals and prominent social groupings within the Corby speech community. Similarly, Eckert (2008: 453) observes that the social meanings assigned to variables are not 'precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings … or constellation of ideologically related meanings, any one of which can be activated in the situated use of the variable'. In order to explain this spectrum of potential meanings, Eckert (2008) formulates the concept of the Indexical Field, further adapting Silverstein's (2003) concept of indexicality. Moving the perspective away from one which views linguistic forms as simple markers of macro-social categories, she argues instead for a focus on the myriad ways in which speakers appropriate variables in order to perform different linguistic styles and identities. Here again, ideology is key to any interpretation of speakers' linguistic choices, and Eckert (2008: 456) observes that 'one way or another, every

stylistic move is the result of an interpretation of the social world and of the meanings of elements within it'. Once a speaker identifies, and assigns meaning to, a linguistic form, this feature is then available for socio-stylistic reallocation; a process which not only reconfigures the indexical values attached the variant itself, but also changes the meaning of the original style 'hence changing the semiotic landscape' (Eckert 2008: 457).

Figure 2.1 provides an example of an indexical field for /t/ release, reproduced from Eckert (2008: 469). The boxes represent social types, the black, capitalised font signifies permanent qualities, and the grey font indicates social stances. Using this illustrative framework, Eckert's concept maps the potential indexicalities available for identity work, and visually captures the multifaceted and dynamic nature of social meaning.

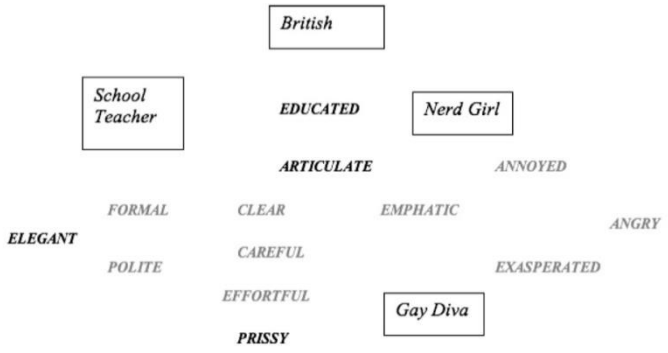

Figure 2.1: Indexical field of /t/ release (reproduced from Eckert 2008: 469).

Moore and Podesva (2009) adapt and build upon Eckert's model of the indexical field in their account of the spectrum of social meanings attributed to tag questions in four social groupings within a Bolton high school (cf. Moore2003 and 2004). Moore and Podesva's reworking of Eckert's model facilitates a more nuanced examination of the indexical values associated with tag questions, taking account of the different social levels at which the values operate. Figure 2.2, taken from Moore and Podesva (2009:478) shows their model of the indexical field for tag questions. The four social groupings are represented at the outer edge of the four corners of the field, and the dotted lines mark the boundaries between social meanings associated with tag questions by each group. As mentioned in Section 2.3.2, the direct, or n-th-order indexical value associated with tag questions is 'conducive', this is placed in the centre of the indexical field. This pragmatic meaning is then available for reinterpretation, or reconfiguration, on a number of different levels, as shown in Figure 2.2. These

reconfigured meanings range from, 'micro-social level' stances, represented in lower case in Figure 2.2 (for example, *knowledgeable*, *cool* or *polite);* to 'structural/demographic designations at the macro-social level', represented in block capitals (for example, *female* or *working-class)* (2009:479).

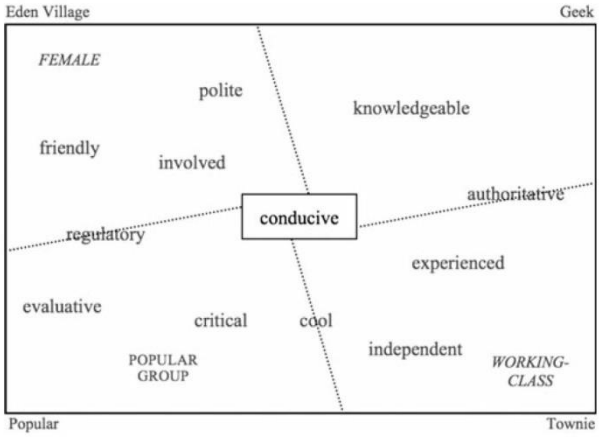

Figure 2.2: Indexical field for tag questions (taken from Moore and Podesva 2009:478).

Crucially, Moore and Podesva (2009:469) assert that the use of a tag question, 'can activate a social meaning at any or all of these levels'.

These theoretical frameworks inform my methodological approach to the collection and analysis of ideological data. This data is explored in Chapter 8 in order to evaluate speaker ideologies, and consequently the social values that are applied to linguistic forms. These social values are susceptible to both intra- and inter- community reallocation, but also to intra- and inter-speaker reconfiguration, revealing the multiplicity of potential ideologically related meanings that can correlate with a particular linguistic form.

2.3.4 Summary

The theoretical approaches reviewed in Section 2.3 make the case for a focus upon speakers' folk metalanguage (Preston 2004), alongside the analysis of linguistic production data, in order to make sense of locally salient identities (cf. Dyer 2002 and Llamas 2007), and to consider how these identities of place interact with linguistic production, recognising that ideology is key to any interpretation of speakers' linguistic choices (Irvine and Gal 2000: 35). Drawing upon these theoretical models, the analysis presented in this thesis reinforces the need to apply ethnographic insight during the

collection and analysis of qualitative data. It also demonstrates the importance of an understanding of local historical contexts, social experiences and tensions which may impact upon the use and perception of linguistic variables. Silverstein (2003) makes the connection between language and the construction of identity, emphasising the indexical link between linguistic forms and social value judgements. In line with Silverstein's notion of the fluidity of indexical values, work by Britain and Trudgill (1999) demonstrates that the social meaning of variables can be adapted or *reallocated*, thus revealing complex and multifaceted aspects of local and linguistic identity. Viewing identity as a 'socio-cultural phenomenon' (Bucholtz and Hall 2005:585), this thesis will link acts of linguistic identity to the ideological perceptions which form via membership of a speech community, in order to demonstrate how the Royston FACE and GOAT variants act as a powerful indicator of a speaker's sense of place.

Chapter 3

Situating the Research: The Research Location

3.1 Introduction

This Chapter outlines salient aspects of Royston's historical, geographical and administrative development in order to illustrate the role these factors play in the formation of the township's unique local identity and distinctive dialect features. According to Britain (2013: 496), it is crucial to consider the shifting nature of mobility within an area in order to understand the social meaning which accompanies that movement. Understanding the changing nature of Royston's demographic, administrative and geographical status will enable an evaluation of locally relevant events which may have influenced the character of the speech community and the dialect of the township. By providing an overview of historical patterns of dialect contact and mobility within the Royston speech community, this chapter begins to provide the context within which to address Research Question (2). In order to consider the extent to which patterns of contact with pan-Yorkshire dialects may have influenced the distinctive Royston variety, this chapter will detail Royston's historical and current position within the Yorkshire region as a whole, and in relation to the adjacent speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield. Furthermore, the unique circumstances which have created the Royston speech community form the context within which to examine the social values which Royston speakers assign to their linguistic production. In this way, this chapter also provides the context in which to consider the ideological commentary discussed in Chapter 8.

3.2 The Research Location: The Urban Township of Royston

3.2.1 Royston: Current Geographical, Administrative and Employment Status

Today, Royston is categorised as an Urban Township located in the northern English region of Yorkshire and the Humber. The region of Yorkshire and the Humber is subdivided into four counties; North Yorkshire, East Yorkshire, South Yorkshire and West Yorkshire.

Royston is part of the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley in South Yorkshire, the borough was created in 1974 as a result of legislation set by the Local Government Act of 1972. Although Royston is officially part of the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley, the township is located on the county boundary which divides the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley in South Yorkshire from the Metropolitan District of Wakefield in West Yorkshire (see Figures 3.1 and 3.2).

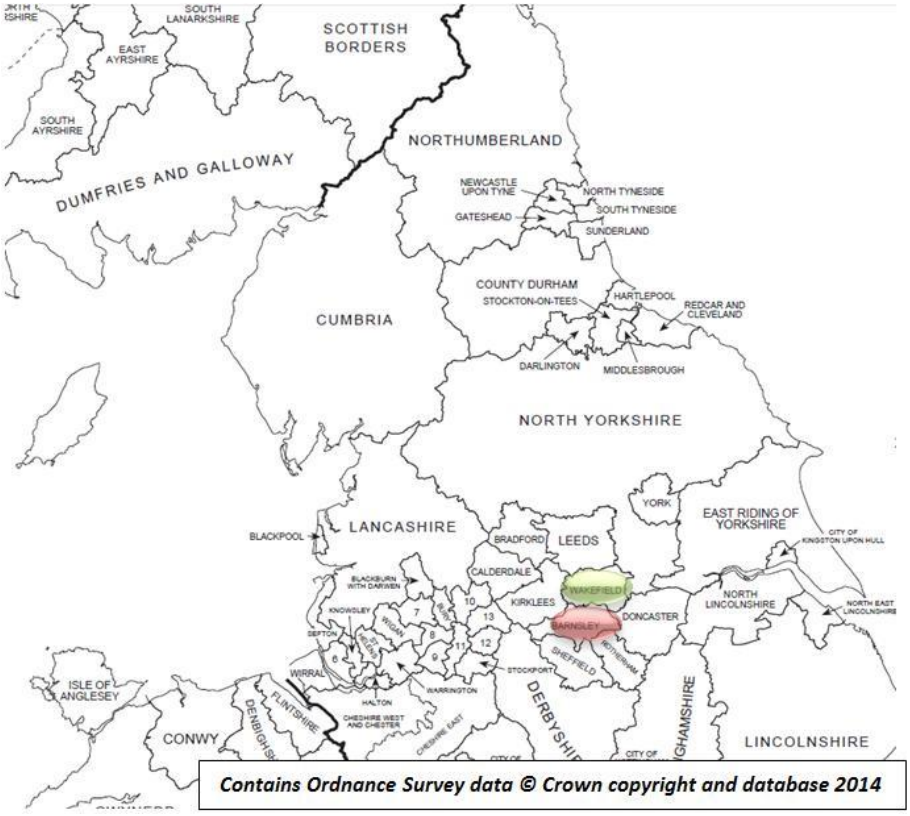

Figure 3.1: Location of the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley and the Metropolitan District of Wakefield.

Royston is one of twenty-one wards which make up the Barnsley borough, and the township has a current population of 10,728 which equates to approximately 4.64% of the total borough population of 231,221 (Barnsley Metropolitan Borough Council (BMBC) Online, Census 2011). In the first half of the twentieth century employment in the Barnsley area was dominated by the mining industry, however, no working pits remain and wholesale and retail trades currently account for the majority of employment in the borough (BMBC Unitary Development Plan, 1995).

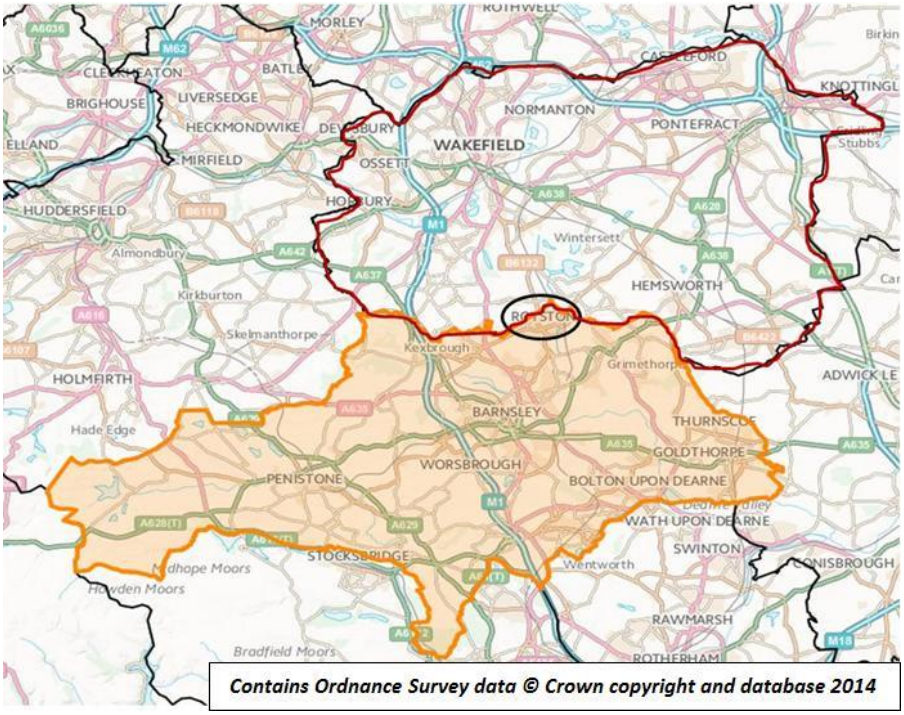

Figure 3.2: Location of the Urban Township of Royston in relation to the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley (shaded and outlined in orange) and the Metropolitan District of Wakefield (outlined in red). (Source: Ordnance Survey Online)

The Metropolitan District of Wakefield in West Yorkshire was also formed as a result of the Local Government Act 1972 and comprises 21 wards. The Wakefield district has a total population of 331,379 which equates to approximately 6.15% of the total Yorkshire and Humber region. As with Barnsley, employment in the Wakefield district was dominated by the mining industry during the first half of the twentieth century. However, its last working pit closed in December 2015 and health, manufacturing and retail are now the major employers in the district (Wakefield Metropolitan District Council Online: State of the District Report, 2015).

The current employment situation in Royston requires the majority of residents to travel beyond the township to find work (BMBC Unitary Development Plan, 1995), and wholesale and retail trades employ the greatest proportion of Royston's working population at 17.6%, followed by manufacturing at 14.8% (BMBC Unitary Development Plan, 1995). Coal production was the main source of employment in Royston until the middle of the 20th century. Monckton Colliery, located in the township, eventually closed in December 1966, after which many of the surface installations were demolished. Those that remained were then utilised by Royston Drift Mine in the mid to late 1970s until that too closed in the 1980s. The closure of this major employer in

Royston had a significant impact on the financial buoyancy of the township and a devastating effect on the facilities and infrastructure. Many of Royston's shops and social venues closed following the decline and eventual closure of the colliery. The remaining large scale employer, Monckton Coke and Chemical Works, a large industrial plant which employed approximately two hundred people producing coke for both the domestic and industrial market, closed in 2014(Cotton 2014:5). Today there is no major employer remaining in the township, and no mining or mining related industry in the area.

In addition to its border status, Royston has been historically, and still remains, relatively isolated from other settlements. This is atypical of other areas in the borough of Barnsley and as such is highlighted in the *Unitary Development Plan* of Barnsley Metropolitan Borough Council (1995: 3) which provides the following description of Royston's isolated position: 'To the north and west are extensive areas of countryside and to the south open land separates the settlement from Athersley and Carlton in Urban Barnsley'.

Within the last decade a rapid programme of house building on the peripheries of Royston has brought the township nearer to surrounding settlements, most notably to neighbouring Carlton. However, despite this, Royston remains encircled by fields and disconnected from neighbouring locations as shown in Figure 3.3.

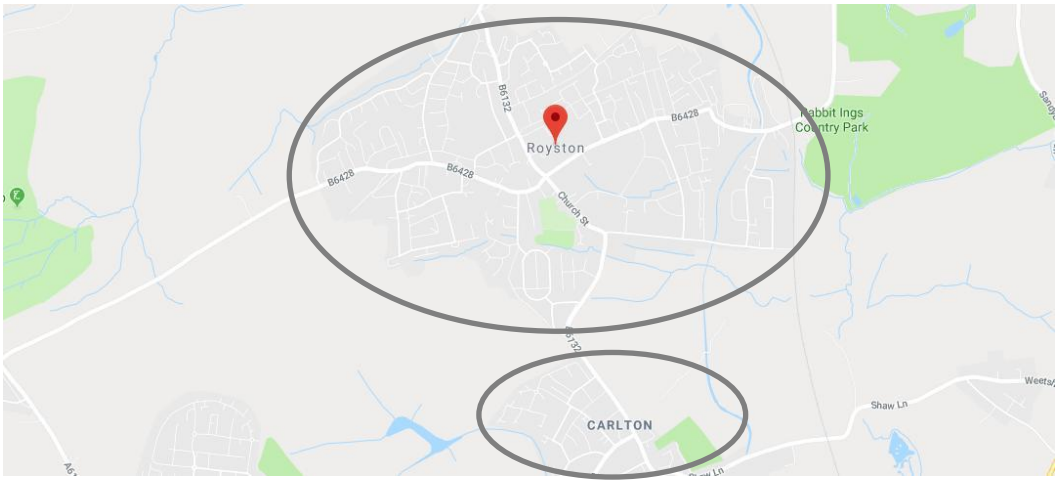

Figure 3.3: Map showing the geographical isolation of Royston and the township's proximity to Carlton. (Map produced in Google Maps http://maps.google.uk)

Although Royston lies directly between the city of Wakefield and the town of Barnsley, a journey through Royston is not the most efficient route between the two centres. The major roads linking Barnsley and Wakefield are the M1 and the A61 but Royston lies

well to the east of these routes, and the B6132 which links Barnsley and Wakefield via Royston is a comparatively indirect and meandering route (see Figure 3.2). The absence of any major road network through Royston makes the township a destination rather than a thoroughfare, a further factor which adds to its geographic isolation. Royston's logistical isolation presents a potential barrier to contact with surrounding speech communities (cf. Britain 2004 and 2013).

So far, this section has outlined Royston's current geographical, demographic and administrative status. However, the township's status underwent changes during the 20th century which had a significant impact upon the nature, fortunes and character of Royston, and in turn upon the distinctive dialect of the township. Sections 3.2.2 to 3.2.8 will consider these historical factors.

3.2.2 The Shifting Nature of Royston's Historical Status Within the Yorkshire Region

In order to contextualise the current position of Royston within the wider Yorkshire region it is vital to outline the historical development of the broader Yorkshire region, and to consider the significance of Royston's shifting status within this geographical landscape.

'Yorkshire' (historically also known as the County of York) has existed as a political entity since the early Norman period, however, it ceased to be a unified political county following the Reform Act of 1832. Up until 1889, Yorkshire was governed from York and because Yorkshire was the largest county in England, it was divided, historically, into the three distinct areas known as Ridings for the purposes of administrative and legal functions. York was replaced as the political and administrative centre by county towns in each of the three Ridings; Northallerton in the North Riding, Beverley in the East Riding and Wakefield as the administrative and political centre of the West Riding of Yorkshire (Royle 1998). Figure 3.4 shows the county of Yorkshire and its division into the North, East and West Ridings. Following the inception of the Ridings, Royston was located within the West Riding of Yorkshire which also included the town of Barnsley and the city of Wakefield. During this period, therefore, the three speech communities which form the main focus of this study were located within the same political and administrative domain.

Figure 3.4: The historic county of Yorkshire and its three Ridings, together with the current (2013) areas for administration within its borders. (Source: Association of British Counties).

Following the 1889 Local Government Act, new County Councils were created including the West Riding County Council (WRCC) which had Wakefield as its administrative capital. Royston was categorised (for political and administrative functions) as an Urban District Council within the remit of the West Riding County Council which had responsibility for the funding and maintenance of Royston's roads, schools, parks, street lighting and libraries. However, in a complex twist, Barnsley was, at this time, categorised as a County Borough Council of sufficient size to control its own budget despite being within the geographical area of the West Riding County Council. This situation remained in place until changes instigated by the Local Government Act of 1972 were put into place from 1974 onward. This ultimately meant that, for the first three quarters of the 20th century, Royston looked firmly toward Wakefield for its political and administrative control.

As mentioned, Yorkshire underwent a further transformation in 1974 when it was subdivided into four counties under the terms of the 1972 Local Government Act. The four new counties were: North Yorkshire, South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, and Humberside (later to become East Riding). Figure 3.4 shows this division (see dotted lines indicating Ceremonial Counties) and crucially illustrates that this new

subdivision of the Yorkshire region places Barnsley and Wakefield in separate counties, with Barnsley now in the county of South Yorkshire and Wakefield in the county of West Yorkshire. As a result of the changes brought about by the Local Government Act 1972, Royston's administrative and geographical status underwent a seismic shift: the township of Royston became a local government ward of the newly formed Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley and was allotted three councillors in line with the other wards in the borough (Elliott 1985: 5). As an Urban District Council prior to 1972, Royston had 11 councillors dedicated to the township. Following the boundary changes, which were implemented in 1974, Royston remained in the Wakefield parliamentary constituency for a further decade, finally transferring to Barnsley Central Constituency in 1983 (Elliott 1985: 5).

3.2.3 Royston: Education Provision

The shifting administrative and political fortunes of Royston also impacted upon education provision in the township. Prior to 1974, secondary education in Royston was categorised as Secondary Modern which meant that all Royston pupils going on to study A Levels would have to travel outside the township to Normanton Grammar School (Normanton is a civil parish in the city of Wakefield); however, this affected a relatively small proportion of Royston's population at the time (Elliott 1985).

Local government reorganisation, as a result of the Local Government Act 1972, resulted in all Royston pupils studying in Further Education going to Barnsley rather than to Wakefield. This situation persists to the present day, and the younger Royston speakers interviewed for this study were all students at Barnsley College at the time of data collection. There is a clear generational shift here. Within the current population of Royston, older generation speakers in the township who accessed post-compulsory education may have formed early affiliations with Wakefield, whilst middle and younger generations would orient towards Barnsley.

Whilst post-compulsory education has always required travel beyond Royston, students at primary and secondary levels have historically accessed education provision within the township. However, in 2010, Royston High School merged with high schools in the nearby settlements of Athersley and Carlton. Following the merger, a brand new purpose built school, Carlton Community College, was erected on greenbelt land between the settlements of Royston and Carlton. The new building opened in early 2011 and now draws pupils from Royston, Carlton and Athersley. For the first time in the township's history, all Royston adolescents are now educated

outside the township and have contact with speakers from surrounding speech communities on a sustained and daily basis. Britain (2013: 492) asserts that 'schooling enforced mobility can cause geographical divergence'; for Royston adolescents, the necessity to travel beyond the township for post-primary education provision has clear implications with regard to patterns of dialect contact, as these routinized patterns of mobility during adolescence can clearly shape early affiliations and orientations.

3.2.4 Royston: Public Transport

A further factor which could widen the generational schism, identified in Section 3.2.3, is the introduction of a South Yorkshire public transport subsidy from the early 1980s. South Yorkshire Passenger Transport Executive (established in January 1974) drafted a public transport rate subsidy policy in the late 1970s which was to be recommended for adoption across the whole of the county of South Yorkshire (Bignell and Fortune 1984). South Yorkshire County Council introduced this rate subsidy for bus fares in the early 1980s meaning that the fares were between 400% and 640% lower than equivalent journeys in neighbouring counties (Bignell and Fortune 1984). This had a profound effect on the direction of travel for Barnsley residents, but particularly for residents of Royston who used public transport. Prior to the introduction of the policy it was as convenient, and in some instances more efficient, for Royston residents to travel into West Yorkshire to work, shop and socialise. However, post introduction of the South Yorkshire subsidies policy, disparity in public transport costs between South and West Yorkshire meant that Royston residents shifted their gravitational tendencies toward Barnsley and Sheffield, rather than toward Wakefield and Leeds. Britain (2013:490) highlights the importance of observing the 'everyday mundane mobilities of human routine behaviour'; the need to consider patterns of routine activity which connect to work, socialisation, consumerism and recreation. These routinized patterns can have clear consequences with regard to language contact. Britain (2013:496) finds that dialect affiliations in the Fenlands reflect these mundane mobilities, and that local orientations are reinforced by public transport provision. Royston's shift in administration from West to South Yorkshire, combined with changes to local transport provision, are likely to have created a significant impact upon the orientation and hence local affiliations of the township's residents.

These significant shifts in the administrative categorisation of the township have taken place within the lifetime of older generation Roystonians. However, changes of this nature, in administrative or geographical boundaries, do not necessarily result in a shift

in the perceptions or orientations to space of the generation that encounters the changes (Llamas 2007). This can clearly result in a generational split, with older and younger generations demonstrating differing affiliations. Although Royston has not encountered the kind of dramatic shifts in national status experienced in the border town of Berwick on Tweed (Llamas et al. 2009), or even a change in county status as is the case with Middlesbrough (Llamas 2007) and Warrington (Beal 2010b: 217), it has experienced changes in administrative control which, as this thesis will show, have clearly impacted upon inhabitants' perceptions of both local and linguistic identity.

3.2.5 Royston's Industrial Heritage

Sections 3.2.1 to 3.2.4 have outlined the shifting nature of Royston's geographical, political and administrative status within the wider Yorkshire region. However, a further factor which contributes to Royston's unique status as a speech community is the township's industrial heritage. As already established, Royston formed part of the broader West Riding of Yorkshire from 1889 to 1974. However, whilst the West Riding was united by geographical and administrative boundaries it was divided in terms of its industrial heritage.

The woollen industry grew rapidly in the 19th century in centres like Huddersfield, Halifax, Dewsbury, Wakefield, Bradford and Leeds (all in today's West Yorkshire county area). By 1838 there were 100 woollen mills in Leeds alone, and when Salt's Mill in Saltaire opened in 1853 it was the largest factory in the world. Manningham Mill in Bradford employed 11,000 at its peak and the Leeds clothing industry grew out of its textile base (Rees 1948: 31-33). By contrast the southern parts of the West Riding, including, Sheffield and Rotherham (in today's South Yorkshire county area), were dominated by iron and steel production. Royston, therefore, was situated on a further boundary, the boundary between two very different industrial regions, and yet the township did not embrace either textile or iron and steel production.

The earliest records for Royston detail the area as a farming settlement (Royston and Carlton Community Partnership (RCCP) 2001:1). By the 19th century Royston had developed as an area rich in market gardens, and, as recently as 1893, there were at least six commercial market gardens and eight farms in the township (Elliott, 2000:4). Perhaps as a consequence of its geographical isolation, Royston had developed a unique land ownership system during the 17th century which excluded it from the attention of surrounding landowners and governing systems. During this period the management of

an open field township would usually fall under the governance of the local manor: but no manor was registered for Royston at the time (Elliott 1985:8).

In place of manorial governance a group of wealthy Royston landowners, known locally as the meadstead men, made profit from any use of the land in the township (Elliott 1985: 13). Areas under meadstead ownership were divided into smaller parcels and residents would cultivate their own narrow strip producing a variety of different fruit and vegetables for sale commercially. According to Elliott (1985: 13):

> 'Royston's unique system of 'meadsteads' may have originated during the seventeenth century. About fifteen or so inhabitants controlled some of the prime agricultural land in the village, ultimately becoming hereditary officials under the custodianship of the constable, in effect a social elite.'

Although the meadstead system persisted until Royston became an Urban District and was governed by an Urban District Council from the 1890s (Elliott, 1985: 5) this means of employment could not adequately sustain the entire local working population. By the mid-19th century Royston had a relatively low and highly fluctuating population (Elliott 1985:24). During this period, therefore, the township of Royston was both geographically isolated and also industrially detached from the remainder of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

3.2.6 Yorkshire's Coal Mining Heritage

Alongside the textile, iron and steel industries, coal mining was also developing rapidly in parts of the Yorkshire region during the 19th century. A vast Yorkshire coal seam, known geologically as the South Yorkshire Coalfield (cf. Hill 2001), stretched from Halifax in the North West to the north of Bradford and Leeds in the North East, Huddersfield and Sheffield in the West and Doncaster in the East (Threlkeld 1994).

It is worth noting at this point that there was very little industrial development in the North and East Ridings by contrast, and only very small scale coal mining in these two regions (Hill 2001). The fishing and whaling industries saw Hull, the major city in the East Riding, grow from the late 18th century onwards; whilst York, the administrative centre of the North Riding, grew as a railway city in the 19th century. In 1896, there were only 22 underground coal miners in the North Riding while there were 71,926 in the West Riding, and 23% of these miners, some 16,623 men, worked in the Barnsley area mines (Northern Mine Research Society). During this period, therefore, the industrial nature of the West Riding of Yorkshire contrasted with that of the North and East Ridings. The significance of this division will be considered in conjunction with

patterns of dialect contact and linguistic production across the Yorkshire region in Chapter 5, but it is important to highlight at this point that the South Yorkshire Coalfield was named and in existence prior to the creation of the county of South Yorkshire in 1974. In the case of the coalfield, 'South Yorkshire' refers quite literally to the southern geographical area of Yorkshire and not to the current administrative county. Furthermore, the South Yorkshire Coalfield was part of the larger Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Yorkshire Coalfield (Hill 2001). This means that, industrially, the mining areas of southern Yorkshire would have had a greater affinity with Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire than with the north and east Yorkshire regions which did not share this mining heritage. In this respect, industrial ties may have greater impact upon local and linguistic identity than geographical, administrative and political boundaries.

3.2.7 Royston's Coal Mining Heritage

Whilst employment in Royston did not reflect the textile, iron and steel industries that dominated the majority of the West Riding during the 19th century, the township did wholeheartedly embrace the coal mining industry. The nature of employment in Royston was to change dramatically following the establishment of a large colliery on the edge of the township; the Monckton coal seam was opened and worked from 1876 attracting vast numbers of migrant workers, initially to lodge in Royston, but later to settle after a period of house building (Thorpe 1997: 43).

Census records for the first three quarters of the nineteenth century reveal that the population of Royston fluctuated only slightly in the decades preceding the opening of the colliery, but even at its highest in 1871 it never peaked above 676 (see Figure 3.5). The Royston population totals for the decades 1801 to 1831 are taken from the enumerator's notes from the first four English censuses. The notes have been preserved in Royston Parish Council records (cf. Wall et al. (2012) for information on census material from 1801 to 1831).

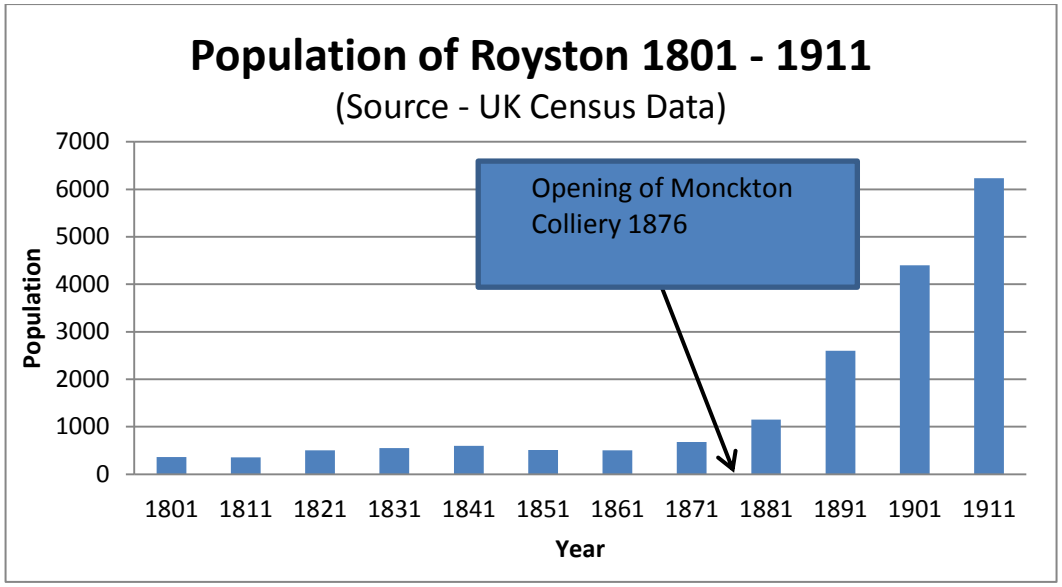

Figure 3.5: Population totals for Royston 1801 to 1911 (UK Census data).

However, in the decades following the opening of the first Monckton coal seam, census records for Royston reveal a dramatic change in the statistics with evidence of a rapid and significant increase in the township's population. As local historians note, 'Monckton Main Coal Company continued to expand generating a 'Klondyke' [sic] atmosphere' (Jones, 1981:7). As Figure 3.5 illustrates, this accelerated population increase is so marked that it resembles the type of rapid demographic rise found in the *new towns* which were established in areas across England during a period spanning the 1940s to the 1970s. The creation of a new town involved the rapid expansion of a previously small settlement via a process of extensive house building and the introduction of employment, leading to a dramatic increase in the population over a relatively short timescale. Kerswill (2010) examines the resulting dialect situation in the new town of Milton Keynes and considers how a unique dialect variety can develop in a situation where speakers of existing and established dialects of a single language converge in these circumstances. Kerswill (2010:241 – 242) notes that the population of Milton Keynes rose from 60,000 to over 227,000 in the forty year period following its creation in 1967, an increase of approximately 400%. In Royston, in the forty year period from 1871, five years prior to the opening of the Monckton colliery, the population rose from 676 to 6231(UK Census data), an increase of over 900% (see Figure 3.5).

The creation of a new town has been shown to lead to the emergence of 'new-dialect formation' (Kerswill 2010: 231); this clearly differs from a gradual and constantly

evolving situation found in long established dialect areas. Kerswill (2010: 230) emphasises the unique nature of new-dialect formation in the following terms:

> 'Importantly, new varieties lack the inherent continuity (looking backwards through time) of slowly changing speech community norms ... To use a medical metaphor, a new variety only emerges when a speech community has experienced trauma, through the overwhelming influx of newcomers, through the shift of its members to another language, or through the transplantation of individuals from different speech communities to a new location where they, as (voluntary or involuntary) settlers, have to form a new community'.

The situation in Royston has many factors in common with this scenario. The area was not settled from a blank canvas preceding the opening of the colliery but from a small isolated settlement with a very low and constantly changing population. The dramatic population increase following the opening of Monckton Colliery drew in workers from a range of existing dialect backgrounds and saw a rapid expansion of the township in terms of house building and facilities to serve a burgeoning community. This inevitably created a new speech community blending the dialects of the incoming settlers with that of the indigenous Royston population.

Sadly, no prior studies have documented the nature of the Royston dialect prior to the establishment of Monckton colliery. Aside from the work of local historians, who have charted elements of Royston's development using parish records and census data, only one academic study of the township exists prior my research. The doctoral study by Cave (2001) focuses upon dialect speakers from former mining communities within the Barnsley area and the influence of mining affiliations upon vernacular identity. As an ex-miner himself, Cave's study includes speakers from his home township of Royston, as well as those from Grimethorpe and Darfield. Cave's primary focus differs from that of the current study; his central concern is the lexical and phrasal elements of the dialect that link speakers to a distinct mining allegiance. However, his research provides vital context with regard to the monolithic and enduring influence of the coal mining industry in ex-mining areas like Royston, and the impact of this legacy upon the speech community.

3.2.8 The Unique Nature of Industrial Migration to Royston

Cave's (2001) research into the history and industrial development of Royston acknowledges the impact of the opening of large collieries in the area in the late 19th century and the significance this has in relation to community identity and dialect formation. As Cave (2001: 14) notes '[t]he issues of migration and industrial relations during this period were vital ingredients in the shaping of the socio-occupational

communities in villages such as Royston and Grimethorpe'. Cave (2001:14) also acknowledges the significance of the dramatic increase in the population of Royston following the opening of Monckton Colliery. Royston was by no means unique in opening a large mining concern at this time; neither was it unique in terms of drawing in large numbers of workers from surrounding areas and from much further afield. However, there are a number of factors which make Royston atypical of other mining communities during this period.

Sections 3.2.1 and 3.2.5 established that, prior to the late decades of the 19th century, Royston's geographical isolation and patterns of employment set it apart from adjacent speech communities, and from patterns of employment which characterised the West Riding of Yorkshire more generally. Contrary to expectation, Royston's embracing of the coal industry did not reverse this isolation by bringing greater contact with other coal mining communities across the region. A series of factors combined to make the coal industry in Royston distinctive during this period. The first is the size and nature of Monckton Colliery. Monckton, from its inception, was designed to be a vast colliery which eventually sunk six shafts (Thorpe 1997:43-46). Furthermore, the colliery was a deep rather than shallow seam mine, and coke was to be produced alongside coal. The production of coke required a specialist labour force which was in short supply in the South Yorkshire Coalfield during this period. These conditions created the need for a large specialist labour force, and the necessity for a rapid programme of house building in order to accommodate the incoming workforce (Thorpe 1997: 43-46).

The Royston meadsteadmen who had made vast profits from the parcelling of land for market gardening now built housing for the incoming migrant workforce generating a new revenue source from their land ownership (Elliott 1985:13). The census enumerator's notes for the years spanning 1801 to 1871 show that no new housing was built in Royston during this period. However, in 1881, (five years after the opening of Monckton Colliery) the entry details the building of 11 new dwellings. Most notable amongst these new dwellings was Monckton Row, a row of terraced houses built for mineworkers on the very edge of the colliery yard (Thorpe 1997:43).

The building of new housing for a burgeoning workforce would appear to be a completely logical and necessary development. However, the fact that Monckton Colliery built houses and welcomed a workforce from outside the township was a factor which distinguishes Royston from many of the surrounding Barnsley mining villages, where colliery owners maintained a paternalistic policy of family recruitment.

Walker (1993:181) notes that at Wombwell Main Colliery in the south of Barnsley, '[t]he high level of residential persistence experienced at Wombwell Main between 1871 and 1881 … suggests efforts were made to retain trusted workers and their families by the colliery's management'. Similarly, according to Spaven (1978:379) the Fitzwilliam family, who owned collieries in Elsecar and Wentworth in the south of Barnsley, maintained a clear policy of recruitment which favoured local-born miners, primarily drawn from families who already had members working in the Fitzwilliam mines. Spaven (1978:379) notes that it was not uncommon for miners in these collieries to reach 50 years' service, and for the communities to 'conform to the concept of the 'family pit' and the traditions of a more inward-looking and deferential period in the industry'.

Because of these traditions in Barnsley villages the majority of the industrial migration to Royston during this period did not hail from the surrounding areas of Barnsley, nor did it hail from the wider West Riding of Yorkshire. Table 3.1 shows the 1901 census figures for male heads of households in the 245 dwellings recorded for Royston in this year, and illustrates the extent to which the incomers to the township during this period migrated from areas beyond the Yorkshire region. Whilst the proportion of workers drawn from Royston and other areas of Yorkshire totals 48.2%, the remaining 51.8% are drawn from beyond the confines of the Yorkshire boundary.

Table 3.1: Male heads of household in Royston from the 1901 census. (Source: UK Census data)

The Black Country	**Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire**	**Royston and other areas of Yorkshire**	**Other**
31.4% (77 heads of household)	12.2% (30 heads of household)	48.2% (118 heads of household)	8.2% (20 heads of household)

Census figures for the whole of Royston show that 31.4% of household heads came from the Black Country providing the largest portion of the influx of long distance migration to Monckton Colliery (UK Census data 1901).

The Black Country is described by Asprey (2007:78) as 'unusual in that it is not an area delimited by political, physical or economic boundaries.' Despite the disputed

boundaries of the region, the Black Country is generally thought to encompass parts of the counties of Staffordshire, Warwickshire and North Worcestershire (Asprey 2007) (see Figure 3.5). The name *Black Country* derives from the Industrial Revolution and denotes the impact of pollution on the general landscape of the region. A significant proportion of the incoming workers came from Kingswinford in the Black Country (UK Census data); Kingswinford is approximately 116 miles from Royston and yet many of the workers made the journey on foot in order to take up jobs at Monkton Colliery (Jones 1981:7). The major push factor that would compel Black Country miners to make the arduous journey to Royston on foot was the fact that the Black Country had embraced industrialisation rapidly, and by the late nineteenth century, many of the collieries in the region had been exhausted of resources leaving a workforce skilled in deep seam mining and coke production, yet in desperate need of employment in order to release their families from relative poverty (Barnsby 1971).

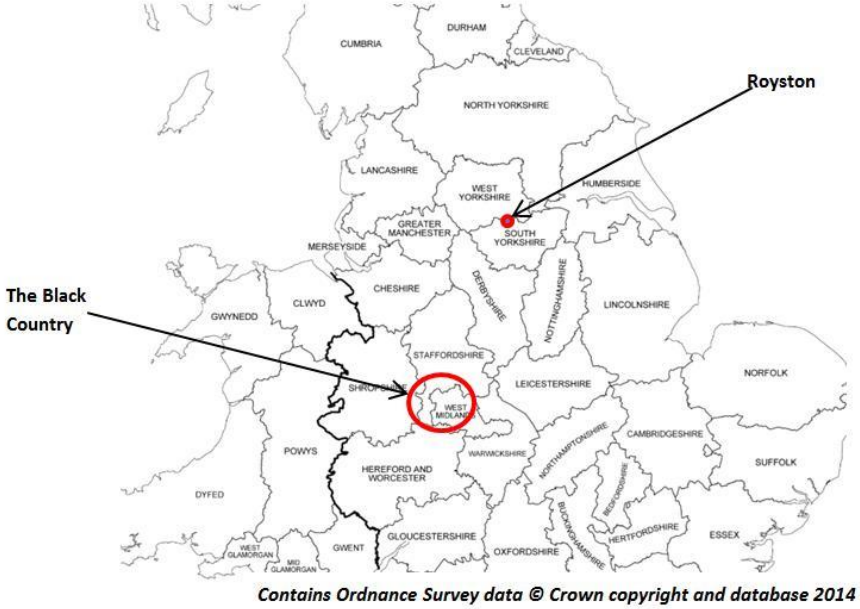

Figure 3.6: Location of The Black Country in relation to Royston.

The provision of housing for long distance industrial migration to Royston may have been a significant 'pull' factor which clearly attracted workers from the Black Country to travel to the township. The South Yorkshire Coalfield had historical links with the West Midlands drawing labour from the area during earlier strikes and lockouts in the Yorkshire collieries. As Walker (1993: 171) notes:

> 'Other causes for the high number of West Midland migrants in the district undoubtedly included the work of recruitment agents in the Black Country, men such as Paul Roper of Bilston, whose activities encouraging men to move to the

> newly opening South Yorkshire pits were noted in the *Barnsley Chronicle* in 1868 and 1869'.

Walker's (1993) research deals mainly with the influx of labour to collieries in Darfield where, like Royston, there was an influx of miners from the West Midlands. In Darfield, however, by 1881, at the height of the influx, the incoming workforce from the West Midlands represented only 11% of the working male population in comparison with the high levels of migrant labour we find in Royston during the same period (Walker 1993:175).

Monckton Colliery had even stronger connections to the Black Country mining industry than other areas in the South Yorkshire Coalfield. In addition to agents like Paul Roper spreading the word, Monckton had employed a manager, Alfred Bradley Southhall, in 1877, who came from Kingswinford, an area in the heart of the Black Country (Thorpe 1997:45). Later in 1911 another Kingswinford man, Arthur Assinder, was appointed as General Manager (Thorpe 1997: 46). Clearly this would have established and maintained links to the Black Country and enabled the employers to tap into a source of experienced coal miners and coke producers who would be desperate for the work no matter how far they needed to travel.

As stated earlier, an increase in population following the opening of large scale industries in the area during the second half of the nineteenth century is typical of many districts of Barnsley. Furthermore, the Black Country appears to be the source of a great deal of the migrant labour attracted to the area at this time to work in flourishing coal and iron industries. Research by historian Melvyn Jones (1998) considers patterns of migrant labour in the Barnsley area in the 19th century. Jones (1998:129) studies the large influx of labour from the Black Country to the two iron works in Elsecar in the mid-nineteenth century and notes that, although Black Country ironworkers moved in high numbers to the village, comprising 86% of all long distant migrants, they nevertheless constituted only 8% of Elsecar's total population. These figures display a clear contrast to the impact of migrant labour on the township of Royston, where, by 1901, long distance migration (from beyond the Yorkshire region) made up 51.8% of the total population with workers from the Black Country accounting for 31.4% of this influx. In Elsecar, the Black Country workers were significant amongst long distance migrant numbers, but they were not significant in terms of overall population, whereas in Royston the migrant workforce clearly outnumbered the existing population of the township.

A further element which sets Royston apart from other mining communities during this period is the absence of any accounts of unrest or hostility resulting from the vast influx of migrant workers to the township. This was not the case, however, in other mining villages in the Barnsley area where incoming miners were seen as a threat to the livelihoods of local miners. Spaven (1978:376) makes reference to a report in the *Barnsley Chronicle* dated July 31st 1869 which tells of unrest in the close-knit mining community of Darton in the west of Barnsley. He notes that '[t]here had been frequent quarrels between the natives and the newcomers, culminating in a riot at the Darton feast in 1867' (Spaven 1978:376).

The abundant provision of housing for migrant workers who wanted to settle in Royston and bring their extended families may have been one reason which contributed to the amiable acceptance of the influx. There is some evidence to suggest that other colliery owners in the Barnsley area also built housing for an incoming workforce, however, the context for this provision needs to be carefully considered. In the mining village of Tankersley on the southern edge of Barnsley, dwellings were built for a migrant workforce during the lockout of 1869-70 (Spaven 1978:379). This would have created clear hostility between the local miners and the incoming migrant workers who were taking their livelihood.

Monckton's vast capacity for coal and coke production, and the extent to which employment was readily available provides a further reason why the incoming workers were welcomed rather than shunned. Indeed, the success of the colliery lay in its capacity to attract a large and specialised workforce, a requirement which could not be fulfilled by the existing population of the township. Residents of Royston were likely to have been fully aware that the skills and labour of the incoming workers were essential to the success and expansion of Monckton Colliery.

Having established that the majority of long distance migration to Royston during this period came from the Black Country, it is important to note that significant numbers also came from areas of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire. However, both Cave (2001) and Burland (2017) find that it is only the Black Country/Staffordshire (these two terms are used interchangeably in metalinguistic commentary and local historical accounts) influx which features in metalinguistic commentary surrounding the local character and dialect of the township. As Cave (2001: 15) notes:

> 'Many people interviewed for this study referred to Royston as 'Little Staffs'. A quarter of those interviewed from Royston claimed Staffordshire or Black Country ancestry, and informants interviewed from neighbouring localities,

> such as Darfield, Havercroft and Central Barnsley, confirmed that they believed Royston was full of 'Staffordshire folk' with a distinctive regional speech pattern'.

As already established, there are accounts of hostility which lead to the deliberate isolation and hostile treatment of an incoming workforce in many mining communities across the Barnsley area. Spaven (1978:377) observes that the Black Country workers particularly would have been easily recognised by their distinct dialect, and 'more than other newcomers may have found integration into the older, more static communities … more difficult'. However, this was not the case in Royston where accounts in local publications and studies of the Royston area provide a wealth of tales which present the Black Country workers as 'larger than life' and exalt them almost to the status of celebrity. Characters are often remembered as 'Staffy Jack' (Jones, 1981: 6) or 'Staff Harry' (RCCP, 2001: 118), and affectionate and humorous tales are recounted of their exploits. Jones (1981:6) documents reminisces of Staffy Jack 'a giant of a man' reputed to have the longest arm span in Monckton Working Men's Club: 'it was said the length of his arms was from shovelling coal for a living'.

The 'dry' Black Country sense of humour is also legendary in local accounts. References to Jonah Cornfield, born in Tipton, who came to find work in Royston, and who later developed a comedy routine based upon the humour and dialect of the Black Country, are particularly numerous (cf. Jones 1981; Elliott 1985). Cornfield filled local working men's clubs in the 1920s and 30s (Jones, 1981: 6), and his humour was so legendary that his tales are still recited, spawning the local phrase 'He's got more tales than Jonah Cornfield', which is used to describe a person who can tell a tall story. Cornfield's humour was based upon the infamous Black Country comic characters Anuk and Ayli (cf. Morgan 1909). What is particularly important to note is that the names of these two characters are based upon the Black Country pronunciation of the names Enoch and Ely (Morgan 1909). The fact that a comedy routine based upon characters and dialect references from the Black Country could fill working men's clubs in Royston in Yorkshire is testament to the proportion of Black Country workers and families who were resident in the township at this time.

These historical accounts clearly illustrate that the incoming Black Country workers were seen as entertaining, humorous and are remembered fondly in accounts both from the time, and in reminiscences that have been handed down through the generations. Census data shows that the influx of Black Country workers to Royston had begun to diminish rapidly by the 1940s, yet the metalinguistic commentary

relating to this period in Royston's history has survived for over seven decades, despite the cessation of its primary influence. Cave (2001) helps to reveal why this might be the case as his study emphasises the unique and unifying nature of the coal mining industry, and the resilience of shared memories and experiences of a coal mining heritage. Cave (2001:17) illustrates how these shared experiences can endure and remain as part of the creation of a community identity, observing that a, 'variety of factors combined to create a sense of group belonging in localities, such as Royston, where individuals' shared fate and experiences were inextricably linked with coalmining'. At the height of Monckton's coal producing period, in the early decades of the 20th century, Royston had two cinemas, a ball room, several social clubs and a thriving shopping centre (RCCP 2001). In addition, a further factor which set Royston aside from other coal mining villages in the area at this time was the opening of a large shirt factory, Valusta, in the 1930s. This meant that the township also provided extensive employment opportunities for its female working population. Both Monckton and Valusta were large employers and this most likely fostered incredibly tight knit community bonds. Residents of Royston not only worked together but also shopped and socialised within the confines of the township (RCCP 2001). As a result of Royston's rapidly changing industrial fortunes, the nature of the township's population had shifted dramatically from a relatively small, highly mobile and fluctuating demographic in the final decades of the 19th century, preceding the opening of Monckton, to a large and stable population in the early decades of the 20th century.

Cave (2001:4) also clearly links the creation of a community identity in Royston, centred upon the mining industry, with expressions of linguistic identity, and asserts that, 'language is not simply an emblem of membership to a pre-existing group, but rather that these affiliations and boundaries are constituted, maintained and negotiated through the process of interaction'. His study highlights the sense of community pride attributed to the job of the coalminer and of the camaraderie which pervades the working environment and community which surrounds it. When asked about the area's mining heritage, one of Cave's interviewees summarises the enduring and all pervasive legacy of the coalmining industry and its impact on the community; 'The pit is everywhere, it's in the shops, it's in the streets, it's in the people' (Cave 2001: 51-52). However, Cave's research is situated at the beginning of the twenty first century when the coalmining industry had been decimated in South Yorkshire, and he writes of an 'identity crisis' (2001:40) among the mining communities following the closure of the collieries. Similarly, Devlin (2014:14) explores the post-industrial speech communities

of East Durham and finds that dramatic changes in the 'traditional lifestyles and occupations' of the area have influenced local and linguistic identities. Research by Cave (2001) and Devlin (2014) into ex-mining speech communities demonstrates that linguistic identity is symbiotically linked with mining affiliations in the post-industrial areas under scrutiny. Their research provides valuable insights into this sense of an industrial heritage etched onto the collective memory of a community. In Royston this is combined with a history of geographic isolation, administrative and political upheaval and rapid demographic shifts. These circumstances are not uncommon in and of themselves, however, it is the combination of these factors which create the social and linguistic blend which is particular to the Royston speech community, and which may imbue the dialect of the township with unique social meaning. It is therefore, crucial to understand the changing nature of *place* and its significance to the changing generations within the speech community in order to understand the social significance that speakers attach to their linguistic production.

3.3 Summary

Taken in isolation, the factors which characterise the formation and development of the Royston speech community are not necessarily unusual or atypical of circumstances which are replicated in many other small rural locations which burgeoned as a result of expanding industries during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. However, it is the specific blend of these factors which makes the development of the Royston speech community unique. Royston has retained its geographical isolation where other settlements in the Barnsley borough have merged as a result of expansion of residential and economic provision. Developments in road infrastructure have continued to bypass Royston, meaning that the township is not connected to neighbouring urban centres by any major road network. Royston's border status, located on the boundary between Barnsley and Wakefield, but also on the border which divides South from West Yorkshire, has created historical shifts in the administrative affiliations of the township which inevitably lead to differing generational perspectives regarding Royston's regional identity. As Llamas (2007: 582) observes, the ways in which speakers orient to place are 'central to an understanding of the community identity they perceive'. A speaker's sense of place and their internalised perceptions of geographical or community boundaries do not always fit with official administrative demarcations; nor do these perceptions of place hold firm for all members of a speech community. Here we are reminded of Britain's (2013: 496) assertion that it is crucial to understand the changing nature of 'mobile practices' in order to make sense of the social meanings

attached to these shifting identities of place, and to identify the impact this can create in terms of dialect variation and change.

The shifts in Royston's geographical and administrative status are accompanied by seismic shifts in the industrial nature of the township. The citing of a large and specialised coal and coke producing colliery in a relatively small rural location with a low and fluctuating population created the need for a major and rapid influx of labour. The magnitude of the influx of long distant migration to Royston, and the speed with which new dwellings and facilities were built to cater for this dramatic increase in the township's population gave rise to a period of spatial flux (cf. Britain 2004: 472), thus creating the conditions which give rise to new dialect formation. In order to consider the impact of these circumstances upon Royston's dialect variety this study looks beyond 'deterministic' (Kerswill, 2010: 233) models of dialect formation, which rule out the salience of social factors such as prestige, personality, identity and attitudinal stances (cf. Trudgill 2004). Instead, this thesis places a premium on such social meanings and affiliations considering them key to an understanding of the type of variables that emerge as dominant in the dialect mix.

Chapter 4

Data and Methodology

4.1 Introduction

My research questions encapsulate four clear lines of enquiry which direct my study into the nature of FACE and GOAT production in the Royston variety. In order to address each of these questions my methodological approach consists of four distinct components.

4.1.1 Research Question (1) To what extent are there regionally similar or distinctive patterns of variation in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets across the Yorkshire dialect region?

In order to address Research Question 1, Methodological Approach 1 synthesises legacy data from previous studies which have charted pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT variation and change. In addition to synthesising the existing literature, I present two new analyses of archival FACE and GOAT data across the Yorkshire region: one of data from the *Survey of English Dialects* (SED) (Orton and Halliday 1962), and another of the *Millennium Memory Bank* (MMB 1999) recordings. This data provides the vital context within which to investigate the specific qualities and influences which have shaped the Royston FACE and GOAT variants. Full details of Methodological Approach 1 are given in Section 4.2.

4.1.2 Research Question (2) How have patterns of dialect contact shaped the Royston FACE and GOAT forms; and how do the Royston variants compare to pan-regional phonological norms?

In order to answer Research Question (2) Methodological Approach 2 involves auditory analysis of the Royston FACE and GOAT tokens in order to establish their auditory qualities, and to compare these with variants found in pan-Yorkshire dialects including the Barnsley and Wakefield varieties. Due to the period in which they were undertaken, the majority of previous studies into pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT variation and change (see Chapter 5) base their findings on auditory impressionistic analysis. It was therefore necessary to conduct auditory analysis of the Royston, Barnsley and

Wakefield FACE and GOAT vowels in order to provide a direct comparison with the findings of previous studies into pan-regional variation and change. Full details of Methodological Approach 2 are given in Sections 4.3 and 4.5.

4.1.3 Research Question (3) How do levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston variety compare to levels found in the adjacent dialects of Barnsley and Wakefield?

In order to answer Research Question (3), it was necessary to collect acoustic formant frequency data in order to measure, quantify and compare levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Varieties. The use of acoustic formant frequency data builds upon auditory impressionistic analysis by providing greater 'objectivity and replicability' (Watt and Fabricius 2002:159) in the identification of vocalic qualities. Methodological Approach 3 provides a rigorous and replicable means of vowel measurement and quantification, in order to establish the degree to which Royston FACE and GOAT variants are diphthongised, and to perform a direct comparison with variants found in the dialects of Barnsley and Wakefield. Methodological Approach 3 is detailed fully in Sections 4.3 and 4.6.

4.1.4 Research Question (4) What ideological values do Royston speakers assign to their FACE and GOAT forms; and how do these social meanings contribute to the maintenance of regionally distinct FACE and GOAT production in the Royston variety?

In order to address Research Question (4), Methodological Approach 4 involves the collection and analysis of qualitative interview data collected from two social groupings which emerged during a two year ethnographic study of the Royston speech community. This qualitative data adds a further, and vital, dimension to the quantitative auditory and acoustic analysis of Royston FACE and GOAT production, providing access to the ideological values which underpin the nature of FACE and GOAT production in the Royston speech community. Full details of Methodological Approach 4 are given in Section 4.7.

4.2 Synthesis of Pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT Legacy Data: Methodological Approach 1

4.2.1 Traditional and Modern Dialect Phases

Previous dialect studies which have charted an inventory of the phonetic features of Yorkshire varieties provide a valuable overview of pan-regional dialect variation and change. However, it is also vital to acknowledge their limitations, most notably the broad-brush approach they take to the charting of dialect variation. Geographically and linguistically these studies have tended to draw an over-generalised definition of the linguistic north of England. For example, one of the very earliest studies which charts the Yorkshire variety, Ellis (1889), groups the whole Yorkshire region alongside dialect areas as diverse as Lancashire and Northumberland in his northern division. Ellis (1889) determines six major dialect areas in England based upon ten isoglosses which emerge from his data collection. Whilst Ellis' study is invaluable, as it begins the process of charting dialect variation in varieties of English, the division of England in its entirety into six dialect regions does not provide a detailed analysis of the dialect variation which distinguishes one region from another.

The *Survey of English Dialects*, and the findings collated in the *Linguistic Atlas of England* (Orton and Dieth 1962) are of great importance to the study of traditional dialects as the SED remains the most widespread study of English dialects conducted to date, and crucially (for the purposes of the current study) the most widespread survey of Yorkshire dialects (see Section 4.2.2). More recent wide-ranging commentaries on English dialects by Wells (1982) and Trudgill (1999), draw upon the findings of the SED in order to chart the temporal and geographical nature of traditional and modern varieties. This approach has clear advantages as these traditional dialect isoglosses can be utilised by subsequent studies in order to produce geographically comparable results. However, this approach can also be disadvantageous as it can mean that the broad dialect regions are perpetuated and go unchallenged or unchanged. Llamas (2007:584) encounters this frustration in her study of the dialect of Middlesbrough in Teesside, finding that both Trudgill (1999) and Wells (1982) group Teesside and Tyneside within the same dialect category.

What characterises the broad dialect studies undertaken by Ellis (1889), Trudgill (1999) and Wells (1982) is a set of dialect features which are used to determine a series of isoglosses which indicate a shift in the use of the dialect feature under scrutiny. Whilst this tells us a great deal about the spread of certain salient dialect

features across the dialects of England it does not reveal the more nuanced dialect variation that characterises the speech communities within these broader linguistic categorisations. However, it has to be acknowledged that this was not the aim of these larger studies, which provide an invaluable overview of English dialect variation and change, and which paved the way for studies such as those undertaken by Llamas (2001); Watt and Tillotson (2001); Dyer (2002); Devlin (2014), and the current Royston study, which provide a greater focus upon the linguistic characteristics of individual speech communities and the factors which impact dialect variation and change.

Previous studies of Yorkshire varieties prove difficult to amalgamate into a holistic analysis of pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT variation and change due to the piecemeal coverage of Yorkshire varieties that they provide. There is also a dearth of studies into the more fine-grained variation across dialects of Yorkshire often leading to broad generalisations based upon the limited research that exists. Furthermore, the geographical spread of existing studies across the four Yorkshire counties is uneven, for example, there are very few studies of the dialects of East Yorkshire, and the majority of studies of West Yorkshire varieties focus upon the urban dialect of the city of Bradford (see Chapter 5, Sections 5.2.2, Table 5.3).

Trudgill (1999:5) divides the Yorkshire dialect region temporally as well as geographically and characterises this temporal divide in terms of 'traditional' and 'modern' dialect periods. This resonates with Britain's (2013:472) concept of successive theoretical periods in terms of dialectal study (see Chapter 2, Section 2.2.4). The concept of a spatial theoretical phase, prior to the 1960s, is one in which dialectal studies focused primarily on the relationship between geographical space and linguistic production. Furthermore, a focus on the rural predominated; Trudgill's 'traditional' dialect era fits this model. Dialectal study post 1960s, Trudgill's 'modern' period, takes a dramatic volte face, shifting the focus from the rural to the urban and towards a focus upon the relationship between social factors and linguistic variables rather than between geographical space and linguistic production. The SED and the MMB span Trudgill's traditional and Modern dialect phases, respectively. However, to date, no study has extracted and analysed the FACE and GOAT data from these two surveys; therefore the work presented in Chapter 5 represents new analysis which makes it possible to consider these valuable data collections as part of an overarching analysis of FACE and GOAT variation and change across the dialects of Yorkshire.

4.2.2 Analysis of Pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT Data from the Survey of English Dialects

Although many studies of English dialects have drawn upon the data from the SED (cf. Stoddart et al. 1999; Kerswill 2002), to date, none have consolidated the findings for FACE and GOAT production across the Yorkshire region. The 'ultimate aim' (Orton and Dieth 1962:14) of the SED was to compile a linguistic atlas of England providing a widespread snapshot of linguistic variation used by older generation speakers in 313 locations (309 rural and 4 urban) throughout England. The focus of the survey was to 'scoop out the last remaining vestige of dialect before it died out under the pressures of modern movement and communication' (Ellis 1992:7). The data for the SED was collected during the 1950s, and the extensive findings published in the 1960s thus providing a wide-ranging picture of dialect varieties spoken mainly in 'the more remote and peripheral rural areas of the country' and by a 'shrinking minority' (Trudgill 1999:5).

The SED recordings for the Yorkshire region were collected between 1950 and 1954 from areas spanning all three traditional Ridings of Yorkshire (Orton and Halliday 1962a:8). At the time of the SED data collection Yorkshire was divided in to three Ridings (see Figure 4.2) and not into four counties as is the case currently (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2). In addition, the findings presented in the SED Basic Materials provide results for the Yorkshire region as a whole and do not divide these findings into separate regions within Yorkshire. This has provided a rather vague and broad account of the vowel inventories of Yorkshire dialects which can mask the full extent of variation both across the Yorkshire region as a whole but also within the separate counties. I will seek to address this in Chapter 5, Section 5.2, which provides the findings of my new analysis of the SED data for pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT production.

The SED data was collected from predominantly small, rural and, wherever possible, isolated speech communities which had a stable population. From these communities, SED fieldworkers selected participants ranging in age from 50 to 90, but predominantly over the age of sixty five who were non-mobile. The majority of participants selected were male, however, a smaller proportion of females meeting the same criteria were also interviewed (Orton and Dieth 1962: 15). The aim was to access the most traditional forms in each local variety in the belief that, 'in this country men speak vernacular more frequently, more consistently, and more genuinely than women'

(Orton and Dieth 1962: 15). The SED collected data from 34 locations across the Yorkshire region. However, no recordings were gathered from Royston, or from any other area in the Barnsley borough. The nearest location to Royston surveyed by the SED is Ecclesfield (see Figure 4.2), an area in the current county of South Yorkshire, but situated some 18 miles south of Royston.

If the primary aim of the SED was to capture a snapshot of the traditional forms in each variety then the logic of the participant selection criteria is clear. There, are, however, a number of factors which make this approach to data collection problematic, both in terms of the scope of the SED itself, and for any researcher who wants to draw upon the findings of the survey. As already highlighted, the survey's focus upon small, rural, isolated speech communities has the limitation of masking the dialect situation which existed across each geographical area. For example, speakers are selected from the rural village of Thornhill in the County Borough of Dewsbury, but not from the urban town of Dewsbury itself. If we transpose this situation onto Royston and Barnsley, then it would have been the case that data collected from Royston would have been considered indicative of the traditional dialect of the whole Barnsley area at that time. In selecting the field work areas no account was taken of the social or industrial history of the location which, in the case of Royston and many other industrial areas, would have had a significant impact upon the dialect of a particular speech community. Similarly, the concentration on older speakers in the locations surveyed does not reveal the full extent of variation within each speech community. However, the findings of the SED are central to the analysis presented in this thesis as the survey remains the most widespread dialect study of Yorkshire varieties and provides valuable context within which to situate the analysis of Royston FACE and GOAT production.

Figure 4.1 shows the SED *Northern Network of Localities* formed of six *Northern Counties,* of which Yorkshire is the largest (see Figure 4.1, Area 6). The remaining counties are: Northumberland (Area 1), Cumberland (Area 2), Durham (Area 3), Westmorland (Area 4) and Lancashire (Area 5). From 1974 onwards the counties of Cumberland and Westmorland became part of Cumbria.

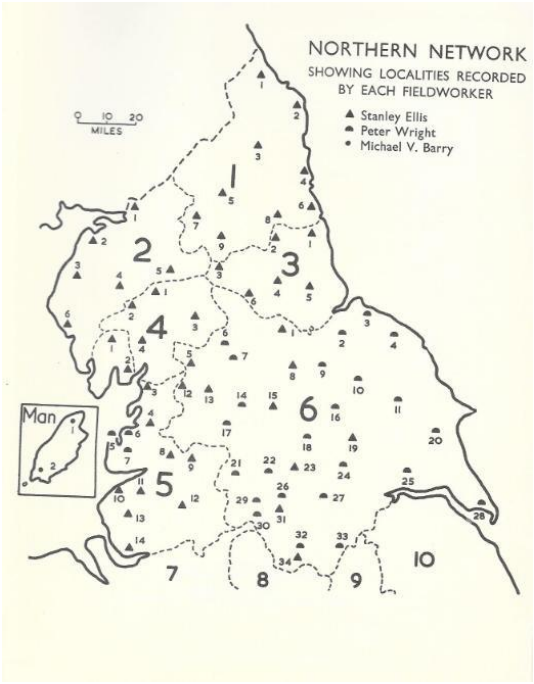

Figure 4.1: Map of the Northern Network (taken from Orton and Halliday 1962a).

Figure 4.2, shows the 34 SED locations spanning the three Ridings of Yorkshire, it is clear from this map that the SED locations do not represent the potential geographical spread of dialect variation across the three Ridings. For example, Royston and the remainder of the Barnsley borough are situated between locations 30 and 32 in Figure 4.2, an area in which no data was collected during the SED.

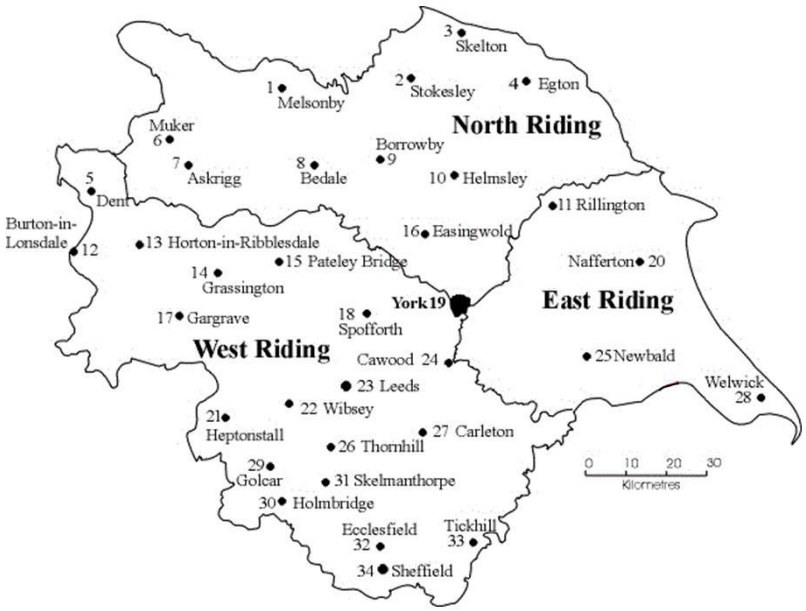

Figure 4.2: Map showing the 34 SED locations spanning the three Ridings of Yorkshire (taken from Orton and Halliday 1962a).

Nonetheless, the SED bestows an extensive overview of dialect variation spanning the industrial landscape defined by the South Yorkshire Coalfield (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.6). This provides vital context within which to consider the Royston FACE and GOAT variants in comparison with dialect variation and change across this Yorkshire dialect region during the period in which Royston underwent significant industrial and demographic change.

4.2.3 Methodology for a New Analysis of Pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT Data from the Survey of English Dialects

The SED gathered data from a total of 34 locations across the three Ridings of Yorkshire. This data includes a detailed account of the lexical and phonetic findings contained in The Basic Materials (Orton and Halliday, 1962), together with participant recordings taken from some of the locations. As this data is extensive, to perform a new analysis of the entire SED material for the Yorkshire region would constitute a study in its own right. Therefore, in order to consider FACE and GOAT variation in the SED data across the Yorkshire region I have focused my new analysis on the detailed phonetic data contained in The Basic Materials, and have selected three dialect locations from each of the four current Yorkshire counties, giving a total of 12 locations across the entire Yorkshire region (see Figure 4.3). My aim is to determine any variation both within and across the four areas. As previously mentioned, the SED fieldwork focuses primarily upon rural locations but within the Yorkshire region three urban areas were included, and data was collected from speakers in the South Yorkshire city of Sheffield, the West Yorkshire city of Leeds, and the North Yorkshire city of York. This not only provides a useful comparison for a diachronic study of the varieties of these three cities, but also provides a synchronic picture of any differences between rural and urban varieties in the West Riding of Yorkshire during the 1950s. I have selected the urban area in each of these counties alongside two rural locations in order to observe any variation between these contrasting geographical settings.

Due to the disparity between the old Ridings and the new counties of Yorkshire there is a very uneven distribution of locations across the four counties, for example, there are very few locations within South Yorkshire. It would have been preferable to avoid locations which fall close to the boundary of each county but consequently this was not always possible. Figure 4.3 shows the geographical position of the 12 selected locations within the Yorkshire area of the SED Northern Network.

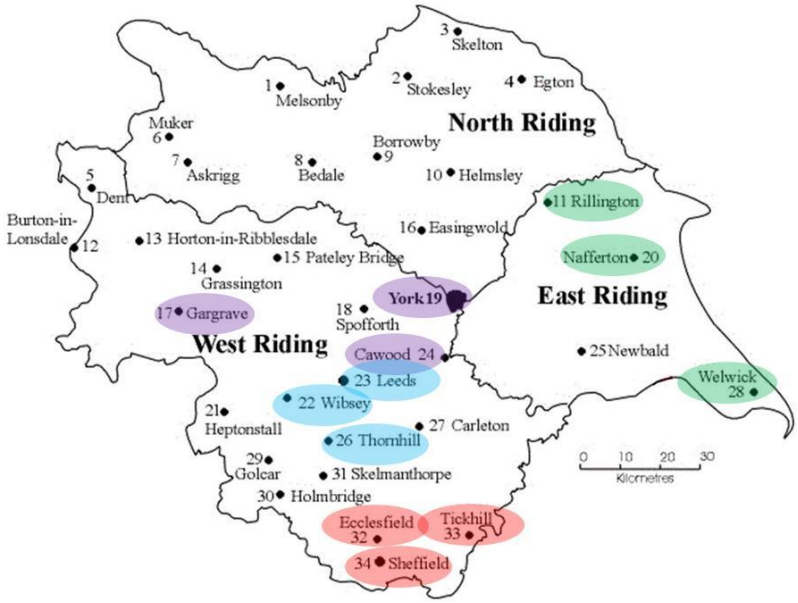

Figure 4.3: Map showing the 12 selected locations within the Yorkshire area of the SED Northern Network. (Areas selected for analysis are highlighted as follows: South Yorkshire in red, West Yorkshire in blue, North Yorkshire in purple, and East Yorkshire in green). (Original map taken from Orton and Halliday 1962a)

As Figure 4.3 illustrates, the locations selected to represent the current counties of South, West and North Yorkshire all lie within the boundary of the former West Riding of Yorkshire. Furthermore, I have deliberately selected areas from the current county of North Yorkshire (shown in purple) which would have been included in the West Riding rather than more northerly locations which would have been part of the former North Riding. Two key criteria guide this decision; firstly, Chapter 3 established that the greatest extent of dialect contact between Royston and the remainder of the Yorkshire region would have been within the boundary of the former West Riding. Secondly, as Trudgill (1999:7) observes, the dialects to the extreme northern territory of North Yorkshire are more likely to have more in common with the Durham varieties than with the dialects of South and West Yorkshire (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.6). The industry in this area was very different to that found in the coalfield regions of South and West Yorkshire and as a result the exchange of labour and consequently levels of mobility and contact between these dialects has been relatively limited.

As there are a limited number of recordings available from the SED data, I used volumes one to three of The Basic Materials (Orton and Halliday, 1962), which contain the Yorkshire fieldwork results. From the three volumes I listed all FACE and GOAT

lexical items. This proved particularly difficult as a lexical item in the fieldwork questionnaire which contains a FACE vowel in SSBE, for example, *drain,* may not necessarily elicit dialect lexis which falls into the FACE lexical set, for example, *channel, grip, groop, gully, gutter* etc (Orton and Halliday, 1962a: 66). This leads to a disparity in the number of FACE and GOAT tokens produced in each location and constitutes a further factor which determined my final selection of locations in each county.

The list of FACE and GOAT tokens was further reduced by eliminating compound words, for example *hay-loft*, as this impacted on the pronunciation of the vocalic segment, both in terms of following phonetic context and placement of stress. For the same reasons, polysyllabic words were also discarded leaving only monosyllabic FACE and GOAT tokens. Tokens with post-vocalic approximants were eliminated as this following phonetic environment has been shown to significantly alter the pronunciation of FACE and GOAT vowels (cf. Deterding 1990; Ferragne and Pellegrino 2010) (see further discussion in Chapter 4, Section 4.4.2). The application of these criteria produced a final data set of 34 tokens per location, comprised of 18 FACE, and 16 GOAT tokens, listed in Table 4.1.

Table 4.1: Final selection of SED FACE and GOAT tokens.

FACE TOKENS	GOAT TOKENS
Reins	Spokes
Weigh	Load
Spade	Mow
Hay	Foal
Drain	Slope
Gate	Road
Lane	Toad
Clay	Oak
Lay	Loaf
Sprain	Throat
Faint	Both
Chain	Snow
Eight	Home
Grave	No
Play	Own
Straight	Rode
Break	
Make	

The SED Basic Materials provides an inventory of variants produced for each of the FACE and GOAT tokens that I identified, and the fieldwork annotations indicate majority and minority variables. A fieldwork area code is provided alongside each variant and

therefore it is possible to collate and analyse the results according to the specific location in which they were produced. For each of the 12 locations, I collated the full inventory of FACE and GOAT variants, listing the results according to majority and minority FACE and GOAT variants for each location. I then extrapolated this into results for each of the four counties. The FACE and GOAT results from my new analysis of the SED data are presented and discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.

4.2.4 Methodology for a New Analysis of Pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT Data from the Millennium Memory Bank Recordings

The SED provides the most wide-ranging picture of variation across traditional pan-Yorkshire dialects. Unfortunately, there is no survey of a replicable nature which considers variation in modern dialects of Yorkshire. However, the Millennium Memory Bank, held by the British Library, is a collection of 395 recordings of personal oral histories from speakers in locations throughout the United Kingdom. The recordings were collected, not for linguistic analysis, but to provide a snapshot of communities in Britain in the closing years of the millennium (MMB 1999). A sample of the recordings along with linguistic data is available for public access via the British Library Sounds Project Online (https://sounds.bl.uk/Accents-and-dialects/Millenium-memory-bank). The recordings collected for the MMB project clearly do not constitute a rigorous linguistic study and they were not obtained for this purpose. However, recordings were collected from speakers ranging in age (from five upwards), gender (male and female), and from a range of economic and ethnic backgrounds (brief biographical details are supplied along with the recordings). An attempt was made to record speakers who had been born and lived in the chosen location all or most of their lives and, as such, the speakers could be considered to be representative of the particular speech community.

As the British Library also holds the recordings for the SED the curators of the collections have tagged the MMB files in order to indicate where MMB recordings match, or closely match, locations also visited by the SED fieldworkers; although the MMB site warns that the two collections are not directly comparable.

My decision to include an overview of the Millennium Memory Bank recordings for South, West, North and East Yorkshire in my analysis of pan-Yorkshire forms of FACE and GOAT is entirely based upon the lack of available linguistic research into varieties across the four counties. The overview gained from the MMB recordings will not be used to provide a definitive analysis of FACE and GOAT production in Yorkshire at the close of the millennium, but will help to provide an overview of FACE and GOAT variation

and change over time. As there is limited material gathered from the MMB participants I have analysed all recordings available for each of the four counties. Linguistic descriptions of each recording are available in the MMB collection via the British Library website and these include details of the vowel inventory for each speaker. However, the descriptions provide broad phonetic transcriptions for each vocalic variant and so, for the purposes of this study, I have performed auditory analysis on each recording and coded the FACE and GOAT vowels independently from the MMB linguistic data.

As Table 4.2 shows, there are a disproportionate total number of recordings for each county, and within each county there are instances where more than one participant has been recorded in a single location. For example, the recordings for South Yorkshire include four speakers from Sheffield, two from Barnsley, two from Rotherham but only one speaker from both Maltby and Doncaster.

Table 4.2: MMB locations, and total number of recordings for the four counties of Yorkshire (where multiple recordings are taken from larger conurbations the locations are indicated in italics).

County	**Locations**				
South Yorkshire	Rotherham (2) *(Central Rotherham and Harthill)*	Maltby	Doncaster	Barnsley (2) *(Cudworth and* Carlton)	Sheffield (4) (*Central Sheffield x3 and Chapeltown*)
West Yorkshire	Bradford (2)	Leeds (2)	Wakefield (3) *(Ossett, South Elmsall and Featherston)*	Kirklees (5) *(Dewsbury, Fulstone, Golcar, Holmfirth and Huddersfield)*	
North Yorkshire	Ampleforth	Appleton Roebuck	Askrigg	Bedale	Brawby
	Gayles	Greenhow Hill	Hawes	Malton	Northallerton
	Reeth	Ripon	Scarborough	Whitby	York (2)
East Yorkshire	Wold Newton	Hull (4)	Withernsea	Cherry Burton	Old Goole

In order to maintain a degree of parity with my analysis of the SED data the same set of criteria for token selection was applied to the MMB recordings (see Section 4.2.3). Recordings are available for all MMB participants which would make acoustic analysis of the data possible, however, this approach would not enable me to make a direct and

comparable analysis of the SED and MMB data. Therefore, in order to provide analytical consistency, I performed auditory analysis of the MMB recordings using the same methodological approach that I apply to my own recordings of the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield FACE and GOAT data (this methodology is explained fully in Section 4.5.1). Using EUDICO Linguistic Annotator (ELAN) (cf. Brugman and Russel 2004) transcription software the FACE and GOAT tokens for each speaker were coded according to vowel quality, with majority and minority variants listed where relevant. The full inventory of FACE and GOAT variants for each speaker was then collated into a data set for each location. These findings were then extrapolated into results for each of the four counties. The FACE and GOAT results from my new analysis of the MMB data are presented and discussed in Chapter 5, Section 5.2.

4.2.5 Methodology for the Collation and Analysis of Legacy Data from Previous Studies of Pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT Production.

I present, evaluate and discuss the findings for FACE and GOAT variation and change in previous studies of pan-Yorkshire dialects in Chapter 5, Section 5.2. The findings are divided in line with the four current counties of Yorkshire and incorporate the results from my new analysis of the SED and MMB data for the Yorkshire region. All four counties are represented in order to evaluate the impact of pan-regional FACE and GOAT variation upon the Royston forms. Royston's historical links with both South and West Yorkshire, via the previous administrative entity of the West Riding, and the township's current administrative status, have been clearly documented in Chapter 3. Royston's links with both North and East Yorkshire are more tenuous, however, an analysis of FACE and GOAT variation from available studies of the dialects of these two counties is considered in order to provide a comprehensive overview of pan-Yorkshire variation and change, and to evaluate the impact of pan-regional dialect contact upon the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT variants. The disparity in the number of studies represented in Chapter 5, Section 5.2, reflects the disparity of available research into the dialects of the four Yorkshire counties.

Metalinguistic commentary surrounding the Royston FACE and GOAT variants draws attention to distinctive diphthongal realisations of the two vowels, by contrast to long monophthongal variants which are perceived to be the norm in the Barnsley variety more generally (cf. Cave 2001 and Burland 2017). Furthermore, long monophthongal forms are documented to be the norm found in pan-northern dialects more generally (cf. Wells 1982; Watt and Milroy 1999; Beal 2004; Haddican et al. 2013). In order to

consider whether the Royston variants are potentially atypical of pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT production, Chapter 5, Section 5.2 provides an analysis of pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT vowel qualities but also collates these findings in order to consider whether long monophthongal forms of FACE and GOAT constitute the majority forms in both a diachronic and synchronic analysis of variation and change across the Yorkshire region.

Furthermore, Chapter 5, Section 5.2 divides the FACE and GOAT findings from previous studies for each county into traditional and modern dialect phases. Drawing on Trudgill's (1999) model for the demarcation of these two periods, I have assigned studies undertaken prior to 1970 as indicative of the traditional dialect period, and studies post 1970s as examples of the modern dialect period, with an acknowledgment that there is no absolute or definitive boundary between the two. By dividing the analysis of available data into these two phases, I am able to consider diachronic variation and change in pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT production in relation to the shifting nature of Royston's demographic and industrial status. Chapter 2 discussed the potential for regional dialect diffusion to be both partial and uneven, particularly in rural or peripheral areas; as Royston is both rural and peripheral it could be the case that patterns of pan-regional variation and change have been retarded in the Royston speech community thus leading to the retention of more traditional pan-regional variants. An evaluation of real-time change in pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT vowels will therefore provide the vital background context in which to consider this scenario.

Section 4.2 has outlined Methodological Approach 1, which involves the analysis of legacy data from previous studies of FACE and GOAT production in the dialects of Yorkshire. Section 4.3 will detail the methods used in the collection of FACE and GOAT data from the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities.

4.3 Data Collection Methods: Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield FACE and GOAT

4.3.1 Quantitative Data Collection: Methodological Approaches 2 and 3

Methodological Approaches 2 and 3 require linguistic production data in order to examine the auditory and acoustic properties of the Royston FACE and GOAT variants. As no prior studies have been undertaken into the dialects of Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield it was necessary to collect quantifiable and replicable data in order to

determine the specific qualities of the Royston FACE and GOAT vowels; and to formulate methodological approaches which enabled comparison of the Royston forms with variants produced in the neighbouring speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield, and with pan-regional FACE and GOAT variation and change.

Previous studies have shown that variation in vowel systems often takes place below the level of consciousness (Di Paolo et al. 2011:87), however, metalinguistic commentary surrounding the Royston dialect consistently highlights the diphthongal nature of FACE and GOAT production in the Royston variety (cf. Burland 2017). These folk linguistic (cf. Preston 2004) accounts of the differences between the two varieties suggest some degree of consciousness regarding variation in the vowel system. In order to formulate a rigorous, quantifiable and replicable method of measuring and representing this variation I used the wordlist approach. Labov (1966) elicited five speech styles determined by the amount of attention paid to speech. The five styles are ranked in descending order from speech style one, being the most informal (conversation), to five being the most formal (minimal pairs wordlist). The simple wordlist, where speakers produce a pre-formulated set of isolated tokens, is ranked fourth in this hierarchy. There are clear problems with collecting data via a simple wordlist; most notably, speakers are not producing natural or continuous speech as the tokens are produced in isolation (cf. Watt and Tillotson 2001: 297). However, whilst this method does not capture vowel production in its most natural or fluid state, the simple wordlist approach does ensure that all speakers produce identical tokens under the same controlled conditions (cf. Haddican et al. 2013). My decision to utilise the simple wordlist approach is therefore based upon fact that this method produces data which is rigorous, clearly quantifiable and directly comparable across different research sites.

4.3.2 Wordlist Data Collection: Sample Stratification by Location

In order to collect a replicable sample of wordlist data from each of the three speech communities I employed judgment, or stratified random sampling, based upon the principal that the sample will not provide a microcosm of the population as a whole, but will allow me to make 'inferences about the population' (Sankoff 1988:900) from that sample. In this study, the term *speech community* is used to define the three 'geographically bounded urban communities' (Patrick (2004:574) of Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield. Chapter 3 detailed the geographical boundaries of the three areas and,

although the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley and the Metropolitan District of Wakefield are clearly defined geographical and administrative entities, Royston is currently classed as an Urban Township within the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley. However, for the purposes of this study, Royston is considered to be a distinct location defined by its political demarcation as an Urban Township within the wider Barnsley borough. In order to ensure a clear linguistic distinction between the two locations participants from Royston have been drawn from within the boundary of the Urban Township, whereas participants from Barnsley have been drawn from areas which span the wider borough, but exclude the Urban Township of Royston. As the aim of Methodology 3 is to quantify the acoustic properties of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston variety, and to compare this with variants found in the dialects of Barnsley and Wakefield, speaker's place of birth (referred to as 'location' in the analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7) is the dominant independent variable in terms of wordlist participant selection criteria. The analysis presented in Chapter 7 will utilise this data in order to consider the significance of geographical location as a factor which impacts upon the acoustic properties of FACE and GOAT production. Therefore, in order to limit the impact of external dialect influences, participants were selected on the basis that they were born, and have lived in Royston, the wider borough of Barnsley or Wakefield, respectively, for all (or the clear majority) of their lives. Allowances have been made for short periods of time away (see Section 4.3.7). Although Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield are of disproportionate size (see Chapter 3) an equivalent sample has been taken from each of the three speech communities (see Table 4.3). The decision to sample 24 speakers from each location takes into account an equal stratification by age and gender (see Sections 4.3.3 and 4.3.4).

Table 4.3: Sample stratification of wordlist participants by location

Location	Number of Participants
Royston	24
Barnsley	24
Wakefield	24

All potential participants were asked to confirm their place of birth and length of residence during the initial selection process. Prior to any recordings, participants were then issued with a Biographical Details Form (see Appendix 3), part of which asked for confirmation of place of birth and period of residence; a supplementary question asked

for details of any time spent outside the geographical location. Any discrepancies that arose at this second stage of confirmation resulted in the participant being withdrawn from the sample. It is therefore the case that all 24 participants from each of the three locations were born and raised in the Urban Township of Royston, the wider Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley, or the Metropolitan District of Wakefield.

4.3.3 Wordlist Data Collection: Sample Stratification by Age

Chapter 3, Section 3.2 outlined the geographical, industrial and demographic shifts that have taken place in the township of Royston in the period spanning the late 19th century through to the early decades of the 21st century. The dramatic changes that the Royston speech community has experienced within the last hundred years have had a profound impact upon the nature of employment in the township, and the social relationships that are formed via working practices. Eckert (1996: 159) observes that a speaker's relationship with the 'standard language market' (Bourdieu 1977) can have a powerful impact upon individual linguistic practice. The individual's relationship with the language market 'is defined primarily in terms of participation in institutions' (Eckert 1996: 159). The individual's relationships with these institutions, and the linguistic norms that they embody, often alter as different life stages are reached. This in turn impacts upon participation in social networks and consequently upon linguistic production.

The successive generations which make up the current Royston speech community have a variety of differing relationships with the institutions which constitute the linguistic marketplace. Llamas (2000), and Dyer (2002), foreground age as a significant social variable which impacts upon speakers' ideological interpretations of language use. Furthermore, these interpretations demonstrate a shift in speakers' choice of linguistic variants revealing a 'realignment of orientations across age groups' (Llamas 2000: 143). For example, in the dialect of Corby, Dyer (2002: 294) finds that linguistic variables index distinctly different identities according to the three generations of speakers under scrutiny in her study.

In order to establish the extent to which the Royston FACE and GOAT variants are impacted by age, the wordlist participant sample has been designed to capture an apparent time analysis of three clear life stages which correlate with the most salient historical changes in the Royston speech community (see Table 4.4). This age

stratification is designed to reflect 'actual significant life-stages or profound cultural changes' (Di Paolo and Yaeger-Dror 2011:17) in the speech community as a whole. The three age categories are then used as the basis of the judgement sampling applied to the collection of comparable wordlist data from the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities.

Table 4.4 provides details of the target age range of the three generations of participants drawn from the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities, and the number of speakers selected in each age range from each of the three locations.

Table 4.4: Breakdown of Stratified Sample by Age: Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Wordlist Participants

Age Category	Target Age Range	Number of Participants
Older Generation	61+	8
Middle Generation	30 - 60	8
Younger Generation	17 - 29	8

With no pre-existing studies into the dialects of Royston, Barnsley or Wakefield, a real-time study of variation in FACE and GOAT production across the three speech communities is not an option. In the absence of real-time data, this study invokes the apparent-time hypothesis, based upon the principle that 'people of different ages can be taken as representative of different times' (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 35). In practice, this allows apparent time data to be used as a 'surrogate' for real-time data (Tagliamonte 2012: 43), and enables inferences to be made based on the data gathered from successive generations of speakers. The challenge for any apparent-time study lies, therefore, in the interpretation of these inferences. Patterns which appear to suggest generational or community wide change could in actuality be attributable to age grading or individual linguistic change (Wagner 2012:371). Equally, the apparent-time approach relies on the assumption that intra-speaker style has remained constant throughout the lifetime of the participant (cf. Labov 1994). The quantitative auditory and acoustic analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7 will acknowledge these limitations when making inferences based upon the apparent time data gathered from the three generations of Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield speakers.

In order to determine the three age categories, I have taken an emic approach, based upon speakers 'shared experience of time' (Eckert 1996: 155), rather than fixed age brackets. The demarcation of the three age categories was influenced by the concept of

life-stage, and the participants' experience of salient local events highlight any potential generational shifts in terms of local affiliations which may impact upon FACE and GOAT variation. Bourdieu's (1977) concept of the *linguistic market* is predicated upon the belief that linguistic change within the adult lifespan is motivated by pressures, or ambitions, to move towards standard language forms. However, Milroy (1992: 210), challenges the idea of a single dominant linguistic market where the standard is seen to hold the highest social capital, and talks of a series of competing markets which include locally salient vernacular varieties. Throughout the adult lifespan, these competing linguistic markets, both standard and vernacular, exert differential pressures. Both the type and availability of employment in Royston has changed significantly following the closure of Monkton Colliery in the 1960s, and this has had a profound effect upon the nature of work related mobility and contact in the township. Sections 4.3.3.1 to 4.3.3.3 outline how the most salient historical changes in the Royston speech community correlate with the life experiences of the three generations of Royston wordlist participants.

4.3.3.1 Characteristics of the Older Royston Generation

In the Royston community, participants in this age category have living memory of workers (in some cases, family members) who had migrated to Royston from areas of the Black Country. As Monckton Colliery remained open until 1966, and the mining industry in general was a significant employer in the Barnsley area until the early 1990s, speakers in this age category had a clear memory of the significance of the colliery within the township. They were themselves employed in the mining industry, and/or had parents and grandparents who worked in this industry. Royston speakers in this age category had first-hand experience of the changes in employment in the township, and of the decline in available work opportunities. During the formative years of their working life, Monkton Colliery and Valusta shirt factory provided extensive employment opportunities within Royston thus reducing the necessity to travel beyond the confines of the township. This generation also witnessed the rapid decline of Royston's amenities in the decades following the closure of Monckton Colliery.

Speakers in this age category lived through the boundary changes which came into effect in 1974. They were adults at the time of this shift, using local services, and paying local community charges, and experienced the impact of the administrative changes which resulted from the Local Government Act 1972. The majority of speakers in this

age bracket were retired, or were nearing retirement, their lives are no longer dominated by the workplace and the linguistic expectations that these institutions can demand.

4.3.3.2 Characteristics of the Middle Royston Generation

Some of the oldest speakers in this cohort had early memories of the Black Country workers who migrated to the township to work in Monckton Colliery. The younger speakers in this age bracket had no such living memory, but were descended from Black Country families that settled in Royston. Speakers in this age group also had living memory of some form of coal production in the South Yorkshire area, and/or worked within the mining industry themselves. The oldest Royston participants in this age bracket would have been only ten years of age when Monckton Colliery closed, but they also experienced the on-going decline of the mining industry more generally, which continued in this area into the mid-1990s. Some middle generation speakers were affected by the yearlong miners' strike of 1984, and the legacy of the mining industry that was keenly felt in the township during their lifespan.

The very youngest participants in this cohort were born in 1983, almost a decade on from the administrative changes resulting from the 1972 Local Government Act. They had no experience of a Royston identity linked to the Metropolitan District of Wakefield rather than to the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley. The oldest speakers in this cohort were in their late teens or early twenties at the time of the boundary changes and consequently the impact upon community services would not have been so keenly felt. Middle generation Royston speakers, therefore, are unlikely to have fostered the same allegiances to West Yorkshire that older generation speakers may have forged. In addition, speakers in this age category experienced the introduction of the South Yorkshire Transport travel subsidy for bus fares (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.4), which encouraged commuters to remain within South Yorkshire rather than travel across the nearby border into West Yorkshire, where public transport costs were escalating during this period. Speakers in this cohort were generally established in a career or a working environment, which may have affected the linguistic expectations placed upon them. However, unlike the older generation speakers, this middle generation were required, in the main, to seek employment outside the township invoking a generational shift in patterns of mobility and contact.

4.3.3.3 Characteristics of the Younger Royston Generation

Some of the participants in the younger age bracket had family links to the Black Country, but these were generally tenuous. This generation has no living memory of a coal production in the Royston area; however, some of them had parents or grandparents who worked in the coal mining industry. These younger speakers have no recollection of Royston being part of the Wakefield District; and patterns of mobility and contact, established as a result of the South Yorkshire Transport fares policy, are deeply entrenched in the behaviour of this generation. This highlights the need to understand historical patterns of mobility in the speech community, and to identify ways in which successive generations of speakers perceive and experience their local environment (cf. Britain 2013: 496).

This younger generation of speakers felt the impact of changes to the availability of Out-of-Work benefits to school leavers. Therefore, a greater percentage of this age cohort (in comparison with the previous two generations) continued into further, and possibly higher, education as a result of these policy changes. Unemployment levels across the Barnsley and Wakefield areas have escalated during the lifespan of this generation (see Chapter 3). Younger participants experienced the rapid decline in Royston's employment, education, social and retail facilities, compelling them to seek opportunities beyond the confines of the township.

4.3.4 Wordlist Data Collection: Sample Stratification by Gender

Location and Age are the two dominant extra-linguistic variables considered in the analysis of FACE and GOAT production in the three varieties under scrutiny in this study. However, gender is a further factor which could impact upon variation in the production of FACE and GOAT forms. Agreed social norms within a speech community are instrumental in determining which variants become locally marked and stigmatised, and which are afforded local social prestige. The locally formulated judgements regarding the values that are assigned to FACE and GOAT production in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities may differ, not only across the three varieties, but also within the three locations. Variants may be re-evaluated and adopted by different age and gender groups in the speech community; and local prestige attributed depending upon the perceived status of the variants.

My sample therefore includes an equal gender balance drawn from each age category in the three speech communities (see Table 4.5). One of the primary aims of this study is to consider why variation in the Royston dialect persists in the face of increasing dialect contact with surrounding varieties. One factor which may help to illuminate this aspect is the extent to which FACE and GOAT variants are adopted by different social groupings within the speech community.

Table 4.5: Breakdown of Stratified Sample by Age and Gender: Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Wordlist Participants

Age Category	**Number of Participants**	**Male**	**Female**
Older Generation	8	4	4
Middle Generation	8	4	4
Younger Generation	8	4	4

Milroy's *Principle 1* (1992:4-5) in his approach to the social modelling of language change (1992: 4-5) states that language use 'cannot take place *except* in social and situational contexts' and consequently any analysis of language production '*must* take account of society, situation and the speaker/listener' (1992: 5-6). *Principle 2* states that any description of a linguistic variety 'can only be successfully made if quite substantial decisions, or judgements, of a social kind are taken into account in the description' (Milroy 1992: 6). It is, therefore, explicit in Milroy's principles that linguistic analysis and social factors are indivisible. Milroy (1992: 6) goes on to expound upon what he means by 'social', clarifying that:

> 'we are talking about the decisions (or judgments) about the 'norms' of the variety concerned, and these norms are social in the sense that they are agreed on socially - they depend on consensus among speakers within the community … and will differ from one community to another'.

The apparent time wordlist data gathered from Royston participants will illustrate the existence of innovative, or stable, variants of FACE and GOAT within the speech community. It will also indicate who is leading in terms of variation and change, and reveal any evidence of age and gender marking. These findings can then be used to make a direct comparison with the trajectory of variation and change in the Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities; and to consider the ways in which location, age and gender impact the production of FACE and GOAT across the three varieties.

4.3.5 Decisions on Social Class

My decision not to examine social class as an external factor in this thesis is informed by the collection and analysis of data for Burland (2010). This process highlighted the complexities of using social class as a factor in the determination of linguistic identity, particularly in communities which have experienced dramatic shifts in their industrial character. As a consequence of the decimation of the mining industry, many of the participants in Burland (2010) had undergone a significant change in the nature of their employment, often well into adulthood. For example, several participants had been born into working class families and had been employed as miners, or factory workers, until their mid-thirties when they had returned to education and moved into careers as teachers or lecturers. According to the Office of National Statistics (ONS), this career shift would also facilitate a change in the social class status of the individual. However, at the time of interview these speakers had spent a significant portion of their adult lives categorised as working class, and only a small proportion as middle-class according to the ONS. A blunt class categorisation of these participants was, therefore, unsatisfactory, and would not provide a satisfactory indication of the role of social class with regard to attitudes toward their own vernacular usage.

Experiencing a similar dilemma, Burbano-Elizondo (2008:72) discards social class as an external variable after finding that the majority of her participants define themselves as working class despite their occupation and educational status indicating otherwise. Burbano-Elizondo (2008:73) observes that these self-classifications seemed to be linked to 'the social groups with which they identified' rather than occupational factors used in classifications employed by the Office of National Statistics. The diversity of criteria employed by models of social class categorisation further problematizes this approach. For example, a Marxist approach to the designation of social class would categorise all participants in my study as working class. To combat these challenges, one option would be to collect information regarding the educational and occupational status of each participant, allowing a class categorisation in line with the ONS criteria; and then to ask speakers to define their own social class (cf. Kerswill et al. 1999). The disparity between self-labelling, and the ONS method of categorising social class, then has the potential to provide valuable insights into the relationship between identity and linguistic variation. However, to collect, quantify and analyse such data from the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities would constitute a study in its own right, and would deviate from the main focus of this study.

4.3.6 Ethical Approval

This study was granted ethical approval by the School of English ethics committee at the University of Sheffield. The project was designated 'Low Risk' status, as all participants are over the age of 16, and no vulnerable groups were included in the data collection. The ethical approval ensures the safety of both the researcher and the participants during the process of data collection. The majority of recordings took place in public buildings, however, a proportion of the data collection involved visiting participants in their own home, the ethical approval, therefore, took into account the safety issues involved in this scenario.

All participants were given an Information Sheet (see Appendix 1) prior to recording; this fully informed them of the nature of the study, and of their involvement. All speakers who chose to proceed were then asked to sign a Consent Form (see Appendix 2). Prior to recording, all participants were then asked to complete a Biographical Details Form (see Appendix 3) which included a request for their name, but not for any contact details. Wordlist participants were not asked to identify themselves in the recordings, and were informed that their names would be replaced by codes or pseudonyms in this thesis, and in any subsequent lectures, seminars or articles which used their data.

This procedure differed slightly with regard to the Royston interview participants (see Section 4.7). All speakers were informed that their names would be substituted for pseudonyms or codes in the study, and in subsequent lectures, seminars or articles; but the recordings could not be anonymised as the names and family history of the participants could be significant to the study. The recordings will also be stored in the Barnsley Local Studies Library as part of the oral history collection for public access. Interview participants were fully informed of this, and it was made clear that if they wished to censor any part of the recording they had the right to do so without explanation.

4.3.7 Recruitment of Wordlist Participants: Royston

The process for selecting wordlist participants from the Royston speech community differed from that used to select Barnsley and Wakefield speakers. The Royston

participants emerged via connections forged during the early stages of my ethnographic study of the speech community, and primarily through links made with the Royston History Group (see Section 4.7.2.1). However, given the age profile of the History Group, I was only able to gather participants for the 60+ category from within the membership. The remaining wordlist participants were identified by using History Group members as intermediaries (Milroy 1992: 66), in order to make connections within the wider Royston speech community. Initially it was particularly difficult to recruit younger participants, however, I was eventually introduced to the grandchildren of one of the History Group members, and the remaining younger Royston speakers were recruited via this contact. Hence, all eight younger Royston participants were aged between 17 and 19, and all were students at Barnsley College, taking a combination of A Level and Vocational subjects (see Table 4.6). With the exception of the Royston History Group members, the remaining Royston wordlist participants were unknown to me prior to recording. Royston Library was happy to provide a quiet room for the recording of the wordlists, and the majority of the data collection was made in this location. The remainder of the recordings were made in the participants' homes at their request and convenience.

As Table 4.6 illustrates, the 24 wordlist participants are coded according to location, age and gender. The prefix <R>indicates 'Royston', <M> or <F> indicates 'Male' or 'Female' and the speakers are numbered from 1 to 24. Participants 1-4 represent the younger generation, 5 to 8 the middle generation, and 9 to 12 the older generation. For example, RF6 is a middle generation Royston female.

The requirement for all participants to have been born and resident in Royston for all or most of their life is designed to limit the impact of external dialect influences. Participants were asked to detail any periods of residence outside Royston on the Biographical Details form, short periods of up to three months for work placement, training or education were permitted. In some instances, this proved to be problematic as potential participants were so keen to claim Royston heritage that they did not reveal their alternative place of birth, or long periods spent elsewhere, until they were asked to fill out the biographical form. These potential participants were not asked to record a wordlist. Even though brief periods of residence outside the township were permitted during the adult life stage, 16 out of 24 (67%) Royston participants had never lived outside the township, demonstrating a low level of geographical mobility amongst the sample.

Table 4.6: Royston Wordlist Participants – Biographical Details

Speaker Code	Age	Education	Occupation	Lived Elsewhere for Short Period
		Male		
RM1	18	A levels - applied for university	A Level Student	No
RM2	17	A levels - applied for university	A level Student	No
RM3	19	BTEC	BTEC Student	No
RM4	17	A levels - applied for university	A Level Student	No
RM5	49	Up to 16	Retired Police Officer	No
RM6	57	Up to 16	Ex – Miner. Community Project Officer	No
RM7	43	Postgraduate Degree	Florist	Yes
RM8	54	BA - University	Museum Assistant	Yes
RM9	66	BA - University	Retired Librarian	Yes
RM10	69	Up to 18	Ex – Miner. Retired Civil Servant	Yes
RM11	69	Up to 18	Retired Miner	No
RM12	74	Up to 16	Retired Builder	No
		Female		
RF1	17	A Levels – applied for university	A Level Student	No
RF2	19	BTEC	BTEC student	No
RF3	18	A Levels – applied for university	A Level Student	No
RF4	18	NVQ2	NVQ2 Student	No

Speaker Code	Age	Education	Occupation	Lived Elsewhere for Short Period
RF5	32	BA University	FE Lecturer	No
RF6	34	Up to 16	Retail Manager	Yes
RF7	35	Up to 18 – A Levels	Mother/Homemaker	Yes
RF8	34	Up to 18 BSC	Local Government Officer	No
RF9	74	Up to 16	Retired factory worker	No
RF10	67	Up to 16	Retired factory worker	Yes
RF11	72	Up to 16	Retired factory worker	No
RF12	74	Up to 18	Retired Midwife	Yes

4.3.8 Recruitment of Wordlist Participants: Barnsley

Participants from across the Barnsley speech community were recruited via the friend-of-a-friend approach (Schilling 2013: 178), in order to fulfil the judgement sample. The majority of participants were recorded in their own homes; however, six out of the eight younger Barnsley speakers were students at Barnsley College and were recorded in a room provided by the College. Although studying on different programmes, these Barnsley participants share a social network with the younger Royston speakers, all of whom were also students at Barnsley College at the time of data collection. Table 4.7 provides the biographical details of the Barnsley wordlist cohort, and demonstrates an even lower level of geographical mobility than that found in the Royston or Wakefield samples (see Section 4.3.9). Overall, 17 out of the 24 Barnsley participants (71%) have never lived outside the borough.

Table 4.7: Barnsley Wordlist Participants – Biographical Details

Wordlist Code	Age	Highest Education	Occupation	Lived Elsewhere for Short Period
		Male		
BM1	19	Extended Diploma – Art and Design(current)	Extended Level 3 Diploma Student	No
BM2	20	Extended Diploma – Art and Design(current)	Extended Level 3 Diploma Student	No
BM3	18	Extended Diploma – Art and Design(current)	Extended Level 3 Diploma Student	No
BM4	27	BSC	Web Developer	No
BM5	60	MA	Retired Law Lecturer - FE	Yes
BM6	38	BA Hons	Art Lecturer - FE	Yes
BM7	45	BA Literature (current)	BA Literature Student	No
BM8	36	City and Guilds	Trade Union Community Coordinator	Yes
BM9	61	O Levels	Gardener	No
BM10	69	BA Hons	Retired Senior Lecturer - FE	No
BM11	56	City and Guilds	Engineer	Yes
BM12	62	City and Guilds	Engineer	No
		Female		
BF1	24	BA Hons	Graphic Designer	Yes
BF2	19	Extended Diploma – Art and Design(current)	Extended Level 3 Diploma Student	No
BF3	19	Extended Diploma – Art and Design(current)	Extended Level 3 Diploma Student	No
BF4	25	Up to 18 – A Levels	Vintage Clothing Wholesaler	No
BF5	54	BA Hons	Librarian	No
BF6	54	Up to 16	Nurse	No
BF7	44	Up to 16	School Meal Assistant	No
BF8	35	A Levels	Tattooist	Yes

Wordlist Code	Age	Highest Education	Occupation	Lived Elsewhere for Short Period
BF9	63	Up to 16	Retired shop worker	No
BF10	73	BA Hons	Retired FE Lecturer	Yes
BF11	63	Up to 16	Support Worker	No
BF12	71	A Levels	Retired Education Worker	No

4.3.9 Recruitment of Wordlist Participants: Wakefield

At the beginning of the wordlist data collection period, I had no established connections within the Wakefield speech community. I therefore approached Wakefield Central Library and asked if they would be willing to allow me to use the library as a base to recruit and record participants. The library manager was more than willing to accommodate my request, and I owe an eternal debt of thanks to her, and the library staff, for all their help and support. Via a combination of local publicity, and recruitment of participants from ranks of daytime library users, I was able to fulfil my speaker sample over three recording sessions held on consecutive Friday mornings. Participants were recorded in a private room provided by Wakefield Central Library, with the exception of WM4, WF1 and WF4, who were recorded in their own homes. Table 4.8 shows the biographical data for the 24 Wakefield wordlist participants.

Table 4.8: Wakefield Wordlist Participants: Biographical Details

Wordlist Code	Age	Highest Education	Occupation	Lived Elsewhere for Short Period
		Male		
WM1	18	A Levels (current)	A Level Student	No
WM2	29	Up to 16	Labourer	No
WM3	24	Up to 16	Library Customer Service Assistant	Yes
WM4	28	BA Hons	Health Analyst	Yes
WM5	39	Up to 16	Postal Worker	No

Wordlist Code	Age	Highest Education	Occupation	Lived Elsewhere for Short Period
		Male		
WM7	58	Up to 16	Distribution Manager (Former Miner)	Yes
WM8	59	City and Guilds	Television Engineer (Former Miner)	Yes
WM9	68	Up to 16	Retired	No
WM10	62	City and Guilds	Retired Plumber	No
WM11	61	Up to 15	Delivery Driver	Yes
WM12	77	Up to 15	Retired Typewriter Mechanic	No
		Female		
WF1	21	BA Hons (current)	BA Hons Student	No
WF2	20	BA Hons (current)	BA Hons Student	No
WF3	18	A Levels (current)	A Level Student	No
WF4	20	BA Hons (current)	BA Hons Student	No
WF5	32	PhD (current)	PhD Student	Yes
WF6	53	Up to 16	Library Customer Services Assistant	No
WF7	50	Up to 16	Library Customer Services Assistant	No
WF8	49	Up to 16	Library Customer Services Assistant	No
WF9	63	Up to 16	Retired Medical Secretary	No
WF10	73	Up to 16	Retired - Housewife	No
WF11	79	Up to 16	Retired Post Office Worker	Yes
WF12	76	Up to 16	Retired Nursery Nurse	No

4.4 Wordlist Formulation Methods

After deducing that the simple wordlist approach would provide the most rigorous and replicable means of measuring the acoustic properties of FACE and GOAT production in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties, I was faced with the task of designing a format which would meet the specific requirements of my study. There are no hard and

fast rules with the regard to the formation of a wordlist; and each researcher produces a format to suit the particular aims of their research. Section 4.4.1 to 4.4.3 detail the decisions taken in the formulation of my final wordlist.

4.4.1 Selection of Tokens

Table 4.9 shows the full, final wordlist used in the recording of data from the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield participants. The full wordlist consists of 105 isolated tokens; this includes 30 FACE and 30 GOAT tokens in total. The remaining 45 tokens elicit examples from other vocalic categories. The wordlist tokens are ordered so that participants do not fixate on the FACE and GOAT variables. With the exception of FLEECE, GOOSE and TRAP vowels (see Section 4.6.3) the additional tokens act as fillers to distract participants from the primary focus upon FACE and GOAT forms, they also provide data for potential future analysis. As this is the only known collection of replicable data from the three speech communities it would have been a lost opportunity if further data had not been collected at this stage.

Table 4.9: Full, final wordlist tokens in order of presentation to participants.

1. Bait	33. Faith	65. Hague	97. Batter
2. Show	34. Bout	66. Board	98. Hood
3. Nose	35. Haze	67. Grow	99. Batty
4. Safe	36. Bowl	68. Hid	100. Who'd
5. Broach	37. Shape	69. Take	101. Tape
6. Head	38. Both	70. Bead	102. Grove
7. Lobe	39. Close	71. Hard	103. Bed
8. Paid	40. Goad	72. Lathe	104. Sage
9. Make	41. Tour	73. Hair	105. Brain
10. Booed	42. Stoke	74. Boat	
11. Goat	43. Groan	75. Fame	
12. Hay	44. Babe	76. Road	
13. Loaf	45. Lace	77. Bay	
14. Buy	46. Hatter	78. Hose	
15. Maze	47. Bid	79. Grave	
16. Dope	48. Foam	80. Hoist	
17. Rail	49. Bail	81. Bloke	
18. Hide	50. Heard	82. Roam	
19. Roach	51. Bud	83. Mate	
20. Boor	52. Roll	84. Beau	
21. Waif	53. Stay	85. Wage	
22. Drone	54. Hoe	86. Hod	
23. Cake	55. Bard	87. Stove	
24. How	56. Troth	88. Raid	
25. Ace	57. Bad	89. Boy	
26. Pay	58. Rope	90. Beer	
27. Bod	59. Loath	91. Hoard	
28. Oaf	60. Hattie	92. Bare	
29. Tame	61. Had	93. Cane	
30. Moat	62. Gate	94. Rogue	
31. Hear	63. Bird	95. Heed	
32. Robe	64. Coke	96. Save	

In order to avoid participant hesitation, or confusion, all FACE and GOAT tokens are easily recognisable in everyday speech; and all are monosyllabic in an attempt to eliminate any variation in syllable stress. With the exception of, 'ace', 'oaf', 'hoe' and 'beau' all FACE and GOAT tokens are CVC, this allows for consideration of the impact of preceding and following phonetic environment in terms of vowel production.

The wordlist was piloted ahead of the final recordings by asking a range of speakers (who would not be included in the final participant sample) to read the wordlist from a PowerPoint presentation delivered via a laptop. Following this process any tokens which proved to be problematic were eliminated, and the time delay on the presentation was adjusted in accordance with the average reading speed of the test participants.

The final wordlist used to record participant data was presented via a laptop using an automated PowerPoint slideshow. This enabled each token to be viewed individually, ensuring that the participant was not distracted by preceding or following tokens. As a significant proportion of the participants were elderly, the use of PowerPoint also enabled the use of large, clear font types. Tokens appeared with a four second delay. During the pilot, this proved to be the optimum time lapse, allowing sufficient time for the participant to read, mentally process and produce each token without leaving a delay (potentially creating a lack of concentration). As the list takes a total of approximately seven minutes to read in its entirety, participants were only asked to read the wordlist once.

4.4.2 Phonological Environment of Wordlist Tokens

Any analysis of variation must take into account the impact of both the linguistic (internal), and non-linguistic (external) factors (cf. Watt 2000). Phonetic conditioning is a significant factor in vowel production (cf. Feagin 1996; Watt 2000; Ladefoged 2003; Ferragne and Pellegrino 2010) and, in the study of vocalic variation in the Tyneside variety, Watt (2000: 79 - 83) found that postvocalic context was particularly significant in relation to the production of both FACE and GOAT vowels. Liquids can prove particularly troublesome in both preceding and following contexts. Preceding liquids can impede the fronting of back vowels, and can be responsible for lowering of F2 in front vowels (Ladefoged 2003). Following liquids have a tendency to produce diphthongisation in the preceding vocalic portion (Feagin 1996). Furthermore,

Ferragne and Pellegrino (2010: 4) also found that, when produced as an approximant, /r/ is often difficult to separate from the neighbouring vocalic section, leading to vowels becoming 'r-coloured throughout'. Previous studies (cf. Deterding 1990; Ferragne and Pellegrino 2010) have also highlighted the difficulties of separating the vocalic portion from preceding or following approximants.

As my overriding aim was to design a means of collecting wordlist data from the three speech communities which was clear, acoustically measurable, quantifiable and replicable, it was vital that my wordlist allowed me to limit the impact of coarticulation to enable accurate measurement of the vocalic portion of each token. In order to achieve this, and to ensure greater clarity of segmentation prior to formant measurement, I excluded all FACE and GOAT tokens with preceding/following approximants from the final acoustic and auditory analysis. Tokens with preceding/following plosives, velars, fricatives, nasals and glottals were retained. This left a total of 15 FACE and 15 GOAT tokens per speaker (see Table 4.10).

Table 4.10: Phonetic environment of FACE and GOAT tokens selected for analysis.

Vowel	**Token**	**Phonetic Environment Coding**	**Vowel**	**Token**	**Phonetic Environment Coding**
FACE	ace	ouf	**GOAT**	beau	vp1o
FACE	babe	vpvp	**GOAT**	boat	vpup
FACE	bait	vpup	**GOAT**	both	vpuf
FACE	cake	ukuk	**GOAT**	coke	ukuk
FACE	cane	ukvn	**GOAT**	dope	vpup
FACE	faith	ufuf	**GOAT**	foam	ufvn
FACE	gate	vkup	**GOAT**	goad	vkvp
FACE	haze	ugvf	**GOAT**	goat	vkup
FACE	make	vnuk	**GOAT**	hoe	ug1o
FACE	mate	vnup	**GOAT**	hose	ugvf
FACE	maze	vnvf	**GOAT**	moat	vnup
FACE	paid	upvp	**GOAT**	nose	vnvf
FACE	save	ufvf	**GOAT**	oaf	ouf1
FACE	take	upuk	**GOAT**	stoke	ufupccuk
FACE	tape	upup	**GOAT**	stove	ufupccvf

Table 4.11: Coding key for phonetic context

Code	Definition
u	unvoiced
v	voiced
cc	consonant cluster
o	open (no preceding or following phonetic context)
f	fricative
p	plosive
g	glottal
k	velar
n	nasal

Table 4.12 shows the total number of FACE and GOAT tokens, for each of the three speech communities, which have been included in the final auditory and acoustic analysis. The optimum number of tokens for each location is 720 (24 participants producing 15 FACE, and 15 GOAT tokens each), giving an overall maximum target of 2160 tokens for the data set as a whole.

Table 4.12: Total number of tokens collected from participants in each of the three locations.

	Total Tokens Collected Overall	**Royston Total Tokens**	**Barnsley Total Tokens**	**Wakefield Total Tokens**
All speakers	2129	713	708	708
Males	1058	355	352	351
Females	1071	358	356	357

The wordlist was read accurately by the majority of participants with only occasional omissions or mispronunciations. Accidental mispronunciations have not been included in the final analysis (cf. Watt and Tillotson 2001: 277), and this accounts for the totals shown in Table 4.12.

4.4.3 Recording Protocols

All wordlists were recorded as 24 bit, 96 kHz WAV files, using a Roland R – O9HR, MP3 recorder. Initial ethnographic work with older residents in the Royston speech community established that these potential participants were extremely uncomfortable with the idea of a microphone, either attached to a headset, or to a lapel. However, when the recording equipment was placed on the table during a discussion the speakers were far more accepting of its presence. Therefore, in order to maintain consistency across all wordlist recordings, the integral microphone of the Roland R – O9HR was used and was positioned on a stand approximately 20 cm from the participant's mouth during wordlist recordings.

4.5 Methodological Approach 2: Auditory Analysis of FACE and GOAT Vowel Qualities in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Varieties

One of the primary aims of this study (see Section 4.1.2) is to consider the qualities of FACE and GOAT vowels in the dialect of Royston in comparison to pan-Yorkshire norms in order to establish the extent to which dialect contact may have influenced the Royston forms. The majority of previous studies into pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT production (see Chapter 5) have based their results upon auditory impressionistic assessment of vowel qualities; they do not employ acoustic or formant frequency analysis. It was therefore necessary to perform auditory analysis of the FACE and GOAT tokens collected from the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield speakers in order to produce results which are comparable with previous studies of pan-Yorkshire varieties.

4.5.1 Methods of Auditory Coding of FACE and GOAT Vowels

The auditory analysis was performed in two stages. The initial categorisation of vowels via impressionistic auditory analysis was performed in ELAN. At this first stage each FACE and GOAT token was labelled using three tiers of annotation. The first annotation tier labelled each token orthographically and identified each vowel as being *a monophthong*, *a diphthong* or *borderline*; the latter label was applied to any vowel not clearly distinguishable as diphthongal or monophthongal upon initial auditory analysis. The second annotation tier used the International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) to label each FACE and GOAT vowel according to its place of articulation. The third tier contains comments on any aspect of note that arose during initial auditory analysis. This initial

stage of annotation could have been undertaken using Praat transcription software (Boersma and Weenink 2008), however, ELAN has the benefit of allowing initial impressionistic auditory observations to be made prior to visual inspection of spectrogram and waveform imaging in Praat which could have influenced my initial auditory coding of the tokens.

The second stage of auditory analysis was conducted during the process of segmentation of the FACE and GOAT vowels in Praat (see Section 4.6.1). During this stage the initial auditory impressionistic observations were confirmed, and any further notes were added to the original auditory analysis providing a further degree of reliability to the intra-rater coding of tokens.

In order to verify my auditory impressionistic labelling of the FACE and GOAT vowel qualities a sample of 25% of the FACE and GOAT vowels from each of the three data sets, Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield, were coded by three independent phoneticians; Dr Gareth Walker, Dr Paul Carter and Dr Danielle Turton. The results were agreed by the independent coders and my auditory labelling of the vowel qualities was confirmed.

For each data set, the FACE and GOAT auditory qualities were quantified in order to determine the majority and minority variants produced according to location, age and gender. The vowel qualities were ranked in order of the frequency of production in each of the three categories. The full range of FACE and GOAT vowel qualities produced in each location is itemised and discussed in Chapter 6.

4.6 Methodological Approach 3 - Acoustic Analysis: Calculating the Degree of Diphthongisation

Addressing Research Question (3) quantitative acoustic phonetic analysis of levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties provides a further level of rigour with regard to vowel measurement and quantification. As metalinguistic commentary identifies the Royston FACE and GOAT vowels as being distinct from those produced in the remainder of the Barnsley borough (cf. Burland 2017), acoustic analysis provides a clear, quantifiable and replicable method of establishing the extent of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston variety in comparison with FACE and GOAT production in the Barnsley and Wakefield varieties. As this study provides the first research into FACE and GOAT production in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties, the use of acoustic formant frequency

analysis also provides results which can be replicated and compared with current and future research in the field of sociophonetic variation and change.

Diphthongs are characterised by a single perceptible change in quality as the tongue, and in some cases the lips, move from one position to another. Brinton (2000:35) describes a monophthong as a vowel in which the tongue position remains 'more or less static' and where there is 'a relatively constant acoustic property'. The tentative language employed by Brinton here conveys the fact that the tongue is never *absolutely* static in the production of a vowel sound, and, furthermore, that there is always fluctuation in the acoustic property of the vowel, even if this is below the level of human perception. However, the acoustic characteristics which distinguish diphthongal realisations from monophthongal forms are clearly discernible, measurable and quantifiable. In this thesis, therefore, the acoustic analysis is designed to measure and quantify the degree of tongue movement involved in the production of the Royston FACE and GOAT vowels, and to compare this directly to levels of diphthongisation found in the Barnsley and Wakefield forms.

Sections 4.6.1 to 4.6.5 outline the specific approach taken in order to code, measure and quantify the FACE and GOAT vowels produced by the three speech communities, and the method used to measure the degree of diphthongisation.

4.6.1 Vowel Measurement

As the tongue is the primary articulator in the production of vowel sounds the following description of FACE and GOAT qualities will use the linguistic conventions of describing vowel production in relation to tongue height (close, close-mid, open-mid, open), and tongue advancement or retraction (front, central, back). Previous research (c.f. Watt 2000; Kent and Read 2002) has shown that formant patterns provide a 'primary cue for vowel perception' (Kent and Read 2002:110). Vowel height impacts upon F1 values with more close vowels producing lower F1 values and open vowels producing higher F1. Vowel advancement impacts upon F2 values with more front vowels displaying higher F2 whilst back vowels have lower F2 values (cf. Ladefoged 2003; Watt and Tillotson 2001; Thomas 2011). A formant frequency model, therefore, can indicate the type of vowel being produced by showing the degree of formant movement across the vowel portion.

The aim of formant analysis in this thesis is to determine the degree of diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT vowels produced across and within the speech

communities of Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield, and to demonstrate as clearly and accurately as possible the extent to which speakers produce these tokens as either diphthongal or monophthongal realisations.

Figure 4.4 shows the waveform (above), and corresponding spectrogram (below) for a monophthongal realisation of the GOAT vowel in the token *boat* produced by a young female Barnsley speaker (BF1). The spectrogram shows relatively stable F1 and F2 throughout the vocalic portion.

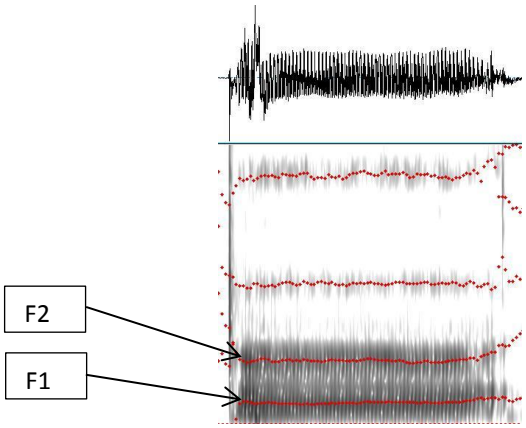

Figure 4.4: Spectrogram and Waveform of a monophthongal GOAT vowel (*boat).*

Figure 4.5 shows the waveform and spectrogram for a diphthongal realisation of the GOAT vowel in the token *boat* produced by a young Royston speaker (RF1). Here the spectrogram shows distinct changes in the height of both F1 and F2 throughout the vocalic portion. The fluctuation in these formant levels is clearly discernible and can be measured and quantified using the methods detailed in Section 4.6.4.

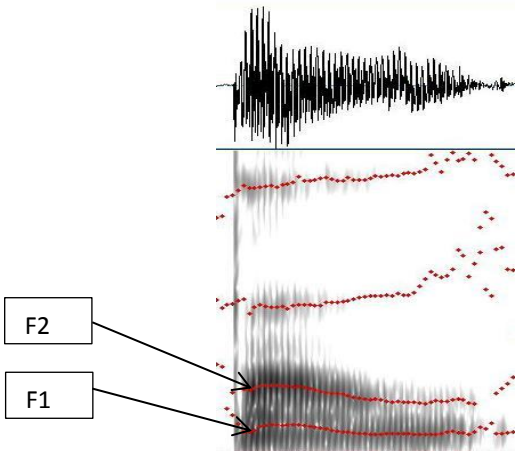

Figure 4.5: Spectrogram and waveform of a diphthongal GOAT vowel (*boat).*

The representation of vowel qualities using formant value data, particularly F1 and F2, is an established approach applied in sociolinguistic and phonetic studies (cf. Watt and Fabricius 2002; Ferragne and Pellegrino 2010; Moore and Carter 2015). The use of formant frequencies builds upon impressionistic auditory analysis by providing greater 'objectivity and replicability' (Watt and Fabricius 2002:159) in the identification of vocalic variants. This is particularly salient in the study of vowels in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets in many northern varieties as these two vocalic variables are often equal in height and tenseness making them 'symmetrical partner vowels' (Watt and Fabricius 2002:91).

A variety of different approaches have been taken in order to measure F1 and F2 in vocalic variants, the following discussion considers the advantages and disadvantages of these approaches with regard to the aims of this study.

The midpoint method involves identification of the vowel onset and offset and then takes a single measurement at the centre between these two points. The point of maximal displacement is determined by finding the first point in the vowel segment which is not influenced by coarticulation (cf. Ladefoged 2003). Simplicity is both the benefit and the disadvantage of the single point approach, the method is simple to apply but the results are limited in terms of what is revealed about the vocalic portion.

In order to provide a more comprehensive acoustic analysis of the vowel segment which begins to capture the course of the vowel trajectory, recent studies (cf. Ferragne and Pellegrino 2010; Haddican et al. 2013; Moore and Carter 2015) have used approaches which take formant measurements at multiple points throughout the vocalic portion. The aim of this approach is to provide a more nuanced set of measurements which can represent the vowel onset and offset but also provide an indication of the more subtle movement throughout the vowel trajectory. Perhaps the simplest method involves taking measurements at a set number of milliseconds from the beginning and end of the vowel portion. This default distance approach means that the number of milliseconds can be set in order to avoid the impact of coarticulation which may artificially distort the formant measurements in the vocalic segment (cf. Ladefoged 2003). The key disadvantage of this approach is that it does not take into account the duration of the vowel resulting in disproportionate measurements being captured from longer, as opposed to shorter, vowels.

The interval approach addresses this issue by taking measurements at regular timed intervals (for example, every 10 milliseconds) throughout the vowel segment (cf. Ferragne and Pellegrino 2010; Haddican et al. 2013; Moore and Carter 2015). Ferragne and Pellegrino (2010:1) use this approach in their study which looks at vowels produced by male speakers in thirteen dialects of the British Isles, utilising formant information to 'obtain an up-to-date picture of within-and between-accent vowel variation'. They use linear interpolation to re-sample formant values prior to acoustic analysis in order to produce the same number of values (in this case thirteen) regardless of the vowel duration (Ferragne and Pellegrino 2010:4). Vowels coded as monophthongal during auditory analysis are measured at the temporal midpoint, and measurements for diphthongal tokens are made at 2/13 and 11/13 into the vowel segment in order to avoid the effects of coarticulation (2010:6). Similarly, Haddican et al. (2013:377-378) use interval data to produce a more 'dynamic formant analysis' taking nine time-normalised F1 and F2 measurements and using this data to plot the rate of change of across each vowel portion, rather than the traditional method of plotting start and end or vowel onset and offset points only. By using this approach they are also able to identify points of the formant trajectory which demonstrate the greatest inter-speaker variation and use these to analyse generational variation in the fronting of GOAT and GOOSE tokens (2013:377).

For the purposes of this study, a single point measurement method would reveal nothing about vowel trajectory and this approach is therefore unsuitable for research which focuses upon levels of diphthongisation. The default distance approach would not take into account the duration of the vowel resulting in disproportionate measurements being captured from vowels of differencing lengths. The interval approach provides detailed information about formant movement throughout the vowel segment, however, where the aim is to show the degree of diphthongisation, rather than the nature or trajectory of formant movement, the interval approach would provide unwanted information with regard to the aims of this dissertation. Therefore, having evaluated the benefits and disadvantages of the different vowel measurement methods I took the decision to utilise the proportional distance method (cf. Ladefoged 2003), taking measurements for F1 and F2 at 25% and 75% into the vowel segment. The proportional distance is set in order to avoid the transition between preceding and following consonants. Measurements taken at 25% and 75% provide a clear snapshot of the vowel trajectory, capturing points during the onset and offset; and this approach

has the advantage of producing a comparable set of measurements for each vowel regardless of duration.

4.6.2 Vowel Coding Protocols

The FACE and GOAT tokens for each speaker were transcribed orthographically using ELAN. A second tier of annotation coded tokens in order to represent phonological environment. This coding records the manner of articulation and voicing of preceding and following consonants, and indicates where a syllable is open medially or finally (see Tables 4.10 and 4.11). The ELAN annotated recordings were then converted into a Praat text grid and transferred to Praat acoustic, phonetic software. Using a broad-band spectrogram in Praat with visible formant tracks the formant settings were adjusted for each speaker in order to take into consideration vocal tract variation and to ensure clarity of formant tracking throughout each recording. The FACE and GOAT tokens were segmented manually in order to isolate the vocalic portion – this involved placing a marker at the start and end of the vowel portion of each token eliminating the transition from preceding and following consonants (see Figures 4.6 and 4.7).

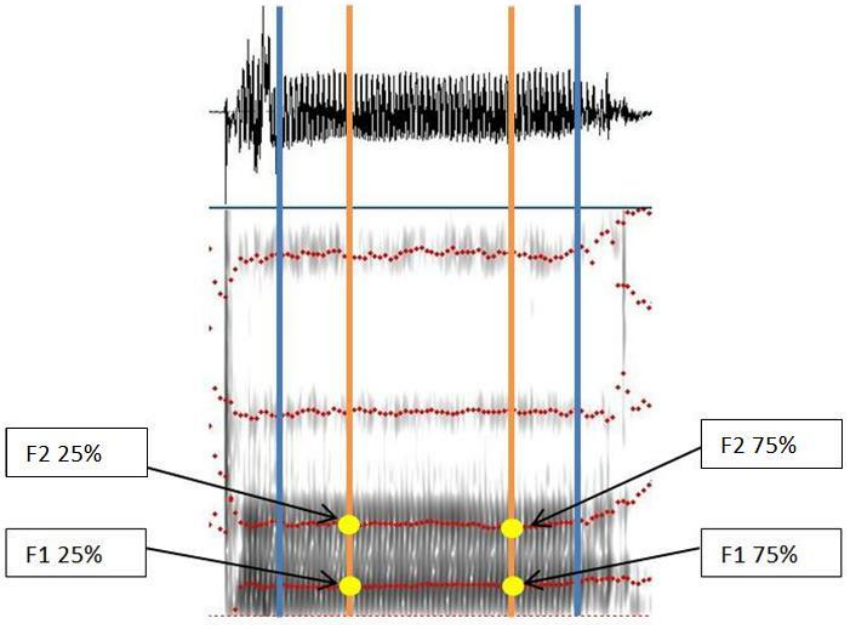

Figure 4.6: Example showing segmentation of a monophthongal token in Praat.

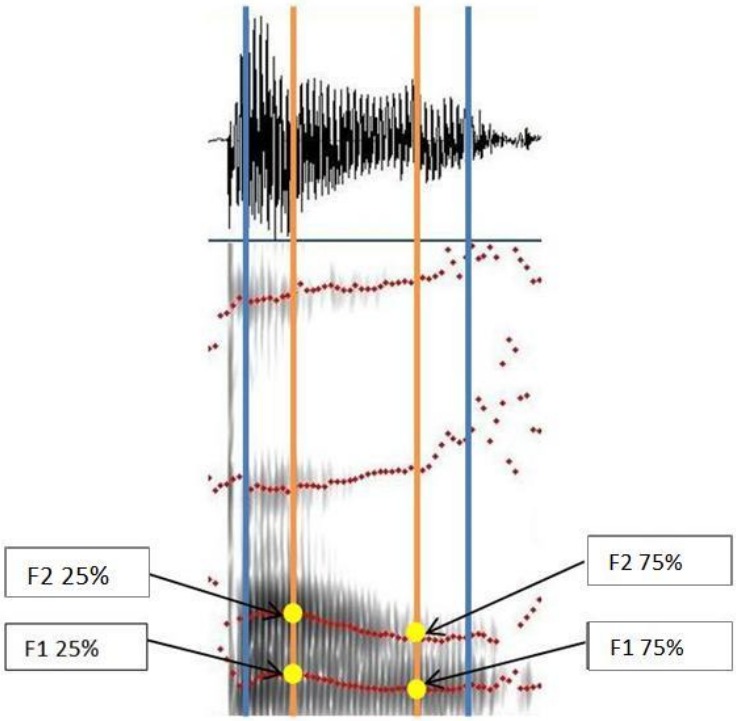

Figure 4.7: Example showing segmentation of a diphthongal token in Praat.

Each speaker's FLEECE, GOOSE and TRAP tokens were also used as reference vowels for the purpose of normalisation (see Section 4.6.3). Two tokens for each of the three reference vowels per participant were measured at the 25%, 50% and 75% points to establish that F1 and F2 remained constant throughout the vowel portion. When this was confirmed, the mid-point (50%) measurement was used as the reference point for normalisation (see Section 4.6.3).

Following segmentation of all FACE, GOAT, FLEECE, GOOSE and TRAP tokens, a Praat script was used to take raw Hertz (Hz) measurements of F1 and F2 at the 25% and 75% points of each FACE and GOAT vowel section. The raw Hz data was then transferred to a spreadsheet in Excel and inspected in order to identify any measurements which fell outside the normal pattern of distribution. These were classed as outliers (cf. Field et al. 2012:145) and were checked manually. Regardless of outliers, 25% of each speaker's tokens were inspected manually.

4.6.3 Methods of Vowel Normalisation

Vowel formant normalisation of raw Hz data attempts to minimise the impact of variation in vocal tract length (VTL), particularly where the participant sample

compares speakers of different age and gender (cf. Fabricius et al. 2009). This allows the researcher to make conclusions regarding inter-speaker variation which can be attributed to differences in linguistic production, rather than physiological differences (cf. Watt and Fabricius 2002; Flynn 2011). Normalisation means that 'the researcher is permitted to make more direct comparison of formant frequencies of vowels spoken by speakers of different sexes and ages' (Watt and Fabricius 2002:160).

Various methods of normalisation have been utilised by sociolinguists and, as Flynn (2011:1) points out, there is still considerable debate amongst researchers as to the most effective algorithm to employ. In addition, there is also a danger that the normalisation process itself, by reducing physiological differences, could reduce sociolinguistic variation (cf. Adank et al. 2004; Flynn 2011). Thomas (2002:174) warns that each method of normalisation has 'drawbacks', and the researcher, therefore, must consider which of these drawbacks can be tolerated when selecting the normalisation technique which best suits the specific aims of their study.

As my data comprises multiple FACE and GOAT tokens, collected from speakers of different ages and genders across three separate speech communities my chosen method of normalisation needs to meet the following criteria (taken from Flynn 2011:2):

> '1. To minimise or eliminate inter-speaker variation due to inherent physiological or anatomical differences;
> 2. To preserve inter-speaker variation due to social category differences, including age, gender and dialect;
> 3. To maintain vowel category and phonemic differences'.

The different procedures normalise the raw Hz values using speaker, formant and vowel information, and the approaches vary depending upon whether this information is intrinsic or extrinsic. Speaker-intrinsic normalisation methods calculate values based upon information drawn from each individual speaker. The clear advantage of this approach, in terms of my study, is that these techniques provide essential data on inter-speaker variation within each data-set. Alternatively, speaker-extrinsic normalisation approaches produce values calculated on information drawn from all speakers in the data set; in my case this would produce normalised values for each speech community as a whole rather than the individuals within each data set. A further drawback of speaker-extrinsic normalisation is that the information is drawn from multiple speakers, this means that the normalised values change, and therefore have to be

completely re-calculated, if a sub-set of age or gender data is normalised (Flynn, 2011:3).

My method focuses on data drawn from the first and second formants and is therefore suited to formant-intrinsic methods which produce normalised values using measurements drawn only from the formant in question. For example, information from F1 measurements would be used to produce F1 values (Flynn 2011:3). By contrast, formant-extrinsic methods use information from multiple formants in order to produce normalised values. For example, the formulation used in Nearey's grand-mean method requires data from F1, F2 and F3 in order to normalise each individual formant (Kendall and Thomas 2007). This can be problematic for studies, like mine, which focus on the first two formants only, or where F3 data is less reliable due to recording quality. An algorithm which includes information from F3 would have added little to the analysis provided in this dissertation, and may have skewed the normalised values for the first two formants. Furthermore, speakers normalised using this method cannot be compared with speakers who have been normalised without the use of F3 data (Kendall and Thomas 2007).

Taking into consideration the specific aims of my study, and the quantity and nature of my data, the Watt and Fabricius Modified normalisation algorithm, which employs a speaker-intrinsic, formant-intrinsic normalisation formulation, is the most effective method. The Watt and Fabricius Modified approach has been formulated specifically for use in sociolinguistic research which considers vowel variation and change in British English dialects (cf. Watt and Fabricius 2002; Fabricius et al. 2009), and was found to be the most effective technique, in terms of aligning the vowel spaces of multiple speakers of different ages and genders, in a comparison of 20 methods of vowel formant normalisation undertaken by Flynn (2011).

The Watt and Fabricius Modified method is, however, a vowel-extrinsic approach. Vowel-extrinsic methods use information from multiple vowels and, whilst they vary in terms of the vowel categories required to formulate normalised values, they often require the whole vowel system of a variety to be represented in the data-set. Where fewer vowel categories are represented the normalised values can be skewed (Kendall and Thomas 2007). This is clearly problematic as far as my study is concerned as my focus is upon only two vowels from the inventories of each of the three varieties. By contrast, vowel-intrinsic normalisation methods use information from a single vowel

token, this would be far more suitable for my purposes as it would not require data from the entire vowel inventory of the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties. However, despite the fact that the Watt and Fabricius Modified method is vowel-extrinsic the formulation 'requires data only from the vertices of a triangular vowel space, not the entire vowel space' (Fabricius et al. 2009:431). Employing the Watt and Fabricius modified approach, therefore, allows me to focus upon data collected from participants' FACE and GOAT vowels, with the addition of data from FLEECE, GOOSE and TRAP tokens as anchor or reference vowels.

The raw Hz data was normalised using the Watt and Fabricius Modified method via The Vowel Plotting and Normalization Suite (NORM), Version 1.1 (Kendall and Thomas 2007). The Watt and Fabricius algorithm converts the raw Hz data to *S* Transform values. The acoustic and statistical analysis presented in Chapter 7 uses the normalised *S* Transform values.

4.6.4 Calculating the Degree of Diphthongisation (dipDegree)

In order to measure the degree of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation, and to formulate a rigorous and replicable method, I have drawn upon the approach used by Haddican et al. (2013). The method developed by Haddican et al. (2013: 371) was designed to measure levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the dialect of York in order to establish the extent to which traditionally monophthongal FACE and GOAT vowels were undergoing a process of diphthongisation. Haddican et al. (2013: 377) took acoustic measurements of F1 and F2 at timed intervals into the onset and offset of each vowel portion and calculated the Euclidean distance between the two points in order to establish the degree of tongue movement between vowel onset and offset (cf. also Fabricius 2007). The Euclidean distance indicates how wide or narrow the tongue movement is between the two measurement points, with a higher Euclidean distance indicating a more diphthongal realisation, and a lower value indicating a more monophthongal realisation (Haddican et al. (2013: 378).

In order to examine the extent to which Royston speakers diphthongise FACE and GOAT, in comparison with speakers in the adjacent Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities, I took measurements of F1 and F2 at the 25% and 75% points into the vowel portion of each FACE and GOAT token. The measurements were then imported into

the statistical computing programme R (R Core Team 2013), where a script was used to calculate the Euclidean distance between the 25% and 75% points. The script gives the Euclidean distance as a 'dipDegree' (degree of diphthongisation) value for each FACE and GOAT vowel.

Having calculated a dipDegree value for each FACE and GOAT token these values were then compared with the results of auditory impressionistic coding of each FACE and GOAT token. This comparison showed that all FACE and GOAT tokens identified as diphthongs during auditory coding had a normalised *S* Transform dipDegree value of 0.25 or above; all tokens identified as monophthongs had a dipDegree value below *S* 0.25. Therefore, for the purposes of the acoustic analysis presented in Chapter 7, a dipDegree value *S* 0.25 is used to indicate the threshold at which FACE and GOAT tokens were audibly perceived as diphthongal.

4.6.5 Statistical Analysis: Mixed Effects Linear Regression

In Chapter 7, the normalised FACE and GOAT dipDegree data from the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield participants is divided into subsets in order to examine the impact of geographical location, age, gender and phonetic environment upon levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation. However, it is vital to determine whether any patterns that emerge are statistically significant, or whether they are due to chance. In order to test the statistical significance of the acoustic findings, I applied mixed-effects linear regression modelling to the final dipDegree data. Increasingly mixed-effects modelling has been favoured by linguists (cf. Johnson 2009; Tagliamonte 2012; Kirkham 2013), rather than fixed-effects linear regression which tests an outcome variable against a group of predictor variables such as age, gender, ethnicity etc. The advantage of mixed-effects modelling is that it allows the researcher to factor in *random effects* which are specific to the sample being tested. The ability to include random effects in the model means that that factors which are not generalisable can be tested. Hay (2011: 212) provides a clear illustrative example of the utility of random effects:

> 'Imagine in our study … that we had 500 tokens, taken from a total of 20 individuals. One can imagine a scenario in which 100 tokens came from one very talkative individual and … he was from a higher socioeconomic class. Our logistic regression may well show a significant social class effect, because it has no idea that all these came from a single individual … We do not want this to show up as significant if it is all driven by one individual.'

A further benefit of mixed-effects modelling is increased confidence in the rigour of results that appear as significant (Hay 2011); conversely the drawback is that mixed-effects modelling can sometimes overlook significant factors. Nonetheless, Kirkham (2013: 112) comments that 'such a trade-off is considered optimal, as it may be more desirable to occasionally miss significant effects than to erroneously identify non-significant effects as significant'.

The significance of each predictor variable is tested against the *null hypothesis* which indicates that the predictor variable has no effect on the outcome variable, and that the result is due to chance and therefore not statistically significant (Field et al. 2012: 28). Alternatively if the null hypothesis is rejected then this indicates that the predictor variable does have an effect upon the outcome variable and is therefore statistically significant. The degree of significance is measured by calculating the probability of the null hypothesis being falsely rejected if modelling were to be repeated an infinite number of times. This produces a probability value (or *p*-value); it is generally accepted that a probability value less than .05 ($p<.05$) indicates a significant result (Field et al. 2012: 54).

Mixed-effects linear regression is applied to the data using the lmer function in R. The model takes *dipDegree* as the outcome variable; *location*, *gender*, *age* and *phonetic context* as predictor variables, and *speaker* and *token* as random effects. As the current study contains multiple tokens of FACE and GOAT for multiple speakers, the inclusion of random effects ensures that individual observations are not treated independently of one another. This allows for inter-speaker variation without overestimating the degree of significance of a particular predictor variable upon the outcome variable; meaning that an atypical speaker will not skew the significance testing. Results with a *p*-value of .05 ($p<.05$) or below are considered to be statistically significant.

The methodological approaches detailed in this section provide a replicable means of acoustic vowel measurement and quantification, in order to establish the degree to which Royston FACE and GOAT variants are diphthongised, and to perform a direct comparison with variants found in the dialects of Barnsley and Wakefield.

4.7 Methodological Approach 4: Quantitative Analysis of Interview Data from Two Social Groupings Drawn from the Royston Speech Community

In order to address Research Question (4), Methodological Approach 4 involves the collection and analysis of qualitative interview data collected from two social groupings which emerged during a two year ethnographic study of the Royston speech community. This qualitative data adds a further, and vital, dimension to the quantitative auditory and acoustic analysis of Royston FACE and GOAT production, providing access to the ideological values which underpin the nature of FACE and GOAT production in the Royston speech community.

The aim of Methodological Approach 4 is to gain access to the ideological values that Royston speakers assign to their FACE and GOAT production, and to consider the ways in which these social meanings contribute to the maintenance of the distinct Royston variants. This was facilitated by taking an ethnographic approach to the collection of qualitative data from two social groupings which emerged from the Royston speech community during the study's fieldwork. This approach allowed me to observe the shared beliefs and values which impact upon linguistic practice and the projection and interpretation of social meaning. Data collected from ethnographic observation of the social groupings enabled access to attitudes and perceptions which reflect shared life experiences. However, it is vital that these social groupings were allowed to emerge organically during the field work as discussed in Section 4.7.1.

4.7.1 Communities of Practice

The two groupings that emerged from the Royston speech community can be described as Communities of Practice. Previous sociolinguistic studies (cf. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 1992; Eckert 2000, Moore 2003; Meyerhoff 2004; Kirkham 2013) have drawn upon Lave and Wenger's (1991) concept of the Community of Practice (C of P). Meyerhoff (2004: 527-528) outlines the three recognised criteria which are used by sociolinguists in order to characterise the Community of Practice.

> '1) Speakers must come together in some form of mutual engagement
>
> 2) The mutual engagement should be jointly negotiated by the members of the group.

3) 'The C of P will be characterized by the members' *shared repertoire* … (linguistic or otherwise)'

The C of P is not identified by the researcher but emerges from the ethnographic study of the speech community. In the process of coming together around some form of mutual engagement, members of the C of P will develop shared practices which include shared linguistic repertories. As Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1992: 464) observe, 'ways of doing things, ways of talking, beliefs, values, power relations – in short, practices - emerge in the course of this endeavour'. The two Royston Communities of Practice emerged through a process of ethnographic engagement with the Royston speech community over a two year period, and represent social groupings from the older and younger generations of Royston speakers. Royston is a very different place for the older and younger generations (as outlined in Sections 4.3.3.1 and 4.3.3.3), and observing social groupings drawn from these two age categories provides insight into the contrast in apparent time of the social values assigned to FACE and GOAT production in the speech community.

4.7.2 Ethnographic Fieldwork in the Royston Speech Community

Prior to embarking upon fieldwork for this thesis, I had no connections within the Royston speech community. However, I have always been aware of links to Royston on the maternal side of my family. Both my maternal grandparents were born and brought up in Royston, and lived in the township during the early years of their marriage. My maternal grandmother's parents owned a sweetshop and off-licence in the centre of Royston and the family was well known throughout the community as a result. My maternal grandfather's parents were butchers in Royston and were equally well known in the township. Despite an awareness of my family's Royston heritage, I have had little connection with the area during my lifetime, and was unaware of any claims of dialect variation until I began my research. Similarly, no members of my family ever commented upon distinctive dialect features. Sadly, both my maternal grandparents died before I began this research.

My first links with the Royston community came as a result of initial attempts to find out more about Royston's historical development. I identified a local history group which met regularly at the central library in Royston. I first approached the Royston History Group in February 2011 with the aim of explaining my research aims, and to

ask if they would be willing to help or to be involved in any way. It was also via the Royston History Group that I later came into contact with younger members of the Royston speech community.

4.7.2.1 Royston History Group Community of Practice

The Royston History Group was formed in the 1970s and has met on a regular basis from its inception. Many of the founding members are still involved with the group to this day, and all members who attend on a regular basis are retired and aged 65 or above at the time of data collection. The group is based in Royston Library and meets on a fortnightly basis. The group has a dedicated area within the main library which includes a board publicising their work and a dedicated computer. Every Monday morning key members of the group hold a drop in session where the public bring along photographs depicting the history and characters of Royston which are then uploaded onto the history group's digital archive.

My first meeting with the history group was at one of the Monday sessions. When I arrived, there was already a group of six or seven people huddled around the computer, engaged in a lively discussion about the identity of characters in a faded black and white photograph. I had previously spoken to one of the members on the telephone, so after a brief explanation of my reason for being there, I was offered a seat and the attention of the huddle shifted from the computer screen to me. Everyone was introduced to me as a 'Staffy' or a 'non Staffy' (Roystonians with or without Staffordshire/Black Country heritage), the former clearly an emblem or honour, the latter seemingly a cause for apology. After a fascinating hour listening to tales of Royston's history and its Staffordshire/Black Country heritage, I left with an invitation to attend the group's next regular Friday meeting.

I began regularly attending Royston History Group fortnightly meetings from March 2011 and, at this early stage in my ethnographic study, I felt that the combined knowledge and experience of the group members could provide a starting point to gain access to the wider Royston speech community. The group meet in a large board room upstairs in the library and each meeting attracts between fifteen to twenty members on a regular basis; this increases significantly when guest speakers are invited. Meetings last for approximately two hours and, in the first half, (providing there is no guest speaker) a discussion is generally formed around an agenda determined by items or

photographs brought in, or by issues and questions raised by members. There then follows the sacred ritual of the tea break, enhanced by the submission of homemade cake from alternating members of the group. Initially I was treated with polite respect in these meetings, I was offered a chair in a prime position and allowed to speak about the progress of my research and to ask questions at the beginning of the meeting. The discussion would then turn to more general matters.

This pattern was eventually broken following a discussion which focussed upon my family connections to Royston. Many of the group members remembered visits to the shops owned by my maternal great grandparents, in particular trips to the sweet shop. This was a significant turning point in my relationship with the group. Prior to this discussion, the members had treated me with polite respect as an outsider. Following this revelation, I was treated like a legitimate member of the group rather than as a visitor. This also had a profound effect on my integration into the wider Royston speech community as word circulated that I was the great granddaughter of prominent local figures in the township's recent history. My new found status as an 'insider' facilitated a host of introductions beyond the group members and, in May 2012, a visit to The Black Country Museum was arranged in my honour. In addition to visits, the history group also holds open days or exhibitions at least twice a year when photographs and memorabilia are displayed and members of the public are invited to come along to view the items and discuss aspects of Royston's history. These events also provide vital information for the History Group's ever burgeoning local archive. In order to access this invaluable source of local knowledge, I jointly organised an open day with the Royston History Group in June 2012, inviting the general public to bring along information regarding the township's Black Country heritage.

The insight into the Royston speech community and the knowledge of history, geography and demography gleaned from this early ethnographic work was utilised in the development of the questionnaire and interview structure used to gather qualitative data (see Section 4.7.3). The second Community of Practice also emerged from initial work with the history group (see Section 4.7.2.1). My integration into the Royston speech community, over a two year period, facilitated a far greater insight into the locally salient events and social meanings which contribute to the maintenance of the distinctive Royston linguistic variety than I would have been able to obtain otherwise. Observations gleaned from the perspective of an outgroup member can be skewed by uninformed interpretation of events and social meanings. As Milroy (1992:

63) asserts, interviewers 'cannot have reliable prior intuitions as to the social meanings conveyed'; the researcher must allow the interpretation of locally salient events and social meanings to emerge from the speech community itself. Observation via the C of P provides a more organic insight into the social values attached to linguistic production, and the motivations that underpin aspects of variation and change. Furthermore, having access to two different Communities of Practice, representing older and younger speakers within the Royston speech community, provides two very different perspectives on the salient local events and social meanings which shape the Royston variety. The very nature of a C of P means that it is organic, that it emerges and is self-defined. This means that, as a researcher, I cannot apply judgement sampling in this context. The Royston History Group forms a C of P and, for the purposes of my study, I have analysed a subset of its members; those who were born and resident in Royston for all or the majority of their lives. It is purely coincidental that, of the 12 members who form the Royston History Group C of P, six are female and six male (see Table 4.13).

In addition to being longstanding members of the Royston History Group, the 12 participants also form a close friendship group, sharing common ties beyond the history group itself. For example, Josie, Brenda and Nell (all interview participants have been assigned pseudonyms, see Table 4.13), worked together at Valusta shirt factory in Royston (later to become Burberrys) during the 1960s and have remained friends ever since. Brenda, Jean and Nell (see Table 4.13) are close neighbours and had grown up together in Royston. Arthur, Mike, Melvyn and Gerry (see Table 4.13), are all ex-miners. All participants in this C of P are involved in the running and organisational aspects of the history group; they also socialise regularly beyond the confines of group meetings and events. Due to this level of familiarity, participants are comfortable in each other's company and could be recorded in small groups, or pairs, feeling at ease with their fellow interviewees. Nine out of the 12 participants in this C of P also provided wordlist recordings. The Older Generation Royston wordlist data is gathered from eight members of this C of P (indicated with wordlist codes beside their names in Table 4.13). Melvyn was 57 years of age at the time of data collection, therefore his wordlist recording is part of the middle generation Royston data set. Gerry, Maureen and Jenny were unable to provide wordlist recordings for personal reasons.

Table 4.13: Royston History Group Community of Practice – Sampling Summary (pseudonyms have been used. Codes in brackets indicate speakers who have also produced a wordlist recording).

Name	Age	Education	Occupation
Melvyn (RM6)	57	Up to 16	Ex – Miner. Community Project Officer
Richard (RM9)	66	University	Retired Librarian
Arthur (RM10)	69	Up to 18	Ex – Miner. Retired Civil Servant
Mike (RM11)	69	Up to 18	Retired Miner
Gerry (No WL)	73	Up to 16	Retired Miner
Ted (RM12)	74	Up to 16	Retired Builder
Brenda (RF9)	74	Up to 16	Retired factory worker
Nell (RF10)	67	Up to 16	Retired factory worker
Maureen (No WL)	68	Up to 16	Retired Telephonist
Name	**Age**	**Education**	**Occupation**
Josie (RF11)	72	Up to 16	Retired factory worker
Jean (RF12)	74	Up to 18	Retired Midwife
Jenny (No WL)	78	Up to 16	Retired Housewife

With the exception of Melvyn, all participants in this C of P are retired; the majority have also traced their family history in great detail, and they all have a keen interest in local history. As a consequence, these speakers represent a section of the Royston

speech community which has a heightened sense of their local identity. These speakers also provide a comprehensive insight into salient events in the recent historical development of the township.

4.7.2.2 Royston High School Community of Practice

During the early stages of recruiting wordlist participants, I was finding it difficult to access younger members of the Royston speech community. Fortunately, Mike (see Table 4.14) put me in touch with his twin grandchildren who had been born in Royston and still lived in the township. During an initial conversation it emerged that Kerry and Craig (see Table 4.14), were part of a friendship group who formed part of the last cohort to attend Royston High School prior to its closure and demolition (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3). Members of the friendship group had grown up together in Royston, and had gone through primary, secondary and high school education together in the township. At the point at which I was introduced to the group, they were all students at Barnsley College, their first experience of being educated outside the Royston area. Although enrolled on a range of different courses, the friends maintained a close bond, travelling to and from college together and meeting for lunch whenever possible. They also socialised regularly outside college and maintained their childhood tradition of gathering regularly during the spring and summer months in Royston park, where they would reminisce about school days. As with the Royston History Group C of P, the younger speakers in the High School C of P were required to have been born in Royston and resident in the township for all, or the majority of their lives. Of the eight speakers recruited, four are female and four male, again this provides a convenient gender balance. The friendship group extended beyond the participants interviewed for this study, however, I had difficulty persuading more members to become involved in recording sessions. The sample of participants drawn from this C of P is therefore smaller than the sample drawn from the older Royston History Group C of P.

As all eight friends are students at Barnsley College, Table 4.14 provides details of each participant's age and their educational status at the time of data collection. This includes details of whether or not they have applied to go on to university. As Barnsley is not a university town, attending university may require a move away from Royston; therefore the decision to attend university could have bearing upon the participant's affiliation to the township.

Table 4.14: Royston High School Community of Practice – Sampling Summary

Name	Age	Educational Status
Liam (RM1)	18	A level Student - applied for university
Daniel (RM2)	17	A level Student - applied for university
James (RM3)	19	BTEC
Craig (RM4)	17	A level Student - applied for university
Anna (RF1)	17	A Level Student – applied for university
Kara (RF2)	19	BTEC Student
Alice (RF3)	18	A Level Student – applied for university
Kerry (RF4)	18	NVQ2 Student

The Royston High School C of P did not meet as consistently and systematically as the Royston History C of P; however, members within the group are often in daily contact. During my study they met on an ad hoc basis several times per week, and the group as a whole met at least once a fortnight. As this C of P is comprised of 17 to 19 year olds, who meet predominantly on a social basis, I was not involved in group events in the same way as I had been with the history group. I had far less contact with the younger participants overall, but did forge some links via Barnsley College. Four of the participants were taking A Level English Language and I was invited by the English tutor to work with the students, providing guidance and advice on their English Language Investigation coursework. I was also invited by the English Department to give a talk on my research followed by a question and answer session. The Royston

students who had been involved with my study were invited along to this session to add their thoughts and experiences to the discussion.

With the exception of Alice, all participants were interviewed in dyads or triads; Alice was ill at the time of the scheduled group recording and was subsequently recorded individually at a later date as she was keen to be involved in the study. All eight participants in this C of P provided wordlist recordings, and the younger generation wordlist cohort is comprised of their data.

4.7.3 Qualitative Data Collection Methods

The aim of the qualitative data collected from the two Communities of Practice is to identify the indexical values that Royston speakers assign to their FACE and GOAT production, in order to explore ideological evaluations which link linguistic practice to perceptions of local and linguistic identity. To collect this data I drew upon a methodology developed by Llamas (1999), which combines the use of questionnaires and interviews in order to elicit linguistic and ideological data.

Llamas (1999) developed a methodology for data elicitation in the field of dialectology which provides the researcher with a replicable approach aiming to 'meet the broadening of research aims to include models of the diffusion of changes through both geographical … and social space' (Kerswill et al. 1999:257). The Survey of Regional English (SuRE) (Llamas 1999) implements Llamas' multi-levelled data elicitation methodology in order to provide a contemporary picture of language change. The overarching aims of the SuRE project are twofold: firstly, to provide a detailed and large-scale survey of regional variation in spoken British English (1999: 96) and, secondly, to build up a bank of consistently collected data (1999: 96) which would be widely available to those in the research community.

The SuRE methodology is designed to elicit data across three levels of variation: phonological, grammatical and lexical. Although attitudinal should also be included in this list as the information elicited via interview provides an insight into the attitudes and perceptions of speakers with regard to their own local and linguistic identity. *Sense Relation Network Sheets* (SRN) (Llamas 1999) are designed to elicit lexical variation, but this information can also be used as part of the basis for an informal sociolinguistic interview designed to develop the participants' responses in greater detail. The interview explores the speakers' responses to an *Identification Questionnaire* (IdQ)

(Llamas1999) which is designed to provide qualitative data regarding the participants' attitudes towards their local and linguistic identity. The questionnaire is divided into separate sections which enquire about the speakers' perceptions regarding their language and their area. The interviewer can then use these questions to prompt informal discussion around the topics outlined in the SRN and IdQ, thus producing interview data which reveals variation on grammatical, lexical and phonological levels as well as providing valuable attitudinal data.

Llamas (1999) designed this methodology to be replicable in its entirety, and to be used wholesale in order to elicit comparable data providing a large scale survey of regional variation. However, subsequent studies (cf. Asprey 2008; Burbano-Elizondo; Dyer 2002) which did not aim to elicit data on all three levels have nevertheless seen the value of replicating elements of the SuRE methodology. In the Royston study, the aim of the sociolinguistic interview was to elicit attitudinal data from the speakers in the two Communities of Practice. To this end, I developed a questionnaire which drew upon the main elements of the SuRE IdQ (see Tables 4.15 and 4.16), with sections which focused upon the participants' local and linguistic identities. The questionnaire took a direct approach to the elicitation of attitudes: participants were asked about their feelings in relation to Royston as a home town, and how they felt Royston and its dialect were viewed more widely. In addition, speakers were asked more specifically about how they viewed their own vernacular use.

I also drew upon the SuRE methodology by issuing the questionnaire to the participants approximately one week ahead of the interview. Although participants were generally willing to be interviewed, they often expressed some degree of trepidation prior to recording. Issuing the questionnaire in advance, with an assurance that the interview would be based around the topics raised in the questionnaire, had the effect of reassuring the participant. A second advantage of this approach was the additional insight it provided into the attitudes and perceptions of the speakers. Garrett (2010:39) warns that what may seem like a straightforward approach to gaining access to speaker attitudes, namely asking them outright, may not, in practice, produce the desired results. I found that the majority of participants gave very different responses in the interview situation in comparison with their response to the same enquiry on the paper based questionnaire. The responses on the questionnaire were often minimal, restrained, uncontroversial and polite. By contrast, during the interview, participants often contradicted the answer given on the paper form, providing a more elaborate,

less guarded and sometimes controversial response. This provided an interesting insight into the ways in which speakers wrangle with the implications of attitudes towards their own dialect and that of surrounding speech communities. This method also highlighted particular attitudes and perceptions which participants felt should be fettered when faced with a paper based questionnaire.

Replicating the structure of the SuRE IDQ (Llamas 1999: 116), the Royston questionnaire was divided into two sections entitled, 'Your Language' and 'Your Area'. The questions in these sections were informed by knowledge of local issues and events which could impact upon linguistic production and the ideological values which underpin FACE and GOAT variation. In the SuRE IDQ, Llamas (1999: 116) formulates questions which make clear reference to geographical tensions in the Middlesbrough area. This approach is also employed by Dyer (2000: 174), who refers to local geographical rivalries between Corby and Kettering, drawing upon her knowledge of the local speech community. My early ethnographic work with the Royston speech community uncovered similar local tensions between Royston and the remainder of the Barnsley borough. The Royston IDQ therefore includes questions which probe these local rivalries. In the Royston IDQ, the section entitled 'Your Language' (see Table 4.15), focuses upon the Royston variety and the participant's own linguistic production. Question (1) is crucial and was designed to elicit the participants' labelling of their own specific linguistic variety. Although Royston is part of the Barnsley borough, administratively and geographically, local tensions are likely to make Royston residents reluctant to define their variety as 'Barnsley'.

Table 4.15: Royston IDQ – 'Your Language'.

Your Language
(1) What accent would you say you had, and do you like it?
(2) Do you think the Royston accent is different from other Barnsley accents? If yes, how and why?
(3) Do you think older and younger people talk the same in Royston (pronounce things the same and use the same words)?
(4) Have you ever been in a situation where you've deliberately changed the way you talk? If so, why?
(5) Do you think there's a difference between how males and females speak in Royston?
(6) Where, geographically, would you say people stop talking the same as you and

start sounding different?
(7) If someone said you had a Barnsley accent – how would that make you feel?
(8) Has anyone ever commented on your accent? If yes, how?

The second section of the Royston IDQ, 'Your Area' (see Table 4.16) draws directly upon knowledge of salient local issues and events gleaned from my early ethnographic study of the speech community. The questions were designed to access speakers' perceptions and attitudes towards aspects of Royston's social and economic history, and the impact this may have upon linguistic identity and variation. As outlined in Sections 4.7.2.1 and 4.7.2.2, the Royston interview participants fall into two distinct generational categories: older and younger. The IDQ and interview data is designed to highlight the ways in which these two generations perceive the township, and to observe which local events and life experiences have greatest salience in terms of linguistic identity. Similarly, Dyer (2000) collects cross-generational data and formulates a series of questions which are specific to each generational category within the Corby sample. I have not used this approach in the Royston IDQ as my aim is to determine the extent to which the major historical shifts in Royston's administrative, industrial and geographical status are salient for *all* speakers in the speech community. To this end, the same set of questions was given to all participants in both Communities of Practice. Clearly, given the timing of the historical changes outlined in Chapter 3, it was anticipated that these events would have impacted more acutely upon the lives of the participants in the Royston History Group C of P than in the High School C of P. However, metalinguistic commentary surrounding the Royston variety highlighted continued variation between the Royston and Barnsley varieties, suggesting that younger generation Royston speakers were not converging towards a more general Barnsley variety. In order to consider the social meaning which underpins this continued variation, questions (2) to (9) in Table 4.16 are designed to elicit any additional events or issues which speakers feel are significant with regard to their local and linguistic identity.

Table 4.16: Royston IDQ – 'Your Area '.

Your Area
(1) Do you remember a time before Royston became part of the Barnsley Metropolitan Borough and was part of Wakefield authority with its own council? Do you think this change has made a difference? (2) What image or description of Royston would you give to someone who didn't know it? (3) If you wanted a day out shopping, or a night out where would you go? (4) Do you think Royston is a good place to live? Why? (5) If you could, would you change where you came from? Why/why not? (6) What do you consider to be the best and worst things about growing up and living in Royston? (7) If an outsider was complaining about Royston, would you defend it even if you agreed with what s/he was saying? Why/why not? (8) How many friends, relations and work/school/college mates do you have in Royston who you see regularly? (9) How has Royston changed in your lifetime? Have the people changed? Are these changes for the better or worse? (10) Did you think the pit closing was good or bad for the area? (11) Do you think Royston has changed since the closure of Monckton Colliery? (12) How would you describe the character of Royston and Royston people? (13) What about Barnsley and Barnsley people? (14) Have you heard of the Royston/Staffordshire/Black Country connection? (15) Have your parents/grandparents/great grandparents ever talked to you about the Staffordshire/Black Country connection? (16) Are there any links between you/your family and Staffordshire/Black Country? (17) Do you have any stories about the Staffordshire/Black Country connection or characters?

In the SuRE methodology, Llamas (1999) assigns an identification score to the participants' responses, providing a quantitative dimension to this ideological data. I initially intended to apply this method to the Royston IDQ data; however, the process of assigning scores is highly subjective, and I found myself trying to categorise atypical responses into 'best fit' score brackets. As a result, I made the decision not to use this element of Llamas' methodology in the final analysis and, instead, to focus upon a

detailed qualitative analysis of the combined ideological data from the IDQ and interview recordings. This analysis is presented in Chapter 8.

4.7.4 Interview Recording Protocols

My aim, wherever practicable, was to interview participants in the two C of Ps in dyads or triads. However, in a minority of cases this was not possible. I used the IDQ as the basis for the interview structure, this allowed participants to feel more confident regarding the content and direction of the interview, and enabled me to elicit further elaboration on IDQ responses. There, was, however, no strict intention to adhere rigidly to the IDQ format; the aim was to let participants take over the direction of the discussion and for me to 'lose control' (Milroy 1992: 67), with the hope that participants would converse more freely revealing ideologies and attitudes in a less guarded or controlled manner.

4.7.4.1 Royston History Group Community of Practice Recordings

By the time the first interviews with the Royston History Group C of P were recorded I had been involved with participants for over six months and had socialised with the group during this period as well as attending regular meetings. The members were aware that I was a 'Barnsley person' but my family links to Royston gave me a degree of acceptance within the group. This meant that my role as interviewer was multifaceted. At times, I was clearly seen as the interviewer and would be asked if it was acceptable to say a certain word or whether the speaker should 'start now'. It was also evident that participants were recounting events and stories for my benefit, as an outsider and as a fresh pair of ears. At other times, my status as an in-group member was foregrounded and participants would involve me in the story they were telling. There is a generational divide between the history group members and myself - I am the approximate age of their sons/daughters - but this did not appear to be a significant factor when interacting or socialising with the group.

The interviews with history group members were held at the same time as the regular history group fortnightly meeting and the participants who were to be interviewed that week would join me in a separate room, usually following the coffee break. This arrangement had the added benefit of putting the participants at ease, as they had been in each other's company (as well as mine) for approximately one hour prior to the recording taking place. Conversations from the meeting would often spill over, or be

resumed during the interviews. My knowledge of the history group members also meant that I could prompt participants to retell particular stories or explain events which they had previously elaborated upon in meetings. The average interview with history group members lasted 38 minutes. In total, I recorded seven interviews with the Royston History Group C of P, making a total of 264 minutes of recorded data.

4.7.4.2 Royston High School Community of Practice Recordings

As outlined in Section 4.7.2.2, my relationship with the speakers in the Royston High School C of P was very different to the one I had developed with the history group. With the Royston High School C of P, I was treated at all times as an outsider; the age gap was far more prominent in interactions with these participants and they treated me with polite respect. During the interviews, the participants willingly answered my questions, but generally directed any discussion to the other group members. The average interview with Royston High School C of P lasted 27 minutes. In total I recorded four interviews, making a total of 109 minutes of recorded data.

This chapter has discussed the four distinct components which comprise my methodological approach, providing a rigorous means of collecting and analysing FACE and GOAT data in order to address my four research questions. The four methodological approaches will be applied to the data analysis reported in Chapters 5, 6, 7 and 8.

Chapter 5

Analysis of FACE and GOAT Variation and Change in the Dialects of Yorkshire

5.1 Introduction

Addressing Research Question (1), this chapter will synthesise legacy data from previous studies which have charted pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT variation and change. The findings discussed in this chapter will provide the vital context within which to investigate the qualities of the Royston FACE and GOAT variants. Without previous recordings or studies of the Royston variety this legacy data provides the only means of piecing together a picture of pan-regional FACE and GOAT variation and change, and of assessing the extent to which the Royston variants may be considered regionally distinctive. In addition to synthesising the existing data, this chapter will present two new analyses of archival FACE and GOAT data across the Yorkshire region: one of data from the *Survey of English Dialects* (SED) (Orton and Halliday 1962), and another of the *Millennium Memory Bank* (MMB 1999) recordings. Using this legacy data, this chapter will present an overview of real-time FACE and GOAT variation and change spanning the four counties of Yorkshire, and will investigate the extent to which the Royston FACE and GOAT variants have been influenced historically by pan-regional dialect contact.

Chapter 3 considered Royston's shifting position within a Yorkshire region defined by its geographical, administrative and political status, providing vital context within which to consider patterns of historical dialect contact which may have influenced the Royston variety. This discussion alludes to the ways in which the Royston speech community has developed a unique pattern of dialect contact which is atypical of patterns found in adjacent and pan-regional speech communities. However, if we compare this geographical and administrative status to patterns of pan-regional linguistic change then it is vital to acknowledge that dialect boundaries do not necessarily correspond with geographical and administrative areas, nor do varieties undergo dramatic shifts as you cross from one geographical area to another (cf. Trudgill 1999:6-7). Chapter 3, Section 3.2.2 established that, administratively, Royston has shifted from being part of the West Riding of Yorkshire (prior to 1972), to being incorporated into the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley, in the newly formed county of South Yorkshire from the mid 1970s onward. We have also established that,

historically, areas in the current counties of West and South Yorkshire were united with areas of the current county of North Yorkshire in the administrative entity known traditionally as the West Riding of Yorkshire. However, industrially, Royston had far greater affinity with areas which were encompassed by the South Yorkshire Coalfield, and which excluded areas now contained in the county of North Yorkshire. To examine the Royston FACE and GOAT variants within the context of pan-Yorkshire dialect variation and change, this chapter considers the nature of FACE and GOAT production across the four counties of Yorkshire in order to establish how patterns of pan-regional mobility and industrial migration have influenced the dialect of Royston.

The legacy data synthesised in this chapter is drawn from studies which span Trudgill's traditional and modern dialect phases. What we know about 'traditional' dialects comes from studies of rural communities, like the SED. What we know about 'modern' dialects comes from studies in more of a variationist sociolinguistics tradition. Synthesising the data from studies undertaken in these two phases can therefore be problematic, as the aims and methods which characterise the two theoretical periods of dialect study are not always directly comparable. This will be taken into consideration in the discussion presented in this chapter which divides the available FACE and GOAT data into traditional and modern dialect phases.

In Section 5.2. I present, evaluate and discuss the findings for FACE and GOAT variation in previous studies of pan-Yorkshire dialects. The findings are divided in line with the four current counties of Yorkshire and incorporate the findings from my new analysis of the SED and MMB data for the Yorkshire region. All four counties are represented in order to evaluate the impact of pan-regional FACE and GOAT variation upon the Royston forms.

5.2 Analysis of Previous Studies of FACE and GOAT Production in Pan-Yorkshire Varieties

Sections 5.21 to 5.2.4 collate and analyse the findings from previous studies of pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT production. As Royston is currently located within the county of South Yorkshire the analysis begins with FACE and GOAT variation across this region. This is followed by a consideration of FACE and GOAT variation and change across the county of West Yorkshire due to Royston's historical links with the county. Royston's historical contact with the counties of North and East Yorkshire is more tenuous, nonetheless, Sections 5.2.3 and 5.2.4 present the findings for FACE and GOAT variation

across these two counties respectively in order to provide a comprehensive overview of pan-regional variation and change.

5.2.1 FACE and GOAT Findings from Previous Studies of South Yorkshire Dialects

5.2.1.1 South Yorkshire: FACE

Table 5.1 collates FACE data from previous studies of the dialects of South Yorkshire and illustrates the high level of uniformity in the production of monophthongal FACE, both pan-regionally and diachronically. Studies spanning both traditional and modern dialect periods indicate the dominance of the long, front, close-mid monophthong [eː]. It has to be noted, however, that studies of the Sheffield dialect predominate the available research on South Yorkshire varieties. As Table 5.1 illustrates, the Survey of Sheffield Usage (SSU) (1981), and the studies by Stoddart et al. (1999) and Finnegan (2011) focus solely on the Sheffield variety, whilst out of the three SED locations one is based in Sheffield, and of the ten MMB recordings four are taken from Sheffield speakers.

Table 5.1: Findings for FACE production in previous studies of South Yorkshire varieties. Blue shading indicates majority diphthongal forms, pink shading: majority monophthongal. Studies which fall into the traditional dialect period are shaded in light green, and those which fall into the modern dialect phase are shaded darker green.

Study	**Area**	**Period of Data Collection**	**FACE**
Survey of English Dialects (1962)	South Yorkshire	1950-1954	**[eː]** >[ɛː]>[eɪ]>[ɛ]
Survey of Sheffield Usage (1981)	Sheffield, South Yorkshire	Late 1970s	**[eːˡ]** >[ɛɪ]>[eː]
Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson (1999)	Sheffield South Yorkshire	1997	**[eː]** >[ɛɪ]>[ɛ]
Cave (2001)	Royston South Yorkshire	1998/99	**[ɛi]** >[ɛ]
Millennium Memory Bank (2000)	South Yorkshire	1998/99	**[eː]** > [ɛɪ] >[ɛː]>[ɛ]
Finnegan (2011)	Sheffield, South Yorkshire	2009	**[ɛɪ]** >[eː]

The predominance of studies into the Sheffield variety means that there is an urban bias to the available research on the dialect of South Yorkshire, a factor which could mask greater levels of variation across the county as a whole. However, the remainder of available studies provides a broader sweep of locations across the county, representing smaller rural areas and (with the exception of Royston) the dominant FACE variant across these locations is also the long, front, close-mid monophthong [eː]. This indicates both the stability and widespread diffusion of the monophthongal FACE form across the South Yorkshire dialect region. However, the notable exceptions which disrupt this stability are Cave's (2001) Royston data, and Finnegan's (2011) study of a sub-set of middle-class Sheffield speakers. As outlined in Chapter 3, Section 3.2.7, Cave's study considers the communicative style used in three ex-mining communities in South Yorkshire and does not aim to provide a systematic phonetic analysis of the varieties studied. The research does, however, take the dialect of Royston in South Yorkshire as the primary focus, and in the process of describing the main features of the Royston dialect, in contrast to SSBE, Cave provides a broad phonetic transcription of the Royston vowel inventory. Although this inventory is purely impressionistic, and not based on any rigorous auditory or acoustic analysis of the Royston forms, it is nonetheless invaluable as the only source of previous data from the Royston variety. As Table 5.1 shows, the majority FACE variant produced by Royston speakers, according to Cave (2001), is a front closing diphthong [ɛi], which differs in the quality of the offglide in contrast to the diphthongal FACE variant found as a minority variant in the other studies of South Yorkshire varieties (see Table 5.1). The Royston form has a more front, tense, lengthened offglide than the front, closing diphthongal form [ɛɪ] found in the SSU (1981), Stoddart et al. (1999), and MMB (2000) data.

Finnegan's (2011) study provides a further exception to the dominance of the long monophthongal forms of FACE across South Yorkshire varieties. However, Finnegan's study focuses on a small sub-set of Sheffield speakers that she labels as middle class, and notes that her findings are not representative of northern varieties more generally. Indeed, Finnegan (2011:204) concludes that, for northern varieties, 'it is evident that close-mid variants of FACE in the region of [eː] are the majority FACE pronunciations across the majority of locations north of Sheffield', thus highlighting that her results are atypical of pan-Yorkshire norms.

Finnegan (2011:226) compares her findings with those of the SSU (1981) undertaken 30 years prior and notes a change in terms of FACE production in the middle-class Sheffield speakers, with the increased use of the closing diphthong [ɛɪ] at the expense

of the local long monophthong [eː]. Historically, the closing diphthongal form was associated mainly with a restricted class of words within the FACE lexical set in pan-Yorkshire varieties (Finnegan 2011: 226); however, in the repertoires of Finnegan's middle-class Sheffield speakers the diphthongal form has 'extended its lexical and phonological distribution across all environments' (2011:226). As a diphthongal variant of FACE is also dominant in the Royston variety, the possibility that the traditional Yorkshire diphthongal forms have lexically diffused to apply to all forms in the two lexical sets will be considered in Chapter 6. Finnegan (2011:228) concludes that there is 'a levelling away of the locally and regionally-marked [eː] over time' in the repertoires of her sub-set of Sheffield speakers, suggesting that her middle-class participants may assign greater social prestige to the diphthongal form. Finnegan (2011:228) does, however, emphasise that her results do not align with FACE production in other pan-Yorkshire varieties, where speakers are 'either converging towards, or maintaining usage of the monophthong variant'. Metalinguistic commentary suggests that this is clearly not the case in the Royston speech community.

In addition to the dominant diphthongal FACE form, Cave (2001) also lists the short monophthongal form [ɛ], as a minority variant in the dialect of Royston; he states that it is produced in FACE tokens such as *break, great* and *taking.* This variant is also found in the, SED (1962) and MMB (2000) data, and in the study by Stoddart et al. (1999) (see Table 5.1), in all three studies participants employ the shortened monophthongal form for the FACE tokens *make* and *take*. Finnegan (2010: 228), however, highlights the abandonment of the short monophthongal [ɛ] in her sub-set of middle-class Sheffield speakers, noting that the variant is considered to be a feature of broad, stigmatised local usage. The consistency in which this reduced monophthong is employed across the South Yorkshire data indicates the remnants of a phonemic contrast in the FACE lexical set still in evidence at the close of the 20th century. This is particularly interesting as the production of a distinctive diphthongal FACE variant as the majority Royston form, which differs from pan-regional norms, suggests either a lack of contact with wider Yorkshire varieties, or a degree of resistance to pan-regional diffusion. However, Cave's (2001) findings with regard to the reduced monophthong [ɛ] indicate the presence of some pan-Yorkshire norms in the Royston variety. This could suggest that the Royton speech community has absorbed *some* regionally diffusing norms but resisted others. This scenario will be considered further in Chapter 6.

5.2.1.2 South Yorkshire: GOAT

Table 5.2 collates GOAT data from previous studies of the dialects of South Yorkshire. The findings show a greater degree of variation in GOAT production across the region, both synchronically and diachronically, than found in the production of FACE across the county. There is evidence of a traditional versus modern dialect split with the SED charting the centring diphthong [ʊə] as the majority GOAT variant. However, in studies which fall into the modern dialect phase, this traditional diphthong has undergone almost complete attrition and is only found as a minority variant in the repertoires of older speakers in the study by Stoddart et al. (1999). This suggests that the variant may have been recessive in pan-regional varieties at the time of the SED data collection and only present in the repertoires of older speakers. Compared with FACE production across the South Yorkshire speakers, there is greater variability in terms of monophthongal versus diphthongal realisations of GOAT vowels, indicating greater fluctuation and less stability in terms of pan-regional GOAT production.

Table 5.2 shows a degree of variation in terms of GOAT production in studies conducted post 1970. Whilst long monophthongal variants are the majority form in three out of the five studies in the modern dialect period, there is variation in terms of the quality of the dominant monophthong.

Table 5.2: Findings for GOAT production in previous studies of South Yorkshire varieties.

Study	**Area**	**Period of Data Collection**	**GOAT**
Survey of English Dialects (1962)	South Yorkshire	1950-1954	**[ʊə]** >[ɔː]> [oː]>[ɔʊ]>[ɔɪ]
Survey of Sheffield Usage (1981)	Sheffield, South Yorkshire	Late 1970s	**[ɔː]** >[oʊ]>[əː]
Stoddart, Upton and Widdowson (1999)	Sheffield South Yorkshire	1997	**[ɔː]** >[oʊ]>[əʊ]>[ʊ]>[ʊə]
Cave (2001)	Royston South Yorkshire	1998/99	**[oʊ]** >[ɔɪ]>[ɒ]
Millennium Memory Bank (2000)	South Yorkshire	1998/99	**[oː]** >[ɔː]>[oʊ]>[ɔʊ]
Finnegan (2011)	Sheffield, South Yorkshire	2009	**[oʊ]** >[əː]>[ɔː]

The SSU (1981) and Stoddart et al. (1999) studies find the long, open-mid, back monophthong [ɔː] as the dominant GOAT form in the Sheffield variety. However, across the MMB (1999) data, the long, close-mid, back rounded [oː] is the majority variant. The rise to prominence of the long monophthongal GOAT form in modern South Yorkshire dialects links with studies by Watt and Tillotson (2001), and Petyt (1985), who find that long monophthongal GOAT forms are considered to be both modern and urban in varieties of Yorkshire from the mid-twentieth century onward, gaining currency at the expense of more rural, traditional or old fashioned diphthongal forms of GOAT (see Section5.2.2.2).

However, as with FACE the findings for GOAT production in the dialect of Royston (Cave2001), and the repertoires of middle-class Sheffield speakers (Finnegan 2011), contrast with variants found in other South Yorkshire studies in the modern dialect period. Neither of the prominent pan-regional long monophthongal forms of GOAT are present in Cave's (2001) Royston vowel inventory which records the majority variant as the closing diphthong [oʊ]; this form is also found in other contemporary studies of South Yorkshire varieties (see Table 5.2), and in the later study by Finnegan (2011).

Cave (2001:98) also provides evidence of a division in the Royston GOAT vowel inventory with both *coal* and *hole* produced with the diphthong [ɔɪ]; this division is also present in the SED data. In addition GOAT tokens *home, broke, nose, stone* and *spoke* are produced with the short monophthong [ɒ], a variant not evident in other studies of South Yorkshire varieties.

Finnegan (2011:254) finds that the closing diphthongal form [oʊ] has risen to dominance whilst the long, open-mid monophthongal form [ɔː] has receded. As with FACE production, Finnegan suggests that the closing diphthongal form is afforded greater status in the repertoires of middle-class Sheffield speakers. This is also the variant found as dominant in Cave's (2001) observations of the Royston variety; however, his participants are all working class miners. In a further contrast between the two studies, the diphthong [ɔɪ], identified as a minority variant in Cave's Royston inventory, is not present in Finnegan's data and the attrition of this form, which Finnegan identifies as present in pan-Yorkshire varieties, is explained due to its perceived status as a 'traditional vowel' (Finnegan 2011:255).

Cave's (2001) vowel inventory suggests that GOAT production in the Royston variety shows a departure from modern pan-county long monophthongal GOAT norms, whilst also demonstrating some evidence of pan-regional influence. However, it is essential to reiterate at this point that Cave's vowel inventory is based upon impressionistic observations only; and that the auditory analysis presented in Chapter 6 of this thesis will provide a rigorous examination of the Royston forms in comparison to the pan-regional FACE and GOAT variation collated in this chapter.

5.2.2 FACE and GOAT Findings from Previous Studies of West Yorkshire Dialects

5.2.2.1 West Yorkshire: FACE

Table 5.3 collates FACE data from previous studies of the dialects of West Yorkshire. What is immediately noticeable is that Wright's (1892) study of the dialect of Windhill, on the outskirts of Bradford, is the only study to find a diphthongal form of FACE as the majority variant. From the SED onward the long close-mid monophthongal variant [eː] becomes the majority form. The data collection period for the studies of West Yorkshire varieties which follow Wright's research spans almost 50 years. The presence of the close-mid monophthongal form, therefore, represents a situation of relative stability in the production of FACE in the West Yorkshire variety. It has to be noted, however, that there is a disproportionate focus upon the dialect of Bradford amongst the West Yorkshire studies which can clearly mask more nuanced patterns of FACE variation across the county.

Table 5.3: Vowel qualities for FACE production in previous studies of West Yorkshire varieties.

Study	**Area**	**Period of Data Collection**	**FACE**
Wright (1892)	Windhill West Yorkshire	1892	**[eə]** >[ɛ]>[æ]
Survey of English Dialects (1962)	West Yorkshire	1950-1954	**[eː]** >[ɛɪ]>[ɛː]>[ɛ]
Petyt (1985)	Bradford, Halifax, and Huddersfield West Yorkshire	1970s	**[eː]** >[ɛɪ]
Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005)	Bradford West Yorkshire	1970s	**[eː]** >[ɛɪ]
Millennium Memory Bank (1999)	West Yorkshire	1998/99	**[eː]** >[ɛː]

Wright's study of the dialect of Windhill (1892), a village just to the north of Bradford, presents the earliest account of the FACE variants used in this variety towards the latter part of the nineteenth century. However, Windhill was a small village at the time of Wright's study, and just as the dialect of Royston is not indicative of a wider Barnsley variety, the dialect of Windhill may not represent that of urban Bradford, let alone West Yorkshire or Yorkshire more generally. In a later study of the Bradford variety Watt and Tillotson (2001) suggest that urban, industrialised parts of Bradford attracted many workers from outside the area. The increased contact may have led to new dialect formation in these urban settings whilst outlying villages such as Windhill preserved more traditional features of West Yorkshire English (2001:271). It could therefore be the case that, during this period, the Windhill variety *was* representative of a wider dialect of Bradford and that rapid industrialisation in urban areas of Bradford, set in motion a process of uneven development leading to a divergence of the varieties in urban as opposed to rural areas. This scenario will be considered in Chapter 6 in relation to the distinctive Royston variety. Like Windhill, Royston is a relatively small, rural and isolated speech community and its distinctive variety could result from the retention of more traditional Yorkshire dialect forms whilst more modern urban forms were diffusing pan-regionally.

Whilst Wright's study focuses on the dialect of a small, peripheral rural village, four of the remaining studies research the dialect of major urban areas across West Yorkshire (see Table 5.3). However, in the SED data, the majority long, close-mid monophthong [eː], found in the urban city of Leeds, also represents the majority form found in the rural villages of Wibsey and Thornhill. Similarly, of the 12 MMB locations, five are rural villages and again the long, close-mid monophthong is the majority form found across these smaller, rural disparate areas. This suggests a degree of pan-regional diffusion of monophthongal FACE across the West Yorkshire region in the period spanning the mid-1950s to the close of the 20th century. The majority of migration from the wider Yorkshire region to Royston would have been drawn from these industrial areas of West Yorkshire; it is possible, therefore, that this long monophthongal FACE form was present as dialect input in the Royston area via increased dialect contact from the late nineteenth century onwards.

Cave's (2001) vowel itinerary lists the diphthong [ɛi] as the majority Royston FACE variant (see Section 5.2.1.1) and, although this clearly contrasts with the majority long monophthongal form [eː] found across South and West Yorkshire varieties, there is scant evidence of a minority diphthongal variant [ɛɪ] in studies that span these two Yorkshire counties. Petyt (1985: 119) finds this minority diphthongal variant in his study of Huddersfield, Halifax and Bradford English; and comments on a division in the FACE lexical set in traditional dialects of West Yorkshire. Lexical items, for example, *eight, weight* and, in some areas, also *break and drain,* would have the diphthongal [ɛɪ]; whilst *ate* and *wait,* would have monophthongal [eː]. However, Petyt's findings indicate that this distinction was receding across all three West Yorkshire locations at the time of his data collection in the late 1970s. Petyt (1985:121) observes that the traditional diphthongal [ɛɪ] was declining at the expense of the more modern or urban monophthong [eː], and comments that, '/ɛɪ/ is now for most urban speakers very restricted in incidence, and so it is likely to be in a precarious position as far as its phonemic status is concerned'. Petyt (1985:121) considers the potential causes of the decline of the diphthongal [ɛɪ], asserting that dialect contact may have impacted upon Yorkshire speakers' perceptions of variants in the FACE lexical set and that, for some speakers, the traditional diphthong [ɛɪ] may be 'more regionally marked' than the monophthong [eː].

Petyt's (1985:121) observations are based upon his word list recordings, and he finds that some of his participants produce FACE tokens using the long monophthongal [eː] in the more formal word list recordings where they had produced diphthongal [ɛɪ] for the

same tokens in more casual conversational speech. From this, he concludes that the more traditional or regionally marked diphthong [ɛɪ] is receding in the West Yorkshire dialect, at the expense of the more modern or 'urban' monophthong [eː]. This has clear salience in terms of the Royston variety as Petyt is capturing a transition period in the late 1970s in which the traditional diphthongal forms are becoming outmoded, or old fashioned, in West Yorkshire varieties. This coincides with a period in which Royston underwent a shift in administrative status from West to South Yorkshire and could mark a stage at which the Royston speech community entrenched the more traditional, pan-regional forms of FACE in order to signify their resistance to the imposition of this change in administrative identity.

5.2.2.2 West Yorkshire: GOAT

Table 5.4 collates GOAT data from previous studies of the dialects of West Yorkshire and shows that the dominant GOAT form found across studies undertaken in the modern dialect period is the long, back, close-mid monophthong [oː]. There is evidence of a diachronic shift in GOAT production between the traditional and modern dialect periods with both Wright (1892) and the SED finding diphthongal forms to be the dominant traditional GOAT norm, whilst studies of West Yorkshire varieties undertaken from the 1970s onward show long monophthongal forms to the be the majority GOAT variant.

As Table 5.4 shows, Wright (1892) found four diphthongal forms of equal currency, each used in a restricted category within the Windhill GOAT lexical set. However, Watt and Tillotson (2001: 271-272) observe that these distinct forms should not necessarily be categorised as 'allophonic variants of a single category' and to clump them together as elements of the GOAT lexical set is 'to superimpose a modern (or at any rate RP-like) division of the lexicon on the phonology of nineteenth- century Yorkshire English'. The majority GOAT form found across all three SED (1962) West Yorkshire locations is the centring diphthong [ʊə]. However, it is interesting to note that, although respondents in all three areas also have the long monophthongal variant [ɔː] within their repertoires, only the speakers in urban Leeds have the variant [oː] in their GOAT vowel inventory. It should be noted, however, that the SED data was gathered from older, predominantly male speakers. It is therefore possible that the SED captured a stage at which rural or traditional diphthongal forms of GOAT were receding in the dialects of the West Riding at the expense of more modern or urban monophthongal forms.

Table 5.4: Vowel qualities for GOAT production in previous studies of West Yorkshire varieties.

Study	**Area**	**Period of Data Collection**	**GOAT**
Wright (1892)	Windhill West Yorkshire	1892	**[ɔə]~ [oi]~ [ɔu]~ [uə]**
Survey of English Dialects (1962)	West Yorkshire	1950-1954	**[ʊə]** >[ɔː]>[oː]>[ɔʊ]>[ɔɪ]
Petyt (1985)	Bradford, Halifax, and Huddersfield West Yorkshire	1970s	**[oː]** >[ɔʊ]
Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005)	Bradford West Yorkshire	1970s	**[oː]** >[ɔu]
Millennium Memory Bank (2000)	West Yorkshire	1998/99	**[oː]** >[ɔː]>[ɔʊ]>[əʊ]>[ə]
Watt and Tillotson (2001)	Bradford West Yorkshire	2000	**[ɔː]** >[əː]

As further testament to the attrition of the traditional diphthong and the ascendancy of the modern monophthongal GOAT norm, both Petyt's (1985) study of the dialects of Huddersfield, Halifax and Bradford, and Hughes et al.'s (2005) study of Bradford English also find the close-mid monophthongal form to be the dominant GOAT variant. However, both studies find that, for some older speakers, words in the GOAT lexical set are not consistently homophonous. The long close-mid monophthong [oː] is used in words such as *nose, moan* and *road*, and a closing diphthong [ɔʊ], used in *knows, mown* and *rowed* (Petyt 1985: 125). Nonetheless, Petyt (1985:124) goes on to note that this distinction is recessive in the dialects of Bradford, Huddersfield and Halifax at the time of his data collection. Furthermore, Petyt (1985:128) also observes that these two variants do not have equal status in terms of either levels of usage or perception and finds evidence that the diphthongal form is receding rapidly whilst the monophthongal form is increasingly used for all tokens in the GOAT lexical set. In terms of status, Petyt (1985:128) also finds that the monophthongal form is considered to be more modern or urban and is favoured in more formal styles at the expense of the diphthongal form, suggesting that the latter may be considered to be more regionally marked by some speakers.

The study of GOAT fronting in Bradford English by Watt and Tillotson (2001) builds upon findings regarding GOAT production in Petyt's (1985) phonological study of Bradford English. They describe Petyt's study as 'the most comprehensive work to date on West Yorkshire English' (2001:273) and observe that his findings indicate the early stages of a merger between the diphthongal and monophthongal forms in West Yorkshire varieties. They suggest that the increasing use of the monophthongal form is comparable to the situation in Tyneside English where monophthongal forms of GOAT are used in order to avoid the perceived stigma attached to more traditional, nonstandard diphthongal variants (c.f. Watt and Milroy 1999). Watt and Tillotson (2001:273) go on to conclude that the increased use of the more modern or urban monophthongal form of GOAT, which is 'still recognisably northern', is preferred by speakers to the diphthongal forms, which are locally stigmatised and considered to be out-dated, traditional or old fashioned. This, linked with similar observations made earlier by Petyt (1985), and subsequently by Haddican et al. (2013), indicates that these perceptions were perpetuated pan-regionally, leading to the rapid attrition of the traditional diphthongal forms. However, the metalinguistic commentary surrounding the Royston variants identifies the use of diphthongal forms of both FACE and GOAT as the majority forms thus suggesting that, precise quality aside, diphthongal variants are assigned alternative status in the Royston speech community.

Again, we need to consider that Royston has remained geographically isolated from larger surrounding urban conurbations throughout both the modern and traditional dialect periods. Therefore, despite the township's industrial history, the dominance of diphthongal forms of both FACE and GOAT in the Royston variety may be indicative of the retention of traditional pan-regional norms which have undergone a process of attrition in modern dialects of South and West Yorkshire. However, given the levels of industrial contact between areas of the former West Riding of Yorkshire and the township of Royston up until the mid-1970s, one might predict that the modern, pan-regional monophthongal forms of both FACE and GOAT would have infiltrated the rural dialects of areas such as Royston by the point of my data collection in the second decade of the twenty-first century. Chapter 6 considers if this is the case.

5.2.3 FACE and GOAT Findings from Previous Studies of North Yorkshire Dialects

5.2.3.1 North Yorkshire: FACE

Table 5.5 collates FACE production data from available studies of North Yorkshire varieties, and illustrates a division between the traditional and modern dialect periods,

with centring diphthongal forms dominant in the SED (1962) data, and long monophthongal FACE vowels forming the majority variants in the modern dialect phase.

Table 5.5: Vowel qualities for FACE production in previous studies of North Yorkshire varieties.

Study	**Area**	**Period of Data Collection**	**FACE**
Survey of English Dialects (1962)	North Yorkshire	1950-1954	**[ɪə]~[ɛə]~[eː]** >[ɛɪ]>[ɛ]
Millennium Memory Bank (2000)	North Yorkshire	1998/1999	**[ɛː]~[eː]** >[ɛ]>[eɪ]
Haddican et al. (2013)	York North Yorkshire	2011	Monophthongal

As Table 5.5 illustrates, three FACE variants emerge as majority forms from the SED data. These represent the distinction between majority FACE forms in the three North Yorkshire locations. In the urban city of York, the majority variant is a centring diphthong with a near front, near close nucleus moving to a near close-mid, central offglide [ɪə]. This contrasts with the centring diphthong found in rural Cawood which has an open-mid, front nucleus moving to a central offglide [ɛə]. Only rural Gargrave has a long, close-mid, front, unrounded monophthong in the region of [eː] as its majority FACE variant. This suggests a greater degree of variation and lesser extent of regional diffusion across the county of North Yorkshire in the traditional dialect period. Chapter 3 outlined the very different industrial and demographic nature of North Yorkshire in comparison to the counties of South and West Yorkshire. Although I have selected North Yorkshire SED locations which were located in the former West Riding, along with Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield, it has to be reiterated that North Yorkshire was not part of the South Yorkshire Coalfield and did not have a common industrial link with areas of the West Riding which are encompassed in the current counties of South and West Yorkshire. Nonetheless, by looking at the North Yorkshire data, I am better able to consider the impact of the South Yorkshire Coalfield on language variation and change in this region. However, by the time of the MMB (2000) data collection, the long close-mid monophthong [eː], found as the majority variant in Gargrave in the SED data, has risen to prominence alongside the long open-mid monophthong [ɛː] which shares equal majority status as shown in Table 5.5. There are 16 locations represented in the MMB recordings for North Yorkshire and of these 10

are rural and 6 urban, however, the two majority variants show no sign of patterning according to the rural/urban division. This suggests that the two monophthongal forms have diffused widely across the region by the closing stages of the twentieth century at the expense of the centring diphthongs found to be majority variants in the SED data; the diphthongs appear to have receded completely.

The study by Haddican et al. (2013) into the dialect of York does not provide specific vowel qualities in its findings. It does, however, provide an important and comprehensive analysis of the levels of diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT forms in this North Yorkshire variety, linking the linguistic production to social and linguistic constraints. For this reason it is included in this analysis as a valuable contribution to our understanding of FACE and GOAT production in the county. The findings for FACE production in the Haddican et al. (2013: 373) study indicate that monophthongal forms of FACE are the majority forms in the city of York and, furthermore, they assert that monophthongal forms of both FACE and GOAT are emblematic of northern varieties to the extent that they constitute a 'principal shibboleth of northern English speech'.

5.2.3.2 North Yorkshire: GOAT

Table 5.6 collates GOAT production data from available studies of North Yorkshire dialects. The findings indicate diachronic change, with diphthongal GOAT production dominant in the traditional dialect period, whilst monophthongal GOAT forms rise to prominence in modern studies of North Yorkshire varieties.

Table 5.6: Vowel qualities for GOAT production in previous studies of North Yorkshire varieties.

Study	**Area**	**Period of Data Collection**	**GOAT**
Survey of English Dialects (1962)	North Yorkshire	1950-1954	**[ʊə]** >[ɔː]
Millennium Memory Bank (2000)	North Yorkshire	1998/1999	**[oː]** >[ɔː]>[ɵː]>[ɵʊ]>[ɒ]
Haddican et al. (2013)	York North Yorkshire	2011	Monophthongal

There is far greater uniformity of GOAT production, in comparison to FACE, across the three SED locations in North Yorkshire. All three areas produce centring diphthongs in

the regions of [ʊə] as the majority GOAT variant. There is evidence of a long open-mid monophthongal GOAT variant [ɔː], but this is a minority form at the time of the SED data collection.

By the time of the MMB (2000) recordings, the more raised close-mid variant [oː] has become the dominant North Yorkshire variant. There is, however, a split in the type of majority variant produced in rural as opposed to urban locations. The open-mid variant [ɔː], is dominant in the rural locations, whilst the close-mid form [oː] is the majority form found in urban locations of North Yorkshire. Overall, as Table 5.6 shows, long monophthongal forms of GOAT have risen to prominence by the time of the MMB data collection and there is no evidence of the traditional centring diphthong in the repertoires of any of the 16 North Yorkshire speakers.

As with FACE production, Haddican et al. (2013:373) find that monophthongal forms of GOAT are the majority variants in the York variety, and note that respondents in their study are keen to retain the distinction between northern monophthongal and southern diphthongal realisations of both FACE and GOAT.

North Yorkshire is far less densely populated than both South and West Yorkshire and has no historical unifying industry. It is therefore the case that dialect contact is more fractured, which can clearly impact upon the diffusion and levelling of dialect features. However, it is nonetheless the case that long monophthongal forms of FACE and GOAT which are dominant in the studies of South and West Yorkshire during the modern dialect period have also risen to prominence in North Yorkshire varieties. This begs the question as to why pan-Yorkshire long monophthongal FACE and GOAT norms have not infiltrated the dialect of Royston when they have clearly diffused across similar geographically isolated speech communities.

5.2.4 FACE and GOAT Findings from Previous Studies of East Yorkshire Dialects

5.2.4.1 East Yorkshire: FACE

Studies of East Yorkshire varieties are scarce but, of the three studies available, the majority FACE variant, illustrated in Table 5.7, is monophthongal, with two out of the three studies finding the long, front, open-mid monophthong [ɛ̝ː] to be the dominant form.

Table 5.7: Vowel qualities for FACE production in previous studies of East Yorkshire varieties.

Study	**Area**	**Period of Data Collection**	**FACE**
Survey of English Dialects (1962)	East Yorkshire	1950-1954	**[ɛə]** >[eə]>[ɛɪ]>[ɛ]
Williams and Kerswill (1999)	Hull East Yorkshire	1990s	**[ɛ̝ː]** >[ɛɪ]
Millennium Memory Bank (2000)	East Yorkshire	1998/1999	**[ɛː]** >[ɛ]

However, there is evidence of variation between the traditional and modern dialect phases. The SED data suggests that the majority FACE form produced by older speakers in East Yorkshire during the mid-1950s was diphthongal. All three SED locations in East Yorkshire are rural as no urban centre was used as a fieldwork location during data collection for the SED. In terms of FACE production, participants in all three rural areas produce centring diphthongs with an open-mid, front nucleus moving to mid-central offglide [ɛə]. The long monophthong [ɛ̝ː] is not present even as a minority variant in the repertoires of older speakers in the SED data, suggesting the rapid regional diffusion of the monophthongal form during the modern dialect period. It may, of course, have been present in the repertoires of middle and younger speakers at this time; however, this would still represent a very rapid rise to prominence for the long monophthongal variant.

During the modern dialect period, the findings for FACE production in East Yorkshire show no evidence of an urban versus rural division. The data collected by Williams and Kerswill (1999), represents a stratified analysis of the urban dialect of the city of Hull and shows the long, front, unrounded monophthong [ɛ̝ː] to be the dominant FACE variant (1999:146). The eight MMB recordings are divided equally between four rural, and four urban locations, with results for both rural and urban locations showing the long monophthongal variant to be the majority form. The findings suggest that, in the period spanning the mid to the late twentieth century long monophthongal FACE production has diffused extensively throughout the East Yorkshire region at the expense of the traditional diphthongal form, reaching not only the dialects of large urban areas such as Hull, but also infiltrating the rural places *in-between*.

5.2.4.2 East Yorkshire: GOAT

The majority GOAT form across the three East Yorkshire studies is the long, back open-mid monophthong in the region of [ɔː], as shown in Table 5.8. However, as with FACE production, there is clearly a traditional versus modern dialect distinction. Speakers in all three SED rural areas of East Yorkshire produce centring diphthongs in the region of [ʊə] as the majority GOAT variant. The long monophthongal form does, however, appear as a minority form in the SED data.

Table 5.8: Vowel qualities for GOAT production in previous studies of East Yorkshire varieties.

Author(s)	**Area**	**Period of Data Collection**	**GOAT**
Survey of English Dialects (1962)	East Yorkshire	1950-1954	**[ʊə]** >[ɔː]> [ɔʊ]
Williams and Kerswill (1999)	Hull East Yorkshire	1990s	**[ɔ̈ː]~[əː]** >[ɵʊ]~[əʊ]
Millennium Memory Bank (2000)	East Yorkshire	1998/1999	**[ɔː]** >[ɵː]>[ɵʊ]>[əː]

During the modern dialect period, the long monophthongal form [ɔː], which is the dominant GOAT form in all eight MMB locations, shares equal status with the more centralised variant [əː] in the dialect of Hull.

As we have seen in Chapter 3, East Yorkshire has a very different industrial heritage to that of the remaining counties of Yorkshire, and has no systematic historical pattern of dialect contact with South, West or North Yorkshire. However, despite the very different character of this region, long monophthongal pan regional norms of both FACE and GOAT production still dominate the dialects of East Yorkshire in the modern dialect period. This gives a sense of the widespread diffusion of the pan-Yorkshire long monophthongal FACE and GOAT norms during the modern dialect period, thus further highlighting the potentially atypical nature of the Royston variety.

5.3 Pan-Yorkshire FACE Variation

Table 5.9 collates the majority FACE forms from studies spanning the traditional and modern dialect phases of the four Yorkshire counties. For the counties of South and West Yorkshire there is clearly a high level of synchronic and diachronic stability in the production of monophthongal FACE indicating widespread pan-regional diffusion of this

form across the industrial areas of the former West Riding. In the traditional dialect period, this contrasts with FACE production in North and East Yorkshire where diphthongal forms dominate.

Table 5.9: Majority FACE forms from the traditional and modern dialects of the four Yorkshire counties.

Area	**Traditional Dialect Period** Majority Pan-County FACE Variant	**Modern Dialect Period** Majority Pan-County FACE Variant
South Yorkshire	Monophthongal [eː]	Monophthongal [eː]
West Yorkshire	Monophthongal [eː]	Monophthongal [eː]
North Yorkshire	Diphthongal [ɪə]~[ɛə]	Monophthongal [eː]~[ɛː]
East Yorkshire	Diphthongal [ɛə]	Monophthongal [ɛː]

Trudgill (1999: 6-7) observes that, during the traditional dialect phase, Yorkshire cannot be considered a homogenous dialect region. Trudgill's (1999:34) traditional dialect boundaries divide the Yorkshire region in two horizontally, with North and East Yorkshire placed in the Lower North, and South and West Yorkshire in his Central Dialect Region. The FACE data from studies spanning the four Yorkshire counties would appear to support this division. The area with greatest significance in terms of the Royston variety is Trudgill's 'South Yorkshire' dialect area which is described as a large region which lies in the Eastern Central area. In addition to South and West Yorkshire, the Eastern Central area encompasses the dialects of northern Lincolnshire, northern Nottinghamshire, and north-eastern Derbyshire (1999:43). This is an interesting boundary to draw as the SED does not place Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Lincolnshire in the Northern Network but in the East Midland region. This also indicates that Trudgill found greater similarity between the dialect features of South and West Yorkshire and those of northern Lincolnshire, Nottinghamshire and Derbyshire, than he did between North and East Yorkshire and the South and West Yorkshire varieties. This also correlates with the historical context outlined in Chapter 3 which demonstrates the disparity between dominant industry found in areas in the current counties of South and West Yorkshire in contrast with that found in the North and East counties.

In this respect, the disparity between monophthongal FACE production in traditional dialects of South and West Yorkshire, and diphthongal FACE norms in the dialects of

North Yorkshire, is particularly noteworthy. North Yorkshire was also part of the former West Riding and yet the participants from the areas surveyed demonstrate very different FACE variants to those found in the lower regions of the West Riding. This suggests that the sense of a unified industrial bond may have greater influence in terms of dialect diffusion than the existence of shared administrative or geographical boundaries (cf. Llamas 1999; Dyer 2002).

However, if we consider pan-Yorkshire FACE production in the modern dialect period, Table 5.9 illustrates the rise to dominance of the long, front monophthongal FACE variants across all four counties. It is also interesting to note that, where Trudgill assigns South and West Yorkshire to his Central Dialect Region in the traditional dialect phase, in the modern dialect period, he places the two counties in the Northern Region. Trudgill's modern dialect landscape also unites North Yorkshire and the majority of East Yorkshire with the South and West counties of the region. Again this suggests a situation of regional dialect diffusion across the Yorkshire region, uniting the four counties linguistically; this is clearly reflected in findings for pan-Yorkshire FACE production presented in Table 5.9. However, the majority of Nottinghamshire, Derbyshire and Lincolnshire are divided from the Yorkshire region and classed as part of a reconfigured Central Region (Trudgill 1999:69) in the modern dialect phase, indicating divergence between these varieties and the dialects of Yorkshire across the two dialect periods. This shift in the landscape of the dialect region could reflect the disintegration of the unifying South Yorkshire Coalfield, and signify the emergence of new patterns of dialect contact following the decline of the coal mining industry. This possibility is explored in Chapter 6.

5.4 Pan-Yorkshire GOAT Variation

As Table 5.10 illustrates, GOAT production across the four counties of Yorkshire in the traditional dialect period does not demonstrate the regional division found in FACE production during this phase. The centring GOAT diphthong [ʊə] is the majority form found in all four counties, suggesting widespread pan-Yorkshire diffusion of this diphthongal form during the traditional dialect period.

Table 5.10: Majority GOAT forms from the traditional and modern dialects of the four Yorkshire counties.

Area	**TraditionalDialect Period** Majority Pan-County GOAT Variant	**Modern Dialect Period** Majority Pan-County GOAT Variant
South Yorkshire	Diphthongal [ʊə]	Monophthongal [oː] ~[ɔː]
West Yorkshire	Diphthongal [ʊə]	Monophthongal [oː]
North Yorkshire	Diphthongal [ʊə]	Monophthongal [oː]
East Yorkshire	Diphthongal [ʊə]	Monophthongal [ɔː]

However, in the transition from the traditional to the modern dialect period there are two significant changes in the nature of GOAT production across Yorkshire varieties. Firstly, the majority diphthongal form [ʊə] recedes rapidly to the point of virtual eradication (Tables 5.2, 5.4, 5.6 and 5.8); secondly long monophthongal forms of GOAT become the majority variants across all four counties of Yorkshire (see Table 5.10). The rapidity with which the traditional centring diphthongal GOAT form recedes has to be considered in relation to the participants recorded for the SED data; a limitation of the SED approach is that it only represents variants used by older speakers in each speech community, thus masking any evidence of age or gender linked variation. As the SED is the primary source of information regarding dialect variation in traditional pan-Yorkshire varieties this data needs to be used with a note of caution. The analysis presented in Chapter 6 will therefore show that, whilst providing an invaluable and extensive source of data with regard to traditional features of Yorkshire varieties, the findings of the SED do not provide a stratified picture of variation and change within each location. This can have the effect of exaggerating the velocity and extent of pan-Yorkshire dialect variation in the period spanning the traditional and modern dialect periods.

5.5 Summary

Post-1970, with the exception of the variants identified by Cave (2001) and Finnegan (2011), majority FACE and GOAT variants across all four counties of Yorkshire are long, monophthongal forms. However, the studies by Cave and Finnegan highlight the need for greater focus on micro-variation both geographically and socially in order to construct a more nuanced picture of the true extent of variation both within and across pan-regional dialects. The shifts in pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT production between

the traditional and modern dialect periods, adds further weight to the possibility that the Royston speech community has retained traditional diphthongal FACE and GOAT forms which were historically widespread across the Yorkshire dialect region. However, it is vital to acknowledge that there is no actual transition point between the traditional and modern dialect periods, but instead a gradual process of variation and change. This process can be both partial and uneven in its development meaning that areas within each region can be subject to rapid change, or inertia, leading to the retention of more traditional features. It is also crucial to recognise that there are no absolute dialect boundaries, but rather an 'accent continuum' (Hughes et al. 2005:9). Furthermore, we need to be mindful of the shift in the focus of dialect studies from rural varieties in the traditional phase, to more urban speech communities in the modern dialect period (Britain's 2013: 473). The variation and change in pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT production evidenced in Tables 5.9 and 5.10 could therefore reflect this shift in focus rather than documenting widespread, regional diachronic variation and change. Nonetheless, the process of large scale, broad documentation of regional variation supplied by the studies represented in this chapter provides the crucial foundation for a more focused study of variation within the dialect of Royston. The fact that the linguistic gaze of previous study has not fallen on the places in-between, such as Royston, means that a whole layer of dialect history and development has gone unobserved, leaving gaps in our knowledge of the true picture of dialect variation and change within and across the Yorkshire dialect region. The analysis presented in Chapter 6 of this thesis will begin to address this imbalance by providing a rigorous evaluation of Royston FACE and GOAT production in relation to the synthesis of pan-regional FACE and GOAT variation and change reported in this chapter.

Chapter 6

FACE and GOAT: Auditory Qualities of Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Variants.

6.1 Introduction

This chapter addresses Research Question (2) and reports the results of quantitative auditory analysis of FACE and GOAT vowels in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield wordlist data. The findings establish the auditory qualities of FACE and GOAT vowels produced by three successive generations of Royston speakers. This facilitates a direct comparison with apparent time variation and change in the articulation of FACE and GOAT variants in the adjacent Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities. Auditory analysis has been conducted in order to make the findings comparable with previous studies which have charted the auditory qualities of FACE and GOAT vowels in pan-Yorkshire varieties. This chapter, therefore, considers evidence of apparent time change in the auditory qualities of the FACE and GOAT vowels produced by speakers in the three speech communities; and compares this to FACE and GOAT variation and change in pan-Yorkshire dialects which may have influenced the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties (see Chapter 5).

6.2 Auditory Qualities of Royston FACE and GOAT Vowels

6.2.1 Royston FACE Vowels

Table 6.1 shows the five FACE variants found in the Royston speech community, presented in order of prominence, with the R-Type I diphthong the most frequently produced FACE variant across the whole Royston data set.

Table 6.1: Royston FACE Variants.

	FACE
R – Type I: front, open-mid, closing diphthong	[ɛi]
R – Type II: front, close-mid, closing diphthong	[ei]
R – Type III: long, close-mid, monophthong	[eː]
R-Type IV: long, open-mid, monophthong	[ɛː]
R-Type V: reduced monophthong	[ɛ]

Figure 6.1 illustrates the proportion of each of the five FACE variants produced across the whole Royston data set (the charts in Figures 6.1 to 6.24 give percentages on the y-axis and raw numbers above each column). All Royston speakers favour front, closing diphthongal forms of FACE, with the R-Type I front, closing diphthong, characterised by an open-mid, nucleus [ɛ], and a tense, front, close, offglide [i]; and the R-Type II diphthong, produced with a close-mid, nucleus in the region of [e]. The R-Type I and R-Type II variants account for 337 (94%) out of the total 358 FACE vowels produced. Three monophthongal FACE variants also emerge from the Royston data; however, these forms only account for only 21 (6%) of the total FACE tokens produced.

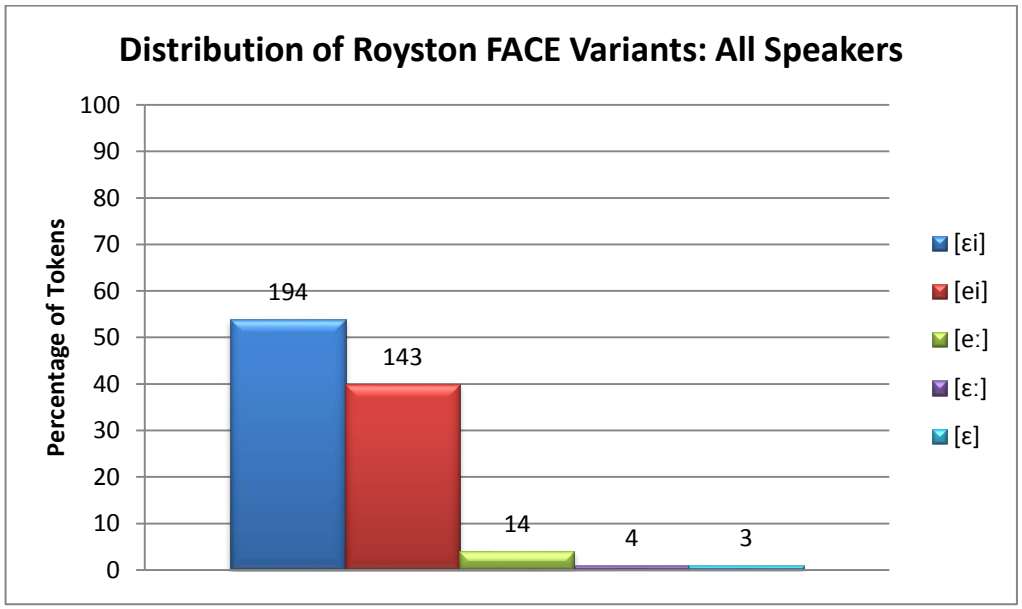

Figure 6.1 Distribution of the six Royston FACE variants across all 24 speakers.

If the R-Type I and R-Type II majority FACE variants found in the Royston speech community are compared with the dominant FACE vowels found in studies of pan-Yorkshire varieties, then it is immediately evident that Royston speakers are producing diphthongal variants of FACE which differ from the pan-Yorkshire long monophthongal norms (see Table 6.2).

Table 6.2: Majority Phonetic Variants of FACE.

	FACE
Royston variety	[ɛi]>[ei]
Pan-Yorkshire varieties	[eː]
Supra-local prestige – (SSBE)	[eɪ]

Furthermore, when compared with the supra-local prestige, or Standard Southern British English (SSBE) FACE variant (see Table 6.2) the Royston FACE diphthongs also clearly differ from the SSBE diphthongal form.

6.2.2 Royston FACE Vowels by Age

As Figure 6.2 shows, the majority FACE variant produced by older Royston speakers is the R-Type I front closing diphthong.

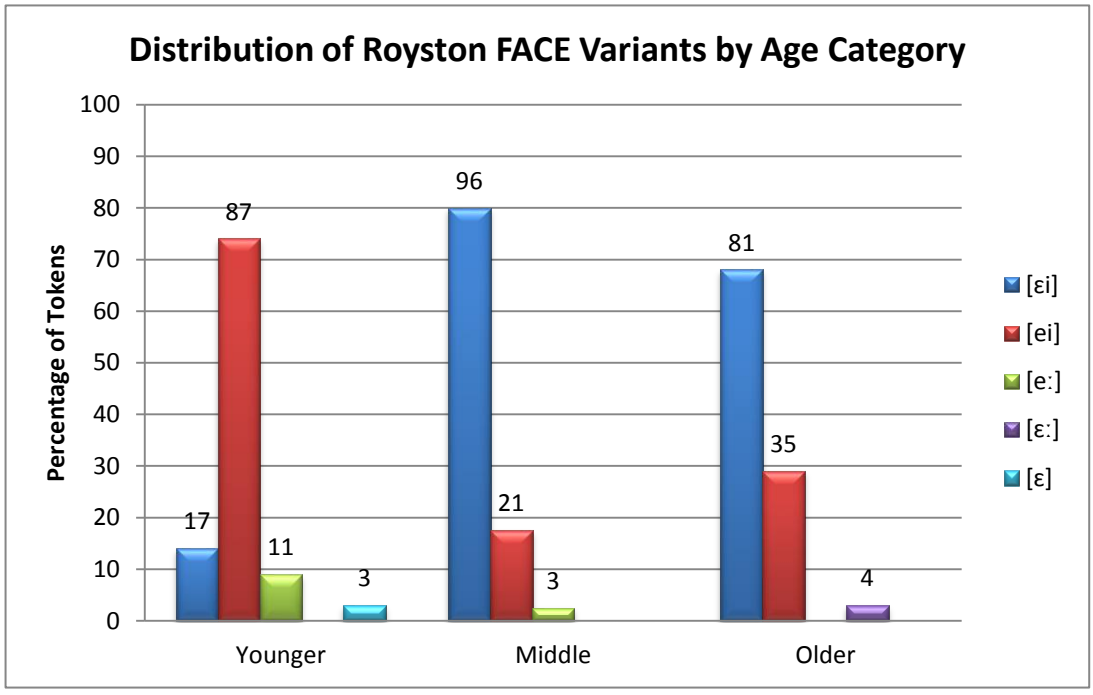

Figure 6.2: Distribution of the five Royston FACE variants across the three generations of speakers.

Out of the total 120 FACE tokens produced by older Royston speakers, 116 (97%) are classed as diphthongs. A lesser proportion of FACE tokens are also produced using the R-Type II diphthong. Only four (3%) out of the 120 FACE tokens produced by older Royston speakers are realised as monophthongal vowels, these are the R-Type IV long, front, open-mid monophthongal FACE variant in the region of [ɛː].

A similar pattern of FACE articulation is found in the middle generation, with 117 (98%) out of a total of 120 FACE tokens categorised as diphthongs. Middle generation Royston speakers produce the R-Type I closing diphthongal form as their majority variant, with some speakers also producing a small number of the R-Type II diphthong [ei]. Only three monophthongal FACE tokens (2%) are produced my middle generation Royston speakers, all three are realised as the R-Type III variant, a long, front, close-mid, unrounded vowel in the region of [eː]. Middle generation speakers do not produce any tokens using the R-Type IV variant which is found to be the single monophthongal form produced by older generation speakers.

Out of a total of 118 FACE tokens produced by young Royston speakers, 104 (88%) are classed as diphthongal. However, in comparison to older and middle generation speakers, Figure 6.2 shows a different pattern in terms of the majority FACE variant produced by younger Royston speakers. The younger generation clearly favour the R-Type II diphthongal form, with a front, close-mid, nucleus in the region of [e̝]. RF2 and RM1 are the only two speakers to produce the R-Type I diphthong, which has a more open nucleus in the region of [ɛ]. Younger speakers produce 14 (12%) FACE tokens which are categorised as monophthongs. The majority of these, 11 (79%), are realised as the R-Type III long, front, close-mid, vowel [eː]. The remaining three (21%) are realised as the R-Type V reduced monophthong [ɛ], and only appear in the repertoires of two younger Royston males. The use of the R-Type V monophthong is lexically conditioned and restricted to the tokens *make* and *take*.

6.2.3 Royston FACE Vowels by Gender

6.2.3.1 Royston Females

Out of the total 60 FACE tokens produced by older Royston females, 58 (97%) are classed as diphthongal (see Figure 6.3); the majority of these are produced as the R-Type I variant [ɛi], with some older females producing a minority of FACE tokens with the R-Type II variant [ei]. Only two FACE tokens (3%) are categorised as monophthongal, these are realised as the R-Type IV variant [ɛː].

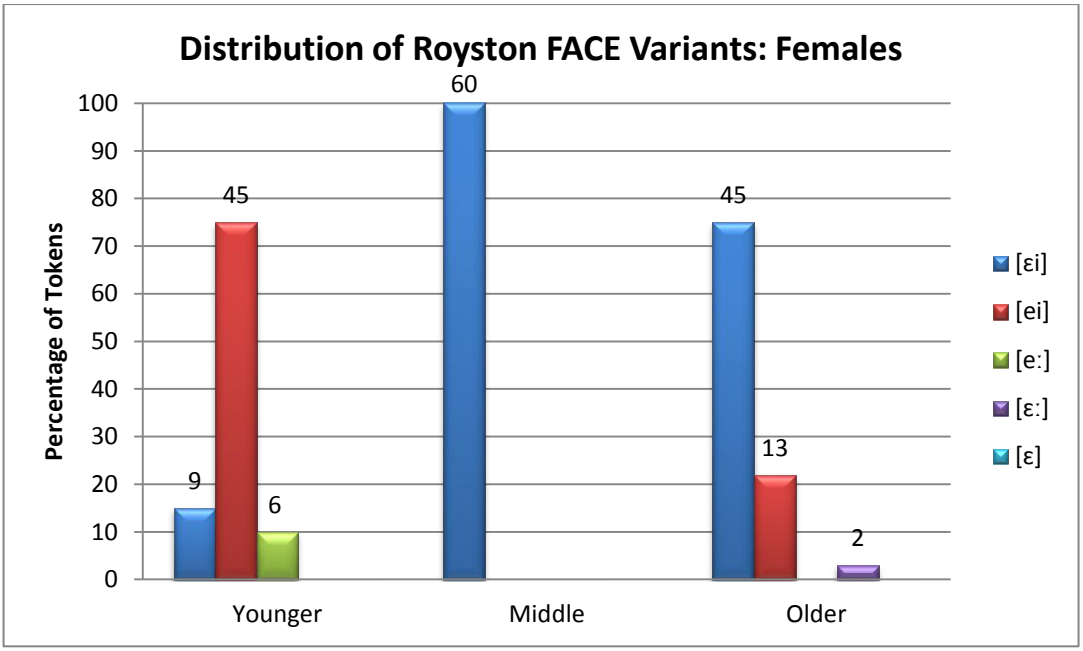

Figure 6.3: Distribution of the five Royston FACE variants across all females.

As Figure 6.3 shows, FACE production by middle generation females is quite distinct from that of older and younger Royston females. All 60 FACE tokens are categorised as diphthongal, and all 60 are realised as the R-Type I variant [ɛi].

FACE production by younger Royston females reflects the pattern found in the gender combined data for the younger cohort. 54 (90%) out of a potential 60 FACE tokens are categorised as diphthongs; the majority of these are realised as the R –Type II variant [ei], with a minority realised as the R-Type I variant [ɛi] (see Figure 6.3). Only six FACE tokens (10%) produced by younger Royston females are classed as monophthongs, all six are realised as the R-Type III variant [ɛ:].

6.2.3.2 Royston Males

Out of a total of 60 FACE tokens produced by older Royston males, 58 (97%) are categorised as diphthongal. As shown in Figure 6.4, the majority of these (62%) are produced as the R-Type I variant [ɛi], with a lesser proportion (38%) realised as the R-Type II variant [ei].

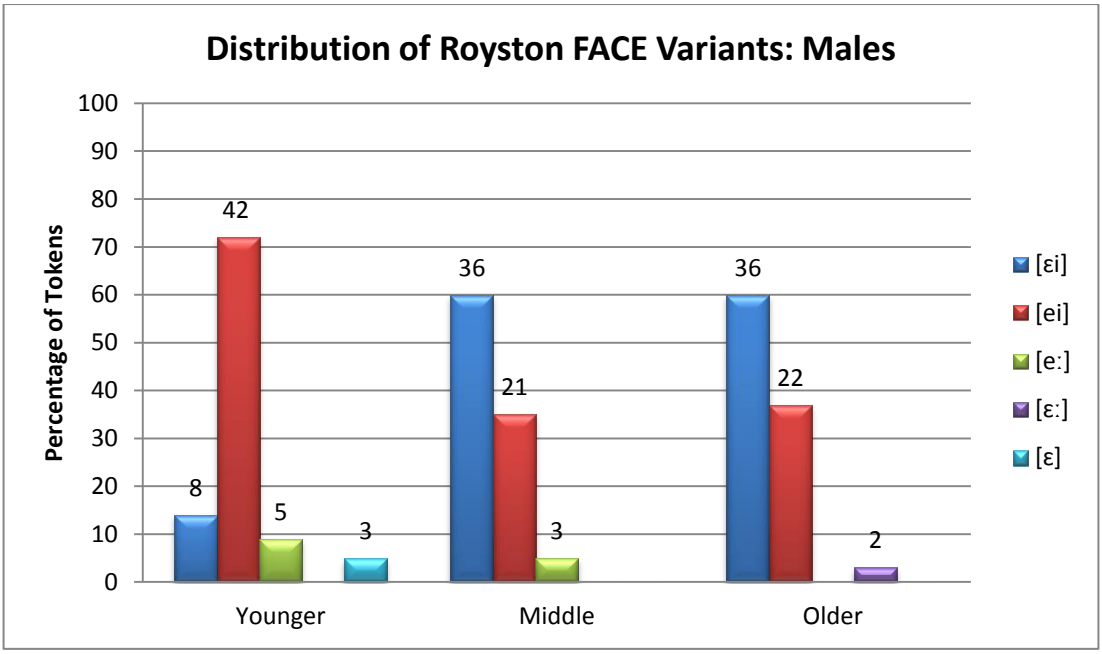

Figure 6.4: Distribution of the five Royston FACE variants across all males.

Older males, like older females, favour the R-Type I FACE variant; however, older males produce a higher proportion of R-Type II variants than older Royston females. Only two FACE tokens (3%) are categorised as monophthongal, these are realised as the R-Type IV variant [ɛː].

The pattern of diphthongal FACE production in the middle generation males shows a high degree of similarity to the trend found in the older male cohort. Middle generation males produce 57 (95%) diphthongal variants out of a total of 60 FACE tokens. As Figure 6.4 shows, the majority of these tokens (63%) are realised as the R-Type I variant [ɛi], with a smaller proportion (33%) realised as the R-Type II vowel [e̯i]. In this respect, the middle generation males differ from their middle generation female counterparts, who do not produce any R-Type II variants. Only three FACE tokens (5%) are classed as monophthongal. These are realised as the R-Type III variant [eː]. Middle generation males do not produce any tokens using the R-Type IV monophthong which is found in the repertoires of older males.

There is a high degree of resemblance between FACE production by younger males and that found in the younger female cohort. Out of a total of 58 FACE tokens produced by younger Royston males, 50 (86%) are categorised as diphthongal, and the majority of these tokens (84%) are produced as the R-Type II variant [ei]. Only 14% of the 50 diphthongal FACE tokens are produced using the R-Type I variant [ɛi]. Only eight FACE tokens (14%) produced by younger Royston speakers are classed as monophthongs,

the majority of these are realised as the R-Type III vowel [eː] (see Figure 6.4). However, two younger Royston males also produce a minority of FACE tokens using the R-Type V reduced monophthong [ɛ]. The use of this variant is lexically conditioned, and is restricted to the tokens *take* and *make* in the repertoires of both speakers.

6.2.4 Discussion

The data shows evidence of apparent time variation and change in the production of the FACE vowels in the Royston speech community. The R-Type I front, open-mid closing diphthong is the dominant FACE vowel in the older and middle generation data; this R-Type I diphthong resembles the form found in Middle English where FACE vowels in words such as *faith, eight, play* were produced as [ɛi] or [æi] (Wells 1982a: 192). However, with the exception of Cave's (2001) study (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.1), the dominant Royston R-Type I and the R-Type II FACE variants do not resemble FACE vowels found in any previous studies of Yorkshire varieties. However, the R-Type I variant [ɛi] is found in the repertoires of some older speakers in Mathisen's (1999:108) study of the Black Country dialect. This variant was receding in the Black Country variety by the 1980s, but could have been introduced into the Royston speech community via the incoming Black Country mine workers at the end of the 19th century, surviving in the repertoires of older and middle generation Royston speakers. A diphthongal FACE variant [ɛɪ] is found as the majority variant in Finnegan's (2011) middle-class Sheffield cohort (see Chapter 5, Table 5.1, and as a minority variant across the four Yorkshire counties (See Chapter 5, Section 5.2); however, whilst this diphthong shares the front, open-mid nucleus found in the Royston form, it has a lax, near-front, near-close offglide [ɪ]. It is both the place of articulation, and the duration of the Royston offglide, which distinguishes this variant from other minority diphthongal forms found across Yorkshire varieties.

Older and middle generation Royston speakers show a great deal of similarity in the type of FACE diphthongs produced, with both generations favouring the R-Type I variant. Figure 6.2 charts the attrition of the open-mid variant [ɛi], and a move towards the increased status of the R-Type II raised variant [ei] for all younger speakers. However, all three generations maintain the tense, long, front, close offglide [i].

When patterns of FACE articulation are broken down according to gender, there is a high degree of similarity in terms of the proportion of tokens produced as diphthongal by both genders. Royston males produce 165 diphthongal tokens (93%) out of a potential total of 178; whilst Royston females produce a slightly higher proportion,

realising 172 FACE tokens (96%) as diphthongal out of a potential total of 180. Older generation males and females demonstrate a high degree of uniformity in terms of the types of FACE vowels produced, with both genders favouring the R-Type I FACE variant, whilst also producing a proportion of R-Type II forms in their repertoires. Middle generation females exclusively produce the R-Type I variant; however, whilst middle generation males favour the R-Type I diphthong, they also produce a significant proportion of tokens using the R-Type II variant. It is therefore the case that middle generation females demonstrate the least amount of variation in terms of FACE production, favouring the most distinctive Royston variant (R-Type I); i.e, the one which bears the least resemblance to the forms found in pan-Yorkshire varieties.

Younger generation males and females demonstrate a high degree of uniformity in terms of the types of FACE vowels produced, with both genders overwhelmingly favouring the R-Type II variant, whilst retaining a smaller proportion of the R-Type I diphthong which is dominant in the repertoires of all older and middle generation speakers. The rapid attrition of the R-Type I variant between the middle and younger generations is most marked in the female data. Where middle generation females produce 100% of FACE tokens using the R-Type I variant, this form is highly recessive in the younger female cohort where it accounts for only 17% of diphthongal FACE tokens. Younger Royston speakers clearly continue to favour diphthongal forms of FACE and are not adopting the widely diffused pan-Yorkshire monophthongal norm. However, the type of FACE vowel produced shows clear signs of variation across the three generations, with the distinctly Royston R-Type I diphthong becoming highly recessive in the repertoires of younger speakers.

Although monophthongal variants constitute a distinct minority of FACE production in all three generations of Royston speakers, there is a clear, apparent time shift in the type of monophthongs being produced. Where older generation speakers produce monophthongal FACE forms these are realised as the R-Type IV variant [ɛː]. This form has its origins in Middle English where, following the process of Long Mid Mergers, the two distinct Middle English FACE vowels [ɛi] or [æi] had merged into the long monophthongal variant [ɛː] (Wells 1982a: 192). This variant is also found as a minority FACE monophthong in the SED data for South and West Yorkshire, and in some studies of modern Yorkshire dialects (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2). This suggests that, despite the attrition of this traditional FACE monophthong in modern, pan-Yorkshire varieties, it has been retained as a minority form in the repertoires of older Royston speakers. It is,

however, recessive in the Royston variety, and is not present in the repertoires of middle or younger generation Royston speakers.

Where middle and younger Royston speakers produce monophthongal tokens of FACE these are realised as the R-Type III variant [e:]. This variant is the majority FACE vowel found by the SED throughout South and West Yorkshire, and is the majority variant found in pan-Yorkshire varieties in modern dialect studies of the two counties (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2). This suggests that Royston speakers are not immune to contact-induced adoption of dialect forms, even though these variants represent a distinct minority in the repertoires of Royston speakers. However, this does emphasise the fact that, despite prolonged and increased dialect contact between the Royston speakers and pan-regional dialects, the majority FACE variants in the Royston variety continue to resist the wholesale diffusion of pan-Yorkshire monophthongal norms.

Two younger Royston males also produce the R-Type V reduced, front, open-mid monophthong [ɛ] for the tokens *make* and *take.* Previous studies of Yorkshire varieties (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2) associate this reduced monophthong with the traditional dialects of Yorkshire, and it is often found only in the repertoires of older speakers in studies undertaken post 1970. For example, Finnegan (2011) finds that the short monophthong [ɛ] is receding rapidly in the repertoires of Sheffield speakers, and furthermore observes that this is considered to be a feature of broad, stigmatised local usage. Cave (2001) also finds the reduced monophthong in FACE tokens such as *break, great* and *taking.* Docherty and Foulkes (1999:49) find this variant in the repertoires of mainly older speakers in the dialect of Derby; similarly Hughes, et al. (2005: 96) find this reduced monophthong in the dialect of Bradford where it is confined to the lexical items *make* and *take.* This suggests that production of this reduced FACE monophthong is lexically conditioned, as it appears in a restricted, yet comparable, set of lexical tokens in the repertoires of the two Royston speakers, and in studies of both traditional and modern dialects of Yorkshire. However, it is notable that this variant appears only in the repertoires of two *younger* Royston males. Similarly, Williams and Kerswill (1999: 146) find this reduced monophthong in the repertoires of adolescents in the dialect of Hull. This could indicate that this formerly recessive FACE variant is being 'reclaimed' by younger speakers in some Yorkshire speech communities.

6.2.5 Royston GOAT Vowels

Table 6.3 charts the six GOAT variants found in the Royston speech community. The variants are listed in order of prominence, with the R-Type I open-mid, closing

diphthong [ɔu], the most frequently produced GOAT variant across the whole Royston data set.

Table 6.3: Royston GOAT Variants

	GOAT
R-Type I: back, open-mid, closing diphthong	[ɔu]
R-Type II: back, close-mid, closing diphthong	[ou]
R-Type III: back, close-mid, monophthong	[oː]
R-Type IV: open-mid, diphthong with short offglide	[ɔʊ]
R-Type V: fronted, closing diphthong	[ɵu]
R-Type VI: fronted monophthong	[ɵː]

Figure 6.5 demonstrates the distribution of the six Royston GOAT vowels across the whole data set. All Royston speakers produce back, closing diphthongal vowels as their majority GOAT variant and out of a total of 355 GOAT tokens, 319 (90%) are categorised as diphthongs. Figure 6.5 shows that the dominant R-Type I variant is characterised by a back, open-mid, nucleus in the region of [ɔ], and a tense, back, close offglide in the region of [u]. The second most prominent diphthong is the R-Type II variant, with a more close-mid, nucleus [o]. R-Type IV and R-Type V diphthongs constitute a far smaller proportion of GOAT production and are only found in the repertoires of a minority of Royston speakers.

Only 36 GOAT tokens (10%) are categorised as monophthongs. The majority of these are realised as the R-Type III back, close-mid long monophthong; however, a small proportion are produced using the more fronted R-Type VI variant.

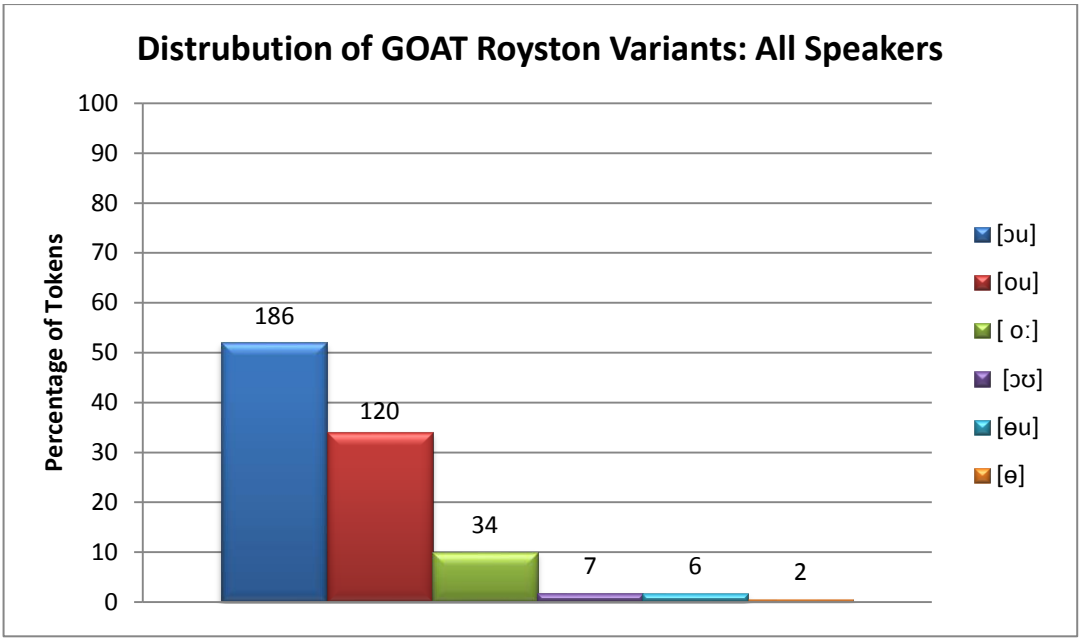

Figure 6.5: Distribution of the six Royston GOAT variants across all 24 speakers.

Table 6.4 shows the majority GOAT variants found in the Royston variety in comparison with the dominant GOAT vowels found in studies of pan-Yorkshire varieties, and of SSBE.

Table 6.4: Majority Phonetic Variants of GOAT

	GOAT
Royston variety	[ɔu]>[ou]
Pan-Yorkshire varieties	[oː]~[ɔː]
Supra-local prestige – (SSBE)	[əʊ]

As with FACE production, it is clear that the majority R-Type I and R-Type II GOAT variants do not resemble the long monophthongal GOAT forms which constitute the norm in studies of pan-Yorkshire varieties. Furthermore, the diphthongal Royston GOAT forms do not correspond to the SSBE diphthongal variant.

6.2.6 Royston GOAT Vowels by Age

Out of a total of 120 GOAT tokens produced by older Royston speakers, 100 (83%) are classed as diphthongal, and only 20 (17%) are categorised as monophthongal. All older Royston speakers produce back, closing diphthongal vowels as their majority GOAT variant and, as Figure 6.6 shows, the R-Type I and R-Type II GOAT diphthongs share

almost equal status in the older generation. Variants are consistent by individual speakers, with four out of eight older Royston speakers producing the R-Type I GOAT tokens, with a back, open-mid, nucleus in the region of [ɔ], as their majority token; and the remaining four producing the R-Type II diphthongs, with a back, close-mid, nucleus [o], as their dominant form. This division does not pattern according to gender. All older speakers produce a tense, back, close offglide in the region of [u]; however, RM9 also produces a minority of tokens with a shorter, near-back, near-close nucleus in the region of [ʊ] (R-Type IV). Where older speakers produce monophthongal tokens of GOAT these are realised as the R-Type III, long, back, close-mid variant [o:].

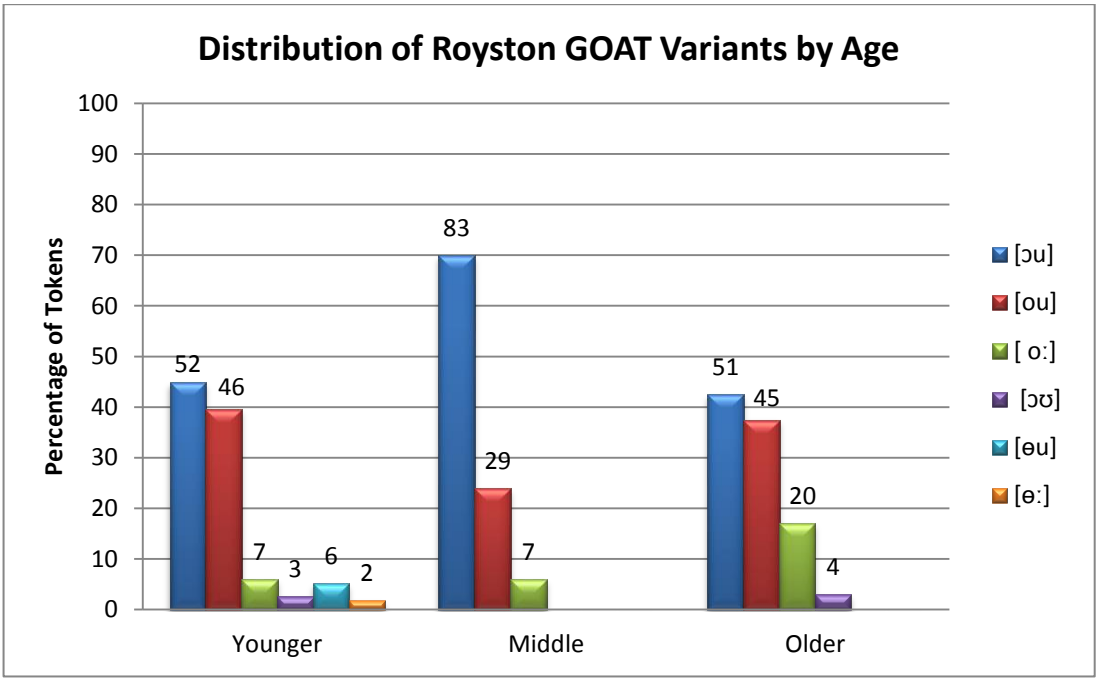

Figure 6.6: Distribution of the six Royston GOAT variants across the three generations of speakers.

Out of a total of 119 GOAT tokens produced by middle generation Royston speakers, 112 (94%) are classed as diphthongal. As Figure 6.6 shows, the R-Type I diphthongal variant is the clear majority GOAT vowel produced by the middle generation. However, four out of the eight middle generation speakers produce the R-Type II diphthongal vowel as their majority GOAT variant; this distribution is gender-marked and will be discussed further in Section 6.2.7.2. The R-Type IV variant produced by one older Royston speaker is not found in the repertoires of any middle generation participants. Only seven GOAT tokens (6%) are categorised as monophthongal; all seven are realised as the R-Type III long, back, close-mid variant [o:].

The pattern of diphthongal GOAT production in the younger generation mirrors that of the older Royston cohort to some extent. Out of a total of 116 GOAT tokens produced by younger Royston speakers 107 (92%) are categorised as diphthongal. For younger speakers, R-Type I and R-Type II variants share almost equal currency, and this division of variants is not gender-marked (see Sections 6.2.7.1 to 6.2.7.2). One younger speaker also produces a minority of their tokens using the R-Type IV GOAT variant, which has a slightly more front, near-back, near-close, offglide in the region of [ʊ]. Three younger females also produce some R-Type V diphthongs, with a more fronted nucleus. Only nine GOAT tokens (8%) are classed as monophthongs. Out of the nine, seven are realised as the R-Type III back monophthong [oː]; the remaining two are produced using the R-Type VI fronted monophthong [ɵː]. These two variants stratify according to gender and will be discussed in Sections 6.2.7.1 and 6.2.7.2.

6.2.7 Royston GOAT Vowels by Gender

6.2.7.1 Royston Females

As Figure 6.7 shows, 49 out of the 60 GOAT tokens (82%) produced by older females are categorised as diphthongs; these are realised as the R-Type I [ɔu] and R-Type II [ou] GOAT variants which share almost equal status. 11 (18%) GOAT tokens are classed as monophthongs; all 11 are realised as the R-Type III long, back, close-mid variant [oː].

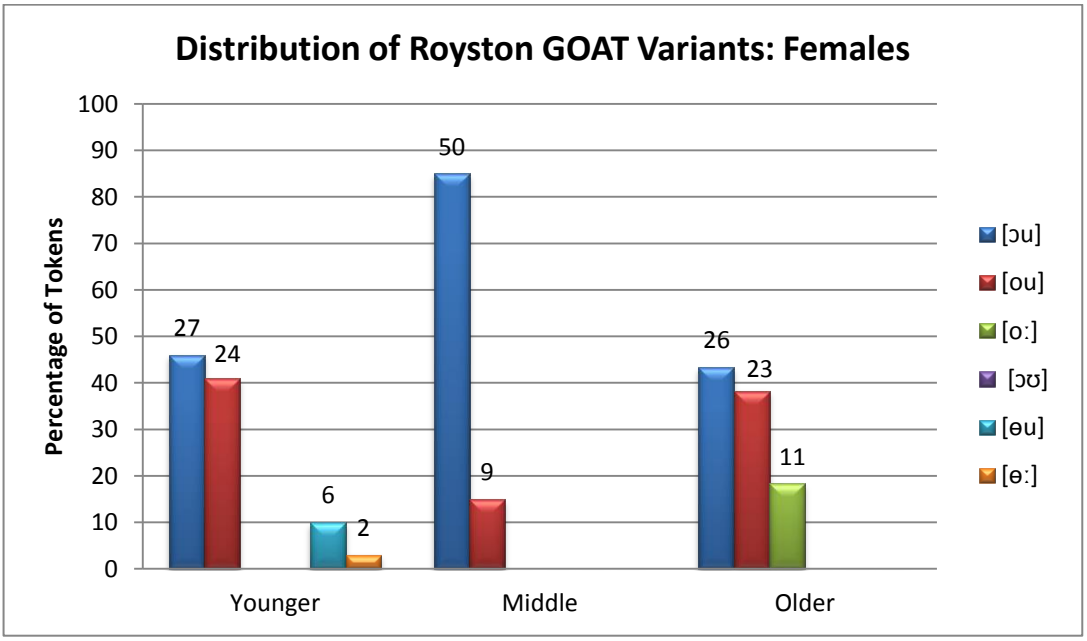

Figure 6.7: Distribution of the six Royston GOAT variants across all female speakers.

As with FACE production, all 59 GOAT tokens produced by middle generation females are classed as diphthongal (see Figure 6.7). The majority GOAT vowel found in the middle generation females is the R-Type I diphthongal variant, with a minority of tokens produced using the R-Type II GOAT diphthong. Middle generation Royston females clearly favour the R-Type I GOAT variant; whilst older females afford equal status to the R-Type I and R-Type II forms.

The pattern of GOAT diphthongisation produced by younger Royston females mirrors that found in the older female cohort to some extent. Younger females produce 57 diphthongal GOAT tokens out of a total of 59 (97%); the majority of these are realised as the R-Type I and R-Type II variants, which share relatively equal distribution (see Figure 6.7). Three younger females also produce a minority of GOAT tokens using the R-Type V diphthong [ɵu], which has a more centralised or fronted nucleus (see Figure 6.7). This form is not found in the repertoires of older or middle generation Royston speakers. Younger Royston females produce only two (3%) monophthongal GOAT vowels, both are realised as R-Type VI variant which has a centralised, or fronted, nucleus in the region of [ɵ]. Again, this form is not found in the repertoires of older or middle generation Royston females.

6.2.7.2 Royston Males

As Figure 6.8 shows, out of a total of 60 GOAT tokens produced by older Royston males, 51 (85%) are categorised as diphthongs; these are realised as the R-Type I and R-Type II GOAT variants, which share relatively equal status, and mirror very closely the pattern of distribution found in the repertoires of older Royston females. RM9 also produces some GOAT tokens using the R-Type IV variant [ɔʊ], which has an open-mid nucleus and a near-close, near-back, short offglide. Older Royston males produce only nine monophthongal GOAT tokens(15%); all nine are realised as the R-Type III long, back, close-mid variant [o:] (see Figure 6.8), which is also found in the older female cohort. However, older males produce a slightly lower proportion of monophthongal GOAT tokens than older females.

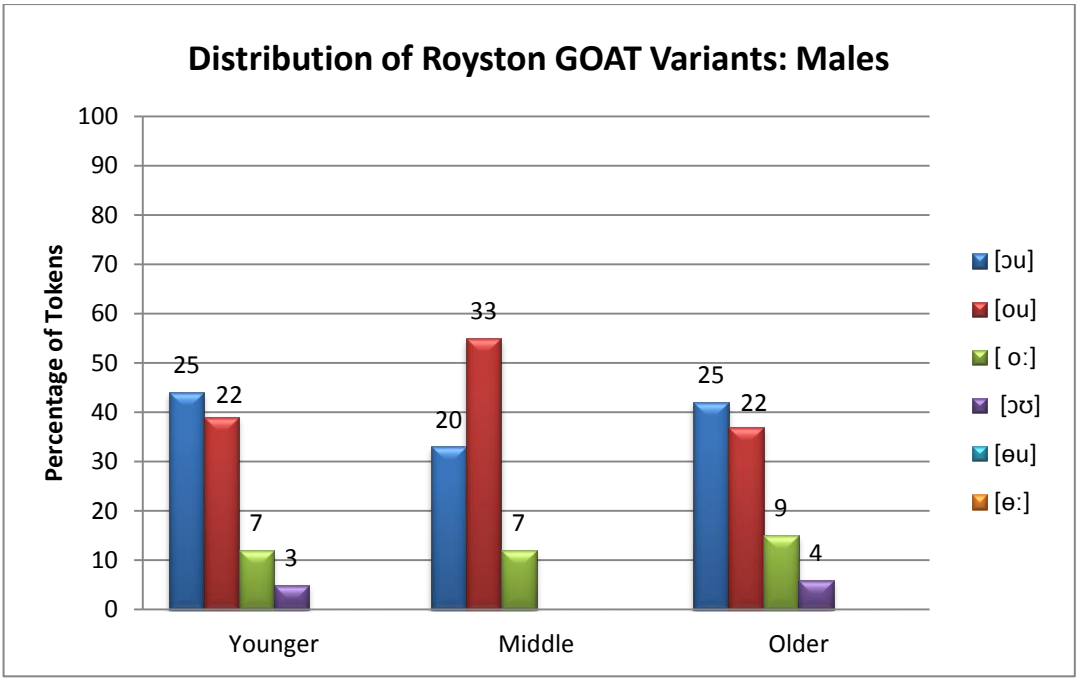

Figure 6.8: Distribution of the six Royston GOAT variants across all male speakers.

The pattern of GOAT production in the middle generation male cohort differs from that found in the older generation. Out of a potential 60 GOAT tokens produced by middle generation Royston males, 53 (88%) are categorised as diphthongs, the majority of these are realised as the R-Type II GOAT diphthong, with a smaller proportion realised as the R-Type I variant (see Figure 6.8). This is a reversal of the pattern found in the older Royston males, and in the middle generation female cohort. Only seven (12%) GOAT tokens are classed as monophthongal; all seven are realised as the R-Type III long, back, close-mid variant [o:], which is also found in the repertoires of older generation males and females, but not in the middle generation female cohort.

As Figure 6.8 shows, the pattern of diphthongal GOAT production in the younger Royston males deviates from that found in the middle male cohort, but mirrors the distribution of variants found in the older generation males. For younger Royston males 50 out of a total of 57 tokens (88%) are categorised as diphthongal, a slight majority of these are realised as the R-Type I diphthongal variant, with the remainder produced as the R-Type II diphthong. Like older male RM9, younger male RM4 also produces some R-Type V GOAT tokens, with a near-back, near-close, unrounded offglide in the region of [ʊ]; this is atypical of GOAT production in the Royston cohort more generally. Younger Royston males produce only seven monophthongal GOAT vowels (12%), all seven are realised as the R-Type III back monophthong [o:]. Although this replicates the pattern of monophthongal GOAT production found in the older and middle

cohorts, it does not resemble monophthongisation of GOAT tokens in the repertoires of younger females, who produce the more fronted R-Type VI variant.

6.2.8 Discussion

The two dominant diphthongal Royston GOAT variants have undergone very little change in apparent time across the three generations. For older speakers the R-Type I and R-Type II closing back diphthongs occur with virtually equal frequency. However, in the middle generation we see the attrition of the R-Type II variant [ou], and the increased dominance of the R-Type I closing diphthong [ɔu]. In the younger generation of Royston speakers there is a return to the pattern found in the older Royston cohort where the R-Type I and R-Type II variants [ɔu] and [ou] are equally frequent. This means that the R-Type I variant is the dominant form overall in the Royston speech community. It is also the case that younger speakers mirror the older, and not the middle, generation in the majority GOAT variants that they produce.

When the pattern of diphthongal GOAT production is broken down according to gender, males and females in the older and younger generations demonstrate very similar patterns of vowel distribution. However, in the middle generation, GOAT production is clearly gender-marked, with females favouring the R-Type I variant, and males favouring the R-Type II diphthong.

The R-Type I variant [ɔu] resembles the historical form found in Middle English. This vowel is found by Wright (1892) in the dialect of Bradford for the words *coke, cold and old;* and by Hughes et al. (2005) in the repertoires of some older Bradford speakers, but only for <ow> <ou> spellings (see Chapter 5, Section 4.2.2.2). Beyond this, the variant [ɔu] is not found in any studies of traditional, or modern, Yorkshire dialects. Whilst this variant has undergone a process of attrition in the Bradford variety, it seems to be thriving across the Royston speech community and is used by all three generations of speakers across all tokens in the GOAT lexical set. It is the long, tense offglide which gives the R-Type I GOAT diphthong its distinctive character, and it is this offglide which clearly distinguishes it from other pan-Yorkshire diphthongal variants which favour the shorter near-back, near-close offglide [ʊ].

The R-Type II variant [ou] is not found in previous studies of traditional or modern pan-Yorkshire varieties. However, it is found as a minority diphthongal GOAT variant in the dialect of Derby (Docherty and Foulkes 1999). This raises the possibility that the form was introduced to the Royston speech community during the migration of

Derbyshire miners to the township in the late 19th Century. However, where this variant has subsequently receded in the dialect of Derby, it is currently in wide use by speakers across all three generations in the Royston speech community.

There is also scant evidence of GOAT fronting in the R-Type IV variant [ʊ̟u] produced by younger Royston females. Watt and Tillotson (2001: 289) also find that GOAT fronting is most advanced among their youngest speakers; however, it is interesting to note that, where younger Royston speakers show incipient signs of GOAT fronting, this is evident in the nucleus rather than the offglide, the latter being the pattern most common in studies of British English varieties (Haddican et al. 2013: 374).

Where older and middle Royston speakers produce monophthongal variants, these are realised as the R-Type III long, back, close-mid monophthong [oː]. This variant is also found in the SED data for the urban cities of Sheffield and Leeds, and in more recent studies of South and West Yorkshire varieties (cf. Hughes et al. 2005; Wells 1982b). Again, as with FACE production, this shows that the Royston speech community is not entirely immune to regionally diffusing pan-Yorkshire norms. However, where these variants have been incorporated into the Royston variety, they are restricted to the status of minority forms. The majority Royston FACE and GOAT variants do not correspond to the dominant pan-Yorkshire norms, demonstrating clear evidence of phonological resistance.

The production of monophthongal GOAT tokens in the younger Royston generation patterns according to gender, with younger Royston females producing the R-Type VI fronted variant, and younger Royston males producing the R-Type III back monophthong, which is also found in the older and middle cohorts. The R-Type VI, fronted GOAT variant [ɵː] is also evident in the repertoires of some younger generation speakers in Bradford, Sheffield and York (cf. Watt and Tillotson 2001; Finnegan 2011; Haddican et al. 2013). In Hull, the centralised form [əː] is more likely to appear in the repertoires of middle-class speakers, and more particularly middle-class females (Williams and Kerswill 1999). There is clearly an incipient spread of fronted GOAT variants spanning several dialects of Yorkshire, although Finnegan (2011: 244) notes that this GOAT fronting is still mainly associated with females, and is not a 'traditional feature of Yorkshire accents'. This is clearly the case in terms of the Royston variety; both the R-Type V GOAT diphthong and the R-Type VI GOAT monophthong constitute distinct minority forms in the Royston variety, and are restricted to the repertoires of some younger females only. Younger Royston speakers are clearly resisting the pan-

Yorkshire diffusion of long monophthongal forms of GOAT, and are retaining the diphthongal vowel qualities found in the repertoires of older speakers in the township. Furthermore, younger Royston speakers are not reflecting a trend towards the more southern standard GOAT diphthong, as found in the repertoires of younger speakers across some other northern dialects (cf. Watt and Tillotson 2001; Finnegan 2011; Haddican et al. 2013).

6.3 Auditory Qualities of Barnsley FACE and GOAT Vowels

6.3.1 Barnsley FACE Vowels

Table 6.5 charts the full range of FACE variants found in the Barnsley variety. They are presented in order of prominence with the B-Type I long monophthong [eː] the most frequently produced FACE vowel across the whole Barnsley data set.

Table 6.5: Barnsley FACE Variants

	FACE
B-Type I: long, back monophthongs	[eː]
B-Type II: front, open mid, closing diphthongs	[ɛɪ]
B-Type III: reduced monophthongs	[ɛ]

Figure 6.9 illustrates the proportion of each of the three FACE variants produced across the whole Barnsley data set. Out of a total of 358 FACE tokens produced by Barnsley speakers, 328 (92%) are categorised as monophthongal.

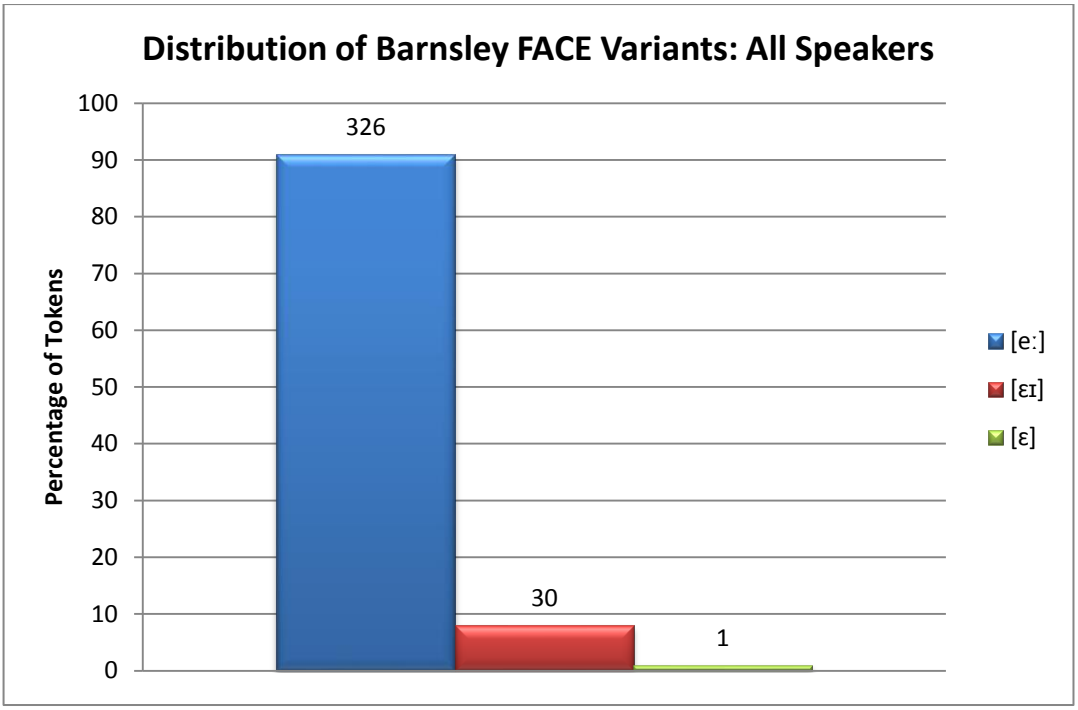

Figure 6.9: Distribution of the three Barnsley FACE variants across all 24 speakers.

The majority B-Type I FACE variant accounts 327 (99.7%) of the total monophthongal tokens; the remaining single FACE token is produced as the B-Type III reduced monophthong [ɛ]. Diphthongal FACE variants account for only 30 (8%) of the total FACE tokens produced by Barnsley speakers. Where Barnsley speakers produce diphthongal FACE tokens these are realised as the B-Type II variant [ɛɪ], which has a front, open-mid, unrounded nucleus, and a near-front, near-close, unrounded offglide.

As Table 6.6 shows, the majority Barnsley FACE variant [eː] corresponds with the long monophthongal form which is dominant across modern, pan-Yorkshire varieties. The dominant Barnsley FACE variant is, therefore, typical of modern, non-standard, pan-Yorkshire monophthongal FACE norms.

Table 6.6: Majority Phonetic Variants of FACE

	FACE
Barnsley variety	[eː]
Pan-Yorkshire varieties	[eː]
Supra-local prestige – (SSBE)	[eɪ]

Table 6.6 also shows that the B-Type II minority diphthongal variant differs significantly from the SSBE diphthong.

6.3.2 Barnsley FACE Vowels by Age

Of the 119 FACE tokens produced by older Barnsley speakers, 104 (87%) are classed as monophthongs. Figure 6.10 shows that the majority FACE variant produced by all older Barnsley speakers is the B-Type I long, front monophthong [eː]. One older speaker produces a single FACE token using the B-Type III reduced monophthong [ɛ]. Only 15 FACE tokens (13%) are categorised as diphthongal; all 15 are realised as the B-Type II diphthong [ɛɪ]. All older speakers have a minority of B-Type II forms in their repertoire.

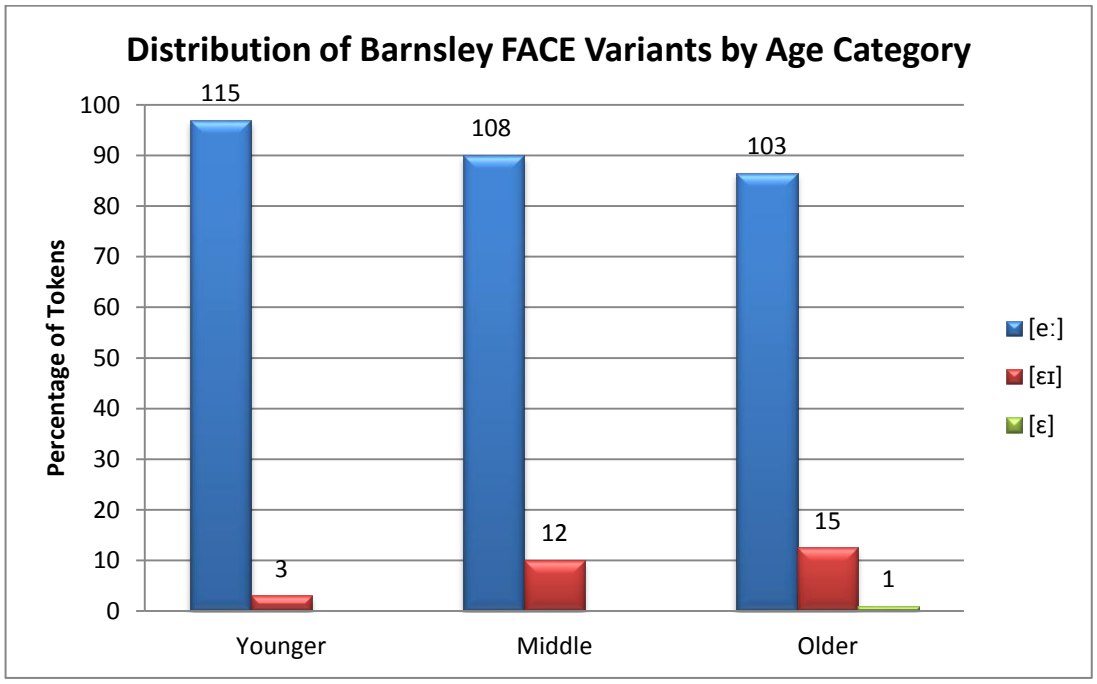

Figure 6.10: Distribution of the three Barnsley FACE variants across the three generations of speakers.

The pattern of FACE production found in the middle generation Barnsley speakers echoes that found in the older cohort. Out of a total 120 FACE tokens produced by middle generation Barnsley speakers, 108 (90%) are classed as monophthongal; all are realised as the B-Type I variant. Only 12 (10%) FACE tokens are categorised as diphthongal; all 12 are realised as the B-Type II variant. As with the older cohort, all middle generation speakers have a minority of B-Type II forms in their repertoires.

Out of a total of 118 FACE tokens produced by younger speakers, 115 (97.5%) are classed as monophthongal. Only three FACE tokens (2.5%) are classed as diphthongal; all three are classed as outliers, and are realised as the B-Type II variant. Unlike the pattern found in the older and middle cohorts, only two younger speakers have

diphthongal FACE vowels in their repertoires. YBF2 produces one diphthongal token, and YBM4 produces two.

6.3.3 Barnsley FACE Vowels by Gender

6.3.3.1 Barnsley Females

As Figure 6.11 shows, 49 (82%) out of 60 FACE tokens produced by older Barnsley females are categorised as monophthongal; these are realised as the B-Type I long monophthongal variant. Only 11 (18%) FACE tokens are classed as diphthongal. All older females produce a minority of their FACE tokens as diphthongs; where this is the case these are realised as the B-Type II variant.

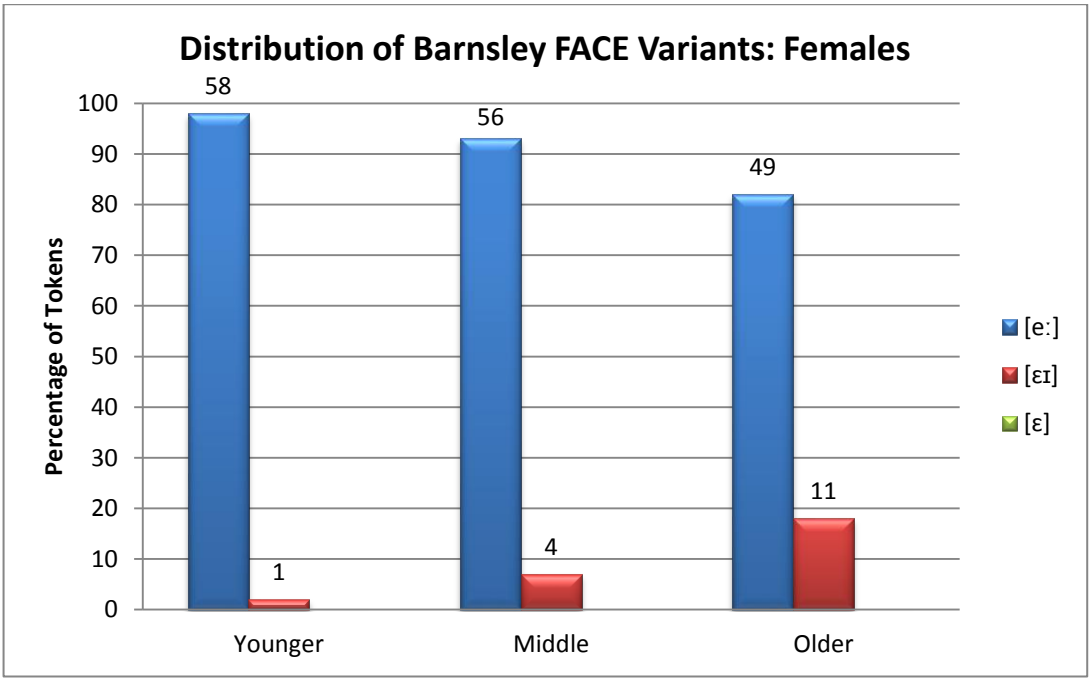

Figure 6.11: Distribution of the three Barnsley FACE variants across all female speakers.

For middle generation females, 56 (93%) out of 60 FACE tokens are categorised as monophthongal, a slightly higher proportion than produced by the older female cohort. All 56 are realised as the B-Type I variant. All four middle generation females produce one diphthongal token each; all four diphthongal tokens are realised as the B-Type II variant.

Younger Barnsley females produce the highest proportion of monophthongal tokens. Out of a total of 59 FACE tokens, 58 (98%) are categorised as monophthongal. These are realised as the B-Type I variant. Only one younger female produces a single diphthongal FACE token, this is classed as an outlier and is realised as the B-Type II

variant. As Figure 6.11 illustrates, the use of the dominant B-Type I long monophthongal FACE variant increases in apparent time across the three generations of Barnsley females.

6.3.3.2 Barnsley Males

As Figure 6.12 illustrates, 55 out of 59 FACE tokens (93%) produced by older Barnsley males are categorised as monophthongal. This is a slightly higher proportion than produced by older Barnsley females. 54 of the monophthongal vowels produced by older Barnsley males are realised as the B-Type I variant. Only one older Barnsley male, BM10, produces the B-Type III reduced, front, open-mid monophthong [ɛ] for the single token *take.* This corresponds with findings from previous studies of pan-Yorkshire varieties suggesting that this form is a lexically conditioned pan-regional norm (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2).

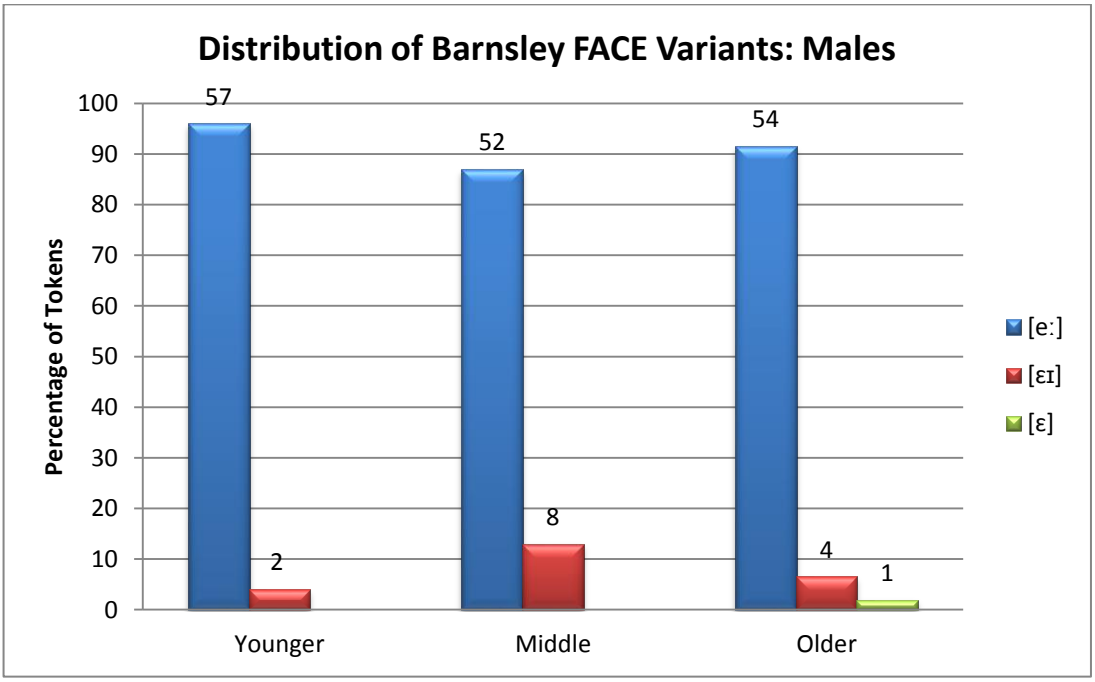

Figure 6.12: Distribution of the three Barnsley FACE variants across all male speakers.

Only four FACE tokens (7%) produced by older Barnsley males are categorised as diphthongs. All four older males produce a single diphthongal FACE token each. These are realised as the B-Type II variant.

Middle generation Barnsley males produce a slightly lower proportion of monophthongal tokens when compared to the older male cohort. 52 out of 60 FACE tokens (87%) are categorised as monophthongs, and these are realised as the B-Type I,

variant. This slight decrease also contrasts with the middle generation Barnsley females, who show an increase in the use of the B-Type I variant in comparison with the older female cohort. Eight FACE tokens produced by middle generation males (13%) are classed as diphthongal. All four males produce diphthongal FACE tokens. These are realised as the B-Type II variant.

For younger Barnsley males, 55 out of 57 FACE tokens (96%) are categorised as monophthongal; all 55 are realised as the B-Type I variant. Only two FACE tokens (4%) are classed as diphthongal; both are realised as the B-Type II variant, and are produced by a single Barnsley male. As with younger Barnsley females, the younger Barnsley males produce the highest frequency of B-Type I monophthongs across the three generations of males.

6.3.4 Discussion

Monophthongal FACE production is clearly a community wide norm in the Barnsley variety, with the B-Type I FACE variant [e:] dominant in the repertoires of all speakers. This mirrors the spread and stability of this long, monophthongal vowel in varieties of South and West Yorkshire, spanning the traditional and modern dialect periods (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2). Furthermore, the use of the long monophthongal FACE variant appears to be continuing to increase in apparent time in the Barnsley variety.

Although there is some evidence of diphthongal FACE variants in the Barnsley data, these forms do not correspond with the diphthongal FACE vowels which are dominant in the Royston variety. The minority B-Type II diphthongal variant corresponds with the diphthongal form found in traditional pan-Yorkshire dialects (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2); however, the limited use of this form is receding rapidly in the Barnsley variety, with only scant evidence of this relic form in the repertoires of younger Barnsley speakers. Similarly, Petyt (1985) found evidence, as early as the 1970s, that this pan-northern diphthongal FACE variant was undergoing rapid attrition in the repertoires of urban speakers in West Yorkshire. Petyt (1985: 121) explains this with reference to increased levels of dialect contact, speculating that this traditional, northern FACE diphthong had become 'regionally marked', whilst the more modern, urban, pan-Yorkshire monophthong [e:], had gained dominance. This scenario could explain patterns of FACE production found across the three generations of Barnsley speakers.

6.3.5 Barnsley GOAT Vowels

The majority GOAT variant produced by Barnsley speakers is the B-Type I long, back, close-mid, rounded monophthongal form in the region of [o̟ː] (see Table 6.7). With the exception of BF9, all Barnsley speakers produce the B-Type I GOAT form as their majority variant.

Table 6.7: Barnsley GOAT Variants

	GOAT
B-Type I: long, back monophthong	[oː]
B-Type II: back, closing diphthong	[oʊ]
B-Type III: fronted (centralised) monophthong	[ɵː]
B-Type IV: centring diphthong	[ʊə]

Figure 6.13 shows the proportion of each of the four GOAT variants produced across the whole Barnsley data set. Out of a total of 350 GOAT tokens produced by Barnsley speakers, 285 (81%) are categorised as monophthongal.

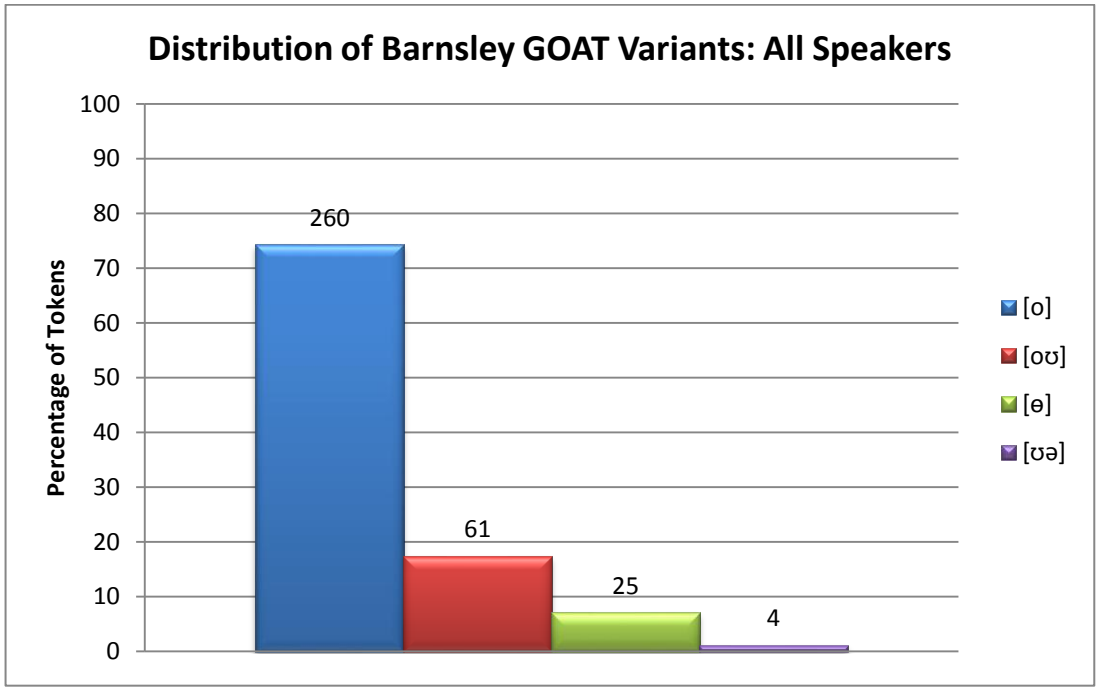

Figure 6.13: Distribution of the four Barnsley GOAT variants across all 24 speakers.

The B-Type I variant accounts for 260 of the total monophthongal GOAT vowels, with the B-Type III fronted monophthong accounting for the remaining 25 monophthongal tokens. Only 65 GOAT tokens (19%) are classed as diphthongal. As Figure 6.13 shows, the majority of these are realised as the B-Type II back, closing diphthongal variant [oʊ], with four tokens produced using the B-Type IV closing diphthongal form [ʊə].

As Table 6.8 shows, the majority Barnsley GOAT variant [oː] corresponds with the long monophthongal form which is dominant across modern, pan-Yorkshire varieties. The dominant Barnsley GOAT variant is, therefore, typical of modern, non-standard, pan-Yorkshire monophthongal GOAT norms.

Table 6.8: Majority Phonetic Variants of GOAT

	GOAT
Barnsley variety	[oː]
Pan-Yorkshire varieties	[oː]
Supra-local prestige – (SSBE)	[əʊ]

Table 6.8 also shows that the B-Type II and B-Type IV minority diphthongal variants differ significantly from the SSBE diphthong.

6.3.6 Barnsley GOAT Vowels by Age

Out of a total 118 GOAT tokens produced by older Barnsley speakers, 80 (68%) are classed as monophthongal. As Figure 6.14 shows, the overall majority form produced by the older cohort is the B-Type I long, back, close-mid, rounded monophthongal GOAT variant [oː]. Seven out of the eight older Barnsley speakers produce this form as their dominant GOAT vowel. BF9 is the exception to this norm and produces 13 out of 15 GOAT tokens (87%) as the B-Type II diphthongal variant [oʊ]. Overall, older Barnsley speakers produce 38 GOAT tokens (32%) which are categorised as diphthongal. All older Barnsley speakers produce some diphthongal forms of GOAT; where this is the case they produce the B-Type II back closing diphthong [oʊ]. One older speaker also produces a small proportion of tokens using the B-Type IV centring GOAT diphthong [ʊə].

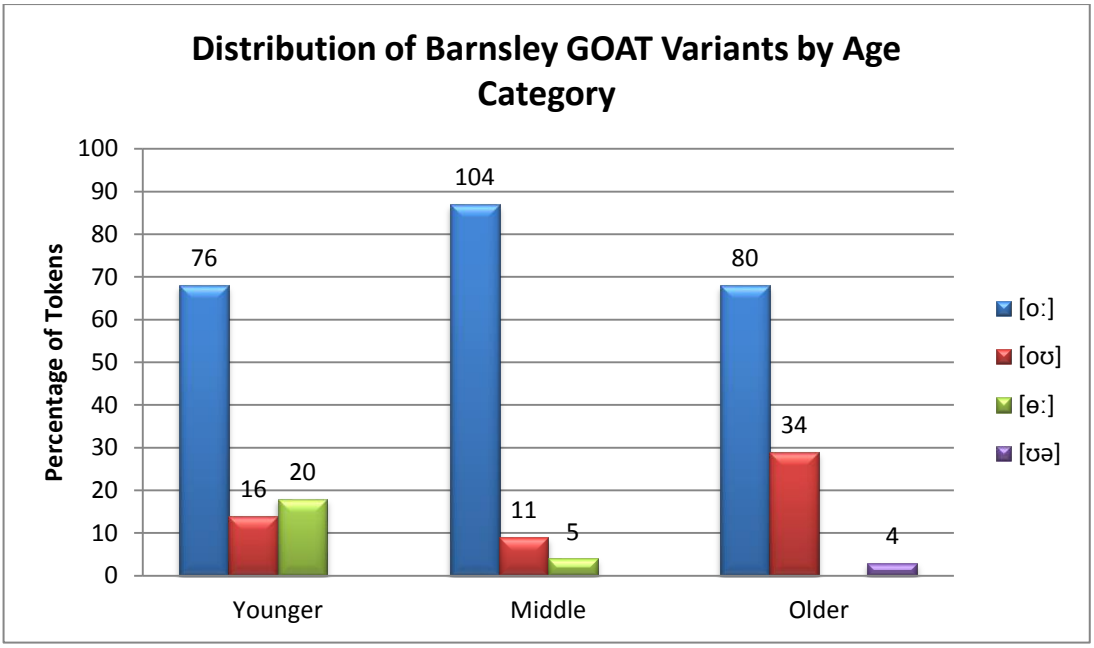

Figure 6.14: Distribution of the four Barnsley GOAT variants across the three generations of speakers.

Middle generation Barnsley speakers produce the highest proportion of monophthongal tokens across the three age categories, favouring the B-Type I long, back, close-mid, rounded monophthong which is also the majority form found in the older generation. Out of a total of 120 GOAT tokens produced by middle generation speakers 109 (91%) are categorised as monophthongal. As Figure 6.14 shows, the overwhelming majority of these (104 tokens) are realised as the B-Type I GOAT variant. However, there is also some evidence of GOAT fronting in the middle generation with a minority of speakers also producing a more centralised monophthongal variant in the region of [əː]. Only 11 GOAT tokens (9%) produced by middle generation Barnsley speakers are classed as diphthongal; all 11 are realised as the B-Type II back closing diphthong [oʊ].

For younger Barnsley speakers (as for older and middle generations) the B-Type I variant [oː] remains the dominant GOAT vowel. Monophthongal tokens account for 96 out of a total 112 GOAT tokens (86%) produced by younger Barnsley speakers. There is some evidence of GOAT fronting, however, this is limited to a minority of speakers who produce some GOAT tokens using the B-Type III fronted or centralised monophthong. Only 16 GOAT vowels (14%) produced by younger Barnsley speakers are classed as diphthongal, and these are realised as the same back, closing diphthong [oʊ] which is found in the middle and older Barnsley generations.

6.3.7 Barnsley GOAT Vowels by Gender

6.3.7.1 Barnsley Females

Figure 6.15 shows that out of a total of 60 GOAT tokens produced by older Barnsley females, 35 (58%) are categorised as monophthongal; all 35 are realised as the B-Type I variant [o:]. Older Barnsley females produce a high proportion of diphthongal tokens compared to all other categories of Barnsley speakers. 25 GOAT tokens (42%) are categorised as diphthongal; all 25 are realised as the B-Type II back closing diphthong [oʊ]. This total is skewed by the GOAT production of BF9 who produces the B-Type II diphthong as her majority form. BF9 is clearly atypical in terms of her GOAT production, as all other Barnsley speakers produce the B-Type I monophthong as their dominant variant.

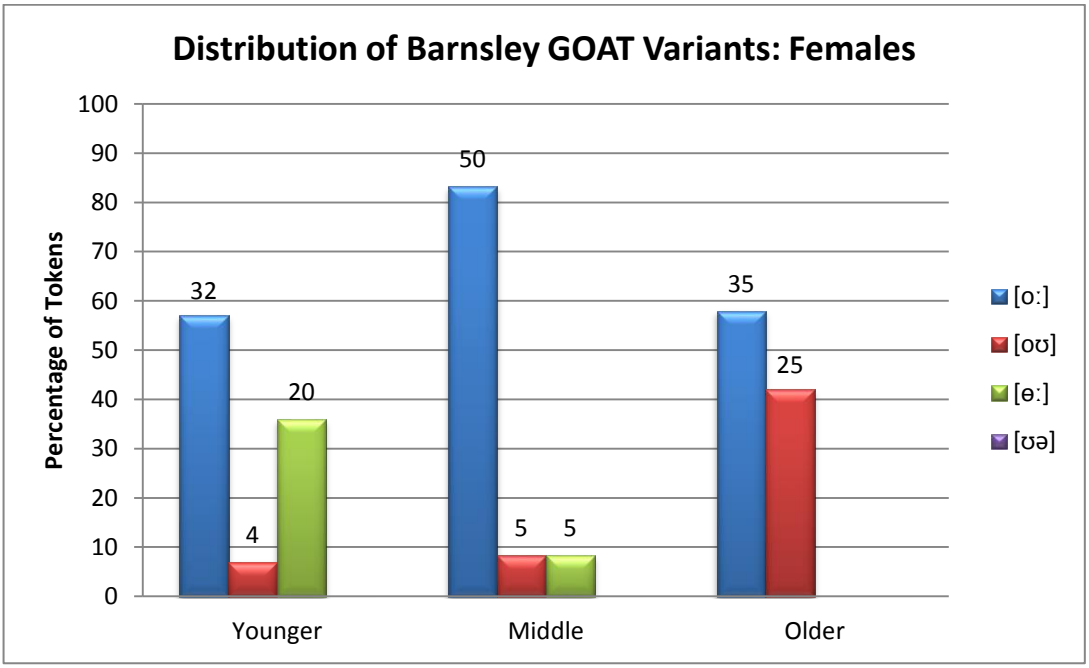

Figure 6.15: Distribution of the four Barnsley GOAT vowels across all female speakers.

The proportion of monophthongal GOAT tokens produced by middle generation females is far higher than that found in the older female cohort. Monophthongal tokens account for 55 out of 60 GOAT tokens (92%) produced by middle generation females; the majority of these are realised as the B-Type I long monophthongal variant. However, as Figure 6.15 shows, there is some evidence of GOAT fronting, with five tokens realised as the B-Type III centralised monophthongal variant. Only five (8%) GOAT tokens are classed as diphthongal, all five are realised as the B-Type II diphthongal variant.

For younger Barnsley females, 52 out of 56 GOAT tokens (93%) are categorised as monophthongal - a slightly higher proportion than that found in the middle generation. It is therefore the case that the younger Barnsley females produce the highest proportion of monophthongal GOAT tokens across the three generations of Barnsley females. Although younger females favour the B-Type I monophthongal variant, there is also clear evidence of GOAT fronting, with 20 monophthongal GOAT tokens (38%) realised as the B-Type III centralised variant. Only four GOAT tokens (7%) produced by younger females are classed as diphthongal; all four are realised as the B-Type II diphthongal variant.

6.3.7.2 Barnsley Males

Out of a total of 58 GOAT tokens produced by older males, 45 (78%) are categorised as monophthongal, and are realised as the B-Type I variant (see Figure 6.16). Older Barnsley males produce 13 diphthongal GOAT tokens (22%); nine of these are realised as the B-Type II diphthongal variant. BM10 is the only speaker who produces a minority of B-Type IV centring GOAT diphthongs in the region of [ʊə]. This form is associated with the more traditional dialect of Barnsley (cf. Burland 2017), and is the dominant GOAT variant found in traditional pan-Yorkshire GOAT varieties. However, it is largely absent in studies of Yorkshire dialects from the 1970s onwards (See Chapter 5, Section 5.2), with the exception of Stoddard et al. (1999: 74) who find it in the repertoires of some older Sheffield speakers.

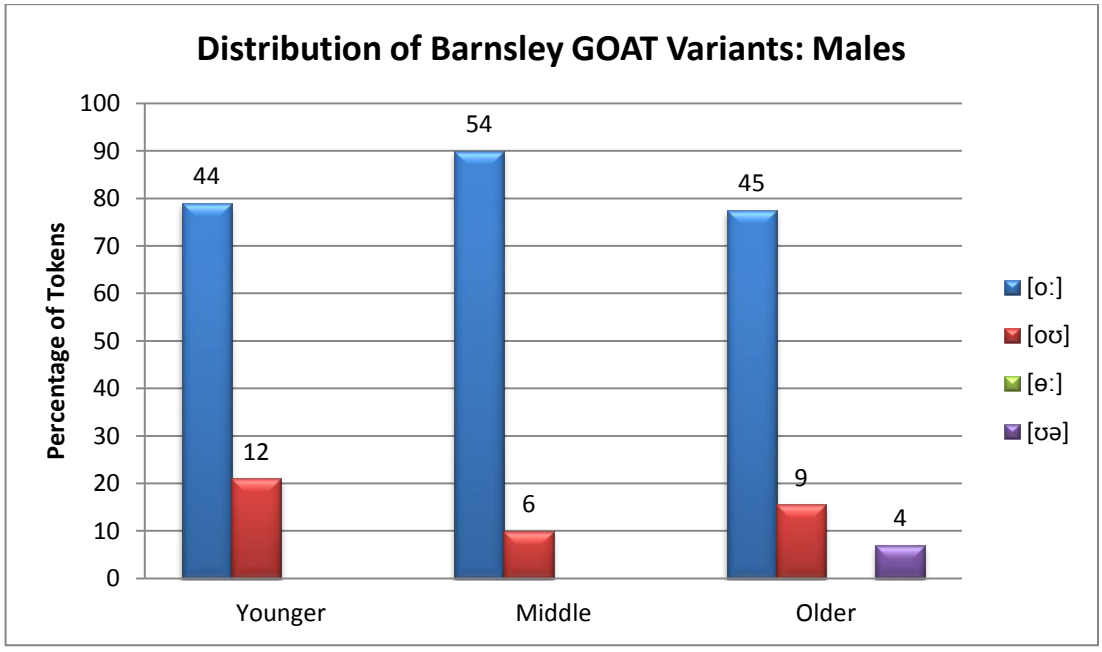

Figure 6.16: Distribution of the four Barnsley GOAT vowels across all male speakers.

For middle generation males, 54 out of 60 GOAT tokens (90%) are categorised monophthongal - a higher proportion than that found in the older male cohort. All monophthongal GOAT tokens are realised as the B-Type I variant. Only six GOAT tokens (10%) are classed as diphthongal; all six are produced using the B-Type II variant.

For younger Barnsley males, 44 out of 56 (79%) GOAT tokens are categorised as monophthongs. As with older and middle generation males, all monophthongal tokens are realised as the B-Type I variant. 12 GOAT tokens (21%) are classed as diphthongal; all 12 are produced using the B-Type II variant which is also found in the repertoires of middle and older generation males.

6.3.8 Discussion

The auditory qualities of GOAT vowels produced across three generations of Barnsley speakers have remained largely stable, with the B-Type I back, close-mid, rounded variant [oː], found to be the dominant form used by all speakers across the three generations. Watt and Tillotson (2001:270) identify this GOAT vowel as the majority variant in pan-Yorkshire dialects, and in pan-northern varieties more widely. Although the B-Type I monophthong is the majority GOAT variant produced by males and females across all three age categories, there is evidence of gender-marking in the production of the fronted B-Type III monophthongal variant. This vowel is not present in the Barnsley male data, but evidence of GOAT fronting emerges in the repertoires of middle generation Barnsley females, and increases in the younger female cohort. This fronted or centralised GOAT variant is also found in the repertoires of younger speakers in Bradford, Sheffield and York (cf. Watt and Tillotson 2001; Finnegan 2011; Haddican et al. 2013).

Where diphthongal variants are produced by Barnsley speakers they are generally the B-Type II closing diphthong [oʊ], which is also found as a minority GOAT variant in studies of modern South Yorkshire dialects (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.1.2). However, this variant is confined to South Yorkshire, with the diphthong [ɔʊ] reported more commonly across areas of West, North and East Yorkshire (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2). In studies of modern pan-Yorkshire varieties, the existence of a minority diphthongal GOAT variant alongside the majority monophthongal form generally represents a phonemic contrast in the GOAT lexical set (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2). However, Petyt (1985) finds evidence of the rapid attrition of this localised phonemic contrast in the dialects of West Yorkshire during the late 1970s, with the long monophthongal variant expanding to represent the entire GOAT lexical set. Similarly, Hughes et al. (2005: 94-95)

find this phonemic distinction to be typical of the traditional dialect of Bradford, but barely evident in the repertoires of younger speakers. There is no evidence of such a phonemic contrast in the Barnsley data; however, the presence of the minority B-Type II diphthongal form in all three generations of Barnsley speakers may represent a relic of this historical phonemic distinction. Despite the existence of a minority of diphthongal GOAT variants in the Barnsley variety, the auditory analysis presented in Sections 6.3.5 to 6.3.7 confirms that monophthongal GOAT production is a dominant, community wide norm, providing further evidence of the marked distinction between Barnsley GOAT production and the diphthongal forms favoured in the Royston speech community.

6.4 Auditory Qualities of Wakefield FACE and GOAT Vowels

6.4.1 Wakefield FACE Vowels

Table 6.9 shows the three FACE variants found in the Wakefield speech community, presented in order of prominence. The W-Type I long, front monophthong is the dominant FACE variant found in the Wakefield variety.

Table 6.9: Wakefield FACE Variants

	FACE
W – Type I: long, front, close-mid monophthongs	[eː]
W – Type II: front, open-mid, closing diphthongs	[ɛɪ]
W – Type III: front, close-mid, closing diphthongs	[eɪ]

Figure 6.17 illustrates the proportion of each of the three FACE variants produced across the whole Wakefield data set. Out of a total of 359 FACE tokens produced by Wakefield speakers, 266 (74%) are categorised as monophthongal, and 93 (26%) are classed as diphthongal. The majority FACE variant produced by 20 out of the 24 Wakefield speakers is the W-Type I monophthongal variant [eː]. Where Wakefield speakers produce diphthongal FACE tokens, these are predominately realised as the W-Type II open-mid variant [ɛɪ]. Only two Wakefield speakers produce FACE tokens using the W-Type III close-mid diphthong [eɪ].

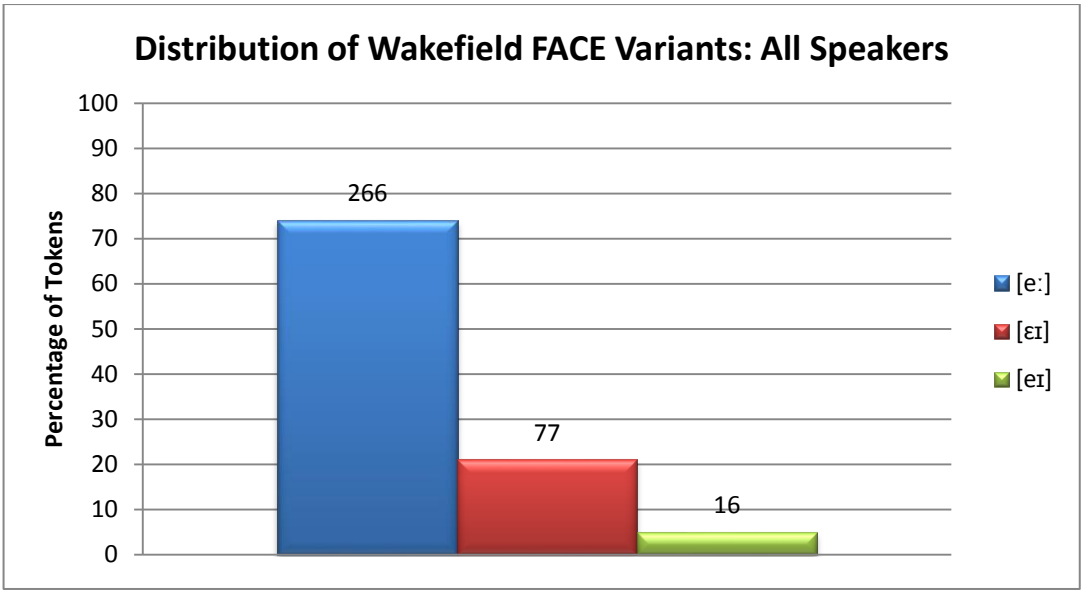

Figure 6.17: Distribution of the three Wakefield FACE variants across all 24 speakers.

When the majority W-Type I FACE variant is compared with the majority variant found in pan-Yorkshire varieties (See Table 6.10) it is clear that the dominant Wakefield FACE monophthong corresponds to the dominant pan-regional FACE form. There is some evidence of the supra-local SSBE FACE variant in the Wakefield cohort, although this is restricted to a small proportion of tokens produced by only two speakers.

Table 6.10: Majority Phonetic Variants of FACE

	FACE
Wakefield local vernacular	[eː]
Pan-Yorkshire varieties	[eː]
Supra-local prestige – (SSBE)	[eɪ]

6.4.2 Wakefield FACE Vowels by Age

Out of a total of 120 FACE tokens produced by older speakers, 84 (70%) are classed as monophthongs. As Figure 6.18 shows, the dominant FACE variant produced by older Wakefield speakers is the W-Type I long, front, close-mid monophthongal form. Seven out of eight older speakers produce a total of 36 diphthongal FACE tokens (30%); the majority are produced using the W-Type II variant [ɛɪ], with a front, open-mid, nucleus and a near-front, near-close, offglide. In addition, two older speakers also produce a small proportion of W-Type III diphthongal FACE vowels.

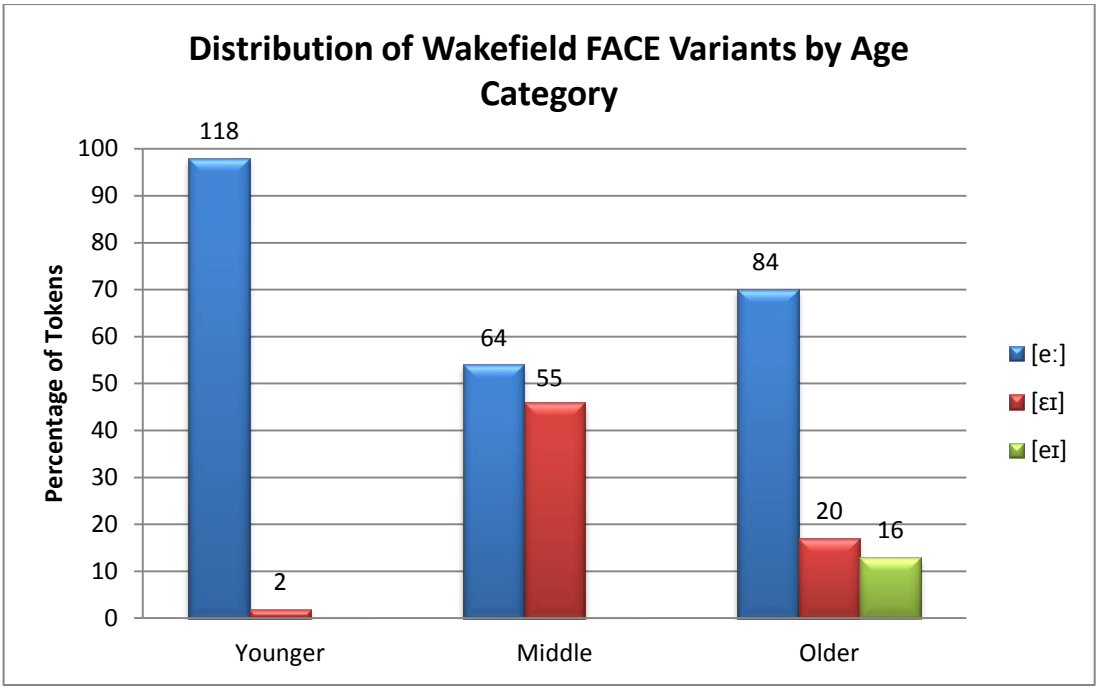

Figure 6.18: Distribution of the three Wakefield FACE variants across the three generations of speakers.

Out of a total of 119 FACE tokens, middle generation speakers produce 64 which are categorised as monophthongs (54%); whilst diphthongal vowels account for 55 FACE vowels (46%). This creates a very different pattern of FACE production in comparison with the older Wakefield cohort (see Figure 6.18). The distribution of monophthongal versus diphthongal tokens in the middle generation patterns according to gender and will be examined further in Sections 6.4.3.1 and 6.4.3.2.

Out of a total of 120 FACE tokens produced by younger Wakefield speakers, 118 (98%) are categorised as monophthongs; and only 2 FACE tokens (2%) are classed as diphthongs. Younger Wakefield speakers, therefore, produce the highest proportion of monophthongal FACE tokens across the three generations (see Figure 6.18). Furthermore, all younger speakers overwhelmingly favour the W-Type I monophthongal variant. The two diphthongal FACE tokens are realised as the W-Type II form, which is also found in the repertoires of some middle and older generation speakers.

6.4.3 Wakefield FACE Vowels by Gender

6.4.3.1 Wakefield Females

Out of a total of 60 FACE tokens produced by older Wakefield females, 33 (55%) are categorised as monophthongs; all are realised as the W-Type I variant (see Figure 6.19). 27 FACE tokens (45%) are classed as diphthongs; these are produced by three out of the four older Wakefield females. Of the three, WF12 only produces a small proportion of diphthongal FACE tokens; these are realised as the W-Type II variant. WF9 and WF10 produce monophthongal and diphthongal FACE tokens and, whilst a proportion of their diphthongal FACE production is realised using the W-Type II variant, the W-Type III diphthong constitutes the dominant form for both speakers. The W-Type III variant corresponds to the SSBE diphthongal form and is not found in the FACE production of any other Wakefield participants.

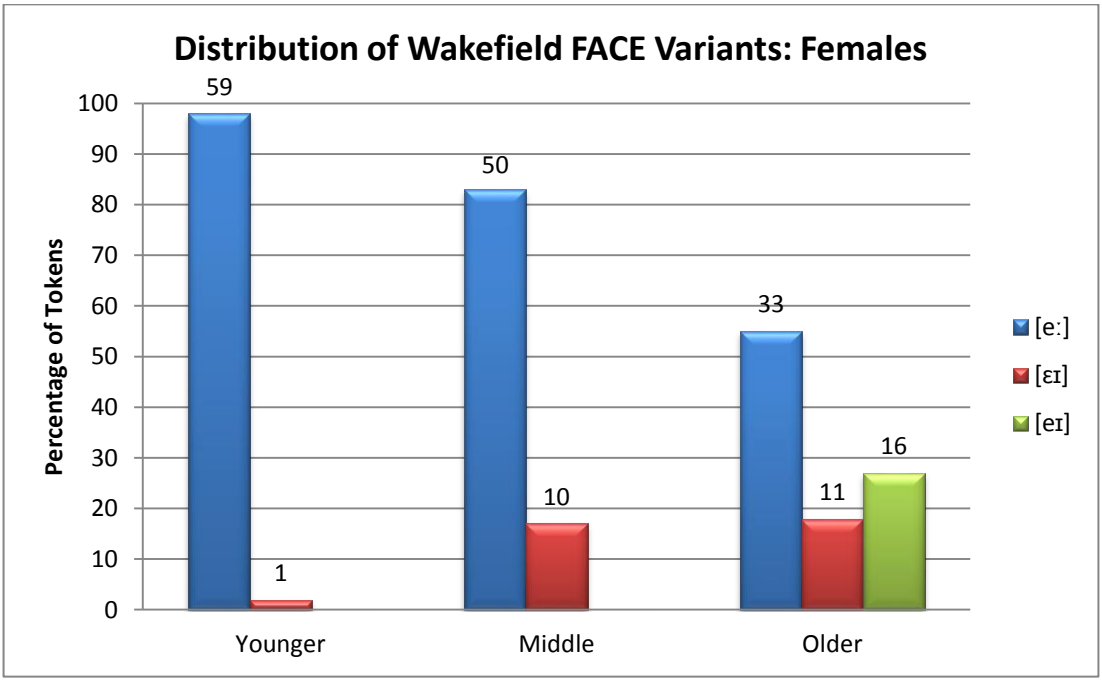

Figure 6.19: Distribution of the three Wakefield FACE vowels across all female speakers.

FACE production by the middle generation Wakefield females differs markedly from that found in the older females. As Figure 6.19 shows, middle generation females clearly favour the W-Type I monophthongal FACE variant, with 50 out of a total of 60 FACE tokens (83%) categorised as monophthongal vowels. By contrast, only 10 FACE tokens (17%) are classed as diphthongs; all are realised as the W-Type II variant.

Younger females almost exclusively favour the W-Type I FACE variant (see Figure 6.19), with 59 out of a total of 60 FACE tokens (98%) produced using this form. Only one younger female produces a single FACE token using the W-Type II diphthongal variant. A reduction in the use of the W-Type II FACE diphthong is evident in the repertoires of middle generation Wakefield females, however this form has almost entirely receded in the younger female cohort.

6.4.3.2 Wakefield Males

Older Wakefield males clearly favour monophthongal FACE production. Figure 6.20 shows that out of a total of 60 FACE tokens, older males produce 51 monophthongal vowels (85%); these are realised as the W-Type I variant. Only nine diphthongal FACE tokens (15%) are produced by older males; these are realised as the W-Type II variant.

FACE production in the middle generation male cohort differs markedly from the patterns found across the remainder of the Wakefield data set (see Figure 6.20). For middle generation males only 14 out of 59 FACE tokens (24%) are classed as monophthongs; whilst 45 FACE tokens (76%) are categorised as diphthongal vowels.

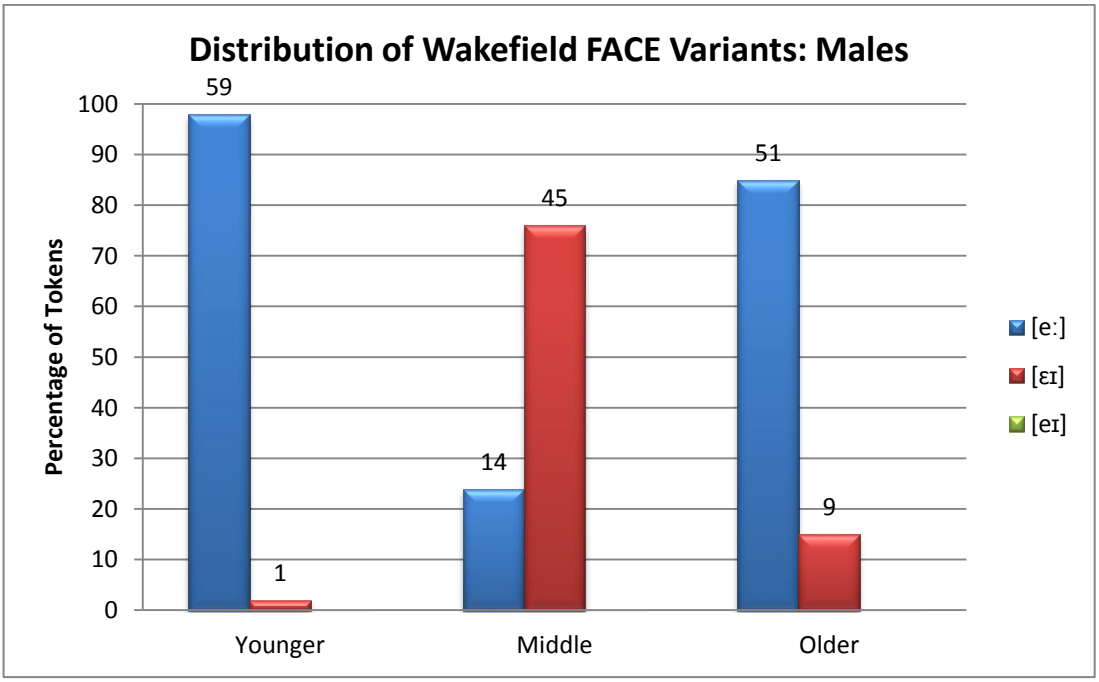

Figure 6.20: Distribution of the three Wakefield FACE vowels across all male speakers.

In Figure 6.20 we can see that the majority variant produced by all four middle generation males is W-Type II diphthongal FACE form. This diphthongal variant is also present in the repertoires of three out of the four middle generation females, but it is

far less prevalent. The diphthongal FACE production of the four middle generation Wakefield males does not match that of the two older females who are also classed as diphthongal: where middle generation males favour the W-Type II diphthong, the two older Wakefield females favour the W-Type III form.

FACE production in the younger Wakefield male cohort is highly consistent with that found in the younger Wakefield females. Out of a total of 60 FACE tokens produced by young Wakefield males, 59 (98%) are categorised as monophthongs and are realised as the W-Type I variant. Only one speaker produces a single diphthongal token which is realised as the W-Type II variant. Diphthongal variants of FACE are therefore highly recessive in the repertoires of younger Wakefield males.

6.4.4 Discussion

With the exception of the middle generation males, the W-Type I, long, front, monophthongal vowel [e:] is the majority variant for all three generations of Wakefield speakers. This is the variant found to be the majority FACE variant found across the counties of South and West Yorkshire in studies of both traditional and modern dialects (see Chapter 5, Sections 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.2.1).

The auditory data presented in Section 6.4.3.2 shows that middle generation Wakefield males are retaining a diphthongal FACE variant which is receding in the repertoires of the majority of Barnsley and Wakefield speakers (see Sections 6.3.1 and 6.4.1 respectively), and across pan-Yorkshire varieties more generally (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2). Beal (2010a: 16) observes that 'features which appear to be receding on a national level may still be very important markers of local identity within specific regions'. Equally, features which appear to be receding pan-regionally can be retained as salient markers of local identity, not only within locations, but within distinct social networks or communities of practice within those localities. Kerswill (1984) finds this scenario in the Durham variety, where non-standard, locally salient monophthongal and diphthongal forms of FACE are present. Kerswill (1984:18) observers that the monophthongal [e:] is 'characteristic of women, as well as of the kind of 'polite' or 'corrected' speech used by men employed, for instance, in service industries as clerks and shop assistants, or as salesmen'. By contrast the locally marked diphthongal forms are found predominantly in the repertoires of 'men engaged in manual work' (Kerswill 1984: 18). It appears that, in the Durham speech community there exists a hierarchy of non-standard locally salient FACE forms, in which the monophthongal form attracts greater local prestige than the diphthongal variants. Kerswill (1984: 20) explains this

division in FACE production with reference to the nature of employment, noting that heavy industries, such as mining, are traditionally male dominated occupations which foster a sense of solidarity, and consequently, 'the strong use of vernacular speech'. Three out of the four middle generation Wakefield males are ex-coalminers and the retention of a traditional pan-Yorkshire diphthongal form of FACE, which is receding in the speech community more generally, may be maintained by these speakers as a relic of their industrial past.

Two older Wakefield females are also classed as diphthongal, but auditory analysis shows that they are producing the W-Type III diphthongal variant (which corresponds to the SSBE form), and not the W-Type II diphthong which is used by the middle generation Wakefield males. The W-Type III diphthong is only found in the repertoires of the two older females, and their choice of a diphthongal form that approximates the SSBE prestige form, rather than the regionally marked diphthongal FACE variant, may indicate that different social values are attached to the two distinct diphthongal forms in the Wakefield speech community.

Overall, the data shows an increase in the use of the W-Type I long monophthongal FACE variant in apparent time, with the W-Type II diphthong recessive in the repertoires of younger Wakefield speakers. The long monophthongal FACE variant favoured by speakers in the Wakefield speech community clearly corresponds with the pan-Yorkshire long, monophthongal FACE norm.

6.4.5 Wakefield GOAT Vowels

Table 6.11 shows the four GOAT variants found in the Wakefield speech community. The variants are listed in order of prominence, with the W-Type I long monophthongal form [ǫ:] the most frequently produced GOAT variant across the whole Wakefield data set.

Table 6.11: Wakefield GOAT Variants.

	GOAT
W – Type I: long, back monophthong	[oː]
W – Type II: back, closing diphthong	[oʊ]
W – Type III: fronted (centralised) monophthong	[ɵː]
W – Type IV: fronted, closing diphthong	[ɵʊ]

Figure 6.21 shows the proportion of each of the four GOAT variants produced across the whole Wakefield data set. With the exception of one older Wakefield female (WF11), all Wakefield speakers favour the W-Type I long monophthongal form as their majority variant. Some younger Wakefield speakers, and one older Wakefield female, also have a small proportion of the W-Type III long, centralised GOAT monophthong [ɵː] in their repertoires. Overall, monophthongal GOAT variants account for 247 (71%) of the total 349 GOAT tokens produced by Wakefield speakers. Diphthongal GOAT variants account for 102 tokens (29%); the majority of these are produced using the W-Type II back, closing diphthong [oʊ].

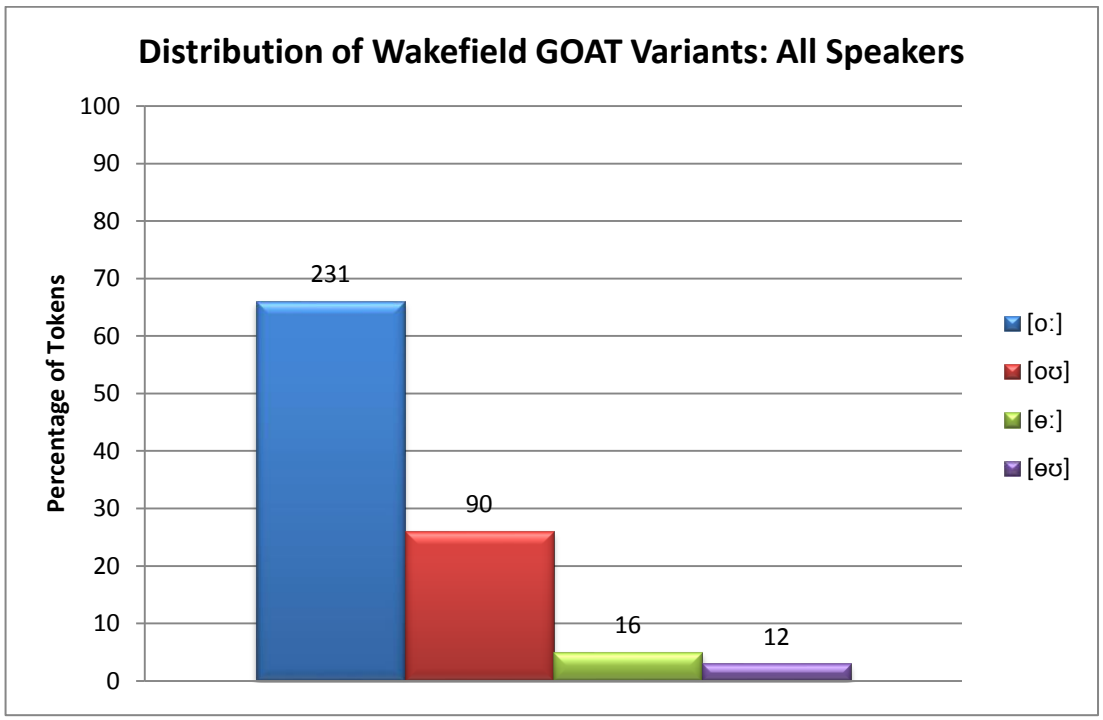

Figure 6.21: Distribution of the four Wakefield GOAT variants across all 24 speakers.

When the dominant W-Type I GOAT variant is compared with the majority GOAT vowels found in pan-Yorkshire varieties (see Table 6.12), it is clear that GOAT production in the Wakefield variety correlates with the pan-regional norm; however, the SSBE diphthongal GOAT variant is not present in the repertoires of any Wakefield speakers.

Table 6.12: Majority Phonetic Variants of GOAT

	GOAT
Wakefield variant	[oː]
Pan-Yorkshire variant	[oː]
Supra-local prestige – (SSBE)	[əʊ]

6.4.6 Wakefield GOAT Vowels by Age

Out of 118 GOAT tokens produced by older Wakefield speakers, 77 (65%) are classed as monophthongs and, as Figure 6.22 shows, the majority variant produce by older Wakefield speakers is the W-Type I long, back, close-mid, monophthong [oː]. There is also evidence of some GOAT fronting, with three monophthongal tokens produced using the W-Type III more fronted or central long monophthong in the region of [ɵː].

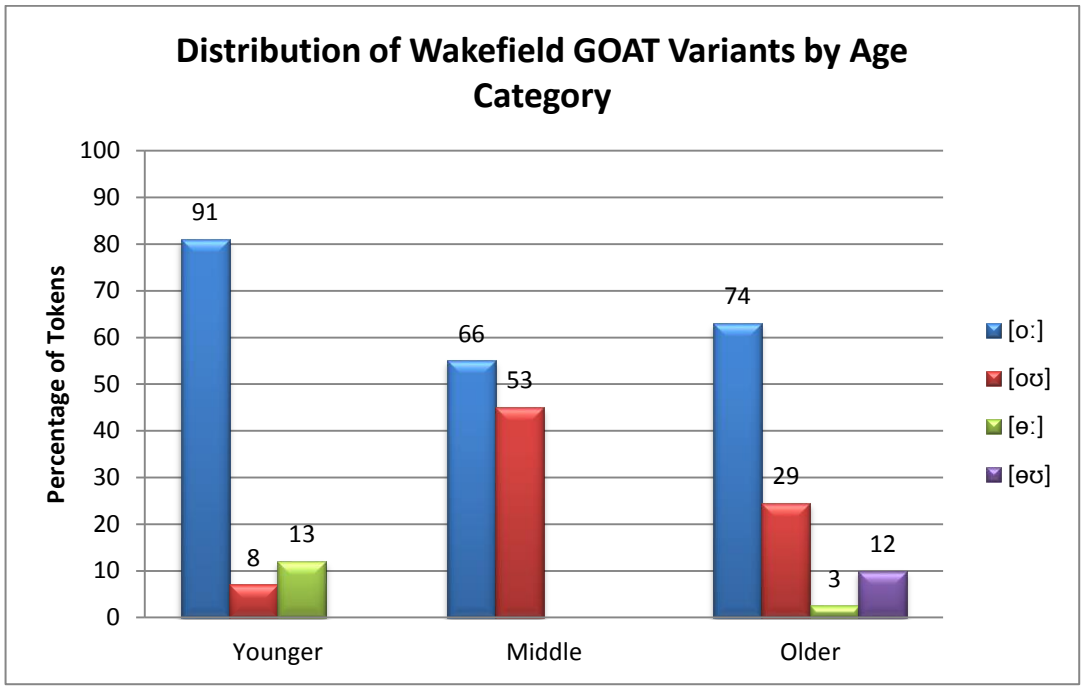

Figure 6.22: Distribution of the four Wakefield GOAT variants across the three generations of speakers.

Older Wakefield speakers produce a total of 41 diphthongal GOAT vowels (35%); the majority of these (71%) are realised as the W-Type II back, closing diphthong [oʊ] and the remaining 29% are produced as the W-Type IV fronted diphthong [əʊ].

The majority of GOAT tokens produced by middle generation Wakefield speakers are categorised as monophthongs; however, as Figure 6.22 shows, this majority status is secured by a very narrow margin. Out of a total 119 GOAT tokens, 66 (55%) are produced as monophthongs; all 55 are realised as the W-Type I variant [oː]. Middle generation speakers produce 53 diphthongal GOAT tokens (45%); these are realised as the W-Type II diphthongal variant. Middle generation speakers do not produce the centralised W-Type III and W-Type IV variants which are present in the repertoires of some older Wakefield speakers.

Younger Wakefield speakers produce the highest proportion of monophthongal GOAT tokens across the three generations. Monophthongal variants account for 104 of the total 112 GOAT tokens (93%); the majority of these (81%) are realised as the W-Type I variant [oː], which correlates with the majority GOAT form produced by older and middle generation Wakefield speakers. The remaining monophthongal tokens are produced using the W-Type III fronted monophthong. Younger Wakefield speakers produce only eight diphthongal GOAT tokens (7%); all eight are realised as the W-Type II variant.

6.4.7 Wakefield GOAT Vowels by Gender

6.4.7.1 Wakefield Females

Out of the 59 GOAT tokens produced by older Wakefield females, 31 (53%) are categorised as monophthongs; the majority of these are produced using the W-Type I dominant monophthongal variant (see Figure 6.23). Only three tokens are produced using the W-Type III fronted GOAT monophthong; all three tokens are produced by WF9.

28 GOAT tokens (47%) produced by the older generation females are categorised as diphthongs. This is a relatively high proportion, however, this figure is skewed by data for WF11 who is atypical of GOAT production in the older Wakefield female cohort (and in the Wakefield data set as a whole), as the majority of her GOAT vowels are categorised as diphthongal, and are realised as the W-Type IV fronted, closing diphthong [əʊ]. WF11 accounts for 12 (43%) of the diphthongal GOAT tokens produced by older Wakefield females; the remaining 16 diphthongs (57%) are realised as the W-Type II variant.

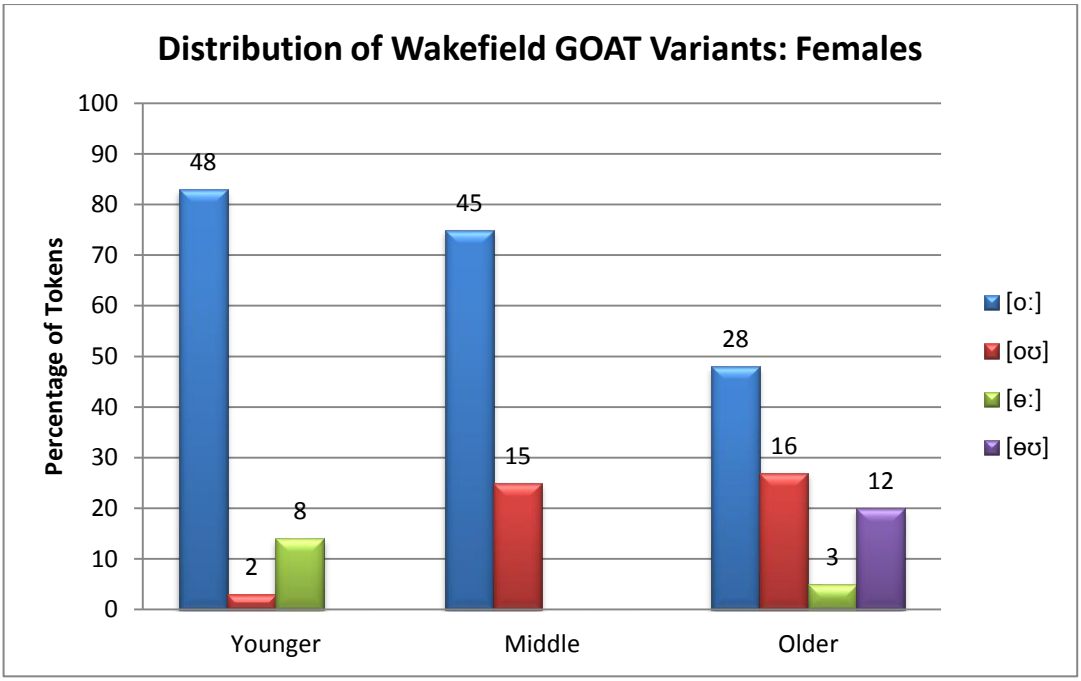

Figure 6.23: Distribution of the four Wakefield GOAT vowels across all female speakers.

Out of the 60 GOAT tokens produced by middle Wakefield females, 45 (75%) are categorised as monophthongs; all 45 are produced using the W-Type I dominant monophthongal variant (see Figure 6.23). Middle generation females produce 15 diphthongal GOAT vowels (25%); these are produced using the W-Type II variant.

Younger females produce the highest proportion of monophthongal GOAT tokens across the three generations of Wakefield females; out of a total 58 GOAT tokens, 56 (97%) are categorised as monophthongs (see Figure 6.23). Of these, 48 tokens are produced using the dominant W-Type I GOAT variant and the remaining eight vowels are realised as the more fronted W-Type III GOAT form. Younger Wakefield females produce only two diphthongal GOAT tokens (3%), both are realised as the W-Type II variant.

6.4.7.2 Wakefield Males

As Figure 6.24 shows, out of a total 59 GOAT tokens produced by older Wakefield males 46 (78%) are categorised as monophthongs; all 46 are realised as the W-Type I GOAT variant. The 13 diphthongal GOAT tokens (22%) produced by older Wakefield males are realised as the W-Type II variant.

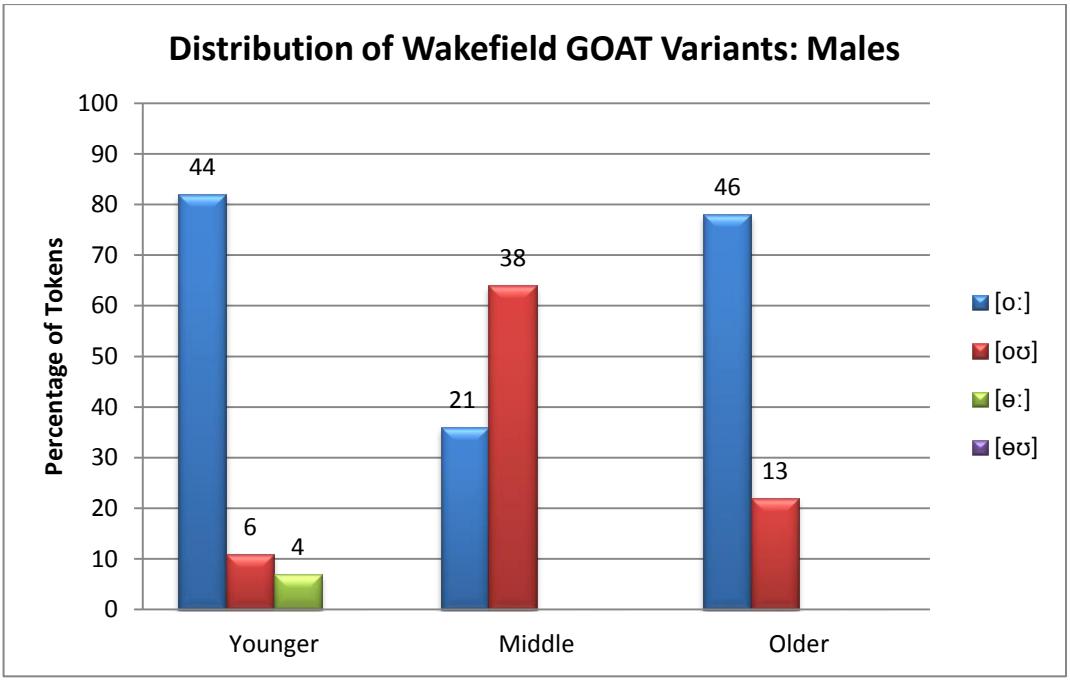

Figure 6.24: Distribution of the four Wakefield GOAT vowels across all male speakers.

Middle generation Wakefield males produce the majority of their GOAT tokens, 38 out of a total of 59 (64%), using the W-Type II diphthongal variant (see Figure 6.24). The remaining 21 GOAT tokens (36%) are categorised as monophthongs, and are produced as the W-Type I variant.

As with younger females, the GOAT production of younger Wakefield males is the highest across the three generations. Out of a total of 54 GOAT tokens, younger males produce 48 monophthongal vowels (89%); the majority of these, 44 (92%), are realised as the dominant W-Type I monophthongal variant. There is some evidence of GOAT fronting in the repertoires of younger Wakefield males, with four tokens produced using the W-Type III fronted GOAT monophthong (see Figure 6.24). Younger Wakefield males produce only six diphthongal tokens (11%); all six are realised as the W-Type II variant.

6.4.8 Discussion

For all three generations of Wakefield speakers (with the exception of middle generation males) the majority GOAT variant is the W-Type I long, back, close-mid, rounded monophthong in the region of [o:]. This correlates with the majority GOAT form found across modern varieties of South and West Yorkshire (see Chapter 5, Sections 5.2.1.2 and 5.2.2.2).

With the exception of WF11, all speakers who produce a proportion of diphthongal GOAT tokens realise these as the W-Type II back closing diphthong [oʊ]; this form is also found as a recessive minority form in studies of South and West Yorkshire varieties. As with FACE, production, diphthongal variants of GOAT are highly recessive in the repertoires of younger generation Wakefield speakers. Similarly, Watt and Tillotson (2001:273) found that traditional pan-Yorkshire diphthongal GOAT pronunciations were 'highly recessive or even extinct' in their data, supporting Petyt's (1985) prediction that the regionally marked, traditional pan-Yorkshire diphthongal GOAT forms would recede at the expense of the incoming modern, urban monophthongal variant. With the exception of the GOAT production by middle generation males, this pattern is evident in the Wakefield data.

Figure 6.24 illustrates that middle generation males favour diphthongal variants of GOAT, a pattern also found in the GOAT production of one older Wakefield female, WF11. However, when we examine the diphthongal variant produced by middle generation Wakefield males, this differs from the diphthongal variant favoured by WF11. Middle generation males are retaining the traditional, pan-regional, and locally recessive W-Type II diphthong as their majority variant. As with FACE production, the retention of the outmoded and regionally marked diphthongal GOAT form may link to the industrial heritage of the middle generation males. The majority variant produced by WF11 is the W-Type IV fronted GOAT diphthong, a form which is not found in the repertoires of any other Wakefield speakers.

It is also worth noting that a minority of monophthongal tokens produced by older Wakefield speaker WF9 are realised as the fronted W-Type III, variant [ɵː]. This variant is also found in the younger Wakefield cohort, but is more prevalent in the repertoires of younger Wakefield females. Previous studies of pan-northern varieties have established that, whilst GOAT fronting is not a traditional northern dialect feature (Finnegan 2011: 244), it is, nonetheless showing evidence of incipient spread across modern pan-northern varieties where it is largely associated with the speech of middle class, teenage females (cf. Watt and Milroy 1999; Watt and Tillotson 2001; Haddican et al. 2013). It is, therefore, notable that the two older Wakefield females (WF9 and WF11) who produce fronted variants of GOAT are the only two speakers who also produce FACE variants which resemble the SSBE prestige form. This could indicate that the two older females favour the W-Type IV fronted GOAT diphthong, rather than the W-Type II regionally marked, traditional form, as the former bears greater approximation to the SSBE prestige diphthong.

Despite a degree of variation in the nature of GOAT production in the Wakefield variety, it has to be emphasised that the W-Type I long monophthongal GOAT variant, typical of pan-Yorkshire GOAT production, remains dominant across all three generations demonstrating no sign of attrition in the Wakefield variety.

6.5 Comparison of the Auditory Qualities of FACE and GOAT Vowels in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Varieties

Sections 6.2 to 6.4 established the auditory qualities of FACE and GOAT vowels found in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties. In this section, the Royston FACE and GOAT forms are compared with those found in the Barnsley and Wakefield varieties in order to consider the extent to which the Royston vowels differ from those found in the two adjacent speech communities.

6.5.1 Comparison of the Auditory Qualities of FACE Vowels in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Varieties

The majority FACE variant produced in the Royston speech community is the front closing diphthong [ɛi]. The second most commonly produced FACE vowel is the diphthong [ei] (see Table 6.1). Together, these two diphthongal FACE variants account for 94% of FACE tokens produced by Royston participants. However, neither of these dominant Royston FACE variants correspond to the Southern Standard British English prestige form, or to the diphthongal FACE vowel found in traditional pan-Yorkshire dialects. By contrast, diphthongal variants of FACE account for only 8% of FACE tokens produced by Barnsley speakers, and 26% of all FACE production in the Wakefield data. However, as Table 6.13 illustrates the diphthongal FACE variants found in the repertoires of some Barnsley and Wakefield speakers do not correspond to the Royston variants. With the exception of two older Wakefield females who produce some FACE tokens which correspond to the SSBE diphthong [eɪ], the diphthongal FACE variant produced by Barnsley and Wakefield speakers corresponds to the form found in traditional pan-Yorkshire dialects. The diphthongal FACE variant [ɛɪ], found in the repertoires of some Barnsley and Wakefield speakers is therefore a highly recessive remnant of a traditional, pan-regional form. This scenario does not, however, explain the origins of the distinctive Royston diphthongal FACE variants. Whilst the nucleus of the majority Royston FACE diphthong resembles the traditional pan-regional diphthong, it is the location and duration of the Royston offglide that makes it distinctive from the

minority FACE diphthongs found in the surrounding speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield, and from those found in pan-Yorkshire varieties (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3). Furthermore, metalinguistic commentary surrounding the Royston variety (cf. Burland 2017) suggests that the auditory qualities of the Royston offglide are audibly discernible to non-linguists (see Chapter 8, Section 8.3.4), and serve to distinguish the Royston variants from those found in the Barnsley variety. This will be explored further in Chapter 7.

Table 6.13: Qualities of FACE vowels in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Varieties

Age	**Royston**	**Barnsley**	**Wakefield**
Older	[ɛi] [ei]>[ɛː]	[eː] [ɛɪ]>[ɛ]	[eː] [ɛɪ]>[eɪ]
Middle	[ɛi] [ei]>[eː]	[eː] [ɛɪ]	[eː] [ɛɪ]
Young	[ei] [ɛi]>[eː]>[ɛ]	[eː] [ɛɪ]	[eː] [ɛɪ]

To explain the origins of the unique diphthongal Royston FACE forms it is vital to remember that, during the late 19th and early 20th centuries, 52% of Royston's population comprised speakers from outside the Yorkshire dialect region. As Chapter 3, Section 3.2.7 established, the majority of this long distance migration came from areas of the Black Country, where Mathisen (1999) finds evidence of the tense, front, close FACE offglide in her study of the Black Country variety. This offglide is not found in any other varieties which have historical contact with the Royston variety, raising the possibility that this feature was introduced into the Royston dialect by the migrating Black Country workers and that it has, subsequently, become a stable, community wide norm.

The findings presented in Sections 6.2.1 to 6.2.4 of this chapter demonstrate that diphthongal FACE production in the Royston speech community is unique in relation to pan-regional FACE norms in two distinct ways. Firstly, diphthongal FACE variants dominate the repertoires of all Royston speakers, whilst they are a highly recessive feature of adjacent, and pan-Yorkshire dialects. Secondly, Royston speakers favour diphthongal FACE forms which are not found in modern or traditional pan-regional varieties. Metalinguistic commentary shows that the Royston FACE variants are locally

marked, and yet Royston speakers are not levelling toward pan-regional monophthongal FACE norms.

According to Kerswill (2002:188), features which spread via geographical diffusion are likely to be acquired in cities and towns, before infiltrating the dialects of the rural areas 'in between'; and Chapter 3, Section 3.2.1, clearly established that, geographically, Royston is a place *in between*. However, despite the fact that the long monophthongal FACE variant [eː] has been the dominant pan-Yorkshire form for almost half a century, successive generations in the Royston speech community have demonstrated resistance to the diffusion of this pan-regional phonological norm. However, this resistance is not absolute: 6% of FACE tokens produced by Royston speakers are realised as monophthongal variants. Of this 6%, the small proportion of monophthongal tokens produced by older Royston speakers are realised as the long, front, open-mid monophthong in the region of [ɛː]. This FACE form is also evident as a minority variant in the SED and MMB data for South and West Yorkshire; and as a majority form produced by adolescents in the Hull variety (Williams and Kerswill 1999:146). However, the monophthongal FACE variant found in the repertoires of younger and middle generation Royston speakers corresponds to the majority long monophthongal variant [eː], which is dominant in the Barnsley and Wakefield varieties, and across the counties of South and West Yorkshire in studies of both traditional and modern dialects (see Chapter 5, Section 5.3). It is therefore notable that, where Royston speakers produce monophthongal FACE vowels, these resemble variants found in pan-Yorkshire varieties, indicating a degree of regional contact-induced influence. Given the dominance of pan-Yorkshire monophthongal FACE production, we would expect to see evidence of the majority variant infiltrating the Royston variety. However, the small percentage of monophthongal FACE variants found in the Royston data provides further evidence of the propensity of the Royston speech community to resist this pan-regional phonological norm.

Interestingly, Finnegan (2011:200) also finds that diphthongal FACE variants are favoured in the repertoires of her middle-class Sheffield speakers, observing that the non-standard diphthongal variant [ɛɪ] has increased at the expense of the long, monophthongal variant [eː], which was considered to be regionally-marked and stigmatised by these speakers (2011:228). However, the use of the diphthongal FACE form by Finnegan's participants does not reflect patterns of FACE production in the wider Sheffield variety, or in pan-Yorkshire dialects where speakers are 'either converging towards, or maintaining usage of the monophthong variant' (Finnegan

2011:228). Petyt's (1985) data collection in the 1970s captures a transition between the traditional and modern dialect periods - a point in time where the long monophthongal northern FACE form was becoming associated with modern, urban communities, and the pan-regional diphthong was emblematic of a more traditional and rural landscape. In the Royston speech community, diphthongal FACE production is clearly a stable and community wide norm, suggesting, as with Finnegan's findings, that diphthongal FACE variants are afforded greater local prestige in the Royston speech community, in contrast to pan-Yorkshire dialects which favour long monophthongal forms.

6.5.2 Comparison of the Auditory Qualities of GOAT Vowels in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Varieties

Section 6.2.5 established that Royston speakers favour diphthongal GOAT variants which account for 90% of all of their GOAT tokens. However, the Royston diphthongal GOAT variants do not resemble minority diphthongs found in traditional pan-Yorkshire varieties, neither do they correspond to the SSBE prestige form. Table 6.14 illustrates the disparity between the diphthongal forms produced by the Royston speakers, and those found as minority variants in the Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities. As with FACE production, it is the long, tense, offglide which distinguishes the Royston variants from minority diphthongal GOAT vowels in the adjacent Barnsley and Wakefield dialects, and in pan-Yorkshire varieties. Table 6.14 also illustrates the stability of monophthongal GOAT production in the Barnsley and Wakefield varieties, further emphasising the unique nature of GOAT production in the Royston speech community.

The Royston GOAT variants do, however, resemble a minority GOAT variant found in the dialect of Derby (Docherty and Foulkes 1999), which also has the distinctive, long tense offglide. Furthermore, Wells (1982b: 364 – 365) establishes that diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT is a stable, community wide norm in traditional dialects of the East Midlands and the Black Country, providing further evidence to suggest that the influx of migrant workers to Royston, at the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries, may have influenced the formation of the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT variants.

The majority of middle generation Barnsley and Wakefield speakers produce long, close-mid, back rounded variants of GOAT. However, it is clear that the dialect of Royston is resisting the geographical diffusion of pan-Yorkshire monophthongal GOAT norms.

Table 6.14: Qualities of GOAT vowels in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Varieties.

Age Category	Royston	Barnsley	Wakefield
Older	[ɔu] [ou]>[oː]>[ɔu]	[oː] [ou]>[ʊə]	[oː] [ou]>[ɵu]>[ɵː]
Middle	[ɔu] [ou]>[oː]	[oː] [ou]>[ɵː]	[oː] [ou]
Young	[ɔu]~[ou] [ɵu]>[oː]>[ɔu]>[ɵː]	[o̟ː] [ɵː]>[ou]	[oː] [ɵː]>[ou]

Only 10% of all Royston GOAT tokens are produced as monophthongal vowels. Where monophthongal tokens are produced, they are the same long, back, close-mid monophthong [oː] that is dominant in the repertoires of the older and middle generation Barnsley and Wakefield speakers. Younger Royston speakers also produce some monophthongal vowels which resemble the centralised, close-mid form [ɵː] produced by younger generation Barnsley and Wakefield speakers. Fronting of the dominant pan-Yorkshire long, back monophthongal GOAT variant is a phenomenon which is showing evidence of incipient spread across northern varieties (cf. Williams and Kerswill 1999; Watt and Tillotson 2002; Haddican et al. 2013). The fact that fronting of the minority monophthongal GOAT forms is found in the repertoires of young Royston speakers, along with the fronting of the nucleus in the R-Type IV Royston diphthongs, indicates that Royston speakers are not entirely resistant to pan-regional linguistic change. Nonetheless, it is clear that Royston speakers, or certainly younger generation Royston speakers, are adopting some pan-regional norms whilst rejecting others. Whilst fronting is diffusing rapidly throughout northern varieties generally (cf. Jansen 2010; Williams and Kerswill 1999; Watt and Tillotson 2001), Haddican et al. (2013: 374) have observed that fronted variants 'seem to lack strong indexical links to local social distinctions'. This suggests that young Royston speakers could acquire GOAT fronting without affecting the perception of their Royston identity. Chapter 8 will explore the extent to which the variants of FACE and GOAT produced by Royston speakers are considered to be indices of place.

6.5.3 Summary

This chapter has established the distinction between the auditory qualities FACE and GOAT vowels produced in the Royston variety, and those produced in the surrounding speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield, and in pan-Yorkshire varieties more

widely. The findings have shown that, not only is Royston maintaining diphthongal variants in the face of encroaching monophthongs, but also that the quality of the diphthongs marks the location as pan-regionally unique. The auditory analysis also sheds light on the origins and trajectory of the Royston FACE and GOAT diphthongs. In the Royston speech community diphthongal forms of FACE and GOAT have remained the dominant variants across the three generations of speakers. The reverse is true in the surrounding speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield, with long monophthongal variants dominating FACE and GOAT production, whilst the use of minority diphthongal forms recedes rapidly in apparent time. With the exception of studies by Cave (2001), and Finnegan (2011), this is also the pattern replicated across pan-Yorkshire varieties more widely. In the dialects of West Yorkshire, Petyt (1985: 131) attributes the reduction of the traditional distinction between diphthongal and monophthongal words to 'structural pressures for symmetry within the vowel system'. The fact that this reduction has led to the dominance of the monophthongal form, at the expense of the diphthongal variant, is attributed to external pressure from dialect contact with pan-northern varieties (1985:131). Although this would seem to capture the status of diphthongal FACE and GOAT production in the Barnsley and Wakefield varieties, there is clearly no state of flux in the Royston community, as the diphthongal variants are dominant and stable across the three generations. In fact, younger Royston speakers are not just maintaining the localised Royston diphthongs, but have revived variants produced by older speakers which had receded in the middle generation.

Although the Royston FACE and GOAT diphthongs do not resemble the SSBE diphthongs, their dominance in the Royston variety could, nonetheless, indicate that Royston speakers associate diphthongal FACE and GOAT production with the SSBE prestige norm. The unique nature of FACE and GOAT production in the Royston speech community clearly conflicts with Chambers' (2003:66) assertion that, 'mobility causes people to speak and sound more like people from other places'. Despite increased levels of geographical mobility, Royston speakers continue to resist stable, pan-regional monophthongal FACE and GOAT norms. The Royston findings clearly challenge the idea that dialect levelling is a given in situations of dialect contact. There is little evidence to show that Royston speakers, spanning three generations, are accommodating towards adjacent speech communities. The sociolinguistic situation in existence at the beginning of the twentieth century, which likely gave rise to the Royston variants of FACE and GOAT, no longer exists, and yet successive generations of speakers have maintained regionally distinctive forms.

This chapter has established the auditory qualities of FACE and GOAT vowels produced by three successive generations of Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield speakers in order to facilitate a direct comparison with legacy data which charts FACE and GOAT variation and change in pan-Yorkshire dialects which may have influenced the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties. The findings presented in Chapter 7 will build upon the auditory analysis presented in this chapter and will provide evidence of significant, acoustically observable, variation in levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation produced by Royston speakers, in comparison with speakers from the adjacent Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities.

Chapter 7

FACE and GOAT: Levels of Diphthongisation in Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield

7.1 Introduction

The results of acoustic formant frequency analysis presented in this chapter build upon the results of auditory impressionistic analysis, discussed in Chapter 6, by providing greater 'objectivity and replicability' (Watt and Fabricius 2002:159) in the identification of vocalic qualities. Addressing Research Question (3) quantitative acoustic phonetic analysis of levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties provides a further level of rigour with regard to vowel measurement and quantification. As metalinguistic commentary identifies the Royston FACE and GOAT vowels as being distinct from those produced in the remainder of the Barnsley borough (cf. Burland 2017), acoustic analysis provides a clear, quantifiable and replicable method of establishing the extent of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston dialect in comparison with FACE and GOAT production in the Barnsley and Wakefield varieties. This chapter presents the results of Methodology 3 (see Chapter 4, Section 4.6) which involves the acoustic analysis of FACE and GOAT tokens using the dipDegree formulation outlined in Chapter 4, Section 4.6. As this study provides the first research into FACE and GOAT production in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties, the use of acoustic formant frequency analysis also provides results which can be replicated and compared with current and future research in the field of sociophonetic variation and change. This chapter reports acoustic phonetic analysis of wordlist data gathered from three successive generations of male and female participants in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities. The levels of diphthongisation are interpreted in conjunction with location, age and gender in order to assess the extent to which these social variables impact upon linguistic production. Regression models for the statistical results reported in this chapter can be found in Appendix 4.

7.2 Formant Frequencies of the Major Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield FACE and GOAT Vowels

Chapter 6 established that the majority Royston FACE and GOAT variants are diphthongal in contrast to the dominant, long monophthongal FACE and GOAT vowels found in the adjacent Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities, and in modern pan-Yorkshire varieties. In addition, as Chapter 6, Sections 6.2.4 and 6.2.8 established, it is the location of the offglide of the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT diphthongs which distinguish them from diphthongal FACE and GOAT forms found as minority variants in pan-Yorkshire varieties.

Acoustic measurement of formant frequencies enables the distinctive Royston diphthongs to be plotted in the vowel space. In Figure 7.1 the R-Type I and R-Type II FACE and GOAT vowels are plotted using the normalised values for all Royston speakers' R-Type I and R-Type II FACE and GOAT measurements of F1 and F2 at the 25% and 75% points into the vowel space (see Chapter 4, Section 4.6.2). The vowel plot shows the combined mean for all speakers' F1 and F2 values at the 25% and 75% points, indicating the location of the nucleus and offglide of the R-Type I and R-Type II FACE and GOAT diphthongs in relation to the reference vowels, FLEECE, GOOSE and TRAP. The R-Type I and R-Type II FACE and GOAT diphthongs are shown as FACE 1 and GOAT 1, and FACE 2 and GOAT 2 respectively. Reference vowels are plotted using all speakers' values for F1 and F2 at the vowel midpoints (see Chapter 4, Section 4.6.2). As Figure 7.1 shows, the formant measurements for the R-Type 1 FACE vowel indicate a wide diphthong with a front, open-mid nucleus in the region of [ɛ], moving to a tense, front, close offglide in the region of [i]. The formant data for the R-Type 1 GOAT variant indicates a wide diphthong with a back, open-mid nucleus in the region of [ɔ], moving to a back, close offglide in the region of [u].

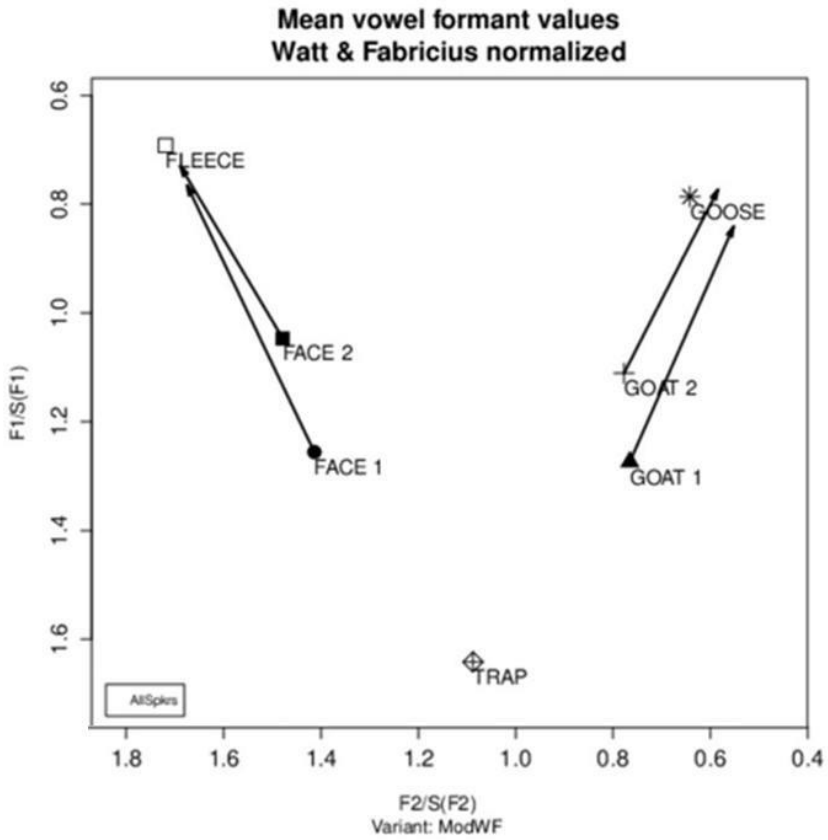

Figure 7.1: Mean normalised F1 and F2 values for all Royston speakers' R-Type I and R-Type II FACE and GOAT vowels.

The formant measurements for the R-Type II FACE vowel indicate a wide diphthong with a front, close-mid nucleus in the region of [e], moving to a tense, front, close offglide in the region of [i]. The formant data for the R-Type II GOAT variant indicates a wide diphthong with a back, close-mid nucleus in the region of [o], moving to a back, close offglide in the region of [u].

By contrast, auditory analysis discussed in Chapter 6, Section 6.3 established that the majority FACE and GOAT variants produced by Barnsley speakers are long monophthongal variants. In Figure 7.2 the dominant B-Type I FACE and GOAT monophthongs are plotted using the normalised F1 and F2 measurements taken at the 25% and 75% points for all B-Type I FACE and GOAT tokens (shown as FACE 1 and GOAT 1).

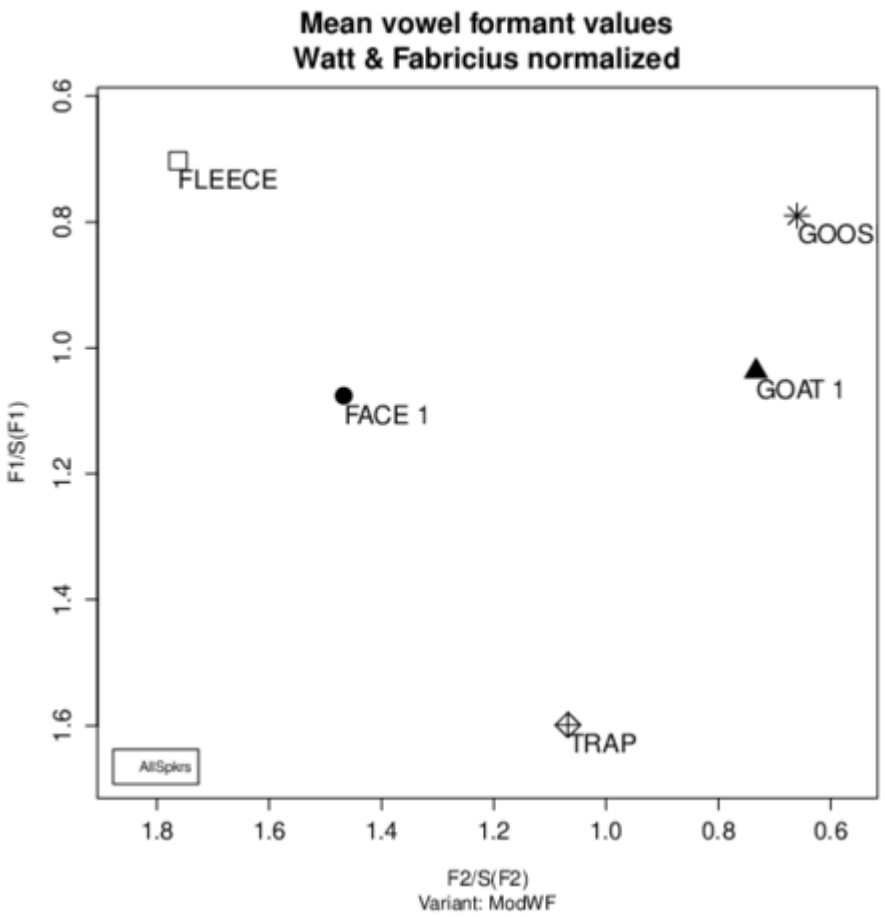

Figure 7.2: Mean normalised F1 and F2 values for all Barnsley speakers' B-Type I FACE and GOAT vowels.

As Figure 7.2 shows, formant measurements for the B-Type I Barnsley FACE variant indicate a front, close-mid monophthong in the region of [e]. Formant data for the B-Type I GOAT variant indicates a back, close-mid monophthong in the region of [o].

Figure 7.3 shows that the majority W-Type I FACE and GOAT vowels found in the Wakefield variety are also monophthongal forms which correspond to the majority FACE and GOAT vowels found in the Barnsley data. The dominant W-Type I FACE and GOAT monophthongs are plotted using the normalised F1 and F2 measurements taken at the 25% and 75% points for all W-Type I FACE and GOAT tokens (shown as FACE 1 and GOAT 1).

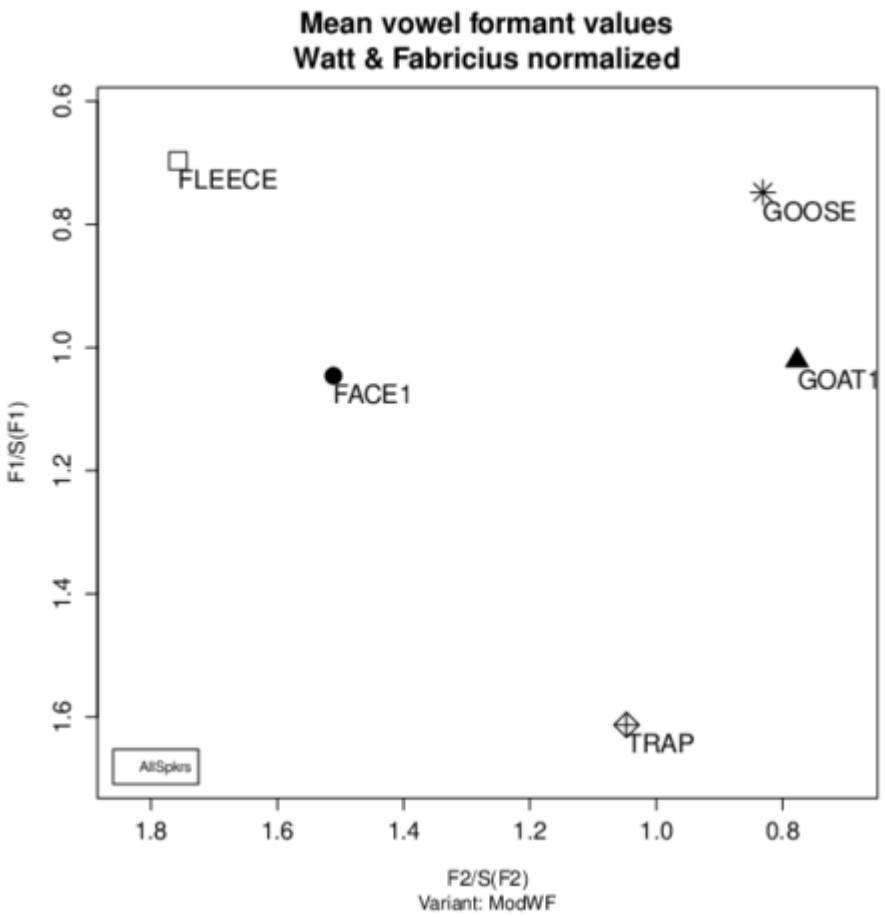

Figure 7.3: Mean normalised F1 and F2 values for all Wakefield speakers' W-Type I FACE and GOAT vowels.

As Figure 7.3 shows, formant measurements for the W-Type I FACE variant indicate a front, close-mid monophthong in the region of [e]. Formant data for the W-Type I GOAT variant indicates a back, close-mid monophthong in the region of [o].

Plotting the formant measurements for the majority FACE and GOAT variants found in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities helps to corroborate the findings of auditory impressionistic analysis of vowel qualities discussed in Chapter 6, further illustrating the contrast between FACE and GOAT production in the Royston variety and that found in the adjacent dialects of Barnsley and Wakefield.

7.3 Density of dipDegree Values by Location

In order to further explore the distinctive nature of FACE and GOAT production in the dialect of Royston, sections 7.3 to 7.7 will examine acoustic data which measures the extent to which FACE and GOAT production is diphthongised in the Royston variety, in

comparison with FACE and GOAT production in the Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities. The dipDegree values indicate how wide or narrow the tongue movement is between F1 and F2 at the 25% and 75% measurement points, with a higher dipDegree value indicating a more diphthongal realisation, and a lower value indicating a more monophthongal realisation. Sections 7.3.1 and 7.3.2 illustrate the density of FACE and GOAT dipDegree values in the three locations. For a discussion of the method of acoustic analysis employed in order to quantify the degree of movement throughout the vocalic portion of FACE and GOAT tokens see Chapter 4, Section 4.6.

7.3.1 Density of FACE dipDegree Values by Location

Figure 7.4 shows the distribution of FACE dipDegree values for tokens across the three locations. The clear majority of Royston dipDegree values (shown in green) cluster above the *S* 0.25 threshold (the threshold at which tokens were perceived as diphthongal during auditory analysis, see Chapter 4, Section 4.6.4); by comparison, the majority of Barnsley and Wakefield values cluster below *S* 0.25. Furthermore, there is a significant effect of location and dipDegree levels for FACE production, with Royston speakers producing significantly higher dipDegree levels than both Barnsley (β = 0.36, SE = 0.01, p< = 0.001), and Wakefield speakers (β = 0.29, SE = 0.01, p< = 0.001).

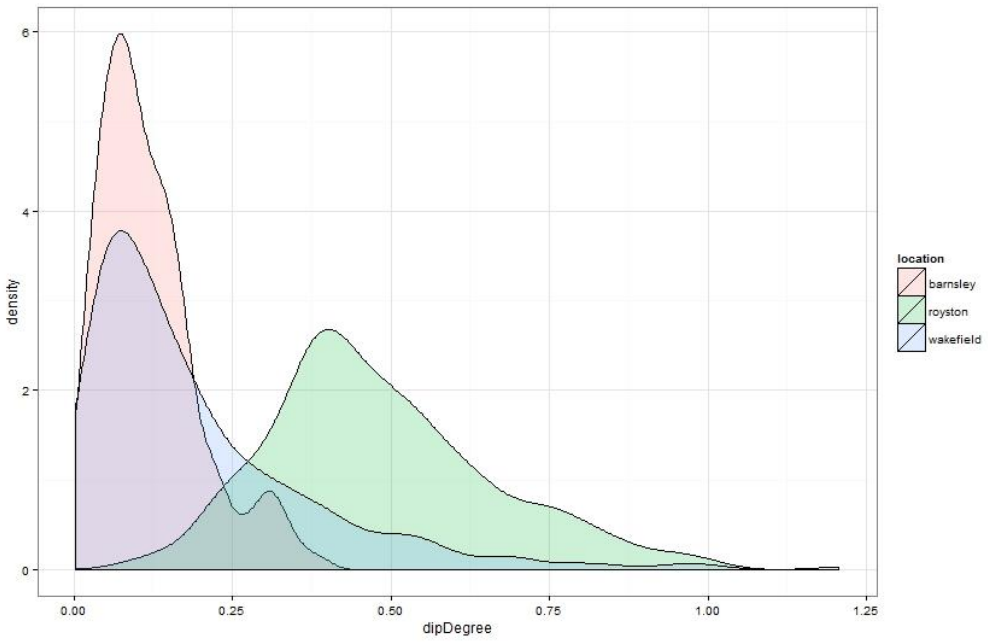

Figure 7.4: Density of FACE dipDegree values (*S*-transform) by location.

The distinction between the Royston FACE dipDegree values and those found in the adjacent varieties is at its greatest between the Royston and Barnsley speakers. Figure 7.4 also illustrates the similarity between the distribution of dipDegree values in the

Barnsley and Wakefield data. There is no significant effect of location and FACE dipDegree levels when comparing the Barnsley and Wakefield FACE production data.

7.3.2 Density of GOAT dipDegree Values by Location

Figure 7.5 demonstrates that the distinct majority of Royston GOAT dipDegree values cluster above the *S* 0.25 threshold, whilst the clear majority of Barnsley and Wakefield tokens cluster below this threshold. There is a significant effect of location and dipDegree levels for GOAT production with Royston speakers producing significantly higher dipDegree levels of GOAT than both Barnsley (β = 0.27, *SE* = 0.01, p< = 0.001), and Wakefield speakers (β = 0.24, *SE* = 0.01, p< = 0.001). This suggests a clear distinction between GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston wordlists when compared with the wordlists from Barnsley and Wakefield.

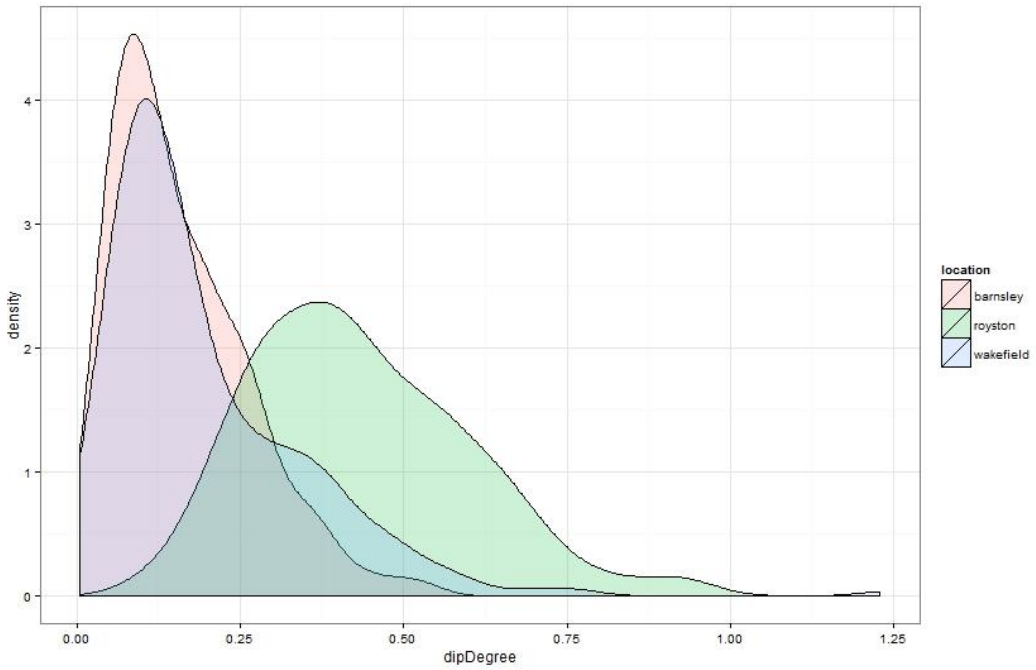

Figure 7.5: Density of GOAT dipDegree values (*S* –transform) by location.

As with the FACE values, the difference in GOAT dipDegree levels is at its greatest between the Royston and Barnsley speakers. However, this distinction is slightly lower than that found in FACE production. Again, there is no significant effect of location and dipDegree levels when Barnsley and Wakefield GOAT values are compared; and there is a greater level of similarity between the GOAT values in the two speech communities in comparison with FACE production.

The distribution of both FACE and GOAT dipDegree values across the three speech communities suggests a clear distinction between FACE and GOAT production in the Royston variety, versus the Barnsley and Wakefield speech varieties. For both FACE and GOAT production, the disparity is at its greatest between the Royston and Barnsley varieties; this is despite the fact that Royston has been part of the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley since 1974.

In order to further explore the nature of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation within the Royston variety, Section 7.4 considers how FACE and GOAT dipDegree values pattern according to age and gender. Sections 7.5 and 7.6 present equivalent FACE and GOAT dipDegree data from the Barnsley and Wakefield speech varieties respectively. The findings from the three speech communities are then compared in Section 7.7.

7.4 Royston FACE and GOAT: Levels of Diphthongisation

7.4.1 All Speakers: Levels of FACE and GOAT dipDegree

Figure 7.6 shows the mean dipDegree value for each speaker's FACE and GOAT tokens. All 24 Royston speakers have a mean dipDegree, for both FACE and GOAT production, which exceeds the *S* 0.25 threshold. This indicates that the diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT vowels is an established, community wide norm in the Royston variety.

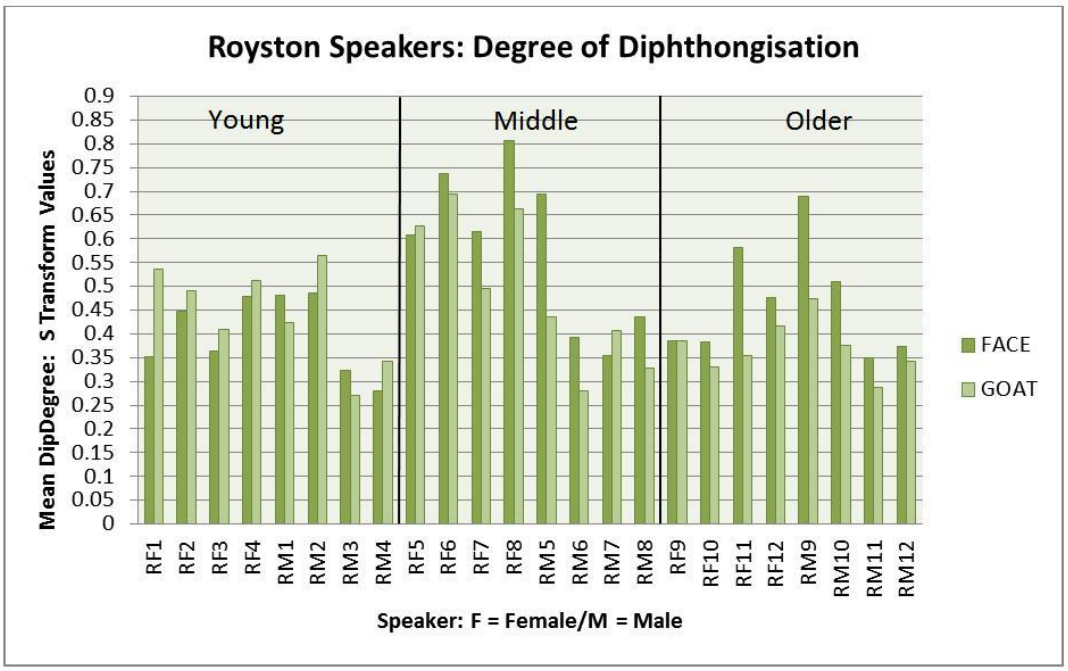

Figure 7.6: All Royston speakers: Mean FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels.

7.4.2 Levels of FACE dipDegree by Age

Figure 7.7 shows the distribution of dipDegree values for all FACE tokens produced by Royston speakers according to age category. The shaded sections in each box plot represent the interquartile range (the middle 50% of values). The horizontal line within each shaded area represents the median. The upper and lower edges of each shaded section represent the upper and lower quartiles respectively. The whiskers above and below represent the range between which the highest and lowest (respectively) 25% of scores are distributed. The dots represent outliers.

For all three generations, the main distribution of FACE dipDegree values lies above the *S* 0.25 threshold. Overall, middle generation speakers produce the highest FACE dipDegree values, followed by older and then younger speakers. There has been a slight decrease in levels of FACE diphthongisation over apparent time between the older and younger generations, although the difference between the two generations is not statistically significant; this suggests a degree of linguistic stability in the community as a whole over time (Sankoff 2005: 1004). However, the rise in FACE diphthongisation in the middle generation disrupts this continuity, producing a convex trajectory overall which may be more indicative of age grading than apparent time generational change. This suggests linguistic stability in the community as a whole over time, but that there may be linguistic instability or change in the middle phase of the individual adult lifetime (Sankoff 2005: 1004).

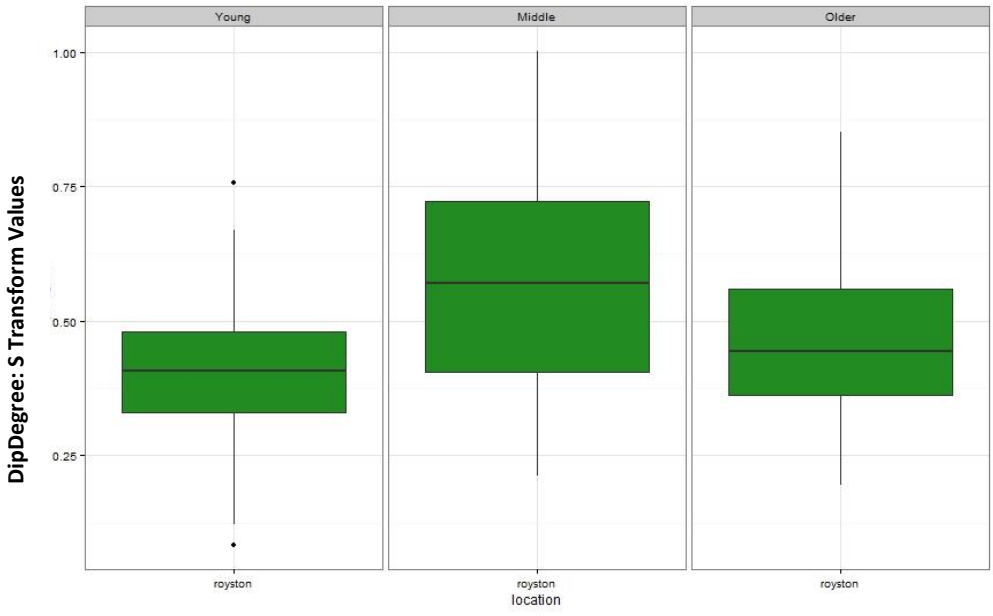

Figure 7.7: All Royston speakers: Distribution of FACE dipDegree values by age category.

Figure7.7 shows that the majority of all dipDegree values produced by older Royston speakers lie clearly above S 0.25 threshold. The lower whisker dips slightly below the threshold indicating that the older generation produce a small minority of monophthongal FACE tokens (see Chapter 6, Section 6.2).

Middle generation speakers produce markedly higher FACE dipDegree levels than older Royston speakers, although this rise is not statistically significant. Nonetheless, Figure7.7 shows that the majority of values produced by middle generation speakers fall above the interquartile range produced by the older generation.

FACE dipDegree levels for younger speakers are significantly lower (β = -0.17, SE = 0.06, p< = 0.05) than those produced by the middle generation, but are only marginally lower than levels produced by older speakers. The lower whisker (see Figure7.4) shows that younger speakers produce a greater proportion of values that are classed as monophthongal than either older or middle generation speakers, but these still represent a minority of their overall FACE values. Even though there is a decrease in FACE dipDegree levels in apparent time, the majority of values produced by younger Royston speakers remain markedly above the S 0.25 threshold.

7.4.3 Levels of FACE dipDegree by Gender

Gender has a significant effect upon FACE diphthongisation in the Royston variety, with females producing significantly higher dipDegree levels than males overall (β = 0.22, SE = 0.08, p< = 0.05).

7.4.3.1 Royston Females

Figure 7.8 shows that, for all three generations of Royston females the majority of FACE dipDegree values lie clearly above the S 0.25 threshold. There is a very slight decrease in FACE dipDegree levels between the older and younger generation Royston females, although this decrease is not statistically significant and levels of FACE diphthongisation are relatively stable between the two generations.

Figure 7.8: Royston Females: Distribution of FACE dipDegree values by age category.

However, mirroring the pattern observed in the gender combined data, the rise in FACE diphthongisation in the middle generation females disrupts this continuity, producing a convex trajectory overall which may be more indicative of age grading than apparent time generational change. FACE dipDegree levels produced by middle generation females are significantly higher than those found in the older (β = 0.23, *SE* = 0.06, p< = 0.01) and younger (β = -0.28, *SE* = 0.06, p< = 0.05) generation female speakers. Rather than illustrating a shift to increased levels of FACE diphthongisation during the temporal period represented by the middle generation this pattern could be indicative of linguistic *instability* or change in the middle phase of the Royston female adult lifespan (Sankoff 2005: 1004).

7.4.3.2 Royston Males

In a marked contrast to the trajectory of FACE production across the three generations of Royston female speakers, males produce very similar levels of diphthongisation in the three age categories, demonstrating a high degree of stability in FACE diphthongisation in apparent time (see Figure 7.9). There is no significant correlation between age and FACE dipDegree levels in the Royston male data. The majority of dipDegree values for all three age categories lie above the S 0.25 threshold, although the lower quartile for the younger generation sits only slightly above this level. The lower whiskers on the older and middle category box plots show that a minority of tokens are classed as monophthongal; this proportion is slightly greater for the younger cohort.

Figure 7.9: Royston Males: Distribution of FACE dipDegree values by age category.

Older Royston males have the highest FACE dipDegree levels, followed by the middle and then younger generation males producing a gradually decreasing monotonic trajectory in apparent time across the three generations. The rise in FACE dipDegree levels found in the middle generation Royston female data is not replicated in the Royston male FACE results.

7.4.4 Levels of GOAT dipDegree by Age

Figure 7.10 shows the combined distribution of GOAT values for all Royston speakers in each age category. There is a significant correlation between age and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston cohort, with a significant rise in dipDegree levels (β = 0.12, SE = 0.06, p< = 0.05) between the older and middle generations. As with FACE production, middle generation speakers produce the highest levels of diphthongisation, however, for GOAT production, younger speakers have the second highest levels, with older Royston speakers producing the lowest levels. In contrast to FACE production, this shows an increase in levels of GOAT diphthongisation in apparent time between the older and younger generations. There are no significant effects of preceding or following phonetic context for GOAT diphthongisation in relation to age or gender in the Royston data.

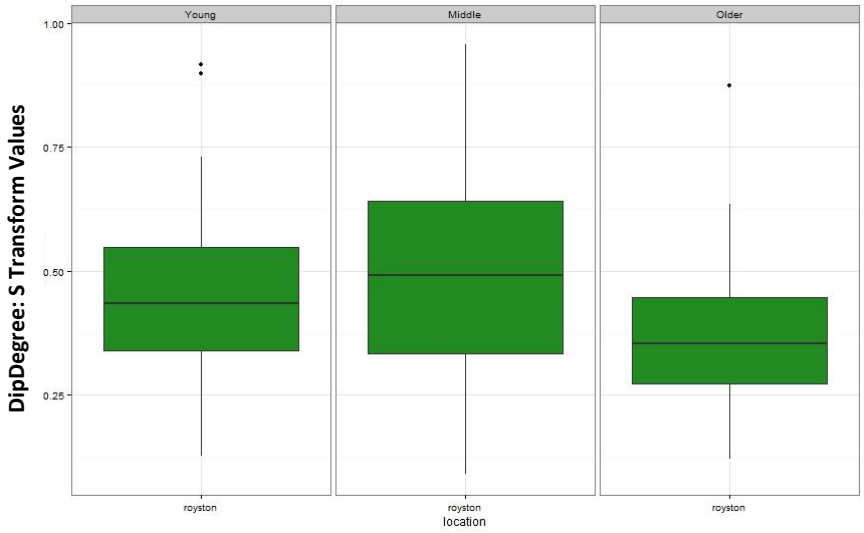

Figure 7.10: All Royston speakers: Distribution of GOAT dipDegree values by age category.

Older generation Royston speakers produce the lowest GOAT dipDegree levels. As shown in Figure 7.10, the lower quartile sits just slightly above the *S* 0.25 threshold. As with FACE production, there is a significant rise in dipDegree levels in the middle generation with the majority of GOAT values clustering above the interquartile range. However, in contrast to FACE production, GOAT dipDegree values for younger speakers are higher than those of older generation speakers. Despite the fall in levels between the middle and younger generations, taken in the context of the results overall, the data suggest that the diphthongisation of GOAT is not recessive in the Royston variety.

7.4.5 Levels of GOAT dipDegree by Gender

Gender has a slightly greater effect upon GOAT diphthongisation than it does for FACE production, with females producing significantly higher levels overall than males (β = 0.25, *SE* =0.06, p< = 0.001).

7.4.5.1 Royston Females

Figure 7.11 shows that the majority of GOAT dipDegree values for all three generations of Royston females lie above the *S* 0.25 threshold. Again, there is a convex apparent time trajectory with middle generation females producing the highest GOAT dipDegree levels, followed by younger and then older females. There is a significant correlation between GOAT dipDegree levels in the Royston female data, with middle generation females producing significantly higher levels than both older (β = 0.26, *SE* = 0.05, *p*< = 0.001), and younger (β = 0.13, *SE* = 0.05, *p*< = 0.05) females. However, younger Royston

females also produce significantly higher GOAT dipDegree levels than older Royston females (β = 0.13, SE = 0.04, p< = 0.05).

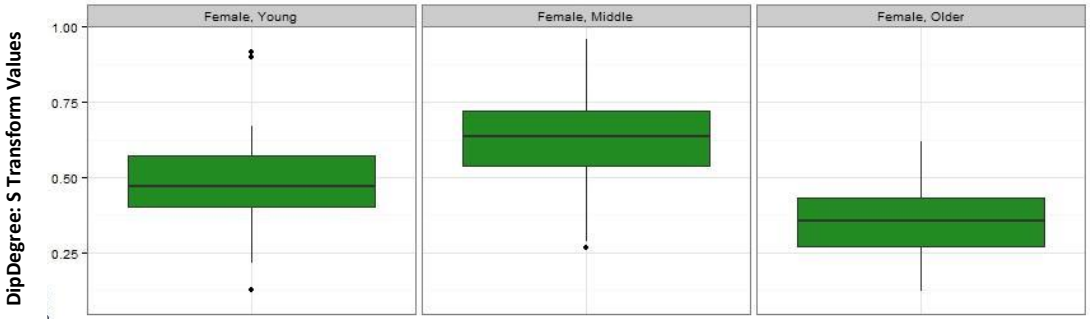

Figure 7.11: Royston Females: Distribution of GOAT dipDegree values by age category.

In contrast to FACE production, levels of GOAT diphthongisation show greater variability across the Royston female cohort. All three generations of Royston females clearly favour diphthongisation of GOAT, but this has increased significantly in the middle generation. Again, this could be indicative of age-graded, rather than gradual community wide generational change. However, there has also been a significant rise in the diphthongisation of GOAT in apparent time between the older and younger generation females. If this pattern is indicative of community-wide change, then there has been a move towards greater diphthongisation of GOAT in the Royston female population. This pattern does not resemble pan-Yorkshire norms which favour monophthongisation of GOAT.

7.4.5.2 Royston Males

Figure 7.12 shows that, as with FACE production, there is a degree of stability in terms of GOAT diphthongisation across the three generations of Royston males. There is no significant correlation between age and GOAT dipDegree levels in the Royston male data.

Figure 7.12: Royston Males: Distribution of GOAT dipDegree values by age category.

For all three age categories the lower quartile range falls only slightly above the *S* 0.25 threshold. However, in contrast to FACE production, younger Royston males produce the highest GOAT dipDegree levels, followed by the older and then middle generation males. Again, the rise in GOAT dipDegree levels found in the Royston gender combined and female data is not replicated in the Royston male GOAT results.

7.4.6 Discussion

The acoustic results presented in this section are intended to show apparent time variation and, whilst apparent time studies provide an effective means of using the present to explain the past (Labov 1978), the resultant data is nonetheless open to misdiagnosis, hence, age grading and generational change can become 'indistinguishable' (Wagner 2012: 374). The Royston acoustic data clearly shows that all three generations of Royston speakers favour diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT tokens across all linguistic environments tested. This indicates that diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT is well-established in the Royston variety.

For FACE, overall, the trajectory of apparent time change produces a convex curve, demonstrating a rise in FACE dipDegree levels in the middle generation (although this rise is attributed to female FACE production), which may be more indicative of age grading than of apparent time generational change. Although there has been a slight fall in levels of diphthongisation in apparent time between the older and younger speakers, levels of FACE dipDegree for these two generations are nonetheless very similar. Younger speakers show no indication that the patterns of FACE diphthongisation found in the older generation are being abandoned in favour of pan-Yorkshire monophthongal norms.

In terms of GOAT production, again, all three generations produce a majority of tokens which are categorised as diphthongal. The trajectory of apparent time change produces a similar convex trajectory (again attributed to female production), replicating the rise in dipDegree levels found in FACE production. However, if older and younger speakers are compared there has been a rise in GOAT diphthongisation. Younger generation Royston speakers appear to be both maintaining and increasing patterns of GOAT diphthongisation found in the older generation and are not levelling towards pan-regional monophthongal norms.

With the exception of FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels produced by middle generation females, we can observe a degree of linguistic stability in apparent time in the Royston

speech community, with all speakers favouring diphthongisation of both vocalic variants. The data show that diphthongisation of both FACE and GOAT is an established norm in the Royston variety, and there is no clear indication that this is receding.

There is linguistic stability (cf. Labov 2001; Trudgill 1974; Sankoff 2005) in the Royston community as a whole over apparent time, represented by the relatively stable levels produced by older and younger females, and by all three generations of Royston males. However, the rise in levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the middle generation females suggests that there may be linguistic instability, or change, over the adult lifetimes of Royston females, with a tendency for FACE and GOAT diphthongisation to rise mid-lifespan. This rise in diphthongisation could be indicative of age-grading and a situation where, due to the social pressures associated with this life stage, socially prestigious variables are favoured by Royston females (cf. Mathisen 1999: 119; Sankoff 2005). This could suggest that diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT is associated with increased overt social prestige by middle generation Royston females. However, this peak is not replicated in the FACE and GOAT production of middle generation Royston males. According to Tagliamonte (2012: 47) the use of, 'prestige forms peaks between the ages of 30 and 55 when people experience maximum social pressure to conform to the norms of the standard language'. That is to say, during the period of adolescence speakers have yet to be introduced to the social pressures of the workplace and, at the stage of retirement, speakers may be more able to escape the confines of social expectations. Given that women have been found to favour the most socially prestigious variants, then we might assume that diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT is assigned overt social prestige in the Royston speech community. High levels of FACE and GOAT dipDegree are characteristic of the Royston data overall; middle generation Royston females, therefore, can be seen to enhance a feature in their wordlist data which is already favoured by the speech community as a whole.

Milroy (1992:6) asserts that social norms are negotiated within the speech community, and that they 'depend on consensus among speakers within the community'. This suggests an agreed set of social norms that are shared by all. However, research which has considered the assignment of ideological or indexical values to linguistic practice (cf. Johnstone et al. 2006; Moore and Podesva 2009; Kirkham 2013) has shown that social norms attributed to linguistic features can be dynamic and fluid. Social norms, and consequently ideological values, can change, not only from one generation to the next, or one gender to another, but also within and across speech communities, social groupings, and individuals. It is therefore the case that greater levels of FACE and GOAT

diphthongisation in the Royston variety could signal both local and supra-local prestige, whilst simultaneously signifying local or vernacular loyalty.

Wagner (2012: 379) highlights the challenges in trying to define the social values assigned to sociolinguistic variables in the linguistic market. This would require us to identify 'those variables that are especially sensitive to marketplace pressure and those that are not'. The raised dipDegree values produced by Royston females suggest that they assign some form of social prestige to the diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT. However, in line with Milroy's (1992: 210) assertion regarding competing linguistic markets, this would require identification of the particular marketplace which is exerting influence upon their linguistic production. This will be explored further in Chapter 8.

The 'sociolinguistic gender pattern' (Fasold 1990: 92) predicts that women often have to use symbolic capital, signalling their social status through the use of standard or overtly prestigious forms, whilst men have a tendency to use more non-standard forms orienting to covert or vernacular norms in the speech community. However, whilst Cheshire (2004: 428) accepts that there are likely to be 'gross differences' between the linguistic behaviour of males and females within a given speech community, she nonetheless suggests that the 'empirical basis' which underpins the sociolinguistic gender pattern is 'questionable to say the least'. Foulkes and Docherty (1999: 16) put forward an alternative explanation regarding the linguistic orientation of females in the speech community. They suggest that the opposition between standard and non-standard is being 'superseded by an orientation on the part of speakers to non-local versus local forms', with females using fewer of the locally marked variants. Foulkes and Docherty (1999: 16) conclude that, '[t]his does not mean that females necessarily orient themselves towards the standard more than males, but rather that they are more susceptible to influences from any kind of non-local forms' (Foulkes and Docherty 1999: 16).

The high levels of FACE and GOAT dipDegree produced by all Royston speakers indicate that diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT is assigned the greatest local prestige. However, Chapter 6, Section 6.2 has already established that the Royston FACE and GOAT vowels do not resemble the SSBE diphthongs. This suggests that the data does not necessarily show an attempt to move further towards SSBE diphthongal forms, but may instead represent speakers' desire to distance themselves from the broader Barnsley norms. Milroy (1992: 210) observers that, 'if you study highly divergent vernaculars, you

cannot help being impressed by the sheer irrelevance of the 'standard' or the 'legitimate' language in many situations'.

What is clear, however, is that the data show some variation in terms of male and female FACE and GOAT dipDegree in the Royston variety. Cheshire (2004: 428) observes that such differences 'are likely to be socially evaluated and … have an important role in the relation between social and stylistic variation'. In order to understand these social evaluations the indexical values that underpin patterns of diphthongisation produced by the Royston speakers will be examined in Chapter 8.

Ultimately, it has to be emphasised that the acoustic data presented in Section 7.4 demonstrates that all three generations of Royston speakers clearly favour the diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT vowels. This linguistic practice is atypical of pan-Yorkshire phonological norms for FACE and GOAT, where diphthongisation has undergone a rapid process of attrition in favour of the monophthongisation of both forms.

7.5 Barnsley FACE and GOAT: Levels of Diphthongisation

Section 7.4 considers the acoustic results for FACE and GOAT production in the Barnsley data, in order to establish whether levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation found in the Royston variety resemble those found in the wider Barnsley speech community.

7.5.1 All Speakers: Levels of FACE and GOAT dipDegree

Figure 7.13 shows the mean dipDegree for each Barnsley speakers' FACE and GOAT tokens. 22 out of 24 Barnsley speakers (92%) have a mean dipDegree which lies below the *S* 0.25 threshold. This demonstrates a high degree of stability in the production of monophthongal forms of FACE and GOAT spanning the three generations in the Barnsley speech community. Only two out of 24 Barnsley speakers (8%) reach or exceed the *S* 0.25 threshold (for GOAT production only), both are older females.

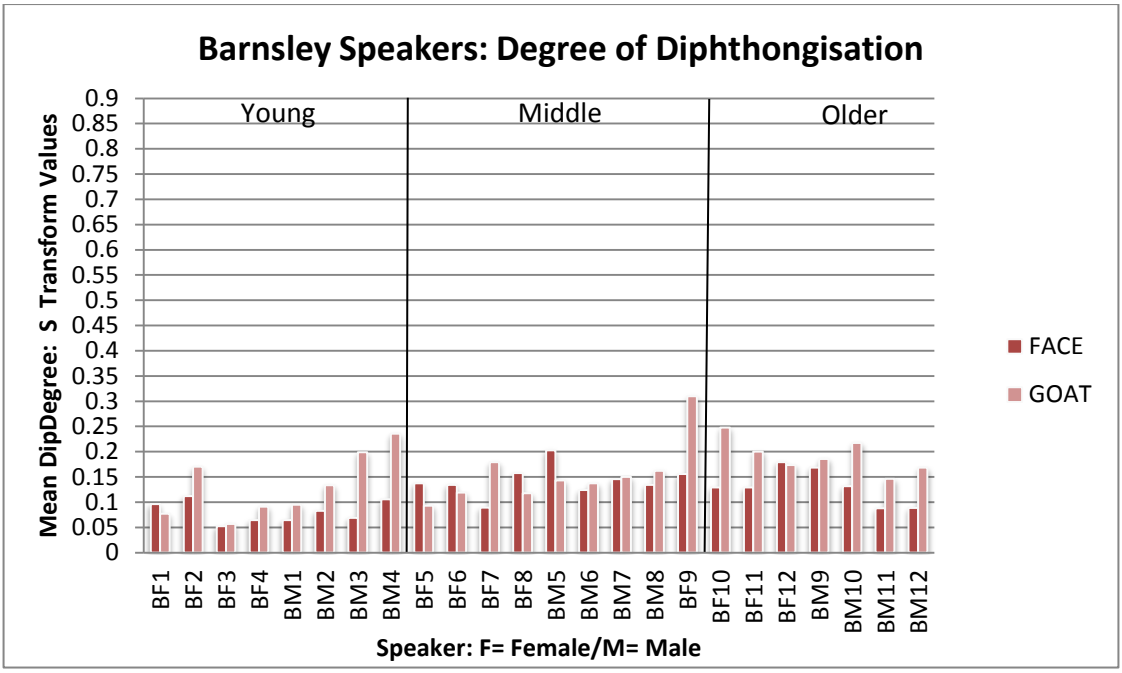

Figure 7.13: All Barnsley speakers: Mean FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels.

7.5.2 Levels of FACE dipDegree by Age

Figure 7.14 shows the distribution of dipDegree values for all FACE tokens produced by Barnsley speakers in each age category. The main distribution of FACE dipDegree values for all three generations fall clearly below the *S* 0.25 threshold.

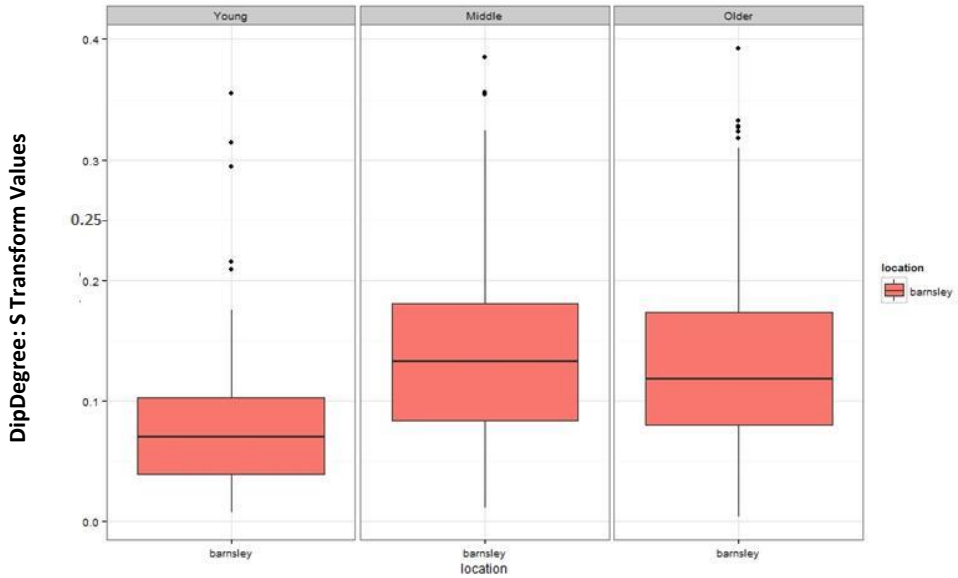

Figure 7.14: All Barnsley speakers: Distribution of FACE dipDegree values by age category.

There is a degree of stability in FACE dipDegree levels produced by the older and middle generations, with the upper whisker in Figure 7.13 indicating that both generations produce some diphthongal tokens, although this represents a small minority of the overall values for FACE in each cohort. However, this relative stability is disrupted in the younger generation, with younger speakers producing significantly lower levels than both middle (β = -0.6, *SE* = 0.15, p< = 0.001), and older generation speakers (β = -0.05, *SE* = 0.14, p< = 0.01). The small proportion of diphthongal FACE values produced by younger Barnsley speakers are all categorised as outliers (see Figure 7.13). This indicates that FACE diphthongisation is recessive in the younger Barnsley generation.

7.5.3 Levels of FACE dipDegree by Gender

There is no significant correlation between gender and FACE dipDegree levels in the Barnsley data.

7.5.3.1 Barnsley Females

Figure 7.15 shows the distribution of dipDegree values for FACE tokens produced by the three generations of Barnsley females. The clear majority of values produced by all speakers fall below the *S* 0.25 threshold.

Figure 7.15 Barnsley Females: Distribution of FACE dipDegree values by age category.

Older Barnsley females produce the highest FACE dipDegree levels, with the upper whisker indicating the production of a small minority of diphthongal FACE tokens. They are followed by middle generation females who produce very similar levels, indicating a degree of stability between the two generations. However, younger Barnsley females produce significantly lower levels than both middle (β = -0.5, *SE* = 0.02, p< = 0.05), and older (β = -0.7, *SE* = 0.02, p< = 0.05), generation females, producing only one diphthongal FACE value which is classed as an outlier.

This monotonic trajectory with steadily decreasing dipDegree levels in apparent time across the three generations is indicative of generational change, representing linguistic stability within the adult lifetime of the Barnsley females, but demonstrating linguistic change in apparent time in the community as a whole (Sankoff 2005: 1004). The small proportion of residual FACE diphthongisation found in the older generation females is progressively receding in the repertoires of middle and younger generation Barnsley females.

7.5.3.2 Barnsley Males

As Figure 7.16 shows, the interquartile range for all three generations of Barnsley males falls below the *S* 0.25 threshold. Middle generation males produce the highest FACE dipDegree levels, followed by older and then younger Barnsley males. Middle generation Barnsley males are the only speakers across all three speech communities to produce dipDegree values that are impacted by phonetic environment. For middle generation Barnsley males, there is a significant rise in FACE dipDegree levels (β = -0.3, *SE* = 0.01, p< = 0.01) in tokens with a following voiced plosive. As this result is atypical of all other FACE and GOAT findings across the three locations I have not explored it further within the parameters of this thesis.

Figure 7.16: Barnsley Males: Distribution of FACE dipDegree values by age category.

The rise in dipDegree levels between the older and middle generation males is not statistically significant; however, younger Barnsley males produce significantly lower FACE dipDegree levels than middle generation males (β = -0.7, *SE* = 0.02, p< = 0.05). There is scant evidence of some residual FACE diphthongisation in the older and middle generation males, and less evidence still of diphthongisation in the repertoires of younger Barnsley males.

7.5.4 Levels of GOAT dipDegree by Age

Figure 7.17 shows the combined dipDegree values for all GOAT tokens produced by Barnsley speakers in each age category. For middle and younger generation Barnsley speakers the main distribution of GOAT dipDegree values falls clearly below the *S* 0.25 threshold; but for older generation speakers a proportion of the values lie above the threshold, indicating a degree of variability in GOAT production in this generation. There is a significant correlation between age and GOAT dipDegree levels in the Barnsley data, with older speakers producing significantly higher dipDegree levels than both middle (β = 0.6, *SE* = 0.02, p< = 0.05), and younger generation (β = 0.07, *SE* = 0.03, p< = 0.05) speakers.

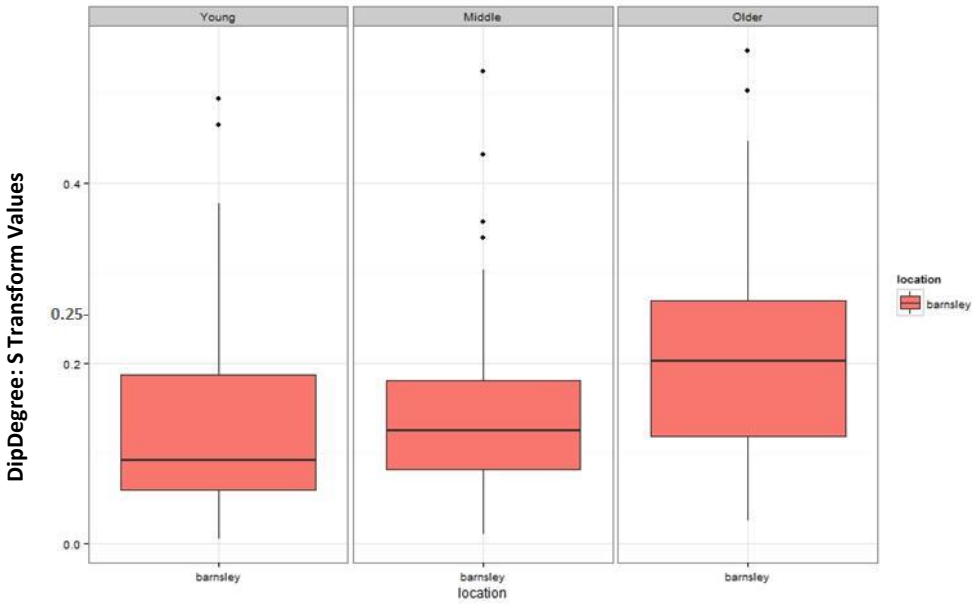

Figure 7.17: All Barnsley Speakers: Distribution of GOAT dipDegree values by age category.

The similarity in the GOAT dipDegree values produced by middle and younger generation speakers suggests a move towards greater stability in the production of GOAT in apparent time spanning these two generations, and a levelling towards greater monophthongisation of GOAT in the Barnsley variety as a whole. This stability contrasts with the significantly higher GOAT dipDegree levels produced by older speakers, indicating that any historic diphthongisation of GOAT is receding rapidly in the repertoires of subsequent generations.

7.5.5 Levels of GOAT dipDegree by Gender

As with FACE, there is no significant correlation between GOAT dipDegree levels and gender in the Barnsley data.

7.5.5.1 Barnsley Females

Figure 7.18 shows a monotonic trajectory, with decreasing GOAT dipDegree values in apparent time across the three generations. Age has a significant effect upon GOAT dipDegree levels in the Barnsley female data, with older females producing significantly higher levels than both middle (β = 0.11, SE = 0.03, p< = 0.05) and younger (β = 0.13, SE = 0.04, p< = 0.05) speakers. For older females, the interquartile range straddles the S 0.25 threshold indicating a degree of variability in GOAT production in this generation.

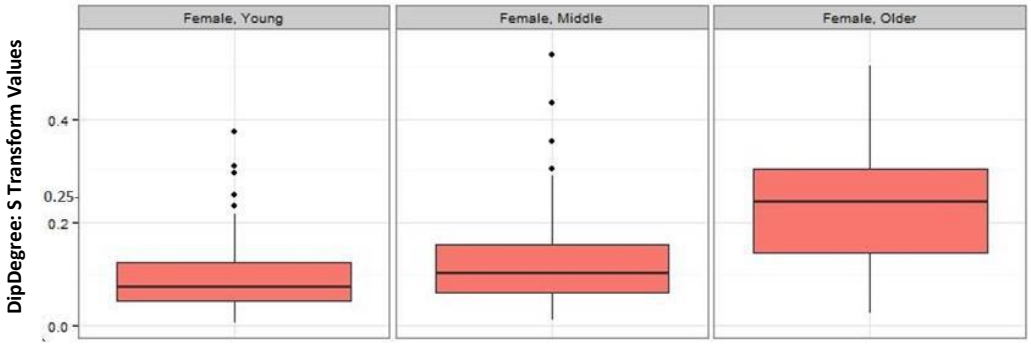

Figure 7.18: Barnsley Females: Distribution of GOAT dipDegree values by age category.

However, for middle and younger Barnsley females, the majority of values fall below the threshold, and GOAT dipDegree levels produced by these two generations are closely aligned. As with FACE production, this illustrates that any historic diphthongisation of GOAT in the repertoires of older females is rapidly receding in the middle and younger generations of Barnsley females.

7.5.5.2 Barnsley Males

For Barnsley males, Figure 7.19 shows that the majority of GOAT dipDegree values for all three generations remain below the S 0.25 threshold, and there is no significant correlation between age and GOAT dipDegree levels in the Barnsley male data. There is very little fluctuation in the levels produced across the three generations.

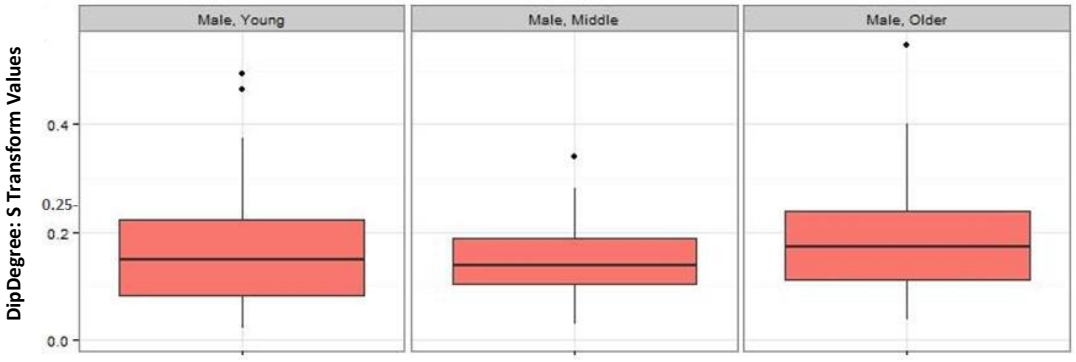

Figure 7.19: Barnsley Males: Distribution of GOAT dipDegree values by age category.

This relatively flat trajectory is indicative of linguistic stability, both in the adult lifetimes of the Barnsley males and in apparent time across the community as a whole (Sankoff 2005: 1004).

7.5.6 Discussion

The data has shown a higher proportion of FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels produced by older Barnsley females, in comparison to those produced by middle and younger generation males and females. However, Figure 7.19 shows that any residual diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT is receding rapidly in the middle and younger generation females, whilst both FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels have remained consistently low in the repertoires of all three generations of Barnsley males.

Barnsley Females appear to be leading in the move towards greater levels of FACE and GOAT monophthongisation. If the variant used most commonly by women has the potential to create prestige within the speech community (Eckert 2000; Cheshire 2004) then this could suggest that monophthongal forms of both FACE and GOAT hold greater social prestige in the Barnsley variety during the period spanning the middle and younger generations. This mirrors the pattern found in pan-Yorkshire varieties (see Chapter 5), which demonstrates a move away from diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT, and a shift towards monophthongisation of both vocalic forms. Overall, there is a high degree of stability in the monophthongisation of FACE and GOAT in the Barnsley speech community, evident in the linguistic production of males and females spanning the three generations. A detailed comparison of the Barnsley and Royston data is provided in Section 7.7. However, it is immediately clear that levels of FACE and GOAT dipDegree in the Barnsley variety do not resemble those found in the Royston speech community.

7.6 Wakefield FACE and GOAT: Levels of Diphthongisation

7.6.1 All Speakers: Levels of FACE and GOAT dipDegree

Figure 7.20 shows the mean dipDegree for each Wakefield speaker's FACE and GOAT tokens. The majority of participants, 17 out of 24 (71%), have a mean dipDegree which lies below the *S* 0.25 threshold. The remaining seven Wakefield speakers have a mean of *S* 0.25 or above. Of the seven, four are middle generation males, two are older generation females, and one is a middle generation female. All four middle generation males have mean dipDegree values, for both FACE and GOAT, which lie above the *S* 0.25 threshold. Of the two older diphthongal females, WF11 has a mean dipDegree above *S* 0.25 for both FACE and GOAT production; and WF9 has a mean dipDegree above *S* 0.25 for FACE production only. The middle generation female (WF7) has a mean dipDegree for GOAT production which lies only marginally above *S* 0.25.

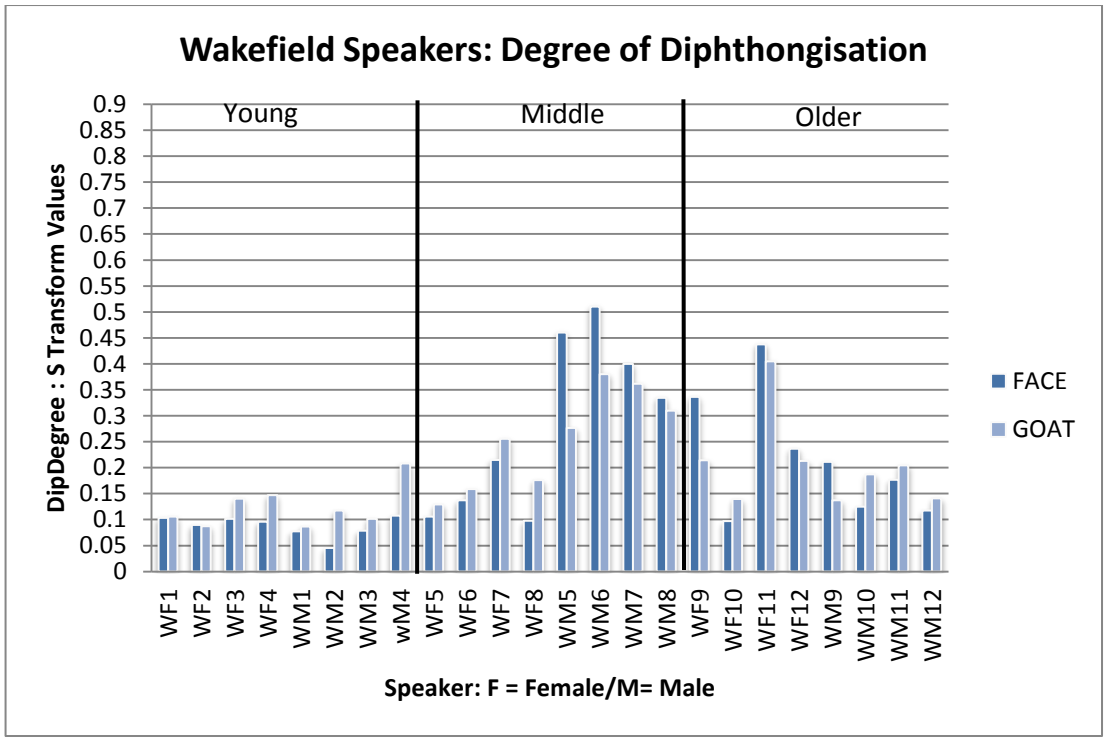

Figure 7.20: All Wakefield speakers: Mean FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels.

7.6.2 Levels of FACE dipDegree by Age

There is a significant interaction between age and FACE dipDegree levels in the Wakefield data, with levels for younger speakers significantly lower than both middle (β = -0.19, *SE* = 0.06, p< = 0.01) and older (β = -0.12, *SE* = 0.04, p< = 0.01) generations. Figure 7.21 shows the dipDegree values for all FACE tokens produced by Wakefield

speakers according to age category. Although the median for all three generations falls below the *S* 0.25 threshold the convex trajectory shows greater levels of FACE diphthongisation in the middle generation than in the older and younger cohorts, a pattern which may be indicative of age-grading rather than generational change. Overall this indicates a degree of variability in the production of FACE within the Wakefield speech community.

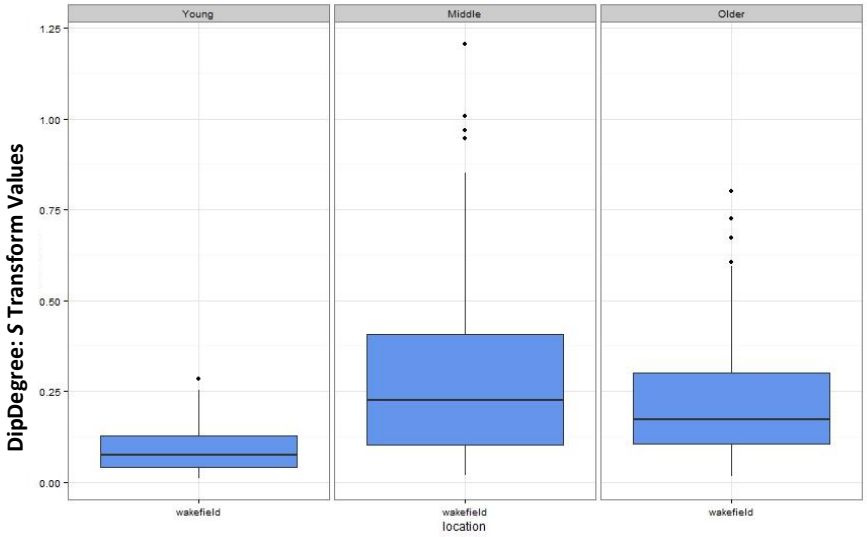

Figure 7.21: All Wakefield Speakers: Distribution of FACE dipDegree values by age category.

For older generation Wakefield speakers, the majority of values lie below the *S* 0.25 threshold, but a proportion lie above indicating some variation in FACE production in this age bracket. For the middle generation, the interquartile range straddles the *S* 0.25 threshold with an extended whisker above indicating a high degree of variation in terms of FACE production in this age category.

For younger Wakefield speakers the interquartile range falls markedly below *S* 0.25, with only one outlying token exceeding the threshold. The FACE dipDegree levels produced by younger generation Wakefield speakers are significantly lower than those produced by middle and older generation speakers, indicating that any FACE diphthongisation present in the repertoires of older and middle speakers has almost entirely receded in the younger generation.

7.6.3 Levels of FACE dipDegree by Gender

There is a correlation between gender and levels of FACE diphthongisation in the Wakefield data set, with males producing significantly higher (β = 0.29, SE = 0.05, p< = 0.001) FACE dipDegree levels than females.

7.6.3.1 Wakefield Females

Figure 7.22 shows the distribution of dipDegree values for FACE tokens produced by the three generations of Wakefield females. Overall a monotonic trajectory is evident in apparent time, with progressively decreasing dipDegree levels demonstrating a move towards greater monophthongisation of FACE.

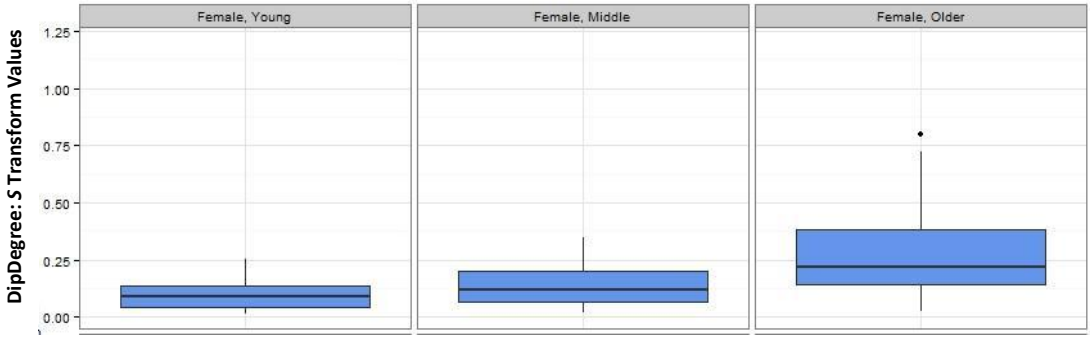

Figure 7.22: Wakefield Females: Distribution of FACE dipDegree values by age category.

For older Wakefield females the interquartile range straddles the S 0.25 threshold, representing a degree of variation in the production of FACE in this generation. Levels decrease markedly between the older and middle generations with a small minority of values exceeding the threshold for middle generation Wakefield Females. If older and younger females are compared then there has been a significant decrease in FACE diphthongisation, with younger Wakefield females producing significantly lower levels (β = -0.18, SE = 0.07, p< = 0.05) than older females. Levels produced by middle and younger females are very closely aligned, suggesting that the higher levels of FACE diphthongisation found in the repertories of older Wakefield females may be a relic of a formerly more widespread diphthongisation of FACE in the Wakefield variety. Middle and younger females are clearly shifting toward greater stability in the monophthongisation of FACE.

7.6.3.2 Wakefield Males

Figure 7.23 shows that, for younger and older generation Wakefield males, the majority of FACE dipDegree values fall below the *S* 0.25 threshold. By contrast, the majority of values produced by middle generation males exceed *S* 0.25.

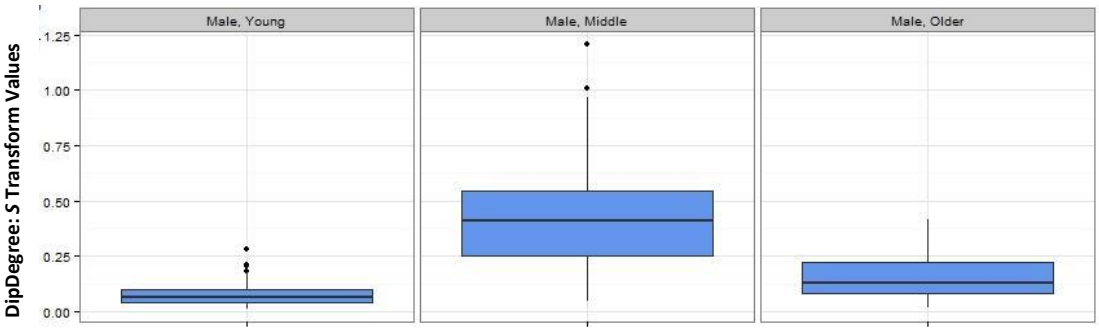

Figure 7.23: Wakefield Males: Distribution of FACE dipDegree values by age category.

There is a correlation between age and FACE dipDegree values in the Wakefield male cohort, with middle generation males producing significantly higher levels than both older (β = 0.26, *SE* = 0.04, p< = 0.001), and younger (β = 0.35, *SE* = 0.04, p< = 0.001) Wakefield males. Middle generation Wakefield males clearly favour diphthongisation of FACE; this is a reversal of FACE production found in the older and middle generation males who favour monophthongisation.

Middle generation males are clearly atypical in terms of the trend observed in younger and older male FACE production in the Wakefield speech community (see Chapter 6, Section 6.4).

7.6.4 Levels of GOAT dipDegree by Age

Figure 7.24 shows the combined dipDegree values for all GOAT tokens produced by Wakefield speakers in each age category. There is a correlation between age and GOAT dipDegree levels in the Wakefield data, with younger speakers producing significantly lower values than both middle (β = -0.13, *SE* = 0.04, p< = 0.01), and older (β = 0.8, *SE* = 0.03, p< = 0.05) generations.

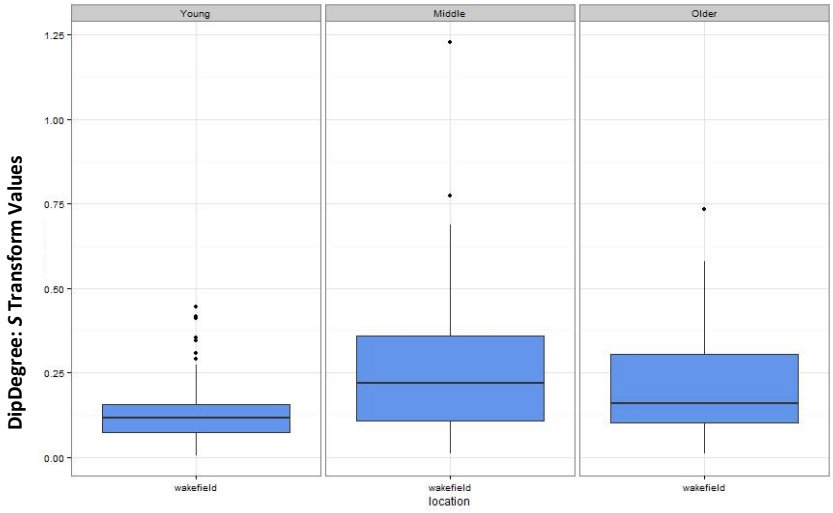

Figure 7.24: All Wakefield Speakers: Distribution of GOAT dipDegree values by age category.

As with FACE production, the median for all three generations falls below the *S* 0.25 threshold, and the convex trajectory shows greater levels of GOAT diphthongisation in the middle generation than in the older and younger age categories. Overall, this indicates a degree of variability in terms of GOAT production within the Wakefield speech community.

For older Wakefield speakers the majority of GOAT dipDegree values cluster below the *S* 0.25 threshold, however, a proportion exceeds the threshold, indicating a degree of variation in the production of GOAT tokens in the older generation. For the middle generation, the interquartile range straddles the threshold, again showing variation in terms of GOAT production. However, for younger speakers, the majority of all GOAT values lie below the *S* 0.25 threshold, and the significant decrease in GOAT dipDegree levels indicate that younger generation Wakefield speakers overwhelmingly favour monophthongisation of GOAT, whilst GOAT diphthongisation is recessive in this generation.

7.6.5 Levels of GOAT dipDegree by Gender

There is a correlation between gender and levels of GOAT diphthongisation in the Wakefield data set, with males producing significantly higher (β = 0.15, *SE* = 0.04, p< = 0.01) GOAT dipDegree levels than females in the middle generation.

7.6.5.1 Wakefield Females

Figure 7.25 shows a monotonic trajectory, indicative of generational change. The gradually decreasing GOAT dipDegree levels across the three generations of Wakefield females demonstrate an apparent time shift toward greater monophthongisation of GOAT. There is a degree of variation in the older female cohort, with the interquartile range straddling the *S* 0.25 threshold.

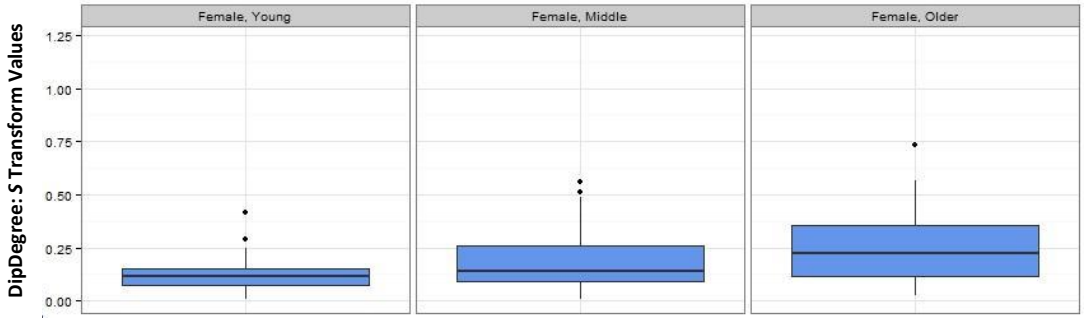

Figure 7.25: Wakefield Females: Distribution of GOAT dipDegree values by age category.

However, any trace elements of GOAT diphthongisation recede between the older and middle generation speakers. The majority of GOAT values produced by middle generation females lie below the *S* 0.25 threshold. This trend accelerates in the younger generation, where only two outliers exceed the *S* 0.25 threshold. When older and younger females are compared, there is a correlation between age and GOAT dipDegree levels, with younger females producing significantly lower values (β = -0.18, SE = 0.07, p< = 0.05) than older females. Any relic of GOAT diphthongisation found in the repertoires of older generation Wakefield females shows evidence of attrition in the subsequent two generations.

7.6.5.2 Wakefield Males

Figure 7.26 illustrates a convex trajectory with a rise in GOAT dipDegree values produced by the middle generation Wakefield males. If the levels for older and younger males are compared then there is degree of stability in terms of GOAT production with the majority of values falling clearly below the *S* 0.25 threshold for both cohorts, and no significant correlation between age and GOAT dipDegree levels.

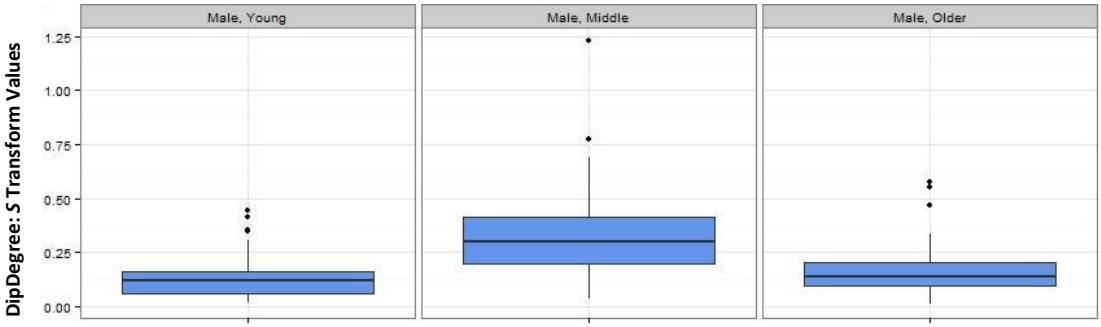

Figure 7.26: Wakefield Males: Distribution of GOAT dipDegree values by age category.

The rise in dipDegree levels in the middle generation disrupts this stability. The majority of GOAT dipDegree values produced by middle generation males exceed the *S* 0.25 threshold. This is in opposition to the pattern found in the older and younger generations of Wakefield males. GOAT dipDegree levels produced by middle generation males are significantly higher than both older (β = 0.16, *SE* = 0.03, p< = 0.001), and younger (β = 0.20, *SE* = 0.03, p< = 0.001) Wakefield males. Middle generation males favour diphthongisation of GOAT, whilst older and younger Wakefield males favour monophthongisation. As with FACE production, this marks the middle generation as atypical in terms of GOAT production in the Wakefield male cohort.

7.6.6 Discussion

Although Wakefield males and Wakefield females show a decrease in diphthongisation between the older and younger generations the trajectory of apparent time change is very different for the two genders. For Wakefield females the monotonic trajectory is indicative of generational change and demonstrates a gradual reduction in FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels in apparent time, and a move towards greater monophthongisation of both vowels. The higher levels of FACE and GOAT dipDegree produced by the older Wakefield females suggests that diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT may be a relic of a more widespread historical norm in the Wakefield variety. However, the decreasing dipDegree levels produced by middle and younger females show that diphthongisation of both FACE and GOAT is rapidly receding in the repertoires of Wakefield females. If Wakefield females are favouring more prestigious norms of FACE and GOAT which circulate in the speech community (cf. Fasold 1990), then this could suggest that monophthongisation of both FACE and GOAT has gained increasing social prestige in the Wakefield variety.

The male trajectory for both FACE and GOAT production provides a contrast to the gradual change observed in apparent time across the Wakefield female cohort. For

Wakefield males, the convex trajectory shows a significant increase in levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the middle generation, creating the greatest level of divergence between dipDegree levels produced by males and females in the Wakefield data set.

Attitudinal data has not been collected from Wakefield speakers, but employment details show that three out of the four middle generation Wakefield males are ex-miners, this could indicate that their diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT is a result of their industrial identity and intra-group vernacular norms (Kerswill 1984:20), rather than adherence to standard or community wide prestige norms. Both Cave (2001) and Devlin (2014) highlight the remarkably enduring nature of the mining legacy in speech communities which have long since lost their mining industry. This legacy also permeates the linguistic sphere, and can be observed in the shared linguistic practices of ex-mine workers (cf. Cave 2001; Devlin 2014). Where the majority of the Wakefield speakers may regard diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT as outmoded, by contrast, middle generation males may value diphthongisation as emblematic of their industrial heritage (see Chapter 6, Section 6.4).

With the exception of the middle generation males, the remaining Wakefield speakers demonstrate an apparent time shift away from diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT, and a move towards greater monophthongisation of the two vocalic forms. This mirrors the trend found in pan-regional dialects of South and West Yorkshire (see Chapter 5, Section, 5.2), which also favour the monophthongisation of both FACE and GOAT.

7.7 Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield FACE and GOAT: Comparison of Levels of Diphthongisation

Sections 7.4, 7.5, and 7.6 considered degrees of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation within the dialects of Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield respectively, and looked at the trajectory of FACE and GOAT production in apparent time across the three generations in each location. Sections 7.7 will consider how levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston variety compare with levels found in the neighbouring speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield.

7.7.1 Levels of FACE dipDegree by Age: Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Compared

Figure 7.27 provides a comparison of FACE dipDegree values in the three locations, showing the full distribution of values for all speakers according to age. If older generation speakers across the three locations are compared, then there is a significant correlation between location and FACE dipDegree levels. Older Royston speakers produce significantly higher FACE dipDegree levels than older Barnsley (β = 0.34, *SE* = 0.05, p< = 0.001), and older Wakefield (β = 0.25, *SE* = 0.06, p< = 0.001) speakers. However, the difference between the levels produced by the older generation Barnsley and Wakefield speakers is not statistically significant.

The disparity between Royston and Barnsley FACE dipDegree levels is at its greatest in the middle generation, with middle generation Royston speakers producing significantly higher (β = 0.44, *SE* = 0.07, p< = 0.001) FACE dipDegree levels than Barnsley speakers. Where there is a rise in levels produced by middle generation Royston speakers, levels for Barnsley speakers remain relatively stable between the older and middle generations.

Where diphthongisation of FACE increases in the Royston middle generation, it also increases in the middle generation Wakefield speakers. Nonetheless, middle generation Royston speakers produce significantly higher (β = 0.30, *SE* = 0.08, p< = 0.01), FACE dipDegree values than middle generation Wakefield speakers. It is in the middle generation that Barnsley and Wakefield speakers are at their most divergent in terms of FACE dipDegree levels, with Wakefield speakers producing significantly higher levels (β = 0.12, *SE* = 0.06, p< = 0.05) than Barnsley speakers.

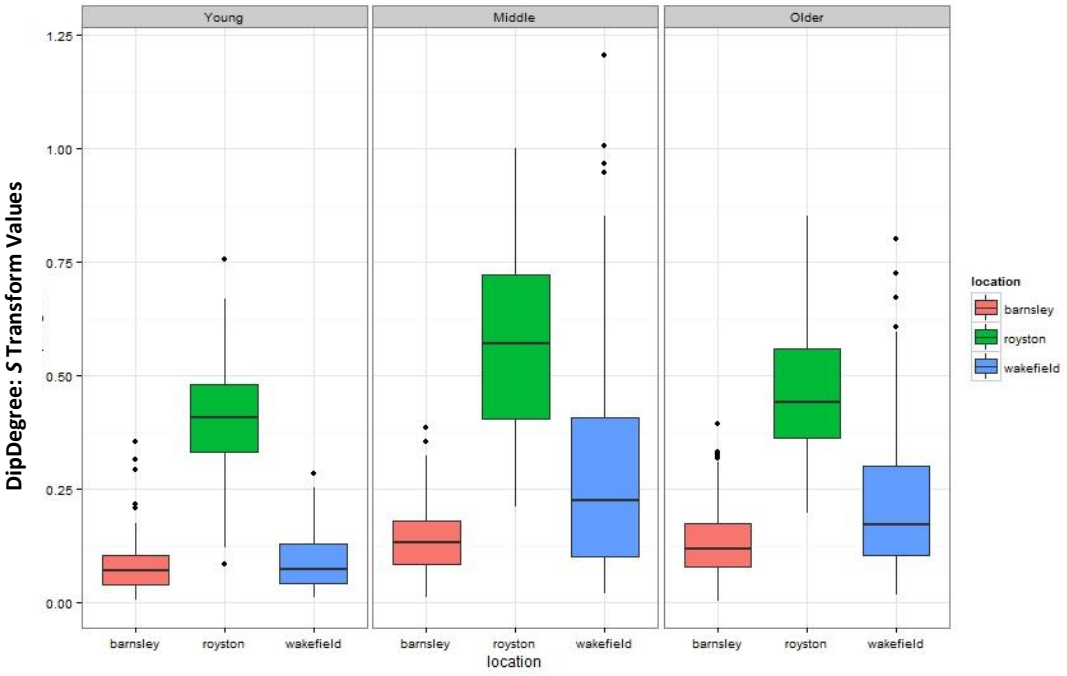

Figure 7.27: Distribution of FACE dipDegree values by age and location.

The situation in the younger generation is perhaps the most interesting as, despite the fact that FACE dipDegree levels for all three locations are at their lowest in this age category, the distinction between the Royston speakers and those in the Barnsley and Wakefield cohorts is at its greatest in the younger generation. Younger Royston speakers produce significantly higher FACE dipDegree values than younger Barnsley speakers (β = 0.32, *SE* = 0.03, p< = 0.001). Figure 7.27 shows the clear disparity in FACE production, with the overwhelming majority of values produced by older Royston speakers exceeding the *S* 0.25 threshold, whereas only three outlying tokens produced by younger Barnsley speakers lie above *S* 0.25. Younger Royston speakers produce significantly higher FACE dipDegree levels (β = 0.31, *SE* = 0.03, p< = 0.001) than younger Wakefield speakers. On the other hand, it is in the younger age category that we see a greater alignment in levels of FACE dipDegree produced by Barnsley and Wakefield speakers.

7.7.2 Levels of FACE dipDegree by Gender: Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Compared

7.7.2.1 Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Females

Figure 7.28 provides a comparison of female FACE dipDegree values in the three locations, showing the full distribution of values for all speakers according to age.

Older Royston females produce significantly higher FACE dipDegree values (β = 0.31, *SE* = 0.07, p< = 0.01) than older Barnsley females. Older Barnsley females produce the highest FACE dipDegree levels out of the three generations of Barnsley females; nonetheless, the majority of their values still fall markedly below the *S* 0.25 threshold.

Older generation Wakefield females produce the highest FACE dipDegree values of the three generations of Wakefield females. Furthermore, for this generation, the disparity in FACE dipDegree levels produced by Royston and Wakefield females is not statistically significant. However, older Wakefield females are more variable in terms of FACE production as their distribution of FACE dipDegree values straddle the *S* 0.25 threshold. Additionally, despite the fact that the distinction between FACE dipDegree levels produced by Barnsley and Wakefield females is at its greatest in the older generation, this difference is not statistically significant. Nonetheless, the greatest disparity in FACE production in the older generation females is between the Royston females and the females in the remainder of the Barnsley borough.

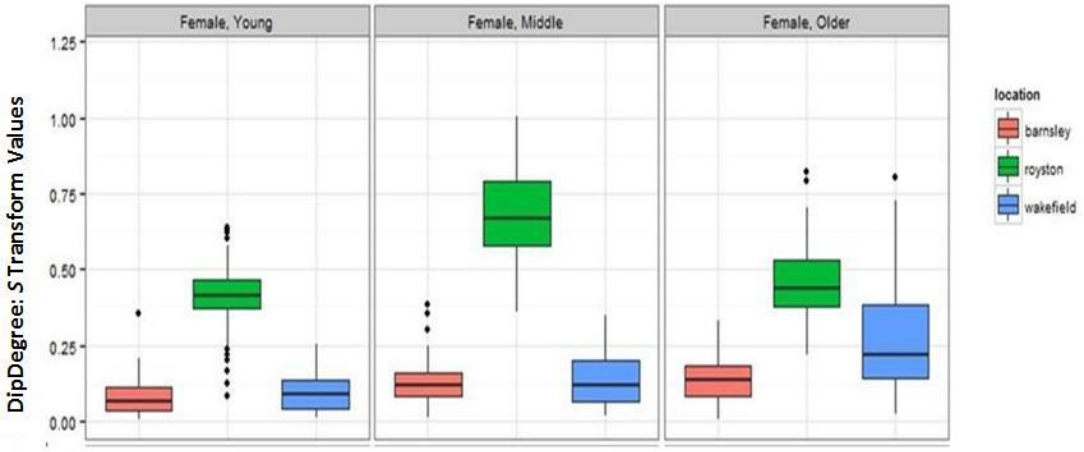

Figure 7.28: Distribution of female FACE dipDegree values by age and location.

The contrast between the production of FACE diphthongisation by Royston females in comparison to the Barnsley and Wakefield female production is at its greatest in the middle generation. Where FACE dipDegree levels rise significantly for middle generation Royston females, they fall slightly for middle generation Barnsley females, and markedly for middle generation Wakefield females. FACE dipDegree levels produced by middle generation Royston females are significantly higher than those produced by middle generation Barnsley (β = 0.56, *SE* = 0.05, p< = 0.001), and Wakefield females (β = 0.55, *SE* = 0.05, p< = 0.001). However, FACE dipDegree levels produced by Barnsley

and Wakefield females are very closely aligned in this age category, and there is no significant disparity in levels produced by these two cohorts in the middle generation.

Due to a fall in FACE dipDegree levels between the middle and younger generation Royston females, the disparity between FACE dipDegree levels produced by Royston females and those produced by younger Barnsley and Wakefield females is reduced in comparison with FACE production in the middle generation. Nonetheless, younger Royston females produce significantly higher FACE dipDegree values than younger generation Barnsley (β = 0.33, *SE* = 0.28, p< = 0.001) and Wakefield (β = 0.31, *SE* = 0.31, p< = 0.001) females. As Figure 7.33 illustrates, this distinction in FACE dipDegree levels produced by younger Royston speakers is greater than that found in the older generation females. Again, levels for younger Barnsley and Wakefield speakers are very closely aligned, and the difference is not statistically significant. Younger Royston females are clearly not levelling towards patterns of FACE production found in the Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities.

7.7.2.2 Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Males

Figure 7.29 provides a comparison of male FACE dipDegree values in the three locations, showing the full distribution of values for all speakers according to age. Older Royston males produce significantly higher FACE dipDegree values than older Barnsley (β = 0.36, *SE* = 0.07, p< = 0.001) and Wakefield (β = 0.32, *SE* = 0.08, p< = 0.01) males. The disparity here is greatest between the older Royston and Barnsley males. There is a clear similarity in FACE dipDegree levels produced by older Barnsley and Wakefield males, and the difference between the two cohorts is not statistically significant.

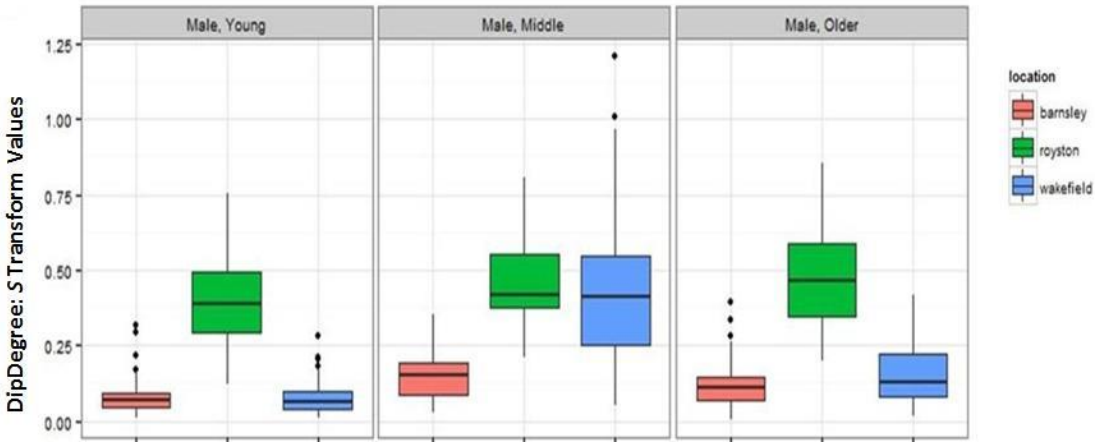

Figure 7.29: Distribution of male FACE dipDegree values by age and location.

Middle generation Royston males produce significantly higher FACE dipDegree levels (β = 0.32, *SE* = 0.07, p< = 0.01) than middle generation Barnsley males. However, due to the significant rise in FACE dipDegree levels produced by middle generation Wakefield males, levels of FACE dipDegree for Royston and Wakefield males are more closely aligned in this age category, and there is no statistically significant disparity between levels produced by middle generation Royston and Wakefield males. Conversely, FACE dipDegree levels are at their most divergent for Barnsley and Wakefield males during the middle generation, with Wakefield males producing significantly higher levels (β = 0.27, *SE* = 0.07, p< = 0.01) than the middle generation Barnsley males.

As with female production of FACE, it is interesting to note the disparity in FACE dipDegree levels produced by young Royston males in comparison with those produced by young Wakefield and Barnsley males. Although Royston FACE dipDegree levels have decreased gradually in apparent time across the three generations, younger Royston males still clearly favour diphthongisation of FACE, and the majority of their values exceed the *S* 0.25 threshold. This contrasts markedly with FACE dipDegree levels produced by younger Barnsley and Wakefield males which are at their lowest in the younger generation. Younger Royston males produce significantly higher FACE dipDegree levels than both Barnsley (β = 0.31, *SE* = 0.05, p< = 0.001), and Wakefield (β = 0.32, *SE* = 0.06, p< = 0.01) males. This disparity is greatest between the young Royston and Barnsley males. Levels for Barnsley and Wakefield males are most closely aligned in the younger generation, and there is no statistically significant difference between the levels produced by the two cohorts.

7.7.3 Discussion: FACE

When FACE dipDegree values for all speakers in the three locations are considered according to age category, levels for Royston speakers are significantly higher than those produced by Barnsley and Wakefield speakers in all three generations. This demonstrates a clear distinction between FACE production in the Royston variety, and that found in the neighbouring speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield. Despite the fact that Royston is now part of the wider borough of Barnsley, the greatest disparity in FACE dipDegree levels is found between the Royston and Barnsley, rather than Royston and Wakefield, speakers across all three generations.

The disparity between the Royston and Barnsley FACE production is at its greatest in the younger generation. This is irrespective of increased mobility and contact between the

Royston and wider Barnsley communities, (given that the majority of younger Royston and Barnsley participants attended the same tertiary educational institution). In contrast to patterns observed or predicted by previous studies (cf. Britain and Trudgill 1999, Kerswill 2002, Britain 2013), this increased geographical mobility and contact does not seem to have led to the adoption of regionally diffused monophthongisation of FACE by speakers in the Royston speech community.

By contrast, and despite the fact that Barnsley and Wakefield are separated by a county boundary, patterns of FACE production are very closely aligned for older and younger speakers in these two speech communities. It is only in the middle generation that this similarity is disrupted, with middle generation Wakefield speakers producing significantly higher FACE dipDegree levels than middle generation Barnsley speakers (see discussion in Chapter 6, Section 6.4).

When FACE dipDegree levels produced by females across the three locations are compared then, again, the greatest disparity is between the Royston and Barnsley females, with Royston females producing significantly higher levels across all three generations in comparison with their Barnsley counterparts. Furthermore, there is no significant disparity between Barnsley and Wakefield females across all three age categories. Royston females across all three generations clearly favour diphthongisation of FACE. With the exception of older Wakefield females who demonstrate variability in FACE production, Barnsley and Wakefield females overwhelmingly favour monophthongisation of FACE. This suggests that diphthongisation of FACE is assigned very different status by females in the Royston variety, versus females in the Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities.

All three generations of Royston males clearly favour diphthongisation of FACE. This contrasts with Barnsley males in all three age categories, and with older and younger Wakefield males, all of whom clearly favour monophthongisation of FACE. Again, the greatest distinction in all three generations is between the Royston and Barnsley males, showing that FACE production is not comparable in the male speakers in these two speech communities.

However, FACE production by older and younger Barnsley and Wakefield males is comparable and levels are very closely aligned for the two generations. This pattern is disrupted in the middle generation where Wakefield males produce significantly higher FACE dipDegree levels than Barnsley males, bringing them closer to levels produced by middle generation Royston males. This marked rise in FACE dipDegree levels in the

middle generation male cohort is atypical of the FACE production in the remainder of the Wakefield cohort. With this caveat taken into consideration, it is clear that patterns of FACE dipDegree found in the Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities show a high degree of similarity in contrast to levels of FACE diphthongisation found in the Royston speech community.

7.7.4 Levels of GOAT dipDegree by Age: Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Compared

Figure 7.30 provides a comparison of GOAT dipDegree values in the three locations, showing the full distribution for all speakers according to age category. It is noticeable that GOAT dipDegree levels across the three locations are most closely aligned during the older age bracket, where we see the lowest GOAT dipDegree levels for Royston speakers. However, levels produced by older Royston speakers are, nonetheless, significantly higher than older Barnsley (β = 0.58, SE = 0.07, p< = 0.001), and older Wakefield (β = 0.17, SE = 0.04, p< = 0.001) speakers. The GOAT dipDegree levels for older Barnsley and Wakefield speakers are very closely aligned and the difference between the two cohorts is not statistically significant.

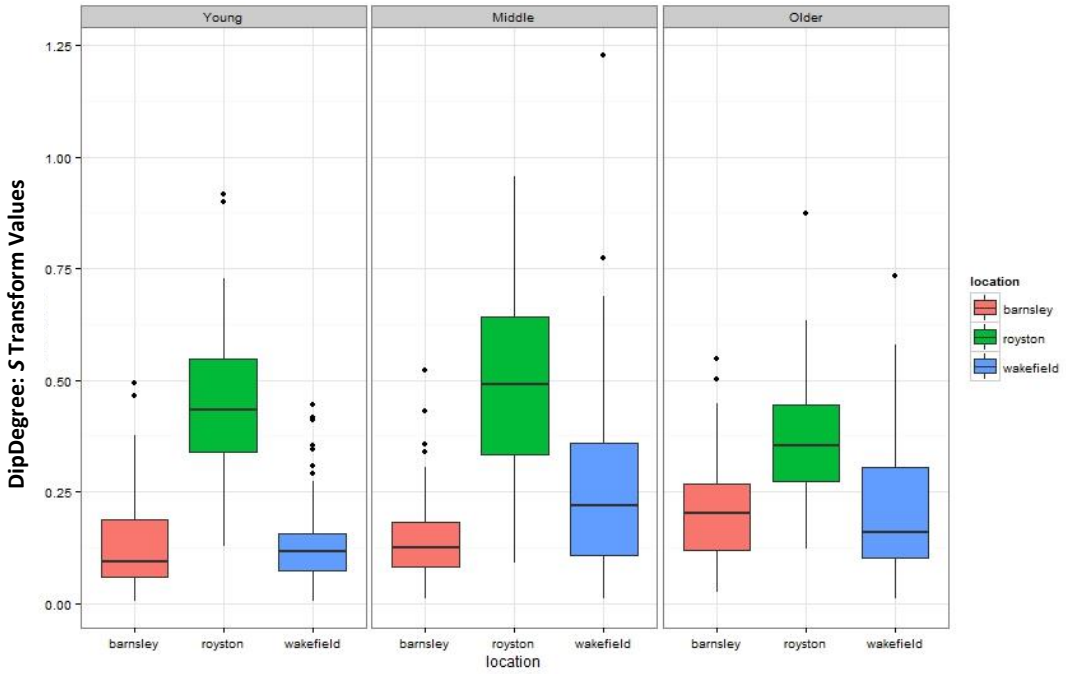

Figure 7.30: Distribution of GOAT dipDegree values by age and location.

As with FACE production, the disparity between the Royston and Barnsley GOAT dipDegree levels is at its greatest in the middle generation. Where levels rise for

Royston speakers in this age category, they fall for Barnsley speakers. Middle generation Royston speakers produce significantly higher GOAT dipDegree levels than middle generation Barnsley speakers (β = 0.35, *SE* = 0.05, p< = 0.001). When GOAT dipDegree levels for middle generation Royston and Wakefield speakers are compared, despite the slight rise in Wakefield levels, the Royston speakers still produce significantly higher GOAT dipDegree values (β = 0.24, *SE* = 0.06, p< = 0.01). Barnsley and Wakefield speakers are at their most divergent in the middle generation, with Wakefield speakers producing significantly higher (β = 0.12, *SE* = 0.05, p< = 0.05), GOAT dipDegree levels.

Also mirroring FACE production, it is in the younger generation that we see the greatest distinction between the GOAT dipDegree levels produced by Royston speakers, and those produced by Barnsley and Wakefield speakers. However, for the first time, we see a greater disparity between the Royston and Wakefield speakers, than between the Royston and Barnsley speakers. Younger Royston speakers produce significantly higher GOAT dipDegree levels than younger Barnsley (β = 0.31, *SE* = 0.04, p< = 0.001) and Wakefield (β = 0.32, *SE* = 0.04, p< = 0.001) speakers. However, GOAT dipDegree levels for younger Barnsley and Wakefield speakers are at their most closely aligned in the younger generation, as levels for Wakefield speakers fall to their lowest in this age category.

7.7.5 Levels of GOAT dipDegree by Gender: Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Compared

7.7.5.1 Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Females

Figure 7.31 provides a comparison of female GOAT dipDegree in the three locations, showing the full distribution of values for all speakers according to age. Levels for GOAT production are at their most closely aligned amongst older age category females across the three speech communities. This is due to levels being at their lowest for Royston females, and at their highest for both Barnsley and Wakefield females in the older generation. The difference between GOAT dipDegree levels produced by older Royston females and older females in both the Barnsley and Wakefield communities is not statistically significant. This suggests a greater degree of historical similarity in the diphthongisation of GOAT in the repertoires of females across the three locations. However, where Royston females have increased GOAT dipDegree levels in subsequent generations, by contrast, Barnsley and Wakefield females demonstrate decreasing levels.

The rise in GOAT dipDegree levels in the middle generation Royston females is not found in the middle generation Barnsley and Wakefield females; in fact the converse is the case with levels falling. Middle generation Royston females produce significantly higher GOAT dipDegree levels than both Barnsley (β = 0.49, SE = 0.04, p< = 0.001) and Wakefield (β = 0.44, SE = 0.05, p< = 0.001) speakers.

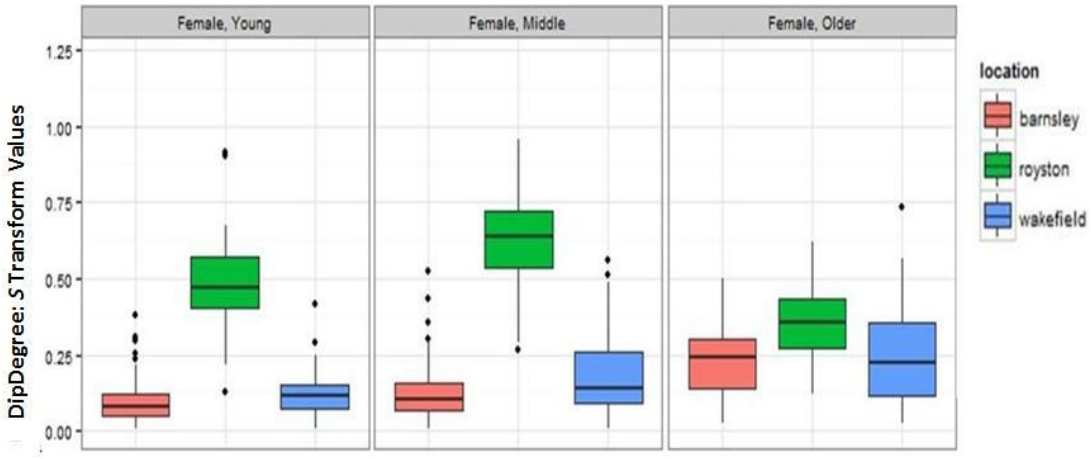

Figure 7.31: Distribution of female GOAT dipDegree values by age and location.

Although there is a decrease in GOAT dipDegree levels between the middle and younger generation Royston females, the majority of values produced by the younger speakers still clearly exceed the *S* 0.25 threshold. GOAT dipDegree levels also fall for both Barnsley and Wakefield females to their lowest levels in the younger generation, with the overwhelming majority of values produced by both cohorts falling clearly below the *S* 0.25 threshold. This creates a greater disparity in GOAT dipDegree levels between the younger Royston females and the younger Barnsley and Wakefield females than that found in the older generation across the three locations. Younger Royston females produce significantly higher GOAT dipDegree levels than Barnsley (β = 0.39, SE = 0.03, p< = 0.001) and Wakefield (β = 0.37, SE = 0.03, p< = 0.001) females. Whilst younger Barnsley and Wakefield females are clearly moving towards greater monophthongisation of GOAT, younger Royston females are maintaining high levels of GOAT diphthongisation, and show little sign of levelling towards patterns of GOAT production found in the neighbouring speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield.

7.7.5.2 Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield Males

Figure 7.32 provides a comparison of the full distribution of GOAT dipDegree values for older, middle and younger males in each of the three locations. In the older generation, GOAT dipDegree levels produced by Royston speakers are significantly higher than

those produced by older Barnsley (β = 0.19, *SE* = 0.04, p< = 0.001) and Wakefield (β = 0.20, *SE* = 0.04, p< = 0.01) males. The disparity is greatest between the older Royston and Wakefield males. GOAT dipDegree levels produced by Barnsley and Wakefield males are closely aligned in the older generation with no statistically significant difference between the two cohorts.

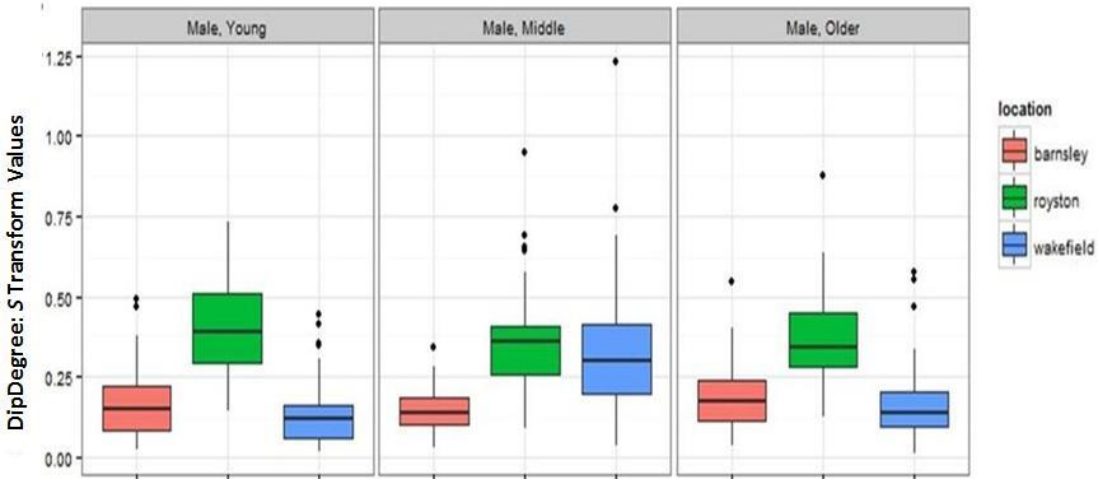

Figure 7.32: Distribution of male GOAT dipDegree values by age and location.

GOAT dipDegree levels produced by middle generation Royston males are significantly higher than those produced by middle generation Barnsley males (β = 0.31, *SE* = 0.04, p< = 0.001). However, there is no statistically significant difference between the Royston and Wakefield middle generation males. Levels of GOAT dipDegree have remained relatively stable in the older and middle generation Royston males but, for Wakefield males, there has been a significant rise in GOAT diphthongisation in the middle generation, with the greater proportion of the interquartile range exceeding the S 0.25 threshold. This increase in GOAT dipDegree levels in the middle generation Wakefield males brings their levels closer to those produced by Royston speakers. Conversely, patterns of GOAT production by Barnsley and Wakefield males are at their most disparate in this generation, with middle generation Wakefield males producing significantly higher GOAT dipDegree values (β = 0.18, *SE* = 0.04, p< = 0.001) than Barnsley males of the same generation.

The disparity between GOAT dipDegree levels produced by Royston males, and those produced by Barnsley and Wakefield males, is at its greatest in the younger generation; GOAT diphthongisation is at its highest for Royston males in the younger generation. Younger Royston males produce significantly higher GOAT dipDegree levels than younger Barnsley (β = 0.23, *SE* = 0.06, p< = 0.01) and Wakefield (β = 0.27, *SE* = 0.07, p<

= 0.01). As with the older generation males, the greatest disparity in GOAT dipDegree levels in the younger generation is between males in the Royston and Wakefield speech communities. GOAT dipDegree levels for younger Barnsley and Wakefield males remain below the *S* 0.25 threshold and the dipDegree values are closely aligned in this generation, with no statistically significant difference between the two cohorts.

7.7.6 Discussion: GOAT

When GOAT dipDegree values for all speakers across the three locations are considered according to age category, then levels produced by Royston speakers are significantly higher than those produced by Barnsley and Wakefield speakers in all three generations. As with FACE production, this demonstrates a clear distinction between GOAT production in the Royston variety in comparison to the neighbouring speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield. The greatest disparity in GOAT dipDegree levels is between the Royston and Barnsley speakers in the older and middle generations. The distinction between the Royston and Wakefield speakers is at its greatest in the younger generation.

When considered in accordance with gender, there is no significant disparity between GOAT dipDegree levels produced by older females across the three locations. This suggests a degree of historical similarity in GOAT diphthongisation during this generation. However, this similarity recedes rapidly in the subsequent generations, with middle and younger Royston females producing significantly higher GOAT dipDegree levels than middle and younger Barnsley and Wakefield females. There is no significant disparity between levels produced by Barnsley and Wakefield females across all three generations. The apparent time trajectories are almost identical, demonstrating a high degree of similarity in terms of GOAT production by females in the two speech communities. Royston females across all three generations clearly favour diphthongisation of GOAT. In the Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities there is evidence of historic variability in the levels produced by older females. However, any residual diphthongisation of GOAT recedes rapidly in the subsequent two generations, with monophthongisation of GOAT dominant in the repertoires of middle and younger Barnsley and Wakefield speakers.

All three generations of Royston males produce consistently high GOAT dipDegree levels. This contrasts with Barnsley males in all three age categories, and with older and younger Wakefield males, all of whom clearly favour monophthongisation of GOAT. Royston males produce significantly higher GOAT dipDegree values than Barnsley males

in all three age categories, and significantly higher values than older and younger generation Wakefield males. As with FACE production, GOAT dipDegree levels produced by older and younger Barnsley and Wakefield males are very closely aligned, but this pattern is disrupted in the middle generation where Wakefield males produce significantly higher GOAT dipDegree levels than Barnsley males, bringing them closer to levels produced by middle generation Royston males. However, as already established in Section 7.6.3.3, the GOAT dipDegree levels produced by middle generation Wakefield males are atypical of GOAT production across the remainder of the Wakefield data set. Therefore, with the notable exception of middle generation Wakefield males, it is evident that patterns of GOAT diphthongisation in the repertoires of Royston males do not resemble those found in the linguistic production of males from the adjacent Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities.

7.7.7 Summary: FACE and GOAT

By performing acoustic phonetic analysis, examined in this chapter, I have been able to identify, measure and quantify significant variation between levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston variety and the Barnsley and Wakefield varieties. Through the application of mixed effects regression statistical testing I have shown that location, age and gender are significant factors which impact upon levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation across, and within, the three speech communities. The results suggest that internal, phonetic conditioning is not responsible for the significant variation in FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels produced by Royston speakers in comparison with levels found in the Barnsley and Wakefield cohorts. Instead, the findings have shown that the external social factors of location, age and gender significantly impact FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels within and across the three speech communities.

With regard to location, the findings demonstrate that, despite increased levels of contact between Royston speakers and surrounding speech communities over successive generations, the Royston speech community has not moved towards the patterns of FACE and GOAT monophthongisation found in the adjacent Barnsley and Wakefield varieties. Regardless of the fact that Royston is part of the wider borough of Barnsley, the greatest disparity in FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels is between the Royston and Barnsley speech communities, providing clear evidence that Royston speakers are not accommodating toward patterns of FACE and GOAT monophthongisation found in the wider borough of Barnsley. My data also show that,

regardless of Royston's historical affiliation to Wakefield, FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels produced by Royston speakers do not resemble levels produced by the majority of Wakefield speakers. Additionally, my findings reveal that levels of FACE and GOAT dipDegree produced by the majority of Barnsley and Wakefield speakers are directly comparable. This stability in the monophthongisation of FACE and GOAT forms in speech communities that surround the township of Royston further highlights the unique nature of the Royston diphthongal variants.

Statistical testing has shown that, with the exception of following voiced plosives in the Barnsley male FACE data, phonetic context is not a significant factor in the variation of FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels in the Royston, Barnsley or Wakefield cohorts. However, statistical testing *has* shown that location, age and gender are significant factors which impact upon levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation across, and within, the three speech communities. If the trajectories of FACE and GOAT production across the three speech communities are indicative of diachronic variation and change, then it is evident that diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT is the dominant community wide norm in the Royston variety. There is some evidence of residual variability in the repertoires of older generation Barnsley and Wakefield speakers (and in the middle generation Wakefield males). However, the data shows that FACE and GOAT production in these two varieties clearly mirrors the pan-Yorkshire shift toward monophthongisation of the two vocalic forms (see Chapter 5). Despite the fact that Royston is part of the wider borough of Barnsley, the greatest disparity in FACE dipDegree levels is between the Royston and Barnsley speech communities across all three generations. This is also the case for GOAT dipDegree in the older and middle generations. Royston speakers are clearly not levelling towards patterns of FACE and GOAT monophthongisation found in the wider Barnsley speech community.

There are notable findings from the middle generation Royston females and the middle generation Wakefield males which are atypical of dipDegree levels found in the older and younger cohorts in the two locations. However, there is a distinct difference in the nature of these two scenarios which lead to two very different explanations for the atypical results. Middle generation Royston females intensify levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation which are an established, community wide feature of the Royston variety. This scenario is typical of age-graded change which indicates linguistic stability in the community as a whole over time, but represents linguistic instability or change in the adult lifetime of the individual representing 'age-appropriate linguistic behaviour'

(Wagner 2012: 378). In this case, this behaviour manifests itself as an increase in the levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation, a feature which could beattributed local prestige in the Royston speech community.

Conversely, Wakefield males diphthongise FACE and GOAT *in contrast* to the monophthongal production found in the reminder of the Wakefield speech community. However, Wakefield females are gradually reducing FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels in apparent time, thus moving towards greater monophthongisation of the two vocalic variables. If women are seen to favour the most socially prestigious variants, then this further suggests that monophthongisation of FACE and GOAT is assigned greater local social prestige in the Wakefield speech community. The rise in dipDegree levels produced by middle generation Wakefield males is atypical of patterns of monophthongisation found more widely in the Wakefield data, and could therefore indicate that the middle generation Wakefield males assign covert, or vernacular prestige, to the diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT, perhaps as a result of their former mining affiliations (cf. Cave 2001, Kerswill 1984, Devlin 2014). This suggests that very different indexical values are attributed to FACE and GOAT diphthongisation by middle generation males and females in the Royston and Wakefield speech communities.

Gender has a significant effect upon FACE diphthongisation in the Royston variety, with females producing significantly higher dipDegree levels than males overall (β = 0.22, *SE* = 0.08, p< = 0.05). There is a slightly greater effect for gender upon GOAT diphthongisation, with females producing significantly higher levels overall than males (β = 0.25, *SE* =0.06, p< = 0.001). Royston females, in all three age categories, favour diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT tokens. However we see a reversal of this gender pattern in the Barnsley and Wakefield females who favour monophthongisation of FACE and GOAT tokens, producing lower dipDegree values overall than the Barnsley and Wakefield males. Previous research (cf. Mathisen 1999; Cheshire 2004) has shown that, whilst women may be more inclined to choose variants because of their prestige, it is also possible that women actually create the prestige by favouring particular forms. This further suggests that greater local prestige could be attributed to diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT in the Royston variety, whereas FACE and GOAT monophthongisation is afforded higher local status in the dialects of Barnsley and Wakefield.

Levels of FACE and GOAT dipDegree clearly differ within and across the three speech communities. Chapter 5 demonstrated how traditional, pan-Yorkshire diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT has undergone a process of rapid attrition and is now regarded as old

fashioned or outdated in modern pan-Yorkshire varieties which value monophthongal forms of FACE and GOAT. The dipDegree levels produced by speakers in the Royston speech community suggest that diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT is not evaluated as old fashioned or outmoded in the Royston variety, but could be afforded greater local prestige than the monophthongisation of FACE and GOAT found in neighbouring speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield. Chapter 5 also established that monophthongisation of FACE and GOAT has diffused across modern varieties of South and West Yorkshire to become the dominant pan-regional norm. This indicates that speakers in the Barnsley and Wakefield speech communities have increasingly adopted the regional diffusion of FACE and GOAT monophthongisation, whilst speakers in the Royston speech community have continued to resist this pan-regional phonological norm.

In order to understand this phonological resistance Chapter 8 presents the results of qualitative analysis which explores the relationship between linguistic practice and perceptions of local identity, revealing ideological stances which underpin the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT production examined in Chapters 6 and 7.

Chapter 8

Local and Linguistic Identity

8.1 Introduction

Addressing Research Question (4), this chapter examines the ideological commentary drawn from two communities of practice, which represent older and younger generations within the Royston speech community (see Chapter 4, Sections 4.7.2.1 and 4.7.2.2).The findings discussed in this chapter emphasise the need to combine qualitative ethnographic findings, with a quantitative analysis of linguistic production data. My approach highlights the importance of understanding local historical contexts, social experiences and tensions which impact upon the use and perception of linguistic variables. Silverstein (2003) makes this connection between language and the construction of identity, emphasising the indexical link between linguistic forms and social value judgements. The analysis presented in this chapter, therefore, explores the relationship between linguistic practice and perceptions of local identity, and considers the ideological stances which underpin production of the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT variants. The analysis explores the social meanings that Royston speakers attribute to their locally unique diphthongal FACE and GOAT production, revealing potential explanations for their resistance to pan-regional norms of monophthongal FACE and GOAT production.

The auditory and acoustic analysis, presented in Chapters 6 and 7, confirms the distinctive nature of the Royston FACE and GOAT variants in relation to pan-Yorkshire phonological norms. Furthermore, this production data reveals that diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT vowels in the Royston dialect is not receding; in fact, younger generation Royston speakers show greater phonological resistance to supra-local norms than older generation speakers in the township. This data indicates that greater levels of dialect contact do not necessarily lead to the rejection or suppression of minority variants, and to greater linguistic homogeneity. In particular, this chapter explores the ways in which attempts to assert a distinct local identity can result in the retention and deliberate exaggeration of demographically and linguistically marked forms (cf. Johnstone et al. 2006: 92). The analysis focuses upon speakers' metalinguistic commentary in order to make sense of locally salient identities (cf. Dyer 2002 and Llamas 2007), and to consider how these identities of place interact with linguistic

production, recognising that ideology is key to any interpretation of speakers' linguistic choices (Eckert 2008:456).

8.2 Participants in the Two Communities of Practice

Full biographical details of participants in the two communities of practice are provided in Chapter 4, Tables 4.13 and 4.14. For the purposes of the wordlist data, speakers are identified by codes which indicate the age and gender of the speaker (See Chapter 4, Table 4.6). In this chapter, participants are given pseudonyms (see Tables 8.1 and 8.2); this provides greater clarity in terms of identification of the speakers in the two communities of practice. For those interview participants who also produced wordlist recordings the codes used in Chapters 6 and 7 are also replicated alongside the names (See Tables 8.1 and 8.2).

Table 8.1: Participants: Royston History Group Community of Practice

PSEUDONYM	WORDLIST CODE
Melvyn	RM6
Richard	RM9
Arthur	RM10
Mike	RM11
Gerry	No Wordlist Recording
Ted	RM12
Brenda	RF9
Nell	RF10
Maureen	No Wordlist Recording
Josie	RF11
Jean	RF12
Jenny	No Wordlist Recording

In order to distinguish between speakers in the older and younger communities of practice, comments from interviews and questionnaires are prefaced by the speaker's pseudonym, followed by the code (O), to indicate an older generation speaker; and (Y),

to indicate a younger generation speaker. Extracts from questionnaires are italicised.

Table 8.2: Participants: Royston High School Community of Practice

PSEUDONYM	WORDLIST CODE
Liam	RM1
Daniel	RM2
James	RM3
Craig	RM4
Anna	RF1
Kara	RF2
Alice	RF3
Kerry	RF4

8.3 Ideological Motivations

Chapter 3 outlined the unique features of Royston's historical geographical and administrative development. The salience of these features, with regard to the linguistic identity of speakers in the two communities of practice, is explored via the ideological commentary analysed in this section. The ideological stances explored in Sections 8.3.1to 8.3.5 were selected for analysis as they were raised in the questionnaires and interviews by all speakers. The comments selected for discussion are therefore representative of these ideological stances.

8.3.1 A Sense of Place: Geographic Isolation

As established in Chapter 3, the township of Royston remains relatively isolated from other surrounding settlements, thus fostering a sense of distance, both literally and metaphorically, between Royston and the surrounding speech communities. The ways in which speakers orient to place has been shown to have a powerful impact upon local and linguistic affiliations (cf. Dyer 2000, Llamas et al. 2009); however, the impact of Royston's geographic isolation, and its likely effects on dialect contact, has significantly diminished over the apparent time span considered in this study. For younger generation Royston speakers, levels of contact have dramatically increased following the loss of employment and education opportunities in the township (see Chapter 3,

Section 3.2), and yet this has not led to the attrition of distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT variants. Britain (2013: 472) asserts that, 'people's environmental perceptions and attitudes construct and are constructed by everyday practice'. If this is the case, then the everyday practice of younger generation Royston speakers is very different to that experienced by the majority of the older generation participants during the period of their education, and subsequent working life. With this in mind, we would perhaps anticipate that the erosion of Royston's isolated status would be most keenly felt by the older generation participants in the Royston History Group C of P; and the comments in (1) and (2), from Melvyn and Josie, illustrate the way in which older generation speakers construct a perceived environment in which Royston still exists as an 'island', cut off from surrounding communities.

(1) **Melvyn (O)**: It's always been a bit isolated because the nature of it, it's like a little island if you like … in the middle; and it's not sort of on any major route as well. Er … so that's, that's probably been part of it, and again places like this, it's still talked about today… that people born in Royston just never leave.

(2) **Josie (O):** I think probably because it's … isolated in a way, whereas all the rest they all merge into each other… slightly, I think. Like Athersley, that slips into Smithies, that slips into Monk Bretton, and they're all connected; whereas Royston's surrounded by countryside.

Without exception, older speakers view the erosion of Royston's isolated status as a negative development, and comment (3) demonstrates the sense of bitterness, as well as clear resentment toward administrative policies which have brought the township closer to neighbouring settlements.

(3) **Mike (O):** Barnsley Council's, er… got an agenda, and it's to do away with all the greenbelt around here, it's to make it all one. You can see it every chance they've got … Royston soon will be joined up to Carlton.

Comments (1) to (3) demonstrate the ways in which older speakers cherish Royston's rural isolation, and how they strongly resent any development which threatens to merge the township with settlements in the wider borough of Barnsley.

If we consider the comments made by younger speakers in the Royston High School C of P, despite changes in mobility and contact, they also express a clear sense of Royston's separate identity. Comments (4) and (5) are typical of descriptions of the

township expressed by younger speakers, portraying Royston as both self-contained and detached, literally and metaphorically, from the rest of Barnsley.

(4) **James (Y):** It's like a community itself really, Royston.

(5) **Liam (Y):** We're a more isolated community to the rest of Barnsley.

Despite the fact that all speakers in the Royston High School C of P travel beyond the township on a daily basis for education, work and social life, spending a greater proportion of their time outside the Royston speech community, they nonetheless still view Royston as 'like a community itself'. The increased levels of mobility demonstrated by younger speakers have not engendered a sense of connection or affiliation with the wider Barnsley speech community. Furthermore, Anna's comment in (6) expresses clear concerns that the unique character of the township is under threat from rapid housebuilding programmes which bring in residents from other areas of the Barnsley borough.

(6) **Anna (Y):** A lot of new houses are appearing everywhere and people moving into them from other places … it's not just people from Royston.

Rather than viewing Royston's isolation and lack of facilities as a negative, younger speakers echo the sentiments of the older generation in wanting to protect and preserve the unique character of the township. Linguistic production data presented in Chapters 6 and 7 establishes that younger generation Royston speakers are maintaining the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT diphthongs, despite their increased interaction with the wider Barnsley speech community. Britain (2013:496) highlights the need for an understanding of the ways in which speakers orient towards different spaces; and the ideological commentary from older and younger speakers clearly signals a desire to preserve Royston's detachment from the other settlements in the Barnsley area, and to reject any attempts to subsume the identity of the township into that of the wider borough of Barnsley. This ideological stance has clear implications with regard to linguistic identity. Schreier (2006: 29) highlights the power of attitudes to influence patterns of linguistic production, and notes that 'attitudinal factors may on occasion interact with and ultimately outweigh mobility-related effects'. The distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT diphthongs are atypical of pan-regional phonological norms, and may be symbolic of the township's unique character, whilst at the same time distinguishing Royston speakers' linguistic practice from that found in the wider Barnsley dialect area where monophthongal FACE and GOAT forms dominate.

8.3.2 Defining a Community Identity

For older and younger speakers, the Royston community is not only perceived as detached and isolated from the broader borough of Barnsley, but it is also defined as a community with a unique character and heritage, a factor which further sets it apart from other settlements in the Barnsley area. As the majority of speakers in the History Group C of P have living memory of family members, colleagues and characters who hailed from the Black Country, this Black Country heritage is central to their perceptions of community and linguistic identity, as the comments in (7) to (10) illustrate. Seven out of the eight older generation speakers have grandparents who came to Royston from the Black Country, and all eight members of the History Group C of P cite Black Country heritage as the origin of the distinctive Royston variety. The comments in (7) to (10) are illustrative of this firm belief in the enduring nature of the Black Country influence, and, in (8), Nell identifies the FACE and GOAT vowels as prominent markers of this dialect heritage.

(7) **Jean (O)**: It used to be called Little Staffordshire when we were growing up … and we had the sort of grandparents that really had a strong Staffordshire accent.

(8) **Nell (O):** It's the 'A's and 'O's, Barnsley people stretch them out, but we say them differently; it's because of the Staffordshire connection.

(9) **Maureen (O):** I think it's come from Staffordshire and because they came and then had families and they've all stayed here, you know, it's carried on hasn't it. It's been passed down, a different accent.

(10) **Arthur (O):** Some influence remains of the many Staffs immigrants. This is diminishing, and I'm of the last generation who can even remember Staff accents and speakers such as my grandparents.

It is also worth noting Nell's use of the label 'Barnsley people', which immediately creates a distinction between Royston and the remainder of the Barnsley dialect area; this ideologically erases the fact that, as part of the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley, Royston speakers are also officially Barnsley people. Nell draws upon the historical administrative distinction between Royston and the wider borough of Barnsley in order to emphasise the linguistic divide between what is seen by Royston speakers as two separate geographical entities. Both Nell and Maureen (see comment in (9)) refer to the enduring nature of the Staffordshire/Black Country influence; however, the

comment from Arthur in (10) reflects concerns that the remnants of the Black Country/Staffordshire dialect are being lost, and that they do not feature in the linguistic repertoires of younger speakers in the township. The linguistic production data presented in Chapters 6 and 7 conflict with this view with regard to the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT diphthongisation, which is not only being retained, but in some cases increased in the repertoires of younger generation Royston speakers.

The fact that older Royston speakers focus exclusively upon Black Country heritage, with absolutely no mention of the large influx of labour from areas of Derbyshire and Nottinghamshire (see Chapter 3, Section 3.2.6) illustrates the all-encompassing power of dominant linguistic ideologies to become a 'totalising vision' (Irvine and Gal 2000:38). This is particularly evident in the comment from Gerry in (11). Gerry's ancestors walked from Swadlincote, which is located in Derbyshire, to gain work at Monckton Colliery in the early twentieth century; however, he maintains throughout the interview that Swadlincote is in Staffordshire, and proudly claims Black Country heritage.

(11) **Gerry (O):** There's a place called Swadlincotes … in Staffordshire … they walked it most of the way from Swadlincotes up to Royston … and most of them got set on straight away at Monckton pit.

In this sense, older Royston speakers are enacting a process of *erasure* in which, '[f]acts that are inconsistent with the ideological scheme either go unnoticed or get explained away' (Irvine and Gal 2000:38). Older Royston speakers are eager to maintain the unifying narrative that the distinctive nature of the Royston variety is due to the Black Country influence, to the extent that they will erase or *transform* any 'problematic element' which deviates from the preferred narrative (Irvine and Gal 2000:38).

This is not, however, the case for younger generation speakers in the Royston High School C of P, who do not consider Black Country heritage to be a salient factor in the formation of their local and linguistic identity. Although the younger speakers have an awareness of the township's historic links with the Black Country, this knowledge is tenuous, as the comment by Anna in (12) illustrates.

(12) **Anna (Y):** It's something to with Monkton Colliery, a lot of miners came from Staffordshire, and it changed the accent. Well, that's what my grandad told me.

Whilst it is clear that, for older generation speakers, Black Country heritage is a highly salient factor associated with the distinctive Royston variety. This does not explain why younger generation Royston speakers demonstrate a clear preference for the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT variants, despite increased levels of dialect contact with the wider Barnsley borough. It is therefore necessary to consider other factors in order to explore the social values which underpin the distinctive FACE and GOAT production found in the repertoires of younger Royston speakers.

8.3.3 Orientation to Place

As outlined in Chapter 3, the urban township of Royston is situated on the boundary between the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley in South Yorkshire, and the Metropolitan District of Wakefield in West Yorkshire. Furthermore, Royston has undergone a historical shift in its administrative status, bringing it into the purview of the Barnsley borough from 1974 onward. However, speaker definitions of geographical or community boundaries do not always fit with official boundary descriptions. Llamas (2007: 582), observes that speaker orientation to place, 'is central to an understanding of the community identity they perceive'. When examining the shifting border status of Middlesbrough, a town in Teesside, in the North East of England, Llamas (2007: 580) talks of the 'transitional' nature of this urban centre, noting that it lies 'neither wholly in one region nor the other'. Typical of such peripheral locations, Llamas (2007: 580) observes that Middlesbrough does not have a clear identity of place which is 'deep-rooted and firmly felt by either inhabitants or outsiders'. This is not the case with regard to speakers in the Royston History Group C of P, who see Royston as having a clear and distinct identity; however, this identity is characterised by the township's historical administrative and geographical status as an urban township in the administrative domain of the West Riding of Yorkshire, and not its present-day status as part of the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley. Interviews conducted by Cave (2001) at the turn of the Millennium show that many older residents of Royston still looked to Wakefield and Leeds in West Yorkshire for shopping and nightlife, rather than to Barnsley and Sheffield in South Yorkshire. Similarly, the speakers in the History Group C of P have experienced a Royston pre-, and post-political and administrative boundary changes, and express an affiliation with Wakefield and Leeds, rather than with Barnsley and Sheffield. These older participants remember Royston as a thriving township which provided employment as well as shopping and entertainment establishments, leaving little need to travel beyond the confines of the township thus fostering a sense of both insulation and isolation. Britain (2013:496), highlights the need to understand

the changing geographical orientations of speakers by examining the social meaning that speakers attach to their mobile practices, and exploring howpatterns of historical mobility impact upon the current speech community. The comments by Brenda and Jean, in (13) and (14) show how mobile practices of the past have shaped ideological orientations of the present in the older generation Royston speakers.

(13) **Brenda (O):** Everybody seemed to go to Leeds once a year, on a day out.

(14) **Jean (O):** Oh yes, you went to Leeds once a year… you didn't go to Sheffield though, we didn't go to Sheffield did we? No you didn't go *that* way. [Jean makes the sign of a crucifix with her fingers here, as if to ward off evil spirits when she mentions Sheffield].

Jean's use of humour in (14) typifies the views of the older speakers, demonstrating how ingrained mobile practices of the past shape affiliations of the present. Despite greater ease and economy of travel within South Yorkshire, older Royston speakers still orientate, both literally and ideologically toward areas of West Yorkshire. Despite this, older speakers do not identify any clear links between the Wakefield and Royston varieties; however, Arthur's comments in (15) demonstrate how hard the speakers will try in order to forge this link.

(15) **Arthur (O):** I've thought about why we should speak slightly different from other Barnsley accents … and I started thinking that perhaps … it's as near Wakefield as it is Barnsley, so that could easily have an influence. Because I think the Wakefield accent is lighter than the Barnsley accent… Also, Royston… it's still not connected physically by houses to any of the other villages, and it was even more so in the old days, so that would possibly help differentiate it from Barnsley, pre-mining, pre- the Staffordshire people coming.

Arthur considers the Royston variety to be distinct from that of the wider borough of Barnsley, even prior to the influx of Black Country families in the late 19th century. Furthermore, Arthur expresses Metalanguage 1 (Preston 2004) comments, asserting that, on a supra-local level, the Wakefield variety is 'softer' in comparison with the dialect of Barnsley. This indicates underlying Metalanguage 3 beliefs which stigmatise the Barnsley dialect, rejecting this variety as a potential influence on the Royston speech community. It is, however, interesting to note that this gravitation towards West Yorkshire is motivated more by push, than by pull factors. The desire to

disassociate Royston from Barnsley has greater salience for older speakers, than the desire to claim West Yorkshire identity. The comments in (16) and (17), illustrate how the loss of Royston Urban District Council, and the township's shift to the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley, are perceived as a negative step by the older generation; this further entrenches the desire for a distinct Royston identity which separates the community from that of Barnsley as a whole.

(16) **Josie (O):** It's changed a lot since Royston went into Barnsley Metropolitan Authority in 1974. When we went into Barnsley borough they just looked after Barnsley area, they don't bother about surrounding villages.

(17) **Richard (O):** One of our councillors made a speech and talked of 'my town Barnsley', he should have said 'my town Royston'; it shows where his loyalties lie.

These changes have had a significant impact upon older Royston inhabitants' sense of place, and demonstrate the, socio-psychological effects of changes in local administrative boundaries. The comment in (18) by Mike equates the shift with the loss of local autonomy, but also with the erosion of the distinctive dialect of Royston.

(18) **Mike (O):** *Generally speaking, up to 1972 we were run by Royston Urban District Council… this kept the accent strong. However, since being part of Barnsley MET (BMC) we have had outsiders taking the housing stock … bringing in turn their own accents.*

Mike is referring to changes to the housing policy which came about in the 1970s, following Royston's incorporation into the Barnsley borough, and his comments reflect the older speakers' fears that the distinctive Royston variety is under threat. Without legacy recordings, or previous studies of the Royston variety, it is not possible to determine if any levelling of the Royston dialect has taken place as a result of changes to the housing policy, and greater numbers of Barnsley residents moving into the township. However, the results presented in Chapter 6 clearly demonstrate that the Royston FACE and GOAT variants have remained regionally unique over three generations, despite the rapid increase in dialect contact with pan-regional varieties. Furthermore, the shift in funding from the West Riding Authority in Wakefield, to the Metropolitan Borough of Barnsley is seen by older participants as a symbolic watershed and a key factor in the decline of Royston's public spaces and amenities. The

comments by Josie and Mike in (19) and (20) capture these sentiments, showing a clear tone of bitterness and a sense that the true identity of Royston has been lost as a result of the changes

(19) **Josie (O):** We had a beautiful park with a park house in and they looked after the park and tied the swings back at night you know. That's when it was under Royston Urban District Council though.

(20) **Mike (O):** Before 1972 I was proud to be a member of the Royston community. Under Royston Urban District Council we all looked after each other. Plus councillors could put things right, due to the fact that no other councillors from other areas could interfere.

Here, both Josie and Mike present an idealised vision of Royston prior to its incorporation into the Barnsley authority. Llamas (2007: 582) finds similar allegiances in her study of the Middlesbrough variety, observing that perceptions of local identity are tightly bound to speakers' affiliation to place, and that such affiliations do not necessarily shift in line with geo-political changes. In Royston, the 1972 boundary changes would have come into force at a time when the township was beginning to feel the full force of economic decline following the closure of Monckton Colliery a decade earlier and, consequently, the two events are irretrievably linked in the minds of older speakers.

Younger speakers in the Royston High School C of P have only ever experienced Royston as a township firmly ensconced in the borough of Barnsley, both geographically and politically. No younger speakers cite the boundary changes as significant in the historical development of the township, although some of them do have an awareness of the administrative history of Royston, as James' comments in (21) demonstrate.

(21) **James (Y):** It might be that, because we might have been like originally established as Wakefield… so we might of originally picked up a Wakefield accent… more than toward that way [Barnsley].

James' Metalanguage 1 commentary suggests that the distinct Royston variety may be the result of a fusion of features from the Wakefield and Barnsley varieties, resulting from the shift in administrative status; he clearly does not attribute the unique features of the Royston dialect with the township's Black Country heritage. Unlike the older generation, the cities of Wakefield and Leeds in West Yorkshire hold very little cultural

capital for the speakers in the Royston High School C of P. The mobile practices of these younger speakers have been shaped by the necessity, and economy, of travel within South Yorkshire in order to attend college, and to access retail and social facilities. However, this gravitation towards Barnsley and Sheffield is fuelled by necessity, rather than a desire to travel beyond Royston, as Kara explains in (22).

(22) **Kara (Y):** I don't really like coming to town [Barnsley] to be honest, but because my friends are here and everything. It's like I'm always in town but I would prefer to be in Royston.

All eight younger speakers attend Barnsley College, and travel beyond Royston on a regular basis for their education and social life. In doing so, they interact with other adolescent speakers from all areas of the Barnsley borough. However, despite this, they largely retain the friendship groups they had formed at Royston High School, as the comments in (23) to (25) demonstrate.

(23) **Liam (Y):** Still the majority of our friends are in Royston.

(24) **Daniel (Y):** Yeah, oh yes, majority's still in Royston, yeah.

(25) **Liam (Y):** And we still hang around with other Royston people at college really.

However, the comments in (26) and (27) show that it is through this increased contact with Barnsley speakers that the younger Royston participants have developed a heightened sense of the contrast between their own speech variety and the more general dialect of Barnsley (cf. Johnstone 2006:79).

(26) **Daniel (Y):** Yeah I've never noticed it before I came to college.

(27) **Anna (Y):** A lot of my friends, who I've made friends with at college, they say, 'Well you talk posh'.

It is notable that greater awareness of this contrast has not led to greater levels of linguistic convergence toward the monophthongal FACE and GOAT production which is seen as typical of the Barnsley variety. Kara's resentment of the need to travel beyond the township for education, retail opportunities and social events (see comment in (22)) is a view shared by all speakers in the Royston High School C of P. Where older speakers see the changes in Royston's administrative status as the greatest threat to the township's distinctive character, the younger speakers see the lack of educational

opportunities in Royston, and particularly the loss of Royston High School (following the merger with Edward Sheerien High School in neighbouring Athersley. See Chapter 3, Section 3.2.3), as a significant factor which signals a further decline in the fortunes of the township, and a threat to the distinctive nature of the Royston dialect, as the comments in (28) to (30) illustrate.

(28) **James (Y):** Yeah, I mean we heard of the idea and like Royston mixing them with Edward Sheerien and we're like, 'No!' (laughs). Because that's going to be hell on earth (laughs).

(29) **Alice (Y):** The high school closing and joining with an Athersley school and moving to Carlton has made a big difference to people and businesses, like bakeries that relied on school children's custom.

(30) **Alice (Y):** A lot more teenagers seem to be doing drugs than before, and the education is worse now as the new school is in special measures.

In (28), James' comment encapsulates the feelings of the younger participants when he explains how the distinction between the Royston and Barnsley pupils is so great that the school merger was destined to create tensions. Furthermore, in (30), Alice echoes perceptions demonstrated by older speakers when she equates the loss of Royston High School with a breakdown in standards of behaviour and education in the area. It is worth remembering here that Royston and Carlton are separated by only one field's width, and that the new school has been erected on this greenbelt land between the two settlements. However, the comments in in (28) to (30) suggest a perceptual divide which is far greater than geographical distance. The younger Royston speakers were interviewed only three years after the opening of the merged high school, and yet, at the time of recording, they had already perceived changes in the linguistic behaviour of Royston adolescents who had attended the new school as the comments in (31) and (32) demonstrate.

(31) **Alice (Y):** But I think that people that are like younger than me tend to talk differently because of the schools joining with Royston High and Edward Sheerien … so I think that that's changing the way that people like a bit younger than me are speaking.

(32) **Anna (Y):** Royston people aren't growing up with other Royston people any more, they're growing up with Athersley and other people. I've noticed lots of changes. They're different people to what they would

have been if they'd gone to Royston … I think the accent's got a bit different because they talk different to us.

The comments by Alice and Anna typify the viewpoints expressed by all younger speakers in the Royston High School C of P, namely that the siting of the new school outside the township will have clear consequences with regard to the future trajectory of the Royston dialect. However, Anna's comment in (32) equates the shift in educational provision, not only with changes in the Royston variety, but to changes in the very nature of the pupils that attend the new school. Whilst this 'Schooling-enforced mobility' (Britain 2013: 492) may have implications with regard to the geographical and linguistic orientations of future generations of Royston speakers, for the younger speakers in the Royston High School C of P, the necessity to gravitate towards Barnsley for post-compulsory education does not engender a shift away from their linguistic affiliation to Royston, as the production data in Chapters 6 and 7 has shown. Furthermore, although some younger speakers are aware of Royston's Black Country heritage they do not see this as a significant factor in the creation of their local and linguistic identity. There is clear evidence of a generational divide in the way older and younger speakers orient towards the urban centres of West and South Yorkshire, respectively. Nonetheless, the two generations are united in their loyalty to the township of Royston. Royston has not encountered the kind of dramatic shifts in national status experienced in the border town of Berwick on Tweed (Llamas et al. 2009), or even a shift in county status, as is the case with Middlesbrough (Llamas 2007) and Warrington (Beal 2010), the township has, however, experienced changes in administrative control and educational provision which have impacted upon inhabitants' perceptions of local and, in turn, linguistic identity. For both older and younger generation speakers, these changes in Royston's administrative and educational parameters have fostered and entrenched a sense of the distinction between Royston and the remainder of the Barnsley borough.

8.3.4 Ideological Differentiation

In order to maintain this clear distinction between Royston and the remainder of the Barnsley borough both younger and older participants employ ideological strategies in order to 'define and delimit their sense of self' (Llamas 2007: 579) in opposition to 'Barnsley people'. For older speakers in the Royston History Group C of P, the desire to distinguish themselves from a more general Barnsley identity manifests itself in the ways in which speakers define their geographical origin. The comments in (33) to (36),

demonstrate the extent to which older Royston speakers will go in order to disassociate themselves from the Barnsley identity.

(33) **Ted (O):** When I were away from home people would say, 'Where are you from then?' and I would say, 'Wakefield'. I never used to say I was from Barnsley.

(34) **Jean (O):** If anyone asks where I come from I say Royston, I don't say Barnsley, I say Royston.

(35) **Mike (O):** Well I always say we're Wakefield, I never say Barnsley.

(36) **Maureen (O):** No we're not Barnsley, no, Wakefield … I do that now, that's terrible isn't it?.

The ways in which these speakers orient to place links to ideologies regarding the, 'systematic behavioural, aesthetic, affective, and moral contrasts among social groups' (Irvine and Gal 2000:39). Older Royston speakers reject the Barnsley identity, and are keen to create and maintain a contrast between the two speech communities. The comments in (37) and (38) by Melvyn and Arthur demonstrate the extent of this perceptual divide between Royston and the neighbouring settlements of Barnsley, in contrast to the limited geographical division.

(37) **Melvyn (O):** Royston was always considered a soft village compared to its hard neighbours such as Athersley.

(38) **Arthur (O):** I had another er mate at the last place I worked … he came from Athersley, Athersley North, which was only two fields away from me. Literally two fields 'cos I was on the estate nearest to Carlton which is just two fields away from Athersley North. He was only like half a mile away from physically from where I lived but he may as well have been ten mile away. We didn't go across those fields I think we were a bit frightened of them actually cos there was one or two heathens lived there (laughs).

Arthur's reference to the 'heathens' living in Athersley is typical of the gentle humour used by Royston participants in order to distinguish themselves from a more general Barnsley identity. A further facet of this process of othering is the way in which Royston participants almost caricature Barnsley speakers. The older Royston speakers tell several jokes based upon the shortcomings of Barnsley people, and, although Arthur's

comment in (38) is humorous, it nonetheless illustrates a clear sense of Barnsley speakers as outsiders, as different and alien. The comments from Melvyn and Albert illustrate the ways in which older Royston speakers iconize (Irvine and Gal 2000) the Barnsley speech community, portraying it as a homogenous entity, and investing it with characteristics which clearly distinguish it from the Royston speech community. The Royston speech community is 'soft' in comparison with the 'hard' and 'heathen' Barnsley people. This process of iconization then facilitates the creation and perpetuation of stereotypes (Irvine and Gal 2000), thus enhancing the oppositions between Royston and the remainder of the Barnsley borough.

In order to further emphasise the distinctions between the Royston and Barnsley identities, dialect differences are foregrounded, and act as a clear marker of separation and distance. In the Royston speech community, this process of othering takes on two distinct forms. Firstly, Royston speakers emphasise the differences between the Royston and Barnsley varieties whilst simultaneously erasing any similarities. Secondly, Royston speakers rank their own variety far higher than the dialect of Barnsley in a perceived hierarchy of local varieties. When asked to identify the differences between the Royston and Barnsley varieties, older Royston speakers consistently exemplify the FACE and GOAT vowels in Metalanguage 1 commentary, in order to illustrate the distinction. The comments in (39) and (40) typify these responses.

(39) **Jean (O):** It sort of gets that long drawn out vowel 'Jane' [dʒeːn] and 'toe' [toː]; where we'll say 'toe' [tou]… shorten it.

(40) **Mike (O):** We tend to pronounce the 'A' and 'O' vowels differently to neighbouring villages. … lane [lɛin] not [leːn], drawn out; road [roud] not [rʊəd].

Both Jean and Mike highlight relative vowel length as the feature which distinguishes the Barnsley and Royston FACE and GOAT variants, describing the Barnsley variants as 'drawn out' in comparison to the perceived shortness of the Royston forms. Mike's comments are particularly interesting as he highlights the more typical monophthongal Barnsley FACE vowel as 'drawn out' but gives an example of the less frequently used, and more traditional, Barnsley diphthongal GOAT vowel [rʊəd], as used by Barnsley male BM10 (see Chapter 6, Section 6.3.7.2). This highlights the complex hierarchy of local FACE and GOAT forms. Older Royston speakers contrast the Royston diphthongal forms of FACE and GOAT with the long monophthongal Barnsley FACE and GOAT vowels

which they consider to be locally stigmatised. However, the long monophthongal Barnsley forms are not considered to be *as* stigmatised as the more traditional Barnsley diphthongal GOAT vowel which bears greater resemblance to the traditional pan-Yorkshire diphthong found in the SED (see Chapter 5, Section 5.4). This shows that, for older Royston speakers, it is not simply the case that FACE and GOAT diphthongs are afforded greater local prestige purely because they are diphthongal.

It is perhaps unsurprising that older speakers who have lived, by choice, in Royston all their lives are loyal to the township; however, the loyalty to Royston expressed by younger speakers is no less apparent. These expressions of loyalty towards Royston are juxtaposed with expressions of disassociation with Barnsley more generally, as the comments by Alice in (41) demonstrate.

(41) **Alice (Y):** [I have] A Royston accent.

Kate [Interviewer]: What if somebody said you'd got a Barnsley accent?

Alice: I think I'd probably argue it out with them.

The desire to remain distinct from a more general Barnsley identity is a clear factor which could motivate the younger speakers to maintain a linguistic distance between themselves and other Barnsley speakers. Older speakers feel that the distinctive Royston dialect is rapidly receding, however, young speakers in the Royston High School C of P also identify the FACE and GOAT vowels as clear markers which distinguish the dialect of Royston from a more general Barnsley variety as the comments in (42) and (43) illustrate.

(42) **Daniel (Y):** We say our 'O's differently don't we … polo [poulou]. We put a W in it.

(43) **Alice (Y):** We seem to put more of an emphasis on vowel sounds, and in particular 'A' and 'O' sounds, I don't really know why.

Language is one of the ways in which speakers, 'construct, maintain, or contest the boundaries of social categories and their membership in or exclusion from those categories' (Meyerhoff 2004: 526); Royston speakers are clearly positioning themselves with reference to the perceived *other,* exploring aspects of 'relationality' (Bucholtz and Hall, 2005:598) in order to signal their similarity to, or difference from other salient speech communities. Labov's study of dialect variation in Martha's

Vineyard (1963) shows us that the desire to disassociate can be as powerful as the desire to identify with a particular dialect or speech community. Royston speakers may use their linguistic variety to clearly identify their allegiance and orientation toward their township; however, this discussion has suggested that it is equally important for these speakers to reject any allegiance to the Barnsley identity, and to maintain and enhance factors which signify this separateness.

8.3.5 Indexicality and Linguistic Identity

In addition to constructing and defining the boundaries between the Royston and Barnsley speech communities, Royston speakers attribute social values to the Royston and Barnsley variants, serving to further differentiate themselves from a general Barnsley identity. In their evaluations of the Royston and Barnsley linguistic forms, older and younger Royston speakers reveal the ideological beliefs which underlie the Metalanguage 1 commentary discussed in Section 8.3.1.3. Participants from both communities of practice invest linguistic differences with iconic status, 'as if a linguistic feature somehow depicted or displayed a social group's inherent nature or essence' (Irvine and Gal 2000: 37). Section 8.3.1.2 outlined the ways in which Royston speakers highlight and emphasise the geographical divisions between the Royston and Barnsley speech communities. In this section, we will observe how these geographical divisions recur on a social level, and are ideologically restructured in order to signal linguistic prestige and stigma.

Older and younger Royston speakers consider the Royston variety to hold far higher pan-regional prestige than the general Barnsley variety. Arthur's comment in (44) makes continual use of the plural pronoun 'we' to signal a viewpoint which he considers representative of the Royston speech community as a whole.

(44) **Arthur (O):** If you go to Barnsley on a market day, I was in there on Wednesday and it was like going back fifty years … we always used to consider people from Barnsley as really broad. I mean we just didn't use that terminology… it stuck out a mile, even as kids.

Arthur considers the Barnsley variety to be archaic and reminiscent of a more traditional regional dialect. He goes on to explain that, as children growing up in Royston, the Barnsley variety would be held up as an example of 'bad speech', thus instilling at a young age, a distinction between the Royston variety and the locally stigmatised dialect of Barnsley. This opposition is also evident in the comments by

Melvyn and Brenda in (45) and (46); here the indexical values of 'rough' and 'broad', attributed to the Barnsley variety, are used to describe the town of Barnsley more generally, and also to define the social status of Barnsley speakers.

(45) **Melvyn (O):** Then again they all talk sort of … what I call rough. I don't mean that in a bad way, I mean it's coarse Barnsley you know.

(46) **Brenda (O):** I think we're posher than Barnsley people, more refined.

Melvyn's description of the Barnsley variety as 'rough' and 'coarse' chimes with his earlier contrast between the soft village of Royston, and the harsher neighbouring Barnsley settlements. His description constructs a homogenous Barnsley speech community where everyone talks 'rough'. However, Melvyn is clearly aware that it is not the case that everyone in Barnsley speaks this way: he lives and works alongside Barnsley speakers, and his grandchildren are 'Barnsley people'. This use of hyperbole creates a stereotyped image of Barnsley people in contrast to the 'more refined' Royston speakers.

Younger Royston participants also maintain this social division, as the comments in (47) to (49) illustrate. All three younger speakers create an opposition between the 'posher' Royston variety and the 'common' or 'chav' sounding dialect of Barnsley.

(47) **Liam (Y):** We see Barnsley as really common.

(48) **James (Y):** I'd not want to merge with a Barnsley accent. A typical Barnsley accent is chav. I don't really want to sound like a chav.

(49) **Kara (Y):** I don't sound like I'm from Barnsley. I sound a bit more posher.

Within a pan-regional dialect hierarchy, Royston speakers consider their own variety as prestigious in comparison with the dialect of Barnsley. In this context, therefore, the label 'posh' becomes acceptable. However, Royston speakers become uncomfortable with the label 'posh' when attributed to their speech without reference to this local prestige hierarchy. Royston speakers are clearly aware of a pan-British English dialect hierarchy where northern varieties in general, and Yorkshire varieties more specifically, do not rate highly in terms of perceived prestige. Melvyn's comment in (50) shows an awareness that 'posh' indicates a social class dialect which he does not recognise as his own. He distinguishes this from speaking 'properly', which he

exemplifies with reference to examples of Barnsley speech which are judged far from 'proper'.

(50) **Melvyn (O):** I was born in Royston but a lady who I was in a relationship with was from Worsbrough. Her brothers and that, I mean they were lovely people, a fantastic family but they talked really broad Barnsley. They pulled me up on some of the things I say sometimes because they thought I talked posh. My mother was always very strict about how we spoke, you know, that we spoke properly, not posh.

When comparing the Royston and Barnsley varieties, Brenda shows no hesitation in labelling the Royston variety as more posh and refined (see comment in (46)). However, when asked about the Royston variety specifically she is more reticent about the label 'posh'.

(51) **Brenda (O):** It sounds silly but we were rather classed as posh (laughs).

Similarly, Josie expresses embarrassment at being labelled 'posh'. She has, nevertheless, told me the story in (52) several times, and clearly likes to repeat the reference to her elevated dialect status.

(52) **Josie (O):** I once mentioned to you I did work for a couple of years at [a carpet shop in Barnsley], and I used to feel right embarrassed because they thought I was posh. They thought I talked posh because they were that broad.

Josie's comment in (52) reveals a distinction between Royston speakers' status within a pan-regional dialect hierarchy, as opposed to a hierarchy of British English varieties. Royston speakers associate the label 'posh' primarily with the Standard Southern British English dialect, and do not feel that this label is applicable to their northern, non-standard Royston variety. However, this perception changes when the dialect of Royston is judged against the Barnsley variety. Within a pan-English prestige hierarchy, SSBE is judged to be an 'extreme category' (Herr 1986: 1106) which is afforded the highest prestige; therefore, Royston speakers evaluate their variety negatively in contrast to this extreme exemplar. However, within a pan-Yorkshire prestige hierarchy, the Barnsley variety is judged to have very low prestige (cf. Finnegan 2011; Montgomery 2007). Therefore, Royston speakers evaluate their own dialect positively in relation to this locally stigmatised variety.

It is clear that Royston speakers are aware of the prestige attached to SSBE, it is therefore possible that they consider the Royston diphthongs to be closer to the standard prestige forms than to the long monophthongal Barnsley variants. However, it is clear from the ideological commentary explored in Section 8.1.3.4, that Royston speakers are not overtly motivated by a desire to approximate SSBE, but by the desire to differentiate themselves from the stigmatised Barnsley variety. The linguistic production data analysed in Chapter 6 and 7 shows that all Royston speakers reject the long monophthongal FACE and GOAT forms found in the Barnsley speech community. However, Royston females produce higher dipDegree levels than Royston males; they also produce higher quantities of the distinctly Royston FACE and GOAT diphthongs than their male counterparts, thus leading in the use of these stable, locally salient diphthongal variants. Similarly, Mathisen (1999: 121) finds that females are leading in the use of the non-standard, non-coalescing /ng/ variant in the Sandwell speech community; and observes that this data, 'cast doubt on the general notion that the females universally favour less localised forms'. In the Royston speech community, the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT forms are attributed greater local prestige due to their associations with the township's Black Country heritage, and due to their significance as a symbol of the opposition between the Royston and Barnsley varieties. The fact that females lead in the use of the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT variants may serve to enhance their status within the speech community as locally valued, prestige related variants (cf. Milroy, Milroy & Hartley 1994:27).

8.4 Discussion

The linguistic production data discussed in Chapters 6 and 7 demonstrate the resilience of diphthongal Royston FACE and GOAT forms in the face of competition from pan-regional long monophthongal norms. Addressing Research Question (4), this chapter has explored the interview data gathered from older and younger Royston speakers in order to reveal the ideological values which underpin the production of regionally atypical linguistic behaviour in the Royston variety. In the Royston speech community older and younger generations invest the distinctive diphthongal FACE and GOAT variants with social meaning as part of a 'local ideological struggle' (Eckert 2008: 454); however, the nature of this ideological struggle shifts according to generational perspective.

For speakers in the Royston History Group C of P, the dominant, n-th-order indexical value (Silverstein 2003) associated with the Royston FACE and GOAT vowels is 'Black

Country Heritage'. These older generation speakers see the diphthongal Royston FACE and GOAT vowels as symbolic of the township's unique historical legacy, and their use of these may indicate resistance to linguistic and social change. This 'cultural schema of enregisterment' (Silverstein 2003: 211) includes indexical values which signify a distinct Royston identity, reflecting the township's historical status within the West Riding Authority. In order to preserve Royston's unique status, and to prevent it from being subsumed into one homogenous Barnsley identity, this direct (Ochs 1991), or n-th- order meaning becomes available for reconfiguration to index locally salient stances which signal that these older Royston speakers are 'not Barnsley' and that, in comparison with Barnsley speakers, their linguistic status is elevated and deemed worthy of the label 'posh' in the context of a pan-regional dialect hierarchy.

It is perhaps unsurprising that older speakers in the Royston speech community are keenly aware of the township's unique historical and industrial heritage. Linguistic differences serve as a clear signifier of the distinction between Royston speakers and those in the remainder of the Barnsley borough. Consequently, the maintenance of this variation may be fuelled by the older Royston speakers' desire to preserve Royston's unique character. However, this does not explain why younger generation Royston speakers have maintained the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT vowels. Younger Royston speakers show only scant knowledge of the township's industrial and administrative history, and do not associate their distinctive FACE and GOAT variants with these factors. They do, however, demonstrate a strong sense of affiliation to the township, despite increased levels of contact with speakers from the wider borough of Barnsley. Previous studies (cf. Milroy and Milroy 1985; Milroy 1987) have shown that speakers in small, often isolated, close-knit communities, who have relatively low levels of geographical mobility are more likely to retain localised, usually nonstandard features within their repertoires than members of the community who are more socially and geographically mobile. The younger Royston speakers have formed social networks beyond the immediate speech community, and yet the necessity for these younger speakers to travel into Barnsley centre on a daily basis appears to have galvanised their loyalty to the township, and engendered a need to signal their Royston affiliation in order to clearly distinguish themselves from a more general Barnsley identity. Younger Royston speakers continue to resist levelling toward supra-local norms of monophthongal FACE and GOAT production, and part of this resilience may be attributed to a process of 'socio-stylistic reallocation' (Britain and Trudgill, 1999:247),

whereby new social values have been assigned to the Royston FACE and GOAT variants by younger generation speakers. The direct (Ochs 1991), or n-th-order (Silverstein 2003) indexical value attributed to FACE and GOAT production by the younger Royston speakers is 'not Barnsley'. Where older Royston speakers primarily define their local and linguistic identity with reference to what it means to be 'Royston', younger speakers display a 'negative identity practice' (Bucholtz 1996) asserting their local and linguistic affiliations by clearly signalling what they are not. For younger speakers, the n-th-order indexical value 'not Barnsley' is then reinterpreted, equating Barnsley speakers with 'common' or 'chav' personas. As Royston speakers are not Barnsley, they are, therefore, 'not common or chav'.

The ideological commentary presented in this chapter exemplifies the variety of ways in which Royston speakers construct and maintain a clear opposition between the Royston speech community and the remainder of the Barnsley borough. Auditory analysis discussed in Chapter 6 has already shown that the Royston variants do not resemble the long monophthongal forms found most commonly in the surrounding speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield, and furthermore, that Royston speakers are increasingly diverging from, rather than converging towards pan-regional norms. This chapter explores the motivations which underpin the phonological resistance demonstrated by Royston speakers; however, Milroy (2002:10) asserts that such motivations are not always sufficient to maintain patterns of linguistic behaviour which do not conform to pan-regional norms. Supra-local norms have a tendency to, 'engulf minority dialects contrary to the desires of the speakers to maintain distinctiveness'. Furthermore, when formerly close-knit communities disintegrate, and mobility increases, the ability of the speech community to maintain locally distinctive linguistic behaviour is often diminished. This is not the case in the Royston speech community, where younger speakers are maintaining the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT diphthongs, despite increased levels of dialect contact with the remainder of the Barnsley borough.

The findings presented in Chapters 6 and 7 clearly challenge the idea that dialect levelling is a given in situations of dialect contact. There is little evidence to show that Royston speakers are accommodating towards adjacent speech communities; in fact the reverse seems to be true, and younger Royston speakers are intensifying phonological resistance to supra-local norms. The sociolinguistic situation in existence at the beginning of the twentieth century, which likely gave rise to the Royston FACE and GOAT variants, no longer exists, and yet successive generations of speakers have

maintained the distinctive forms as a consequence of Royston's unique demographic, political and geographical history. In order to make sense of such linguistic phenomena, it is crucial that interpretations of the history, geography and the general narrative of place come from the speakers themselves: assumptions of place imposed from the outside can distort the link between linguistic forms and the construction of local identities. Perceptions of the Royston diphthongs and their social meanings have been inferred from the metalinguistic commentary supplied by members of the two communities of practice. However, future perception testing to isolate the effects of the FACE and GOAT diphthongs would be needed to further confirm the social meanings of these forms. Although such perception testing was beyond the scope of this thesis, the results presented in this chapter provide clear indications that the social meanings identified index the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT forms. By combining linguistic production data with the ideological commentary of Royston speakers, it has been possible to demonstrate that patterns of dialect reallocation, resistance and divergence are symbiotically linked to speakers' interpretations of the physical and ideological landscape in which they are situated. The discussion in this chapter has enhanced the analysis presented in Chapters 6 and 7. Without a consideration of the ideologies underpinning the maintenance of diphthongal forms in the Royston speech community, it would not have been possible to unpick the generation-specific practices which have ensured continuity in the Royston variety.

Chapter 9

Discussion and Conclusions

9.1 Introduction

This chapter will provide a summary of the main findings and implications of my research, and will show how my study has answered the research questions detailed in Chapter 1. It will evaluate the effectiveness of my methodological approach, and discuss the limitations of the study and potential for further research.

9.2 Fulfilment of the Research Questions.

9.2.1 To what extent are there regionally similar or distinctive patterns of variation in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets across the Yorkshire dialect region?

By synthesising legacy data from previous studies which have charted pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT variation and change this study has shown that the Royston FACE and GOAT variants are pan-regionally distinctive, and has provided an overview of variation and change in the FACE and GOAT lexical sets across the Yorkshire region.

By conducting new analysis of legacy data from the SED and MMB collections, in conjunction with a synthesis of legacy data from previous dialect studies, this study has shown that, the widespread pan-regional diffusion of long monophthongal FACE production is consistent across traditional and modern dialect studies of the counties of South and West Yorkshire. The findings for pan-Yorkshire GOAT production suggest a division between the findings of traditional and modern dialect studies, with evidence of widespread pan-Yorkshire diffusion of the centring diphthongal GOAT form during the traditional dialect period. However, in the transition from the traditional to the modern dialect there are two significant changes in the nature of GOAT production across Yorkshire varieties. Firstly, the diphthongal GOAT form recedes rapidly to the point of virtual eradication; and secondly, long monophthongal forms of GOAT become the majority variants across all four counties of Yorkshire.

The synthesis of legacy data from studies conducted post-1970 has demonstrated that, long monophthongal forms constitute the majority FACE and GOAT variants across all

four counties of Yorkshire. However, the findings of more fine-grained studies by Cave (2001) and Finnegan (2013) provide exceptions to these pan-regional phonological norms, highlighting the need for a greater focus on micro-variation, both geographically and socially, in order to construct a more nuanced picture of FACE and GOAT variation and change within and across pan-regional dialects. My synthesis of legacy data has crucially facilitated an examination of the impact of historical, pan-regional dialect contact upon the Royston FACE and GOAT forms.

9.2.2 How have patterns of dialect contact shaped the Royston FACE and GOAT forms; and how do the Royston variants compare to pan-regional phonological norms?

By conducting auditory impressionistic analysis this study has established a clear distinction between the auditory qualities of FACE and GOAT vowels produced in the Royston variety, and those produced in the wider Yorkshire dialect region, and in the surrounding speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield.

In terms of FACE production, by comparing the results of auditory impressionistic analysis with my synthesis of legacy data I have demonstrated that the distinctive diphthongal Royston FACE variants do not correspond to the diphthongal forms found in traditional dialects of Yorkshire. It is, therefore, not the case that the Royston speech community has retained traditional pan-Yorkshire FACE forms which receded in modern pan-regional varieties. Although the dominant Royston FACE diphthongs do not correspond to traditional pan-Yorkshire forms, my findings have shown that the R-Type I variant [ɛi] is found in the repertoires of some older speakers in Mathisen's (1999:108) study of the Black Country dialect. This raises the possibility that this variant was introduced into the Royston speech community via the incoming Black Country mine workers at the end of the 19th century, surviving in the repertoires of older and middle generation Royston speakers despite extensive pan-Yorkshire diffusion of monophthongal FACE production. In the younger generation Royston speakers we see the attrition of the open-mid variant [ɛi], and a move towards the increased status of the R-Type II close-mid variant [ei] for all younger speakers. However, all three generations maintain the distinctive tense, long, front, close offglide [i].

My findings suggest a slightly different scenario in terms of the origins of the Royston GOAT variants. The R-Type I variant [ɔu] resembles the vowel found by Wright (1892) in

the dialect of Bradford for the words *coke, cold and old* (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2.2.2). The variant is also found by Hughes et al. (2005) in the repertoires of some older Bradford speakers in a similar set of lexically restricted tokens. Beyond this, the variant [ɔu] is not found in any studies of traditional, or modern, Yorkshire dialects. It is the long, tense offglide which gives the R-Type I GOAT diphthong its distinctive character; and it is this offglide which clearly distinguishes it from other pan-Yorkshire diphthongal variants which favour the shorter near-back, near-close offglide [ʊ]. However, whilst the [ɔu] variant has entirely receded in the modern Bradford dialect it remains the dominant GOAT variant in the Royston variety; and despite being regionally marked has not succumbed to the process of pan-Yorkshire dialect levelling. Furthermore, the R-Type II variant [ou] is not found in previous studies of traditional or modern pan-Yorkshire varieties; however, it is found as a minority diphthongal GOAT variant in the dialect of Derby (Docherty and Foulkes 1999). This raises the possibility that the form was introduced to the Royston speech community during the migration of Derbyshire miners to the township in the late 19th Century.

Following the closure of Monkton Colliery in the 1960s, the Royston speech community was compelled to seek employment beyond the confines of the township, leading to increased and prolonged dialect contact with surrounding varieties. Previous studies have shown that, under such conditions, regional dialect levelling is likely to occur as a result of long-term linguistic accommodation within a relatively compact geographical area (cf. Watt and Milroy 1999; Kerswill 2002). However, the findings of this study show that the origins of the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT variants cannot be explained with reference to the mechanism of regional dialect levelling, as the anticipated consequence of this process is the gradual disappearance of linguistically marked and minority variants (Britain and Trudgill 1999:246). Furthermore, if we consider the mechanism of expansion diffusion, a process by which features spread across a geographical area as a consequence of regular face-to-face contact (Britain 2004: 623), then my findings clearly show that this scenario does not explain the origins of the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT variants. The hierarchical effect is considered to be the most frequent type of expansion diffusion with features 'descending down an urban hierarchy' from cities and towns before infiltrating the dialects of the rural areas 'in between' (Kerswill 2002:188). However, whilst it could be argued that Royston is an area 'in between', and that its continued geographical isolation has acted as a barrier against regionally diffusing forms, the increase in

regular face-to-face contact with speakers beyond the township has not resulted in accommodation toward pan-regional monophthongal FACE and GOAT norms.

My findings suggest that the mechanism of relocation diffusion, a process resulting from population migration (cf. Kerswill 2004, Kerswill and Williams 2005), helps to explain the origins of the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT forms. This study has shown that the dominant Royston FACE vowel has been influenced by contact with the vast influx of Black Country workers who relocated to township in the late 19th Century. Furthermore, although the dominant R-Type, I GOAT vowel resembles a variant found in the dialect of Bradford in the late 19th century, there is no evidence of it spreading from this culturally dominant centre to other major urban centres across the Yorkshire dialect region. This could suggest that this variant was introduced to the Bradford and Royston varieties via long distance industrial migration, rather than by pan-regional dialect contact. This scenario is further supported by the fact that the R-Type II GOAT vowel corresponds to a variant found in the dialect of Derby (but not found in pan-Yorkshire varieties), suggesting that this form was also introduced to the Royston variety via the influx of Derbyshire mineworkers to the township in the late 19th century.

My findings have shown that the distinctive diphthongal Royston FACE and GOAT variants are the product of dialect influences introduced to the township via long distance industrial migration at the end of the 19th century, and that the Royston diphthongs have resisted levelling towards pan-regionally diffusing monophthongal FACE and GOAT norms over the past five decades. However, if we consider the minority FACE and GOAT monophthongs found in the Royston variety, my results show that these vowels do resemble pan-Yorkshire monophthongal forms. The R-Type IV FACE variant [ɛː] is also found as a minority FACE monophthong in the SED data for South and West Yorkshire, and in some studies of modern Yorkshire dialects (see Chapter 5, Section 5.2). This suggests that, despite the attrition of this traditional FACE monophthong in modern pan-Yorkshire varieties, it has been retained as a minority form in the repertoires of older Royston speakers. It is, however, highly recessive in the Royston variety, and is not present in the repertoires of middle or younger generation Royston speakers. The R-Type III FACE variant [eː] is the majority FACE vowel found by the SED throughout South and West Yorkshire, and is the majority variant found in pan-Yorkshire varieties in modern dialect studies of the two counties (see Chapter 5, Sections 5.2.1.1 and 5.2.2.1). This suggests that Royston speakers are not immune to contact induced adoption of pan-regionally diffusing dialect forms, even though these

variants represent a distinct minority in the repertoires of middle and younger Royston speakers. The R-Type III GOAT variant [o:] is also found in the SED data for the urban cities of Sheffield and Leeds, and in more recent studies of South and West Yorkshire varieties (cf. Hughes et al. 2005; Wells 1982b). Again, as with FACE production, this shows that the Royston speech community is not entirely resistant to regionally diffusing pan-Yorkshire norms. However, where pan-regional FACE and GOAT monophthongs have been incorporated into the Royston variety, they are highly restricted, and retain the status of minority forms across all three generations. This further illustrates Royston speakers' conscious resistance to pan-Yorkshire phonological norms. As Watson (2006: 55) found in the Liverpool variety, Royston speakers are not only resisting regionally diffusing FACE and GOAT monophthongisation, but are diverging from supra-local phonological norms.

In the Royston speech community, diphthongal forms of FACE and GOAT have remained the dominant variants across the three generations of speakers. The reverse is true in the surrounding speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield, and across pan-Yorkshire varieties more widely, where long monophthongal variants dominate FACE and GOAT production. The unique nature of FACE and GOAT production in the Royston speech community clearly conflicts with Chambers' (2003:66) assertion that, 'mobility causes people to speak and sound more like people from other places'.

My findings indicate that the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT variants are the linguistic consequence of relocation diffusion via industrial migration. This resonates with the findings of other studies which consider the linguistic character of post-industrial speech communities. Hornsby (2016: 44) considers the unique dialect mix in the ex-mining village of Aylesham, in the English county of East Kent, and observes that the local variety 'sounds more northern than Kentish or 'Estuary'. Hornsby (2016: 54) concludes that 'the arrival of Yorkshiremen in the county some nine decades ago played an important role in the formation of the Kent coalfield koinés one hears today.' From the mid twentieth century onward, mining communities, like other industrial communities, became increasingly nomadic, compelled by the dwindling resources in the industry to uproot and travel to wherever the work was available. The very nature of the work that they sought compelled them to converge upon certain locations and, when the resources in that location were depleted, the whole workforce moved on. From a linguistic perspective, this means that these nomadic industrial communities were often formed of a very similar blend of dialect influences, and this blend then shifted from location to location, retaining semblances of its shared lineage.

It would be far too simplistic to apply a gravity model analysis to the Royston data in order to explain the influence of historic dialect contact upon the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT variants. Geometric calculations cannot factor in the multitude of differing social, perceptual and geographic relationships which connect, or disconnect, place X from place Y. Britain (2013: 496) asserts that, 'we need to understand how people in the area move and have moved, the social meaning of that movement and how the mobile practices of the past help shape those of later times'. Despite increased levels of geographical mobility, and consequently increased contact with pan-Yorkshire varieties, this study has shown that Royston speakers continue to resist stable, pan-regional monophthongal FACE and GOAT norms.

My findings are particularly distinctive as they demonstrate how younger generation Royston speakers continue this resistance to the widespread diffusion of pan-regional, monophthongal FACE and GOAT norms. Previous studies of post-industrial speech communities (cf. Stoddart, et al. 1999; Devlin 2014) find that the more traditional or highly localised forms are only evident in the repertoires of older speakers. For example, Devlin's (2014: 243) study of the post-industrial speech communities of East Durham shows clear evidence of change in progress with regard to FACE and GOAT production, with 'statistically significant differences in the distribution patterns of younger and older speakers'. In the Royston speech community, the sociolinguistic situation in existence at the beginning of the twentieth century, which likely gave rise to the Royston FACE and GOAT variants, no longer exists, and yet successive generations of speakers have maintained the distinctive forms as a consequence of Royston's unique demographic, political and geographical history.

9.2.3 How do levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston variety compare to levels found in the adjacent dialects of Barnsley and Wakefield?

By performing acoustic phonetic analysis, presented in Chapter 7, I have been able to identify measure and quantify significant variation between levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston variety and the Barnsley and Wakefield varieties. Through the application of mixed effects regression statistical testing I have shown that location, age and gender are significant factors which impact upon levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation across, and within, the three speech communities. My results suggest that internal, phonetic conditioning is not responsible for the significant variation in FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels produced by Royston speakers in

comparison with levels found in the Barnsley and Wakefield cohorts. Instead, I have shown that the external social factors of; location, age and gender significantly impact FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels within and across the three speech communities.

With regard to location, my findings demonstrate that, despite increased levels of contact between Royston speakers and surrounding speech communities over successive generations, the Royston speech community has not moved towards the patterns of FACE and GOAT monophthongisation found in the adjacent Barnsley and Wakefield varieties. Regardless of the fact that Royston is part of the wider borough of Barnsley, the greatest disparity in FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels is between the Royston and Barnsley speech communities, providing clear evidence that Royston speakers are not accommodating toward patterns of FACE and GOAT monophthongisation found in the wider borough of Barnsley. My data also show that, regardless of Royston's historical affiliation to Wakefield FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels produced by Royston speakers do not resemble levels produced by the majority of Wakefield speakers. Additionally, my findings reveal that levels of FACE and GOAT dipDegree produced by the majority of Barnsley and Wakefield speakers are comparable. This stability in the monophthongisation of FACE and GOAT in speech communities that surround the township of Royston further highlights the unique nature of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston variety.

The analysis of apparent time data reveals that all three generations of Royston speakers favour diphthongisation of both vocalic variants. The aggregate data indicate linguistic stability in the Royston variety over apparent time, with diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT representing an established community wide norm. However, there is also evidence of some age-grading, with a tendency for Royston females to increase levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the middle of their lifespan. Typical of age-graded change, the findings indicate linguistic stability in the community as a whole over time, but represent linguistic instability or change in the adult lifetime of the Royston females.

Ultimately, the results of the acoustic analysis performed in this study clearly demonstrate that Royston speakers produce significantly higher dipDegree levels for both FACE and GOAT production than Barnsley and Royston speakers across all three generations. However, perhaps the most interesting results are to be found in the younger generation speakers. Despite increased levels of contact between younger

generation Royston and Barnsley speakers, the distinction between FACE and GOAT dipDegree levels produced by Royston speakers, and those produced by the Barnsley and Wakefield cohorts, is at its greatest in the younger generation. On the other hand, it is in the younger age category that we see the greatest parity in levels of FACE dipDegree produced by Barnsley and Wakefield speakers.

My results show that gender has a significant effect upon FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston variety, with females producing significantly higher dipDegree levels than males overall. Royston females, in all three age categories, favour diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT tokens. However, we see a reversal of this gender pattern in the Barnsley and Wakefield females, who favour monophthongisation of FACE and GOAT tokens, producing lower dipDegree values overall than the Barnsley and Wakefield males. Previous research (cf. Mathisen 1999; Cheshire 2004) has shown that whilst women may be more inclined to choose variants because of their prestige, it is also possible that women actually create the prestige by favouring particular forms in their repertoires. This further suggests that greater local prestige is attributed to diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT in the Royston variety; whereas monophthongisation of FACE and GOAT variants are afforded higher local status in the dialects of Barnsley and Wakefield.

9.2.4 What ideological values do Royston speakers assign to their FACE and GOAT forms; and how do these social meanings contribute to the maintenance of regionally distinct FACE and GOAT production in the Royston variety?

Via the collection and analysis of ideological commentary gathered from older and younger generations in the Royston speech community, this study has been able to evaluate the ideological values which underpin Royston speakers' regionally atypical FACE and GOAT production. Without this third layer of data collection and analysis, my study would have established clear variation between the Royston FACE and GOAT forms and those found in the adjacent speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield, but would not have been able to provide an explanation for the community-wide maintenance of the unique Royston diphthongal variants.

My findings have shown that older and younger generations of Royston speakers invest the distinctive diphthongal FACE and GOAT vowels with social meaning as part of a 'local ideological struggle' (Eckert 2008: 454). Furthermore, I have shown that the nature of this ideological struggle shifts according to generational perspective. Older generation speakers see the diphthongal Royston FACE and GOAT vowels as indicative of the

township's unique historical legacy, and may employ these forms as resistance to linguistic and social change. Linguistic differences serve as a clear signifier of the distinction between Royston speakers and those in the remainder of the Barnsley borough; consequently, the impetus to maintain this variation is fuelled by older Royston speakers' desire to preserve Royston's unique character. For older speakers, Black Country heritage symbolises this uniquely Royston identity, setting the township apart from the remainder of the Barnsley borough. In this way, the distinctive Royston FACE and GOAT vowels have become iconic, homogenising symbols which signal membership of the Royston speech community. To this end, older generation Royston speakers erase other factors which do not fit with this 'totalizing vision' (cf. Irvine and Gal, 2000: 38). Members of the Royston History Group are understandably knowledgeable regarding the township's demographic development, and yet no mention is made of Nottinghamshire or Derbyshire heritage, and likewise, no area of Royston is known as Little Nottinghamshire or Little Derbyshire.

Conversely, younger Royston speakers show only scant knowledge of the township's industrial and administrative history, and do not associate their distinctive FACE and GOAT variants with these factors. They do, however, demonstrate a strong sense of affiliation with the township, despite increased levels of contact with speakers from the wider borough of Barnsley. The younger Royston speakers have formed social networks beyond the immediate speech community, and yet the necessity for these younger speakers to travel into Barnsley centre on a daily basis appears to have galvanised their loyalty to the township. Younger Royston speakers continue to resist levelling toward supra-local norms of monophthongal FACE and GOAT production, and part of this resilience can be attributed to a process of 'socio-stylistic reallocation' (Britain and Trudgill, 1999:247). New social values have been assigned to the Royston FACE and GOAT variants by younger generation speakers in order signal their Royston affiliation, and to clearly distinguish themselves from a more general Barnsley identity.

By combining the ideological commentary of Royston speakers with their linguistic production data this study has demonstrated that patterns of dialect reallocation, resistance and divergence are symbiotically linked to speakers' interpretations of the physical and ideological landscape in which they are situated.

9.3 Evaluation of the Methodology and Research Limitations

9.3.1 Evaluation of the Four Methodological Approaches

Overall, the four distinct components which comprise my methodological approach provided an effective means of collecting and analysing FACE and GOAT data in order to address my four research questions. As no prior studies had been undertaken into the dialects of Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield, my methodological approach enabled me to: (i) collate legacy data from previous studies which have charted pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT variation and change; (ii) collect quantifiable and replicable data in order to determine the specific qualities of the Royston FACE and GOAT vowels and to compare this data with pan-regional FACE and GOAT variation and change; (iii), examine the extent to which Royston FACE and GOAT production is diphthongised in comparison with the adjacent speech communities of Barnsley and Wakefield; and (iv) to consider these findings in relation the ideological values that underpin Royston speakers' distinctive FACE and GOAT production.

The synthesis of legacy data from previous studies which have charted FACE and GOAT variation and change in pan-Yorkshire dialects, in conjunction with quantitative auditory analysis of FACE and GOAT vowel qualities in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties, enabled me to consider how the qualities of the Royston FACE and GOAT forms compare to wider pan-Yorkshire phonological norms, and to consider how patterns of dialect contact may have influenced the distinctive Royston variants.

The auditory phonetic analysis was essential in order to provide a direct comparison with the findings of legacy studies which used auditory impressionistic analysis rather than acoustic analysis. Without previous recordings or studies of the Royston variety these legacy studies provided the only means of piecing together a picture of pan-Yorkshire FACE and GOAT variation and change, and of assessing the potential origins and influences which have shaped the distinctive Royston variants. Whilst previous studies represent a very broad and piecemeal overview of FACE and GOAT production across traditional and contemporary dialects of Yorkshire, they nonetheless suggest widespread and stable pan-regional monophthongal FACE and GOAT norms. My Royston findings demonstrate patterns which differ from these previous findings, and may be indicative of more widespread variation in post-industrial speech communities which, to date, has gone unstudied.

The quantitative acoustic phonetic analysis of levels of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties provided a further level of rigour with regard to vowel measurement and quantification. The results of acoustic formant frequency analysis built upon the results of auditory impressionistic analysis, providing a clear, quantifiable and replicable method of establishing the extent of FACE and GOAT diphthongisation in the Royston dialect in comparison with FACE and GOAT production in the Barnsley and Wakefield varieties. In addition, as this study provides the first research into FACE and GOAT production in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties, the use of acoustic formant frequency analysis has provided results which can be replicated and compared with current and future research in the field of sociophonetic variation and change.

The wordlist approach produced FACE and GOAT data which is clearly quantifiable and directly comparable. Whilst there are clear problems with collecting data via a simple wordlist, most notably that speakers are not producing natural or continuous speech (cf. Watt and Tillotson 2001: 297), this method enabled me to ensure that all speakers produced tokens under the same controlled conditions. The decision to acoustically measure the FACE and GOAT tokens using the dipDegree formulation also provided a clear, quantifiable and replicable method of establishing the extent of vowel diphthongisation in the Royston variety, and enabled a rigorous means of comparison across the three speech communities.

The qualitative analysis of interview data from two social groupings drawn from within the Royston speech community added a further, vital, dimension to the auditory and acoustic analysis of Royston FACE and GOAT production. This layer of analysis provided access to the ideological values which underpin the unique FACE and GOAT production in the Royston speech community. Working with two communities of practice, which emerged during the course of my ethnographic study, gave me invaluable access to the ideological perceptions of older and younger generations of Royston speakers. Whilst it has to be acknowledged that this ideological commentary is influenced by the particular dynamics of each community of practice, this approach has the clear advantage of providing a more nuanced insight into the perspectives of these two social groupings which could not be accessed via random sampling of interview participants.

9.3.2 Limitations

By necessity I have based the auditory analysis of the Royston FACE and GOAT variants on a comparison with previous studies. The aim of these studies was to provide an overview of dialect variation and change in specific English varieties. Whilst these legacy studies tell us a great deal about the spread of certain salient dialect features across the dialects of England, they do not reveal the more nuanced dialect variation that characterises the speech communities within these broader linguistic categorisations, and often represent the dialects under scrutiny as homogenous entities. My analysis of the Royston FACE and GOAT variants, and the comparison with the Barnsley and Wakefield forms, confirms that the Royston diphthongs are distinct from monophthongal FACE and GOAT found in these two adjacent speech communities. However, in the absence of more fine-grained pan-regional studies, which provide a greater focus upon the linguistic characteristics of individual speech communities, and the factors which impact dialect variation and change, it is not possible to consider how the Royston variants compare to other post-industrial speech communities which have also undergone major demographic changes.

A further limitation concerns the focus on the two communities of practice which emerged organically from my ethnographic study of the Royston speech community. As the two groupings provided a comparison of the ideological perspectives of older and younger generations, I took the decision to focus the qualitative analysis on these two social groupings. However, the auditory and acoustic analysis, presented in Chapters 6 and 7 respectively, provide interesting, and in some cases atypical findings with regard to the middle generation Royston speakers. Due to time constraints, I was not able to conduct further ethnographic fieldwork in the hope of gaining access to a community of practice which represented the middle generation. As a consequence, I do not have ideological commentary from this age group, and cannot explore the motivations which underpin their distinctive FACE and GOAT production. Whilst this limits the scope of my study, it does not detract from my findings that older and younger generations of Royston speakers invest the distinctive diphthongal FACE and GOAT vowels with social meaning, perceiving them to be indicative of the township's unique historical legacy, and employing them as part of their resistance to linguistic and social change.

9.4 Directions for Future Research

Upon completion of this study my findings suggest several areas which would provide interesting directions for further research.

Although this study focuses solely on FACE and GOAT production, I also recorded vowels in each of the remaining lexical sets. This data was gathered from all speakers in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield cohorts. As my study is the first to collect rigorous and comparable data from these three varieties it would be useful to analyse these additional recordings in order to produce a detailed inventory and comparison of the full Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield vowel range.

With reference to the limitation raised in Section 9.3.2, it would be interesting to examine FACE and GOAT production in other ex-mining communities across the Yorkshire dialect region in order to establish and explain any potential variation, and to provide a more comprehensive picture of the impact of industrial migration upon pan-regional variation and change. Furthermore, it would be helpful to collaborate with other researchers who are conducting similar research into sociolinguistic variation and change in post-industrial speech communities (cf. Hornsby 2017, Braber 2018, and Leach 2018) in order to consider how industrial migration has the potential to create a unique dialect mix which has been transported from one dialect region to another.

The participants in the Royston High School C of P were amongst the last cohort to attend Royston High School prior to its merger with two neighbouring high schools, and its relocation beyond the boundaries of the township. These younger speakers clearly felt that this would signal the rapid demise of the distinctive Royston dialect; in fact, their comments indicate that this process had already begun at the time of my data collection. It would therefore be interesting to conduct a study which compares any variation in the Royston FACE and GOAT production of my younger generation speakers with the current cohorts of Royston adolescents who are the first to have been educated outside the township, and alongside pupils from other areas of the Barnsley borough.

9.5 Final Words

By providing the first sociophonetic analysis of FACE and GOAT production in the Royston, Barnsley and Wakefield varieties, this thesis constitutes an original contribution to the field of variationist sociolinguistics. Furthermore, prior to this study relatively little sociolinguistic research had focused upon speech communities which

diverge from, rather than accommodate to surrounding varieties. Although research by Watson (2006: 55) had explored the phenomenon of phonological resistance, establishing that aspects of Liverpool English were diverging from supra-local phonological norms, the factors which motivate a speech community to resist the diffusion of supra-local or pan-regional phonological norms were rarely explored. My study is innovative in examining both linguistic production and ideological commentary in this linguistic environment. This has enabled me to more fully explain why greater levels of dialect contact do not necessarily lead to the attrition of minority variants and, ultimately, to greater linguistic homogeneity. Reinforcing the need to include an ethnographic element to the collection and analysis of data, this study demonstrates the importance of understanding local historical contexts, social experiences and tensions which impact upon the use and perception of linguistic variables. The methodological approach employed in this study has enabled me to examine the relationship between linguistic identity and the ideological perceptions which form via membership of a speech community. In doing so I have demonstrated how phonological resistance can act as a powerful indicator of affiliation to place.

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Appendix 1

Participant Information Sheet

The University Of Sheffield.

Participant Information Sheet

Research Project Title: Dialect variation and identity in an ex-mining community of Barnsley

Contact Details:

Principal Investigator: Kate Burland (PhD Student)

School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics
University of Sheffield
Jessop West
1 Upper Hanover Street
Sheffield S3 7RA

Telephone: 01226 205346

E-mail: Kate.Burland@Sheffield.ac.uk

I am a PhD student at the University of Sheffield and I am conducting research into the influence upon the Royston dialect of the Staffordshire workers and their families who were attracted to the area to fill the jobs available in the coal mines during the late 19th and early 20th centuries. I am contacting you to request that you take part in my research project.

I would be grateful if you would read the following information and consider whether or not you would like to consent to being a participant in this research. There is no obligation whatsoever to agree and if you have any questions or require any further information please do not hesitate to contact me. (Full contact details above)

What is the project's purpose?

This project considers the influence upon the Royston dialect of the significant influx of mineworkers from the Staffordshire area in the late 19th and early 20th century. It will gather and analyse recordings of the local Royston dialect as well as interviews regarding speakers' perceptions of the Staffordshire influence and history. The recordings will be available to the public as a record of the Royston dialect and source of local historical interest.

Why have I been chosen?

You have been chosen because you have been born and raised in Royston/Barnsley/Wakefield and lived in the area for the majority of your life.

Do I have to take part?

Participation in this research is purely voluntary and there is absolutely no obligation to take part. Even in the event that you do consent then you will still be free to withdraw at any point.

What will happen if I agree to take part?

If you agree to participate this will involve:

- Being recorded reading a set word list. This is to gather evidence of the Royston dialect variety.
- Completing a short questionnaire which asks questions about your attitude to your own town, your dialect and the dialect of those around you; this will be approximately five days in advance of being interviewed and recorded in a discussion relating to your answers to the questionnaire.
- Being recorded with other friends/relatives/colleagues etc, who are also born and bred in Royston, in relation to your thoughts regarding the Royston dialect and the Staffordshire links to the area.

Participation is purely voluntary and there is no obligation for you to agree to take part. If you do decide to go ahead then you would need to fill out a consent form. You are entitled to withdraw your consent at any time, before, during or after the research has been completed. You do not need to provide any reason if you wish to withdraw.

What are the possible disadvantages or risks of taking part?

The recording process itself will involve you being recorded using a digital recorder either alone or possibly with members of your family or social/work circle. If there is any reason why this would cause any distress or interfere with any medical equipment or condition then please decline your consent.

What are the possible benefits of taking part?

Participation is purely voluntary and there are no monetary rewards or incentives. However, my findings will make an impact in terms of gaining a better understanding of the different ways in which Royston speakers view their own local identity and dialect in addition to providing an insight into the use of local language features. The research will also shed further light onto the links between the current Royston dialect and the Staffordshire/Black Country variety. The final report will also be available to you if you would like a copy.

What happens if there are any changes to the proposed research process?

If at any point there are changes to any of the information I have provided I will fully inform you and you will have the opportunity to ask for further details or clarification or to withdraw your consent.

What if something goes wrong?

If at any time you have a complaint about the way the research is being conducted, and you feel you cannot take up the matter with me, you can contact my supervisor at the University of Sheffield:

Dr Emma Moore,

Subject Director in English Language and Linguistics,

School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics,

University of Sheffield,

S10 2TN.

Telephone (0)114 222 0232.

Email e.moore@sheffield.ac.uk.

If you then still feel that your complaint has not been dealt with adequately you can contact the University's Registrar and Secretary:

Dr Philip Harvey,

Registrar and Secretary,

Registrar and Secretary's Office

Firth Court, Western Bank,

Sheffield,

S10 2TN

Email **Registrar@sheffield.ac.uk**

Fax: 21103

All complaints will be dealt with in accordance with University policy.

What will happen to the recordings I provide?

The recordings will be publically archived and participants may be identified via material included in the recordings. Participants can request that their recordings are edited or withdrawn at any time.

How will the recorded data be used?

The recordings and transcripts will be used for analysis and as part or lectures/seminars/articles or future publications to explain the study. The recordings will also be stored in the Local Studies Library for public access. The recordings cannot be anonymised as the names and family history of the participants is significant to the study. However, if there is any part of the recording that you wish to censor or if you would like to withdraw from the study at any point you have the right to do so without explanation.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information. Please do not hesitate to contact me via the sources included at the opening of this sheet if you have any further questions or require clarification of any of the information provided.

Kate Burland

Appendix 2

Participant Consent Form

The University Of Sheffield.

Participant Consent Form

Title of Research Project: Dialect variation and identity in an ex-mining community of Barnsley
Name of Researcher: Kate Burland
Please initial box

1. I confirm that I have read and understand the information sheet dated ... explaining the above research project and I have had the opportunity to ask questions about the project. ☐

2. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and without there being any negative consequences. In addition, should I not wish to answer any particular question or questions, I am free to decline. ☐

3. I give permission for my interview to be stored in the Local Studies Library and the University of Sheffield. I understand that it will be possible for anyone to view/listen to my interview who requests this study. I understand that my name will be linked to the recording and that I may be identifiable in any material published. I understand that I may ask my interview to be withdrawn from the study at any time. ☐

4. I agree for the data collected from me to be used in future research. ☐

5. I agree to take part in the above research project. ☐

_____	_____	_____
Name of Participant (*or legal representative*)	Date	Signature
_____	_____	
Lead Researcher	Date	Signature

To be signed and dated in presence of the participant

Appendix 3

Participant Biographical Details Form

Biographical Details

Name:

Gender:

Date of birth:

Place of birth:

Other places you have lived and how long:

Birth place of mother:

Birth place of maternal grandmother:

Birth place of maternal grandfather:

Birth place of father:

Birth place of paternal grandmother:

Birth place of paternal grandfather:

Occupation (current or usual):

If you are under 25 years of age please also provide the occupation of your parents:

Education (please indicate if you have A levels and/or University qualifications):

Please add any other information which you feel is significant:

Appendix 4

Statistical Regression Models

Linear mixed model fit by REML

t-tests use Satterthwaite approximations to degrees of freedom ['lmerMod']

Significance Codes: 0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1

Royston (R)

Barnsley (B)

Wakefield (W)

FACE – RWB Young compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error        df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)       0.080879   0.017722 20.882000   4.564 0.000171 **
*
locationRoyston   0.320313   0.025059 20.969000  12.782  2.3e-11 **
*
locationWakefield 0.006629   0.025043 20.914000   0.265 0.793828
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT – RWB Young compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error        df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)       0.132674   0.026533 23.514000   5.000 4.39e-05 **
*
locationRoyston   0.312308   0.036393 21.104000   8.582 2.52e-08 **
*
locationWakefield -0.008081   0.036432 21.194000  -0.222    0.827
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE – RW young compared

```
                 Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)       0.40125    0.02116 14.27400   18.96 1.60e-11 ***
locationWakefield -0.31374    0.02971 13.96300  -10.56 4.87e-08 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT- RW young compared

```
                 Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)       0.44516    0.02768 14.91500  16.081 7.89e-11 ***
locationWakefield -0.32044    0.03851 14.08400  -8.321 8.28e-07 ***
---
```

```
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RWB young females compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error      df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.08115    0.01975 9.00000   4.109  0.00264 **
locationRoyston    0.32981    0.02793 9.00000  11.808 8.83e-07 ***
locationWakefield  0.01657    0.02793 9.00000   0.593  0.56756
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT- RWB young females compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.09882    0.02390 10.60000   4.135  0.00179 **
locationRoyston    0.38796    0.03233  9.07400  11.999 7.16e-07 ***
locationWakefield  0.02139    0.03237  9.11900   0.661  0.52513
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RW young females compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.41097    0.02212  6.00000   18.58 1.57e-06 ***
locationWakefield -0.31324    0.03128  6.00000  -10.01 5.75e-05 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RW young females compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.48682    0.02209  6.13600   22.04 4.48e-07 ***
locationWakefield -0.36690    0.03098  6.08200  -11.84 1.99e-05 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RWB young males compared

```
                   Estimate Std. Error        df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.080960   0.032792  9.445000   2.469   0.0345 *
locationRoyston    0.311390   0.045767  8.987000   6.804 7.92e-05 **
*
locationWakefield -0.003672   0.045735  8.963000  -0.080   0.9378
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RWB young males compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.16632    0.04453  9.59900   3.735  0.00417 **
locationRoyston    0.23687    0.06198  9.01800   3.822  0.00406 **
locationWakefield -0.03819    0.06204  9.05700  -0.616  0.55336
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RW young males compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.39236    0.03981  6.41600   9.856 4.14e-05 ***
locationWakefield -0.31507    0.05530  5.98700  -5.698  0.00127 **
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RW young males compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.40358    0.04968  6.40700   8.124 0.000133 ***
locationWakefield -0.27475    0.06915  6.02300  -3.973 0.007284 **
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RWB middle compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.14060    0.04873 21.35200   2.885  0.00876 **
locationRoyston    0.43954    0.06861 21.00000   6.407 2.38e-06 ***
locationWakefield  0.14209    0.06861 21.00000   2.071  0.05087 .
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RWB middle compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.13855    0.04009 26.42900   3.456  0.00187 **
locationRoyston    0.35467    0.05294 21.00100   6.699 1.25e-06 ***
locationWakefield  0.11732    0.05295 21.01500   2.216  0.03789 *
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RW middle compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.58014    0.05922 14.30600   9.797 9.96e-08 ***
locationWakefield -0.29746    0.08326 14.00000  -3.572  0.00306 **
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RW middle compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.49325    0.04840 17.65700  10.190 8.08e-09 ***
locationWakefield -0.23751    0.06413 14.02000  -3.703  0.00236 **
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RWB middle female compared

```
                 Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)      0.129731   0.032993 9.000000   3.932  0.00345 **
locationRoyston  0.561576   0.046659 9.000000  12.036 7.51e-07 ***
locationWakefield 0.009301   0.046659 9.000000   0.199  0.84643
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RWB middle female compared

```
                 Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)       0.12743    0.03483 13.72600   3.659  0.00266 **
locationRoyston   0.49403    0.04347  8.93000  11.365 1.31e-06 ***
locationWakefield  0.05264    0.04343  8.90000   1.212  0.25671
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RW middle female compared

```
                 Estimate Std. Error      df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.6913     0.0391  6.0000  17.679 2.10e-06 ***
locationWakefield  -0.5523     0.0553  6.0000  -9.987 5.83e-05 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RW middle female compared

```
                 Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)       0.62117    0.04028  9.37500  15.422 5.62e-08 ***
locationWakefield -0.44109    0.05021  5.95200  -8.786 0.000126 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RWB middle male compared

```
                 Estimate Std. Error      df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)       0.15146    0.05061 9.16000   2.993  0.01485 *
locationRoyston   0.31751    0.07121 9.00000   4.459  0.00158 **
locationWakefield  0.27488    0.07121 9.00000   3.860  0.00385 **
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RWB middle male compared

```
                 Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)       0.14855    0.02755 11.99100   5.393 0.000162 ***
locationRoyston   0.21643    0.03530  8.89200   6.131 0.000182 ***
locationWakefield  0.18313    0.03546  9.04800   5.164 0.000582 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RW middle male compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.46897    0.06071  6.09900   7.725 0.000228 ***
locationWakefield -0.04264    0.08543  6.00000  -0.499 0.635512
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RW middle male compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.36501    0.03353  8.02900  10.888 4.36e-06 ***
locationWakefield -0.03358    0.04319  6.03700  -0.778    0.466
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RWB older compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.13352    0.03556 22.10900   3.755  0.00109 **
locationRoyston    0.33542    0.04961 21.01300   6.761 1.09e-06 ***
locationWakefield  0.08377    0.04961 21.01300   1.689  0.10609
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RWB older compared

```
                   Estimate Std. Error        df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)       2.058e-01  2.674e-02 2.744e+01   7.696 2.53e-08 **
*
locationRoyston   1.584e-01  3.468e-02 2.100e+01   4.567 0.000167 **
*
locationWakefield 4.134e-05  3.470e-02 2.105e+01   0.001 0.999061
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RW older compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.46894    0.04276 14.81900  10.967 1.66e-08 ***
locationWakefield -0.25166    0.05957 14.00000  -4.225 0.000849 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RW older compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.36419    0.02922 18.15400  12.464 2.45e-10 ***
locationWakefield -0.15837    0.03822 14.00700  -4.143 0.000994 ***
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RWB older female compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error      df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.14821    0.05048 9.00000   2.936  0.01659 *
locationRoyston    0.30911    0.07139 9.00000   4.330  0.00191 **
locationWakefield  0.12866    0.07139 9.00000   1.802  0.10502
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RWB older female compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.23293    0.04218 10.31400   5.522 0.000227 ***
locationRoyston    0.12569    0.05750  8.97600   2.186 0.056716 .
locationWakefield  0.01007    0.05753  8.99300   0.175 0.864918
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1

Correlation of Fixed Effects:
            (Intr) lctnRy
locatnRystn -0.682
locatnWkfld -0.681  0.500
```

FACE - RW older female compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.45731    0.06144  6.07700   7.443 0.000285 ***
locationWakefield -0.18045    0.08661  6.00000  -2.084 0.082326 .
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RW older female compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.35861    0.04612  6.56400   7.775 0.000152 ***
locationWakefield -0.11542    0.06370  5.99200  -1.812 0.119993
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RWB older male compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error      df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.11881    0.04889 9.49200   2.430  0.03666 *
locationRoyston    0.36177    0.06822 9.01000   5.303  0.00049 ***
locationWakefield  0.03890    0.06822 9.01000   0.570  0.58244
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RWB older male compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.17872    0.02783 11.51900   6.423 3.98e-05 ***
locationRoyston    0.19103    0.03675  9.04300   5.199 0.000556 ***
locationWakefield -0.01019    0.03679  9.08700  -0.277 0.788083
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

FACE - RW older male compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.48057    0.05879  6.56400   8.175 0.000113 ***
locationWakefield -0.32286    0.08125  6.00000  -3.974 0.007335 **
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

GOAT - RW older male compared

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.36976    0.03228  7.82900  11.454 3.64e-06 ***
locationWakefield -0.20097    0.04244  6.01800  -4.735  0.00318 **
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1

Correlation of Fixed Effects:
            (Intr)
locatnWkfld -0.656
```

Royston FACE – following phonetic context

```
                    Estimate Std. Error         df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.6229591  0.0582675 27.6850000  10.691 2.47e-11
***
genderMale        -0.0722572  0.0512092 19.9990000  -1.411   0.1736
age_categoryOlder -0.1111975  0.0627091 19.9870000  -1.773   0.0914
.
age_categoryYoung -0.1780195  0.0627227 20.0050000  -2.838   0.0102
*
phonetic_codingVk  0.0124163  0.0366376  9.0180000   0.339   0.7424
phonetic_codingVn -0.0634143  0.0490676  8.9550000  -1.292   0.2286
phonetic_codingVp  0.0010997  0.0346960  8.9550000   0.032   0.9754
phonetic_codingVs -0.0004894  0.0400635  8.9550000  -0.012   0.9905
phonetic_codingVz -0.0258747  0.0365728  8.9550000  -0.707   0.4973
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

Royston GOAT – following phonetic context

```
                    Estimate Std. Error         df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.534353   0.058098 25.497000   9.197 1.41e-09 **
*
genderMale        -0.110216   0.040376 20.006000  -2.730   0.0129 *
age_categoryOlder -0.128231   0.049426 19.966000  -2.594   0.0173 *
age_categoryYoung -0.048907   0.049474 20.044000  -0.989   0.3347
phonetic_codingVf  0.025078   0.061625  8.810000   0.407   0.6938
phonetic_codingVk  0.035399   0.052077 10.128000   0.680   0.5119
phonetic_codingVn  0.011722   0.050424 12.223000   0.232   0.8200
phonetic_codingVo -0.019574   0.052318 10.260000  -0.374   0.7159
phonetic_codingVp  0.042061   0.048777 10.394000   0.862   0.4080
phonetic_codingVs -0.025824   0.058917 11.313000  -0.438   0.6694
phonetic_codingVz  0.008878   0.049591  9.404000   0.179   0.8617
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

Barnsley FACE – Following phonetic context

```
                    Estimate Std. Error         df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)         0.119191   0.015679  50.400000   7.602 6.56e-10
***
genderMale         -0.002649   0.012386  20.100000  -0.214 0.832791
age_categoryOlder  -0.006964   0.015165  20.100000  -0.459 0.651035
age_categoryYoung  -0.059705   0.015165  20.100000  -3.937 0.000812
***
phonetic_codingVk   0.021285   0.013410 329.200000   1.587 0.113433
phonetic_codingVn   0.024518   0.017886 329.100000   1.371 0.171361
phonetic_codingVp   0.033297   0.012647 329.100000   2.633 0.008868
**
phonetic_codingVs   0.022671   0.014604 329.100000   1.552 0.121526
phonetic_codingVz   0.024678   0.013331 329.100000   1.851 0.065048
.
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

Barnsley GOAT – Following phonetic context

```
                   Estimate Std. Error        df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.124163   0.041614 11.493000   2.984   0.0119 *
genderMale         0.011285   0.020788 20.005000   0.543   0.5932
age_categoryOlder  0.068375   0.025412 19.858000   2.691   0.0141 *
age_categoryYoung -0.005750   0.025493 20.110000  -0.226   0.8238
phonetic_codingVf -0.024232   0.051366  6.901000  -0.472   0.6517
phonetic_codingVk  0.033306   0.044560  6.948000   0.747   0.4793
phonetic_codingVn -0.008898   0.044484  6.901000  -0.200   0.8472
phonetic_codingVo -0.032457   0.044817  7.101000  -0.724   0.4921
phonetic_codingVp  0.019295   0.041940  6.901000   0.460   0.6596
phonetic_codingVs -0.027677   0.051366  6.901000  -0.539   0.6069
phonetic_codingVz  0.043351   0.041957  6.913000   1.033   0.3363
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

Wakefield FACE – Following phonetic context

```
                   Estimate Std. Error        df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.244322   0.051699 25.050000   4.726 7.55e-05 **
*
genderMale         0.049236   0.048049 20.000000   1.025  0.31773
age_categoryOlder -0.065398   0.058847 20.000000  -1.111  0.27961
age_categoryYoung -0.195176   0.058847 20.000000  -3.317  0.00344 **
phonetic_codingVk  0.006075   0.026142  9.000000   0.232  0.82145
phonetic_codingVn -0.002460   0.035073  9.000000  -0.070  0.94561
phonetic_codingVp  0.010360   0.024800  9.000000   0.418  0.68594
phonetic_codingVs  0.031120   0.028637  9.000000   1.087  0.30541
phonetic_codingVz  0.028907   0.026142  9.000000   1.106  0.29750
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```

Wakefield GOAT – following phonetic context

```
                  Estimate Std. Error       df t value Pr(>|t|)
(Intercept)        0.24808    0.07561 10.50100   3.281  0.00777 **
genderMale         0.02799    0.03191 20.12900   0.877  0.39062
age_categoryOlder -0.04937    0.03902 20.01100  -1.265  0.22030
```

```
age_categoryYoung -0.13068    0.03911 20.19600  -3.341  0.00322 **
phonetic_codingVf -0.05095    0.09733  7.32900  -0.523  0.61609
phonetic_codingVk  0.02142    0.08441  7.37100   0.254  0.80660
phonetic_codingVn -0.02850    0.08429  7.32900  -0.338  0.74471
phonetic_codingVo -0.04368    0.08261  7.99100  -0.529  0.61132
phonetic_codingVp  0.01985    0.07947  7.32900   0.250  0.80957
phonetic_codingVs -0.06645    0.09760  7.41000  -0.681  0.51665
phonetic_codingVz  0.01859    0.07882  7.60800   0.236  0.81976
---
Signif. codes:  0 ‘***’ 0.001 ‘**’ 0.01 ‘*’ 0.05 ‘.’ 0.1 ‘ ’ 1
```