

Language Variation and Identity in Sunderland

(Volume 2)

Lourdes Burbano-Elizondo

Doctor of Philosophy

National Centre for English Cultural Tradition
(School of English Literature, Language and Linguistics)
The University of Sheffield

September 2008

Chapter 6

Variable (h)

6.1 INTRODUCTION: POPULAR ATTITUDES TO, AND SCHOLARLY EVIDENCE OF, /h/-DROPPING

The first phonological variable that was chosen for analysis in the Sunderland study was the consonant (h) in word-initial position. Although, as we will see later in this section (6.1.1, below), some sociolinguistic studies have usually referred to the North-eastern dialects as varieties which retain /h/ word-initially, we only need to explore regional linguistic perceptions in order to realise that (h) seems to be precisely one of the dialect features that is popularly believed to distinguish the Sunderland and Tyneside accents.¹ Whereas retention of word-initial /h/ is seen as characterising the Tyneside accent, Sunderland people are perceived as having a tendency to drop their aitches. /h/-dropping is a shibboleth of Sunderland English of which many Tynesiders and Wearsiders are aware. However, according to Beal (2000a: 368), the fact that TE retains /h/, just like StE (RP), reinforces, ‘the Geordies’ belief in their inherent superiority and in the status of their speech as a true dialect rather than ‘bad English’. In support of this, Beal reports the following personal anecdote in which a Geordie speaker brings up the notion of *correctness* when referring to the retention of /h/:

In 1988, I took part in a phone-in of Radio Newcastle for which the main topic was local accents. One caller told me that, since moving from Tyneside to Washington, which is now within the City of Sunderland, she had noticed that her daughter was the only one who could speak ‘correctly’, as all the other children in her class dropped their aitches.

This feature has also been highlighted by the media: the Geordie-Mackem menu in figure 6.1, which appeared in the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle* at the end of the 1980s/beginning of the 1990s, offers further evidence of the popularity of this differentiating feature. Originally, it came from a pub in South Shields, a liminal place

¹ See section 5.2.3.2 in chapter 5.

on the border between the ‘Geordie’ and ‘Mackem’ territories, and where the locals are labelled ‘Sanddancers’.² In this example of a narrative of difference, originally produced for commercial purposes, and disseminated by the local media, some features of the Sunderland and Tyneside accents are contrasted and presented as linguistic indexes of difference: /h/-dropping in *hot dog* is represented as ‘ot dog’ in the Mackem version, and the NURSE/NORTH merger³ characteristic of the Tyneside accent is represented in the way *burger* is spelt in the Sanddancer version represented: ‘borga’.

LOOK HOT FOOD			
MACKEM MENU		SANDANSA MENU	
THEM WHIAT'S FROM SOOTH O' THE DOG TRACK		THEM WE'S FROM NORTH O' THE GREYHOOND STADIUM	
SAVELOY SARSIJ 'N PIECE PUD	..... 50	SAVALOY SOSLI WITH PEEEZ PUD'N..	..... 50
BERGERUNUNIUNS .. WI'NEEN	..... 50	BORGA WITHONIUNS .. WITHOOT	..... 50
CHEEZBERGERUNUNIUNS .. WI'NEEN	..... 60	CHEEZBORGA WITHONIUNS .. WITHOOT	..... 60
'OT DOGUNIUNS .. WI'NEEN	..... 50	HOT DOG WITHONIUNS .. WITHOOT	..... 50
KARN BIEFUNUNIUNS .. WI'NEEN	..... 50	KORNED BEEEF WITHONIUNS .. WITHOOT	..... 50
CHEEZ'NUNIUN SARNI	..... 50	CHEEEZANONIUN SANWICH	..... 50

Figure 0.1: Geordie-Mackem menu

Although some of the Sunderland informants did in fact mention this regional accent difference, /h/-dropping was not one of the most widely acknowledged features they commented on, which led me to consider the possibility that Tynesiders may be more aware of the absence of this aspirated consonant. Some of the Sunderland informants

² This label is locally believed to derive from the presence of a long-established Yemeni Arab community in South Shields (Beal in personal communication, April 2006)

³ The NURSE vowel in Tyneside and Northumberland was traditionally [ɔ:] instead of RP [ɜ:] (Beal 1993b; Wells 1982), which means that the NURSE and NORTH sets had merged in this variety (for a complete account of how this merger has developed in TE see Maguire (2007), Pahlsson (1972), Watt (1998), Watt and Milroy (1999) and Wells (1982: 374))

seemed to be aware of this shibboleth of their local speech and of the fact that, in the eyes of Geordies, it is both incorrect and stigmatised as can be seen in the following extract from one of the interviews in which one of the older male informants related a personal experience with one of his college teachers:

- <OM07> Sunderland people tend not to produce, to pronounce aitch.
<L> Uh-huh. Would you say that is general in Sunderland?
<OM07> Yes, uh-huh, from schools, yeah.
<L> Yeah.
<OM07> They pick it up. I-- I-- When I was doing me teaching practice at South Shields.
<L> Yeah.
<OM07> I got some stick because of me Sunderland accent. One teacher had a like, was having a go at us all the time.
<L> Uh-huh.
<OM07> And er your hands are tied you can't say – you know if we had a confrontation (¿with him/when?). I couldn't, might have been, tossed, you know, tossed out,
<L> Yeah.
<OM07> excluded sort of thing, you know, and sent back to college. But uh, he uh, he got on about that,
<?> [--]
<L> Mm?
<OM07> about uh the aitches. We always leave our aitches off.
<L> Yeah.
<OM07> And that was, so that's only about six miles away.
<L> Yeah.
<OM07> and it was so distinctive to them that we didn't pronounce our aitches.
(Interview 4, part 1 (16:46 ff))

In the light of this popular evidence, the presence or absence of /h/ in word-initial position appears to serve as one of the diagnostic features that allows people to tell Tyneside and Wearside English apart. The question is whether this allegedly clear local difference has been attested by any of the dialect studies carried out in the last few decades. Section 6.1.1 reviews some of these.

6.1.1 /h/ in twentieth-century British English: Previous dialect studies

Previous dialectological studies have demonstrated that /h/-dropping is nowadays a very widespread feature. As a result of its historical development (cf. section 6.2 below), in present-day English the grapheme <h> in stressed word-initial prevocalic position is realised as a glottal fricative [h] (e.g. *house* [haus]) or alternatively is lost

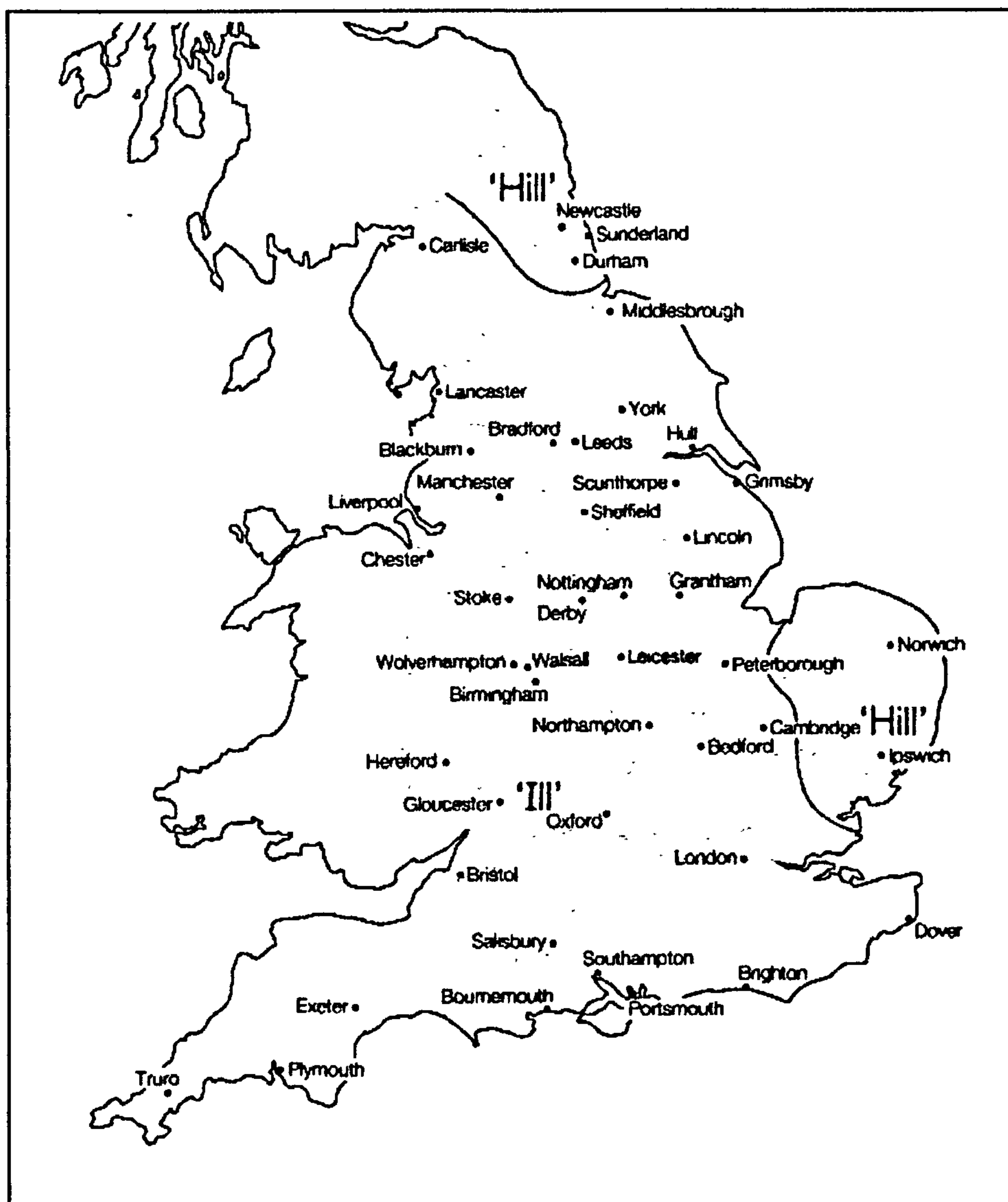
completely (e.g. [aus]). This means that the phoneme /h/ in English has two possible phonetic realisations [h] and zero, Ø.⁴ /h/-dropping is currently a very stigmatised nonstandard feature in English that has been described by different scholars in similar terms: Wells (1982: 254), for example, refers to it as the ‘single most powerful pronunciation shibboleth in England’; and Mugglestone (2003: 95), referring at this point to present-day English, speaks of it as ‘one of the foremost signals of social identity [...] a ready marker of social difference, a symbol of the social divide’ which ‘triggers popular connotations of the ‘vulgar’, the ‘ignorant’, and the ‘lower class’.

Geographical distribution

Some have claimed that this social stigma attached to /h/-dropping only applies to England and Wales, where /h/-dropping is very widespread and can in fact be found in most non-standard dialects, but does not apply to Scottish, North American, Irish and colonial Englishes, where /h/ tends to be retained (Milroy (1992: 137), Wells (1982: 256)). However, more recent studies have attested the presence of this phonological feature in some creole Caribbean varieties (cf. Devonish and Harry 2004; Youssef and James 2004; Childs *et al.* 2004) and in Newfoundland (Clarke *et al.* 2005).

As shown in map 6.1, below, Trudgill (1990) identifies two remaining /h/-pronouncing traditional dialect areas in England; namely the North-east – including both Northumberland and Durham – and East Anglia. /h/-dropping was one of the dialect features that Trudgill listed as essential criteria for the classification of both traditional and modern dialects in England. In this classification, /h/-dropping appears as a diagnostic feature that distinguishes the North-eastern dialects from the rest of the northern dialects, and East Anglian dialects from the south-midland dialects and others further south. Yet, the area in the North-east of England may be subject to revision if it is true that /h/-dropping is precisely one of the main dialect markers that distinguishes Sunderland from Newcastle English today.

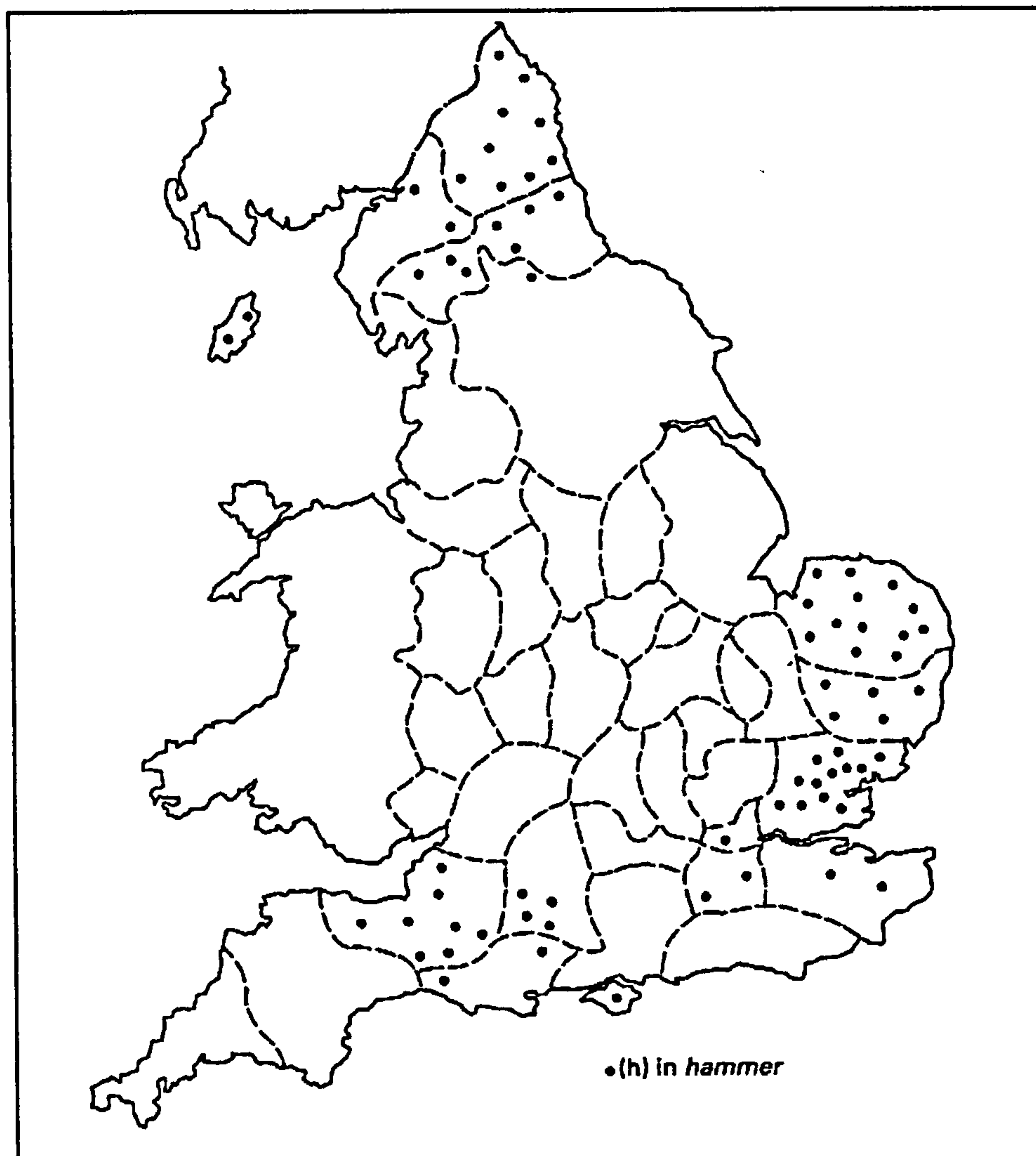
⁴ There is a third realisation [ç] before /j/ as in *huge*, but this variant will not be discussed further here.



Map 0.1: Trudgill's /h/-pronouncing areas in his classification of the traditional dialects (1990)

The SED records attested the existence of these two peripheral areas in England where /h/ was retained in traditional dialects. However, map 6.2, an adaptation from the SED which shows the geographical distribution of the only remaining rural areas in England where /h/ was still retained in the 1950s, reveals three areas rather than two. These encompass most of the far north, East Anglia and part of the south-west. In contrast with Trudgill's map, map 6.2 divided County Durham into two: the northern area, roughly down to the River Wear on whose banks Sunderland stands,

which is lined up alongside Northumberland as an /h/-pronouncing area; and the rest of the county as an /h/-dropping area.



Map 0.2: /h/-pronouncing areas of England (Adapted from Orton *et al.* (1962-1971) by Milroy 1992: 138)

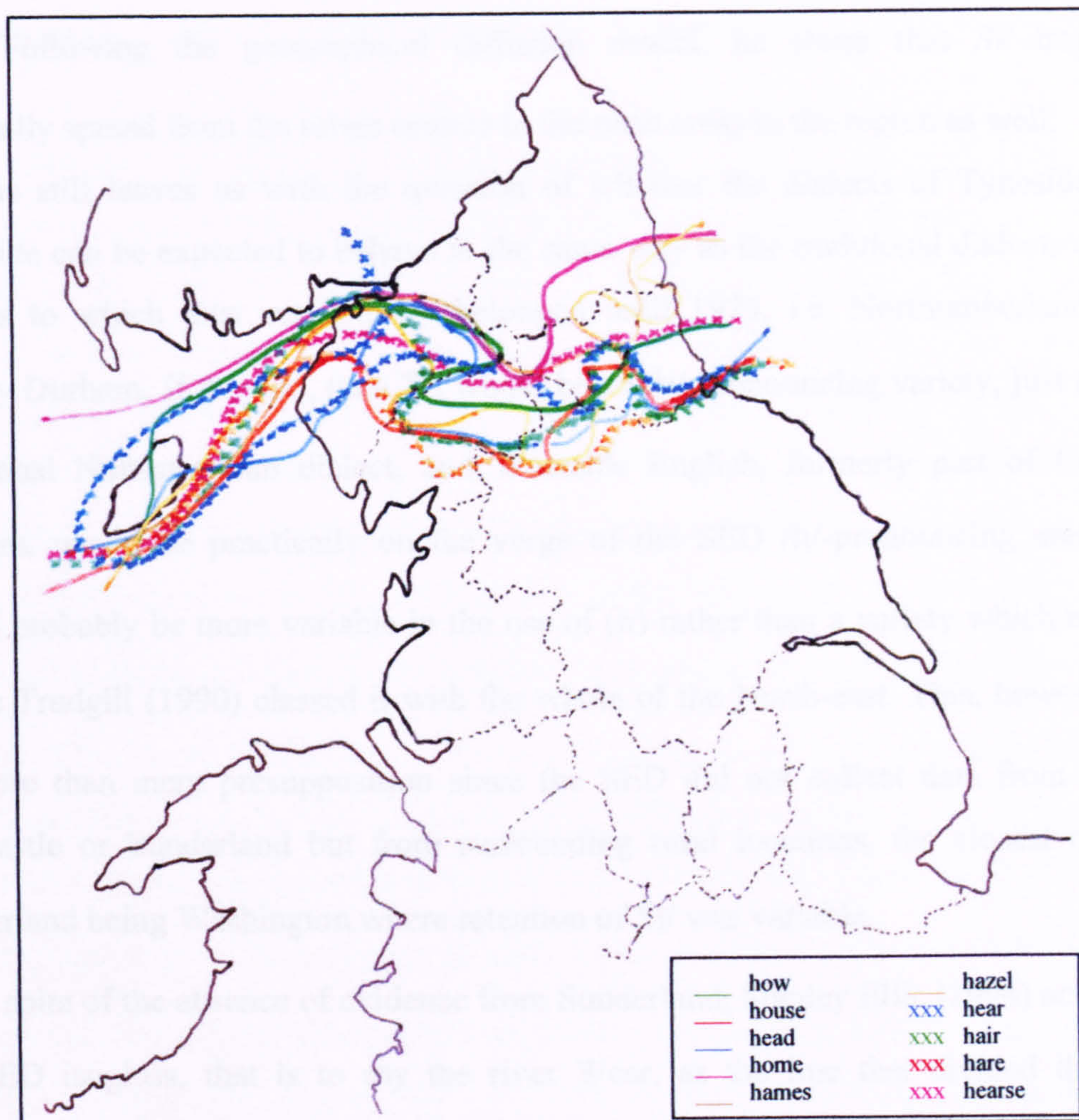
If we concentrate on the North-eastern region, and look at the SED raw data recorded in the localities across the old county of Durham, we will notice that the use of /h/ in this county was slightly more variable than in Northumberland. In fact, County Durham seemed to appear more as a transition area rather than the categorical /h/-pronouncing area presented by Trudgill in map 6.1, above. If we take some of the words with initial <h> whose pronunciation was recorded across different North-eastern localities, and for each of them we draw an isogloss separating the localities

where /h/ was pronounced from those where it was not and finally we superimpose these individual isoglosses as in map 6.3, below, we can see that although many of the isoglosses bunch together around the boundary between County Durham and Yorkshire, others cut across County Durham. This closer examination of the SED raw data reveals that the way in which these data have been processed and collated establishing both Northumberland and half of County Durham as one /h/-pronouncing area (map 6.2) suppresses information that could be important, and therefore does not provide an accurate picture of what the distribution of the variants of (h) was in the region when the SED was carried out.⁵ Thus, the fact that map 6.3 reflects that there is more variable usage of /h/ between the Tyne and the Tees allows us to regard the whole of old county Durham as a transition area and not as a categorically /h/-pronouncing area.

As Milroy (1992) indicates though, the distribution of the /h/-dropping areas is underestimated in the SED maps due to the fact that the SED only investigated traditional dialects. Apart from the /h/-dropping rural areas represented in map 6.2, the dialects of most of the large urban areas to the south of the river Wear are /h/-dropping varieties. Most of the studies collected in Foulkes and Docherty (1999) that looked into English English urban varieties confirmed the presence of the zero realisation. This was the case for the accents of Derby (Docherty and Foulkes 1999), Sheffield (Sttodard *et al.* 1999), West Wirral (Newbrook 1999), the West Midlands (Mathisen 1999), Norwich (Trudgill 1999), Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull (Williams and Kerswill 1999), South-east London (Tollfree 1999) and Cardiff (Mees and Collins 1999). The only exception here was Newcastle English (Watt and Milroy 1999). Furthermore, this feature has even been recently reported in Sunderland, Middlesbrough and other parts of Teesside by Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005: 66).⁶

⁵ Note that Upton and Widdowson (1996: map 23) present the whole of the North-east as an /h/-pronouncing area.

⁶ This is the third edition of Hughes and Trudgill (1979).



Map 0.3: Isoglosses separating the /h/-dropping and /h/-pronouncing areas in some SED words

In his study of Norwich, Trudgill (1974) found that although this city was in the middle of an /h/-pronouncing area, there was a considerable amount of /h/-dropping in the local variety.⁷ He also found that although traditional dialect records had defined East Anglia as one of the last relic areas where /h/ was traditionally retained, by the late 1960s /h/-dropping had spread to the city of Norwich and other urban areas in East Anglia and was a well established feature – albeit less frequent than in other urban dialects elsewhere in the country. Still, it was perceived as common knowledge by that time that ‘[c]ity people drop their h’s, country people don’t’ (Trudgill 1999:

⁷ The variants of /h/ were clearly stratified by socio-economic class. This will be discussed later in this section.

137). Following the geographical diffusion model, he states that /h/-dropping eventually spread from the urban centres to the rural areas in the region as well.

This still leaves us with the question of whether the dialects of Tyneside and Wearside can be expected to behave in the same way as the traditional dialects of the regions to which they respectively belonged until 1974, i.e. Northumberland and County Durham. If they do, then TE would be an /h/-pronouncing variety, just as the traditional Northumbrian dialect, and Wearside English, formerly part of County Durham, would be practically on the verge of the SED /h/-pronouncing area and would probably be more variable in the use of (h) rather than a variety which retains /h/, as Trudgill (1990) classed it with the whole of the North-east. This, however, is no more than mere presupposition since the SED did not collect data from either Newcastle or Sunderland but from surrounding rural locations, the closest one to Sunderland being Washington where retention of /h/ was variable.

In spite of the absence of evidence from Sunderland, Stanley Ellis (1994) accepted the SED isogloss, that is to say the river Wear, as the line that divided the /h/-pronouncing from the /h/-dropping area in his work as a linguistic advisor in the Yorkshire Ripper case. Back in the late 1970s and early 80s, Ellis was approached by the police and asked to help identify the origin of certain recordings that had been sent to them allegedly by 'Jack', the Ripper himself. From the start, it was clear to him that although the speaker had a North-eastern accent, he was *not* a 'real 'Geordie''. He was neither from Tyneside nor from North Yorkshire. Subsequent close examination of the voice allowed Ellis to specifically identify it as being from Sunderland: He achieved this by drawing upon his experience as an SED fieldworker. The speech of the speaker presented certain dialect features that the SED had identified as diagnostic of the varieties of this region. One of the features examined was the absence of /h/ in word-initial position. In this respect he explained:

The questioned speaker appeared to be a non-*h* user, i.e. he dropped his initial aitches. This suggests a northern limit of the valley of the River Wear, though the actual border is not a very clear-cut one and *h*- might be used in some words and not in others.

Certainly, if one looks as far as the river Tyne, h- sounding is the norm (Ellis 1994: 201).

After overlaying the SED maps with the distribution areas of some of the features present in the speech of the speaker, Ellis was left with a much reduced area where it could be likely to find *all* the dialect features of the speaker, i.e. Sunderland. Ellis then went up to Sunderland to verify his suspicions. There, he compared his speaker's accent against that of speakers from different areas of the city and everything seemed to indicate that the speaker in the recording was indeed from Sunderland, and more specifically from either Southwick or Castletown, areas situated on the northern bank of the river. Whilst we could say that this is the only piece of research directly conducted in Sunderland that could confirm the presence of /h/-dropping in SundE in the late 1970s, it can hardly be considered research since (a) no data was collected in the city and (b) it was confined to attesting the presence or absence in the local dialect of some dialect features recorded by the SED in the surrounding rural areas of County Durham: one of them /h/-dropping. In 1981 it was confirmed that the letters and tape were a hoax after the real killer, a man from West Yorkshire, was arrested and, having confessed to being the Ripper, jailed for life. Recently, however, there have been developments in the case of the 'Wearside Jack. In October 2005, a 50-year-old man from Sunderland was arrested and accused of sending the hoax letters and tape (*BBC News* – 20/10/2005). In the course of the trial this man admitted being the 'Wearside Jack' (*The Guardian* – 23/02/2006 and 20/03/2006), which finally confirms that Ellis' suspicions about the origin of the hoaxer were correct.

Bearing in mind the above mentioned recent exogenous change in East Anglia, the geographical diffusion model and the distribution of the remaining non-/h/-dropping areas in peripheral regions of Britain identified by the SED (see map 6.2, above), /h/-loss would seem very much a change in progress and, therefore, it may be only a matter of time before /h/-dropping reaches Tyneside. Nevertheless, since /h/-dropping is not present in Scottish varieties of English, it could be suggested that (a) the proximity of Tyneside to the English-Scottish border and (b) the consequent influence that the North-eastern varieties have historically received from Scottish English may delay, if not prevent, this change.

In their brief description of the Tyneside accent, Watt and Milroy (1999: 30) class it as 'one of the few urban areas in Britain where [h] is usually pronounced'. Also Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005: 66) even more recently refer to the Newcastle accent as a variety that still retains word-initial /h/. So, despite the fact that /h/-dropping has become so widely diffused across English urban dialects, Tyneside would appear to remain unaffected by it. However, this assertion should be treated with a certain degree of scepticism since (h) has not been identified as a variable in previous studies of Tyneside English, but, given that /h/-dropping has been so widely diffused across urban dialects of England, and that the most recent of these surveys was carried out in 1994, it is perhaps worth revisiting this in order to determine whether this feature has diffused further north in recent years.

Social distribution

The language ideologies connected to the /h/-dropping variant may nevertheless play an important role here too. /h/-dropping is a feature that has become very widespread around England. This has been attested not only by traditional dialect studies like the SED, but also more recently by studies of modern urban varieties (cf. Foulkes and Docherty 1999). Despite what map 6.1 may suggest, it seems that nowadays /h/-dropping is rather well established in most English and Welsh urban varieties (Milroy 1992). This may seem rather surprising, bearing in mind the social stigma that has become attached to this variant both in England and Wales and that has turned it into one of the most strongly socially stigmatised features of non-standard English (section 6.2.2, below). /h/-dropping is overtly associated with working class, uneducated and informal speech. As a consequence, speakers tend to avoid it in highly monitored, formal speech styles. Following Labov (1994), it would be classed as a sociolinguistic marker given that it shows not only social but also stylistic variation.

This sociolinguistic variation has been largely attested by those studies that have looked into the variable (h) in some detail. Figure 6.2, below, shows the distribution of (h) by class and style that Trudgill (1974) found in his study of Norwich English. His findings revealed that the use of /h/-dropping was higher amongst the LWC and

MWC speakers and barely present in the MMC and LMC. All five social groups had similar scores in the word-list (WLS) and reading-passage (RPS) style. Yet there was a steady and pronounced increase of the level of /h/-dropping in the speech of the UWC, MWC and LWC in formal (FS) and casual style (CS). This increase was almost negligible in the LMC and MMC.

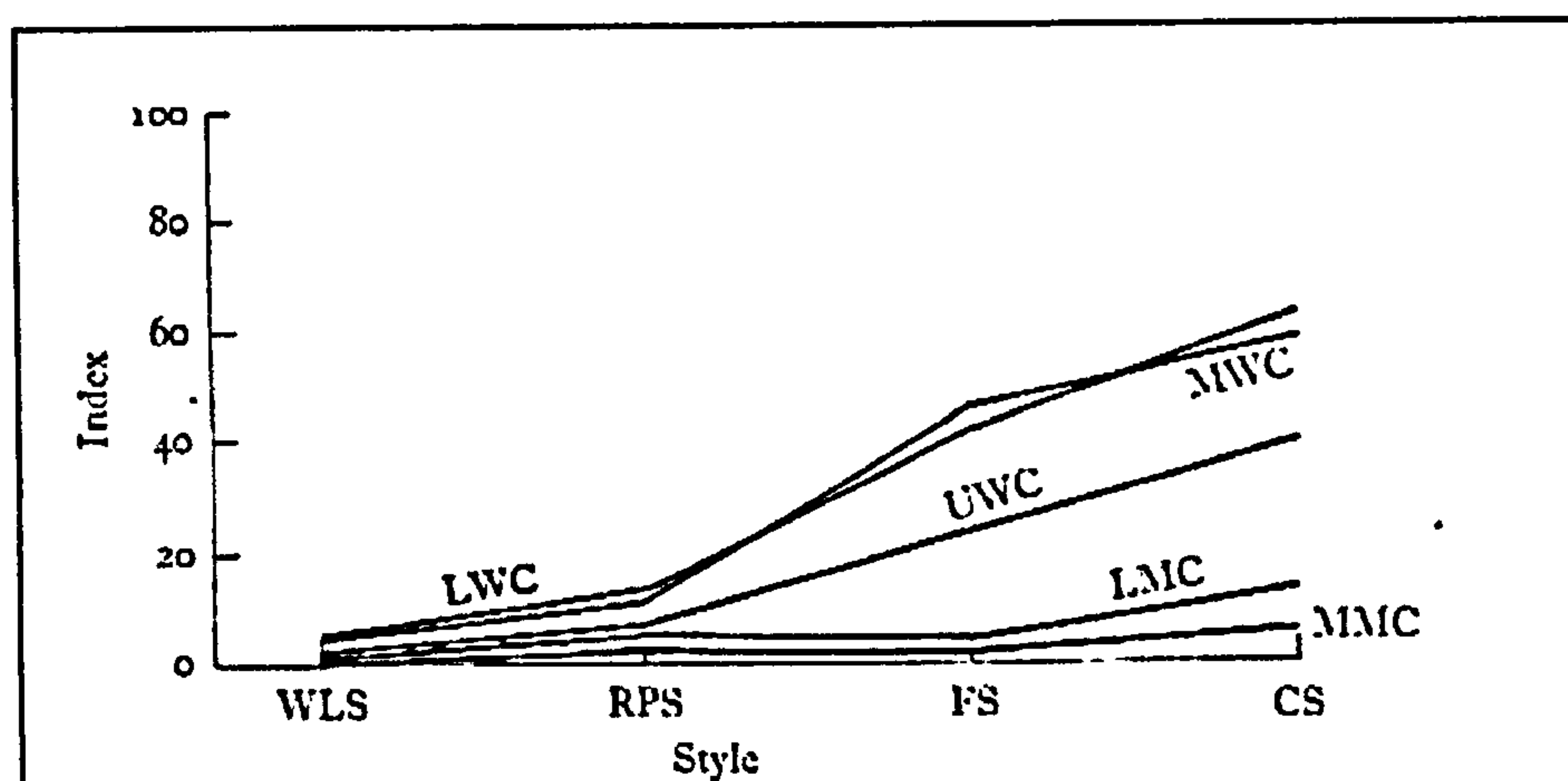


Fig. 40 Variable (h) by class and style

TABLE 7.14. (h) indices: rural-born v. total informants

Class		Style			
		WLS	RPS	FS	CS
LMC	Total	000	005	004	014
	Rural-born	000	000	002	012
UWC	Total	001	007	024	040
	Rural-born	000	000	007	012
MWC	Total	004	012	043	059
	Rural-born	000	004	023	050
LWC	Total	005	013	041	061
	Rural-born	000	008	000	000

Figure 6.2: Distribution of (h) by class and style in Norwich (Trudgill 1974: 131)

Due to the fact that /h/-dropping is used in most varieties across England, in general the variable (h) is not so much regarded as a regional marker that will help identify speakers from different regions. Rather, (h) functions primarily as a social and stylistic marker in England and Wales. The situation in the North-east, nonetheless, may be slightly different given that this phonological variable may function as a regional marker that may distinguish the varieties on both sides of the 'isogloss'

(wherever this lies at the present time), rather than just as a social or stylistic marker. The findings of the data analysis will ascertain whether this is indeed the case (section 6.4).

The following section will first explore how /h/-dropping became such a widespread feature in English accents, why it started and how it became as stigmatised as it is nowadays. What is clear from its large geographical distribution area is that /h/-dropping is definitely not a recent innovation in nonstandard varieties.⁸ For centuries now, the presence or absence of initial /h/ has attracted a lot of attention, and a whole normative ideology seems to have emerged around this variable turning it, as we will see, into ‘a symbol of the social divide’ (Mugglestone 2003: 95).

6.2 THE DEVELOPMENT OF /h/ IN ENGLISH

The phonological structure of (h) in stressed word-initial prevocalic position has not remained unaltered throughout the history of the English language. On the contrary, it has undergone changes which have been strongly determined not only by historical factors influencing the English language but also by the mainstream social evaluations that at different stages of the language have been attached to the variants of this consonant. Thus, three main stages could be identified in the evolution of (h) from the Old English period to present-day English.

- (i) Loss of /h/ at some point either in the Old or Middle English period (henceforth OE and ME).
- (ii) Movement towards the restoration of /h/ in educated speech.
- (iii) /h/ in twentieth-century British English (BrE).

⁸ Remember that map 6.2 showed that already in the 1950s it was such a widespread phenomenon that only three peripheral areas remained where traditional dialect speakers still retained /h/.

Since the present situation of /h/-dropping in Britain has already been reviewed in section 6.1, it is time now to look back in time and see when, how and why /h/-dropping arose. The following two sections look into the history of this linguistic variable at two different stages, and examine existing textual evidence and some scholars' treatment of this feature.

6.2.1 Loss of /h/

There has been a good deal of disagreement regarding when and where /h/-dropping started. Wells (1982: 255), for instance, states that given that this phonological feature is not characteristic of North-American English dialects, it must have emerged after the English started to colonise America. However, as mentioned in section 6.1.1, above, evidence challenging this statement has been provided by more recent studies that have attested the presence of /h/-dropping in the Caribbean and Newfoundland. Wells also emphasises the lack of historical sources providing evidence for the appearance and spread of this linguistic form, and refers to Wright (1905) and the SED as the first main sources which commented on this feature. Furthermore, Wells defines /h/-dropping as a change that spread upwards from the lower social strata and goes even further by stating that this sound change 'has never been characteristic of middle-class or upper class speech [...] Its spread cannot be explained except through the concept of covert prestige' (1982: 105). Wells also points to London Cockney as the variety in which it would have started and from there it would have reached all dialect areas except Northumberland.

The problem with Wells' account of the origin of /h/-dropping is that he does not seem to provide enough evidence or an explanation of what could have caused or motivated this sound change in the first place. He proposes two possible explanations (Wells 1982: 253-254): according to the first one, /h/ would not have been part of the English phonological system and, therefore, words like *heat* and *eat* would have been perfectly homophonous, but historically a phonological rule would have been added

to attach [h] in word-initial position for emphasis. The second possibility is that /h/ is part of the English phonemic repertoire and, therefore, pairs like *heat* and *eat* would be phonologically different. However, at some point /h/ would have acquired a second phonetic realisation, Ø, which means that /h/ in *heat* could be realised either as [h] or silent.

It could be argued in relation to the first explanation that, like in present-day StE, OE (h) was always realised as a glottal fricative consonant. This, therefore, would invalidate the first explanation. The second of Wells' explanations is probably more sensible and realistic if we consider how (h) has developed throughout the centuries. Yet, it seems a rather incomplete explanation if we take into account an important fact to which Milroy calls our attention:

/h/-loss in a Germanic language is odd: it does not seem a 'natural' change in Germanic (possibly as a result of the accentual system with its heavy stress on initial syllables) (Milroy 1983: 50)

So we must ask what would have motivated the appearance of a second realisation for the phoneme /h/. In this sense, the justification for the emergence of /h/-dropping provided by Milroy (1983, 1992) and Mugglestone (2003) offers perhaps a more complete picture of how and why this second phonetic realisation of /h/ would have appeared. They support the view that [h]-loss started in the ME period (i.e. after the Norman invasion), which would suggest that /h/-dropping appeared in England far before the English colonisation of America.⁹

⁹ In fact, we now know that /h/-dropping is actually present in some American varieties, rather than absent as Wells (1982) stated (cf. page 182). With respect to Milroy and Mugglestone argument, however, we must note that Scragg (1970) documented the absence of <h> and insertion of unhistoric <h> in a wide selection of written Anglo-Saxon texts which pre-date the Norman Conquest. This would challenge the claim that /h/-dropping only started as a result of the language-contact situation between English and French. Scragg observed that the instability of <h> in Late Latin could have had an influence upon scribal habits in Late OE, thus giving way to instability of <h> in English. This would mean that, by the time the Normans arrived in England in 1066, loss of /h/ was already making inroads into English. French undoubtedly exerted some influence on English in forcing some of its phonological, grammatical and lexical features into English, and we can expect that, since it was itself a language of Latin decent, it must have ensured the spread of this particular sound change over the next few centuries.

With the arrival of the Normans, there was a swift and radical change in the social and administrative structure of the country and the most important governmental and clerical posts were taken up by Normans. Thus, given that during the years immediately after the conquest people in the upper/ruling class were mostly foreigners – i.e. French speakers – Anglo-Norman became the language of the ruling classes and the educated in England (Baugh and Cable 1993: 109-112), and became the prestige language. As a consequence of this situation, it is possible to assume that any loanwords or innovations taken from French must have entered English from the higher social strata.

Word-initial /h/ was one of the phonological segments that became affected. As in all the other Romance languages, and in contrast with Germanic languages, (h) was simply a silent grapheme in French. Thus, /h/-loss was one of the features of the Romance language that was adopted by English. Two factors must have triggered its adoption: firstly, it was a feature that had its origin in the prestigious language; and secondly, it was probably a stereotypical feature of the speech of the aristocracy. Because of this, /h/-dropping may have been considered a ‘must-have’ speech marker that carried connotations of respectability, high standing and cultured speech (Milroy 1992: 144).

We can say with some degree of certainty, therefore, that /h/-loss started as a socially motivated change back in the Early ME period. The change must have started at the top of the social pyramid in London – amongst the upper, ruling classes, the aristocracy - and progressively the change would have spread down the social pyramid to the lower classes. Then, as time went by, /h/-loss must have spread to other cities and finally to rural areas. With this in mind, Milroy (1983) argues that the social diffusion of /h/-dropping could probably be explained in terms of Labov’s model of social diffusion (Labov 1972b), whereby the actual innovators and initial diffusers of the change are the middle (even upper-middle)-class speakers, and not either the highest or the lowest classes (Milroy 1983: 47).

In the context of Anglo-Norman society therefore, since /h/-dropping was probably regarded as a marker of educated speech, middle-class speakers would have

adopted /h/-dropping probably to distinguish themselves from the peasantry. In their attempt to use this marker in formal styles, they must have shown a pattern of hypercorrection which Labov (1972b) recognises as a symptom that they are acting as the agents that are diffusing the change downwards. In this way, the change must have reached the lower classes (i.e. the peasantry), who were the last ones to adopt the change (Milroy 1983: 47-48).

There is plenty of textual evidence from this period where this on-going change of the time is well attested (Milroy 1983, 1992). Texts have provided information on where /h/-dropping originated and how it diffused geographically. It already appears in very early ME texts from the East Midlands, East Anglia (e.g. *Genesis and Exodus*, *King Horn*, and *Havelock*) and the South (e.g. *Poema Morale* and *The Owl and the Nightingale*), but not in texts from the South-west Midlands or the West Midlands. These texts were 'quite formal in style and learned in content' and came 'from the regions that were amongst the most important commercially and administratively' (Milroy 1983: 47.48). In *Genesis and Exodus*, from East Anglia, Milroy identifies a higher level of /h/-dropping than any of the other texts mentioned and indicates that in it we can find examples where historic (h) is lost (e.g. *egest* ('highest'), *eld* ('held'), *eui* ('heavy') and *om* ('home')) and others where 'unhistorical' (h) had been added (e.g. *ham* ('am'), *hunkinde* ('unkinde'), *hure* ('our')) (Milroy 1983: 41-42). The loss of historic (h) and addition of 'unhistorical' (h) in writing reveal that there was instability in the use of syllable-initial /h/ due to the fact that it was either absent or variably present in the speech of these regions. The language contact situation had brought together native/Germanic words in which (h) was realised as [h] (e.g. *hand*, *house*), and French loanwords in which (h) was silent (e.g. *horrible*, *humour*). Thus, the grapheme <h>, which in English had traditionally corresponded exclusively with /h/, came to have two realisations, [h] and Ø, as a result of the language contact situation. Eventually though, the /h/-less pronunciation must have spread to the native words and English became /h/-less. As a consequence of the fact that <h> was a silent grapheme, French loanwords with initial (silent) (h) would frequently appear spelt without <h> (e.g. *erbe* ('herb'), *ost* ('host')), and eventually this would also have

spread to native words. This, and the lack of a standardised spelling system, which may have prevented the sound change from being reflected in writing, brought about some confusion. Since Anglo-Norman scribes did not have /h/ in their phonological repertoire and, therefore, did not associate a phonetic segment with the grapheme, their use of (h) was inconsistent. Thus, they would omit (h) on occasions when in fact they did not have to, and would insert it in words that historically did not have (h) in their spelling (hypercorrection) (Mugglestone (2003: 97); Milroy (1983: 42)).

Everything seems to indicate that /h/-dropping was a 'change from above' (Labov 1972b) which would have started amongst the upper/upper-middle classes in the most economically and politically dominant regions of the country, i.e. the South-east, East Anglia and East Midlands. Therefore, if Milroy's theory is correct, this would invalidate Wells' statement that /h/-dropping has never been characteristic of the speech of the upper classes (cf. page 212, above), since it would actually have originated with them. Furthermore, the establishment and diffusion of this change would owe its success to the high prestige attached to the 'creolised' language of the powerful, rather than to conservative English. With such a state of affairs, Milroy points out that '[i]f, by 1300, it had been merely a sporadic low-level change in some remote provincial vernacular, it would have been unlikely to spread throughout England as it subsequently did' (Milroy 1983: 48). Then, once it had started in this section of English society, the diffusion pattern must have developed as follows:

1. spread to the lower middle and lower orders of society;
 2. spread from the centre of political influence to other regions, initially those of relatively high political and commercial importance;
 3. spread from relatively populated (urban) areas to more remote (rural) regions.
- (Milroy 1983: 48)

/h/-dropping would have continued to spread socially and geographically and consolidate its position throughout the rest of the ME period and into Early ModE. Evidence of this can be found in literary sources from this period. Amongst them Milroy (1983, 1992) mentions Chaucer (1340-1400) and Shakespeare's (1564-1616) work,. Moreover, the fact that they did indeed incorporate it in their writing (and taking account that they were separated by two centuries) suggests that /h/-loss was

completely free from any social stigma. Thus, it must have been at some point after the 16th century that negative attitudes towards /h/-dropping developed. This is precisely what the next section explores; there, the question of how the social value of this linguistic variant could have plummeted to the point of becoming a highly stigmatised feature widely criticised by scholars is addressed.

6.2.2 A change of attitude and the restoration of /h/ in educated speech

So far the pattern of diffusion of /h/-dropping in ME seems to have followed, in many ways, Labov's model of social diffusion. All seems to indicate, therefore, that from the very moment when /h/-dropping entered English as a socially motivated change 'from above', (h) has behaved as a salient sociolinguistic variable. As discussed in section 6.2.1, there seems to be plenty of evidence to suggest that this was not a natural sound change (remember that Milroy (1983: 50) indicates that it is not common for Germanic languages to become /h/-less), but rather a change that was sparked off by a language-contact situation between English and French in the highest social strata. In this context, the new form must have become a prestigious marker and favoured against the old, conservative /h/-ful pronunciation. This, nevertheless, contrasts with the social assessment of /h/-dropping in present-day English, where the attitudes seem to have moved to the opposite extreme of the prestige continuum. As discussed in section 6.1.1, nowadays it is associated with the lower social classes, the uneducated and with vulgar speech. /h/-dropping no longer has the positive connotations that it held when it started to spread around England. So the initial social values associated with the /h/-less variant have reversed. The question here is at what stage in history the social evaluation of this variant changed.

According to Mugglestone (2003), the stigmatisation of /h/-dropping started in the second half of the 18th century. The first written piece of evidence reflecting the new

negative view of the loss of initial /h/ that has been found was provided by Thomas Sheridan. In his view:

[t]here is only one defect which more generally prevails in the counties than any other, and indeed is gaining ground among the politer part of the world, I mean the omission of the aspirate in many words by some, and in most by others (Sheridan 1762 in Mugglestone 2003: 99).

Sheridan's comment is part of the new wave of prescriptivism which emerged at the time, and reflects the increasing concern for linguistic appropriateness and the consequent need to increase the popular awareness of what is 'correct' and 'incorrect' usage. This heightened sensitisation towards 'talking proper' stands in stark contrast with the more tolerant attitudes towards linguistic variation that preceded this new prescriptivist era.

In line with the ruling ideologies, Sheridan emerged as an advocate for the promotion of a national 'standard', a 'correct' way of speaking, in which there is no room for regional variants, and in his view the loss of initial /h/ was a 'defect' widely spread, both regionally and socially, which had to be avoided:

False and provincial accents are to be guarded against, or corrected. The manner of pronouncing which is usual among people of education, who are natives of the metropolis, is, in every country, the standard (Sheridan 1781 in Mugglestone 2003: 100).

Thus, (h) became an important element within this prescriptivist ideology. Whereas /h/-dropping became highly associated with the vulgar, lower class and with a lack of education; the use of [h] was considered a marker of educated, correct, standard speech. /h/-dropping, though, was not exclusively found in 'provincial accents'. In fact, at the end of the 18th century Walker identified both the absence of /h/ and insertion of unhistoric /h/ in word-initial position as a 'peculiarity' of Cockney English. (Walker (1791) in Beal 1999a)

However, this ideology, which aimed to promote the use of a standard, was to be taken even further as 'a new and still more deliberate sense of social prescription' was incorporated into this linguistic prescriptivism (Mugglestone 2003: 100). Writers

would not only provide guidelines on how to speak properly, as Sheridan had done, but they would go even further and would reflect on the social values associated with the spoken language. Mugglestone suggests the case of James Elphinston and his manual for good pronunciation, *Propriety Ascertained in her Picture* (1786), where, in his own phonetic spelling, he refers to the social sensitivity of /h/-dropping in the following terms: ‘Dhey dhat think *uman*, *umor*, and the like, look too *umbel*, may innocently indulge the seeming aspiration’ (Elphinston in Mugglestone 2003:101). Mugglestone in this extract picks on Elphinston’s choice of three Latin loans *human*, *humour* and *humble* (*uman*, *umor* and *umbel*) which, having been borrowed from French, traditionally would have been pronounced without [h]. His intention was to reflect a change in the social connotations attached to three traditionally /h/-less words: instead of regarding this pronunciation as a legacy of the past, as a pronunciation that had entered the English language laden with prestige, people now had begun to see (h) as a marker of social status. /h/-dropping in particular was highly associated with humbleness and, by extension, a lack of social status. Therefore, it was to be avoided if people did not want to be identified in those terms.

By the 19th century, whilst the use of [h] was widely considered a marker of education, correct speech and refinement, /h/-dropping had become such a highly stigmatised social stereotype that people were very conscious of it and condemned it overtly. Thus, Oliphant for instance refers to this vulgarity in the following terms:

I ought in all fairness to acknowledge that no American fault comes up to the revolting habit...of dropping or wrongly inserting the letter h. Those whom we call ‘self-made men’ are much given to this hideous barbarism... Few things will English youth find in after-life more profitable than the right use of the aforesaid letter (Oliphant 1873: 226 in Milroy 1983: 40)

As Milroy (1983) points out, this kind of comment was not unusual amongst scholars of the time. Many of the manuals and magazines written at the time provided advice on social manners and, actually, picked upon this social marker. Some of these manuals were exclusively about the ‘correct’ use of <h> and its social significance: e.g. *Poor Letter H: Its Use and Abuse* (1854-1866) by Henry H. (cf. Mugglestone 2003:108).

As we know, up until the present day prescriptivist attitudes towards language have been common. As a result, many historical linguists, Milroy (1983) argues, have often chosen to ignore any linguistic forms that did not abide by the rules of StE, and not to consider these deviations from ‘the norm’ as possible evidence for linguistic change or as part of different linguistic systems – e.g. social or regional dialects. It has been this disregard for anything that deviates from the accepted standard norm that has led to the neglect of such a geographically and socially widespread phenomenon as /h/-dropping in England and Wales. Despite the existing evidence from primary written sources that demonstrates that /h/-dropping is a phenomenon that goes as far back as the 12th century (cf. section 6.2.1, above), twentieth-century scholars like Skeat (1897), Wyld (1920), Eckwall (1975), Brunner (1963) or Dobson (1968) have generally rejected this evidence on the grounds that the examples of omission of historical *h* or insertion of unhistoric *h* in these sources were merely (a) sporadic and unreliable and (b) spelling mistakes committed by the Anglo-Norman scribes who, not being yet familiar enough with the English language, reflected their own pronunciation mistakes in their spelling. However, Rothwell (1968 in Milroy 1983: 44) dismissed the latter reason on the grounds that by the mid-13th century, two centuries after the Conquest, English would have become the first language even of people in the upper classes, even though many would still have some command of French, which they would have used to earn their living. Also, unlike current sociolinguists, this generation of scholars did not consider the possibility that language variation could be systematic, rather than just random and incorrect (Milroy 1983: 42).

Nevertheless, from what we have seen so far throughout section 6.2, there is a great deal of evidence to suggest that /h/-dropping has been much more than the mere result of random variation or of poor command of English. It seems clear that the loss of initial /h/ was not a sound change that occurred naturally in English. Its spread across England was determined by its association with the language of the Anglo-Norman elites. However, eighteenth and nineteenth-century scholars in their concern for laying down the rules of a good pronunciation must have deemed it necessary to ban /h/-dropping from a proper use of the language due to the fact that they tended to

favour pronunciations which reflected spelling. Eventually, these prescriptive – in a way purist – attitudes would have influenced the population at large, leading to a change of the social values attached to this linguistic variable and, thus, to the dominant ideology that surrounds (h) nowadays. Apart from these attitudinal reasons, as Milroy (1983: 40) indicates:

[t]here is apparently no compelling linguistic reason why, in a particular language at a particular time, the syllable-initial omission of a glottal fricative ('aspirate') should be considered less beautiful, less 'correct', less socially acceptable than its insertion

He compares /h/-dropping with the loss of pre-consonantal or final /r/ in most English English dialects and RP. This change, by contrast, has not become socially stigmatised. In both cases the orthographic representation has been preserved but they have stopped being pronounced. So the only difference between the two of them is that whereas the loss of /r/ has also affected RP, /h/-dropping has not. Yet, this is not enough justification for a sound change to be accepted. Bearing in mind the origin of /h/-dropping in English, this sound change could have had the same chances of becoming part of the standard. It spread in English due to the fact that it was a feature coming from a prestigious language, French, and having initially been incorporated by the upper classes it was a pronunciation feature that carried prestige. Therefore, in the same way that English has borrowed, and in the long run preserved, words of Latin/Romance origin in the standard dialect, this sound change could have been incorporated as part of the standard. Nevertheless, whether the stigmatisation of /h/-dropping can be adequately justified or not, the truth is that nowadays this accent feature is very widespread in England and Wales and it continues to be regarded as a 'symbol of the social divide'.

6.2.3 Summary: (h), a variable developed and preserved by attitudes

All through the history of its development, /h/-dropping seems to have been surrounded by different social attitudes and connotations that have contributed to its change, development and preservation. To start with, its adoption and diffusion in English was due to the social prestige popularly associated with the language of the

upper classes from which it spread. Later, in the 18th and 19th centuries, when for a while it had been very widespread (both socially and geographically), a series of prescriptivist and purist attitudes towards it gave way to a strong social stigma that would condemn the use of this linguistic variant.

Now, back again in the 20th and 21st centuries, the (h) variable continues to be an important shibboleth and a marker of social differentiation. The presence of [h] is associated with the standard language, the educated and the upper classes, whereas its loss is associated with the lower/working classes and the uneducated, even with 'lazy' speech. This is the dominant ideology attached to this variable in England and Wales. Despite these seemingly negative connotations and the prescriptive views attached to it, /h/-dropping still survives in present-day English and it does not show any sign that it may be receding. On the contrary, in those areas where it has been attested, it survives as a clear marker of social identity. By adhering to it, speakers are arguably demonstrating their willingness to be identified as members of certain social categories or people who adhere to certain social values (for example, their willingness not to be identified as being posh and refined, or to show their belonging to a working-class background). Thus, this stigmatised variant survives thanks to the covert prestige attached to it within particular sectors of society.

However, given that, as it was discussed in section 6.1, /h/-dropping does not seem to have reached the North-east (or at least not all of it), and that popular perceptions in the North-east maintain that Tynesiders pronounce their aitches but Wearsiders drop them, we will now turn to the Sunderland data and to ascertain whether (h) works only as a marker of social differentiation in Sunderland or whether it is also a linguistic marker of the local identity. In addition to the Sunderland sample, the speech of a small sample of Newcastle speakers was analysed to see whether the regional stereotype is actually supported by the linguistic data. The Tyneside sample, although too small to be representative, will provide an indication of how Tyneside speakers tend to realise (h) and thus determine whether or not Tyneside and Sunderland speakers may use similar levels of /h/-dropping.

6.3 THE SUNDERLAND DATA

In order to ascertain the distribution of the (h) variable in the Sunderland dialect, a target of 30 tokens per speaker was aimed at. Any token which was unclear for any reason – e.g. overlap between the speakers' speech, presence of background noise, or merely because the speakers had lowered the volume of their voice – was discarded and excluded from the analysis.

Only words with word-initial <h> were included in the analysis. This also included compounds in which the second lexical element had word-initial <h>. Words with <h> in medial, syllable-initial, intervocalic position, such as *behind*, were excluded from analysis because they were very unusual and some speakers did not even produce any.

Grammatical or function words from closed lexical sets beginning with <h> were excluded from the analysis. These included the personal pronouns – *he, his, him, her* – and different forms of the auxiliary verb *to have* – i.e. *have, has, had* and its negative forms *haven't, hasn't, hadn't*. Some researchers (cf. Trudgill 1974, Wells 1982) have specifically argued in relation to these function words that they are generally realised without [h] in RP and in most varieties of English. Wells in particular explains that:

In standard accents the pronouns *he, him, her, his* (and sometimes *who*), together with the auxiliaries *has, have, had*, regularly lack [h] if neither stressed nor postpausal. Thus RP *tell him* ['telɪm] must not be counted as an instance of H Dropping in the sense discussed above (Wells 1982: 254-255).

On the basis of this, Trudgill (1974: 84), for example, decided to exclude these unstressed items from his analysis of the variable (h) in Norwich. Also Watt and Milroy (1999: 30) explain that whilst TE is a variety where [h] tends to be pronounced, these function words are the only exceptions in which [h] is dropped. Because of this, the 30 tokens which were taken from each of the 30 informants excluded all the function words listed by Wells (1982) and Trudgill (1974), as well as any other function words such as *who, how* and *here*, RP and near-RP speakers may well drop their aitches from function words when speaking informally, but they would not do it in formal registers.

A total of 748 tokens were extracted from the Sunderland interviews.¹⁰ These were distributed as shown in table 6.1.

	Tokens (N.)
Young females (N = 5)	119
Young males (N = 5)	111
Middle-aged females (N = 5)	124
Middle-aged males (N = 5)	129
50+ females (N = 5)	141
50+ males (N = 5)	124
TOTAL (N = 30)	748

Table 6.1: Tokens of <h>-initial words per gender/age group in the Sunderland corpus

The small sample of speakers from the NECTE corpus¹¹ that was analysed for comparison purposes consisted of six Newcastle speakers originally recorded for the PVC project.¹² Three males and three females were chosen for the analysis. Since the age groups defined by the PVC project were different to the ones established in the Sunderland corpus, the speakers were selected bearing in mind only their age so that two informants (a male and a female) fitted in each of the age groups of the Sunderland study (see table 6.2). The class variable was kept as constant as possible. Since the majority of the Sunderland speakers had defined themselves as WC, a sample of WC Tyneside speakers was selected, the only exception being the middle-aged male who was MC. This was due to the fact that there were no WC middle-aged males in the PVC population sample.¹³ As in the Sunderland sample, there was a target of 30 tokens per informant. A total of 180 tokens were extracted.¹⁴

¹⁰ Note that not all of the speakers produced as many as 30 tokens.

¹¹ NECTE website: www.ncl.ac.uk/necte

¹² As mentioned in section 5.1, the PVC and TLS corpora have recently been brought together to create the NECTE corpus

¹³ I would like to take this opportunity to thank the NECTE team (Will Allen, Joan Beal, Karen Corrigan, Warren Maguire and Hermann Moisl) for granting me access to the interview transcriptions and recordings before the actual completion of the corpus.

¹⁴ Unlike the Sunderland speakers, each of the Tyneside speakers did produce 30 tokens.

Informant ID	Sex	Age-group (age)	Social class
PVC/B3	M	16-20 (17)	WC
PVC/T10	F	16-20 (17)	WC
PVC/N22	M	41-50 (48)	MC
PVC/A30	F	41-50 (45)	WC
PVC/F16	M	61-70 (63)	UWC
PVC/A17	F	61-70 (63)	UWC

Table 6.2: NECTE sample selected for comparison

All the tokens from both corpora were individually recorded in a Microsoft Access database and for each of them a record was made of the following information:

- (i) Word with initial <h>.
- (ii) ID of the informant who produced it
- (iii) Variant used: [h] or Ø
- (iv) Context in which it was used – words/pauses either preceding or following the token.
- (v) Where exactly in the interview it was located.

Having thus defined the data sample, section 6.4 reports on the findings of the analysis of words with word-initial <h>. This starts by comparing the overall usage of /h/-dropping in the Sunderland and Tyneside corpora (6.4.1), and then moves on to focus more closely on the Sunderland data and the effects of social variables such as age and gender (6.4.2), occupation (6.4.3.1), and affiliation to the local community (6.4.3.2).

6.4 DATA ANALYSIS

6.4.1 (h) in Sunderland and Tyneside

At this point it should be remembered that the Newcastle findings are based on a population sample of six people since the aim of this study was not to produce a detailed analysis of the Tyneside dialect. The Newcastle sample was analysed just as a

point of reference that could provide an idea of how (h) is used in that variety. Each of the six social categories represented in this sample – YM, YF, MM, MF, OM and OF – was represented by only one speaker, which means that any sociolinguistic patterns arising from it will need to be treated with a certain degree of scepticism. Because of the danger of generating any generalisations from such a small sample, rather than comparing the social stratification of (h) in Newcastle and Sunderland, overall averages were compared to ascertain whether or not the level of /h/-retention was higher in Tyneside than in Sunderland.

Figure 6.3 shows the total average /h/-dropping rates obtained in the Sunderland and the Newcastle data. These figures are an aggregate of all the scores produced by each individual speaker. Overall, a higher level of /h/-dropping can be observed in the Sunderland speakers. They display about 7% more /h/-dropping than the Newcastle speakers, almost three times as much.

In the light of the regional stereotype which maintains that, whereas Tyneside people pronounce their aitches, Sunderland people drop them, we may have expected a more marked difference between the two groups of speakers, or at least a much higher average rate in the Sunderland corpus. Still, the difference in proportions between the Sunderland and the Tyneside population samples is highly significant ($\chi^2 = 7.928$, $df = 1$, $p \leq 0.005$). Sunderland and Tyneside speakers seem to be using word initial (h) differently. All in all, however, the relatively low frequency of /h/-dropping in the Sunderland corpus may well be indicative of the fact that this variant is not as characteristic of SundE as many would claim. Yet, before jumping to conclusions, and dismissing /h/-dropping as a marker of SundE, it is necessary to determine how the variable was used by the Sunderland speakers and whether any particular sociolinguistic patterns arose revealing a markedly higher use in certain social categories.

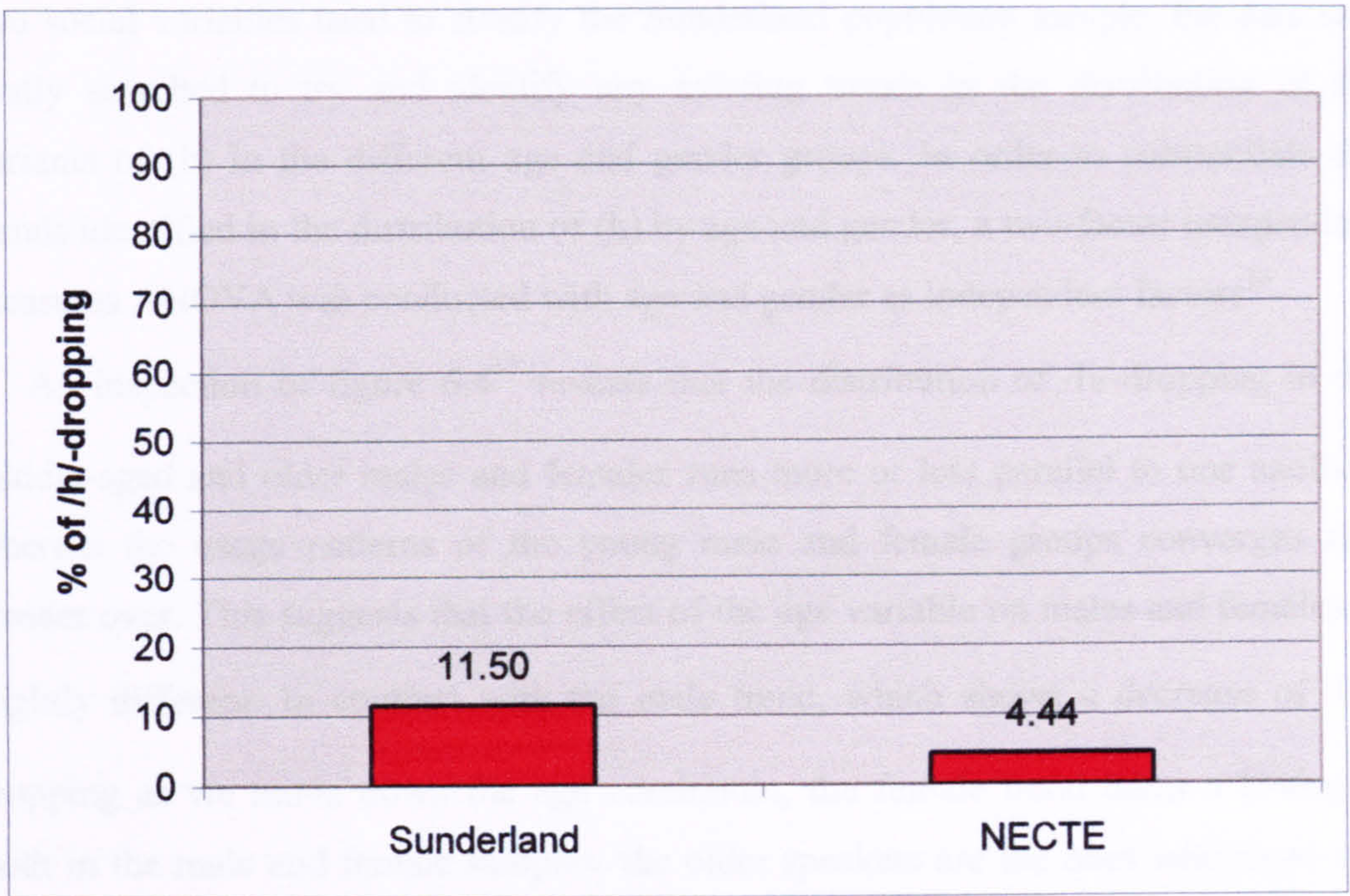


Figure 6.3: Average /h/-dropping rates in the Sunderland and the Newcastle data

			Sunderland	NECTE
Variant	Zero	N	86	8
		%	11.5%	4.4%
	[h]	N	662	172
		%	88.5%	95.6%
TOTAL		N	748	180

Table 6.3: Usage of (h) in Sunderland and Tyneside

6.4.2 Distribution of variants of (h) by age and gender

In order to look into the variable (h) in the Sunderland community, its usage across different age and gender groups, two of the universal social categories most frequently considered in sociolinguistics, was firstly examined.¹⁵ Since age and gender were the

¹⁵ It should be remembered at this point that the Sunderland population sample was stratified by age and gender but not social class (see section 3.3.1 in chapter 3). Whilst this may seem a limited approach to the (h) variable given its historical association with social class, as indicated in section 3.3.1 very few of the people interviewed classed themselves as middle-class, which led to a stratification of the sample by age and gender only. However, as we will see later in the present chapter, possible links between usage of (h) and the informants' occupations were examined in an

two social variables used to stratify the Sunderland population sample, the data was firstly searched to try and identify any existing trends in the distribution of the variants of (h) in the different age and gender groups. In order to substantiate the trends identified in the distribution of (h) by age and gender, a two-factor independent measures ANOVA was conducted with age and gender as independent factors¹⁶

An inspection of figure 6.4¹⁷ reveals that the distribution of /h/-dropping in the middle-aged and older males and females runs more or less parallel to one another, whereas the usage patterns of the young male and female groups converges and crosses over. This suggests that the effect of the age variable on males and females is slightly different. In contrast with the male trend, which shows a decrease of /h/-dropping as we move down the age continuum, the female trend takes a U-shape. Both in the male and female samples, the older speakers are the ones who show the highest usage of /h/-dropping; then the usage drops noticeably in the middle-aged. However, whereas the younger males display a further, yet very small, decrease with respect to the middle-aged males, the young females' use of /h/-dropping increases with respect to the middle-aged females. The shape of the trends and slight crossover of the lines in the younger generation point to a possible 'age x gender' interaction, whereby the effect of age on (h) is different in the two genders.¹⁸ ANOVA, nevertheless, showed that this was not statistically significant ($F(2, 742) = 2.392, p = 0.092$).

attempt to shed some light on whether use of /h/-dropping may exhibit some correlation with the speakers' socio-economic status.

¹⁶ Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) is a statistical test that studies the effect of one or more independent variables – each of them with two or more conditions – upon a dependent variable. The two-factor ANOVA, in particular, allows us to calculate the effect of two (or more) factors at the same time and identify any significant interaction of these independent factors on the scores of the dependent variable (Hinton 2004).

¹⁷ The scores of figure 6.4 are given in table 6.5, below

¹⁸ "A significant interaction occurs when the effect of one factor is different at the different conditions of the other factor" (Hinton 2004: 163). This is reflected in graphs by lines which are not parallel. In the case of (h), the effect of age on the use of (h) for the males appeared to be different to the effect of age on the use of (h) for the females.

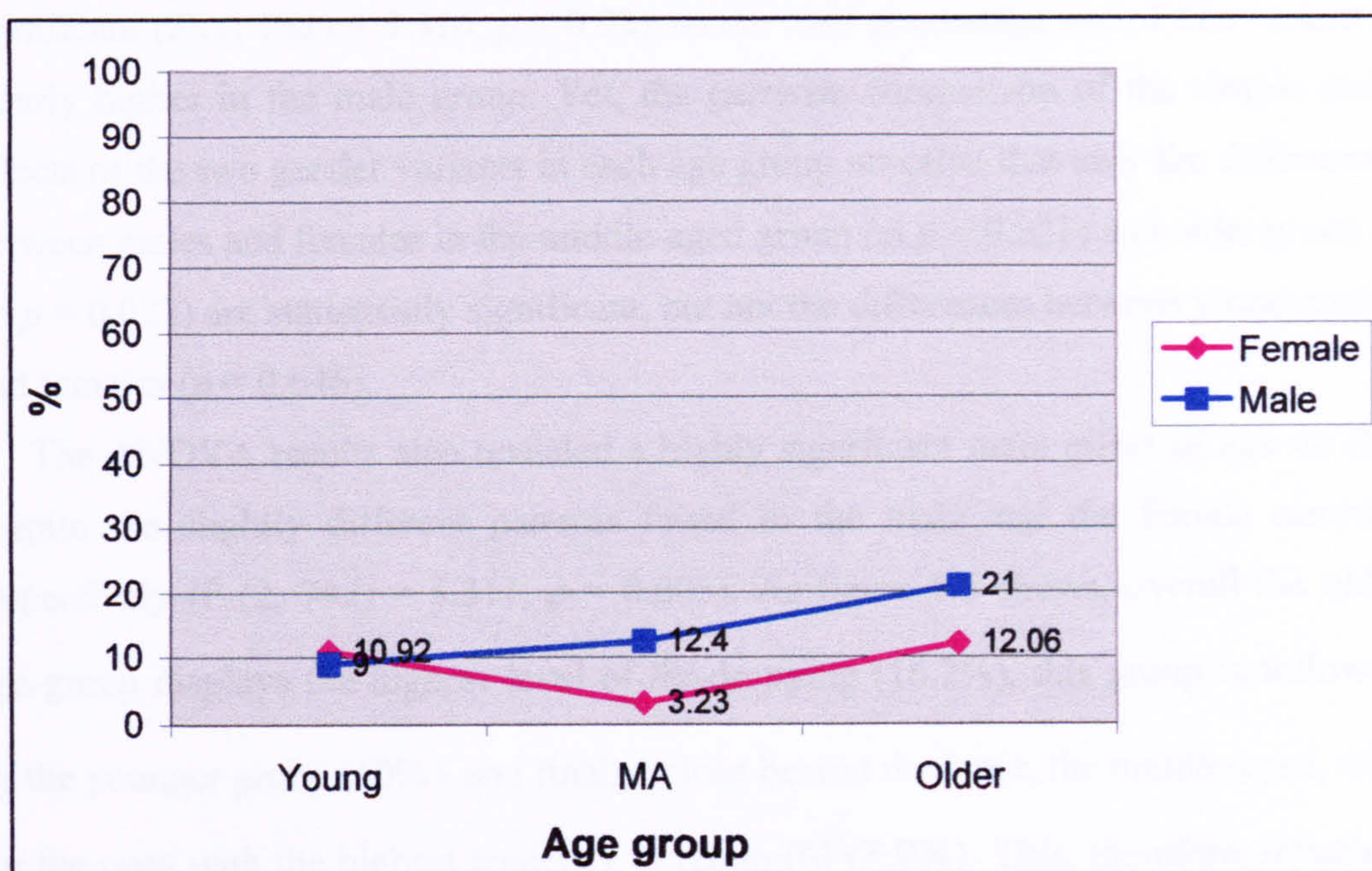


Figure 6.4: Distribution of /h/-dropping by age and gender

Speaker group	Tokens n.	h-dropping	
		n.	%
YF	119	13	10.92
YM	111	10	9.01
MF	124	4	3.23
MM	129	16	12.4
OF	141	17	12.06
OM	124	26	20.97

Table 6.4: Distribution of /h/-dropping by age and gender – figures

In spite of this, /h/-dropping in figure 6.4 appears to be clearly stratified both by age and gender. Gender patterns show that /h/-dropping is consistently higher in males in the older and middle-aged groups compared to their female counterparts. In both, the males score about 9% higher than the females. However, in the younger group the gender difference is much smaller with the females producing 10.9% and the males 9% of /h/-dropping. Overall, the effect of gender on the use of this variant is highly

significant ($F(1, 742) = 5.416, p = 0.02$), as the total percentage use of this variant is clearly higher in the male group. Yet, the pairwise comparison of the simple main effects of the two gender variants in each age group revealed that only the differences between males and females in the middle-aged group (at $p = 0.021$) and older group (at $p = 0.022$) are statistically significant, but not the differences between young males and females ($p = 0.646$).

The ANOVA results also revealed a highly significant main effect of age on (h), despite the slightly different patterns found in the male and the female samples respectively ($F(2, 742) = 5.311, p = 0.005$). As figure 6.5 shows, overall the older age-group displays the highest level of /h/-dropping (16.2%), this group is followed by the younger group (10%), and finally, close behind the latter, the middle-aged, who are the ones with the highest tendency to retain [h] (7.9%). This, therefore, reveals a U-shaped trend. *Post hoc* multiple comparisons, conducted between the three age-groups to determine where the effect lay, showed that the only significant difference was between the middle-aged and the older speakers (at $p = 0.008$). However, the difference between the young and older speakers was not found to be significant, p was 0.074, which is just above the level of significance of 0.05. With this probability we can still be 93% certain that the differences between the older and younger speakers are systematic rather than random. So we could actually consider taking the differences between the two age-groups as meaningful. In the light of this, and the fact that there is not a significant difference between the younger and middle-aged speakers, it could be argued that it is the decrease in the use of /h/-dropping displayed by the middle-aged and younger groups with respect to the older group that needs to be accounted for.

If we compare the existing dialectological evidence presented in section 6.1 to the patterns defined by each of the three Sunderland age-groups (figure 6.5), it could be argued that, just as the County Durham region did in the SED, all in all SundeE presents the same variable usage of /h/ nowadays. This could be justified on the grounds that the rate of /h/-dropping does not seem to be as high as it could have been expected from a dialect variety that is popularly believed to be characterised by its absence of word-initial /h/. In fact, [h] turned out to be the preferred variant by far, as

we can see in figure 6.6, which contrasts the proportion of /h/-dropping with the proportion of [h] in each speaker group.

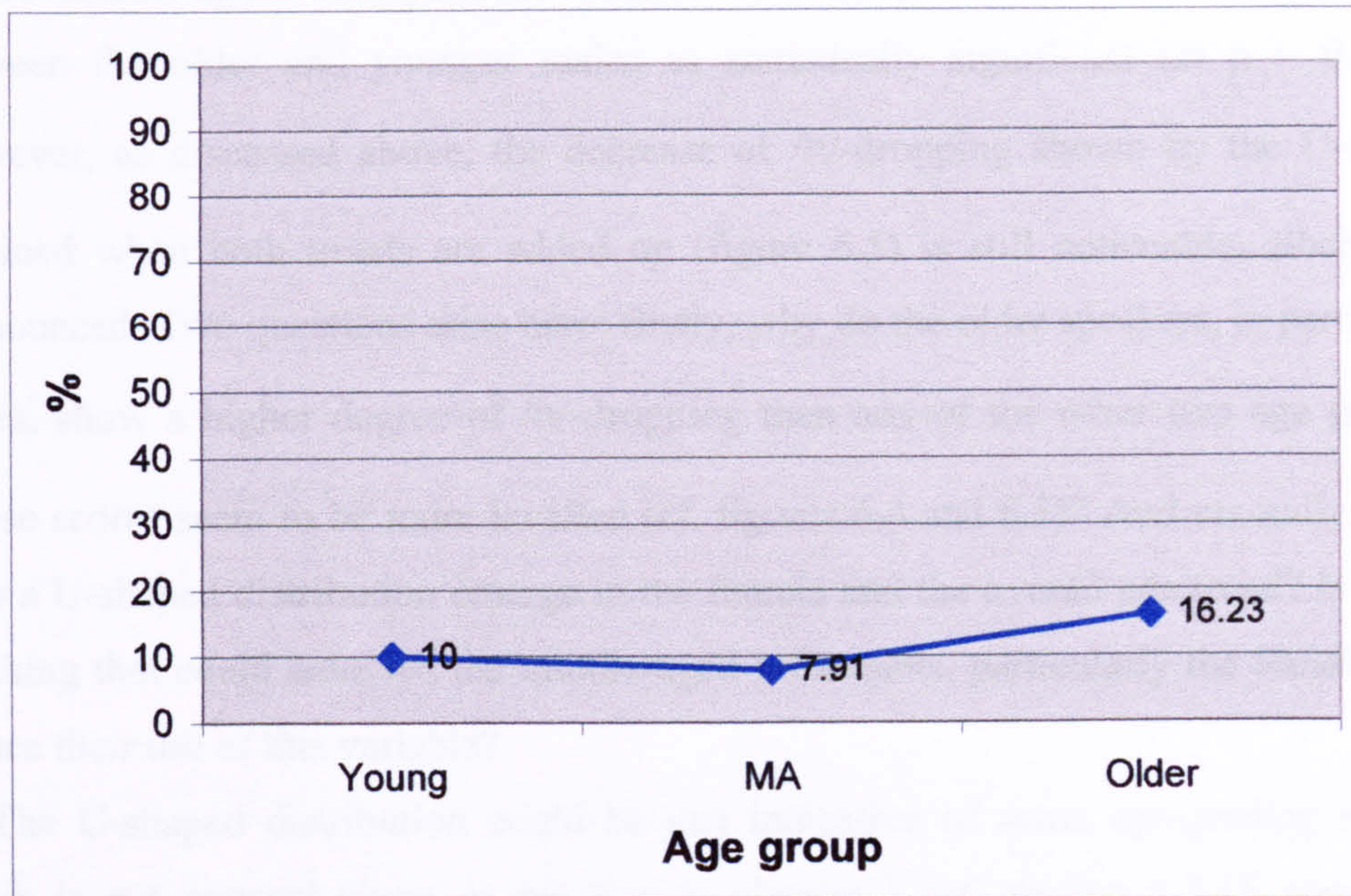


Figure 6.5: Effect of age on (h)

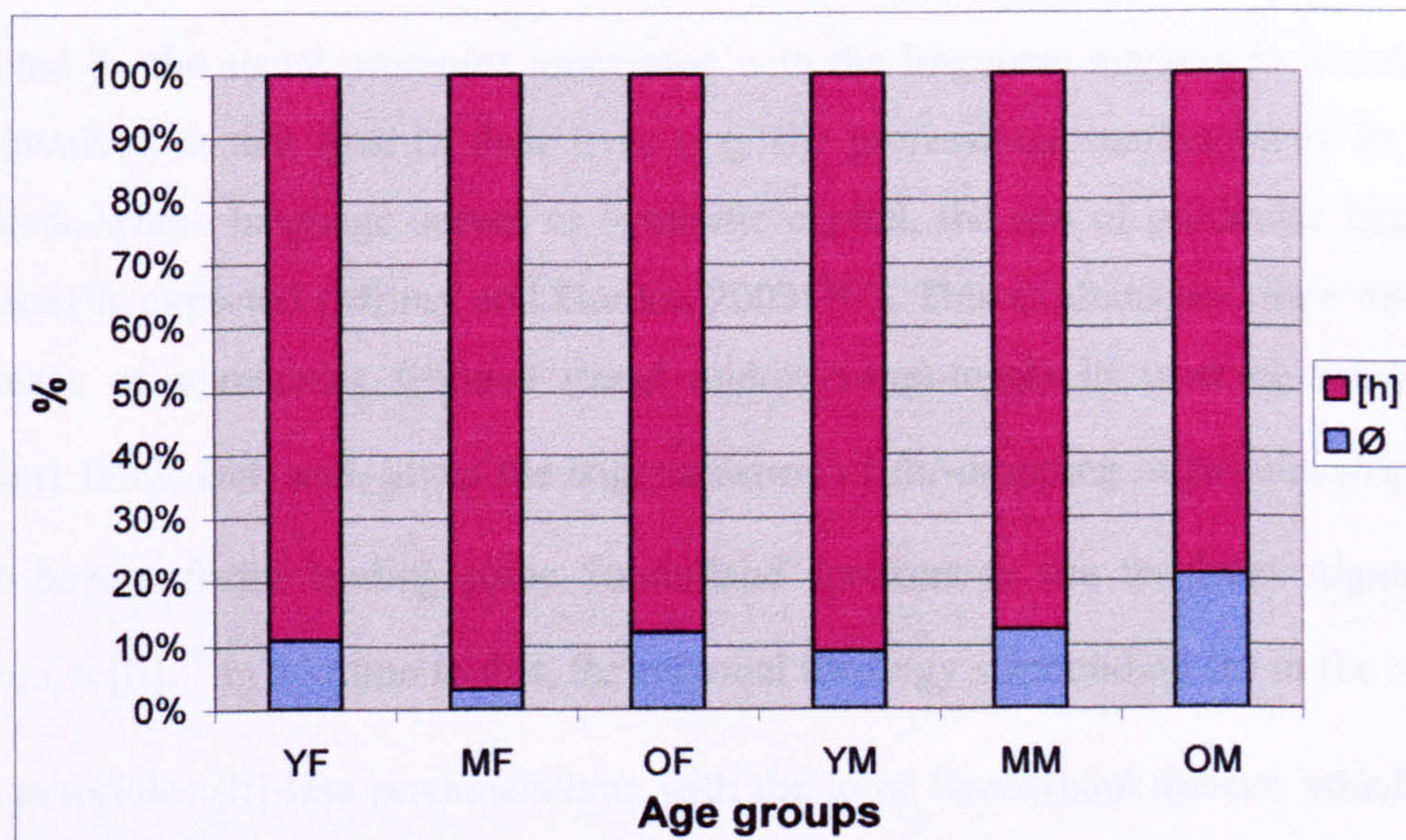


Figure 6.6: Distribution of variants of (h) by gender and age

The trends identified when the usage of (h) is plotted onto graphs are interesting on various accounts. Although ANOVA revealed that the small differences in the shape

of the male and female trends are not significant, the male trend seems to show a clear decrease in the use of /h/-dropping over time, whereas the female pattern displays a rather stable pattern, which is only disturbed by a noticeable (but not significant) drop in the middle-aged. The pairwise comparisons identified the decrease over time between the older and younger males as statistically significant (at $p = 0.012$). However, as discussed above, the decrease of /h/-dropping shown by the U-shape obtained when both trends are added up (figure 6.5) is still noticeable, albeit less pronounced. Two questions arise here: firstly, why do the older speakers, in particular males, show a higher degree of /h/-dropping than any of the other two age groups whose scores seem to be more levelled (cf. figures 6.4 and 6.5)? And secondly, why does a U-shaped distribution emerge in the female and the overall age trend? Is there anything that could have led the middle-aged informants, particularly the females, to reduce their use of this variable?

The U-shaped distribution could be just indicative of some age-grading effect, which is not unusual since, as we saw in chapter 3 (cf. section 3.3.1), speakers' language usage may change as they move through different life stages. Thus, the apparent drop in the use of /h/-dropping amongst the middle-aged may well be effected by the social pressures associated with the linguistic markets in which they are involved at that time in their lives (e.g. the professional marketplace). In these markets, where language serves as symbolic capital, the use of particular language varieties is expected (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 97). This explains the often reported decrease of vernacular features (local and/or supra-local) in working-age adults (Eckert 1997: 164) and, given the stigmatisation of /h/-dropping in Britain, may well have been a factor leading some Sunderland speakers to use the least stigmatised form, i.e. [h].¹⁹ In addition to this, the regional ideology surrounding (h) in the North-east associates [h]-less pronunciations with the local Sunderland dialect, which may be a further reason for some of them to avoid this locally marked feature. Some of the informants showed explicit concern about talking 'properly' or 'correctly' as the following extracts from interviews suggest:

¹⁹ Note that the following section explores the possible effect of speakers' occupation in more detail.

<OM07> You see when I was in the shipyards.. the language was.. and it's like you—you didn't say your I-N-G because it was seen as being..posh [...]. But when I work with the public, you know, and you—you-- you're to dif- to different people from different parts of the country, you've obviously go to slow down and so you get used to speaking eh.. correct English, you know, I wouldn't go into dialect when I'm-- I'm speaking to them so.

(Interview 4, part 1 (60:18 – 60:40))

<OM18> The other thing is just the way we are anyway very conscious of using..em

<OF17> Correct language

<OM18> Yes.

<OF17> In the correct places.

<L> Uh-huh yes.

<OM18> And probably more so now in term of what you [OF17] do

<OF17> Yes.

<OM18> We tend em.. not to use slang or anything like that just to keep the environment correct really.

<L> Yes for your child yes.

[...]

<OF17> Well you're role models for your children so really they should copy of you but obviously they don't.

(Interview 9 (16:13 – 16:66))²⁰

However, it is not clear from the data whether the informants were influenced by either the regional ideology or by the national one which links [h]-dropping with working class and/or uneducated accents. Nor do we know how the variable (h) behaves in the rest of the North-east due to the absence of any previous studies on this variable in this region, which leaves us with studies that have looked at (h) in other English dialect regions, such as, Stoddard, Upton and Widdowson (1999) in Sheffield, Tollfree (1999) in London or Mathisen (1999) in Sandwell (West Midlands).

Firstly, Mathisen refers to /h/-dropping as a characteristic feature of teenage and WC speech. Secondly, the Sheffield study identified the older speakers as regular users of /h/-dropping and found this feature to be common in younger male speakers, whilst younger women tended to retain [h]. And finally, Tollfree points to a slow increase in the use of /h/-dropping amongst younger South-east London speakers which, she tentatively suggests, could be indicative of 'a slowly progressing or stabilising sound change which has not gone to completion' (1999: 173). Whilst

²⁰ This conversation was held by OF17 and her husband (OM18), who was not included in the population sample analysed. They were explaining to me that due to the fact that OF17 was now working as a foster care worker and they were fostering a young adolescent, they felt they had to present themselves as role models.

Tollfree's findings seem to show the opposite trend to the Sunderland patterns, the usage of (h) in Sunderland does not clash completely with the findings in the Midlands and Sheffield. However, it is difficult to ascertain to what extent usage of (h) in Sunderland bears some resemblance with the Midlands and Sheffield studies, since they do not specify what levels were found in each of the groups mentioned.

More recent research in London teenage speech has found opposite trends to Tollfree (1999). Torgersen *et al.* (2007) have identified a certain decrease in the level of [h]-dropping in teenage speech, which would match the pattern found in Sunderland. Therefore, in the light of the London findings, and given that recent consonantal changes in England are claimed to have been spreading from the south-eastern non-standard varieties, it would be interesting to monitor the usage of this variant amongst younger speakers across the country and ascertain whether this decrease in the usage of [h]-dropping may be diffusing to other varieties. If such was the case, maybe the decrease of /h/-dropping amongst younger Sunderland speakers is then just mirroring changes in progress in other parts of the country.

Whilst rather well-defined patterns emerge when /h/-dropping levels are correlated with age and gender, and the statistical tests conducted suggest that both social variables have a significant effect on the data, merely justifying these patterns by comparing them to patterns obtained in other sociolinguistic studies, or using the dominant ideologies, would be rather simplistic and devoid of any local insight. In order to provide a meaningful explanation of variation, these gender and age groups need to be examined more closely so that we can see what particular individuals use each variant, and whether these seem to share any particular social attitudes and/or belong to any other social categories that could condition their use of certain language features. Although in reporting of the statistical results presented in this section both gender and age have been presented as social variables that *had a significant effect* on the (h) variable, both independent variables must be interpreted as multidimensional *proxy variables*. They are in a way more abstract groupings which actually embrace all the social practices, stances and ideologies that characterise the members of each of these groups. It is not gender or age *per se* that correlate with language or have an effect on language use. Female speakers, for example, do not retain their aitches more frequently than males just because they are females *per se*. Gender is not solely about

being male or female. These are not just labels. There is a lot of cultural baggage involved (ideologies, stances, attitudes, values etc) which defines gender categories, and the same applies to age categories. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 88-115) call for the need in variationist research to redefine our approach to the class, gender and age categories so that they are understood as social groupings which, rather than being predetermined, are locally constructed by their members and, thus, only acquire meaning through the type of social practices and stances adopted by their members. This reconceptualisation of social categories allows us to account for the fact that, for example, young-adult females from two different communities may get involved in different social practices and may hold different roles within the global community, which may lead to different linguistic practices or patterns of usage. Consequently, it is probably more appropriate to regard these extralinguistic variables as *proxy variables*, that is, approximations of all the cultural baggage that they carry. In the light of this, the following section considers socio-economic factors that may allow us to account for some of the variation within age and gender groups.

6.4.3 Intragroup variation

After examining the overall distribution of the variants of (h) according to age and gender, the scores obtained by individual speakers *within* each of these categories were examined taking into account two other factors: on the one hand, the socio-economic background of the informant and, on the other, the strength of affiliation to the local community (i.e. their ISA). These may be important factors for individuals when defining their place within the local community, and may have an effect on the linguistic markets in which they engage. The exploration of these two factors was motivated by the fact that there seems to be considerable intragroup variation in each of the male and female speaker groups which is being hidden by the statistics (see figures 6.7 and 6.8). For example, in the older females three score 0%, one 17.86% and one 40% (OF23 and OF08 respectively). Yet, the overall score situates this speaker group as the one with the highest usage out of the three female groups. Similarly, the overall score of the middle-aged and younger females seems to be influenced by the individual scores of one or two speakers – MF23 in the middle-aged and YF09 and YF06 in the younger. The scores of the male groups are not so drastically skewed by the effect of one single speaker, although OM07 does, to some

extent, affect the overall rates of the older group, placing its overall score as the highest out of the three male groups.

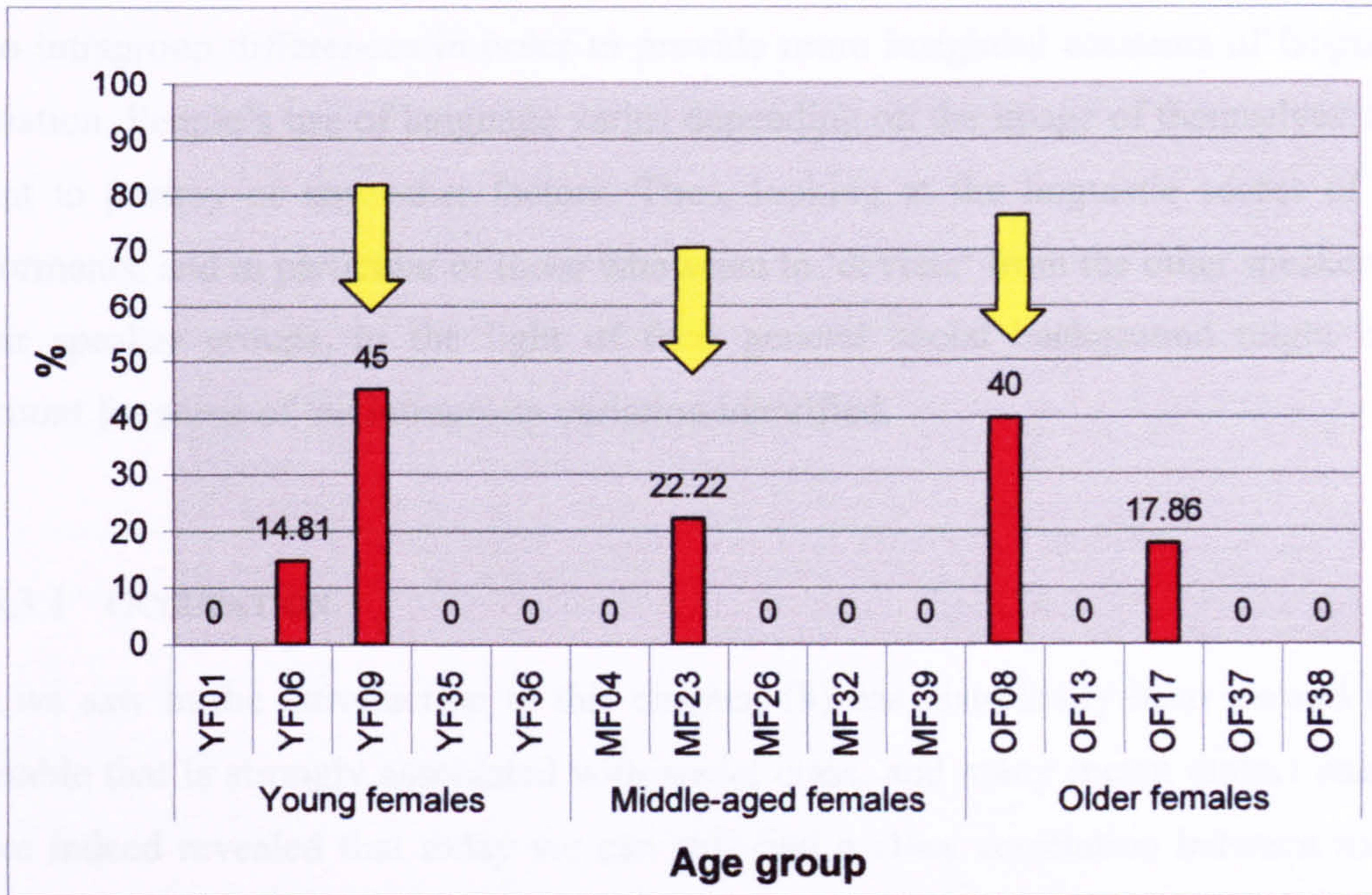


Figure 6.7: Percentage use of /h/-dropping by individual female speakers

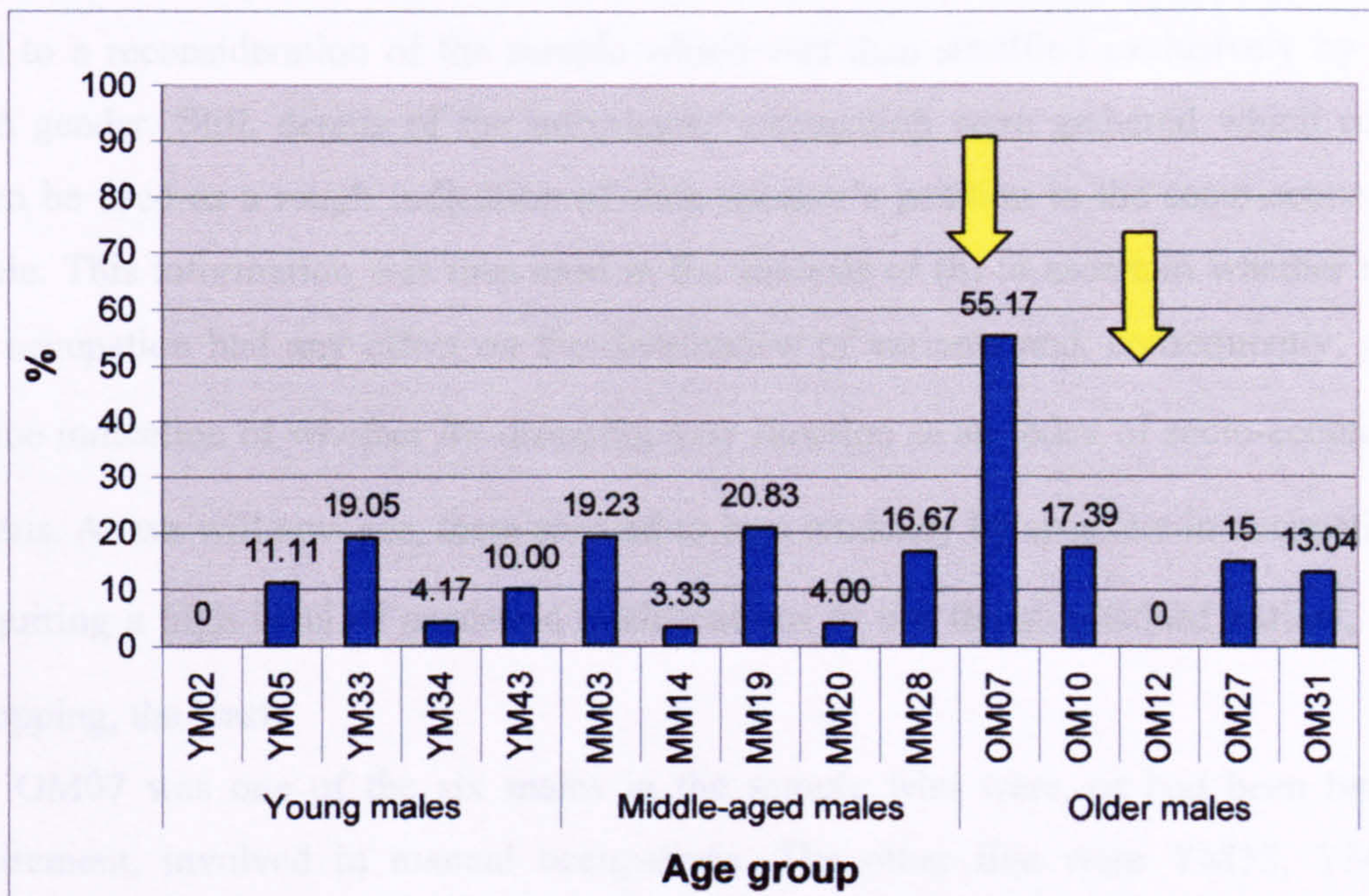


Figure 6.8: Percentage use of /h/-dropping by individual male speakers

It is to be expected that not every speaker within specific social groupings will use language in exactly the same way. However, as mentioned in chapter 2 when reviewing some of Eckert and McConnell-Ginet's (1999) views of gendered variation,²¹ there is a case for exploring not only intergroup differences/overlap but also intragroup differences in order to provide more insightful accounts of language variation. People's use of language varies depending on the image of themselves they want to portray or any other factors. Thus, looking at the linguistic scores of the informants, and in particular of those who seem to 'deviate' from the other speakers in their speaker groups, in the light of their general social background might help account for some of the intragroup variation identified.

6.4.3.1 OCCUPATION

As we saw in the introduction to this chapter, (h) has historically been viewed as a variable that is strongly associated with social class, and many recent dialect studies have indeed revealed that today we can still find a close correlation between social class, and the use of this variable. However, as indicated in section 3.3.1.2, the difficulties experienced in the course of the fieldwork conducted in Sunderland to find a population sample which was stratified by social class, as well as by age and gender, led to a reconsideration of the sample which was then stratified exclusively by age and gender. Still, details of the informants' occupation were gathered which could then be used as a rough indication of each speaker's position in the socio-economic scale. This information was thus used in the analysis of (h) to ascertain whether type of occupation had any effect on the distribution of variants and, consequently, give some indication of whether /h/-dropping may function as an index of socio-economic status. As we will now see, there seemed to be a tendency by speakers in occupations requiring a high level of academic qualifications to use the stigmatised variant, /h/-dropping, the least.

OM07 was one of the six males in the sample who were, or had been before retirement, involved in manual occupations. The other five were YM33, YM34, OM10, OM27 and OM31 (table 6.5). However, following the SOC,²² YM33, YM34

²¹ cf. Section 2.1.1.

²² See how the speakers were assigned to different Occupational Categories in section 3.3.1.2.

and OM10 were the three people classed in group 5 ('skilled trades occupations'), and OM27, OM31 the two who were assigned to group 8 ('process, plant and machine operatives'). The difference between the two groups lay in the type of skills required. Whereas a substantial amount of training is required to acquire the skills necessary to develop the type of jobs classed in group 5, the skills required in group 8 are obtained through experience-related training. On the other hand, although OM07 was classed in group 6 ('personal service occupations') due to his occupation at the time of the interview, he had worked most of his life as a shipyard welder, which would have positioned him in group 5. With the exception of YM34, these males are amongst the eight males with the highest percentage of /h/-dropping, their scores ranging from 13% to 55.17%. YM33, the young male with the highest percentage in his group, is one of these.

OM12, in contrast with the other older males, was classed in group 3 ('associate professional and technical occupations'). Although his job as a fire officer could be arguably considered to be as physical and manual as those held by the other older males (and the working environment equally predominantly male), it stands higher up in the socio-economic pyramid. Furthermore, at various points during the interview OM12 showed concern about speaking 'correctly': he often was explicit about the type of language he would not use, due to the fact that for the past 15 years he had been a magistrate. This may explain his complete avoidance of /h/-dropping.

As table 6.5 shows, all of the males who display an /h/-dropping rate below 13% (amongst these OM12), plus MM28 and MM19, whose usage rate 16.67% and 20.83% respectively, were either students (ranging from secondary school level to university level), or employed in occupations from the SOC groups 2, 3 or 6 (e.g. teaching staff, advisors and academic researchers).

FEMALES		/h/- dropping	MALES	
SOC	ID		ID	SOC
GROUP 2	YF36	0%	YM02	GROUP 10
GROUP 10	YF01			
GROUP 10	YF35			
GROUP 1	MF26			
GROUP 2	MF39			
GROUP 3	MF32			
GROUP 11	MF04			
GROUP 4	OF38			
GROUP 4	OF13			OM12 | GROUP 3
GROUP 11	OF37			
		3,3%	MM14	GROUP 2
		4%	MM20	GROUP 3
		4.17%	YM34	GROUP 5
		10%	YM43	GROUP 2
		11.1%	YM05	GROUP 2
		13.04%	OM31	GROUP 8
GROUP 2	YF06	14.8%		
		15%	OM27	GROUP 8
		16.67%	MM28	GROUP 2
		17.4%	OM10	GROUP 5
GROUP 6	OF17	17.86%		
		19.05%	YM33	GROUP 5
		19.23%	MM03	GROUP 6
		20.83%	MM19	GROUP 3
GROUP 9	MF23	22.22%		
GROUP 6	OF08	40%		
GROUP 7	YF09	45%		
		55.17%	OM07	GROUP 6

YF = Young female	YM = Young male
MA = Middle-aged female	MM = Middle-aged male
OF = Older female	OM = Older male

Table 6.5: Individual /h/-dropping rates

Compared to the male group, 10 out of 15 females show no use of /h/-dropping , which could be attributed to a higher sensitivity towards this variant (Here, we can observe, once more, the clear effect of gender on the (h) variable). Their occupations were very diverse, ranging from students (YF01, YF35), and graduates in managerial

or professional occupations²³ (YF36, MF26, MF39), to associate professionals (MF32) and people in secretarial jobs (OF13, OF38).²⁴ For six of them, their occupations actually involved (or had involved) constant interaction with the public (YF36, MF26, MF32, MF39, OF13, OF38), which could have made them more sensitive about their language, and thus led them to employ the least stigmatised variant, i.e. [h]. Yet, there is no way of confirming this.²⁵ By contrast, the five females whose /h/-dropping scores are markedly higher than the scores of the other speakers in their groups (YF06, YF09, MF23, OF17 and OF08) were employed in occupations classed as group 7, 9 and 6 respectively, YF06 being the exception as she was classed in group 2.

At first sight, there does indeed appear to be some correlation between the occupational group to which the speakers belonged and use of /h/-dropping, with individuals at the top of the occupational classification (i.e. groups 1, 2, 3 and 4), as well as students and the two housewives (MF04 and OF37), using it less than speakers at the bottom end. This trend can be detected in table 6.5, where females (on the left) and males (on the right) appear in order of increasing levels of /h/-dropping (their SOC group is also indicated).²⁶ As a result, a rather clear pattern emerges when the distribution of /h/-dropping is plotted onto a graph (figure 6.9).

Multi-factorial analysis of variance conducted on the data confirmed that there is a highly significant effect of the variable 'occupation' (at $p = 0.0000$), whether this test was run taking into account the nine groupings based on SOC2000 (as in figure 6.9), or the occupational categories resulting from combining the nine groups (as in figure 6.10).²⁷ A *post-hoc* Tukey test of this factor showed that the five categories are divided in two homogeneous sub-sets (see figure 6.10): on the one hand, category I,

²³ These correspond to groups 1 and 2 of the SOC2000 (cf. section 3.3.1.2).

²⁴ These correspond to groups 3 and 4 of the SOC2000 (cf. section 3.3.1.2).

²⁵ For this further interviews would have been needed after the data analysis to discuss some of the findings with the actual users.

²⁶ Note that a multifactorial ANOVA conducted taking into account the three social variables: age, gender and occupation revealed that occupation was the factor with the strongest effect on the data ($p = 0.0000$), followed by gender ($p = 0.0005$) and finally age, which in this case was not significant ($p = 0.168$). However, the fact that not all age and gender conditions are represented in all of the occupations groups may have had an effect on this result.

²⁷ See in section 3.3.1.2 (chapter 3) for a description of these groups and categories. Remember that since not all SOC groups had representatives from all three age groups, groups 1, 2 and 3 were combined to form category I, groups 4, 5 and 6 category II; and groups 7, 8 and 9 category III.

the student category and the one comprising the housewives; and, on the other, categories II and III. Each of the groups from each sub-set was found to be significantly different from the categories in the other sub-set. Note that this same trend is maintained in figure 6.11, which displays the distribution of the variant by age and occupational category.

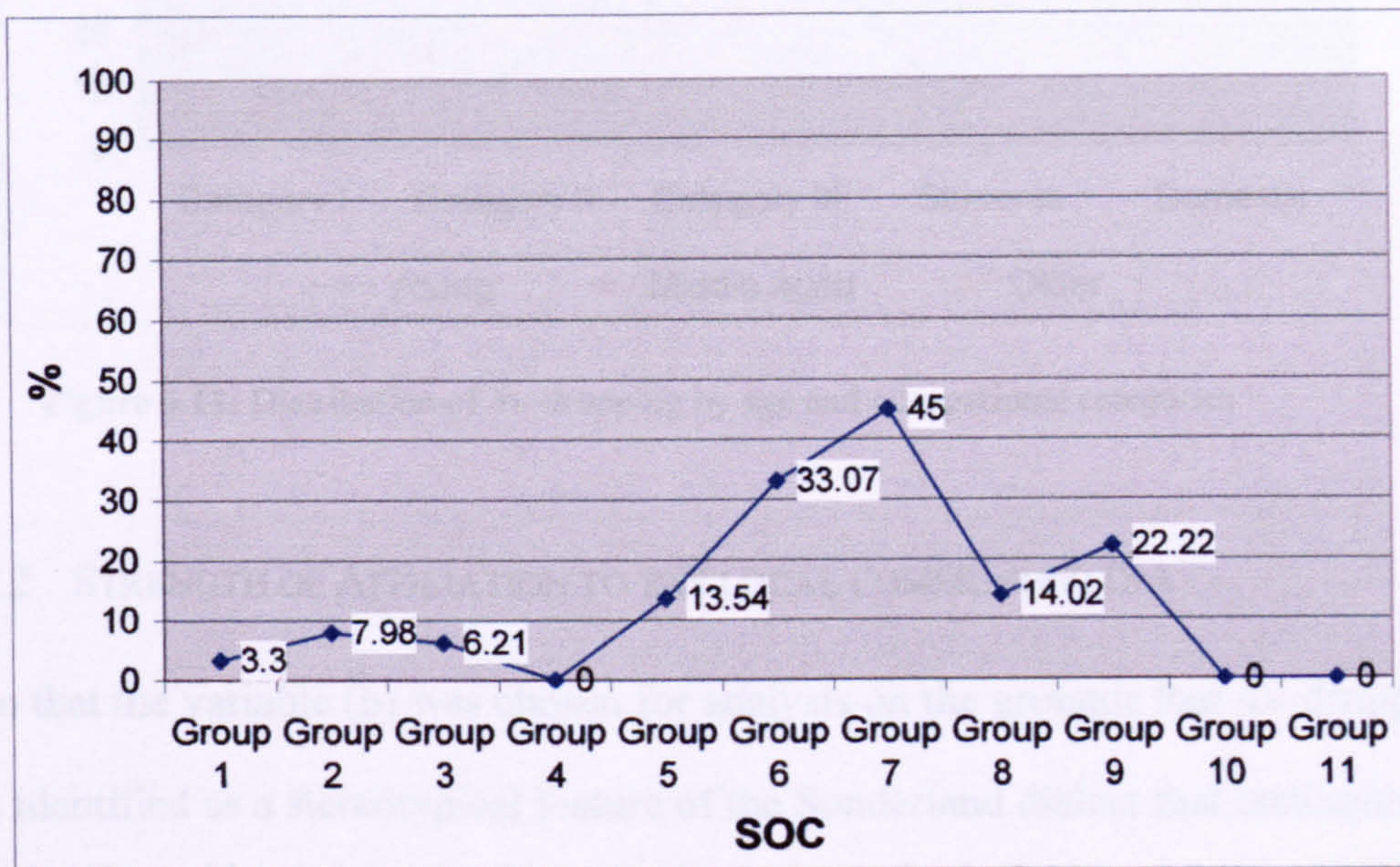


Figure 6.9: Percentage use of /h/-dropping by SOC

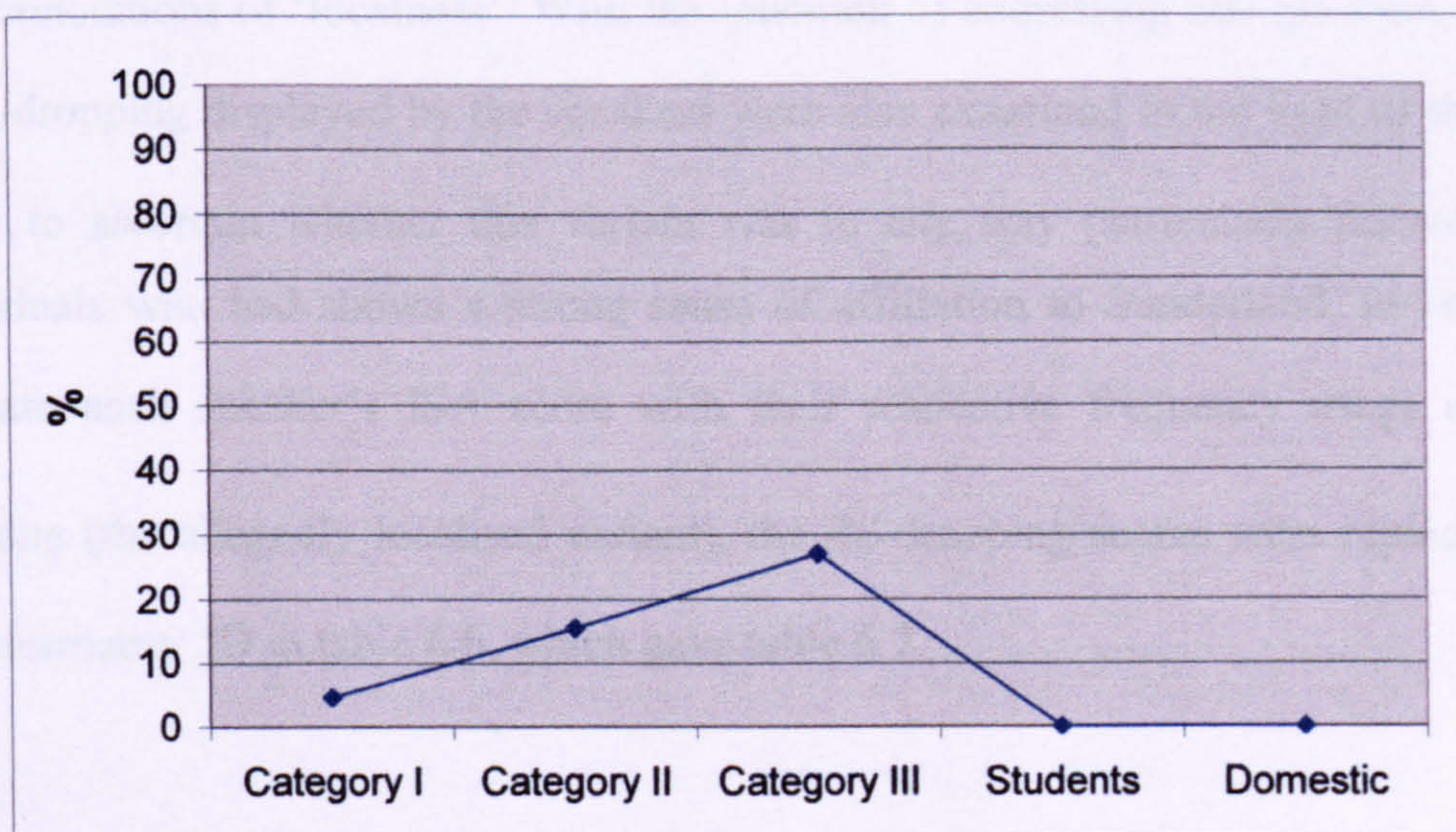


Figure 6.10: Percentage use of /h/-dropping by occupational category

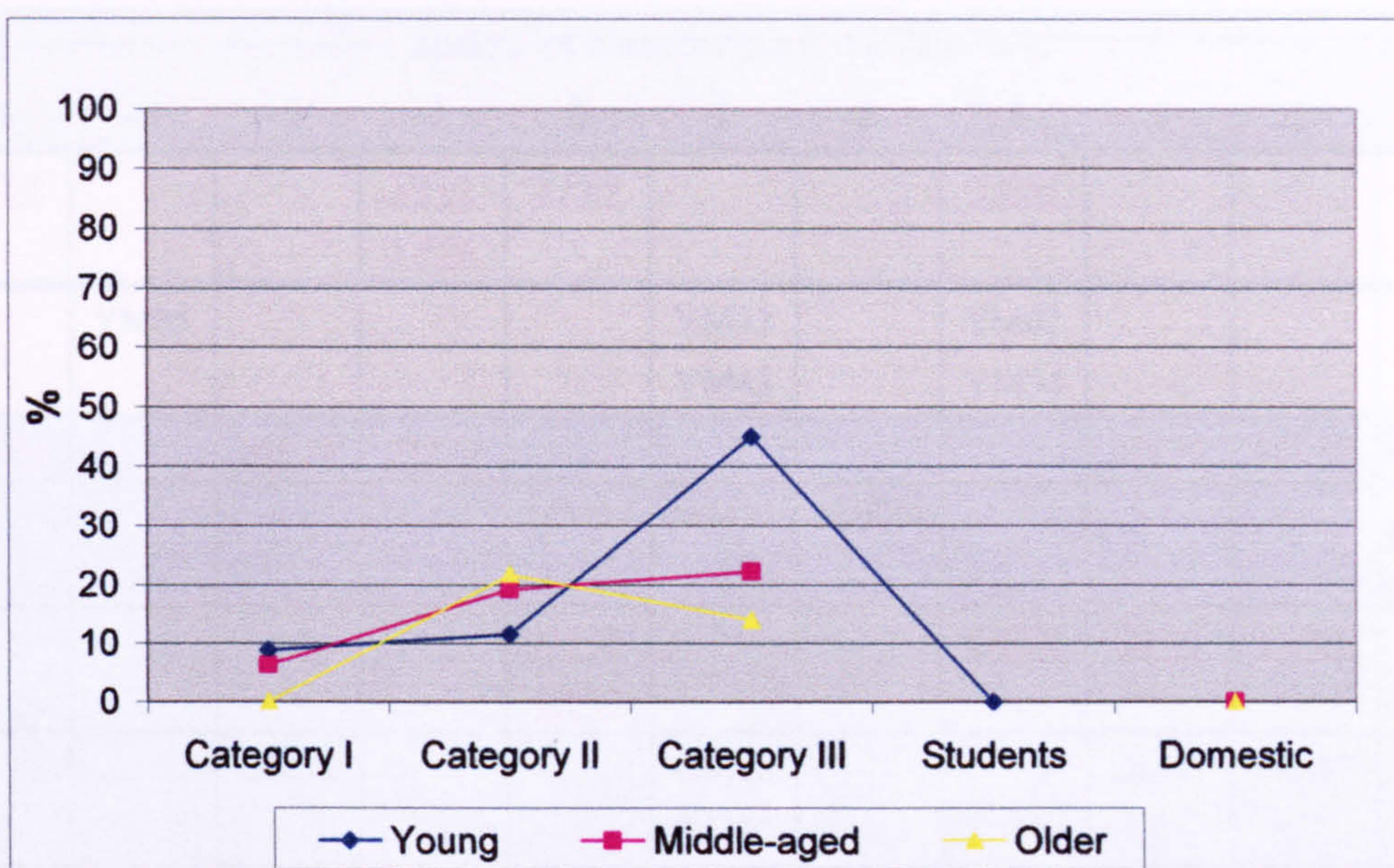


Figure 6.11: Distribution of /h/-dropping by age and occupational categories

6.4.3.2 STRENGTH OF AFFILIATION TO THE LOCAL COMMUNITY: ISA

Given that the variable (h) was chosen for analysis on the grounds that /h/-dropping is often identified as a stereotypical feature of the Sunderland dialect that distinguishes it from the Tyneside variety, limiting the analysis exclusively to predetermined social categories would not shed any light upon the question of whether /h/-dropping carries any connotations of ‘localness’. With the intention of addressing this question, levels of /h/-dropping displayed by the speakers were also examined in the light of the ISA to try to ascertain whether this variant was in any way particularly favoured by individuals who had shown a strong sense of affiliation to Sunderland. In order to compare each speaker’s ISA score with their respective frequency usage of /h/-dropping (the allegedly localised variant), the /h/-dropping scores were replaced for the informants’ ID in table 6.6, which gave table 6.7.

← Index of Sunderland Affiliation →										
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>YF35</u>			<u>YF01</u> <u>YF06</u>	<u>YF09</u>			<u>YF36</u>			
	YM05				YM33 YM43		YM02 YM34			
<u>MF04</u>		<u>MF39</u>	<u>MF26</u>					<u>MF32</u>	<u>MF23</u>	
				MM03	MM14	MM20				MM19 MM28
				<u>OF13</u> <u>OF17</u>			<u>OF38</u>	<u>OF37</u>	<u>OF08</u>	
		OM12			OM10 OM27			OM31	OM07	

Table 6.6: Sunderland sample ranked according to ISA²⁸

← Index of Sunderland Affiliation →										
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>0%</u>			<u>0%</u> <u>14.8%</u>	<u>45%</u>			<u>0%</u>			
	11.1%				19.1% 10%		0% 4.2%			
<u>0%</u>		<u>0%</u>	<u>0%</u>					<u>0%</u>	<u>22.2%</u>	
				19.2%	3.3%	4%				20.8% 16.7%
				<u>0%</u> <u>17.9%</u>			<u>0%</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>40%</u>	
		0%			17.4% 15%			13.04%	55.2%	

Table 6.7: /h/-dropping scores by speaker group in order of ascending ISA

It is interesting to note in table 6.8 what speakers within each speaker group show the highest levels of /h/-dropping, and how high they scored on the ISA. On the left-hand side of table 6.7, where the negative scores of the ISA lie, levels of usage of /h/-dropping are consistently low, ranging between 0% and 14.8%. By contrast, the speakers on the opposite end of the table, where the highest ISA scores are, display

²⁸ See section 4.4.1 for a detailed account of how the ISA was constructed.

the highest frequencies of use of /h/-dropping within their speaker groups (MF23, OF08, MM19, and OM08). However, there is a lot of variation in levels of /h/-dropping usage amongst the speakers who scored between 0 and 4 in the ISA: there, /h/-dropping levels in this group range from 0% to 45%. In both younger groups it is in this stretch of the ISA that the highest levels of /h/-dropping are found (45% and 19.1% respectively), since in these groups the highest ISA score was 3. In the case of both the middle-aged males and older females, zero was the lowest ISA score so in this stretch of the ISA we find the lowest /h/-dropping levels obtained by each of these speaker groups.

In view of this, to some extent there appears to be some correlation between usage of /h/-dropping and strength of local affiliation. It seems that a strong correlation between the ISA and language use might only exist where there are strong feelings about the local identity – that is, amongst those who displayed a very strong sense of affiliation and those who did not seem to be very locally oriented. Thus, whereas the former may be employing this linguistic variant as a way to display their local orientation, the latter may be trying to portray a more neutral image of themselves, by avoiding any features whereby they could be associated with Sunderland and its local vernacular market. In comparison with these two groups of speakers, variability in the level of /h/-dropping usage amongst the rest of the speakers, that is, those who obtained an ISA of 0 to 4, may be indicative of a completely different stance. The affiliation displayed by this group to their local community was clearly stronger than that with lower ISA scores but not as strong as that of those speakers on the right-hand side of the table. For this group, expressing their membership of other social groupings (gender, age, class, occupation) may be more important than displaying a Sunderland identity and, thus, those factors may exert a stronger influence on their language use, hence the wide range of /h/-dropping scores found in the middle of the table.²⁹

²⁹ Note that the correlation between each group's levels of /h/-dropping and the ISA scores were overall rather weak. However, the interest here laid in examining how individual speakers used this variable. Furthermore, the fact that it was only those with strong views about the local community that

6.4.4 Summary

The patterns revealed in the distribution of the variants of (h) in the Sunderland and Tyneside samples were interesting. Usage of /h/-dropping in the Sunderland sample is not as high as we would have expected from a variety which, according to popular comments, is characterised by its absence of aitches. Still, there is a clear distinction between TE and SundE since /h/-less realisations are significantly lower in the former than in the latter variety. Nonetheless, this distinction may perhaps be better explained in terms of the ‘extent’ to which /h/-dropping is employed in SundE and TE, rather than in terms of ‘presence vs. absence’ of the variant. The fact that the Sunderland speakers display higher levels of /h/-dropping than the Tyneside ones is indeed meaningful, even if it is not at very high levels. We must remember here that, interestingly, even though the SED data appeared to present County Durham as an area where /h/ was variably dropped, language specialists involved in the ‘Wearside Jack’ case still picked up on this feature as a diagnostic element of the Wearside accent (section 6.1.1). Thus, this, and the trends identified in the Sunderland sample, may indicate that /h/-dropping is still a variable feature in this accent, just as it was in the County Durham data from the SED; however, the Sunderland sample suggests that, in spite of a possible small decrease of this variant over time, there is not much variation in usage of /h/-dropping across age groups.

Besides the differences between Sunderland and Tyneside samples, usage of the variants of (h) reveal gendered patterns, which agree with the findings of previously conducted research (e.g. Upton and Widdowson’s (1999) Sheffield study). This is accompanied by a certain correlation between the use of /h/-dropping and the speakers’ occupations, which, to some extent, support the general association of this variant with speakers from the lower socio-economic strata (section 6.1).

seemed to use (h) in similar ways (that is in the two extremes of the tables) was of particular interest here.

The only change identified may have taken place at the language ideological (indexical) level. There, /h/-dropping may have been enregistered as a variant indexing 'Sunderlandness'. Evidence for this may be the fact that this variant is the object of popular metalinguistic comment: it is highlighted in local and regional narratives of difference provided by North-eastern speakers³⁰ as well as by the media and others with vested interests in promoting the local. Moreover, whilst further investigation of the popular attitudes attached locally to /h/-dropping as a marker of Sunderland speech would be required, some degree of correlation was identified between usage of this linguistic feature and the strength of local affiliation, which may suggest that /h/-dropping is used by some in this community to index a local identity/affiliation (Sunderlandness).

Thus, the fact that /h/-dropping seems to be above the level of consciousness, and the stigma attached to it not only at a national level (section 6.1) but maybe also within the North-east as a feature of Sunderland speech, may lead to the avoidance of this variant by females and the middle-aged. This may have been further favoured by the involvement of most of the middle-aged in educational and advisory occupations and their geographical mobility – we must remember that many acknowledged their keenness to move around, and visit places in, the North-east (section 4.2.3).

³⁰ Remember, for example, that according to the Sunderland informants this was one of the distinctive features of the Sunderland accent.

Chapter 7

Variables (p), (t) and (k)

The next three consonantal variables to be discussed are the voiceless stops, (p), (t) and (k). As explained in chapter 5, these three were chosen because glottalised variants of (p), (t) and (k) are salient features of TE and their presence has been attested in other North-eastern localities (e.g. Durham, Teesside). Furthermore, t-glottalling is one of the consonantal features that seem to be involved in a national process of geographical diffusion, therefore it was deemed necessary to ascertain whether SundE shows patterns of usage similar to those found in other varieties across the country. A further motivation was that, in contrast with the other two variables examined in this study ((h) and GOOSE), the Sunderland informants showed no *explicit* awareness of the use of glottalisation as a North-eastern feature and those who *implicitly* identified this variable as one which is realised differently in Sunderland and Tyneside did not agree on whether the glottalised variants were typical of one or the other variety. This made it interesting to ascertain whether TE and SundE differ in the use of these three variables.

This chapter examines the use and distribution of glottal variants, as opposed to fully released ones, of each of these variables in SundE. In BrE, two different types of glottal variants of (p), (t) and (k) can be identified: *glottalling* or *glottal replacement*, whereby the bilabial, alveolar or velar articulation of RP is replaced by a glottal stop, [ʔ]; and *glottalisation* or *glottal reinforcement*, in which on auditory impression the glottal articulation seems to mask the oral burst of the voiceless stop, hence the general tendency to transcribe these variants as a double articulation either [ʔp̄], [ʔt̄], [ʔk̄] or [p̄ʔ], [t̄ʔ], [k̄ʔ].¹ However, whereas glottalled variants are more generally distributed across the British varieties (supra-local) and are relatively recent, glottalised realisations are more localised, certainly in the context of the North-eastern varieties in which they have been attested. Both types of glottal variants have been widely studied in recent sociolinguistic research conducted in Britain, as we will see

¹ This is discussed in more detail in section 7.2.

in the next two sections. Sections 7.1 and 7.2 review, in turn, the social and geographical distribution of glottalled and glottalised variants of (p), (t) and (k) in accents of BrE. Section 7.3 introduces the sample of data analysed in the Sunderland study and section 7.4 presents and discusses the patterns of usage of (p), (t) and (k) identified in the Sunderland data and compares them to the patterns of usage identified in Tyneside and Middlesbrough in previous research.

7.1 T-GLOTTALLING IN BRITISH ACCENTS

As Milroy, Milroy and Hartley (1994: 4) explain, 'T-glottalling (in certain phonetic environments) arguably shares with H-dropping the distinction of being one of the two most heavily stigmatised features of BrE pronunciation'. The environments in which the use of the glottal stop is perceived in such a negative light are: (i) intervocalic position, (ii) before a syllabic // and (iii) word-finally (Milroy *et al.* 1994a: 5). In such positions, the glottal stop, like /h/-dropping² and many other non-standard features, has often been labelled as a feature of 'slovenly', 'incorrect', 'unacceptable' or 'bad speech' in teaching/prescriptive circles (Romaine and Reid 1976). However, in spite of the stigma attached to it, it has become very widespread in BrE in the course of the 20th century.

It is not easy to ascertain when the glottal stop first appeared in English, since there is no letter in the alphabet which might represent it in the kind of semi-phonetic spelling often used to represent pronunciation before the IPA appeared. So our evidence is confined to reports and descriptions of pronunciation. It is generally suggested that the glottal stop had its origins in the non-standard varieties of South-eastern England (especially London) and in Scotland. The earliest reports make reference to a 'glottal catch' used in place of the letter <t> in the west of Scotland in the 1860s (Andrésen 1968: 12-13). Wright (1905: §287) notes that:

in west-mid Scotland, Lothian, and Edinburgh intervocalic t (tt) with l or r in the next syllable has become the glottal catch, such as is common in German words beginning with a vowel, as ba:əl *battle*, ke:əl *kettle*, ne:əl *nettle*, be:ər *better*, bɛ:ər *butter*, se:ərɔdi *Saturday*, wa:ər *water*.

² See chapter 6.

Jespersen (1909), though, referring back to a visit to Britain in 1887, reports the presence of the glottal stop not only in Scotland (Glasgow and Edinburgh) but also in the North of England – in particular he mentions Sheffield. In the early 20th century, Sweet (1908), Jones (1909) and Palmer (1913) note this variant in a number of English varieties, in particular in Northern England, the Midlands, London and Kent (Andrésen 1968: 15-17).

Milroy *et al.* (1994a: 3) put into question the possibility that the glottal stop could have spread throughout Britain in such a short time span (40 years), and they actually indicate that the presence of both glottalling and glottalisation in Ulster Scots may suggest that this feature may have already been present in 17th century Scots before the Ulster plantations. In spite of these early records which seem to situate this variant in areas of Scotland in the second half of the 19th century and even in Northern English varieties by the beginning of the 20th century, there has been a strong tendency to regard the glottal stop as a ‘Cockneyism’ when used as a variant of /t/ in intervocalic position, e.g. *water* [wɔʔə] (Wells 1982).

Trudgill (1974, 1999), however, referring to the SED records which suggest that in the 1950s East Anglia was the only rural area where the glottal stop was present, proposes that glottalling could actually have spread to London from East Anglia, and not vice-versa. Nevertheless, this general association of the glottal stop as a variant of (t) with London English seems to have been a factor involved in its diffusion throughout England (Wells 1982:323). T-glottalling is one of the consonantal features that have been identified in recent sociolinguistic research as being part of a national geographical diffusion process of which non-standard south-eastern varieties, and especially London English, are the epicentre (Milroy, Milroy, Hartley and Walshaw 1994, Foulkes and Docherty 2000, Kerswill 2003).³ In this process, these originally ‘localised’ features are becoming part of a repertoire of ‘supra-local’ features that are used in more and more British varieties.

As early as 1973 and 1982 respectively, Roach (1973) and Wells (1982) referred to the fact that t-glottalling was becoming more widespread. Wells, in particular, indicated that it was becoming more prevalent ‘in the local accents of London,

³ These include t-glottalling, th-fronting, and labiodental /r/.

Glasgow, Edinburgh, in many rural accents of the South of England and East Anglia, and increasingly in urban accents everywhere in England' (1982: 261).

In the last three decades t-glottalling has been attested in many varieties in England, Scotland, Wales and Northern Ireland, such as Tyneside (Watt and Milroy 1999, Docherty and Foulkes 1999), Sheffield (Stoddard *et al.* 1999), Derby (Docherty and Foulkes 1999), West Midlands (Mathisen 1999), Norwich (Trudgill 1974, 1999), Milton Keynes, Reading, Hull (Williams and Kerswill 1999), South-east London (Tollfree 1999), Middlesbrough (Llamas 2001), Darlington (Atkinson, forthcoming), Glasgow (Macaulay 1977, Stuart-Smith 1999a, 1999b), Edinburgh (Chirrey 1999), Galloway (J. Milroy 1982), Cardiff (Mees 1987; Mees and Collins 1999), (London)Derry (McCafferty 1999) and Belfast (Milroy *et al.* 1994a).

As a result of its extensive diffusion, this feature has become a stereotype of urban British speech (Milroy *et al.* 1994a: 5). Today, it is even used in varieties where it was absent a few years ago. Such is the case of South Wales (Mees 1987) or Galloway English (in South-western Scotland), where, according to J. Milroy (1982: 25), '[g]lottalisation, but not normally a glottal stop, for intervocalic [t] in, e.g. *butter*, *water*' may be found.⁴ However, the glottal stop has not only spread geographically but is also spreading '*socially* from lower-class to higher-class accents [...] *stylistically* from informal into formal speech [...] [and] *phonologically* from more favoured to less favoured environments' [*My italics*] (Trudgill 1999: 136). Whilst, given the stigma attached to the glottal stop in the environments defined at the beginning of this section, we may have expected it to be a feature of working-class male speech, a number of studies have demonstrated that rates of t-glottalling are higher amongst middle-class speakers and that it is the young females (especially middle-class young females) who are leading this accent change (e.g. Mees 1987; Milroy *et al.* 1994a; Docherty *et al.* 1997; Llamas 2001). These trends are indicative of the change of sociolinguistic status that t-glottalling seems to be undergoing, a change that is further evidenced in Fabricius' (2002) research into RP. She found that t-glottalling seems to be becoming increasingly accepted amongst young RP speakers in a number of phonological environments, namely in word-final pre-consonantal position both in interview and reading-passage style, and, to some extent, also pre-

⁴ In spite of this rapid diffusion, the Liverpool accent is probably one of the few British varieties that seem to be resisting the spread of t-glottalling (Watson 2006).

pausally and pre-vocally in interview style. In the last few years, it has also become associated with 'Estuary English' (Coggle 1993; Rosewarne 1984, 1994).

So far, this section has exclusively addressed glottalling as a variant of (t). Nevertheless, there is glottal replacement of (p) and (k) too, albeit to a lesser extent. The earliest references to glottal replacement or reinforcement of /p/ or /k/ found by Andréson (1968) date back to Grant (1913) and Hirst (1914). Grant reported this as a typical feature of the Scottish varieties spoken 'between the Firths of Forth and Tay on the east side and the Firth of Clyde on the west' (Andréson 1968: 17). Hirst noted that glottalling of /t/, and occasionally of /k/, in intervocalic and pre-consonantal positions may be found in 'Lancaster and district', especially amongst younger speakers. In the third edition of Jones' *Pronunciation of English* (1950: §234, §250, §258), he refers to the glottal replacement of /t/ and /k/ in London, the Eastern Counties and Scotland and of /p/ in unstressed positions in London. However, as Llamas (2001) indicates, recent sociolinguistic studies have paid very little attention to the geographical and social distribution of glottalling of (p) and (k) in word-medial position. Wells (1982: 323) presents glottalling of the /p/ and /k/ word-finally as a feature of London English, and Tollfree (1999: 170) states that both glottal reinforcement *and* replacement of /p/ and /k/ occur pre-consonantly, pre-pausally, intervocalically and before nasals in South-east London English. Glottalling of /p/ and /k/ has also been reported in Glasgow (Macafee 1983), Edinburgh (Chirrey 1999) and Reading and Milton Keynes⁵ (Williams and Kerswill 1999). In the North-east, glottal replacement of (p) and (k) has been attested in Tyneside (Hartley 1992;⁶ Docherty *et al.* 1997) and Middlesbrough (Llamas 2001).

7.2 (PRE-)GLOTTALISATION OR GLOTTAL REINFORCEMENT IN BRITISH ACCENTS

The second type of glottal variant that was identified at the beginning of this chapter is what is typically known as glottalisation or glottal reinforcement. This feature has

⁵ Yet not Hull.

⁶ See Milroy *et al.* 1994

been attested not only in TE but also in DuE (Kerswill 1987) and in the southernmost urban centre of the North-east, Middlesbrough (Llamas 2001). It was stated earlier that the transcriptions typically used for the glottalised variants of (p), (t) and (k), that is, either [p̠], [t̠], [k̠] or [pʔ], [tʔ], [kʔ], are suggestive of a double articulation in which the oral voiceless stops are reinforced by a glottal stop. Thus, Roach (1973: 10) explains that in glottalised variants ‘the oral closure for /p/, /t/ or /k/ is preceded by a glottal closure’. Gimson (1989:159) defines glottalisation as an ‘oral closure reinforced by a glottal closure’, and explains that the glottal gesture may either ‘coincide in time with the oral closure, inhibiting much of the air-pressure behind the oral closure, whether or not this latter is released audibly’ or, alternatively, ‘may slightly anticipate the articulation of the oral obstruction’. Along the same lines, Giegerich (1992: 220) defines it as a phenomenon whereby ‘in syllable final voiceless stops the bilabial, alveolar or velar closure is accompanied – often slightly preceded – by glottal closure, so that a glottal stop [ʔ] is co-articulated with the [p t k] articulation’. All of these definitions of glottal reinforcement actually suggest that this phenomenon may vary depending on whether the glottal gesture precedes the supralaryngeal closure and the subsequent oral burst. According to Wells, in most British varieties, including RP, the tendency is for [p t k] in syllable-final position to have preglottalisation, i.e. the glottal closure precedes the oral one, and he argues that ‘either this is a new, twentieth-century, phenomenon, or else no phonetician had previously noticed it’ (1982: 260).

Glottal reinforcement in Tyneside, however, has been found to be auditorily distinct from the type of glottalisation generally reported in other BrE accents. O’Connor (1947) described the Tyneside glottalised variants, which he transcribed [p̠], [t̠], and [k̠], as being ‘very weak [b, d, g]’ (p. 7). Wells (1982: 374) claims that the auditory impression he gets is ‘[pʔ, tʔ, kʔ], with glottal masking of the oral plosive burst’, which suggests, as Docherty and Foulkes note, that ‘the glottal occlusion is sustained until *after* the release of the supralaryngeal occlusion, thus rendering the oral release inaudible’ (2005: 178). And, finally, Harris and Kaye (1990: 263) refer to the presence in some dialects of the North of Ireland and North-east

England of a preglottalised unreleased (t). They describe this realisation as a preglottalised tap which occurs before vowels, and transcribe it as [ʔ̠] in words like *Peter* and *city*.

Nonetheless, acoustic phonetic profiling of glottalled and glottalised variants of TE, aimed at ascertaining the main articulatory features of these variants, has revealed that there seems to be a clash between what on auditory impression is classified as a glottally reinforced variant in which a voiceless stop, [p, t, k], overlaps with a glottal stop [ʔ], and the phonetic properties revealed through acoustic analysis of such variants (Docherty *et al.* 1997; Docherty and Foulkes 1999; Docherty and Foulkes 2005). Docherty and Foulkes point out that, given that glottalised variants are transcribed as articulations of two concurrent sounds, that is [p, t, k] plus [ʔ], it would be expected that ‘the acoustic correlates of such sounds should also bear close resemblance to those of individual voiceless plosives’ (1999: 55). Far from this, however, in the acoustic analysis of the Tyneside PVC corpus, spectrograms showed that in as many as 70% of the glottal tokens analysed there was a clear absence of the stop gap that generally characterises the two voiceless stops supposedly involved in the articulation of the glottalised phones. Instead, all these tokens showed full or partial voicing throughout the articulation of the stop, the only percept of a glottal gesture often being conveyed merely by a brief interval of creaky voicing, identifiable by the presence of ‘one or two pulses of voicing which are slightly irregular with respect to neighbouring pulses’ (Docherty *et al.* 1997: 280). It is because of these acoustic features that Foulkes, Docherty and Watt (1999: 7) suggest that [ɟ] would be a more appropriate transcription for the glottalised variants of (t).

Another feature revealed through acoustic analysis was the presence of a release burst in 32% of the glottalised tokens. This is an interesting finding given that one of the reasons why TE glottalisation is claimed to be auditorily different from glottalisation in other British varieties is that in TE the oral burst is masked by the glottal gesture to the point that the burst may be rendered inaudible⁷. The presence of the release burst was particularly frequent in the case of older male speech, suggesting that, akin to other BrE varieties, older Tyneside males tend to ‘time their oral and

⁷ See Wells’ (1982) definition of TE glottalisation earlier in this section.

laryngeal gestures such that the former lags behind the latter (making the release audible)' (Docherty and Foulkes 2005: 187). In comparison, the tendency in other speaker groups was to produce glottalised variants in such a way that the oral release was concealed by the glottal gesture. This, consequently, points to the co-existence within the same variety of both preglottalisation (mainly in older males) and postglottalisation.

Apart from being auditorily different, glottalisation of (p), (t) and (k) in TE occurs in a wider range of environments than the general British type of glottalisation (Milroy *et al.* 1994; Docherty *et al.* 1997). Glottalised variants in TE do not seem to be constrained by the position of the stop in the syllable. Whilst Giegerich (1992: 221) argues that in syllable-initial position glottalisation may occur when /p, t, k/ are ambisyllabic (e.g. *Cypriot, petrol, macron*), but not when they are di/polysyllabic (e.g. *apron, matron, micro*), Docherty *et al.* (1997) demonstrate that, in TE, glottalisation is possible in both cases.⁸ Tyneside (and Central Scots) differs from Southern British varieties in that, in this variety, glottalised variants may occur in syllable-initial position usually under secondary stress like, for example, in *sometimes, nineteen, three times*. Furthermore, it occurs in syllable-onset /t/ in the context of a preceding rhymal consonant, an environment which according to Harris and Haye (1990) blocks glottalisation in London English. In Tyneside, this has been attested in words where the preceding consonant is a stop in words such as *doctor* and *chapter*. Yet, it is not entirely clear whether this also occurs when the preceding rhymal consonant is a fricative as in *custard* and *after*. Whereas Hartley (1992) did find that /p/ and /k/ in *whisper* and *whisker* were often glottalised, Docherty *et al.* (1997: 290) found that, whilst no glottalised forms were recorded after fricatives in word-list style, they were occasionally used by the Tyneside adults in conversational style in items such as *fifteen* and *half-past*.

The primary environment of glottally reinforced variants in TE is intersonorant position, that is between two sonorants, whether vowels, approximants or nasals (e.g. *water, glaky, happy, lanky, button, happen, people, Baltic, local, sulky*). In line with accent diffusion processes taking place across British dialects, however, usage of [ʔ]

⁸ The same seems to be the case in Central Scots English.

for non-initial pre-vocalic /t/ (e.g. *water, get off*) seems to have increased amongst younger speakers (especially MC females). In this position, older Tyneside speakers, particularly older males, prefer the localised variant [ʔt], with [ʔ] being rarely used (Docherty *et al.* 1997; Watt and Milroy 1999). Before syllabic /l/, the use of [ʔ] for /t/ (e.g. *little*) is almost categorical in all age groups in TE. In contrast with other varieties which favour glottalisation of /t/ in word-final pre-pausal position, both glottal and glottalised variants are blocked in this environment in TE.

Having reviewed some previous studies conducted in Britain into the use of glottalised and glottalised variants of (p), (t) and (k), and examined their key findings regarding the social, geographical and phonological distribution of these two types of realisations, the next section turns to introduce the Sunderland data which was analysed to ascertain whether speakers of this variety display similar patterns of usage of the variants of (p), (t) and (k) to speakers of other North-eastern varieties.

7.3 THE SUNDERLAND DATA

For the analysis of the three voiceless stops, (p), (t) and (k), in the Sunderland accent, a target of 30 tokens per speaker for each of the three variables was aimed at. Only items in which the stops were in word-medial intersonorant position were included, given that, firstly, intersonorant position seems to be the main environment for glottalised variants in TE and, secondly, word-medial intervocalic environments are considered the most stigmatised ones for the presence of the glottal stop (Wells 1982; Milroy *et al.* 1994a). Thus, the sample of tokens extracted from the Sunderland interviews consisted mostly of items in which (p), (t) and (k) were between two vowels (e.g. *happy, water, cheeky*), before syllabic /l/ (e.g. *people, little, local*), before/after a nasal (e.g. *happen, bottom, broken, grumpy, winter, lanky*) or, occasionally, following /l/ (e.g. *Baltic, sulky*).

A total of 645 tokens of (p), 854 of (t) and 720 of (k) were extracted from the interviews (table 7.1 shows the number of tokens produced by each of the six speaker groups), and all of them were individually recorded in a Microsoft Access database

similar to the one used for the tokens of word-initial (h). For each token, the following information was noted down:

- (i) Word containing (p), (t) or (k).
- (ii) ID of the informant who produced the token.
- (iii) Variant used: released, glottalised or glottalled.
- (iv) Transcription of the sentence/phrase in which the token was produced and, if relevant, any preceding/following sentences, phrases, pauses.
- (v) Linguistic environment: type of sonorant segments (vowel, nasal, lateral) preceding/following the word-medial voiceless stop.
- (vi) Exact location of the token in the interview.
- (vii) Any other information which could be relevant or worth noting down.

	(p)	(t)	(k)
Young females (N = 5)	92	129	94
Young males (N = 5)	111	140	111
Middle-aged females (N = 5)	90	136	116
Middle-aged males (N = 5)	109	150	116
50+ females (N = 5)	125	149	142
50+ males (N = 5)	118	150	141
TOTAL (N = 30)	645	854	720

Table 7.1: Number of tokens of word-medial intersonorant (p), (t) and (k) per speaker group

Like the (h) variable, each of the tokens of (p), (t) and (k) was analysed auditorily and allocated to one of three possible categories: (i) fully released (/p/, /t/, /k/), (ii) glottalised ([p^h], [t^h], [k^h])⁹ – generally regarded as the localised north-eastern

⁹ Note that, as mentioned in section 7.2, Foulkes *et al.* (1999: 7) argue that [d] would be a more appropriate transcription for the glottalised variant of /t/ due to the fact that acoustic analysis demonstrated that glottally reinforced (t) in Tyneside tends to be fully or partially voiced. However, in the present study glottalised tokens will be transcribed as [p^h], [t^h], [k^h], as has been customarily done in most of the existing accounts of glottalisation.

variants (Llamas 2001: 134)¹⁰ – and (iii) glottalled ([ʔ]). The fully released variants included not only ‘conventional’ realisations of /p/, /t/, /k/ in which there was a clear oral occlusion and a subsequent release burst, but also spirantised realisations. A few items in which /k/ was realised as [x] were excluded from the sample.¹¹

In order to ensure consistency and accuracy in the identification of the different types of variants, in the initial stages of the analysis the spectrograms of some of the tokens were examined after they had been assigned to one of the three categories on the basis of an auditory assessment. In addition to this, towards the end of the analysis, a sample of tokens were sent to various people who have either previously researched these three variables in other North-eastern varieties or who were familiar with them to crosscheck their classification of the items they were sent against mine.¹² Overall there was over 86% agreement between these judges’ categorisation of the tokens they assessed and mine.

In the absence of any detailed study of the variable (h) in the Tyneside accent, in the analysis of this variable a sample of six speakers from the NECTE corpus was examined alongside the Sunderland sample in order to be able to compare the distribution of the variants of (h) in SundE and TE.¹³ The variables (p), (t) and (k), by contrast, have been widely studied in the Tyneside variety (see Hartley 1992; Milroy *et al.* 1994a, 1994b; Docherty *et al.* 1997; Watt and Milroy 1999; Docherty and Foulkes 1999; Foulkes *et al.* 1999; Docherty and Foulkes 2005), which made it unnecessary to analyse these three variables in the speech of the six NECTE speakers. Moreover, (p), (t) and (k) have also been studied in Middlesbrough by Llamas (2001). Therefore, the Sunderland data are compared not only to the findings of the study of TE conducted by Docherty *et al.* (1997) but also to Llamas’ (2001) Middlesbrough findings. Since Middlesbrough shares with Sunderland a certain feeling of rivalry and

¹⁰ In the report of the findings (section 7.4.), the label ‘localised’ will be used to refer to the glottalised realisations of (p), (t) and (k), which in the past have been already attested in other north-eastern locations, namely TE, MbE and DuE. However, it remains to be determined to what extent this is also typical of SundE.

¹¹ These were produced by MM03, MF04 and OM31 intervocally and before a syllabic /l/ or /n/.

¹² I would like to thank Joan Beal, Carmen Llamas, Warren Maguire, Dom Watt and Kevin Watson for their help and input at this stage of the analysis and Paul Foulkes for the guidance and advice provided on the acoustic analysis.

¹³ See chapter 6.

hostility towards Geordies, it was particularly interesting to compare the Sunderland data to both North-eastern varieties.

Throughout section 7.4, the results of the analysis of (p), (t) and (k) are presented, starting with an examination of the overall distribution of fully released, glottalised and glottalled variants of the three voiceless stops. We move on afterwards to examine each of the variables in isolation in order to discover any sociolinguistic patterns which may have emerged from the correlation of the linguistic variants with various social factors. As with the (h) variable, the distribution of variants of each of the voiceless stops is firstly correlated with *age* and *gender*. Then, since previous research has demonstrated that levels of usage of glottal variants of (p t k) may vary depending on the linguistic context, the data is examined in the light of the sonorant segments that precede and follow (p), (t) and (k). Afterwards, section 7.4.5 moves to explore the possible effect that the speakers' types of occupation may have. In the past, social class has been found to have a significant effect on the levels of usage of glottal variants (Docherty *et al.* 1997: 300). As explained in section 7.1, although the glottal stop has been as stigmatised a variant as /h/-dropping, the findings of recent research point to a change of its sociolinguistic status, since it has revealed higher levels of use amongst the middle-class speakers, in particular the middle-class young females. Thus, the Sunderland data is further examined in the light of the speakers' occupation in the hope of shedding some light upon the social class issue even though social class is a more complex concept than occupation alone. Following this, section 7.4.6 will ascertain whether usage of glottal variants bears any correlation with strength of local affiliation. It is important to note at this point that, given that three realisations for (p t k) are distinguished, instead of two as was the case of (h), a different type of statistical test was employed that did not treat the variants as different points within a continuum, as ANOVA does, but as nominal variants. Thus, chi-square tests were run instead.¹⁴

¹⁴ According to Hinton (2004: 248), chi-square is a test that is used with nominal data to look into the effect of an independent variable (or more than one) on a dependent variable. It uses frequency (nominal) data which indicate the number of items/subjects we have in each category rather than the position of those subjects/items on a scale.

7.4 DATA ANALYSIS

7.4.1 Overall distribution of the variants of (p t k) in Sunderland

As can be observed in figure 7.1, the overall frequency use of the released, glottalised and glottalled realisations varies considerably from one variable to another in the Sunderland data. Whereas the glottal stop emerges as the preferred variant for word-medial (t), fully released variants are, by far, preferred for (p) and (k). Glottalled realisations of the latter two are the least frequent. On the whole, the glottal stop in the Sunderland data displays its highest score (47.9%) in (t); it is then used in 13.3% of the (k) tokens and finally only in 5.1% of the (p) tokens. This ordering, (t) > (k) > (p), is the same obtained by Llamas in the Middlesbrough data (2001: 135). However, the overall frequency use of the glottal stop in (p) and (k) appears to be slightly higher in Sunderland than in Middlesbrough, where, as figure 7.2 shows, glottalled realisations of (p) and (k) were used in 3.9% and 7.9% of the cases respectively. As in Sunderland, however, the glottal stop was the preferred variant of (t) in Middlesbrough. Yet, in the latter a 59.9% usage of [ʔ] was reported, 12% more than in Sunderland. In contrast with the Sunderland and Middlesbrough data, glottalled variants in TE were largely confined to (t), with a frequency of 8% in male speakers and 16% in females. No occurrences of glottal replacement of (k) were reported by Docherty *et al.* (1997: 301) and only 1% usage in (p).

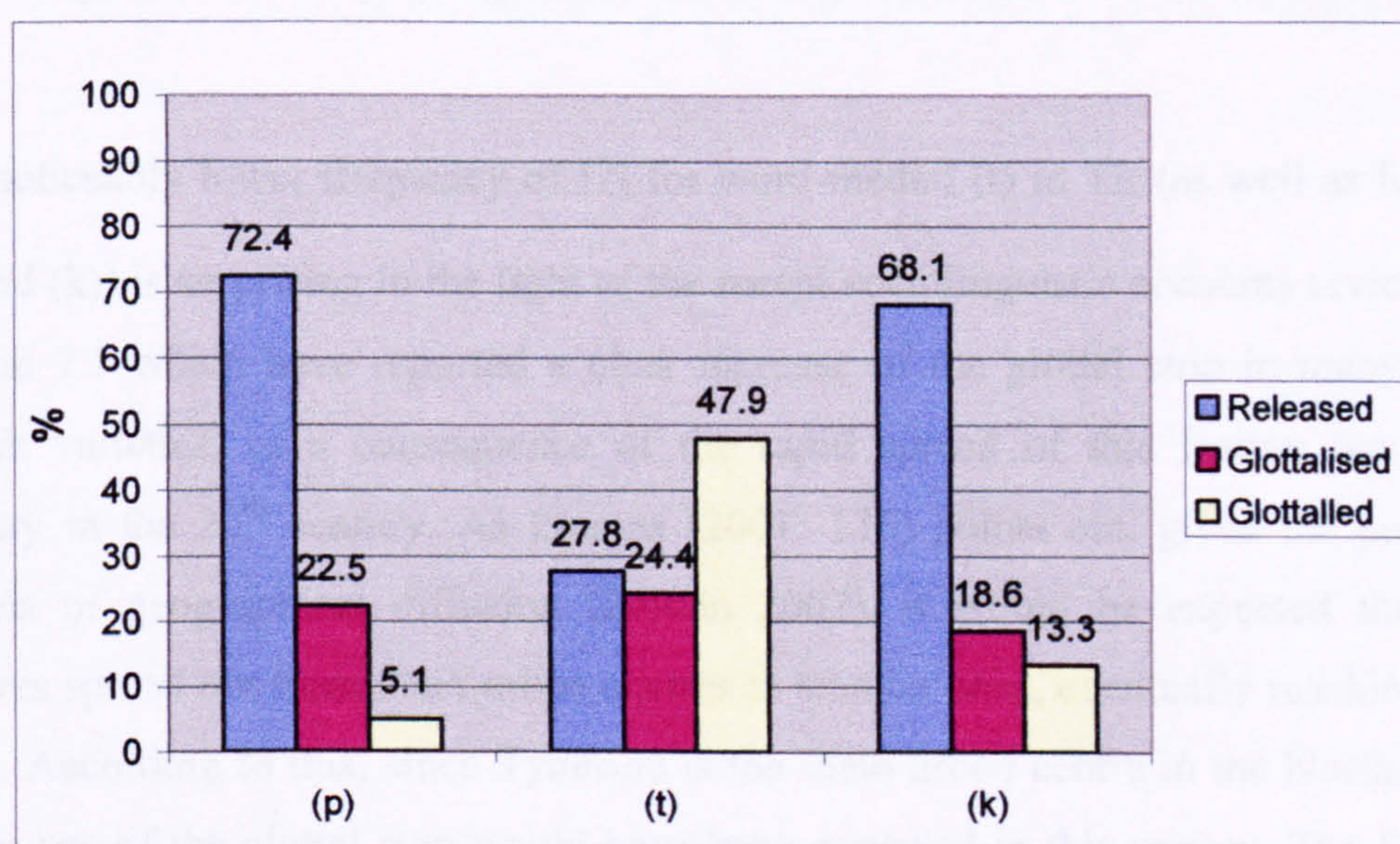


Figure 7.1: Overall percentage use of variants of (p t k) in SundE

Variable	Total N.	[p] [t] [k]		[ʔp] [ʔt] [ʔk]		[ʔ]	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
(p)	645	467	72,40	145	22,48	33	5,12
(t)	854	237	27,75	208	24,36	409	47,89
(k)	720	490	68,06	134	18,61	96	13,33

Table 7.2: Overall percentage use of variants of (p t k) in SundE

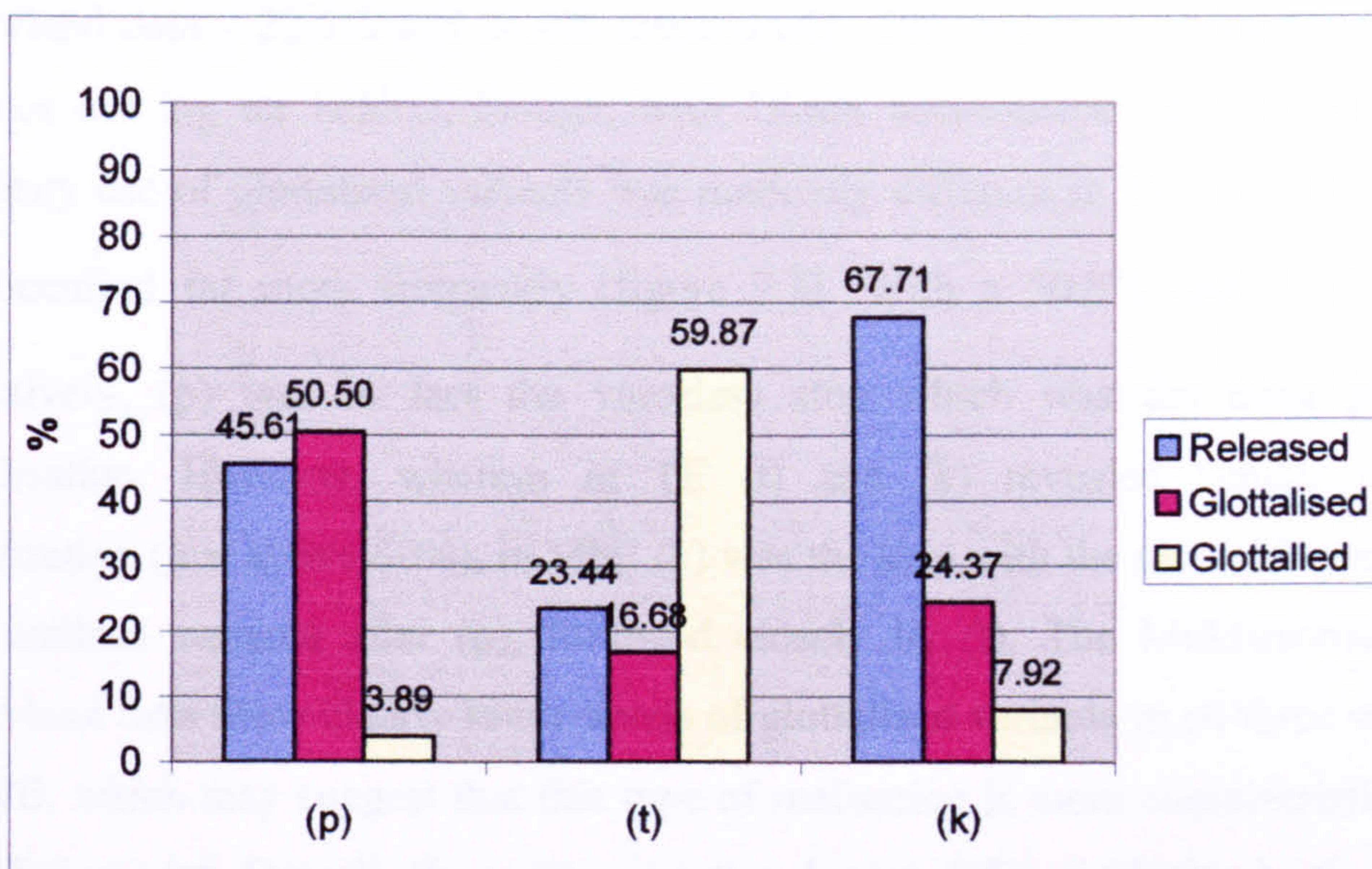


Figure 7.2: Overall percentage use of variants of (p t k) in MbE

The noticeably lower frequency of [ʔ] for word-medial (t) in TE (as well as for both (p) and (k)) is surprising in the light of the recent sociolinguistic accounts reviewed in section 7.1 which have reported a clear increase of the glottal stop in many urban British varieties, as a consequence of the rapid spread of this feature across the country in the 20th century. As Llamas (2001: 136) points out, given the proposed models of geographical diffusion (Britain 2002), it would be expected that new features spread out from main urban centres to smaller ones, eventually reaching rural areas. According to this, since Tyneside is the main urban centre in the North-east, a higher use of the glottal stop would have been expected in this variety. The findings of the three studies seem to suggest that, instead, the use of [ʔ] as a variant of (t)

increases as we move away from Tyneside. On the other hand, although the Tyneside, Middlesbrough and Sunderland corpora were all collected within a time span of 10 years – the PVC between 1994 and 1996, the Middlesbrough corpus around 1998 and the Sunderland one between 2003 and 2004 – the highest levels of glottalled variants of (p) and (k) occurred in the Sunderland corpus (the most recently collected one), which could indicate an increase of such realisations over time. Given the rapidity of the spread of this feature reported elsewhere, this could well be a result of the different dates when these corpora were collected.

A similar amount of glottalised realisations are recorded in (p) and (t) in the Sunderland data – 22.5% and 24.4% respectively. The rate of glottalised variants of (k) does not lag far behind, though, with 18.6% occurrences. In comparison, the frequency use of glottalised variants was markedly different in TE and MbE, where [ʔp] occurred far more frequently (figure 7.3). With a 50.5% and 72.5% usage respectively, (p) was in fact the voiceless stop which was the most prone to glottalisation. However, whereas in TE (t) and (k) revealed similar rates of glottalisation (just above 60%), in MbE (k) was the stop with the second highest level of glottalised variants after (p), followed closely by (t). The Middlesbrough and Sunderland data show clearly lower levels of glottalised variants in all three variables than TE, which may suggest that this type of realisation is more characteristic of the ‘Geordie’ accent. Overall, these two varieties do not differ markedly in the overall levels of glottalisation of (t) and (k): [ʔt] and [ʔk] are not even half as frequent in either Sunderland or Middlesbrough as they were in Tyneside. As for (p), there appears to be a marked difference between the three varieties, with Tyneside obtaining the highest frequency (72.6%), Middlesbrough 50.5% and Sunderland 22.5%.

Fully released variants of (p) and (k) are the most frequently used in the Sunderland data. Such was also the case for (k) in Middlesbrough (although, in this variety fully released and glottalised variants of (p) were used at similar levels). With the exception of (p), the distribution of variants in Middlesbrough and Sunderland is not radically different, with the two varieties showing the same distribution patterns: in (t), [ʔ] > [t] > [ʔt] and in (k), [k] > [ʔk] > [ʔ]. The distribution of variants of (t) is not surprising given the extensive spread of the glottal stop across British varieties in

the 20th century. Interestingly, though, it is worth noting that (t) was realised as [ʔ] more frequently in Middlesbrough than in Sunderland, where there are higher levels of [t] and [ʔt].

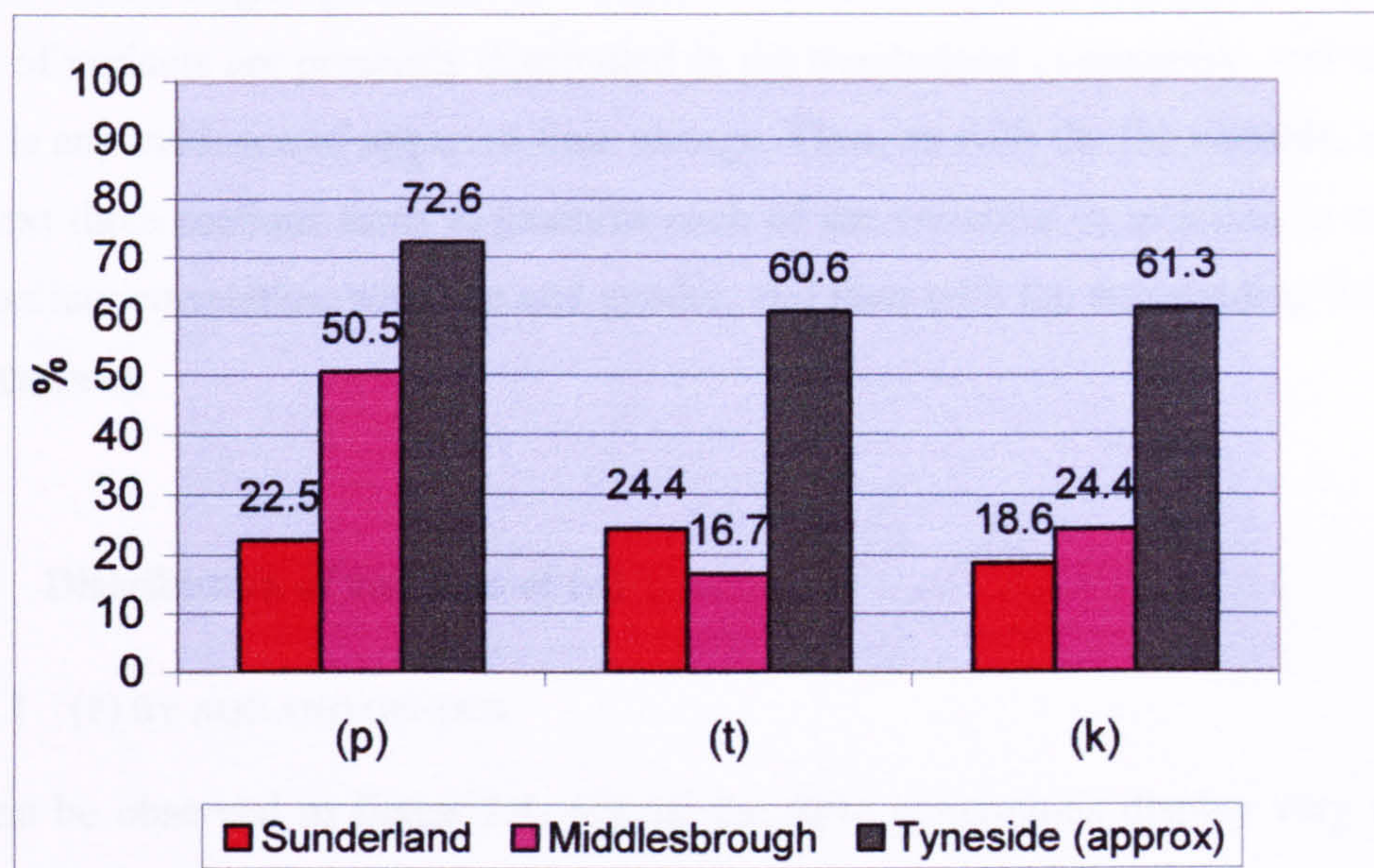


Figure 7.3: Percentage use of glottalised variants of (p t k) in Sunderland, Middlesbrough and Tyneside¹⁵

It is evident after comparing the overall distribution of variants of (p t k) in Sunderland, Tyneside and Middlesbrough that glottalised realisations of (p t k) are clearly far more favoured in TE than either fully released or glottalised realisations – or, at least, they were when the PVC data was collected. Glottal reinforcement is the traditional localised variant and, therefore, it is not surprising to find that it is far more used than the supra-local variant [ʔ]. In the light of this, we may have expected to find that other North-eastern varieties presented similar levels of glottalisation. However, Llamas' (2001) Middlesbrough data and the Sunderland data in this study reveal a remarkably lower frequency of glottalised realisations, which suggests that these variants are not as characteristic of these varieties as they are of TE. Previous studies into TE glottalisation, however, have indicated that glottally reinforced variants appear to be receding (Docherty *et al.* 1997). This, together with the fact that other

¹⁵ The Tyneside percentages used in this graph have been adapted from Docherty *et al.* (1997: 301).

non-localised variants like [ʔ] are becoming more and more widespread, could account for the lower levels in other North-eastern varieties such as Sunderland and Middlesbrough.

Examining the distribution of fully released, glottalised and glottalled variants in different speaker groups should provide a more accurate picture of how these three types of variants are presently distributed in the Sunderland community, and whether there is any evidence of apparent-time change. Thus, as with the (h) variable, each of the next three sections turns to examine each of the variables in isolation in order to discuss any correlation with age and gender, and then with the surrounding linguistic environment.

7.4.2 Distribution of variants of (p)

7.4.2.1 (P) BY AGE AND GENDER

As can be observed in figure 7.4, overall the three generations display very similar patterns of use of the variants of word-medial (p) (e.g. *happy*, *people*, *happen*, *grumpy*). In all three groups, [p] is by far the most favoured realisation, followed by [ʔp] and finally [ʔ]. The frequencies, though, vary slightly from one age group to another, and a chi-square test revealed that the patterns of use of the three generations are significantly different at $p = 0.003$. The middle-aged group displays the highest percentage of [p] (79.9%), followed by the younger one (70%) and, not far behind, the older group (68.3%). The difference between the middle-aged and younger generation (at $p = 0.02$) – and consequently, also the one between the middle-aged and older – is statistically significant. The glottalised variant remains quite stable across the three generations and, thus, no significant differences were found between the three groups. This realisation reaches its highest frequency amongst the younger speakers (25.6%), followed closely by the older group (23%) and the middle-aged (18.6%). Glottal replacement is, by contrast, rare, especially amongst the younger and middle-aged speakers who only use it on 4.4% and 1.5% of the cases, respectively. The older speakers (at 8.6%) use it twice as much as the young. Yet, the only

statistically significant difference is the one between the middle-aged and older speakers ($p = 0.001$).

In comparison with Llamas' Middlesbrough findings, the relative frequency of [ʔp] is remarkably lower across the board in Sunderland. In both studies, however, this variant is more frequently used by the younger and older speakers than the middle-aged, which would point to a stronger tendency by this group to avoid the locally marked variants and instead use the unmarked fully released one. Similar levels of [ʔ] are observed in Sunderland and Middlesbrough, albeit marginally higher in the Sunderland groups.

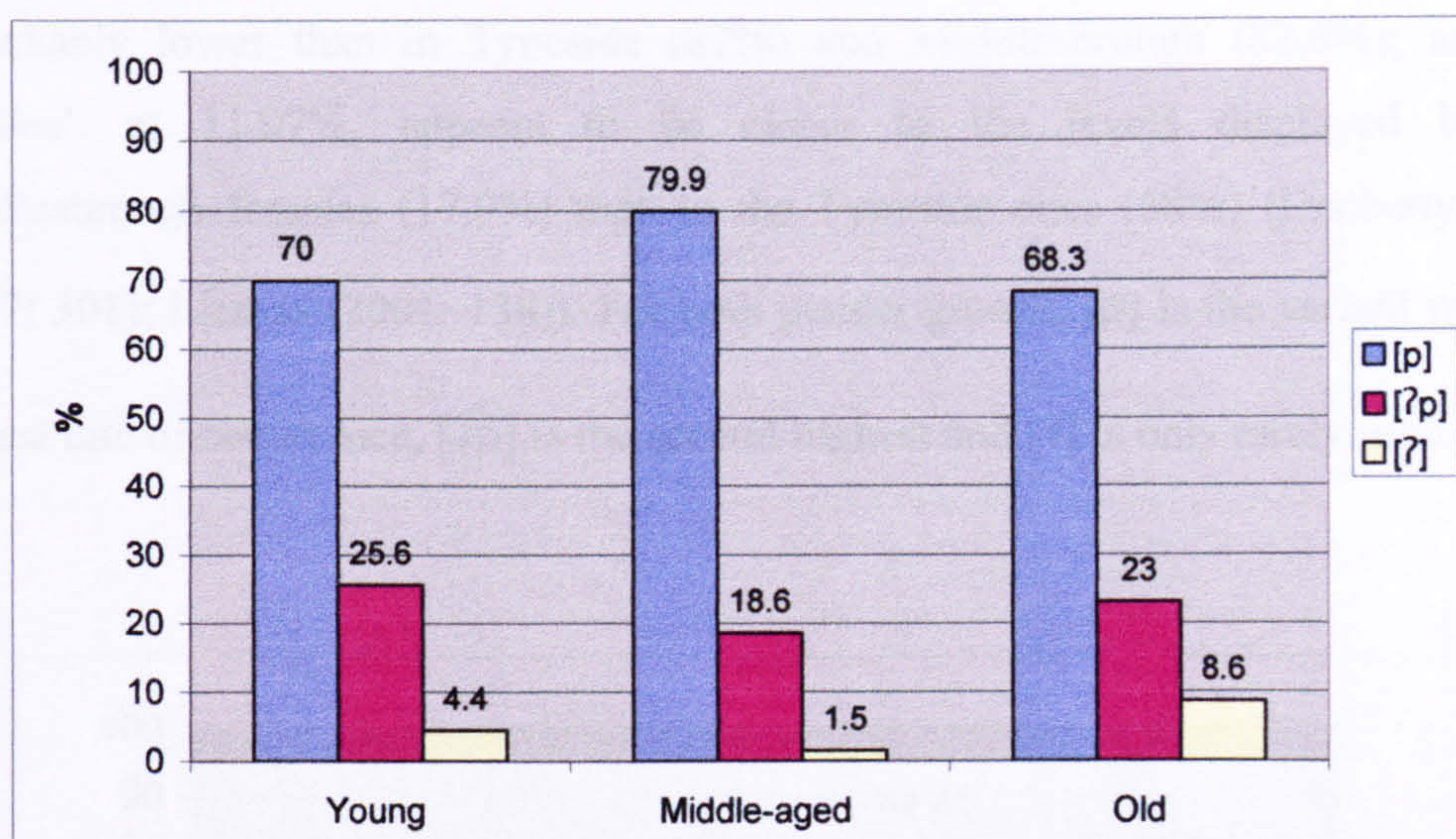


Figure 7.4: Percentage usage of variants of (p) by age

Age group	Total (p)	[p]		[ʔp]		[ʔ]	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
Young	203	142	70.0	52	25.6	9	4.4
Middle-aged	199	159	79.9	37	18.6	3	1.5
Older	243	166	68.3	56	23.0	21	8.6
Total	645	467	72.4	145	22.5	33	5.1

Table 7.3: Distribution of variants of (p) by age

In general, none of the three variants display a very marked age stratification in Sunderland. The overall trend in figure 7.4 shows no evidence of change over time.

However, whether this stability is maintained when usage of (p) is correlated with age and gender will be explored shortly. Gender, by contrast, shows a much stronger effect upon the distribution of the variants of (p). The distribution patterns of the variants by gender turned out to be significantly different ($\chi^2 = 44.244$, $df = 2$, $p = 0.0000$). As figure 7.5 shows, two of the variants, [p] and [$\widehat{?}p$], present statistically significant differences between the two gender groups.¹⁶ Whereas female speakers are much more likely to use the non-localised [p] than males – this is by far their most favoured realisation – the reverse is true for the localised [$\widehat{?}p$], which is used more frequently by the male speakers. Overall, usage of [$\widehat{?}p$] by the male speakers is remarkably lower than in Tyneside (87%) and Middlesbrough (82.6%); and the females', at 11.07%, appears to be closer to the levels displayed by the Middlesbrough females (17.9%) than to the Tyneside ones (58%) (Docherty *et al.* (1997: 301); Llamas (2001: 138)). For both gender groups, [p] is the variant with the highest rate of occurrence, [$\widehat{?}p$] is the second highest and [?] is only rarely used.

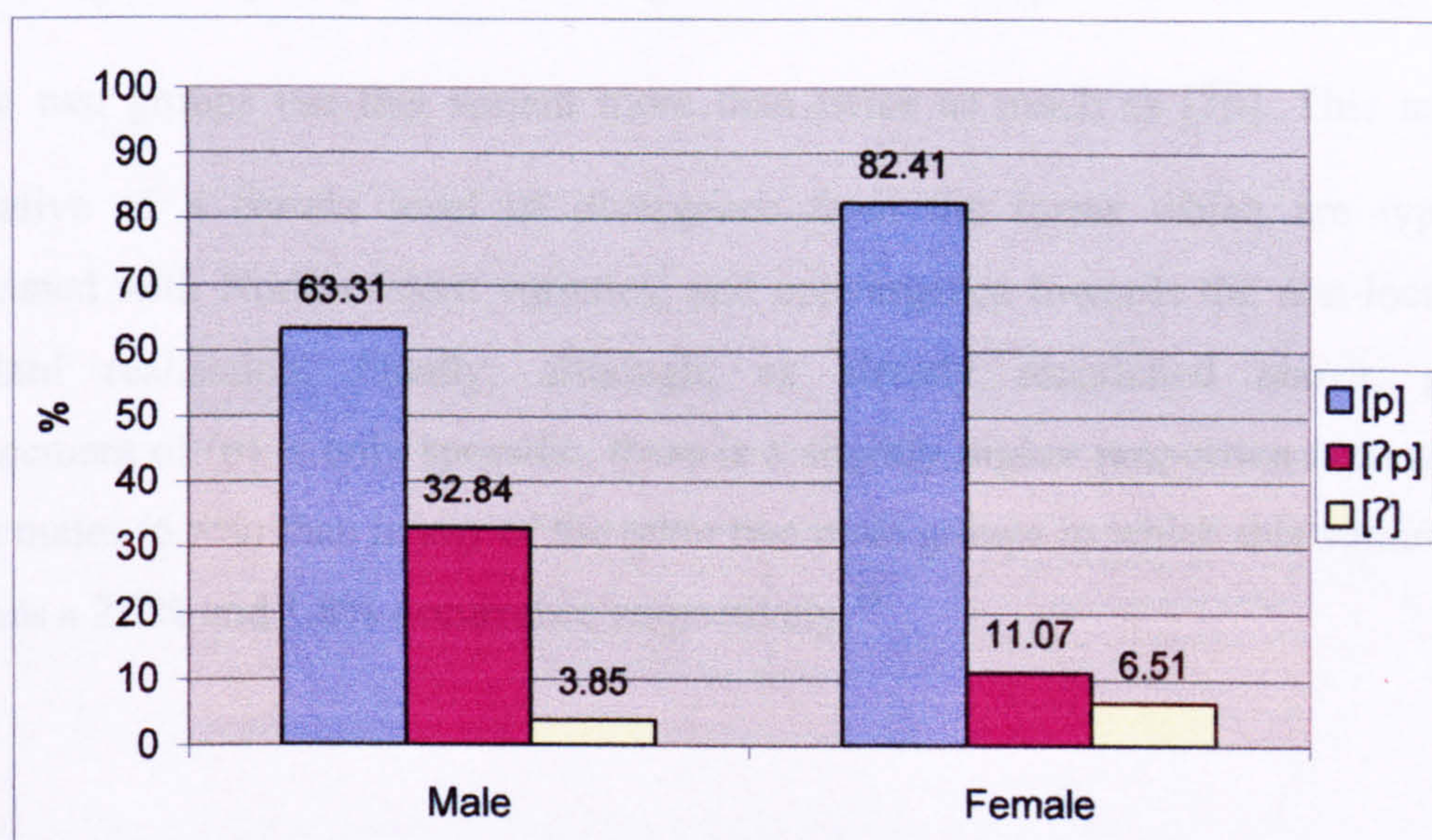


Figure 7.5: Percentage use of variants of (p) by gender

¹⁶ Chi-squared test comparing the two genders showed that [p] was significant at $p = 0.0000$ and [$\widehat{?}p$] at $p = 0.0000$)

These gender patterns are also evident when we examine the distribution of variants by both age and gender. Yet, not only that, some subtle changes over time are revealed when the three male and three female speaker groups are considered separately.

Figure 7.6 shows the patterns of use exhibited by the three male speaker groups. Just as in the distribution of variants by gender (figure 7.5), in all three age groups the ordering of variants from most to least frequent is $[p] > [\text{ʔp}] > [ʔ]$. Overall, the three patterns of usage are significantly different at $p = 0.04$, due to the different levels of usage displayed in each of the variants by each of the groups. To start with, the incidence of $[\text{ʔp}]$ appears to have experienced a small decrease over time as the older males are the ones with the highest percentage at 39.8% and then the rate drops to 27.5% in the middle-aged males. According to the chi-square tests conducted to compare the three groups, this decrease is statistically significant ($p = 0.05$). Then the rate of occurrence increases slightly in the younger males (30.6%), yet this group's usage does not significantly differ from either of the older groups. The decrease of $[\text{ʔp}]$, on the other hand, seems to have led to a statistically significant rise in the use of $[p]$ amongst the young and middle-aged males with respect to the older group.¹⁷

These two groups use this variant more than twice as much as $[\text{ʔp}]$. This may be indicative of a certain level of divergence from the forms which are typically associated with North-eastern varieties, and convergence towards the non-localised, standard realisation. Finally, although, as already mentioned above, glottal replacement of (p) is only sporadic, there is a slightly higher proportion amongst the older males (6.8%) than in any of the other two male groups in which this variant only reaches a 2.7% and 1.8% occurrence respectively.¹⁸

¹⁷ The difference between the older males and the other two groups is significant at $p \leq 0.04$. Yet, no significant difference was found between the middle-aged and the younger males.

¹⁸ Note, however, that the older males' proportion of glottal replacement is not significantly different from the proportion obtained in any of the other two groups.

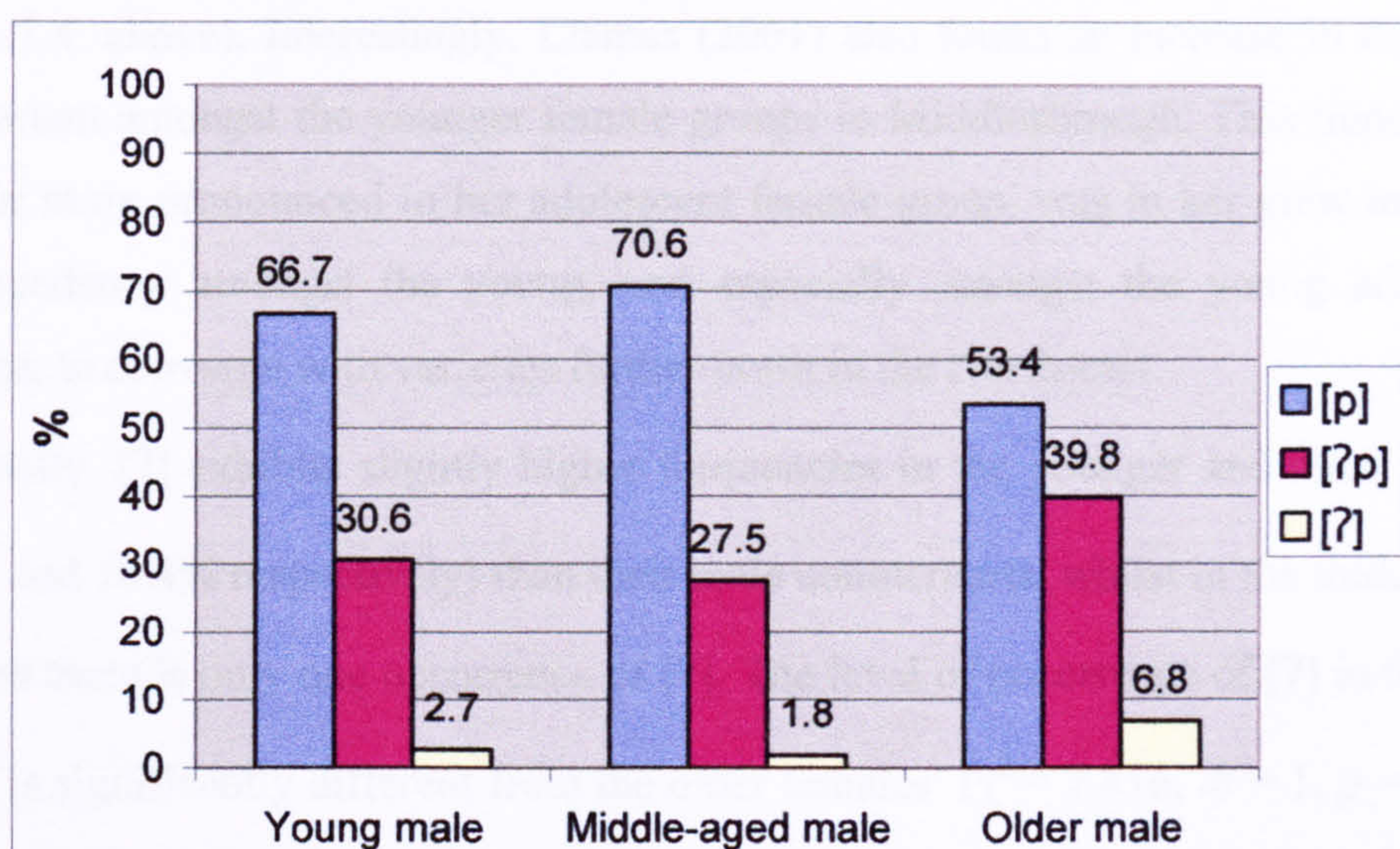


Figure 7.6: Percentage use of variants of (p) in male speaker groups

In the female groups, with the only exception of the older females, who marginally prefer [ʔ] to [ʔp], the order of the variants of (p) from most to least frequent is also [p] > [ʔp] > [ʔ] (figure 7.7). The three patterns of usage displayed by the three groups are significantly different from one another ($\chi^2 = 17.129$, $df = 4$, $p = 0.002$). All three groups overwhelmingly favour [p], with the middle-aged using it in 91.1% of the cases, then the older females with a rate of 82.4% and, finally, the younger ones 73.9%. The increase exhibited by the middle-aged with respect to the older females is not statistically significant, yet the decrease shown by the younger females with respect to the middle group turned out to be highly significant at $p = 0.002$.¹⁹ In contrast with the male speakers, however, [ʔp], which only reaches a frequency of 7.8% and 7.2% in the middle-aged and older females respectively, appears to have undergone a statistically significant increase in the younger female group, who, at 19.6%, use it more than twice as much as the former two.²⁰ This increase, counteracted by the male decrease in the use of [ʔp], would account for the fact that, overall, the youngest generation displays a similar level of [ʔp] to the older ones (see

¹⁹ Their use of the fully released variant did not significantly differ from the older females'.

²⁰ The younger females' usage of [ʔp] significantly differed from that of the other two female groups at $p \leq 0.02$.

figure 7.4, above). Interestingly, Llamas (2001) also found an increase in the use of this variant amongst the younger female groups in Middlesbrough. This trend, which was far more pronounced in her adolescent female group, was in her view indicative of a tendency amongst the young, and especially amongst the young adolescent females, to converge with varieties further north in the North-east.

Finally, [ʔ] exhibits slightly higher frequencies in the younger and older females (6.5% and 10.4% respectively) than their male counterparts, whilst in the middle-aged females there is only one occurrence of [ʔ]. The level of occurrence of [ʔ] in the latter group is significantly different from the older females' ($\chi^2 = 7.416$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.006$). However, the comparison of the middle group to the younger one is just above the level of significance ($p = 0.058$). No significant difference was found between the older and younger females, though.

The following section aims to identify any existing effect that linguistic context may have upon the realisation of the voiceless plosive.

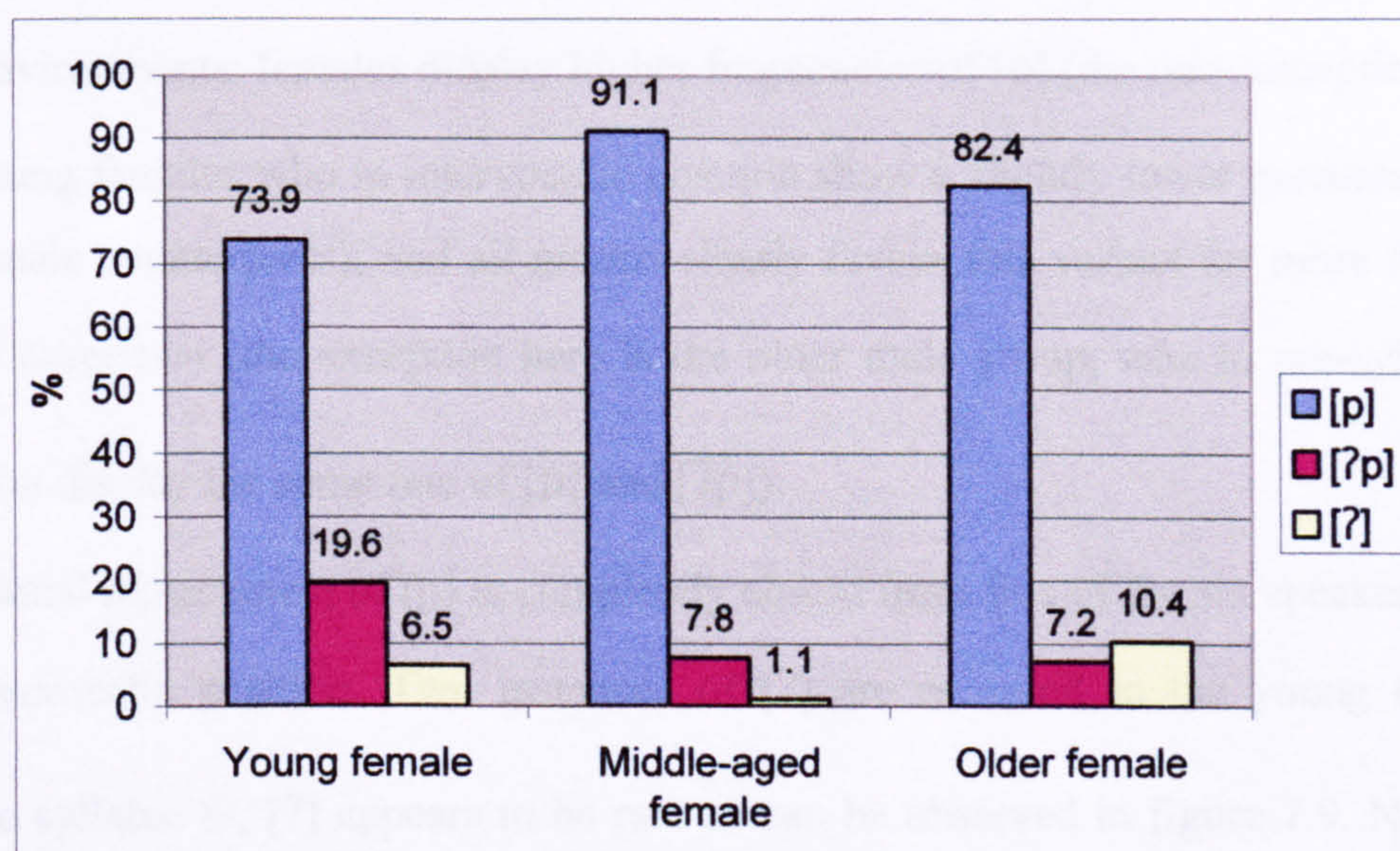


Figure 7.7: Percentage use of variants of (p) in female speaker groups

7.4.2.2 WORD-MEDIAL (P) BY CONTEXT

As table 7.4 shows, the vast majority of the 645 tokens of word-medial (p) produced were located either in intervocalic position (e.g. *happy*) or before a syllabic /l/ (e.g.

people). 65 tokens of (p) before a syllabic nasal (e.g. *happen*) and 27 where the stop was preceded by a nasal and followed by a vowel (e.g. *grumpy*) were also found in the sample. Given the low number of tokens of the latter environment, the distribution of variants of (p) will only be examined in the three most frequent environments: (i) intervocalic, (ii) before syllabic /l/ and (iii) before a syllabic nasal.

	[V_V]	[_ syllabic l]	[_ nasal]	[nasal _ V]
Number of tokens (p) (Total: 645)	275	278	65	27

Table 7.4: Number of tokens of word-medial (p)

Figures 7.8 and 7.9 show the distribution of variants by age and gender in intervocalic position and before syllabic /l/ respectively. As indicated in the previous section, [p] was, by far, the most frequently used one in all six speaker groups,²¹ and more so in the female groups than amongst the male ones. The same tendency emerges in these two environments: females display higher frequencies of [p] (the only exception being the young females who in intervocalic position show a slightly lower percentage than their male counterparts); and all groups clearly favour this variant far more than any of the other two (the exception here is the older male group, who in pre-syllabic /l/ position display the same rate of [p] and [ʔp]).

Glottal replacement of (p) is completely absent from five of the six speaker groups in intervocalic position. Two instances of [ʔ] are recorded in the young females. Before syllabic /l/, [ʔ] appears to be rare as can be observed in figure 7.9. Not more than three instances were found in any of the groups: three were produced by the younger males, two by the younger females, one by each of the older groups and none by the middle-aged groups.

²¹ See figures 7.6 and 7.7 in section 7.4.2.1.

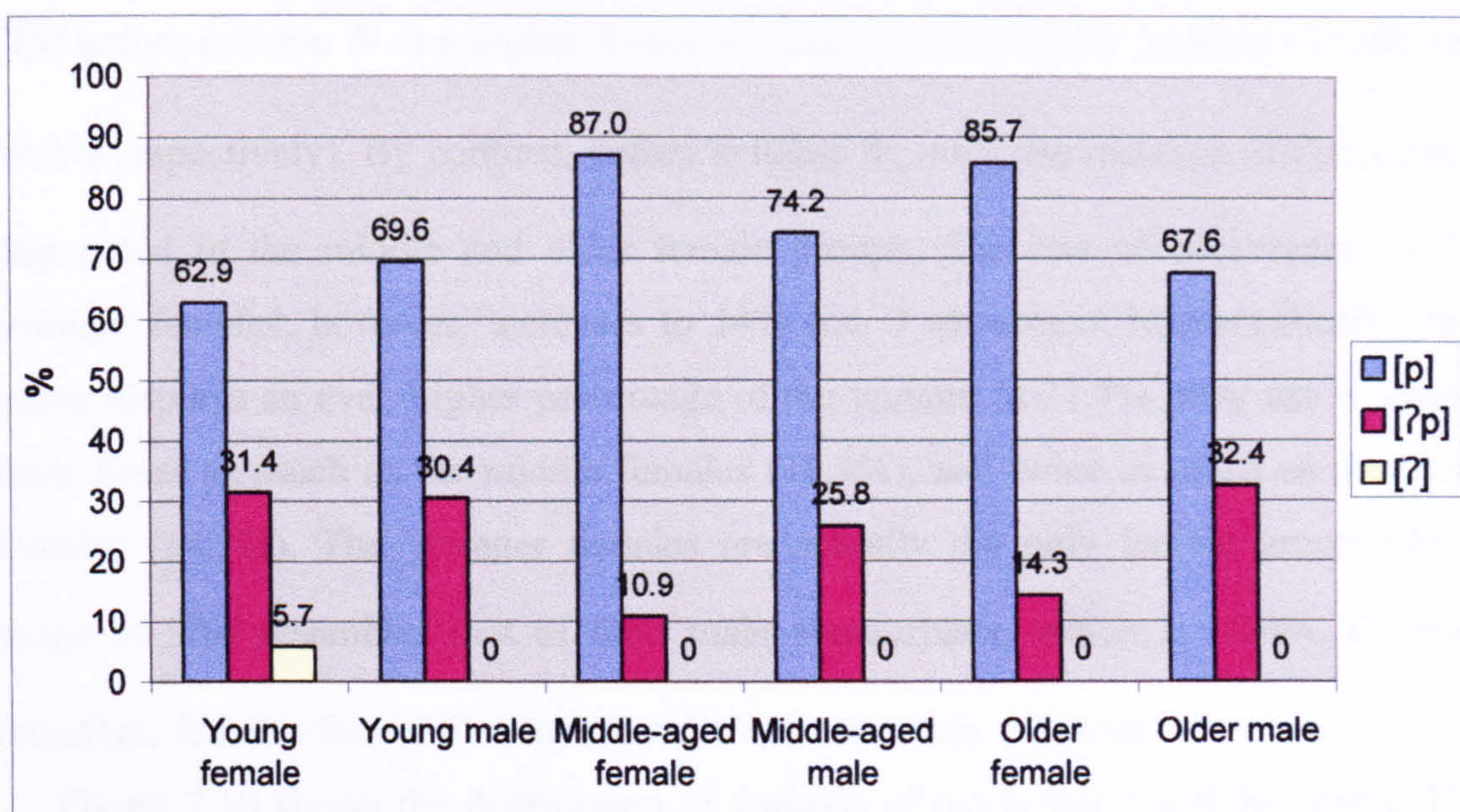


Figure 7.8: Distribution of variants of (p) in intervocalic position

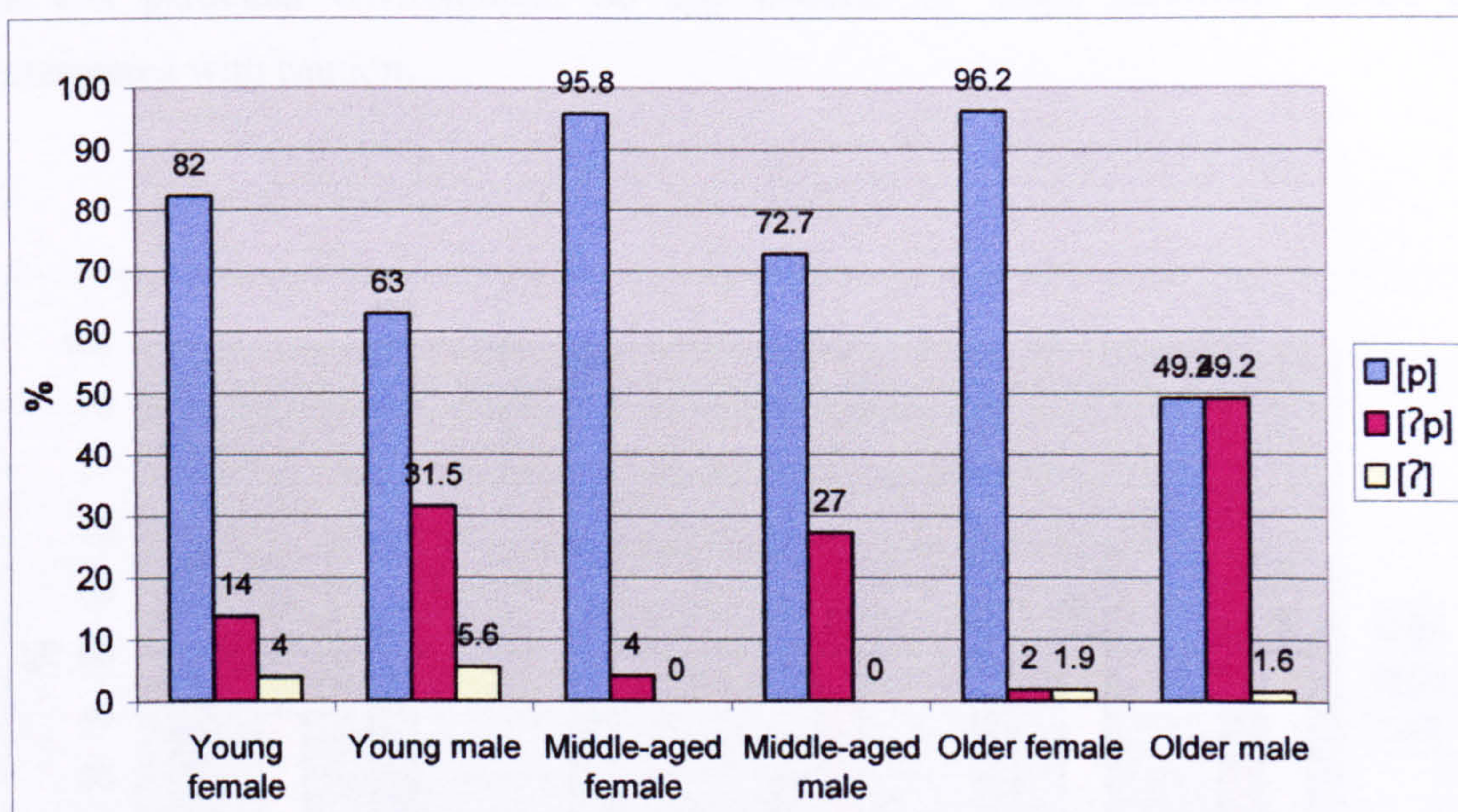


Figure 7.9: Distribution of variants of (p) before syllabic //

Like [p], the glottally reinforced variant exhibits a sharp gender stratification in both linguistic environments. This realisation is noticeably more favoured by the male than the female groups, especially before syllabic //. The young and middle males show similar levels of glottal reinforcement in both positions. However, the older males use

[ʔp] before syllabic /l/ at a higher frequency than in intervocalic position (32.4% and 49.2% respectively). By contrast, before syllabic /l/, only one instance of this variant was noted in the middle and older female groups. The rate of occurrence in the younger females, however, increases to 14% (i.e. 7 instances). Intervocalically, this group displays an even higher percentage of the variant: at 31.5%, they use it almost three times as much as the middle females (10.9%), and twice as much as the older females (14.3%). The younger females are actually the only female group whose usage of [ʔp] resembles that of their male counterparts, which is 30.4%. Overall, therefore, females favour this variant more in intervocalic position.

Figure 7.10 shows the distribution of variants of (p) before a syllabic nasal. The emerging trends, however, are based upon 65 tokens only and, as shown in table 7.5, some of the speaker groups did not produce more than five tokens of word-medial (p) in this particular environment. So any patterns of usage identified should be interpreted with caution.

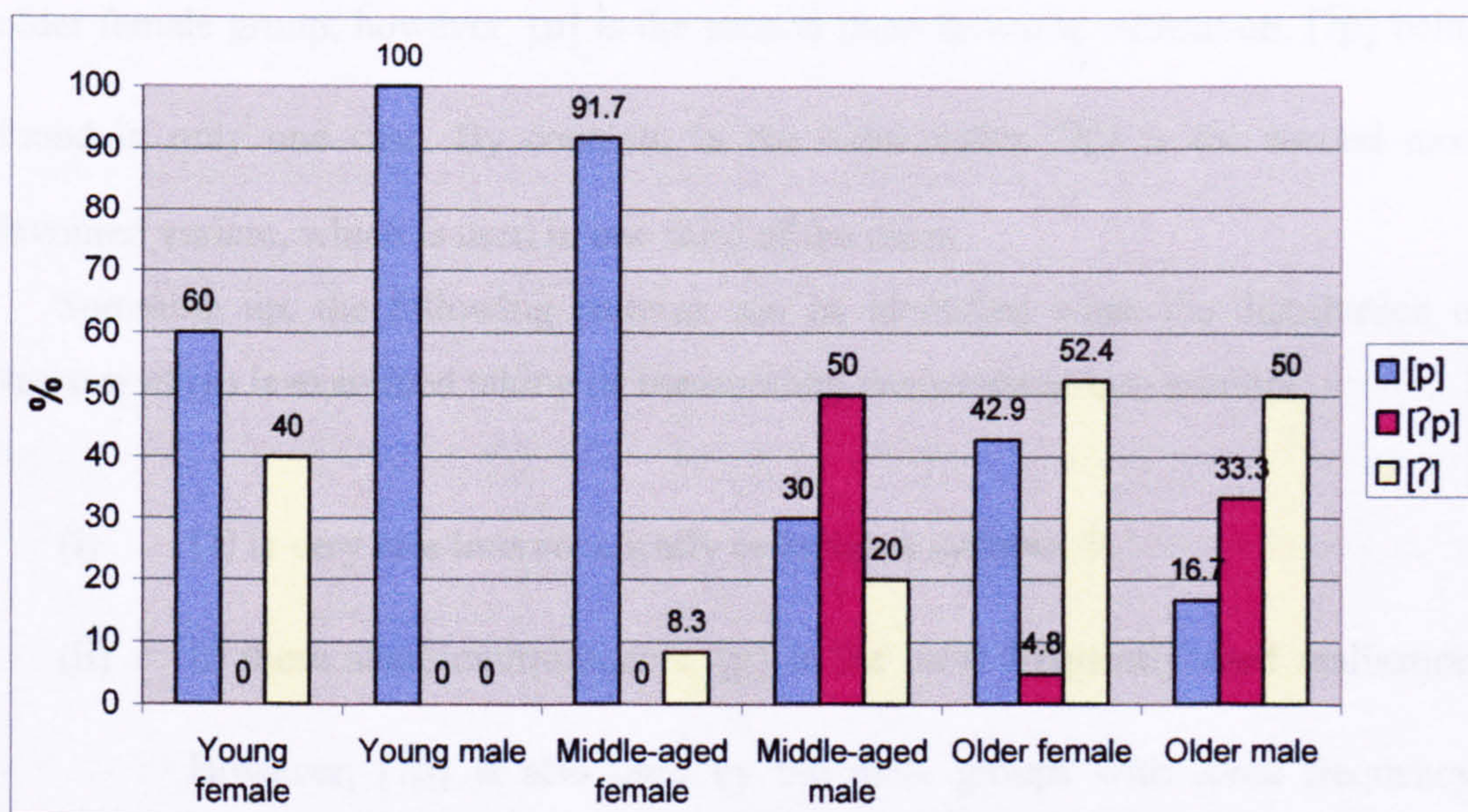


Figure 7.10: Distribution of variants of (p) before nasal

Speaker group	Total number of tokens
Young female	5
Young male	5
Middle-aged female	12
Middle-aged male	10
Older female	21
Older male	12
Total	65

Table 7.5: Number of tokens of (p) before a syllabic nasal per speaker group

Unlike in any of the two previously examined environments, [p] is the majority variant only in the younger females, the younger males and the middle females. The latter two use it almost categorically, and there is no instance of [ʔp] in any of these three groups. Then, whilst the middle-aged males show a preference for [ʔp] in this environment, [ʔ] is the most frequently used variant in the two older groups. In the older female group, however, [p] is the second most favoured realisation, [ʔp] being found in only one case. By contrast, in the older males [ʔp] is the second most favoured variant, which is used in one third of the cases.

Summing up, the following patterns can be identified when the distribution of variants of (p) is examined taking its surrounding environment into account:

- (i) [ʔ] is very rare intervocally or before a syllabic //.
- (ii) In these same environments, [p] is the most frequently used realisation. However, [ʔp] is also used by the male groups with some frequency, whilst the females (with the exception of the younger ones) rarely use it.
- (iii) The younger females display an increase of [ʔp] both intervocally and before a syllabic //.

- (iv) [ʔp] is only used by the middle and older males before a syllabic nasal. In this position, though, the older groups show a preference for [ʔ]

We now turn to the findings of word-medial (t) (e.g. *water, little, bottom, winter, Baltic*).

7.4.3 Distribution of variants of (t)

7.4.3.1 (T) BY AGE AND GENDER

Figure 7.11 shows the distribution patterns of [t], [ʔt] and [ʔ] in each of the three age groups. In line with trends identified in other varieties across Britain, over time there seems to have been a steady increase in the usage of [ʔ], whereby this variant has gone from being used in 35.5% of the cases by the older speakers to 63.9% by the younger speakers. The frequency difference between the three generations proved to be highly significant at $p < 0.0000$. [ʔ] is, by far, the most favoured realisation of (t) amongst the youngest generation, whose usage of the localised [ʔt] variant is not nearly half as frequent (23.4%), and [t] only reaches 12.6%.

By contrast, [ʔt] seems to have experienced a slight decrease over time, yet not as pronounced as that found in Middlesbrough (Llamas 2001: 143). The older generation presents the highest usage of this variant, 30% – albeit they seem to use it almost as frequently as [ʔ] (35.5%) and [t] (34.8%). It is then the younger group that has the second highest rate of [ʔt] (23.4%), followed closely by the middle-aged (19.6%). As in the case of /h/-dropping, the middle-aged speakers score slightly lower in the use of the localised variant than the younger ones, which once again could be attributed to age-grading. Whilst there is a significant effect of age upon the usage of this variant (at $p = 0.015$), comparisons between the three groups revealed that only the difference between the older and middle-aged speakers (i.e. the groups with the highest and

lowest levels of use) is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 8135$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.004$). The younger speaker groups do not differ significantly from any of the other two.

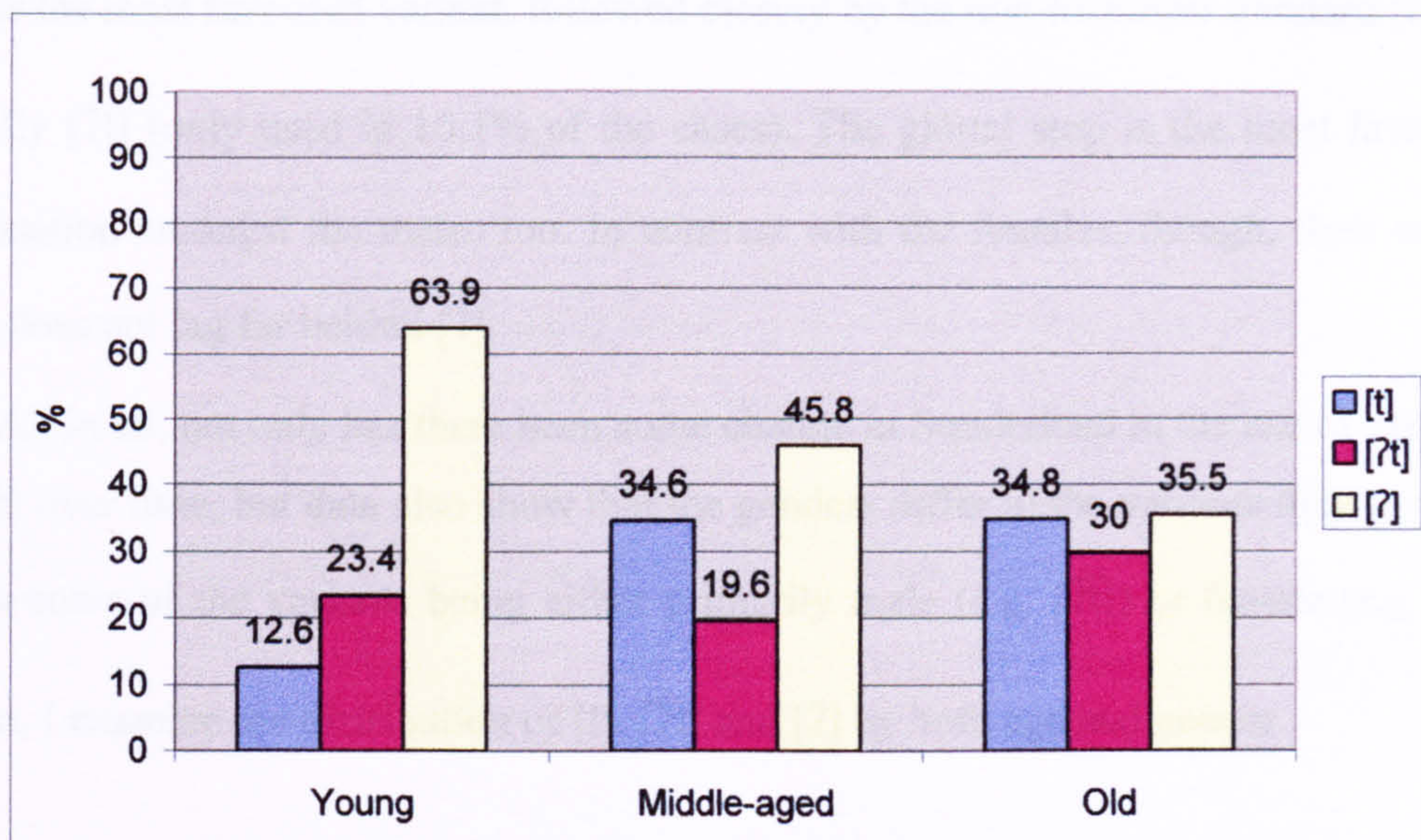


Figure 7.11: Percentage use of variants of (t) by age

It is interesting to find that the supra-local variant, [ʔ], is more favoured across the board than the localised north-eastern [ʔt], especially amongst the younger and the middle-aged generation.²² This suggests that SundE is following the geographical diffusion trends that are affecting varieties across the country.

There is also a strong effect of gender upon the distribution of variants of (t) (figure 7.12). The patterns of usage of the three different variants of the male and female speakers are significantly different ($\chi^2 = 166.3$ $df = 2$, $p < 0.0000$). However, this difference is not sustained in the glottal stop, which shows similar frequencies of use by both genders, albeit slightly higher in the females (49%) than the males (46.8%) – as was the case in the Middlesbrough and Tyneside studies. Yet, as in the Middlesbrough study, [ʔ] is much higher in Sunderland than in Tyneside. The difference identified in Sunderland between the male and the female patterns lies in the clearly gendered distribution of the other two variants. Whereas [ʔt] is far more favoured by males than females ($\chi^2 = 88.1$ $df = 1$, $p < 0.0000$), exactly the opposite

²² Notice, though, that [t] is only 0.7% below [ʔt] in the older generation.

pattern emerges in the fully released variant: a significantly higher amount of [t] is used by females than males ($\chi^2 = 68.4$ $df = 1$, $p < 0.0000$). Thus, in the female group, [ʔ] is the most favoured variant, followed closely by the non-localised standard [t] and finally [ʔt] (only used in 10.1% of the cases). The glottal stop is the most favoured realisation amongst the males too. In contrast with the females, though, their use of [ʔt] does not lag far behind [ʔ].

All in all, not only has there been some change in Sunderland in the use of variants of (t) over time, but data also show that the genders differ in the variants they favour, with some of the variants being either primarily male (e.g. [ʔt]) or female (e.g. [t]).

Next, I examine the distribution of [t], [ʔt] and [ʔ] by both age and gender.

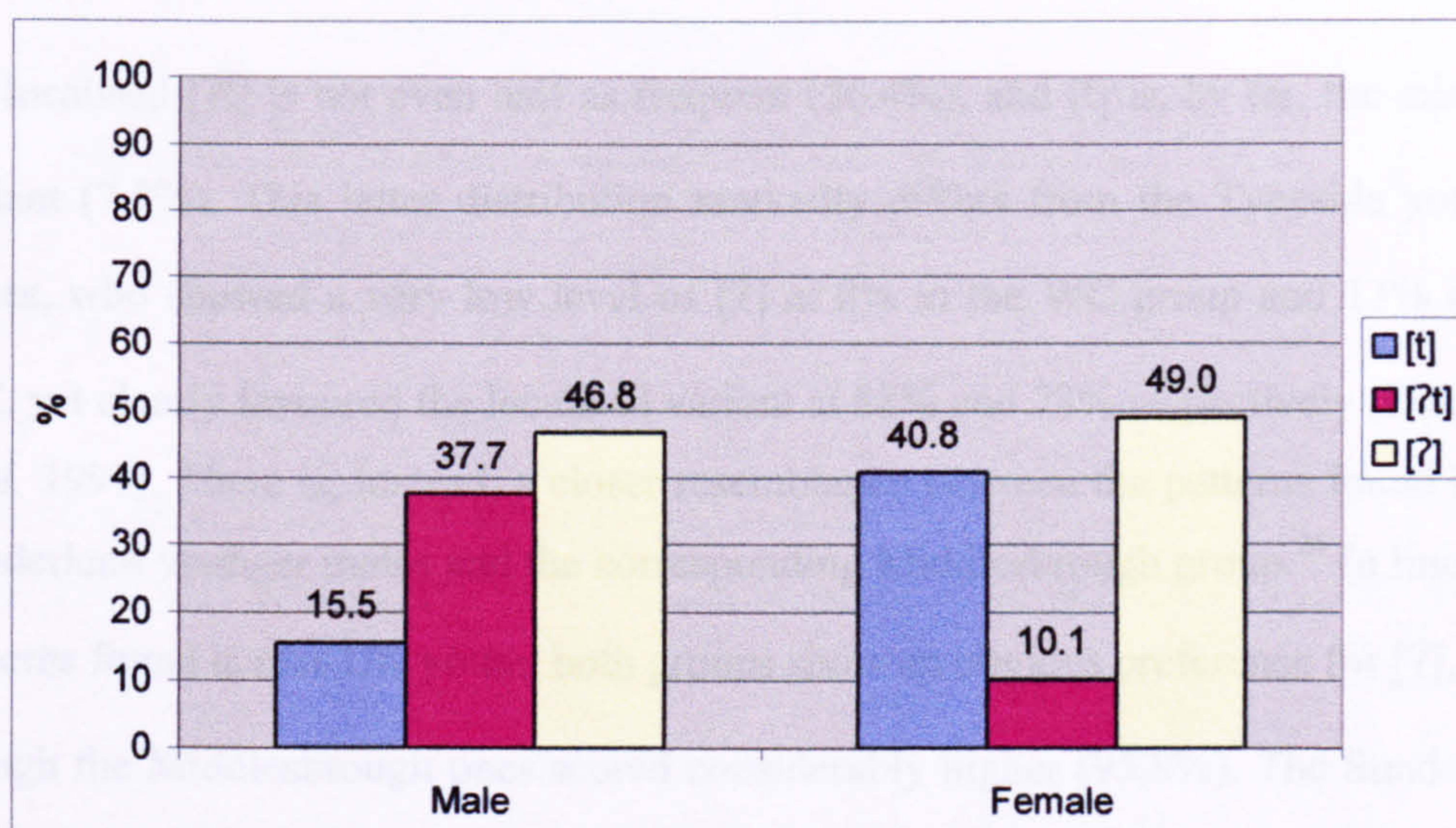


Figure 7.12: Percentage use of variants of (t) by gender

As figure 7.13 shows, three significantly different patterns of use emerged in the three male speaker groups ($\chi^2 = 58.463$, $df = 4$, $p < 0.0000$). Firstly, the older Sunderland males show a clear preference for the localised [ʔt], which they use in over half of the tokens. However, this speaker group use the glottalised variant comparatively less

than either their Tyneside or Middlesbrough counterparts.²³ The second most used realisation is [ʔ] (38.7%), which instead is far more frequent than in any of the other two North-eastern varieties, where [ʔ] did not reach even 15% usage in this group. At 8.7%, the incidence of [t] amongst the Sunderland older males is similar to that of their TE or MbE counterparts. Secondly, the distribution of variants amongst the middle-aged males is rather equally divided, with [ʔ] being used slightly more than [ʔ̥t], and [t] following close behind: 37.3%, 33.3% and 29.3% respectively. In the Middlesbrough study,²⁴ the use of [ʔ] by this same speaker group was 10% higher (which may suggest that they were ahead of the Sunderland speakers in the adoption of this non-localised variant), whilst the other two variables were used slightly less.²⁵ Finally, the younger males reveal a very clear preference for [ʔ] (65.7%). Their use of the localised [ʔ̥t] is not even half as frequent (26.4%), and [t] is, by far, the minority variant (7.9%). This latter distribution markedly differs from the Tyneside younger males, who showed a very low level of [ʔ] at 8% in the WC group and 13% in the MC, yet clearly favoured the localised variant at 88% and 73% respectively (Docherty *et al.* 1997). There is, instead, a closer resemblance between the patterns found in the Sunderland younger males and the corresponding Middlesbrough group.²⁶ In line with patterns found across UK youth, both groups show an obvious preference for [ʔ], even though the Middlesbrough ones scored considerably higher (95.8%). The Sunderland younger males, in comparison, use [ʔ̥t] a lot more than the Middlesbrough counterparts, whose use of this variant was extremely rare (2.5%). These patterns noted in the Tyneside, Sunderland and Middlesbrough varieties seem to suggest that,

²³ In Tyneside, [ʔ̥t] was used in 74% of the cases by the WC older males and 91% by the MC ones (Docherty *et al.* 1997) and in Middlesbrough a frequency of 75.8% was recorded (Llamas 2001).

²⁴ Note that in the PVC corpus no middle-aged speakers were included in the population sample.

²⁵ 25% in the case of [t] and 27.5 % [ʔ̥t] (Llamas 2001).

²⁶ It should be remembered here that there were two young groups in Llamas' (2001) Middlesbrough study, the young adult males and the adolescent males. For the purpose of this comparison I will be referring to Llamas' young adult group as they are closer in age to the younger Sunderland speakers.

whilst [ʔt] decreases as the distance from the North-eastern ‘capital’ city increases, usage of [ʔ] increases.

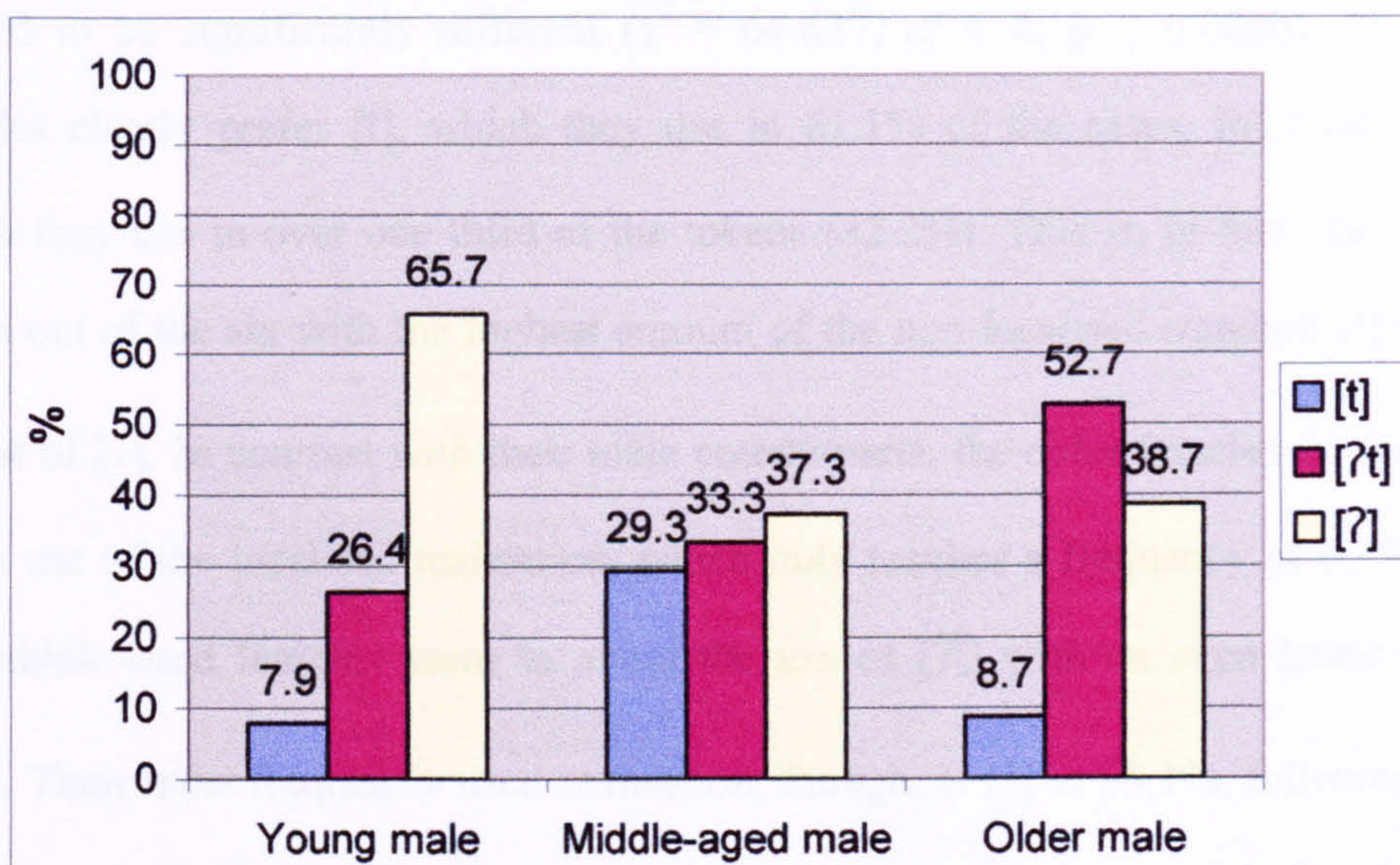


Figure 7.13: Percentage use of variants of (t) in male speakers

In general, the distribution of variants of (t) in the three Sunderland male speaker groups provides evidence of an increase in the use of [ʔ]. Whilst the older and middle-aged employ this variant at almost equal rates (see figure 7.13), it is in the younger male group that this increase makes itself manifest. They are more likely to employ this realisation than any of the other two groups. The comparison of the young males to the other two male groups is highly statistically significant at $p < 0.0000$. Conversely, [ʔt] seems to show a progressive decrease in its degree of occurrence. The most noticeable decrease takes place between the older and middle aged, with the latter using it almost 20% less than the former. This difference in the frequency of use is statistically significant ($\chi^2 = 11.438$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.001$). Then, the rate of [ʔt] in the younger males is about 7% lower than the middle-aged males'.²⁷ The fully-released variant reaches its highest frequency in the middle-aged group (29.3%). Its occurrence

²⁷ This was not a significant difference ($p = 0.2$).

in the younger and older groups is, by contrast, rare, scoring in both groups less than 9%.

Completely different distribution patterns are exhibited by the three female groups (figure 7.14). As in the male speaker groups, the patterns of the three female groups proved to be significantly different ($\chi^2 = 64.627$, $df = 4$, $p = 0.0000$). The older females clearly prefer [t], which they use in 61.1% of the cases, followed by [ʔ], which they use in over one third of the tokens (32.2%). This is, in fact, the speaker group out of the six with the highest amount of the non-localised standard [t] and the lowest of [ʔ]. In contrast with their male counterparts, the older females do not make much use of the localised realisation, which only reaches a frequency of 6.7%. Also the middle-aged females seem to avoid the use of [ʔ̠] with an even lower rate of 4.4%. Their most frequently used realisation, though, is [ʔ] at 55.1%, followed by [t] (40.4%). The glottal stop is the most favoured realisation in the younger female group too, with an even higher rate of occurrence of 62%, which approximates that of the younger males. Surprisingly, however, in stark contrast with the low percentage of [ʔ̠] in the other two female groups, the younger females display a 20.2% usage of this variant, 2.4% higher than their percentage use of [t]. The difference between the level of [ʔ̠] used by the young females and the older females is statistically significant at $p = 0.001$.²⁸

Amongst the female groups, therefore, we can also observe a considerable increase in the use of [ʔ] over time. Nevertheless, unlike in the male speakers, this increase is more pronounced between the older and middle-aged females (rising from 32.2% in the former to 55.1% in the latter) than between the middle-aged and the younger (the latter using [ʔ] 6.9% more than the former). Only the increase between the older and middle-aged females was found to be highly significant ($\chi^2 = 15.242$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.00009$). Although the occurrence of [ʔ] appears to have continued

²⁸ Given that the middle-aged females use the glottalised variant at a slightly lower rate than the older females (4.4%), we can expect that the difference between the middle-aged and the younger ones will be slightly more significant.

increasing in the younger generations, the younger females do not show a significantly higher proportion of [ʔ] than the middle-aged. Interestingly, the middle-aged males display a significantly lower usage rate than the females ($\chi^2 = 9.118$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.003$), yet almost the same as that of the older males. This suggests that in Sunderland the middle female group could actually have been the one that prompted this sudden increase of the variant, which, for a while now, has been spreading across British English accents, and subsequent generations would have then followed their lead.

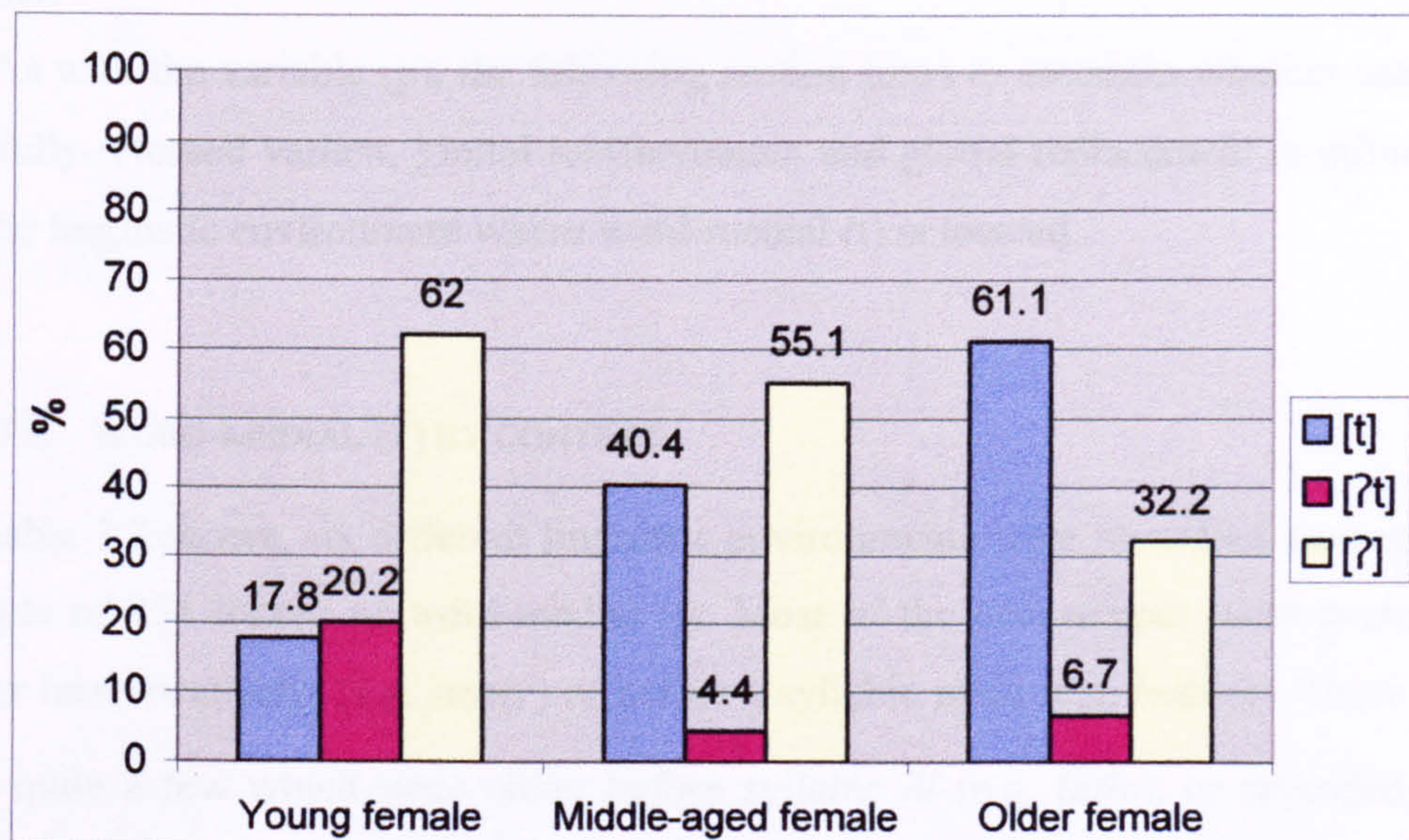


Figure 7.14: Percentage use of variants of (t) in female speakers

Speaker group	Total (p)	[t]		[ʔt]		[ʔ]	
		N	%	N	%	N	%
YF	129	23	17.8	26	20.2	80	62.0
MF	136	55	40.4	6	4.4	75	55.1
OF	149	91	61.1	10	6.7	48	32.2
YM	140	11	7.9	37	26.4	92	65.7
MM	150	44	29.3	50	33.3	56	37.3
OM	150	13	8.7	79	52.7	58	38.7
Total	854	237	27.8	208	24.4	409	47.2

Table 7.6: Percentage use of variants of (t) by age and gender

Exactly the converse trend emerges with [t], which has experienced a dramatic decrease across the female generations, to the point that the proportions of usage of all three groups are significantly different from one another (at $p \leq 0.001$). The use of [ʔ] appears to have risen at the expense of the standard variant, to the point where their patterns of use have simply reversed: that is, whereas [t] is the most frequently used variant by the older females and the least used by the younger ones, [ʔ] is the preferred realisation of the latter and used to a significantly lower degree by the former.

As with the variable (p), the following section turns to ascertain whether usage of the fully-released variant, glottal reinforcement and glottal replacement is influenced by the linguistic environment where word-medial (t) is located.

7.4.3.2 WORD-MEDIAL (T) BY CONTEXT

As table 7.7 shows, six different linguistic environments were identified amongst the sample of 854 tokens of word-medial (t). Most of the occurrences were positioned either intervocalically (e.g. *water*) or before a syllabic nasal (e.g. *bottom*). There were also quite a few which were either before syllabic // (e.g. *little*), or preceded by a nasal and followed by a vowel (e.g. *winter*). Only 13 and 11 tokens, respectively, of (t) preceded or followed by // (e.g. *Baltic*) were noted in the sample, which makes it impossible to reliably identify patterns of usage.

	[V_V]	[_ syllabic l]	[_ nasal]	[nasal _ V]	[L _ V]	[V _ L]
Number of tokens (t) (Total: 854)	389	94	206	141	13	11

Table 7.7: Number of tokens of word-medial (t)

Interestingly, intervocalic (t) shows the highest levels of [ʔt]. In this context (figure 7.15), it is the most favoured realisation of the older and middle male groups (75%

and 42.5% respectively) and, surprisingly, of the younger females (at 41.1%). The younger males use it at almost the same levels as the middle males and the younger females, yet they use [ʔ] as much as [ʔt]. The middle and older females, by contrast, display the lowest occurrence rates. So the older males show a markedly higher proportion of [ʔt] in this context than any of the other groups.

In spite of the stigma attached to the use of [ʔ] in intervocalic position, an increase is noted especially from the older to the middle-aged generations. However, it is the middle females who seem to have led this change as their percentage use is about 15% higher than that of their male counterparts. Then, the increase in the younger generation is only small, with the younger females displaying a percentage use similar to the middle-age females, whilst the younger males use it marginally more frequently.

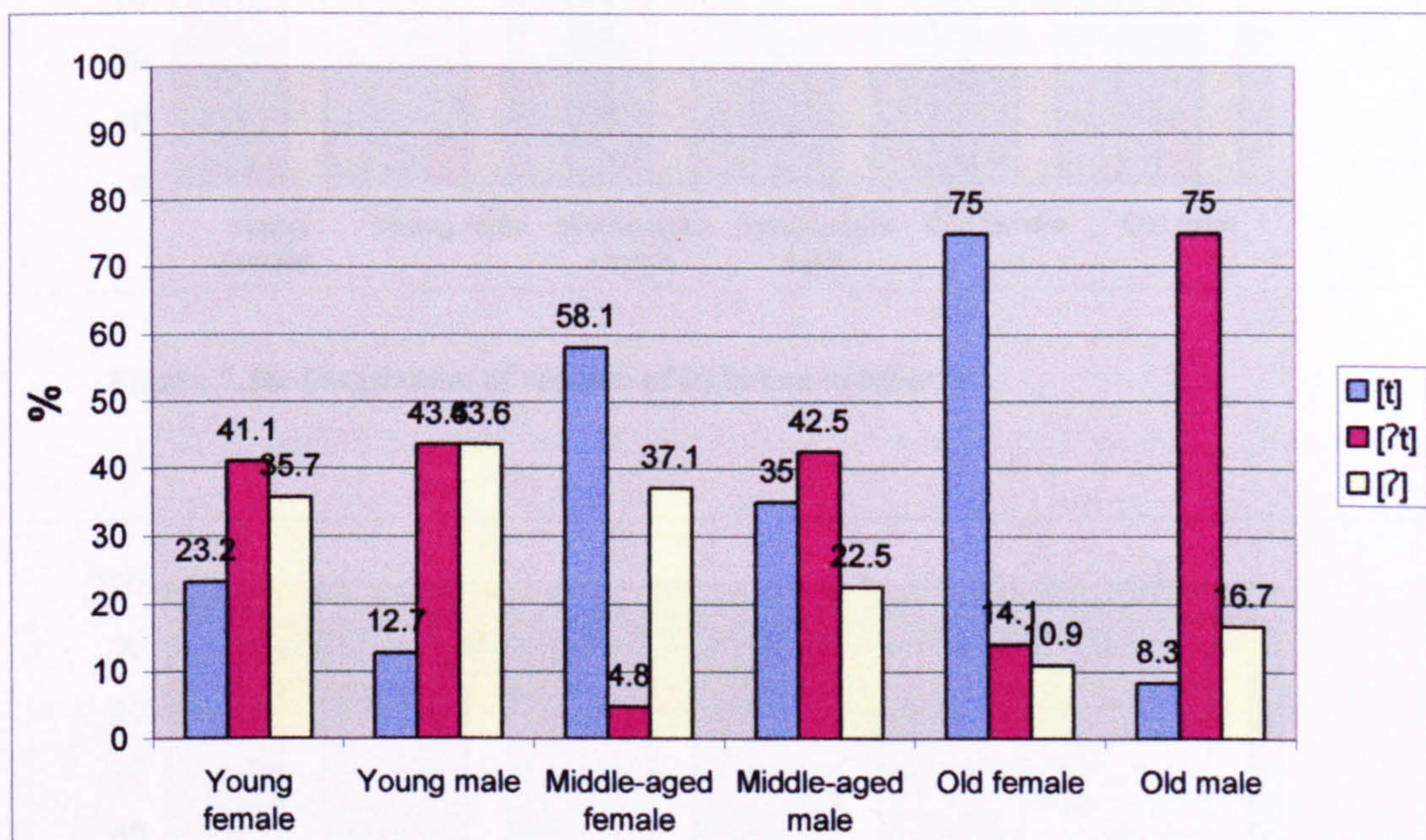


Figure 7.15: Distribution of variants of (t) in intervocalic position

Before syllabic /l/ (figure 7.16), [ʔ] is the most favoured variant across the board, and, again, its frequency increases in the younger and middle-aged generations. Only one occurrence of [ʔt] was recorded in the younger males and females and the older males, and none at all in the other groups.

Before a syllabic nasal, [ʔ] is also the most frequent realisation, as can be observed in figure 7.17. The older males and females and the middle females show higher levels of [ʔ] in this context than before syllabic /l/. As a consequence, [ʔt] and [t] display comparatively low rates which do not exceed 18% – the only exception being the older females who use [t] in almost one third of their tokens.

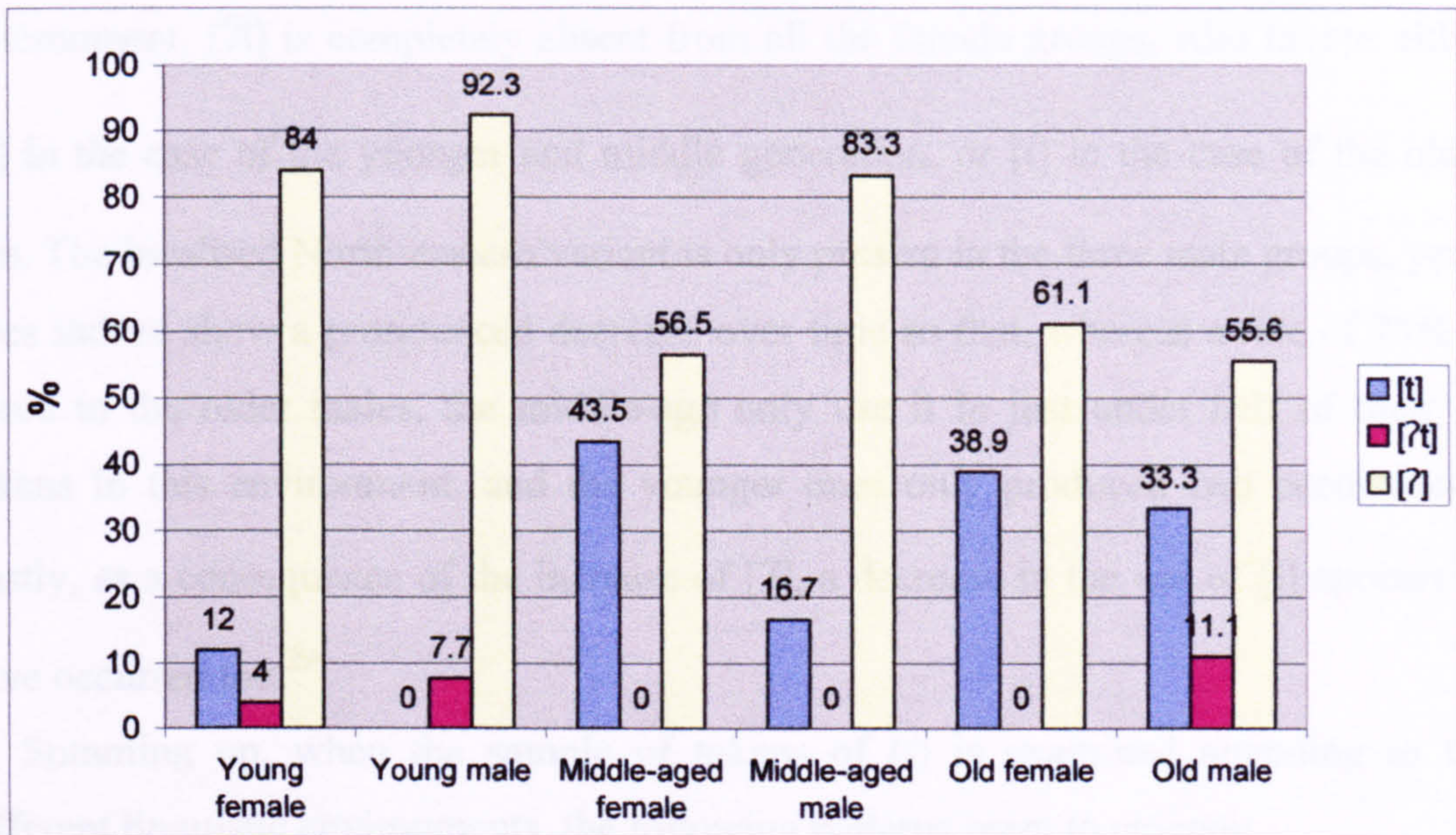


Figure 7.16: Distribution of variants of (t) before syllabic /l/

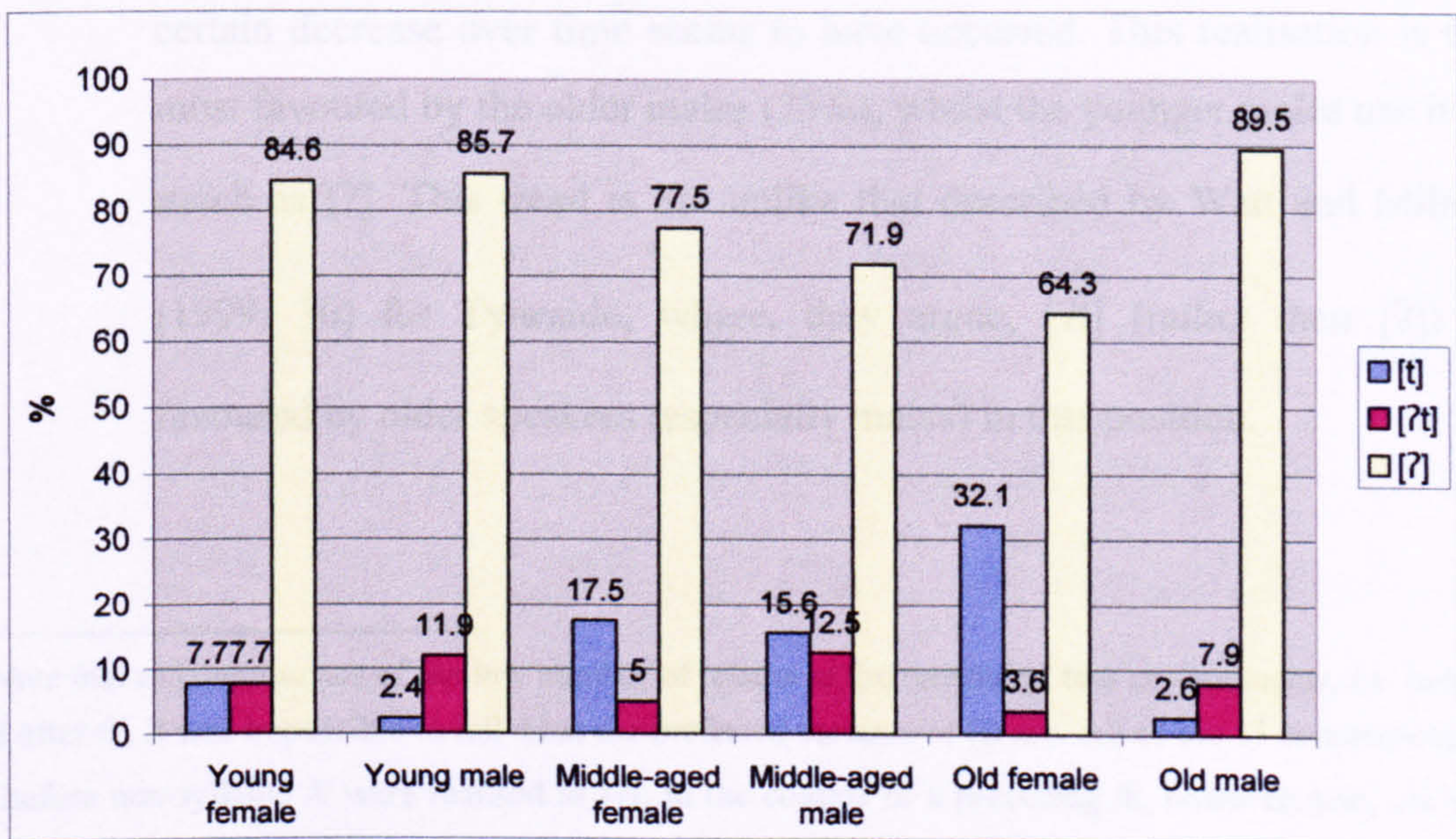


Figure 7.17: Distribution of variants of (t) before nasal

Finally, between a nasal consonant and a following vowel, various trends are noted (figure 7.18). Firstly, in comparison to the other three speaker groups, the young male and females and the middle-aged females show a clear preference for [ʔ], which they use in 80%, 75% and 66.7% of the cases respectively. Again, it could be suggested that the middle females are the ones who, at some point, started this change as their usage rate is markedly different from that of the middle males. Secondly, in this environment, [ʔ̃] is completely absent from all the female groups, who favour either [ʔ] in the case of the younger and middle generation, or [t] in the case of the older one. The localised North-eastern variant is only present in the three male groups, yet it does indeed show a pronounced decrease over time so that, whereas a rate of 75% is noted in the older males, the middle-age only use it in just under half of their (t) tokens in this environment, and the younger ones only produced two occurrences. Lastly, as a consequence of the increase of [ʔ], a decrease in the use of [t] appears to have occurred too.²⁹

Summing up, when the sample of tokens of (t) is examined attending to the different linguistic environments, the following patterns seem to emerge:

- (i) (t) is most likely to be realised as [ʔ̃] in intervocalic position. However, a certain decrease over time seems to have occurred. This realisation is the most favoured by the older males (75%), whilst the younger males use it as much as [ʔ]. This trend is not unlike that described by Watt and Milroy (1999: 30) for Tyneside, where, they argue, [ʔ̃] (rather than [ʔ]) is favoured by older speakers (especially males) in this position.

²⁹ Note that as consequence of the low number of tokens in the remaining two environments, i.e. before and after /l/, it was impossible to tell what the preferred variants of (t) are. All of the 11 occurrences of (t) before non-syllabic /l/ were realised as [ʔ]. In the context of a preceding /l/, however, two, six and five occurrences of [t], [ʔ̃] and [ʔ], respectively, were recorded.

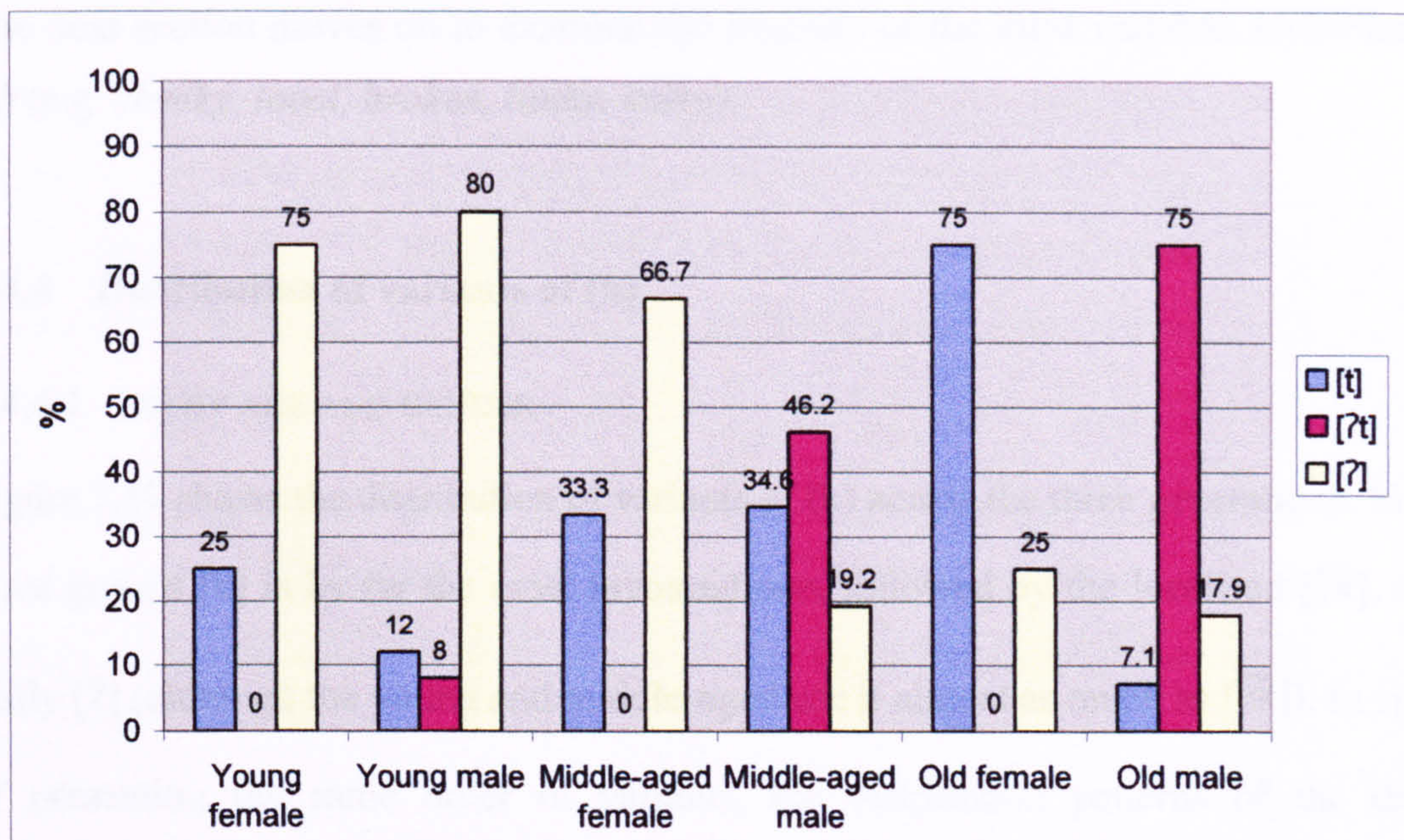


Figure 7.18: Distribution of variants of (t) after a nasal

- (ii) [ʔt] is also used amongst the male groups at relatively high levels when (t) follows a nasal.
- (iii) The increase of the glottal stop over time is apparent in all the environments examined, but mainly amongst the younger generation and the middle-aged females in intervocalic position and in the context of a preceding nasal. The increase of [ʔ] intervocalically goes in line with the findings of previous research, which has attested an increase of this variant amongst the younger speakers (particularly MC females) in such position.
- (iv) [ʔ] is, by far, the preferred variant before a syllabic // or syllabic nasal. It was interesting to find that, like their Middlesbrough counterparts (Llamas 2001: 147-148), the older males and females favour [ʔ] for (t) the most in these two environments. There, [ʔt] is rather infrequent across the board. By contrast, in the context of a preceding nasal, [ʔt] is completely absent from the female groups but rather favoured by the males. In this latter position, [ʔ] has clearly replaced the localised variant over time.

The next section moves on to examine the findings of the third variable, intervocalic (k) (e.g. *cheeky, local, broken, lanky, sulky*).

7.4.4 Distribution of variants of (k)

7.4.4.1 (K) BY AGE AND GENDER

Figure 7.19 shows the distribution of variants of (k) across the three generations. In all three groups [k] is by far the most favoured one, followed by the localised [ʔk], and lastly [ʔ] (although the young and middle-aged use it almost as much as [ʔk]). In spite of presenting the same order of variants, the distribution patterns of the three generations are significantly different (at $p = 0.000003$), due to the different proportions found in each group for each variant.

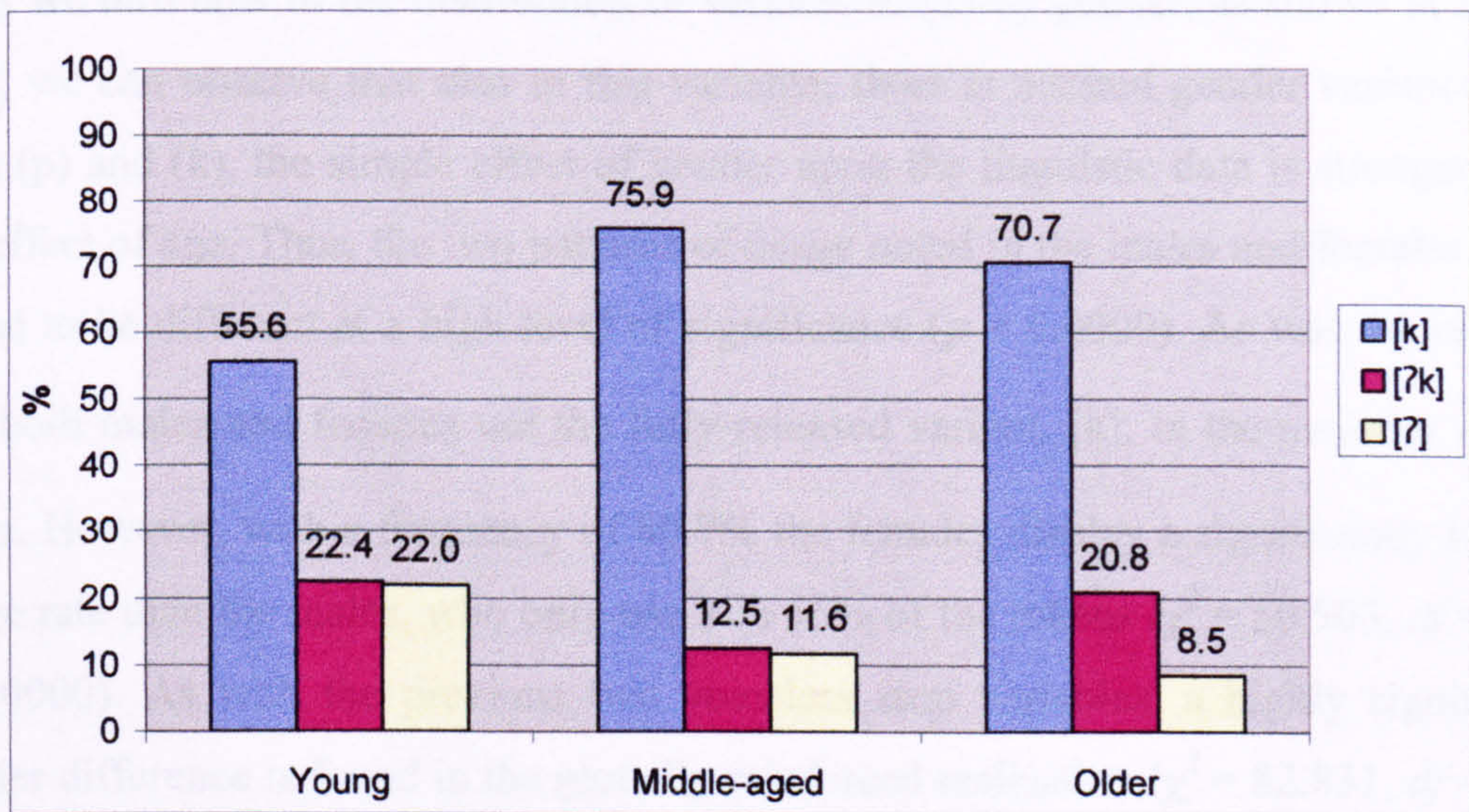


Figure 7.19: Percentage use of variants of (k) by age

Just as with (p) and (t), the middle-aged group is the one with the highest rate of [k], at 75.9%, whilst the older and younger speakers use it in 70.7% and 55.6% of the cases respectively. The difference between the middle and older generation is not large enough to be significant but the younger group's rate is significantly lower ($p \leq 0.001$). [ʔk], the second most favoured realisation, reaches its highest rate (22.4%) in

the younger generation, and is used almost as frequently by the older speakers (20.8%). The middle group's usage, though, at 12.5% is significantly lower than the younger and older groups ($p \leq 0.01$). A similar distribution of this variant across generations – albeit at slightly higher rates – was found by Llamas (2001) in her Middlesbrough sample. It was interesting to find almost identical levels of occurrence of [ʔk] and [ʔ] to the equivalent Middlesbrough groups in the Sunderland younger and middle-aged speakers. Furthermore, glottal replacement of (k) appears to have undergone a steady increase over time as the Sunderland younger generation use it with a frequency of 22%. This, at $p \leq 0.004$, is significantly higher than the rates noted in the middle-aged (11.6%), who use [k] in over three out of four tokens, or the older group (8.5%), who instead prefer either the localised [ʔk] or the non-localised [k].

If we turn now to the distribution of variants of (k) by gender, as shown in figure 7.20, we can observe that also in this variable, there is marked gender variation. As with (p) and (k), the simple effect of gender upon the linguistic data is stronger than the effect of age. Thus, the two patterns of usage noted in the males and females were found to be different at a high level of significance ($p = 0.0000$). As was the case of (p), both males and females use the fully-released variant, [k], in the majority of the cases. However, with a frequency of 80.7% the females display a significantly higher usage rate than the males, who only use it in 56% of the tokens ($\chi^2 = 50.503$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0000$). As with the previous two voiceless stop variables, a highly significant gender difference is found in the glottally reinforced realisation ($\chi^2 = 82.831$, $df = 1$, $p = 0.0000$). [ʔk] is noticeably more favoured by the males, who use it in almost one third of the cases. The Sunderland males use the glottal reinforcement almost as much as in (p), in comparison with the Middlesbrough ones who used it almost twice as much in (p) than in (k). On the other hand, only a 5.1% incidence is noted in the females. (k) is the variable with the lowest rate of glottal reinforcement out of the three voiceless stops. Yet, the incidence of glottal replacement is higher than in (p) for both genders, with males using it 12.5% of the time and females 14.2%.³⁰

³⁰ These levels of usage are not significantly different.

In general, the patterns of usage found in both gender groups are quite similar to those found by Llamas (2001) in Middlesbrough. The Sunderland females, though, exhibit a slightly higher percentage of both glottal variants, $[\text{ʔk}]$ and $[\text{ʔ}]$, whilst the Sunderland males' use of $[\text{ʔk}]$ is 13% lower than their Middlesbrough counterparts, yet they use $[\text{ʔ}]$ over twice as much, and $[\text{k}]$ about 5% more frequently.

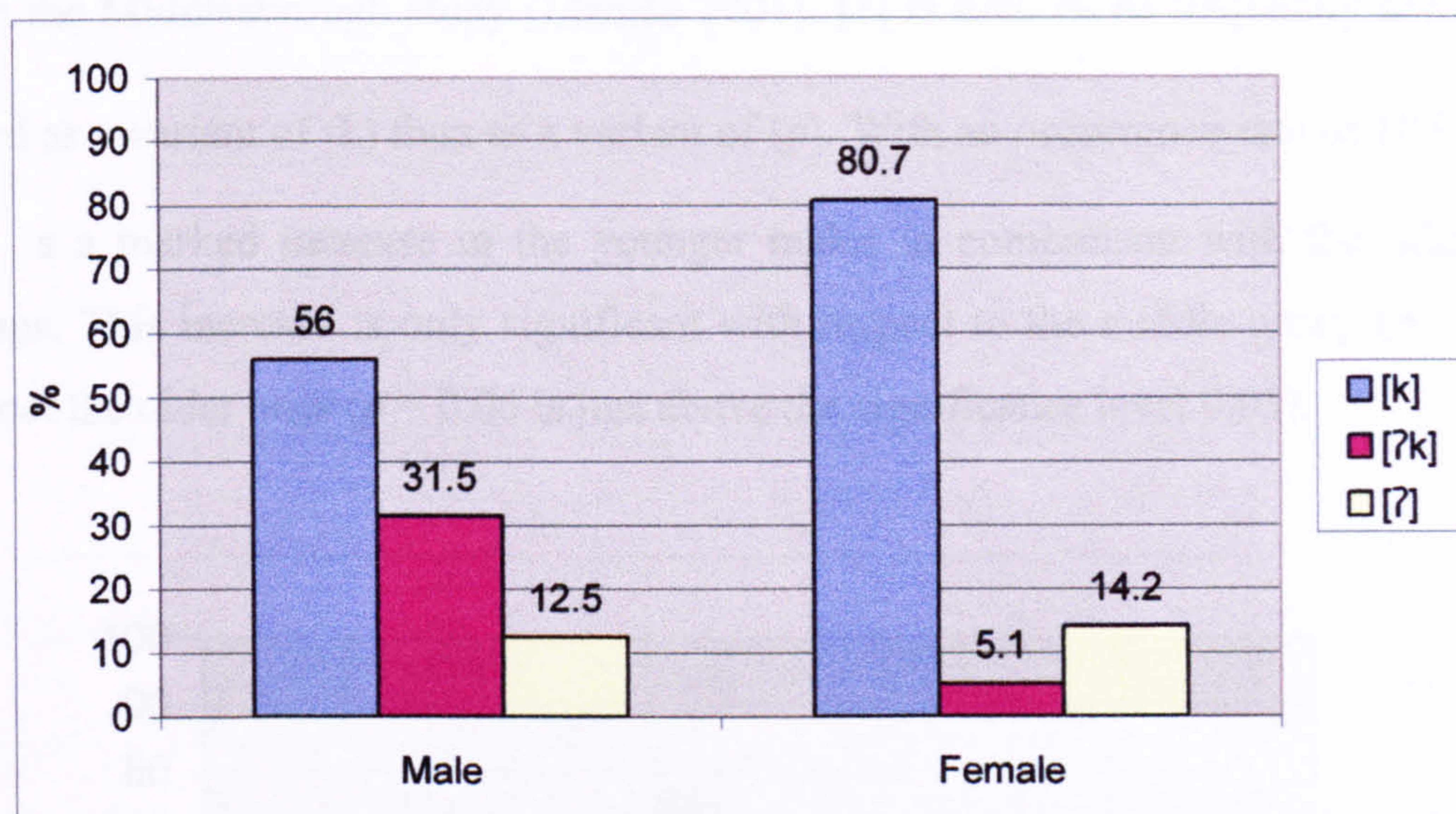


Figure 7.20: Percentage use of variants of (k) by gender

Figures 7.21 and 7.22 present the variants of (k) broken down by both age and gender. As with (p), in all three male speaker groups, the fully-released stop is the most frequent realisation for word-medial (k), followed by the glottally reinforced one and glottal replacement in third place. The patterns of use of the three groups were once again significantly different ($\chi^2 = 16.117$, $df = 4$, $p = 0.003$).

As with the other two voiceless stops, the older males display the highest proportion of the localised variant, $[\text{ʔk}]$, at 39%. Its incidence in this group, however, is almost the same as $[\text{ʔp}]$, but considerably lower than $[\text{ʔt}]$. Like $[\text{ʔp}]$ and $[\text{ʔt}]$, usage of $[\text{ʔk}]$ appears to have decreased over time as the middle aged and the younger males

show lower rates (22.4% and 31.5%).³¹ Thus, this may be indicative of a general divergence from the localised glottalised variants.

As in (p) and (t), the middle-aged males show the highest percentage of the non-localised standard variant, [k]. With more than two thirds of the tokens being realised in this way, they are the group with the highest rate of [k], an occurrence rate that is significantly different from both the younger and older groups ($p \leq 0.0029$). Finally, as in the Middlesbrough study (Llamas 2001), [ʔ] is used more frequently across the board as a variant of (k) than as a variant of (p). With an occurrence rate of 18.9%, [ʔ]

is a marked increase in the younger males in comparison with the other two groups. This increase is only significant with respect to the middle group ($p = 0.02$) but not the older ones ($p = 0.06$ is just above the significance level 0.05).

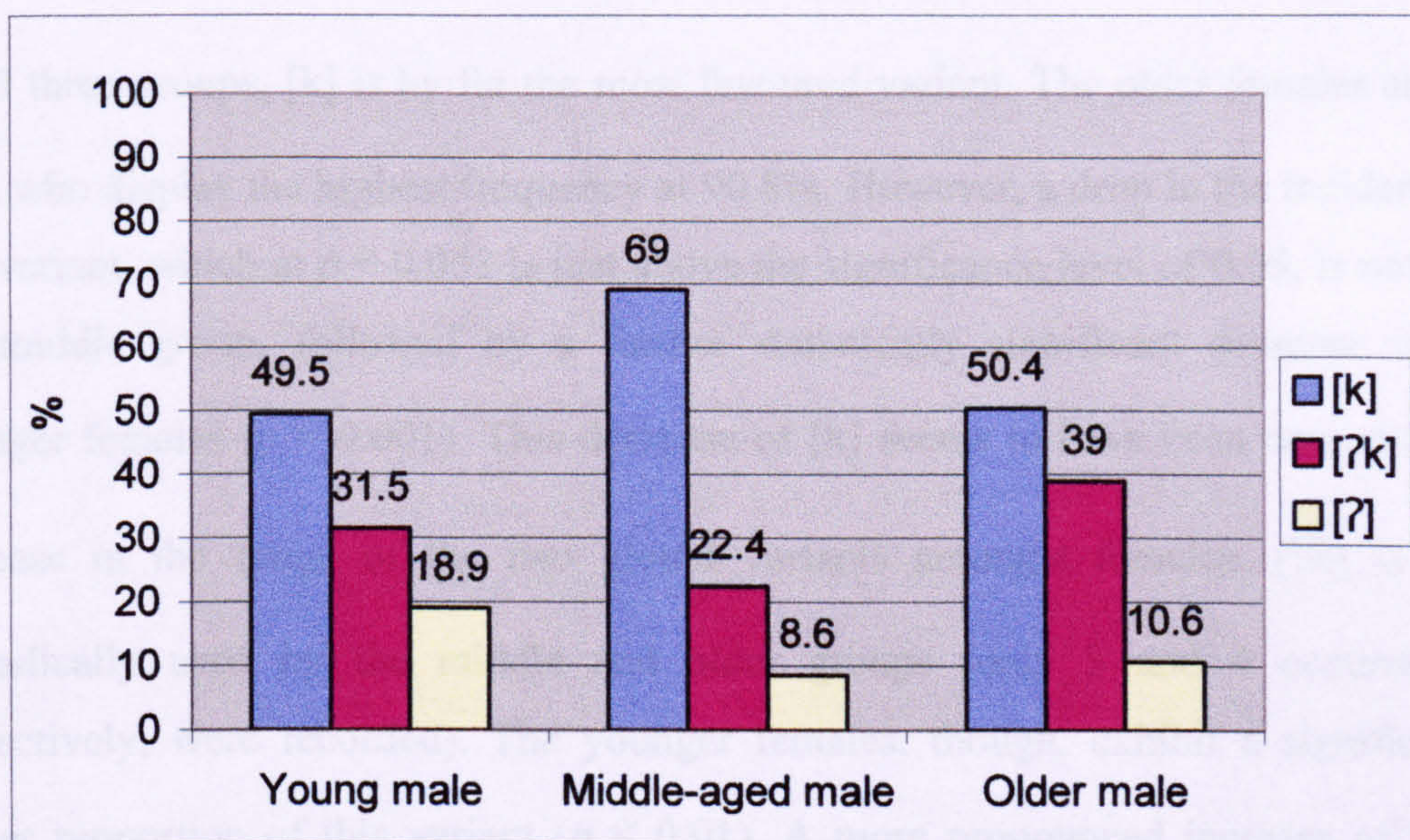


Figure 7.21: Percentage use of variants of (k) in male speaker groups

Figure 7.22 shows that the patterns of use of the three female groups are unmistakably different from those found in their male counterparts, and reveals some interesting trends which are indicative of change over time. To start with, there is a significantly different pattern of usage between the three female groups ($p = 0.0000$).

³¹ Note that only the middle aged males' usage of [ʔk] differs significantly from the older group's (at $p = 0.004$).

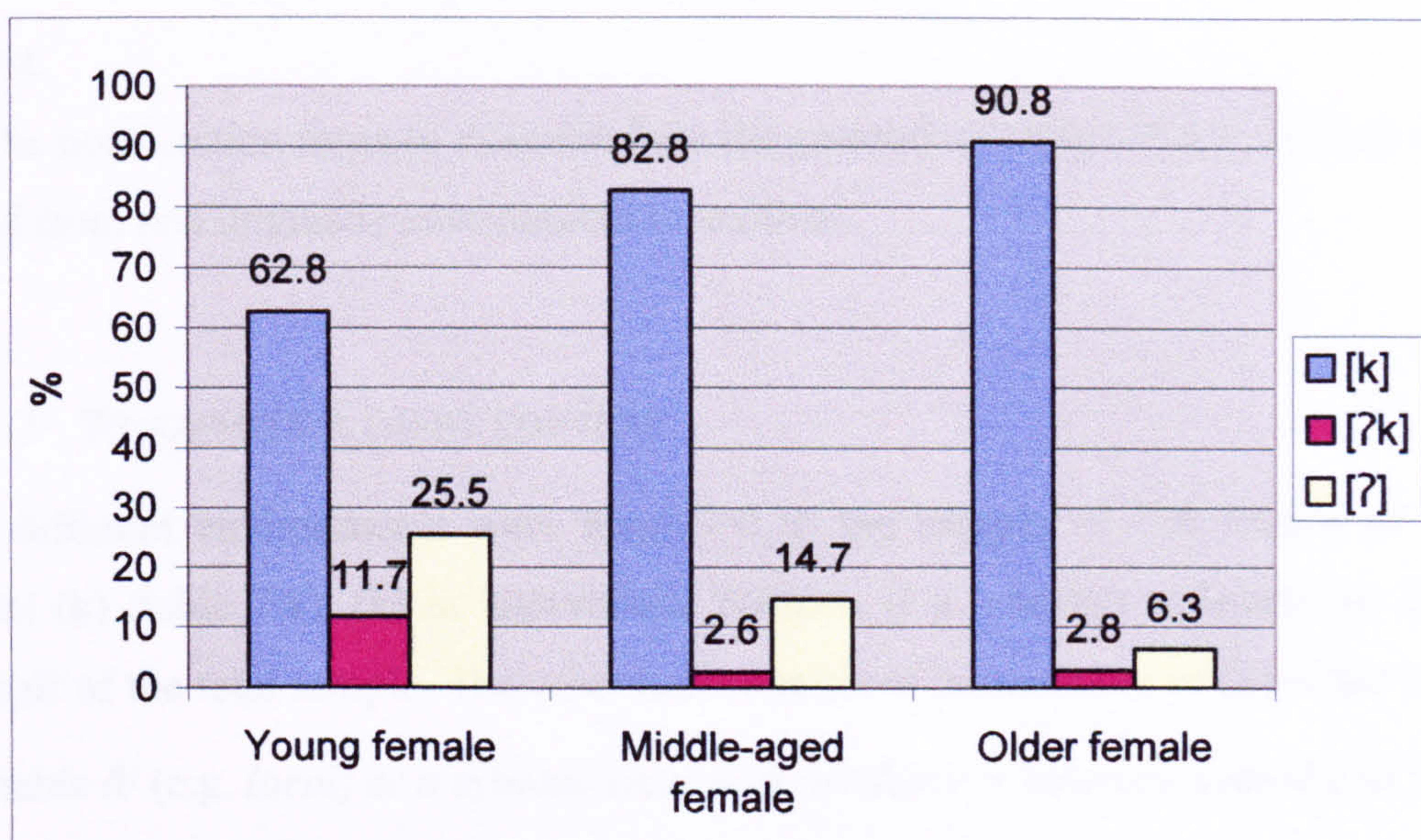


Figure 7.22: Percentage use of variants of (k) in female speaker groups

In all three groups, [k] is by far the most favoured variant. The older females are the ones who display the highest frequency at 90.8%. However, a drop in the incidence of this variant, which at $p = 0.053$ is just above the significance level of 0.05, is noted in the middle group, followed by a further statistically significant decrease in the younger females ($p = 0.001$). This decrease of [k] seems to have been caused by an increase in the usage of the two glottal variants amongst females. [ʔk] is only sporadically used by the middle and older groups (only 3 and 4 occurrences, respectively, were recorded). The younger females, though, exhibit a significantly higher proportion of this variant ($p < 0.01$). A more pronounced increase of [ʔ] is noted across the three generations. This increase is statistically significant both between the older and the middle females ($p = 0.027$) and between the latter and the younger females ($p = 0.048$). In all three of them, the incidence of this variant is substantially higher than that of the localised variant, [ʔk]. Furthermore, the young and middle-aged females use [ʔ] considerably more frequently as a variant of (k) than

(p). This may suggest that [ʔ] as a non-localised variant is spreading to (k) as it did in (t) first.

The next section turns to examine how the patterns of usage of the variants of (k) varied from one linguistic environment to another.

7.4.4.2 WORD-MEDIAL (K) BY CONTEXT

Five different environments were identified in the sample of 720 tokens of word medial (k) (table 7.8). (k) in intervocalic position (e.g. *cheeky*) accounts for almost one half of the total sample. The other half consists of occurrences of (k) either before a syllabic // (e.g. *local*) or a syllabic nasal (e.g. *broken*) or between a nasal and vowel (e.g. *lanky*), and only five in the context of a preceding // (e.g. *sulky*).

	[V_V]	[_ syllabic l]	[_ nasal]	[nasal _ V]	[L _ V]
Number of tokens (k) (Total: 720)	344	76	189	106	5

Table 7.8: Number of tokens of word-medial (k)

Out of the three voiceless stop variables, (k) in intervocalic position displays the lowest levels of glottal reinforcement (figure 7.23). There, [k] is the most favoured variant by all groups. As with (p) and (t), the older and middle male groups use [ʔk] noticeably more than their female counterparts. Furthermore, also in this variable an increase is noted in this variant in the younger females in comparison to the other female groups. Unlike with (p) and (t), however, gender stratification is also maintained in the younger generation, and the younger males actually display an increase in the usage of this variant with respect to the middle and older males. [ʔ] is rarely used in this environment. The highest rate, at 14.7%, is displayed by the younger females.

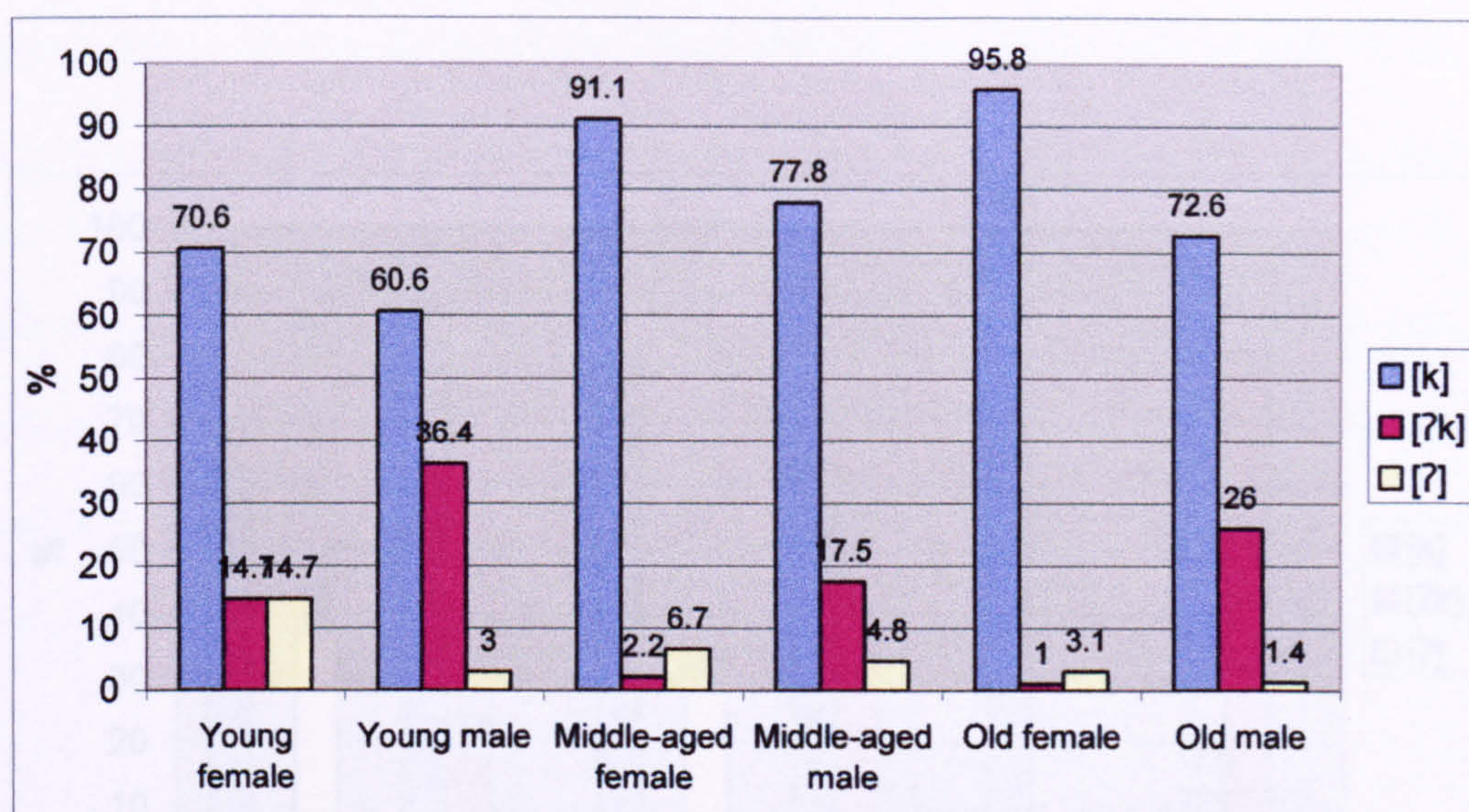


Figure 7.23: Distribution of variants of (k) in intervocalic position

Figure 7.24 shows the distribution of variants of (k) before a syllabic //l/. In this position, all speaker groups clearly favour [k], with the exception of the older males, who use [ʔk] in four fifths of the tokens. The localised variant is only present in the male groups but it shows a marked drop over time. On the other hand, [ʔ] is only used at relatively high levels by the young and middle-aged females, with the former group displaying a rate 10% above the latter.³²

Before a syllabic nasal (figure 7.25), [k] is the most favoured realisation in all the groups but the older and younger males, who prefer [ʔ]. The glottally reinforced variant is only found amongst the male speaker groups (only two occurrences were noted in the young female group), and once again, the younger males show an increase of [ʔk] over other two male groups. However, as in (p) and (t), glottal replacement is considerably more frequent across the board than in some of the other environments. Its rate of occurrence is lower in the three female groups than in their male counterparts. The younger males, though, show similar levels of usage to the older ones, whilst the younger females use it at higher levels than the older ones.

³² The middle and older male groups produced one token each.

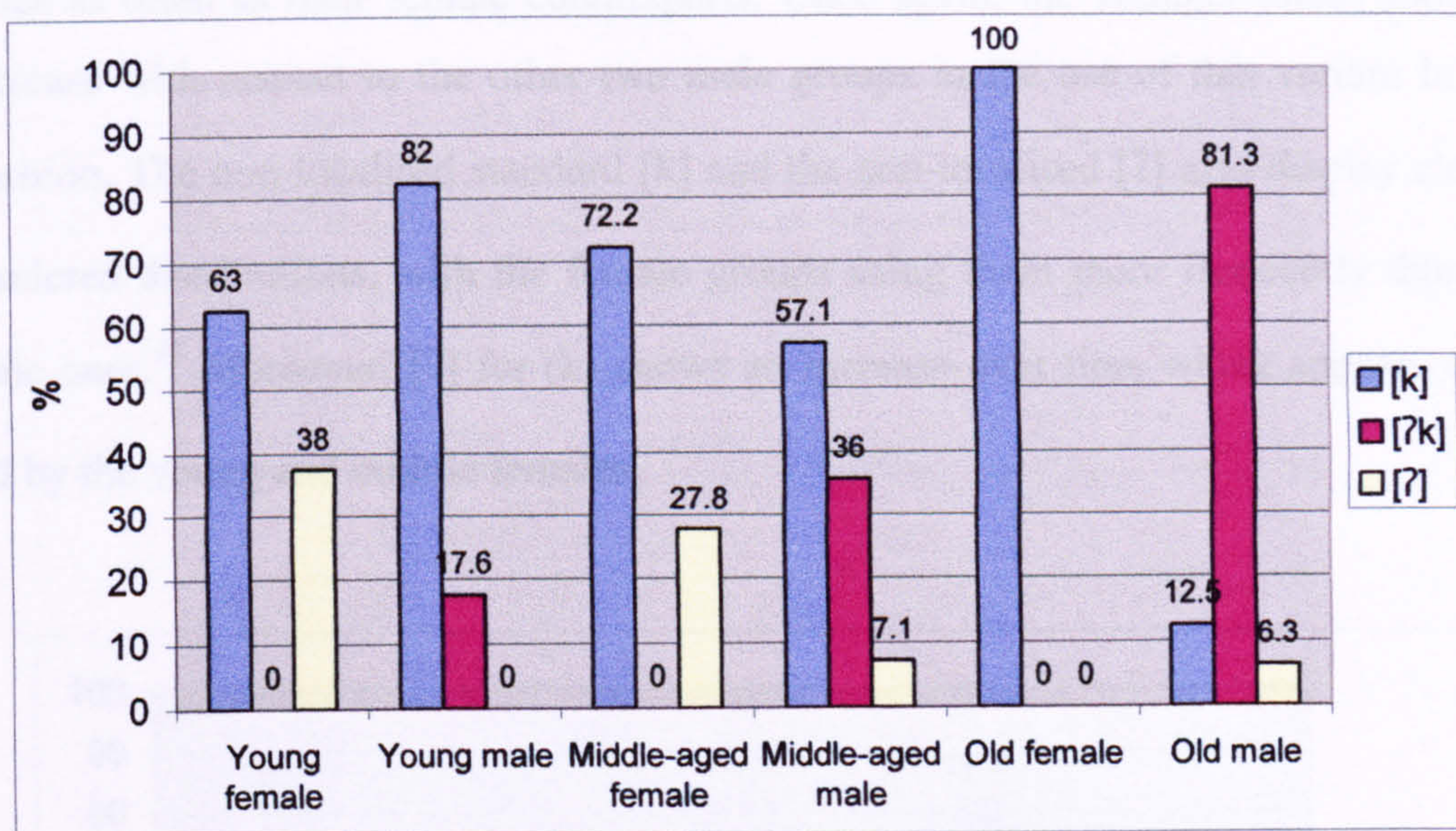


Figure 7.24: Distribution of variants of (k) before syllabic /l/

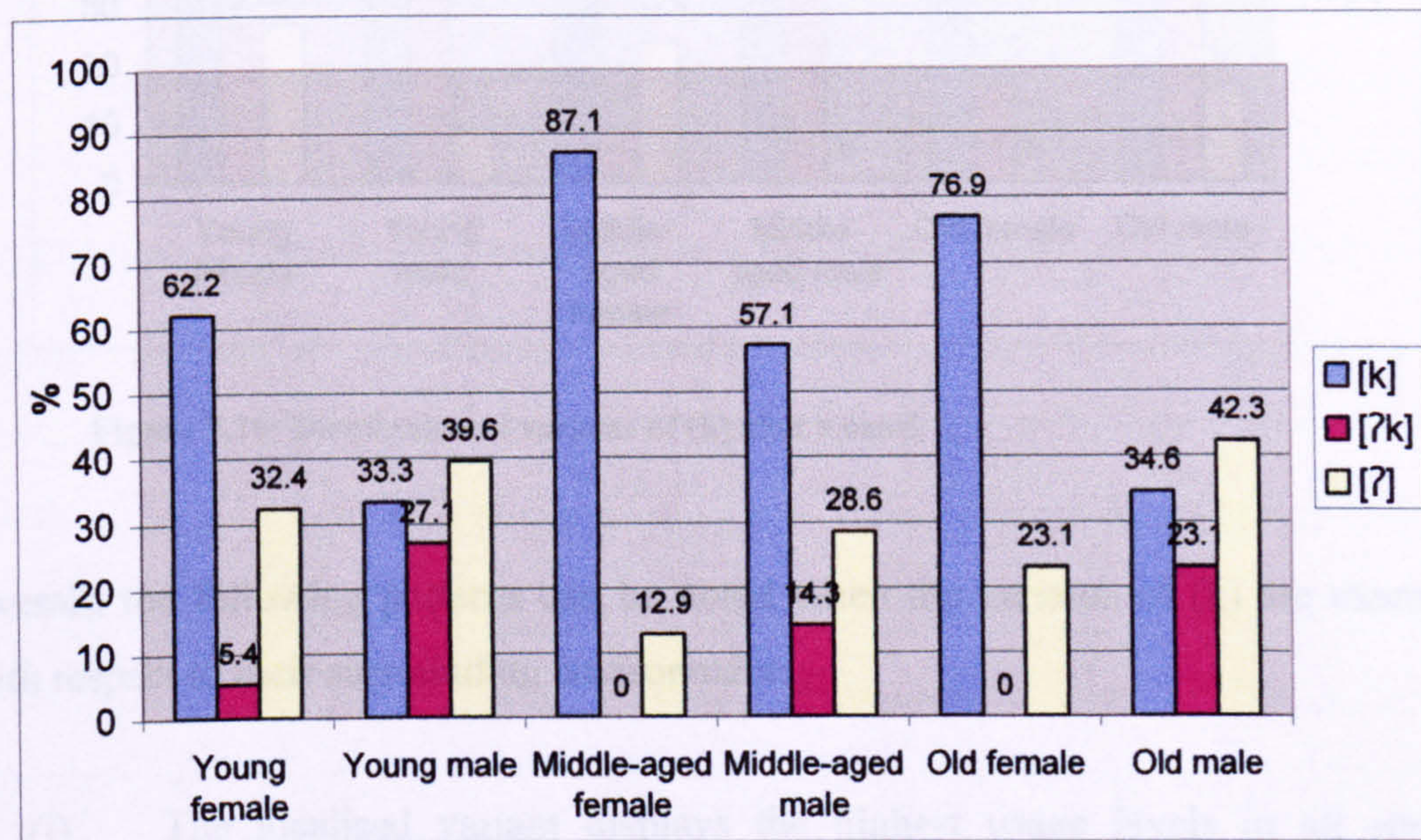


Figure 7.25: Distribution of variants of (k) before nasal

Lastly, figure 7.26 shows the distribution of variants of (k) in the context of a preceding nasal. In this environment, the localised variant, [ʔk], is used at the highest levels in all speaker groups but the older males, who favour this variant much more

before syllabic /l/ (see figure 7.24). The male groups, however, use [ʔk] more than twice as often as their female counterparts. Once again, the younger males show an increase with respect to the other two male groups in the use of this variant in this position. The non-localised standard [k] and the non-localised [ʔ] also display clearly gendered distributions, with the female groups using them more frequently than the male ones.³³ Moreover, [ʔ] for (k) shows an increase over time which appears to be led by the young and middle females.

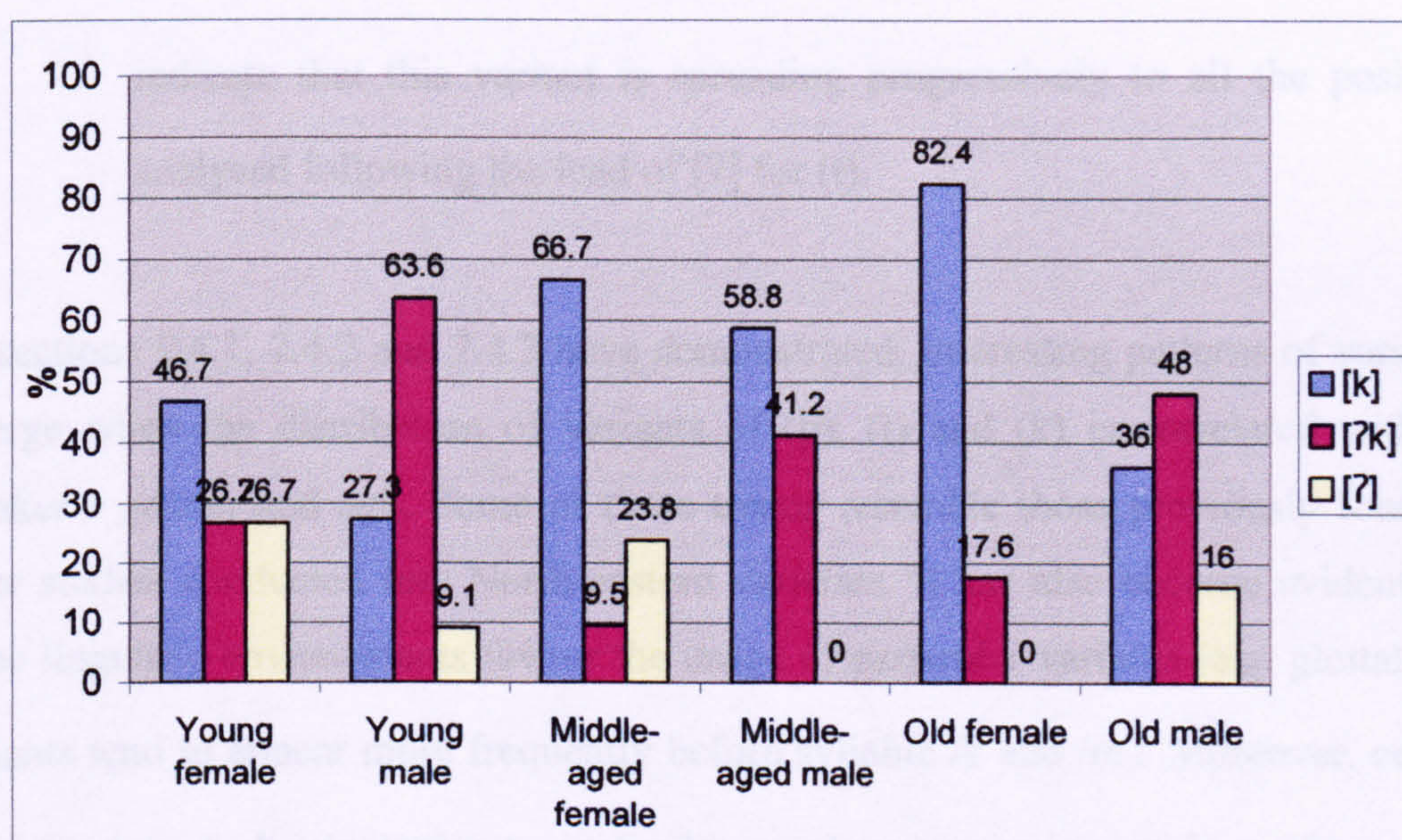


Figure 7.26: Distribution of variants of (k) after a nasal

Overall, the following patterns can be noted when the variants of (k) are examined with respect to their surrounding environment:

- (i) The localised variant displays the highest usage levels in all speaker groups in the context of a preceding nasal. The older males are the only ones who favour this variant more before a syllabic /l/.

³³ The older females are the only exception since after a nasal they display no use of [ʔ].

- (ii) Generally, [ʔk] is favoured far more by the male groups than the female ones in all linguistic environments, whilst females use [k] more than the males.
- (iii) The highest percentage of glottal replacement is noted before a nasal consonant. However, in the other three environments this variant displays an increase in its frequency which seems to be led by the middle and younger female groups. [ʔ] is only rare intervocalically and confined mainly to the younger and middle females before syllabic //l/. This may indicate that this variant is spreading progressively to all the positions analysed following the lead of [ʔ] for (t).

As sections 7.4.1, 7.4.2 and 7.4.3 have demonstrated, interesting patterns of variation emerge when the distribution of variants of (p), (t) and (k) is correlated with the speaker's gender and age. Some of these trends resemble those previously found in other studies conducted into North-eastern varieties. It has also become evident that some linguistic environments favour the usage of particular variants (e.g. glottal stop variants tend to appear more frequently before syllabic //l/ and /n/). Moreover, certain variants seem to be exclusive to particular speaker groups in certain positions. For example, the localised variants are confined to the male groups before a nasal in (p), after a nasal in (t) and before syllabic //l/ in (k).³⁴ However, as discussed in chapter 6, by examining variation attending to age and gender categories, and considering these categories as homogenous and uni-dimensional rather than as heterogeneous, important intragroup variation which could be reflective of other aspects of individuals' social/cultural background could go unnoticed. Thus, the next two sections focus more closely upon the use of the three types of variants of (p), (t) and (k) (especially, glottal reinforcement and glottal replacement) by individual speakers, taking into consideration other factors which are essential for the construction of individuals' social identities: occupation and local identity.

³⁴ See sections 7.4.2.3, 7.4.3.3 and 7.4.4.3.

7.4.5 Intragroup variation: Effect of occupation on (p), (t) and (k)

As with (h), before plotting the variants of (p t k) on a graph according to speakers' occupations, the first step I took to identify the possible effect of this social factor was an examination of intragroup differences between individuals. As discussed in earlier chapters, statistics can mask extreme/unusual individuals or skew a group's overall figures. Thus, this would allow us to analyse at the level of the individual, before exploring more general statistics to identify group patterns, and to determine whether occupation could be used to explain any pronounced differences between group members, and whether any of the speakers consistently stood out in their groups for all three variables.

Figures 7.27, 7.28 and 7.29 show the distribution of variants of (p t k) in all the female speakers. Amongst the females, the same individuals who displayed the highest levels of /h/-dropping appear to take the lead in the use of the three localised variants of (p t k) in their speaker groups: YF09, and OF08 and OF17. These are the only speakers from these groups who were classed in the occupational groups 6 ('personal service occupations') and 7 ('sales and customer service occupations'). In the middle-aged, though, the highest score for these variants are displayed by MF32, who in (h) almost categorically avoided the stigmatised variant.³⁵ She is the only speaker in this group who differs markedly from the other speakers in her group in all three variables. By contrast, in all three variables, most of the other females who categorically retained their aitches disfavour the localised realisations of (p t k) categorically, or almost categorically, and show a clear preference for the non-localised standard variants: MF04, MF26, MF39, OF13, OF37 and OF38. These (together with MF32) are all the females from the middle-aged and older groups with occupations classed in SOC groups 1 ('managerial'), 2 ('professional') and 4 ('administrative and secretarial') and the two housewives. So, overall, with just a few exceptions, some correlation between usage of the three localised variants and occupation appears to emerge to the naked eye, since those who tend to avoid the stigmatised/localised variants are those who worked interacting with the public or in

³⁵ Note that MF23, the speaker who had displayed the highest rate of /h/-dropping, only produced five tokens of word medial (p).

managerial positions. In general, however, this correlation is not as clear in the younger female group since they use the glottalised variants more frequently than the other two groups (hence the increase we identified in this group in previous sections). In this group, YF09 (SOC group 7) exhibits the highest rates of [ʔp], [ʔk], and [ʔt]), followed by YF35 (a student) in [ʔp], [ʔk]. By contrast, YF01 (a student) and YF06 and YF36 (SOC group 2) use [ʔp], [ʔk] noticeably less than the former two females. The incidence of [ʔt]), however, increases in those younger females with an occupation, yet is rarely used by the two students.

Glottal replacement, on the other hand, shows little apparent correlation with occupation. To start with, it is only sporadically used as a variant of (p), with only OF37 and OF17 showing some significant usage at 20% and 22.2% respectively. It is also rare as a variant of (k) both in the middle-aged and older females, where MF32 (SOC group 3) and OF08 (SOC group 6) take the lead in this variant too (at 40% and 16.7% respectively). However, [ʔ] is used to a similar extent by the two housewives as well (MF04 and MF37). In the younger females, on the other hand, all five speakers employ the glottal stop to a greater or lesser extent, regardless of their SOC group, which may suggest that this realisation is becoming more favoured, and does not carry the stigma that other variants such as /h/-dropping may carry.

Lastly, a completely different picture seems to emerge in the use of [ʔ] as a variant of (t) (figure 7.29). Whilst it is used by all of the females at relatively high levels, it is interesting to note that all of those who use it less than 50% of the time (YF06, YF36, MF39, OF13, OF17, OF38) worked either as teachers or with young people or in secretarial positions (Also the two housewives can be counted in this group). By contrast, amongst those with the highest incidence of [ʔ] we find once again YF09 and the two young students (YF01 and YF35), MF32 and OF08. The fact that we find this distribution may suggest that the glottal stop as a variant of (t) does not carry so much stigma as it is often thought. It is used by females across a number of socioeconomic statuses, a picture that arguably differs from the one we found in the

use of the localised variants. As suggested by past research, therefore, this may be evidence that its status may have changed in recent years.

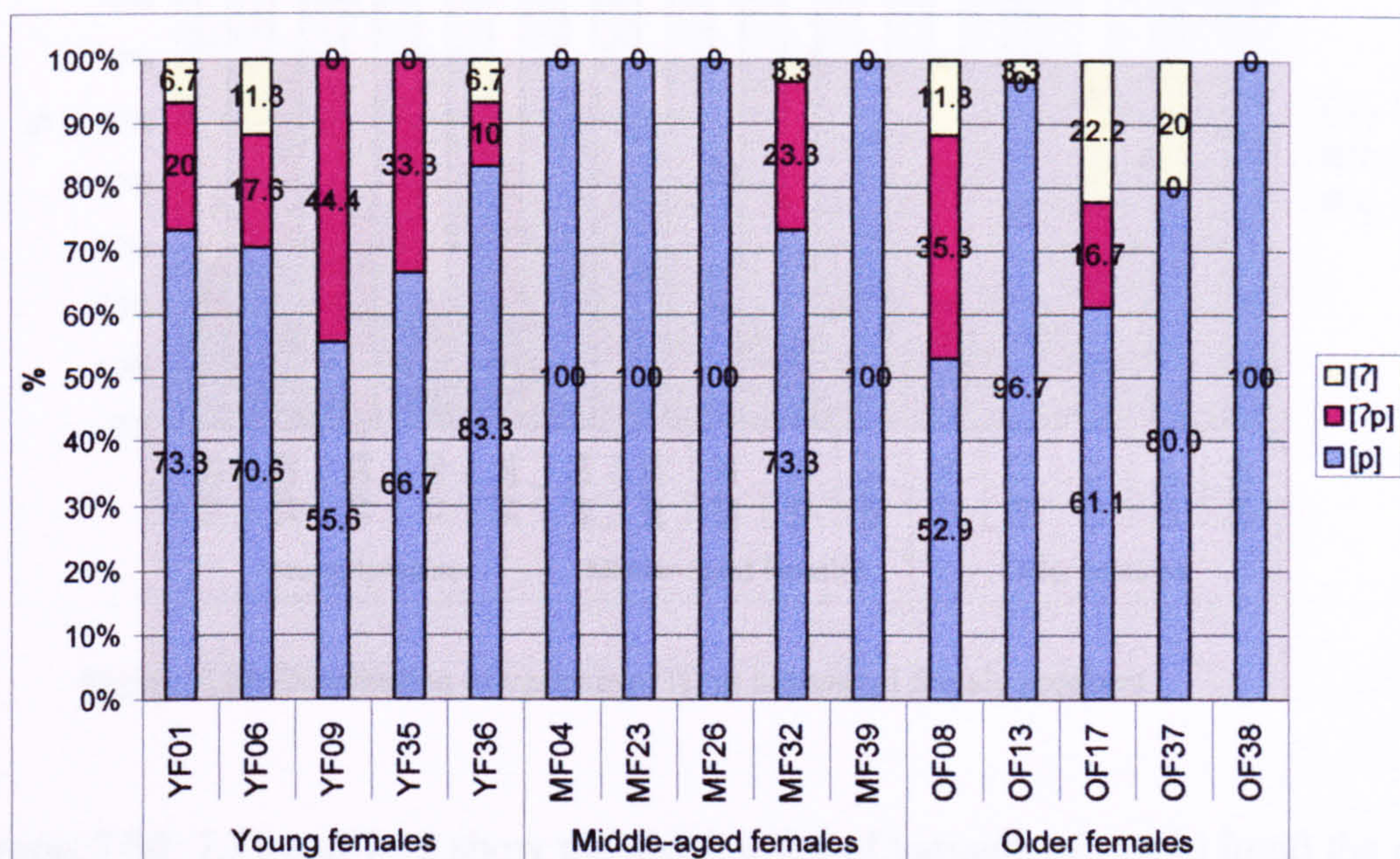


Figure 7.27: Distribution of variants of (p) in individual female speakers

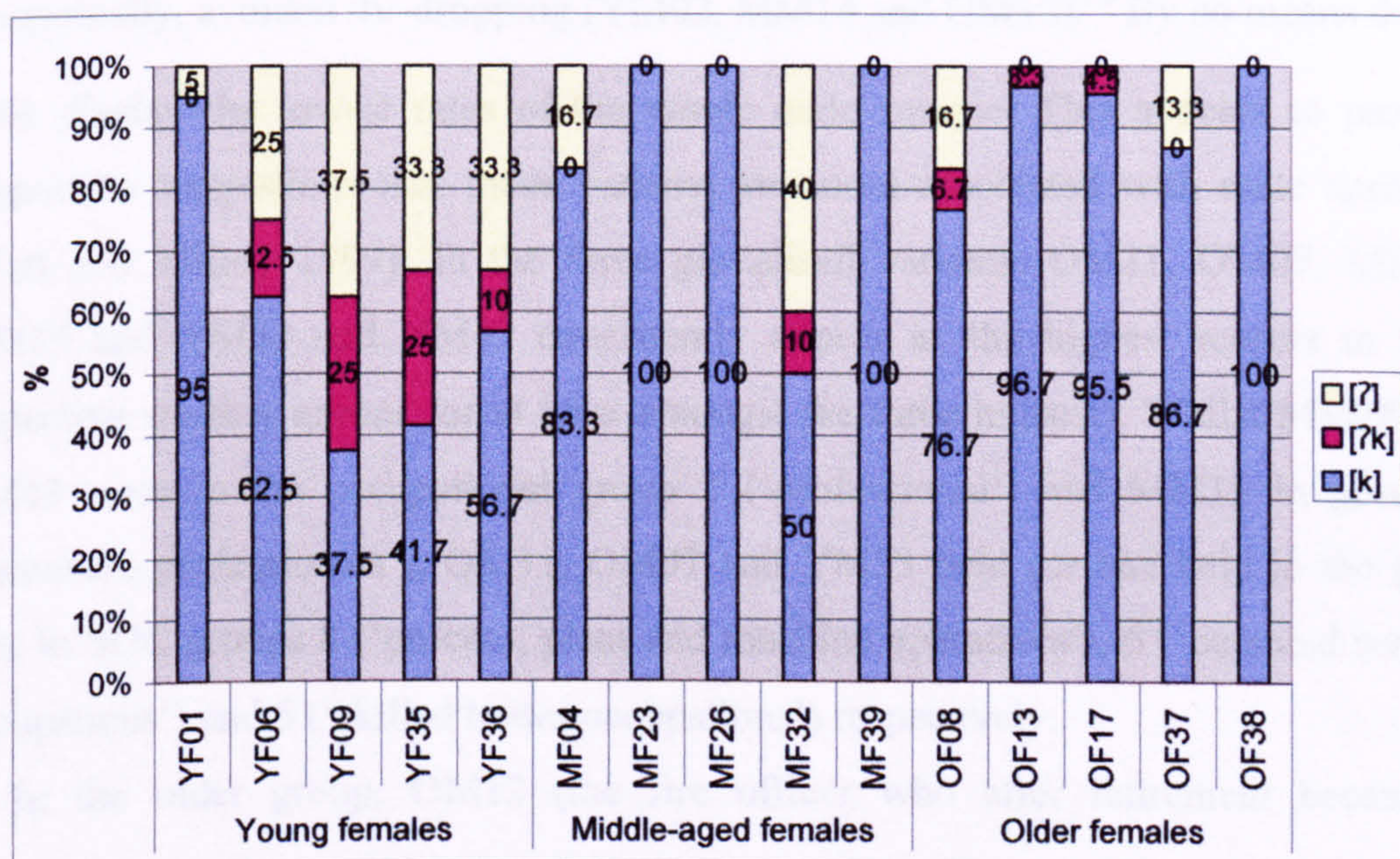


Figure 7.28: Distribution of variants of (k) in individual female speakers

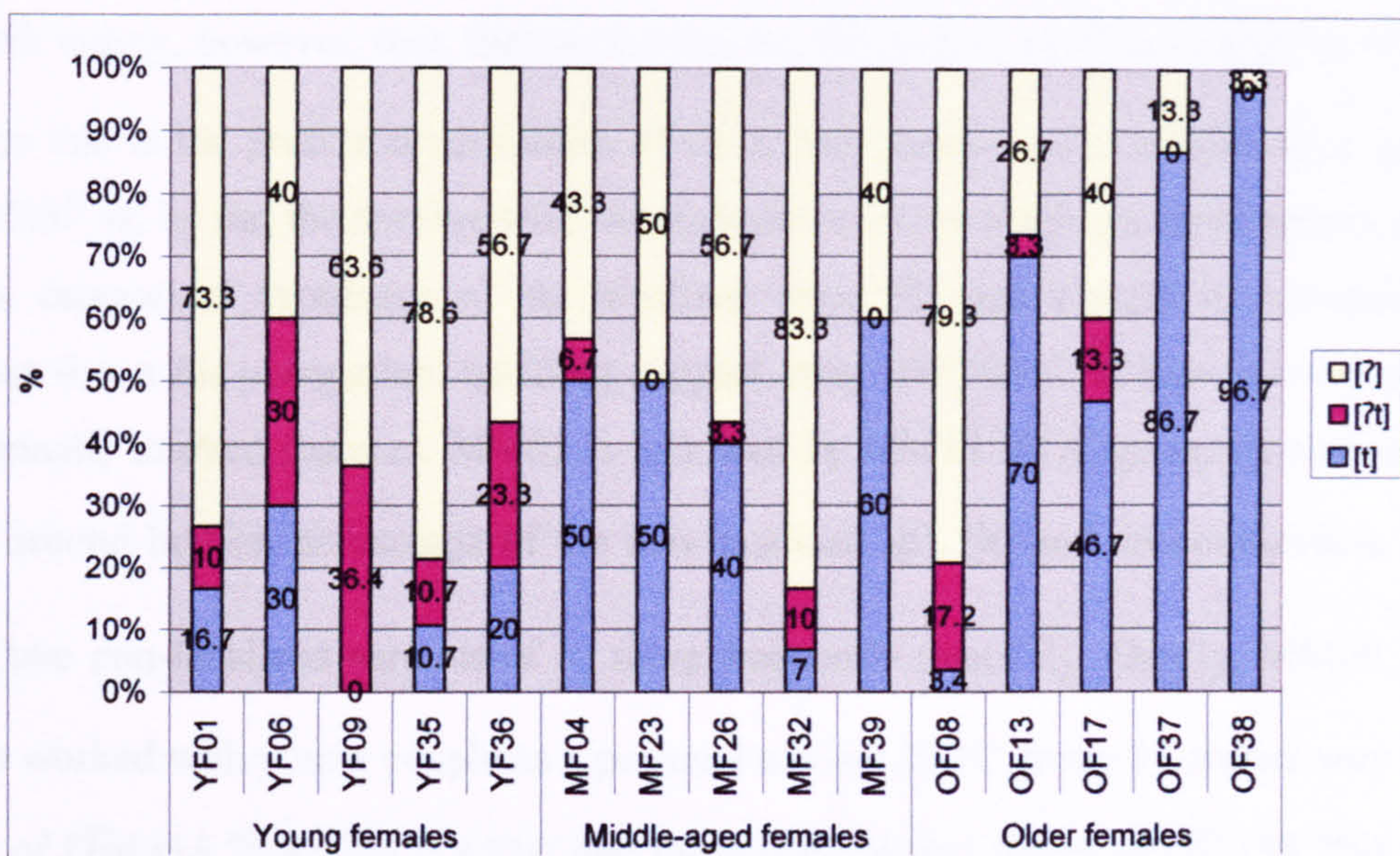


Figure 7.29: Distribution of variants of (t) in individual female speakers

Figures 7.30, 7.31 and 7.32 show the distribution of variants of (p t k) in all the male speakers. To a greater or lesser extent, all the male speakers show some usage of the three localised glottally reinforced variants, even those who categorically, or almost categorically, avoided /h/-dropping (YM02, MM14 and OM12).³⁶ By no means do the latter display the lowest rates of the whole male sample. This appears to provide support to suggestions that these variants are more associated with male speakers (Watt and Milroy 1999). In the three glottalised variants, OM31, OM07, MM28, MM19 and YM33 and YM43 consistently appear as the highest scorers in their respective speaker groups (or at least amongst the three highest). Whilst MM28 and YM43 were in the occupational group 2 ('professional') and MM19 in group 3 ('associate professionals'), OM31, OM07 and YM33 held (or had held in the past) jobs in SOC groups 8 ('process, plant and machine operatives'), 6 ('personal service occupations') and 5 ('skilled trades occupations') respectively.

In the older group, OM12 (the fire officer who after retirement became a magistrate) is the speaker with the lowest use of [ʔp], [ʔk] and [ʔt] and the highest of the non-localised standard variants, [p], [k] and [t], just as with the variable (h). It is

³⁶ Only YM05 and MM03 disfavoured it completely in (k), and MM03 again in (t).

worth noting, however, that, though the lowest, his usage of [ʔt] is as high as 46.7%, since this is the preferred realisation of (t) in this group. In the middle-aged group, MM03³⁷ is, by far, the speaker with the highest use of the fully-released variants and a near categorical avoidance of the localised ones. He was classed in occupational group 6, yet his occupation, teaching support, may well have led him to employ less regionally marked features. MM03 is followed by MM14 (SOC group 2) who shows the second highest percentage of the non-localised [p], [k] and, in conjunction, uses the two non-localised variants of (t) more frequently than [ʔt]. Thirdly, MM20, who also worked with young people as a personal adviser (SOC group 3), shows very little use of [ʔp] (16.7%), [ʔk] (14.3%) and the second lowest figure in [ʔt] (33.3%) Also YM05, a secondary-school student-teacher (SOC group 2), stands out amongst the younger group for his lower use of the localised variants (26.3% in (p), 0% in (k) and 13.3% in (t)). He clearly prefers the non-localised fully released variant in (p) and (k) and [ʔ] in (t). All in all, it appears that, like in the female sample, informants who worked interacting with the public (in the case of the males with young people) show a higher tendency to disfavour local variants. Thus, we could argue that to some extent there is some correlation between the use of these variables and occupation, even if this is not consistently maintained across the board. For example, MM28 was also a teacher (SOC group 2), yet he is the speaker with the highest rate of the three local variants in this group.³⁸

As in the female groups, the glottal stop is only sporadically used as a variant of (p) (only OM27 used it at some significant level, 36.4%). In (k), by contrast, this non-localised variant seems to be making inroads, as was mentioned in section 7.4.4., yet only four males (all from different SOC groups) show scores beyond 20% (YM02, YM33, MM20 and OM27). Consequently, it is difficult to identify any solid correlation between the variant and occupation. Like in the females, however, all of the males use [ʔ] as a variant of (t) to a greater or lesser extent. There, with the

³⁷ OM12's nephew.

³⁸ As we will see in section 7.4.6, the middle-aged males' usage of [ʔk] showed some correlation with strength of local affiliation in such a way that those with a strength sense of allegiance displayed high level of the localised variants. MM28, together with MM19, are the two speakers who obtained the highest scores in the ISA.

exception of MM03 (support teacher), who stands out for his almost categorical use of [t] (96.7%), the lowest usage rate is 30%, recorded in OM10 (SOC group 5 - ‘skilled trades’) and OM12. No clear correlations emerge here, however. Out of the five males who use this variant in more than 50% of the case, three were students (either at secondary school or university – YM02, YM05 and YM43), one worked with young people (MM20) and one was a motor vehicle technician. It seems that, in general, this variant of (t) is favoured across the board amongst the males, the young ones being clearly in the lead. As we suggested in the discussion of the female data, this may be indicative of a higher level of acceptance of the glottal stop, maybe due to its extensive spread around the country.

Unlike with the variable (h), the speakers’ individual use of the variants of (p), (t) and (k) within the groups is not often so easily accounted for on the basis of their standard occupational classification (SOC). However, it has allowed us to explore the individuals’ usage of variants across (p t k). Now, figures 7.33, 7.34 and 7.35 turn to show the overall rates of glottal reinforcement and glottal replacement of (p), (t) and (k) recorded in each occupational category.³⁹

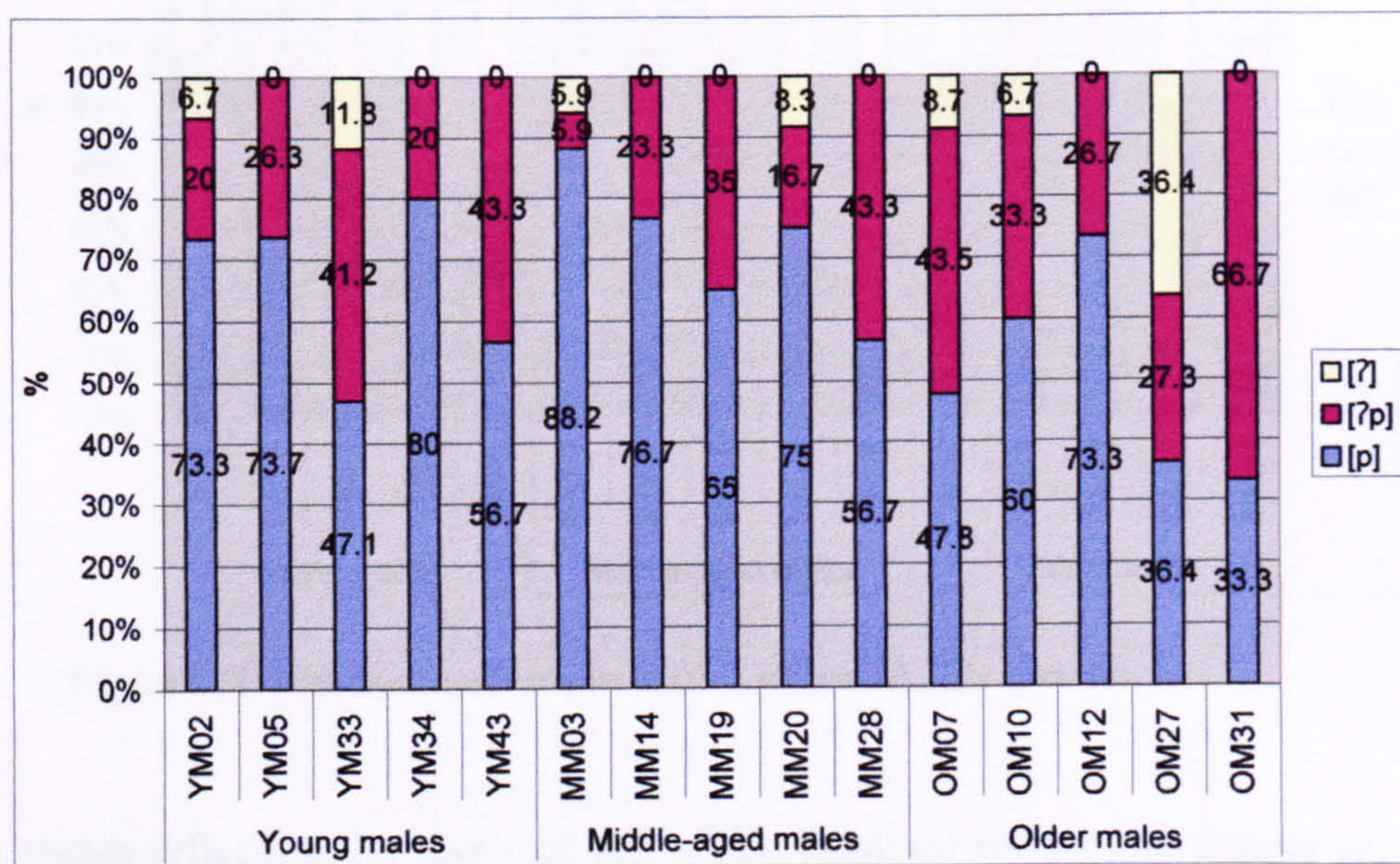


Figure 7.30: Distribution of variants of (p) in individual male speakers

³⁹ Since not all age and gender groups are represented in each of the 11 occupational groups, I correlated the linguistic variants with the more general categories in order to minimise a gender or age bias (see section 3.3.1.2).

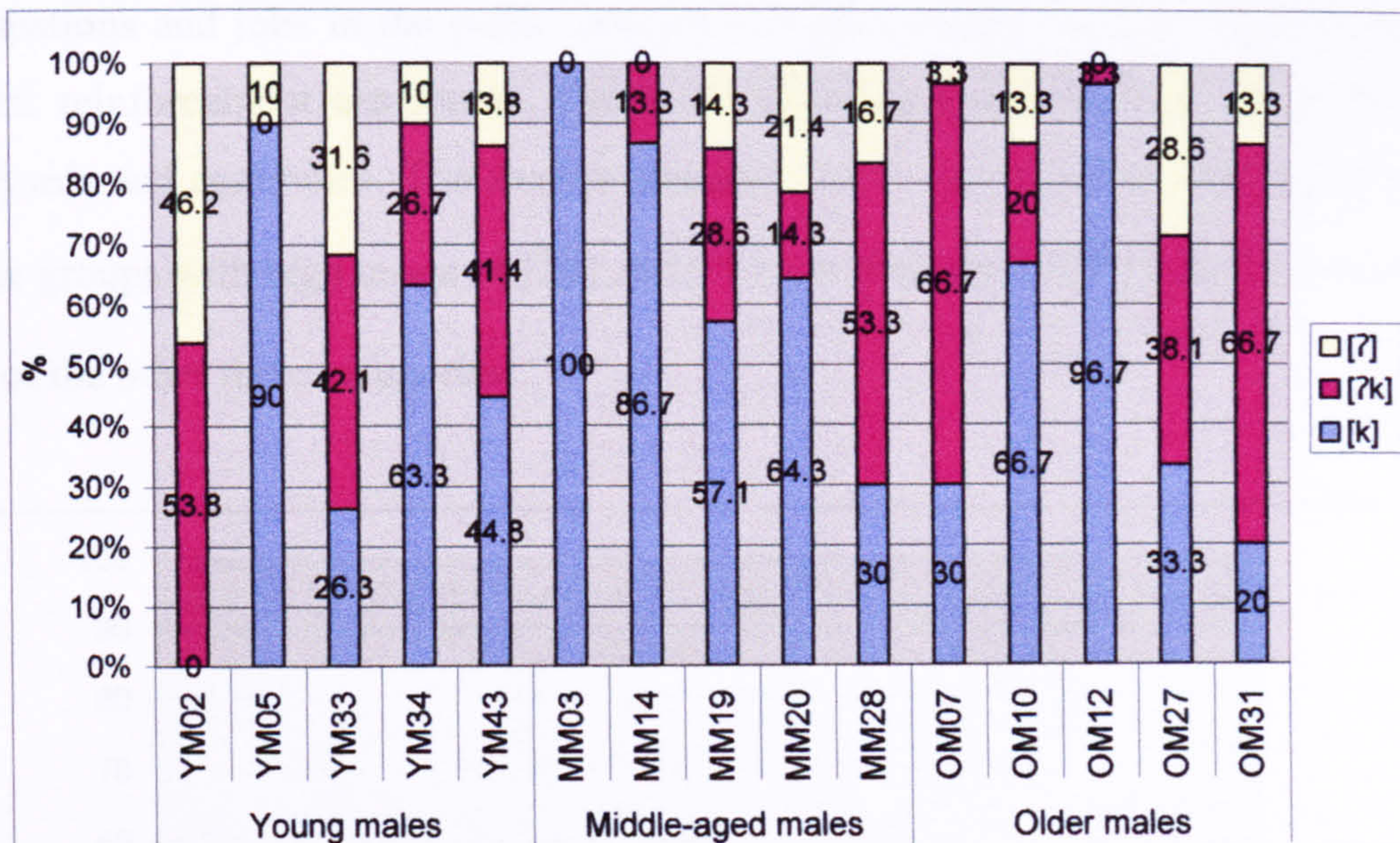


Figure 7.31: Distribution of variants of (k) in individual male speakers

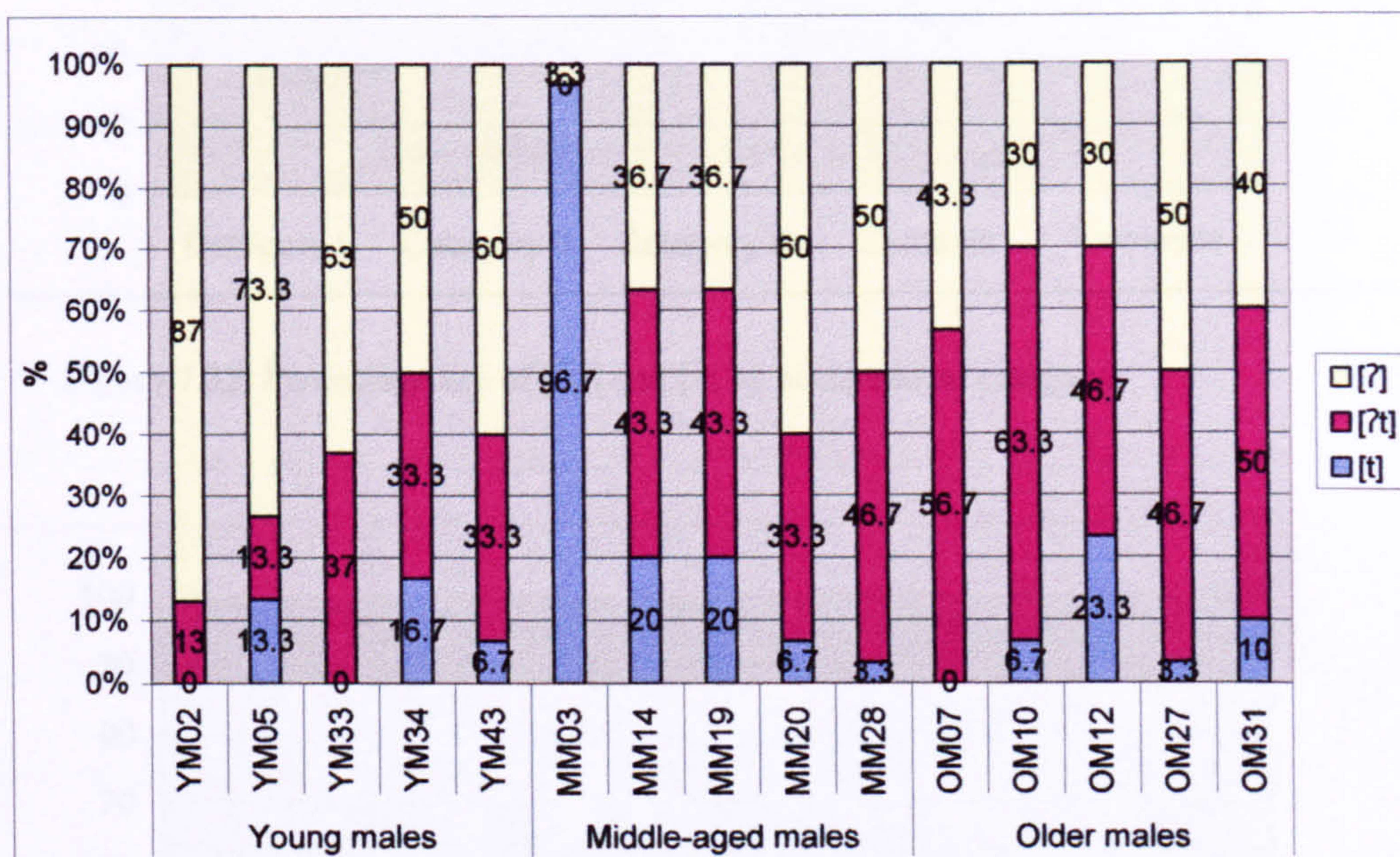


Figure 7.32: Distribution of variants of (t) in individual male speakers

The trends reflecting the levels of use of the localised realisations appear to reveal some slight correlation between these variants and occupation. Percentage use of the glottalised variants, [ʔp], [ʔt] and [ʔk], increases as we move from category I (which was the one that required the highest level of academic qualifications) to categories II and III. Thus, it is in category III, which includes the most manual/physical

occupations and jobs in the public service and sales sector, that the highest rates of glottal reinforcement are found. There, we find speakers who had worked in the shipyards and coalmines. The student category, however, seems to align itself closer to the groups with high usage of $[\text{ʔp}]$ and $[\text{ʔk}]$, yet their use of $[\text{ʔt}]$ is much lower than any of the other three categories.

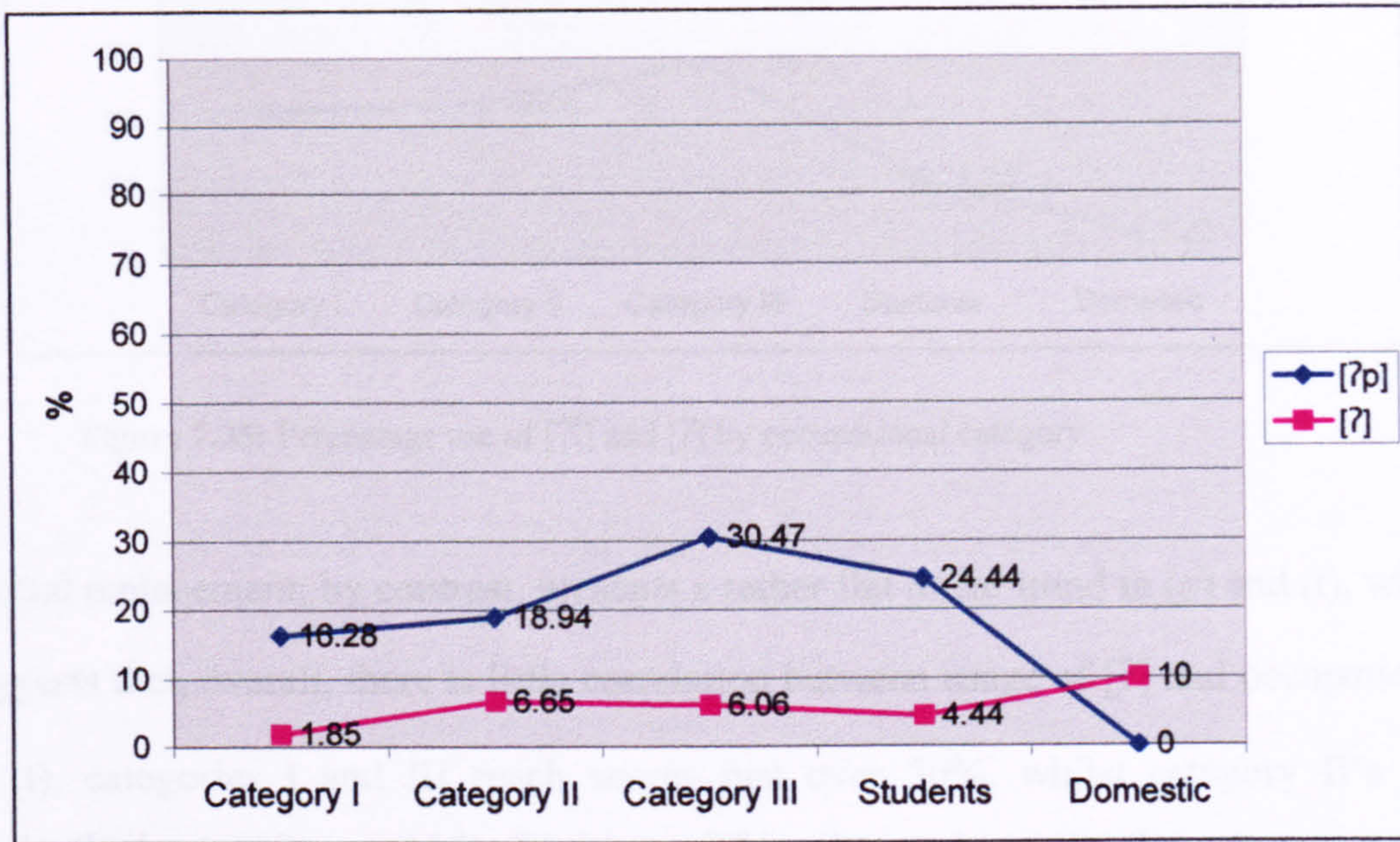


Figure 7.33: Percentage use of $[\text{ʔp}]$ and $[\text{ʔt}]$ by occupational category

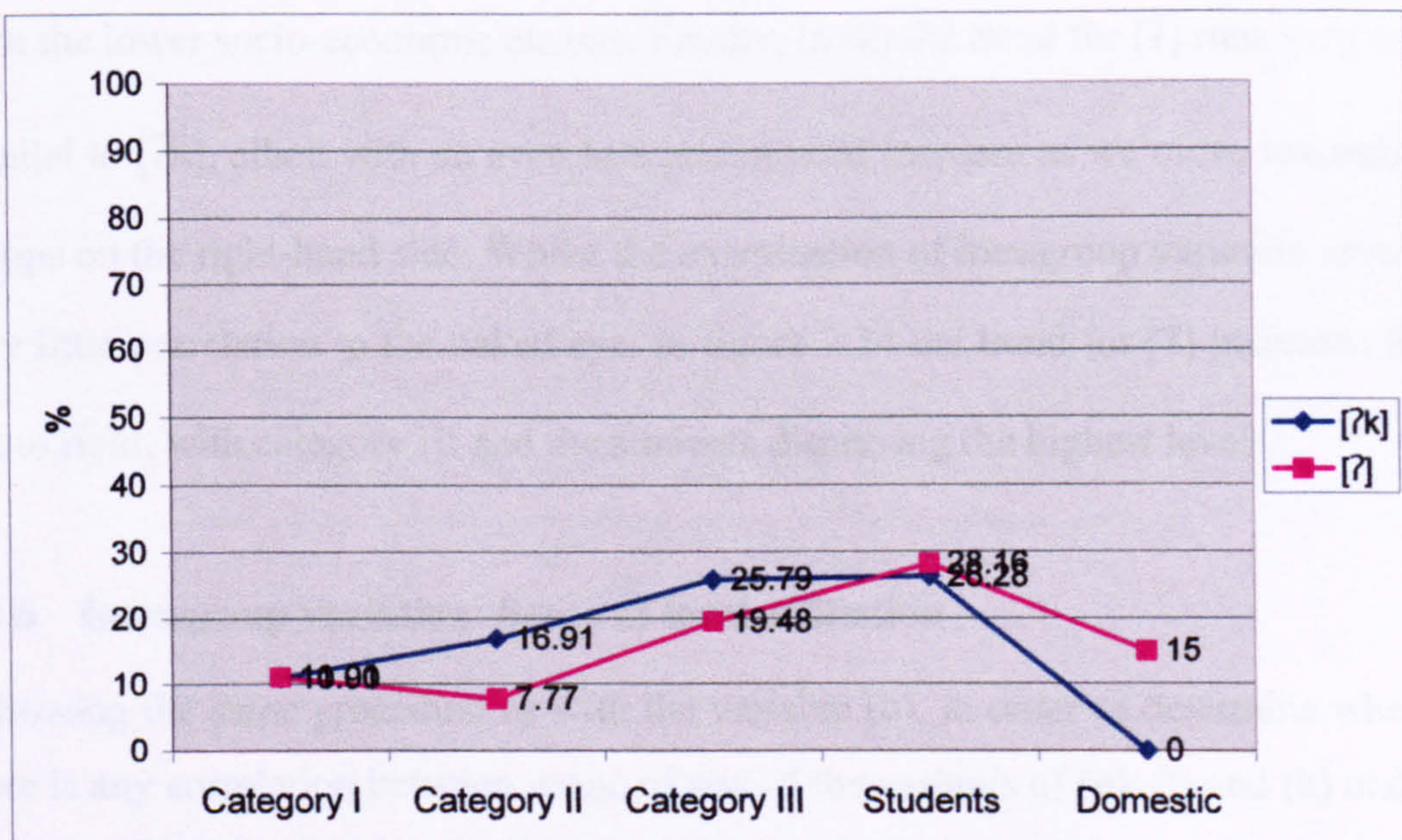


Figure 7.34: Percentage use of $[\text{ʔk}]$ and $[\text{ʔt}]$ by occupational category

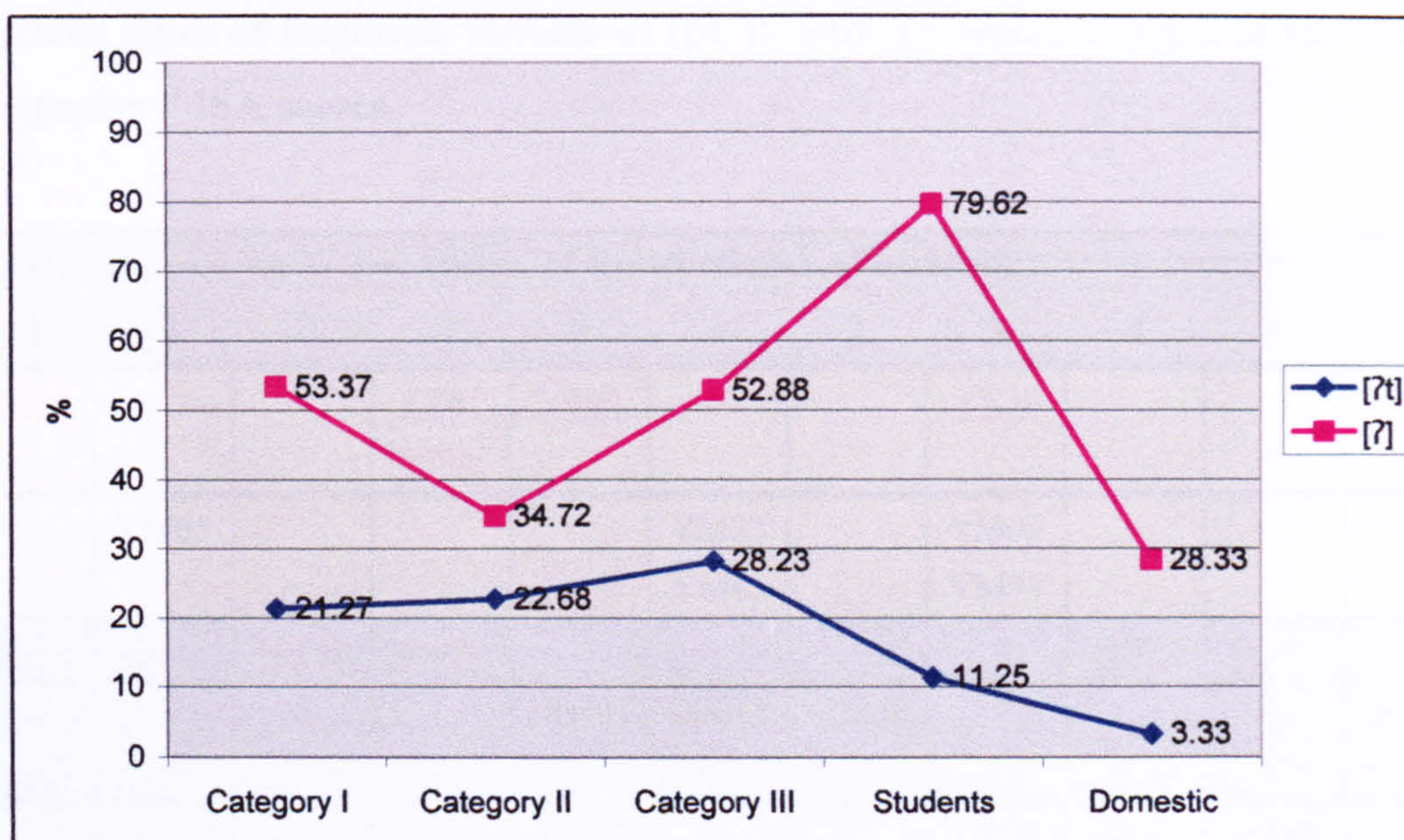


Figure 7.35: Percentage use of [ʔt] and [ʔ] by occupational category

Glottal replacement, by contrast, presents a rather flat linear trend in (p) and (t), which suggests that, overall, there is little correlation between usage of [ʔ] and occupation.⁴⁰

In (t), categories I and III reach scores just over 50%, whilst category II's was markedly lower (figure 7.35). In this variable, the students are the category which clearly stands out from the other groups. This pattern, however, does not appear to corroborate the common association of the glottal stop as a variant of (t) with speakers from the lower socio-economic classes. Finally, in (k) the trend for [ʔ] runs very much parallel to [ʔk], albeit with an even less pronounced increase as we move towards the groups on the right-hand side. Whilst the examination of intragroup variation revealed very little correlation to the naked eye, in figure 7.34 the trend for [ʔ] increases from left to right, with category III and the students displaying the highest levels.

7.4.6 Intragroup variation: Sense of local affiliation

Following the same procedure as with the variable (h), in order to determine whether there is any correlation between usage of any of the variants of (p), (t) and (k) and the strength of local affiliation displayed by the Sunderland speakers, levels of usage of

⁴⁰ We must remember that the glottal stop as a variant of (p) was only rarely used.

the three types of linguistic variants of (p), (t) and (k) were examined in the light of the speakers' ISA scores.

← Index of Sunderland Affiliation →										
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>YF35</u>			<u>YF01</u> <u>YF06</u>	<u>YF09</u>			<u>YF36</u>			
	YM05				YM33 YM43		YM02 YM34			
<u>MF04</u>		<u>MF39</u>	<u>MF26</u>					<u>MF32</u>	<u>MF23</u>	
				MM03	MM14	MM20				MM19 MM28
				<u>OF13</u> <u>OF17</u>			<u>OF38</u>	<u>OF37</u>	<u>OF08</u>	
		OM12			OM10 OM27			OM31	OM07	

Table 7.9: ⁴¹ Sunderland sample ranked according to ISA ⁴²

← Index of Sunderland Affiliation →										
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>33.3%</u>			<u>20%</u> <u>17.6%</u>	<u>44.4%</u>			<u>10%</u>			
	26.3%				41.2% 43.3%		20% 20%			
<u>0%</u>		<u>0%</u>	<u>0%</u>					<u>23.3%</u>	<u>0%</u>	
				5.9%	23.3%	16.7%				35% 43.3%
				<u>0%</u> <u>16.7%</u>			<u>0%</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>35.3%</u>	
		26.7%			33.3% 27.3%			66.7%	43.5%	

Table 7.10: Variants of (p): Individual speakers' scores of [ʔp] by speaker group in order of ascending ISA

⁴¹ Tables 7.9 to 7.17: Yellow cells = young group; blue = middle-aged; green = older group; underlined red font = females; black font = males.

⁴² See section 4.4.1 for a detailed account of how the ISA was constructed.

← Index of Sunderland Affiliation →										
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>25%</u>			<u>0%</u> <u>12.5%</u>	<u>25%</u>			<u>10%</u>			
	0%				42.1% 41.4%		53.8% 26.7%			
<u>0%</u>		<u>0%</u>	<u>0%</u>					<u>10%</u>	<u>0%</u>	
				0%	13.3%	14.3%				28.6% 53.3%
				<u>3.3%</u> <u>4.5%</u>			<u>0%</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>6.7%</u>	
		3.3%			20% 38.1%			66.7%	66.7%	

Table 7.11: Variants of (k): Individual speakers' scores of [ʔk] by speaker group in order of ascending ISA

← Index of Sunderland Affiliation →										
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>10.7%</u>			<u>10%</u> <u>30%</u>	<u>36.4%</u>			<u>23.3%</u>			
	13.3%				37% 33.3%		13% 33.3%			
<u>6.7%</u>		<u>0%</u>	<u>3.3%</u>					<u>10%</u>	<u>0%</u>	
				0%	43.3%	33.3%				43.3% 46.7%
				<u>3.3%</u> <u>13.3%</u>			<u>0%</u>	<u>0%</u>	<u>17.2%</u>	
		46.7%			63.3% 46.7%			50%	56.7%	

Table 7.12: Variants of (t): Individual speakers' scores of [ʔt] by speaker group in order of ascending ISA

In general, some of the speaker groups reveal a certain degree of correlation between the ISA scores and their usage of the localised glottalised variants (tables 7.10, 7.11, 7.12). In (p), a strong positive correlation can be identified in the middle-aged and older, in such a way that, as the frequency of [ʔp] increases, so does the strength of

affiliation (see table 7.10).⁴³ Apart from this, no other clear trends of this realisation are apparent in the other speaker groups. In (k), however, all three male groups show the same strong positive correlation between the frequency of the localised [ʔk] and the ISA scores.⁴⁴ As with [ʔp], rates of [ʔk] increase with strength of affiliation (table 7.11). In this variant, the older males seem to show the strongest correlation and the younger males the weakest of the three groups. Finally, in contrast with the previous two variants, very weak correlations between use of [ʔt] and the strength of local affiliation are noted (figure 7.12).⁴⁵

As a result of the positive correlation found in the male groups, a related negative correlation can be identified in these same groups, whereby levels of use of [p] decrease as ISA increases (table 7.13),⁴⁶ and the same trend occurs in the standard non-localised [k] (table 7.14).⁴⁷ As was the case with /h/-dropping, the speakers whose ISA ranges between (-4) and (-1), generally display very low rates of the three localised variants, [ʔp], [ʔt] and [ʔk], within their speaker groups. Overall, their scores are in the lower to medium bands, not only within their speaker groups but in the whole sample. By contrast, most of the middle-aged and older speakers with ISA scores ranging between 4 and 6 show some of the highest rates of [ʔk] in their speaker groups (see right-hand side of tables 7.10, 7.11 and 7.12). Surprisingly, though, those speakers with ISA scores between (-4) and 0 are students or people involved mostly in occupational groups 1, 2 and 3 or posts which require constant interaction with people. This could lead us to consider whether the way in which people affiliate with

⁴³ The values of Pearson *r* in the middle-aged and older males were 0.92 and 0.74 respectively which reveal strong correlations at *p* = 0.05.

⁴⁴ The *r* values in the middle-aged and older males (0.89 and 0.96 respectively) reveal a significant correlation at *p* = 0.05, whilst in the younger males the *r* value (0.79) was just under the significance threshold (*r* = 0.805, *df* = 3).

⁴⁵ The *r*² for each of the speaker groups was smaller than 0.5 and, therefore, there is not a significant correlation at *p* = 0.05 (*df* = 3). Only the middle-aged males with an *r*² of 0.4722, and thus a Pearson *r* of 0.687, approach the significant threshold value.

⁴⁶ In this case, only the middle-age group's *r* (0.94) was significant (*p* = 0.05), yet the *r* value of the older males (0.69), whilst approximating 1, was below the significance threshold (*r* = 0.805, *df* = 3).

⁴⁷ The *r* values in the middle-aged and older males (-0.899 and -0.872) point to a significant correlation (at *p* = 0.05). With an *r* value of -0.692, the younger males also show a strong correlation: however in this case it is not significant at *p* = 0.05. The older females, with *r* = -0.725, which is well on the way to 1, are closer to the significance threshold (*r* = 0.805, *df* = 3) than the younger males.

their local community may be connected in any way with type of occupation (or even socio-economic status), and ultimately with their use of language.

← Index of Sunderland Affiliation →										
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>66.7%</u>			<u>73.3%</u> <u>70.6%</u>	<u>55.6%</u>			<u>83.3%</u>			
	73.7%				47% 56.7%		73.3% 80%			
<u>100%</u>		<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>					<u>73.3%</u>	<u>100%</u>	
				88.2%	76.7%	75%				65% 56.7%
				<u>96.7%</u> <u>61.1%</u>			<u>100%</u>	<u>80%</u>	<u>52.9%</u>	
		73.3%			60% 36.4%			33.3%	47.8%	

Table 7.13: Variants of (p): Individual speakers' scores of [p] by speaker group in order of ascending ISA

← Index of Sunderland Affiliation →										
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>41.7%</u>			<u>95%</u> <u>62.5%</u>	<u>37.5%</u>			<u>56.7%</u>			
	90%				26.3% 44.8%		0% 63.3%			
<u>83.3%</u>		<u>100%</u>	<u>100%</u>					<u>50%</u>	<u>100%</u>	
				100%	86.7%	64.3%				57.1% 30%
				<u>96.7%</u> <u>95.4%</u>			<u>100%</u>	<u>86.7%</u>	<u>76.7%</u>	
		96.7%			66.7% 33.3%			20%	30%	

Table 7.14: Variants of (k): Individual speakers' scores of [k] by speaker group in order of ascending ISA

Lastly, tables 7.15 and 7.16 display individuals' level of use of glottal replacement of (k) and (t) alongside their ISA scores.⁴⁸ The correlation between glottal replacement of (k) and strength of affiliation is very weak. To some extent, those speakers with the lowest ISA scores in each speaker group display the lowest rates of [ʔ] (see table 7.15).⁴⁹ Yet, not only do these speakers show low usage of [ʔ], but also of [ʔk] and, consequently, high levels of the standard non-localised [k]. The highest rates of [ʔ] are not confined to those with the strongest sense of affiliation. They can be found across the whole range of positive ISA scores, although in the younger groups and the older females those with the highest ISA seem to produce high levels of [ʔ].⁵⁰ In (t), no significant correlation can be observed between the use of [ʔ] and the ISA either. High and low scores of the linguistic variant are found both amongst speakers with a strong sense of local affiliation and those with a weak sense of affiliation, which may indicate that the glottal stop does not function as a marker of local affiliation.

← Index of Sunderland Affiliation →										
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>33.0%</u>			<u>5%</u> <u>25%</u>	<u>37.5%</u>			<u>33.3%</u>			
	10%				31.6% 13.8%		46.1% 10%			
<u>16.7%</u>		<u>0%</u>	<u>0%</u>					<u>40%</u>	<u>0%</u>	
				0%	0%	21.4%				14.3% 16.7%
				<u>0%</u> <u>0%</u>			<u>0%</u>	<u>13.3%</u>	<u>16.7%</u>	
		0%			13.3% 28.6%			13.3%	3.3%	

Table 7.15: Variants of (k): Individual speakers' scores of [ʔ] by speaker group in order of ascending ISA

⁴⁸ Note that no correlation patterns were found between glottal replacement of (p) and the ISA. We must remember that this variant of (p) showed very low levels of usage in all speaker groups.

⁴⁹ Note that this does not apply to the younger females, though.

⁵⁰ Note that the middle-aged female who uses [ʔ] with a 40% frequency, only produced four tokens of word-medial (k) in total.

← Index of Sunderland Affiliation →										
-4	-3	-2	-1	0	1	2	3	4	5	6
<u>78.6%</u>			<u>73.3%</u> <u>40%</u>	<u>63.6%</u>			<u>56.7%</u>			
	73.3%				63% 60%		87% 50%			
<u>43.3%</u>		<u>40%</u>	<u>56.7%</u>					<u>83.3%</u>	<u>50%</u>	
				3.3%	36.7%	60%				36.7% 50%
				<u>26.7%</u> <u>40%</u>			<u>3.3%</u>	<u>13.3%</u>	<u>79.3%</u>	
		30%			30% 50%			40%	43.3%	

Table 7.16: Variants of (t): Individual speakers' scores of [ʔ] by speaker group in order of ascending ISA

In general, it could be argued that glottal reinforcement of (p), (t) and (k) is used to some extent as a local marker. This is particularly noticeable in the male groups, who use these variants far more than their female counterparts. In these, those with strong sense of local allegiance usually displayed high levels of glottalisation, whilst a weak sense of affiliation was followed by low levels of the localised north-eastern variants. This trend was to some extent present in the female speakers too but in them the correlation was weaker and not so apparent.

7.4.7 Summary of findings

Compared to the findings of previous studies of TE, overall the Sunderland informants, like Llamas' (2001) Middlesbrough informants, display notably lower rates of glottal reinforcement of (p), (t) and (k), commonly considered local to the North-east. This may suggest that the realisations are not as characteristic of these North-eastern varieties as they are of TE. Furthermore, Docherty *et al.* suggest that glottal reinforcement, particularly of (p) and (k), may be recessive (1997: 306), so the lower levels both in Sunderland and Teesside may just be a reflection of this possible ongoing change. In addition to this, the extensive spread of the glottal stop as a non-localised variant of (t) around Britain in recent years might explain the comparatively

lower amounts of [ʔt̪] and the higher frequency of [ʔ], noted in the Sunderland and, especially, the Middlesbrough data, compared to the Tyneside data (which was gathered a few years earlier).

The increase of [ʔ] as a variant of (t) in Sunderland mirrors current national diffusion patterns as the younger speakers show the highest levels of usage in the sample. Furthermore, it is the Sunderland females who appear to be leading this change. As in other accents, this is particularly the case in word-medial, pre-vocalic position. The general increase of [ʔ] has resulted in a decrease of the non-localised standard [t] and the localised [ʔt̪]. Nevertheless, levels of [ʔ] in the younger groups are not nearly as high as they turned out to be in MbE. Still, though, they are higher than the frequency reported in TE. The lower use of [ʔ] amongst the young Sunderland informants in comparison to Middlesbrough appears to be a consequence of a clearly higher usage of the localised [ʔt̪] amongst the Sunderland youth. Whilst this high incidence of [ʔt̪] may be due to the proximity between Sunderland and Tyneside, within this younger group the females show an increase in the use of [ʔt̪], which may be evidence of some degree of convergence among the young towards the Tyneside variety.

However, (t) is not the only variable in which the young Sunderland females show an increase in the level of glottalised variants and, thus, convergence towards the Tyneside accent. Just as Llamas (2001) found in Middlesbrough, the young females' use of [ʔp̪] and [ʔk̪] in comparison to that of the middle and older females is significantly higher. In spite of this, no significant increase is noted in [ʔp̪] when the three age groups including males and females are compared. The younger generation show only a marginally higher rate than the other two groups. However, the younger generation, overall, show a significant increase in the use of [ʔk̪] with respect to the middle-aged one, arguably converging towards the older generation's rate of usage.

It was also interesting to find that glottal replacement of (p) and (k) in Sunderland (e.g. [haʔi] for happy and [beɪʔə] *baker*) displays a significant increase over time

whereas it was very rare in Docherty *et al.*'s earlier study of TE (1997: 301). Thus, this variant, which has been previously attested in other British accents (London, Glasgow, Edinburgh, Reading, Milton Keynes, Middlesbrough),⁵¹ may arguably be an innovation in SundE.

In addition to all these changes over time, gendered patterns were also identified in the localised and the standard fully released variants. In all three variables, the female speakers favour [p], [t] and [k] over the localised [ʔp], [ʔt] and [ʔk], whilst the males show the opposite pattern: as is often the case in dialect studies, the males favour the localised variant over the standard non-localised one. This association between male speakers and localised language features was also evident in the attempt to ascertain whether there was any connection between the individual speakers' usage of the variants of (p), (t) and (k) and their strength of local affiliation (section 7.4.6). The localised variants [ʔp] and [ʔk] revealed a strong correlation with the ISA in the male speaker groups but not in the female ones, which suggests that for the males these variants, in spite of being characteristic of other North-eastern varieties, may be markers of local identity and, therefore, they may be employed by those with a strong sense of local affiliation to demonstrate allegiance to Sunderland, and avoided by those with a weaker sense of affiliation.

Although the other speaker groups only show weak correlations between the use of the glottal reinforced variants and the ISA, it was noted that usually those Sunderland speakers with high ISA scores display high rates of the localised variants, whilst those at the opposite end of the Sunderland affiliation scale display very low rates. This suggests that those who have strong feelings about Sunderland (either positive or negative) may resort to language features available to them. In the case of (p), (t) and (k), those with a strong sense of local identity may employ the localised features, whilst those with a weak sense of affiliation may resort to the non-localised standard variants. In contrast with glottal reinforcement, the glottal stop as a variant of (t) does not seem to function as a marker of local identity. Rather, it appears as a frequent feature in the speech of the younger and the middle-aged groups, especially of the females. This is of particular salience in the middle-aged females since in (p), (k) and (h) they clearly favour the non-localised standard variants. Furthermore, the

⁵¹ See section 7.1.

glottal stop is used at high levels across the board regardless of the occupation held, indicating that the glottal stop is not the preserve of the lower classes but is evident across the spectrum of socio-economic backgrounds. Thus, all these patterns may be evidence that [ʔ] may hold some social prestige.

It is worth reminding ourselves at this point that these variables were chosen for analysis in this study not only because the three of them have been widely studied in variationist research conducted in the North-east, but also because, in comparison with (h) and GOOSE, they were not so salient to the speakers; in general, speakers showed a low level of awareness. In the light of the levels of usage of the three variants of (p), (t) and (k) found in the Sunderland data, we may argue that it may be the fact that all three variants are used at significant levels both in SundE and TE what makes it difficult for Sunderland people to notice the difference (even if their incidence varies in the two accents). In (h), /h/-dropping was very rare in Tyneside, therefore, this may make the presence of this variant in Sunderland (even if it is not used at particularly high level) more salient for Sunderland and Tyneside people.

Chapter 8

Variable (oo) in GOOSE

The only vowel selected for analysis in the Sunderland study was that of the GOOSE lexical set. As explained in chapter 5,¹ a number of Sunderland informants argued that the vowel in words such as *moon*, *spoon*, *boot* and *school* is pronounced differently by Sunderland and Tyneside speakers. They maintained that, whereas Tynesiders realise this vowel as a long close back monophthong, [u:], Wearsiders realise it as a diphthong or near diphthong, [əu ~ əu], hence [mu:n] and [məun ~ m^əun] respectively.² This, therefore, was one of the accent features that according to the Sunderland informants distinguish the two neighbouring urban varieties. In fact, it was the most frequently mentioned one, which is why it was selected as the fifth variable in this study, after (h), (p), (t) and (k).

This chapter examines this vocalic variable and aims to ascertain whether the Sunderland and Tyneside data available provide any evidence for this local folk-perception. Following the structure of the two previous chapters, section 8.1 discusses the usage of the GOOSE vowel in British English varieties as reported in existing dialect studies. Section 8.2 describes how the data was analysed, i.e. what words were included in the sample, how many tokens were sampled etc. Finally, section 8.3 reports and discusses the findings of the data analysis. This section focuses primarily on the comparison of the patterns of usage of this variable identified in the Sunderland and the NECTE corpora, and reviews the problems that emerged in the course of the analysis.

8.1 THE GOOSE VOWEL IN BRITISH ACCENTS

Traditionally in RP, words within the GOOSE lexical set had a long close back rounded vowel, [u:], which was the vocalic reflex of unshortened ME /o:/. This vowel

¹ See section 5.2.3.1.

² For some of the comments produced by the Sunderland informants, turn to section 5.2.3.1.

contrasts directly with those in Wells' FOOT and STRUT lexical sets, [ʊ] and [ʌ] respectively.

/ʌ/ derived in Early Modern English from the unrounding of ME /ʊ/, in words such as *cup* and *supper*, and from early shortening of ME /o:/, in words such as *flood*.³ This only occurred in Southern British English varieties, resulting in the still current divide between Northern and Southern English dialects. Beal (1999a: 134) provides evidence from eighteenth-century pronouncing dictionaries of orthoepists' awareness of the absence of unrounded /ʌ/ in northern speakers already at that time (e.g. Walker and Kirkby).

However, shortening of ME /o:/ in other words such as *book*, *foot* and *look* occurred later on, once the unrounding of the reflexes of ME /ʊ/ to /ʌ/ had already taken place. In this case, once this later shortening took place, the resulting vowel was /ʊ/ (with no further shift to /ʌ/) (Beal 1999a). This is precisely the vowel in Wells' FOOT set.

Finally, the GOOSE set, which concerns us in this chapter, contains those words in which shortening of ME /o:/ did not take place and which are therefore realised with [u:], e.g. *moon*, *spoon*, *boot* etc. Wells (1982) points out that in some Northern English varieties some of the FOOT words, generally those ending in *-ook* (e.g. *cook*, *look*, *book*), are realised with [u:], just like GOOSE. In connection with this explanation, Beal (1999a: 102) notes that shortening of ME /o:/ in some of the words from the FOOT set seems to be still in progress in northern accents.

Even here [i.e. in the northern accents mentioned by Wells], the diffusion is still occurring: I said /bu:k/ as a child, but my younger siblings (fourteen years younger) say /buk/. Coming from Lancashire (Wells' 'middle north'), we have accents usually characterized as retaining the unshortened vowel here, but observation not only of my family, but of numerous students from the same area, shows that the shortening is still

³ Note that ME /o:/ was raised to /u:/ in the Great Vowel Shift and then shortened to /ʊ/, thus leading to a merger of this reflex of ME /o:/ with ME /ʊ/.

diffusing geographically. Further north, in County Durham, the long vowel is still used even by younger speakers.

This brings us back to one of the comments produced by one of my Sunderland informants, MF32 (already mentioned in section 5.2.3.1), which suggested that, whereas in TE words ending in *-ook* would be realised with [ʊ], in Sunderland they would contain the long vowel [u:]:

people in Newcastle say instead of 'cook', 'cuk', we [Sunderland people] say 'coook'
[My emphasis] (MF32 – IdQ question 3)

In Sunderland, therefore, later shortening of ME /o:/ would not have occurred in these FOOT items. Also Llamas' (2001: 195) Middlesbrough informants identified the long back variant [u:] as the local realisation of *book*. Furthermore, she indicated that one of her younger informants commented that in Middlesbrough the [u:] would be used by older speakers whereas [ʊ] would be the variant used by younger ones (Llamas 2001: 198). All this would lend support to Beal's argument that, whereas usage of the short variant is still diffusing in County Durham, some speakers still use /u:/. The latter, then, may be regarded as a more traditional feature.

Let us return, however, to the feature that concerns us here: the realisation of unshortened ME /o:/, or what in dialect studies is referred to as the GOOSE vowel. The suggestion frequently made by many of the Sunderland informants was that, whereas in Sunderland people would say *moon* and *spoon* with a diphthong or near diphthong, or even [ʊ], Newcastle people would typically produce a tense long [u:].⁴

It must be noted, nevertheless, that in GOOSE words the traditional RP back rounded vowel [u:] has been reported to be rarely used nowadays. In fact, it is usually perceived, according to Wells, as 'indicative of a conservative type of accent' (1982:

⁴ The suggestion, therefore, was that in Sunderland the reflex of ME /o:/ has been shortened in GOOSE words yet in FOOT ones ending in *-ook* a long vowel would be used.

148). More fronted or even diphthongal variants, [ʊ] or [ʊ̟], seem to be used instead in present-day RP (Hughes et al. 2005: 50; Wells 1982: 147). Furthermore, Wells (1982: 359) indicates that a fronted variant [y:] may be heard in areas of Greater Manchester, Lancashire and Cheshire, and diphthongal variants of the type suggested by some of the Sunderland speakers, i.e. [əu ~ ə̟u] as in [məun ~ m̟əun] (for *moon*), may be heard in some urban varieties such as Birmingham and rural accents of the Yorkshire Dales and Dentdale. The diphthongal realisation, however, had already been noted much earlier in the London accent by Jones (1950: 42), who suggested that in this variety ‘a much ‘wider’ diphthong is used’ whose first element was a central vowel either [ə] or [ɪ] and the second either [u] or [ʊ] (e.g. [məun ~ məʊn]). More recently, Torgersen et al. (2007) indicate that fronting of GOOSE is ‘advanced in London’.

Interestingly, Orton (1933) in his study of the dialect of his native village, Byers Green, in South County Durham, indicated that the development of ME /o:/ in this area was [iə] in words from Wells’ GOOSE, FOOT and STRUT sets. Whilst he referred to this as the ‘genuine native forms’ (1933: 69), he pointed out that words from the first two sets,⁵ may also be realised with a diphthong [öu] at the time of this study, and suggested that this may have been a more ‘recent importation’ into that district (p. 69). Thus, this may suggest that diphthongal variants would have been around for a while now both for GOOSE and FOOT items. Nevertheless, he provides yet another alternative realisation, which he describes as ‘short [u]’, for the following items from the STRUT and FOOT lexical sets: *blood, cud, done, enough, foot, cook, look, soot, took, tough, above*. He describes this variant which he calls ‘short [u]’ as a ‘high-back-slack-round, but slightly lowered and under-rounded’ vowel [*Italics in original*] (p. 2).⁶ Following from the just mentioned list of words, he further argues, ‘[t]he

⁵ He gives the following list of words: *book, goose, hoof, hook, cook, moon, noon, soon, school, soot, spoon, stool, tooth, boot, foot, cool Doomsday, food, gloomy, smooth, tool, prove, and move* (Orton 1933: 69)

⁶ Orton did not seem to make a distinction between [u] and [ʊ]. So it seems that he used this short vowel to represent the vocalic sound used by northerners in words from the STRUT lexical set.

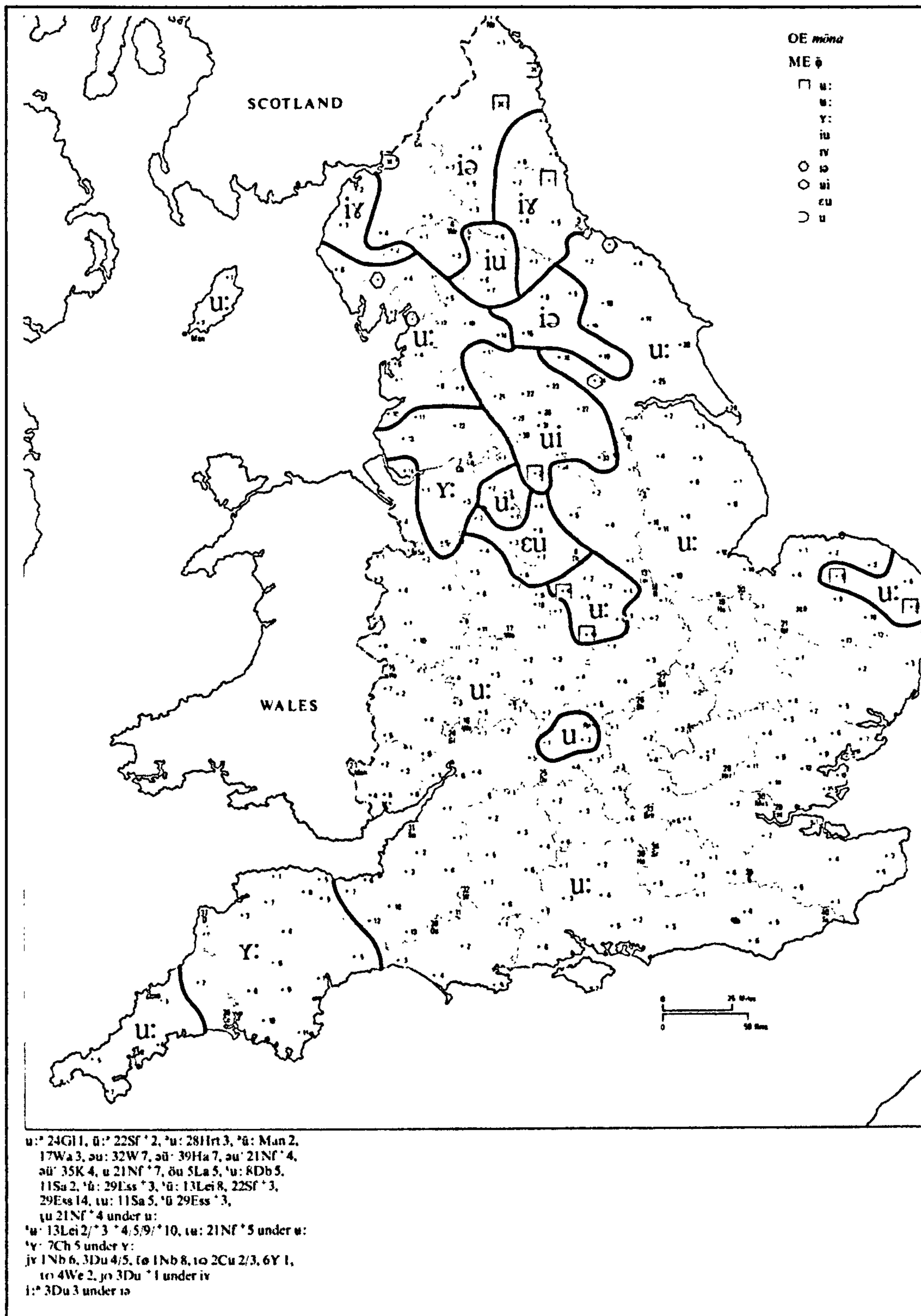
following seem never to be pronounced with any other stem vowel than [u]: *broom, brother, crook, flood, glove, good, gum(boil), hood, Monday, month, mother, other, root, stood*' (p. 69), a list which includes three GOOSE items (*broom, root, and stood*). This realisation, he argued, could be the result of 'the shortening (with subsequent retraction) of old \bar{o} , after fronting had taken place' (Orton 1933: 69). This may provide evidence for the existence of a short realisation of the vowel from the GOOSE set.

Further evidence which supports the presence of diphthongal realisations of both the GOOSE and BOOT vowels not only in the old County Durham but also in large areas of the old Northumberland county can be found in the SED (see maps 8.1 and 8.2). Both maps place a diphthong [iʌ] as the main realisation of GOOSE words in the areas that nowadays are part of Tyne and Wear. This indicates that the fronted variants were already in use in traditional varieties on both Tyneside and Wearside when the SED was conducted. Moreover, map 8.1 placed [u:] as a variant of Washington, which, as we know, is between Newcastle and Sunderland. All this evidence suggests that there was variability in how GOOSE words were realised at the time of the SED, and that maybe the distinctions observed by the Sunderland informants are either unfounded or have emerged after the SED survey.

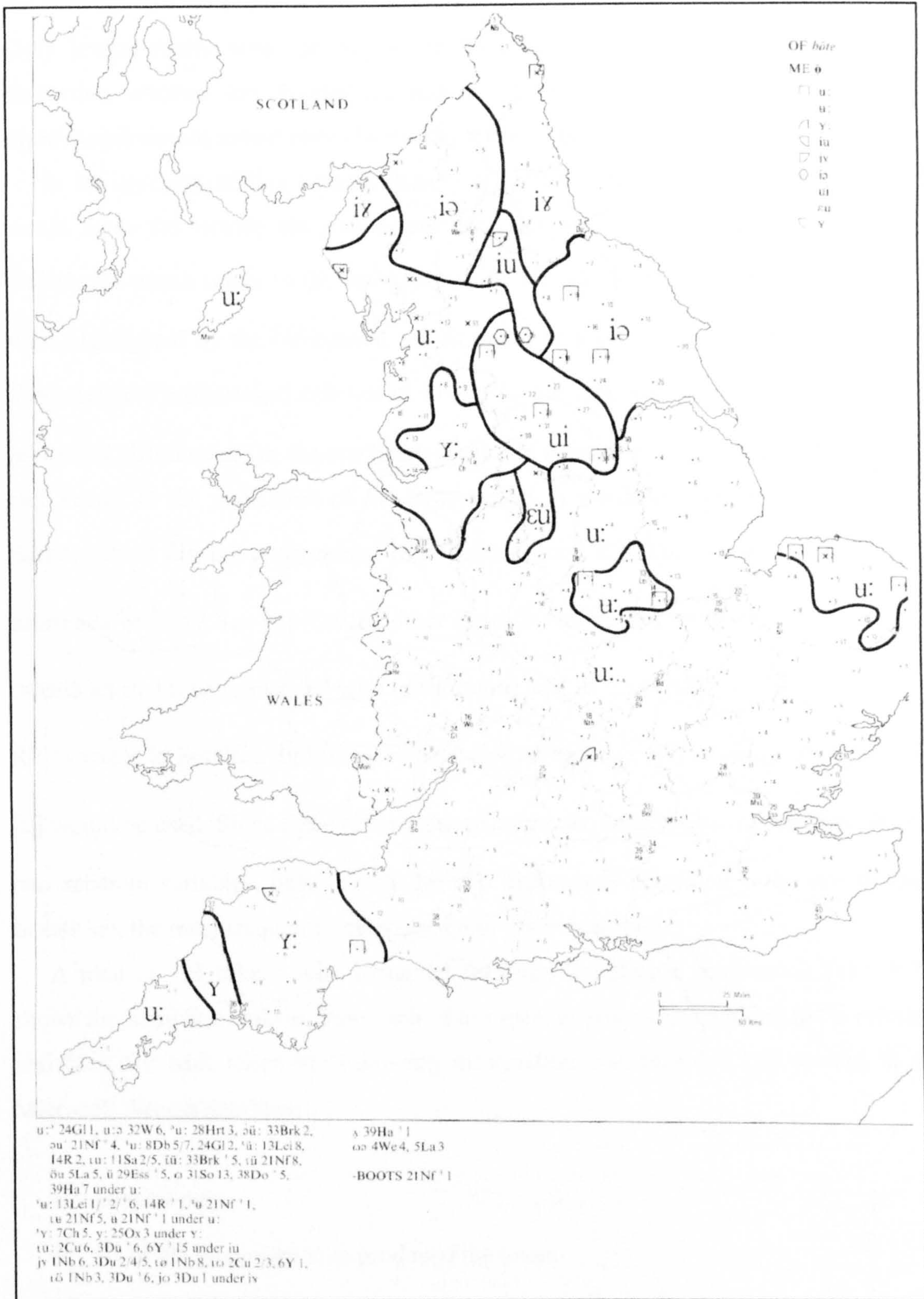
All in all, all three variants identified by Orton in his native County Durham variety and the SED evidence lend some support to my Sunderland informants' perception that suggested that GOOSE words in Sunderland are not realised with the traditional RP variant [u:] but maybe with a shorter vowel or a diphthong. Nevertheless, there also seems to be much more recent evidence in support of the Sunderland informants' observations. Although Kerswill did not study the GOOSE vowel in his research in Durham (1984, 1987), he did indeed notice how different the Durham GOOSE vowel was from the Tyneside one. In Durham, there was a diphthong with a schwa onset throughout. Furthermore, the Durham variant was more fronted than the Tyneside one (in personal communication, March 2007).

The remainder of this chapter focuses on the Sunderland informants' perceived difference between their variety and the Tyneside accent in the realisation of the GOOSE vowel, with the intention of ascertaining whether or not such a difference was

identified in the analysis of the Sunderland corpus and the six-speaker sample from the NECTE corpus.



Map 8.1: SED – Distribution of variants of ME /o:/ in *moon* (Orton *et al.* 1978)



Map 8.2: SED – Distribution of variants of ME /o:/ in boots (Orton et al. 1978)

8.2 THE SUNDERLAND DATA

As with the variables (p), (t) and (k), a target of 30 tokens per speaker was aimed at. Only lexical items from the GOOSE set were included. This would allow me to determine whether the Sunderland accent typically has a diphthongal or near-diphthongal variant as had been claimed by some of the speakers.

In the analysis of this variant, therefore, a clear distinction was made between words from the GOOSE set and words from the FOOT set ending in *-ook*. Two differences which relate to the development of ME /o: / in Sunderland and Tyneside were highlighted by the informants, and it could be argued that the same variants – shortened and unshortened reflexes of ME /o: / – are involved to some extent in both perceived differences. On the one hand, some had pointed to a difference between TE and SundE in the realisation of the FOOT vowel in words ending in *-ook* whereby SundE would display unshortened ME /o: /, i.e. [u:], and TE, like RP, would have shortened ME /o: /, i.e. [ʊ]. On the other hand, it was suggested that words from the GOOSE set in TE were realised with unshortened ME /o: /, i.e. [u:], just like traditional RP, whereas in SundE a diphthong or near-diphthong [əu ~ ʊu] or even a short vowel [ʊ] would be used. Since these differences relate to two separate lexical sets and, thus, two separate variables, only one of the two differences identified – the one in the GOOSE set, the most frequently mentioned one – was analysed.⁷

A total of 733 tokens were extracted from the Sunderland interviews. Table 8.1 shows the number of tokens from each of the speaker groups. As with all the previous variables, for each token the following information was recorded and entered in a Microsoft Access database:

- i. Lexical item
- ii. ID of the informant who produced the token

⁷ It may be interesting, nevertheless, to do some further analysis in the future to determine whether there is such a difference between Tyneside and Sunderland in the realization of FOOT words which end in *-ook*.

- iii. Variant used: monophthong [u:] or diphthong [əu ~ əu]
- iv. Transcription of the sentence/phrase in which the token was produced and, if relevant, any preceding/following sentences, phrases, pauses.
- v. Exact location of the token in the interview
- vi. Any other information which could be relevant or worth noting down

	GOOSE tokens
Young females (N = 5)	97
Young males (N = 5)	97
Middle-aged females (N = 5)	141
Middle-aged males (N = 5)	117
50+ females (N = 5)	138
50+ males (N = 5)	143
TOTAL (N = 30)	733

Table 8.1: Number of GOOSE tokens per speaker group

Given that in the case of this variable no detailed analysis of its usage has been conducted in past studies into TE, the same six-speaker sample from the NECTE corpus used for analysis of the (h) variable was analysed for the GOOSE variable.⁸ This would provide a point of reference with which the Sunderland findings would be compared.

All the tokens were analysed only auditorily, and those which were not clear due to overlap between speakers or background noise were discarded. Since the main claim made by my Sunderland informants seemed to be that the quality of the GOOSE vowel in Sunderland is diphthongal whilst the traditional monophthong [u:] is used in Tyneside, tokens were assigned to one of two possible categories: diphthong [əu ~ əu] or monophthong [u:]. However, some attention was paid to whether [u:] showed any signs of fronting, given that this seems to be the case in contemporary RP.

⁸ See section 6.3 for a description of this sample.

Section 8.3 now turns to examine the findings of the analysis of the Sunderland and Tyneside samples of data.

8.3 DATA ANALYSIS

8.3.1 The GOOSE vowel in Sunderland and Tyneside

The examination of the GOOSE tokens produced by the 36 speakers analysed (30 from the Sunderland sample and 6 from the NECTE corpus) revealed, first of all, a categorical use of a monophthongal variant in the Tyneside data. This was generally the long close back vowel [u:] traditionally found in RP, which was the variant the Sunderland informants had reported to be characteristic of the Tyneside accent.

In the Sunderland corpus, a monophthong was also by far the most frequently produced realisation, even though the informants' perception was that a (near-)diphthong was the typical local realisation. Out of the 733 tokens extracted from the Sunderland data, only 25 (i.e. 3.4%) were realised with a diphthongal variant, which is quite a small figure for it to be of any significance (see table 8.2 for the distribution of these tokens in the various speaker groups). Of these 25, ten occurred in the word *school*, which were realised mostly as [skuəɫ ~ sku^əɫ], with only two of them being realised with a closing diphthong [əu]. The former diphthong was probably just motivated by the presence of the following /l/ ([ɫ]) produced with some degree of vocalisation. Four instances of *mood(y)* and *moon*, each, were produced with a diphthongal variant, and the remaining seven were distributed as follows: two in *screwed*, one in *spoon*, *loo*, *do*, *clue* and *snooze*.

Whilst the vast majority of the GOOSE tokens were realised with a monophthongal vowel, the realisation of this variant did not always have the same back quality as the monophthongal variant produced by the speakers of the NECTE corpus. Amongst the Sunderland informants, the monophthong was frequently more fronted, approaching either [ʊ:] or [ʏ:],⁹ which is precisely the type of realisation that seems to be heard

⁹ Also very occasionally [ø:].

instead of the traditional back vowel in contemporary RP and in some other English varieties, according to Wells (1982) and Hughes *et al.* (2005) (see section 8.1).

Speaker group	Total (GOOSE)	Monophthong		Diphthong	
		N	%	N	%
Young females	97	91	93.81	6	6.19
Young males	97	95	97.94	2	2.06
Middle-aged females	141	135	95.74	6	4.26
Middle-aged males	117	117	100.00	0	0.00
Old females	138	136	98.55	2	1.45
Old males	143	134	93.71	9	6.29
Total	733	708	96.59	25	3.41

Table 8.2: Distribution of variants of the GOOSE vowel across the six speaker groups

Although we could argue that this renders the Sunderland informants' description of difference inaccurate, it still suggests that a difference is indeed perceived between the Tyneside and the Wearside accents in the realisation of this variable. As discussed towards the end of section 5.2.4 in connection with Preston's (1996) characterisation of folk-linguistic awareness in terms of different modes, the fact that speakers may not be able to produce accurate descriptions of language features but may be able to produce a perfect imitation of a feature or, on the contrary, may be able to provide a description of a feature, but may not be able to produce a perfect imitation of a feature does not mean that they are not aware of them and that they cannot perceive linguistic variation. Preston (1996) suggests in this respect that the different modes of language awareness are largely dependent on factors such as formal training and/or knowledge, correctness, and publicity via popular culture or media to mention a few.¹⁰ Clearly, a difference in the GOOSE vowel was perceived by some Sunderland informants, and more or less accurate accounts and/or imitations of the local and the Tyneside variants were offered. However, it should be remembered that these speakers have not been trained in linguistics and, therefore, will not be able to produce the same kind of account or level of detail. On the basis of this, the analysis of this variable should probably have not been limited to determining whether the vowel in Sunderland was produced as a diphthong rather than the back monophthong perceived to be typical of

¹⁰ For a more detailed account see Preston (1996).

the Tyneside accent. Instead of delimiting the number of possible categories to these two and excluding any others, maybe it should have taken into account that fronted monophthongal realisations could be possible, and that this could, in fact, be the difference the informants were trying to account for: fronted realisations (either monophthongal or diphthongal) against the traditional long back close vowel, which in their view characterises the Tyneside accent.¹¹ Still, the findings of the analysis conducted in the Sunderland corpus may suggest that, as Orton indicated almost 75 years ago in his study of the dialect of Byers Green, County Durham, and as the SED data showed, the GOOSE vowel in this region is not always realised as the RP one [u:]. Traditionally, it seems to have been realised as a diphthong or a fronted variant in County Durham, and the same pattern seems to be still present in Sunderland.

Moreover, what is interesting in this perception of difference is that, whereas from the sources reviewed in this chapter it seems that more central variants and diphthongal variants may be used instead of, or alongside with, the conservative RP realisation [u:] in some regions – e.g. Sunderland – (maybe they have been present for a while), TE retains the traditional variant, which is more like the cardinal vowel. Thus, the Sunderland speakers may actually perceive this supposedly ‘unusual’ realisation in TE. The Tyneside vowel in this case would be the clearly distinctive one for them.¹²

¹¹ Kerswill argues that in the data he collected for his research in Durham (1984, 1987), the GOOSE variant was more fronted than the Tyneside one, an impression that diphthongisation would give (in personal communication, March 2007).

¹² It would actually be interesting to follow up this perception of difference in future research analysing this variable more thoroughly and ascertaining whether Tyneside speakers also perceive this difference.

Chapter 9

Discussion and conclusion

Given the complete absence of variationist research into the Sunderland dialect to date, the first and foremost objective of this doctoral study was to fill this gap. In spite of the popularly referenced identity divide between Newcastle and Sunderland, and folk-linguistic evidence of a corresponding linguistic ‘divide’, existing dialect literature has often subsumed the Sunderland dialect into the Tyneside one (e.g. Wells 1982).. In addition to this, the proximity of Sunderland to Newcastle, and the long-standing rivalry between the two cities, arguably make Sunderland an interesting place to conduct language variation and identity research. Thus, the originality of this study lies in the fact that it explores claims for a distinct Sunderland identity and a linguistic divide between Sunderland and Newcastle, and attempts to establish the extent to which folk-linguistic perceptions of language differentiation reflect actual linguistic differences. Also, it examines whether local distinctions are an essential element in the ideology of local identity, and if sociolinguistic variation could be best accounted for by the speakers’ local social ideologies and stances. This final chapter begins by drawing together the findings pertaining to the question regarding folk-linguistic perceptions and actual differences: it will be seen that the data reveals that the perceptions and actual linguistic usage are indeed closely aligned. Following this, we will argue that the identified patterns of linguistic usage are most revealingly interpreted in the context of local social ideologies. Finally, this chapter will conclude by: postulating the future of SundE; critiquing the findings of this research, the methods employed; and, lastly, indicating the potential focus of future research.

9.1 LANGUAGE USAGE AND FOLK PERCEPTIONS OF DIFFERENCE BETWEEN SUNDE AND TE

The few studies that actually acknowledge the existence of SundE, and point to it as being different from TE, base their arguments on popular narratives of difference, casual observation and the SED data (see chapter 1) rather than on systematic analysis. However, many Sunderland people argue that they do not speak like Geordies (chapter 5). Thus, the Sunderland informants’ perceptions of local language

differentiation were reviewed in order to provide a starting point in the search for differences between SundE and TE. Furthermore, the speakers' accounts of differentiation supported Preston's (1996) view that there is variation in the amount of detail speakers are able to produce about their own varieties. It is from these folk narratives of difference that three of the five linguistic variables analysed in this study were selected: (h), (t) and (oo) in the GOOSE vowel. In addition, (p) and (k) were added to the other three variables because there has been a tendency in recent studies of TE to investigate them alongside (t), since all three can be realised either as fully released, glottalised or glottalled.

I argued in chapter 5 that Sunderland speakers seemed to display different levels of awareness with regard to the three variables that they identified as being realised differently in SundE and TE: these variables were salient at different levels. The difference noted in (oo), for example, was the most frequently acknowledged, followed by variation in (h) and lastly variation in (t), which was only indirectly signalled by two speakers when they were attempting to demonstrate how the words *computer* and *motor* were realised differently in the two neighbouring varieties. Thus, it was proposed that such variation in level of awareness from one variable to another may have been determined by the existence of different patterns of sociolinguistic variation at work in Sunderland and Tyneside English.

To start with, the least frequently cited difference pointed to the use of glottalised variants of (t) in TE (but not in Sunderland). Comparing the Sunderland findings to Docherty et al.'s (1997) findings, levels of glottal reinforcement of (p), (t) and (k) in Sunderland have proved to be significantly lower than in TE. This suggests that glottalisation is more characteristic of the Tyneside accent. By contrast, the glottal stop in all three variables is noticeably more frequent among the Sunderland speakers, whilst in Tyneside this variant was rare, especially in (p) and (k). Nonetheless, the comparatively lower levels of [ʔ] for (t) in TE were surprising, as they suggested that Sunderland is ahead of Tyneside following the general pattern of geographical diffusion of this consonantal feature.¹ The clear preference for the localised [ʔt] in Tyneside may be preventing this variety from adopting the glottal stop as quickly as other varieties (e.g. SundE and MbE) (chapter 8). It was therefore interesting to

¹ Other consonantal features that also seem to be spreading in Britain are labiodental /r/ and th-fronting.

observe that, whilst Sunderland speakers are shifting towards a supra-local variant of (t), they are not moving towards the standard one but [ʔ], which seems to have acquired some kind of covert prestige which has motivated its spread.²

The second most frequently perceived difference between SundeE and TE was the use of /h/-dropping in the former and /h/-ful realisations in the latter. In the present study, the levels of usage found in the Sunderland and NECTE corpora were not as markedly different as in the localised variant of (p), (t) and (k) and the glottal stop (chapter 7). As we saw in chapter 6, the amount of /h/-dropping amongst the Sunderland informants is surprisingly low for a variety that is popularly portrayed as an /h/-dropping one; yet the difference is still significant. It was interesting to note, however, that there is relatively little evidence of change over time when the three generations are compared. Usage reveals a slight decrease over time, which matches the trends identified by Torgersen *et al.* (2007) in London teenagers, and contrasts with findings in other urban varieties which have found evidence of an increase of /h/-dropping among middle-aged and/or young speakers (e.g. Finnegan (2005) in Sheffield, and Tollfree (1999) in London).

However, what is surprising is that, even though the frequencies of use in Sunderland and Tyneside did not differ by more than 7.5%, some speakers have commented upon it in both cities and the media has often highlighted this marker of Sunderland speech as one that contrasts starkly with the /h/-ful Tyneside accent. Although /h/-less realisations affected less than one fifth of the Sunderland tokens analysed, any rate of usage of this variant may become highly salient and magnified in a variety that is so close, geographically, and somehow also ideologically, to an /h/-retaining accent – especially given the one to one correspondence between [h] and <h>.

² We must also allow for the fact that the PVC corpus, on which Docherty *et al.*'s (1997) figures are based, was collected eight to ten years before the Sunderland corpus and, given the fast spread of this feature, we could expect to find different results in Tyneside today.

Even more salient for Sunderland people appeared to be the difference in the quality of the GOOSE vowel, which was reported as a long back vowel [u:] in TE and a diphthongal variant in Sunderland. A clear divide was found in the analysis of the NECTE and Sunderland samples, with the Tyneside speakers displaying a categorical use of the perceived variant [u:] and the Wearsiders a tendency to use a more fronted monophthong and, at times, a diphthong (note, though, that this was not as frequently as initially expected given the perceptions of difference).³ This evidence seems to indicate that Sunderland has retained a more fronted realisation in this variable, in line with the traditional dialects of County Durham.⁴

All in all, the variables analysed exhibit the differences in usage between the Sunderland and Tyneside accents that the Sunderland informants predicted. All this lends support to Preston's view that we cannot make a 'simple on-off categorisation of non-linguists' awareness of language (or evidence of 'knowledge' of any level of awareness)', but rather speak of 'modes of folk-linguistic awareness' (1996: 40). Whereas all the Sunderland informants agreed that Sunderland and Tyneside have clearly different accents, they varied in the degree of detail they were able to provide regarding the differences between them. As a result, differences identified by some informants were specific linguistic features that were not identified by others, who were perhaps not aware of them. By contrast, although other informants knew there are differences, they were not able to go into such detail when trying to explain what, in their view, distinguishes SundE and TE. The question arising was therefore whether the latter speakers displayed a lower level of awareness of variation, or whether their characterisations are less valuable than those of other speakers who could identify and discuss more specific differences between the two varieties. This question is perhaps answered in chapter 5 where we see that all informants, irrespective of their relative ability to identify linguistic differences, have mental maps of dialect areas in the North-east and, thus, are able to define not only their own speech community, but also to identify 'Others' which differ from their own. Finally, we could venture to suggest that this ability to identify differences is dependant upon

³ We must remember here that, since the speakers allocated a diphthongal variant to Sunderland, in the analysis of this variable, tokens were only allocated to two categories, monophthongal and diphthongal. It was only half-way through the analysis that the presence of a fronted monophthong, which seemed to be rather regular in Sunderland, was noted. For this reason, this variable needs further investigation.

⁴ See SED maps 8.1 and 8.1 (chapter 8).

the degree of difference between the patterns identified in the two varieties. That is, the GOOSE vowel seems to exhibit the clearest divide, with TE only using [u:] and SundE varying between [u:] and more fronted variants. By contrast, in (h) and (t) all the possible variants are used in *both* varieties, albeit at different levels. In (h), which was more frequently mentioned by the informants and has been highlighted by the media, use of the zero variant appears to be hardly significant in TE, whilst, in (t), the localised [ʔt̪] is significantly present in both varieties (yet is markedly higher in TE). Thus, the fact that [ʔt̪] is frequently used in both varieties may make it harder for the speakers to notice the difference in usage.

9.2 THE LOCAL MEANING OF SOCIOLINGUISTIC VARIATION

As discussed in chapter 2, the main concern of sociolinguistic research has been to provide an explanation for language variation and change. In order to do this, speakers have been allocated to predetermined socio-demographic categories; then, after analysing the patterns of usage of each of the groups, reasons for variation in levels of usage have been located in the ‘essence’ of what it means to be from each of those categories (e.g. female, male, working class male etc). However, this analytical method has not always produced satisfactory explanations. In his Martha’s Vineyard study, Labov (1972) found that universal social categorisations such as age, gender, and social class failed to provide an explanation for the counter-historical centralisation of the diphthongs in RIGHT and HOUSE. He then turned to discuss the socio-economic background of the island, using selected comments produced by his informants, and produced a classification of the informants into those having positive, neutral, and negative attitudes to the island which correlated perfectly with usage of centralisation, suggesting that the ‘the immediate meaning of this phonetic feature is “Vineyarder”’ (Labov 1972: 36). Whilst this provides a strong pointer towards indexicality, the problem is that Labov gives a very detailed account of the linguistic analysis, yet suddenly produces his social classification without any indication of the methodology employed. This suggests that, from the beginning, there has been a tendency to give the ‘socio’ side of sociolinguistics a somewhat ‘post-hoc’ treatment. There is no doubt that, over time, sociolinguists have seen the need to incorporate

more and more social variables that may help to explain language variation. As Johnstone points out, ‘the list of variables we consider [...] has been expanded to include things about people that are harder to see, such as social identification, tastes and preferences, as well as individual identity’ (2000: 3). However, factors such as social identification or individual/local identity have rarely been examined in a systematic manner or incorporated as essential components in the interpretation of variation. Although tendencies that pointed to language differentiation in a particular locality have often been justified on grounds of strong local identity displayed by the group, claims about identity have often been made on the basis of selected, and to some extent selective, comments made by some informants. These have often been brought in during the interpretation of the sociolinguistic trends identified to explain the language usage of whole groups.

In variationist survey studies, language and social attitudes have traditionally been studied separately from language variation, and, in the latter, attempts to consider local identities as factors motivating language differentiation have been carried out in rather post-hoc and unsystematic ways. Gaining access to local ideologies of language and society is important if we are to provide a locally meaningful interpretation of language variation and language features, which is why recent variationist studies have resorted to the language ideological framework introduced in chapter 2 to explain the sociolinguistic patterns (Dyer 2002; Dyer and Wassink 2001; Llamas 2001; Milroy 2000, 2004). This establishes the link between a particular language feature or variety and a specific social category as first-order indexicality, whereas second-order indexicality refers to the speakers’ justification and rationalisation of the first-order indexical link by means of local ideologies (section 2.2). Looking into second-order indexicality is of particular importance when sociolinguistic research is pointing to dialect levelling of local varieties with regional ones replacing the local. Such claims seem surprising given popular representations of identity which suggest that defining the group as different from a linguistic and social ‘Other’ plays an important role in local constructions of identity.

An interpretation of the patterns of variation obtained in the Sunderland data, which does not take into account the local social and language attitudes expressed by the Sunderland informants, would lead us to suggest that the decrease of the localised glottal reinforced variants of (p), (t) and (k) amongst the younger and middle-aged informants is the result of a dialect levelling process, in which local variants are being

replaced with supra-local ones. Since Docherty *et al.* (1997) argue that the use of glottal reinforcement is decreasing in TE, this decrease in Sunderland would not be surprising. By contrast, the increase of glottal reinforcement among the younger females and the slight decrease in the use of /h/-dropping in favour of /h/-ful realisations in the middle-aged and younger speakers would have to be explained in terms of convergence towards the 'Geordie' accent. However, we must ask ourselves what could possibly be the motivations that would lead Sunderland people to converge linguistically towards more supra-local variants and sacrifice local language distinctions, or would lead the younger (females) and middle-aged to converge towards the Tyneside variety.

Certainly, the attitudinal data reviewed in chapter 4 does not lend support to this interpretation. If anything, after reviewing these attitudes, we would expect to find divergent trends in Sunderland, since one of the main concerns in the construction of the local identity was precisely to stress local social and language distinctions in order to delimit their community from other nearby ones (mainly Newcastle). This is often motivated by the fact that, as indicated in section 4.2.1, Sunderland people are often identified as 'Geordies', a label which all of the Sunderland informants (with one exception) completely rejected. Many even argued that they would find this label offensive. Thus, the fact that they refuse to be culturally subsumed into the Tyneside community could possibly be regarded as a motivation for linguistic differentiation and divergence.

Along these lines, therefore, we could argue that a community so concerned with marking the divide between itself and its neighbour will not show any interest in adopting supra-local dialect features which would blur the distinction between them. It is for this reason that we need to interpret the sociolinguistic patterns found in Sunderland, taking into account the speakers' attitudes towards their city, dialect, and region, rather than interpret them on the basis of what has been found in other communities.

As mentioned above, the middle-aged and the younger generations appear to use /h/-dropping at slightly lower rates than the older group, a decrease more marked in the male groups; however, these changes are too small to support generalisable claims regarding change over time. Furthermore, given the spread of /h/-dropping in

England, and especially in areas of Yorkshire and County Durham, it would have been surprising to find that Sunderland speakers are favouring /h/-ful realisations (especially when these are popularly known to be typical of the Tyneside accent). Moreover, convergence towards TE would seem rather paradoxical, especially since Sunderland people are very keen to be seen as different from the Geordie community. Still, looking at the levels of /h/-dropping displayed by the speakers, in the light of how they oriented themselves towards the local community, suggested that this variant may be used for the expression of personal identities.

It was noted in chapter 4 that the speaker groups with the average highest ISA were (starting with the highest) the middle-aged males, the older females and the older males. Overall, these were the groups with the most positive attitudes towards their local community and the most locally oriented. As a consequence of the overall strong sense of local affiliation displayed by the middle-aged males, levels of h/-dropping well above any of the other speaker groups may have been expected in this group, since this is regarded as a marker of local speech. Instead, their overall usage did not go beyond that of the younger males and the older males. We could suggest that this is the result of the socio-political changes the region underwent in the 1970s following from the reorganisation of county boundaries. Certainly, those in the older group were brought up in a North-east region where there was not much contact between the various regional subgroups. In a survey ‘to measure the strength of attachment through the patterns of local and regional attitudes and behaviour’ (1975: 381), Townsend and Taylor point to a ‘relative lack of migration and contact between “subregions”’ at the time, arguing that:

Day’s outings and week-ends away take people across and out of the Region. But the numbers of people making recent shopping trips to the “regional capital” in Newcastle were in some clusters nugatory (p. 385).

This suggests that contact between the dialects spoken by these subgroups would have been minimal, which would have created the ideal conditions to maintain some of the traditional features characteristic of these varieties. Under these circumstances, it seems feasible that variable use of /h/-dropping in County Durham, and therefore

Sunderland, and retention of /h/ in Newcastle, would have remained rather stable distinctive markers of the two varieties. This would also have been favoured by the traditional heavy industries (coal mining, ship building etc) on which for centuries the North-eastern economy depended. These industries were essential components in the definitions of local and regional identities as they promoted very close-knit networks and were part of the region's shared experiences. However, the progressive decline of the traditional industries, the reassignment of Newcastle and Sunderland to the new county of Tyne and Wear and the improvement of transport links were bound to have an impact on the North-eastern society in general. The middle-aged speaker group in the present study of Sunderland would have grown up in an area where levels of unemployment increased drastically as a result of the progressive closure of coal mines and shipyards and other local industries (e.g. the Vaux Breweries). By 1985 there were 29,686 unemployed in a town that in 1981 had a population of 294,894. Female employment, nevertheless, has been constantly on the rise since the 1950s and at the turn of the 21st century it amounted to 50% of the city's workforce (Dodds 2001: 145-146), which may have gone towards altering female speech patterns. Moreover, the lack of employment in Sunderland would have led people to seek jobs in other areas, including Newcastle,⁵ promoting short-term contact with other regional groups and thus with their dialect varieties. Contact would have also been favoured by the improvement of transport links between the cities. This may explain the general lower rates of /h/-dropping in the middle and younger generations.

It is interesting to note that four of the six middle-aged speakers who would have been in their mid to late teens at the time when Sunderland became part of Tyne and Wear (MM19, MM20, MM28 and MF23) were the ones with the highest ISA and the highest usage of /h/-dropping in their groups. They displayed a clear concern to distinguish themselves from Geordies, and the males especially voiced a clear antipathy towards Geordies. By contrast, all of those in the middle generation who had moved around for professional reasons or who claimed to engage in more or less short-term contact with the Tyneside community (e.g. during day or shopping trips or

⁵ Note that, since the 1980s, Newcastle has established itself as one of the main centres of regional employment and numbers of commuters from other areas in Tyne and Wear have been found to increase constantly (Coombes 2005).

to visit friends there) (MM14, MF04, MF26, MF32 and MF39) displayed a complete avoidance of /h/-dropping.

This clear divide in the use of (h), and the fact that only middle-aged and older speakers were aware of the fact that /h/-dropping is a marker of the Sunderland accent and /h/-retention of the Tyneside accent, suggest that speakers may be trying to index different identities. Those with a strong local allegiance and a very local orientation were willing to be identified with Sunderland and, thus, may be resorting to language features available in the community (/h/-dropping being one of them) to portray that sense of localness. On the other hand, the complete avoidance of /h/-dropping by those who presented themselves as being more mobile could easily be interpreted as convergence towards TE. Nevertheless, since they all claimed membership in the local community and rejected the 'Geordie' label frequently assigned to them on the grounds that they are different from Tynesiders, convergence towards Newcastle is an unlikely explanation. Rather, since these speakers expressed critical and neutral attitudes towards Sunderland, and did not seem to engage in the regional rivalries, their use of /h/-ful realisations could be seen as a desire to diverge from their local variety and to portray themselves as outwardly oriented Wearsiders. Given the general saliency of /h/-dropping in England, we could argue that whilst the former group is using this marker to index 'Sunderlandness', the latter are adopting /h/-fulness as the standard, rather than the 'Tyneside', variant. It seems reasonable to suggest that the same argument would explain the replication of these patterns in the younger and older groups.

The young females provide us with a second case of potential convergence towards TE in their use of the glottally reinforced variants of (p), (t) and (k) in intersonorant position, which have been widely attested in North-eastern varieties, but at significantly higher levels in TE. Unlike /h/-dropping, which is a local Sunderland variant, glottalisation is a regional variant (chapter 7). Thus, the younger females' levels of glottalisation, as compared to the older female groups, could be interpreted in terms of convergence towards other North-eastern varieties, and in particular TE,

had it not been for the fact that this was the group with the lowest ISA. The trends displayed by the older groups may be illuminating here. Just as with /h/-dropping, most of the middle and older females displayed an almost categorical absence of glottalisation, with only three of them, who identified rather positively with Sunderland, displaying some significant use of glottalisation, especially in (p) and (t) (MF32, OF08, OF17).⁶ Therefore, this may arguably support the view that, by avoiding localised variants, the middle-aged and older females are emphasising their outward-looking orientation, rather than a refusal of membership in the community. In the light of this, the younger females' increase of glottalisation may be indicative of a change at the second-order indexical level. Although they saw themselves as belonging to the Sunderland community, they were rather outward looking – Newcastle and/or the Metrocentre, for example, would be their most likely choices for a shopping trip – and they were the group that reacted most negatively towards the Sunderland accent. This is supported by Llamas (2001) who also found an increase of glottalised (p) amongst her young adult group in Middlesbrough. This was the group with the lowest sense of local affiliation and lowest local orientation. As Llamas (2001: 234) argues, there does not seem to exist a direct correlation between local affiliation and usage of localised variants. Furthermore, short-term contact with other communities, in this case the Tyneside community, will not be to the detriment of local allegiance or sense of belonging; instead, it may make individuals more aware of who they are and the groups with which they identify. Thus, short term contact with Tynesiders does not appear to be leading young Wearsiders to identify with Geordies; proof of this is the fact that they all rejected the 'Geordie' label and all claimed to speak differently. Furthermore, although they did not express a heightened antipathy towards Geordies, as some middle-aged and older informants did, they all identified Geordies as the distinct 'Other'. Thus, the Sunderland findings seem to support Llamas' suggestion that:

[i]t seems that there is not a linear relationship between identification with a perceived donor variety and increased use of a form associated with that donor variety. What the innovatory forms symbolise to the speakers who adopt them appears not to be related to positive identification with a perceived donor variety in a geographical sense. Rather,

⁶ Note the MF32 claimed to have regular contact with Geordies due to the fact that her partner was a Geordie and they often socialised there. Thus her usage of glottalised variants may index not only her local affiliation but also her contact with, and orientation towards, Tyneside.

speakers are able to adopt innovatory forms which symbolise something of value to them without compromising their local orientation (Llamas 2001: 234).

Whilst the younger Sunderland females did not express any kind of identification with Tynesiders, the increase in the use of glottalised variants may be indexical of their social practices and orientation towards the dominant centre of the North-east.

However, this does not seem to account for the distribution of this variant in the male groups, where different ideological motivations may be operating. Once again, the middle-aged males and the younger males exhibited a decrease in the use of glottalised variants of (p), (k) and especially of (t). In the light of the patterns found, we could argue that the drop in glottalisation amongst the middle males may be due to their heightened sense of local affiliation and orientation (this was the group with the highest average ISA). Their decrease in usage of the localised variants would be indexing their wish to diverge from Geordies, and present themselves as being different. Yet, it was noted by looking at speakers' individual levels of usage that there seems to be a direct correlation between sense of affiliation and glottalisation, such that those with the strongest sense of affiliation and local orientation and with the most ardent rivalry towards Newcastle exhibited the highest usage of glottalisation. This was particularly clear in (p) and (k).

Usage of these variants amongst the younger males also appears to index sense of affiliation. Like the younger females, this group was rather outwardly oriented; none of them identified Sunderland as a possible place for a shopping or day trip. Nevertheless, it was those who showed a positive or neutral reaction to the attitudinal questions in the IdQ that displayed the highest use of glottalisation. Finally, although the older males generally used glottalisation at higher levels than the other two male groups, levels of usage were particularly low amongst those who displayed the weakest sense of affiliation and an outward looking orientation, and high amongst those with strong local affiliation and orientation.

Overall, we could argue that amongst the middle-aged and older generations (especially the male groups) glottalisation has been enregistered as a feature indexing 'Sunderlandness' and a local affiliation/orientation. Levels of usage suggest that it does not seem to be associated with Geordies. I would go so far as to suggest that the decrease in glottalisation found between the older and middle-aged generation is indexical of the re-definition of local identities that took place in the 1970s and 1980s

when Sunderland people, now part of Tyne and Wear, were forced to geographically widen their search for employment after the disappearance of the traditional industries. This, and the better links between the North-eastern localities, has favoured mobility and contact between groups and, therefore, probably a certain shift away from some the most localised North-eastern dialect features. Thus, in the 1970s the North-eastern identity was found to be stronger amongst the most non-mobile members of local communities who were part of close-knit local social networks, many of which, we can expect, would have been groups of people united by the same occupation (mining, shipbuilding etc). However, the higher contact between communities and the shift of political boundaries, such as the one that used to separate Northumberland and County Durham (and therefore Newcastle and Sunderland) may have led those in the middle-aged generation (and some in the older one) in the present Sunderland study to find new ideological ways to separate themselves from Geordies, and to even display a largely heightened, almost exaggerated, sense of local affiliation: hence some local variants may have become indexical of the Sunderland speakers' connection to a particular set of local cultural values and stances (even if they were also used in TE). Lastly, the younger speakers, who have only experienced Sunderland as part of Tyne and Wear, appear to have constructed more outwardly oriented local identities, and it is rather probable that this increased contact with other groups in the region may have made them highly conscious of who they are and who the 'Other' community is. Thus, the use of glottalised variants in this generation may be associated with a regionally rather than locally-oriented Wearsider.

Finally, we may attribute the noticeable increase in usage of the glottal stop as a variant of (t) among the young and the middle-aged females to the outward orientation of these groups, which was often favoured by their occupations and social networks. This is one of a group of consonantal features that are diffusing around the country, and that are generally strongly associated with south-eastern varieties, and Sunderland displays the same rapid increase attested in many other British accents (see chapter 7). Mobility and exposure to other varieties are likely to have favoured the rapid increase of [ʔ] in Sunderland to the point of being by far the preferred variant amongst the young and the middle females. Furthermore, with regard to the middle-aged females, it was interesting to note that whilst in (h), (p) and (k) they had by far favoured the non-localised standard variants, in (t) the non-localised [ʔ] was more favoured than

the standard [t], which arguably offers more support to claims made earlier in this work about the covert prestige that this variant may carry. Moreover, this pattern of usage may constitute evidence that this group's use of /h/-ful realisations does not reflect convergence with Tyneside but preference for more supra-local and/or standard forms.

In conclusion, on examining the patterns of variation in Sunderland, possible evidence of attrition of localised features in favour of more supra-local ones was found in the small decrease of localised features, such as /h/-dropping and glottalisation of (p), (t) and (k), exhibited by the younger and the middle-aged generations. Pointers to a decrease of glottalisation (especially of (p) and (k)) have been given in previous research into TE, and the trends found in Sunderland could certainly be indicative of this shift towards less localised variants. In addition, it seems that patterns of variation in Sunderland are not a straight-forward reflection of the socio-demographic categories to which they were initially associated or allocated. By using the local accent features available to them, speakers are not claiming membership in those categorisations; that is, they are not defining themselves as younger females or middle-aged males. Instead, their choice of variants, either consciously or unconsciously, is indexing the way they identify with the local community and how locally or outwardly oriented they are. Ultimately, though, the meanings or stances indexed by the variants employed may vary from one group to another, as they are determined by the individual or collective life experiences of the members of that group; hence the importance of taking social categories as proxy variables as argued in section 6.4.2. Thus, while two different groups may display considerable usage of a single variant, this variant may index different ideologies in each case; that is to say, it may be rationalised and justified differently by each group, thus, varying at the second-order indexical level. This seems to be the case of glottalisation and /h/-retention in Sunderland.

At this point, before turning to evaluate various aspects of this study, we need to address the question of what the future of SundE might be and where the speech community is heading. Linguistic and attitudinal data indicate that SundE is not lagging behind other varieties elsewhere in the country in the adoption of rapidly-

diffusing accent changes. This was evidenced by the increase over time in use of the glottal stop. However, the adoption of these consonantal features, which appear to be spreading extensively in other regions of the UK, does not seem to be compromising local linguistic and ideological distinctions in Sunderland; and indeed how could they, when it is of such immense importance for individuals to maintain their local identities? Whilst increased social mobility at the turn of the 21st century appears to be contributing to some level of attrition of localised features (hence the decrease of glottalisation), it is unlikely that SundE and the other urban varieties in the North-east will move towards a supra-local variety that will blur social distinctions. Speakers are likely to continue making use of the linguistic structures available, and to imbue them with local ideologies and thus maintain differentiation.

This study has sought to argue two points:

1. that SundE presents features that indeed distinguish this variety from TE, and
2. that local patterns of linguistic variation can perhaps be best explained in the light of the informants' social and linguistic ideologies.

What remains to be presented is the evaluation of the study's findings, a critique of the methodology employed, and a statement of possible avenues for future investigation.

9.3 EVALUATION OF FINDINGS

This study has sought to move away from essentialist approaches often adopted in variationist work, and to avoid treating speakers' language usage and identity as *given* by their membership of, or association with, predetermined socio-demographic categories. Instead, this investigation sought to adopt a 'bottom-up' approach to sociolinguistic variation which placed the local environment as the 'locus' where the meaning of variation is constructed. The language ideological framework adopted for this purpose has favoured an interpretation of language patterns bearing on the speakers' individual and collective construction of identities. This enables the treatment of them as agents who, by their use of language, are expressing their identification and affiliation to particular groups which are salient in their construction

of identity. The in-depth examination of the Sunderland identity (chapter 4) has allowed us to identify the main local symbols and ideologies whereby Sunderland people make meaning and establish themselves as a community (e.g. language, social labels, the local football team, regional rivalries, political boundaries, local landmarks, etc). Moreover, the study has established that there is variation in how members of each speaker group orient themselves towards the local community and their position with respect to other North-eastern groups. Insight gained into the community suggests that the different ways of demonstrating local affiliation seem to be ultimately linked to the speakers' experience of, and attitudes towards, their community, city and region. Certainly, the Sunderland identity seems to have changed over time, since a stronger sense of affiliation and a more local orientation was typical of the middle-aged males, the older females and the older males. These three groups also displayed a greater sentimental attachment towards County Durham, which could be viewed as evidence that the re-assignment of Sunderland to Tyne and Wear in 1974 had a large impact on their identities. By contrast, the middle-aged females and the younger generation present themselves as more regionally-oriented Wearsiders, showing a particular orientation towards Tyneside as a social and cultural centre. This suggests that contact with the Geordie community does not compromise a sense of identification and affiliation with Sunderland; rather, contact with the 'Other' may arguably be seen to heighten their awareness of difference and of who they are.

Such a focus upon the speakers' individual and collective identities, and the amount of variation found in their articulation of identity and orientation to the local community, has provided evidence that simplistic socio-demographic categories (e.g. age and gender) do not in themselves satisfactorily accommodate the heterogeneity of the speakers. Individuals within the same demographic groups displayed very different personas and different opinions when it came to talking about themselves and their local community. Consequently, when interpreting the linguistic trends identified, this led to the placement of stronger emphasis on the individual, rather than on group statistics. This study has attempted to explore both inter-group and intragroup variation and, thus, has tried to look beyond statistics to tell the *story* of individuals rather than letting the speakers' voices and personas become part of aggregate figures.

This deeper understanding of the local community, which shows no evidence of a sense of identification with Newcastle, stresses the importance of incorporating

ethnographic data into variationist survey studies. It is through the systematic analysis of such ethnographic data that we may gain access to local representations of identity in the North-east (and elsewhere) that highlight the importance of local distinctions. An interpretation of the sociolinguistic patterns found in Sunderland, in terms of convergence towards Tyneside or levelling towards supra-local forms superseding the local, would contradict these local representations. However, if the linguistic findings are considered alongside the attitudinal data, it is possible to argue that trends in Sunderland appear to be indexical of the strength of local affiliation and orientation displayed by individual informants. This importance of the speakers' position and ties within the community may be seen as reminiscent of Milroy's (1987a) Belfast findings which suggested that, when age, gender and class were kept constant, there appeared to be a direct correlation between the speakers' usage of the vernacular and their integration in the local social networks.

Occupation was also an interesting factor in the data analysis. Whilst more attention has been paid to local identities, we cannot forget that occupation is an important component in our individual identities: it largely determines the cultural and social milieus in which people live their lives, thus influencing the social networks in which they engage, their language usage, interactions, etc. Some of the variables examined revealed a strong effect of occupation on the choice of variant. Such was the case with /h/-dropping, whose usage decreased amongst those in occupations which required a relatively advanced level of academic qualification (see table 3.2). The difficulty experienced in obtaining a population sample stratified by social class was not exclusive to this study, as we saw in section 3.3.1.2, where evidence was presented that indicated a tendency in contemporary Britain for people to define themselves as working class in spite of their high incomes, and for people with very low salaries to present themselves as middle-class. Thus, as far as the data for this study reveals, people's self-assessment of class does not appear to be solely based on socio-economic factors but possibly also on the social networks and ideologies with which they identify. For this reason, we may need to rethink the social class variable in variationist research and maybe consider moving towards building socio-economic indices which take into account our informants' occupations.

The interpretation of the findings could be open to criticism as indeed more stress could have been placed on speakers' occupation. However, whilst useful information

was gleaned from the plotting of linguistic variables against occupation, giving an insight into how language usage varied across socio-economic groups (chapters 6 & 7), no solid generalisations could be made. This was due to the fact that the SOC groups, defined at the start of this study (section 3.3.1.2), did not contain an equal number of male and female informants, and some groups were represented by informants from the same generation or gender (e.g. SOC group 8 was represented only by two older males). Thus, although occupation was used in place of the social class variable, which was discarded in the course of the fieldwork (section 3.3.1.2), this factor had to be used with caution.

Finally, some areas of Sunderland were under-represented. This was especially the case with Washington which, from the start, was identified as an area that needed attention given its position half-way between Tyneside and Wearside. However, only one person from this town was recruited for the study, which means that although we have established what people from other parts of the City of Sunderland think about Washington, not much light has been shed on how Washington people define their own identities.

9.4 EVALUATION OF METHODS EMPLOYED

The SuRE methodology proved to be a useful data-collection method for the present study, as it enabled the elicitation of both linguistic and attitudinal data required for this study. The main strength of this methodology lay in its strategy to overcome the observer's paradox. Interviewing dyads of informants who are familiar with one another, and asking them to discuss among themselves, and with the fieldworker, the words they use or know for different notions, generally favoured a high level of involvement on the part of the speakers. Paradoxical though it may seem, the discussion of their own language usage and knowledge appeared to make them forget that their actual language usage, from accent and grammar to lexis, was being observed and recorded. Also, their eagerness to tell an interested outsider (the researcher) about their local community, their identity and the relation they hold with other communities in the North-east, in particular the Geordie one, encouraged rather fluid discussion. Nevertheless, this does not mean that the technique was infallible; proof of this lies in the fact that many interviews had to be discarded on the grounds

that some people just did not engage in conversation but merely read through their questionnaires and answered follow-up questions too briefly.

In relation to the SuRE method, it is also worth mentioning its ability to elicit large amounts of data from each informant. By successfully getting the informants to engage in discussing the SRNs, it enables the elicitation of a considerable amount of phonological, grammatical and lexical data that may later be examined for the identification of patterns of usage. However, in addition to this, the possibility of supplementing the SRNs with identity questionnaires allows the researcher to gain some understanding of how speakers construct their individual and group identities, and display identification with such groups. The inclusion of the identity questionnaires in some of the studies that have implemented (or are currently implementing) the SuRE method constitutes an important step forward in variationist survey studies, as it suggests that, at last, identity is beginning to be treated as a central factor in accounts of language variation (rather than as a peripheral attribute) and that it is being systematically analysed.⁷ Furthermore, they acknowledge the agency of the speakers in the construction of identities and thus view identity as an emotional social construct rather than as an attribute that results from an individual's membership in a predetermined social category.

On the negative side, through following the interview procedure prescribed by the SuRE methodology, time occasionally became an issue. Informants' desire and readiness to discuss the topics raised in the SRNs and grammar questionnaires meant that the IdQ was sometimes rushed, with informants either tiring or becoming anxious to return to work or their other daily duties. Since the data elicited by the IdQ is such an integral part of the study, in future it would perhaps be advisable to reorganise the sequence in which the various parts of the interview are ordered.

Regarding the analytical methods employed, one of the big questions that emerged during the Sunderland study is how we can best incorporate and process ethnographic data in this type of investigation. Moreover, having observed the attitudes elicited by each informant, the question was whether or not we (researchers) should be using our own subjective interpretations of ethnographic data to argue that a speaker has a strong sense of local affiliation. Here, in an attempt to minimise the amount of subjectivity involved in the assessment of the responses produced by different

⁷ See, for example: Asprey, forthcoming; Finnegan, forthcoming; Llamas 2001; Pichler, forthcoming.

subjects in the IdQ, an index of Sunderland affiliation has been built up on the basis of the answers given by the informants to some of the questions in this questionnaire (section 4.4). It was hoped that this would allow us to determine their strength of affiliation by considering the same set of factors across the board, namely, social labels employed to claim membership of the community, attitudes towards their city, towards their dialect and towards other areas in the region, etc. Answers were categorised as positive, negative or neutral and allocated scores accordingly. As argued in chapter 4, the output of this index across the whole sample very much reflected my subjective assessment of most informants. This suggests that it may be possible to establish more objectively how strongly individuals identify with their communities by identifying first those symbols and groups that are essential in local constructions of identities. Having done this, we may then be able to ascertain whether level of allegiance bears any correlation with linguistic usage. Thus, whilst the index created is not devoid of problems, since it may be argued that some level of subjectivity is still required to attach a positive, negative or neutral score to an answer, the ISA constitutes an attempt to highlight the importance of finding ways of analysing attitudinal data systematically and objectively. Additionally, an informal presentation to the informants of the data analysis in a follow-up interview would facilitate a constructive dialogue between the researcher and informants that could help alleviate, to some degree, the subjectivity of the interpretation.

9.5 DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

While a large amount of data was collected for the exploration of Sunderland language and identity, only a fraction of it was analysed for the purposes of this doctoral study. It is envisaged that further elements of the local dialect would need to be explored in due course in order to provide a more detailed picture of the extent to which this under-researched variety differs from, or resembles, the Geordie dialect, which in comparison has been widely researched. This future work would involve investigating other accent features of the variety and would start shedding light onto its morpho-syntactic structure. A further avenue for future exploration could be the GOAT vowel, which has received close attention in recent research conducted on TE (Watt 1998, 2002), and which the Sunderland informants listed as distinguishing SundeE and TE. In addition, given the problems identified in the analysis of the GOOSE

vowel, this variable would need to be re-examined in such a way that the new analysis took account of the fact that the fronted variants in Sunderland could be either monophthongs or diphthongs. In doing so, acoustic methods could be employed to aid accurate identifications of each variant.

Finally, the wealth of data generated by the SRNs meant that an encyclopaedic study of the Sunderland variety was beyond the scope of this thesis; however, the creation of a database that comprises interview transcriptions, audio and questionnaire responses could mean that future research projects could pick up where this thesis leaves off. These future projects might focus on: a number of grammatical features that may distinguish SundE from TE (e.g. *dinnet* vs *divvent*, *ower* vs *wor*);⁸ lexical variation in the Sunderland dialect; and further develop the study of the Sunderland identity and its influence on language differentiation, and, thus, contribute further to the debate on how we can best approach and analyse those social/local identities which are central motivations for language variation and change.

⁸ See section 5.2.3.3.

References

- Agha, A. (2003) 'The social life of a cultural value'. *Language and Communication*, 23: 231-273.
- Aitchison, J. (1994) *Words in the Mind. An Introduction to the Mental Lexicon* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Allen, W., Beal, J.C., Corrigan, K.P. and Maguire, W. (2004) "'Paddy' and 'Jock' Meet 'Geordie': A Prolegomenon to Investigating the Reflexes of Nineteenth Century Linguistic Contact in the North East'. Paper presented at *The Influence of the Languages of Ireland and Scotland on Linguistic Varieties in Northern England Colloquium*, University of Aberdeen, 28th June 2004.
- Allen, W., Maguire, M. and Moisl, H. (2005) 'Phonetic Variation in Tyneside'. Paper presented at the *Third International Conference on Language Variation in Europe*, Meertens Instituut, Amsterdam, June 2005.
- Andrésen, B. (1968) *Preglottalisation in English Standard Pronunciation*. Oslo: Norwegian University Press.
- Asprey, E. (forthcoming) *Black Country English and Black Country Identity*. Unpublished PhD thesis. University of Leeds
- Asprey, E., Burbano-Elizondo, L. and Wallace, K. (2006) 'The Survey of Regional English and its Methodology: Conception, Refinement and Implementation'. In A.M. Hornero, M.J. Luzón and S. Murillo (eds) *Corpus Linguistics: Applications for the Study of English*. (Linguistics Insights. Studies in Language and Communication. Volume 25) Bern: Peter Lang. pp. 431-449.
- Atkinson, J. (forthcoming) *Language Variation and Change in a North-east Borderland: A Sociolinguistic Study of Darlington*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Barry, M. V. (1984) 'The English Language in Ireland'. In R.W. Bailey and M. Görlach (eds.) *English as a World Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 84-133.
- Baugh, A. C. and Cable, T. (1993) *A History of the English Language* (4th ed.). London: Routledge.

- BBC Inside Out* (30/06/2003) 'Tyne Bridge'. Available at: http://www.bbc.co.uk/insideout/northeast/series3/tyne_bridge_northeasthistory.shtml [Last accessed: May 2007]
- BBC News* (20/10/2005): 'Man remanded in Ripper hoax probe'. Available at: <http://news.bbc.co.uk/1/hi/england/4360026.stm> [Last accessed: March 2007]
- Beal, J. C. (1985) 'Lengthening of <a> in Tyneside English'. *Current Issues in Linguistic Theory*, 41: 31-44.
- Beal, J.C. (1993a) 'The Grammar of Tyneside and Northumbrian English'. In J. Milroy, and L. Milroy (eds.) *Real English: the Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles*. London: Longman. pp 187-213.
- Beal, J.C. (1993b) 'Geordie accent and grammar'. Unpublished MS, DELLS, University of Newcastle, Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Beal, J.C. (1999a) *English Pronunciation in the Eighteenth Century. Thomes Spence's 'Grand Repository of the English Language'*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Beal, J.C. (1999b) "'Geordie Nation': Language and Regional Identity in the North-east of England'. *Lore and Language*, 17: 33-48.
- Beal, J.C. (2000a) 'From Geordie Ridley to *Viz*: popular literature in Tyneside English'. *Language and Literature*, 9 (4): 343-359.
- Beal, J.C. (2000b) 'Happy-tensing: A recent innovation?' In R. Bermúdez-Otero, D. Denison, R.M. Hogg and C.B. McCully (eds.) *Generative Theory and Corpus Studies. A dialogue from 10 ICEHL*. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 483-497.
- Beal, J.C. and Corrigan, K.P. (2000) 'Comparing the Present with the Past to Predict the Future for Tyneside British English'. *Newcastle and Durham Working Papers in Linguistics*, 6: 13-30.
- Beal, J.C. and Corrigan, K.P. (2002) 'Relativisation in Tyneside and Northumbria'. In P. Poussa (ed.) *Dialect Contact and History on the North Sea Littoral*. Lincom Europa. pp. 125-134.
- Beal, J.C. and Corrigan, K.P. (2005) "'No, Nay, Never", Negation in Tyneside English'. In Y. Iyeiri (ed.) *Aspects of English Negation*. Tokyo: Yushodo University Press and Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp. 139-156

- Beal, J.C. and Corrigan, K.P. (2006) 'A Tale of Two Dialects: Relativisation in Newcastle and Sheffield'. In M. Filppula, *et al.* (eds.) *Methods in Dialectology, XI: Proceedings*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.
- Beal, J.C., Johnstone, B and Remlinger, K. (2007) 'The Idea of a Dialect: Social Change and Enregistration in 19th and 20th-century English'. Panel presentation at the 5th SHEL conference, Athens, Georgia.
- Bloomfield, L. (1933) *Language*. New York: Holt, Rinehart & Winston
- Britain, David (2002) 'Space and spatial diffusion'. In J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill, and N. Schilling-Estes (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 603-637.
- British Library. *Collect Britain* – 'English accents and dialects'. Available at: <http://www.collectbritain.co.uk/collections/dialects/> [Last accessed: May 2007].
- Brunner, K. (1963) *An Outline of Middle English Grammar*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Burbano, L. (2001) *Lexical Erosion and Lexical Innovation in Tyne and Wear*. Unpublished MLitt dissertation, Department of English Linguistic and Literary Studies, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Chambers, J. (2003) *Sociolinguistic Theory* (2nd ed.). Oxford: Blackwell.
- Chambers, J. K. and Trudgill, P. (1980) *Dialectology* (1st ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Chambers, J. K. and Trudgill, P. (1998) *Dialectology* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Cheshire, J., Edwards, V. and Whittle, P. (1993) 'Non-standard English and dialect levelling'. In J. Milroy and L. Milroy (eds.) *Real English: the Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles*. London: Longman. pp. 53-94.
- Childs, B., Reaser, J. and Wolfram, W. (2003) 'Defining ethnic varieties in the Bahamas: Phonological accommodation in black and white enclave communities'. In M. Aceto and J.P. Williams (eds.) *Contact Englishes of the Eastern Caribbean*. Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins. pp. 1-28.
- Chirrey, D. (1999) 'Edinburgh: descriptive material'. In P. Foulkes and G. J. Docherty (eds) *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. pp. 223-229.
- Chomsky, N. (1965) *Aspects of the Theory of Syntax*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

- Clarke, S., Hollett, P. and Hollett, R. (2005) 'The Story of /h/: A Newfoundland Perspective'. Paper presented at the 12th *Methods Conference* in Moncton NB, August 2005.
- Coggle, P. (1993) 'Between Cockney and the Queen'. *The Sunday Times Wordpower Supplement*.
- Cohen, A.P. (1985) *The Symbolic Construction of Community*. London and New York: Routledge.
- Coombes, M. (2005) *Tyne and Wear City Region: Emerging Polynuclearity* (Final report). Centre for Urban and Regional Development Studies, University of Newcastle upon Tyne. Available at: <http://www.thenorthernway.co.uk/downloaddoc.asp?id=24> [Last accessed: May 2007].
- Corder, S.P. (1973) *Introducing Applied Linguistics*. Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Devonish, Hubert and Otelemate G. Harry (2004) 'Jamaican Creole and Jamaican English: Phonology'. In E.W. Schneider, K. Burridge, B. Kortmann, R. Mesthrie and C. Upton (eds.) *A Handbook of Varieties of English, vol. 1: Phonology*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 450-480.
- Dobson, E.J. (1957) *English Pronunciation 1500 – 1700*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Docherty, G. J. and Foulkes, P. (1999) 'Derby and Newcastle: instrumental phonetics and variationist studies'. In P. Foulkes and G.J. Docherty (eds) *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. pp. 47-71.
- Docherty, G. J. and Foulkes, P. (2005) 'Glottal variants of /t/ in the Tyneside variety of English'. In W. J. Hardcastle and B.J. Mackenzie (eds.) *A Figure of Speech. A Festschrift for John Laver*, London: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates. pp. 173-199.
- Docherty, G.J, Foulkes, P, Milroy, J, Milroy, L. and Walshaw, D. (1997) 'Descriptive adequacy in phonology: a variationist perspective'. *Journal of Linguistics*, 33: 275-310.
- Dodds, G. L. (2001) *A History of Sunderland* (2nd ed.). Albion Press: Sunderland.
- Dorian, N.C. (1982) 'Defining the speech community to include its working margins'. In S. Romaine (ed.) *Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities*. London: Edward Arnold. pp. 25-33.

- Dyer, J. (2002) ‘‘We all speak the same round here’’: Dialect levelling in a Scottish-English community’. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 6 (1): 99-116.
- Dyer, J. and Wassink, A.B. (2001) ‘Taakin braad and talking broad: Changing indexicality of phonetic variants in two contact situations’. *Texas Linguistic Forum* 4 (2): 288-301. *Proceedings of the Ninth Annual Symposium about Language and Society* – Austin. April 20-22, 2001. Available at: <http://studentorgs.utexas.edu/salsa/proceedings/2001.htm> [Last accessed: May 2007].
- Eagleton, T. (1991) *Ideology: An Introduction*. London and New York: Verso.
- Eckert, P. (1989) ‘The whole woman: Sex and gender differences in variation’. *Language Variation and Change*, 1: 245-267.
- Eckert, P. (1997) ‘Age as a Sociolinguistic Variable’. In F. Coulmas (ed.), *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd. pp. 151-167.
- Eckert, P. (2000) *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers.
- Eckert, P. (2002) ‘Constructing meaning in sociolinguistic variation’. Paper presented at the *Annual Meeting of the American Anthropological Association*, New Orleans, USA. Available at: <http://www.stanford.edu/~eckert/AAA02.pdf> [Last accessed: May 2007].
- Eckert, P. (2003) ‘Sociolinguistics and authenticity: An elephant in the room’. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 7 (3): 392-431.
- Eckert, P. (2005) ‘Variation, convention, and social meaning’. Paper presented at the *Annual Meeting of the Linguistics Society of America*. Oakland, CA. 7th January, 2005. Available at: <http://www.stanford.edu/~eckert/EckertLSA2005.pdf> [Last accessed: May 2007].
- Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (1992) ‘Think practically and look locally: Language and gender as community-based practice’. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21: 461-490.
- Eckert, Penelope and Sally McConnell-Ginet (1998) ‘‘Communities of Practice: Where language, gender, and power all live’’. In Jennifer Coates (ed.), *Language and Gender: A Reader*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 484-494.
- Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (1999) ‘New generalizations and explanations in language and gender research’. *Language in Society*, 28 (2): 185-201.

- Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (2003) *Language and Gender*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Ekwall, E (1975) *A History of Modern English Sounds and Morphology*, Oxford: Blackwell.
- Ellis, S. (1994) 'The Yorkshire Ripper enquiry'. *Forensic Linguistics. The International Journal of Speech, Language and the Law*, 1 (1): 197-206.
- Encyclopædia Británica (2007) <http://concise.britannica.com/> [Last accessed: February 2007].
- Elphinston, J. (1786) *Propriety Ascertained in her Picture. Volume 1*. London: John Walker.
- Fabricius, A. (2002) 'Ongoing change in modern RP. Evidence for the disappearing stigma of t-glottalling'. *English World-Wide*, 23 (1): 115-136.
- Finnegan, K. (2005) *Phonological Variation and Change in Sheffield English: An Apparent Time Study*. Unpublished MA dissertation. University of Sheffield.
- Finnegan, K. (forthcoming) *Phonological Variation and Local Identity in Sheffield*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield.
- Foulkes, P. and Docherty, G.J. (eds) (1999) *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold.
- Foulkes, P. and Docherty, G.J. (2000) 'Another chapter in the story of /r/: 'Labiodental' variants in British English'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 4 (1): 30-59.
- Foulkes, P., Docherty, G. and Watt, D. (1999) 'Tracking the emergence of structured variation'. *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics*, 7: 1-25.
- Gal, S. and Irvine, J. (1995) 'The boundaries of languages and disciplines'. *Social Research*, 62: 967-1001.
- Giegerich, H.J. (1992) *English Phonology: An introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Giles, H. and Powesland, P. (1975) *Speech Style and Social Evaluation*. London: Academic Press.
- Gimson, A. C. (1989) *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English* (4th ed.). London: Arnold.

- Grant, W. (1913) *The Pronunciation of English in Scotland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gumperz, J.J. (1962) 'Types of linguistic community'. *Anthropological Linguistics*, 4: 28-40.
- Gumperz, J.J. (1968) 'The speech community'. In *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences*. London: Macmillan, pp. 381-386.
- Gumperz, J.J. (1970) 'Sociolinguistics and communication in small groups'. *Language-Behaviour Research Laboratory, Working Paper No. 33*. Berkeley: University of California.
- Harris, J. and Kaye, J. (1990) 'A tale of two cities: London glottalling and New York tapping'. *The Linguistic Review*, 7: 251-274.
- Hartley, S. (1992) *A study of the effect of sex and age on glottalisation patterns in the speech of Tyneside schoolchildren*. Undergraduate dissertation, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Heath, S. B. (1977) 'Social history'. In *Bilingual Education: Current Perspectives*. Vol. 1: *Social Science*. Arlington, VA: Cent. Appl. Linguist. pp. 53-72.
- Hinton, P.R. (2004) *Statistics Explained* (2nd ed.) London and New York: Routledge.
- Hirst, T.O. (1914) 'The popular English of Lancaster and district'. *Le Maître Phonétique*, 26-29.
- Hockett, C.F. (1950) *A Course in Modern Linguistics*. New York: Macmillan.
- House, J. W. (1969) *Industrial Britain. The North-East*. Newton Abbot: David & Charles PLC.
- Hudson, R.A. (1996) *Sociolinguistics* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hughes, A. and Trudgill, P. (1979) *English Accents and Dialects*. Arnold.
- Hughes, A., Trudgill, P. and Watt, D. (2005) *English Accents and Dialects. An Introduction to Social and Regional Varieties in the British Isles* (4th ed.). London: Hodder Arnold.
- Hymes, D. (1974) *Foundations in Sociolinguistics: An Ethnographic Approach*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Ihalainen, O. (1994) 'The dialects of England since 1776'. In *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, vol. V. pp 197-274.

- Irvine, J.T. (1989) 'When talk isn't cheap: language and political economy'. *American Ethnologist*, 16 (2): 248-267.
- Irvine, J.T. and Gal, S. (2000) 'Language ideology and linguistic differentiation'. In P. Kroskrity (ed.) *Regimes of Language*. Santa Fe, New Mexico: School of American Research Press. pp. 35-83.
- Jespersen, O. (1909) *A Modern English Grammar*. London
- Johnston, P. (1985) 'Linguistic atlases and sociolinguistics'. In J. Kirk, S. Stewart & J.D.A. Widdowson (eds.) *Studies in Linguistic Geography*. Beckenham: Croom Helm. pp. 81-93.
- Johnstone, B. (2000) *Qualitative Methods in Sociolinguistics*. New York; Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Johnstone, B., Andrus, J. and Danielson, A. E. (2006) 'Mobility, indexicality and the enregisterment of "Pittsburghese"'. *Journal of English Linguistics*, 34 (2): 77-104.
- Jones, Daniel (1909) *The Pronunciation of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge
- Jones, Daniel (1950) *The Pronunciation of English* (3rd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kerswill, P.E. (1984) 'Social and linguistic aspects of Durham (e:)'. *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, 14: 13-34.
- Kerswill, P.E. (1987) 'Levels of linguistic variation in Durham'. *Journal of Linguistics*, 23: 25-49.
- Kerswill (2003) 'Dialect levelling and geographical diffusion in British English'. In D. Britain and J. Cheshire (eds.) *Social Dialectology. In Honour of Peter Trudgill*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins. pp. 223-243.
- Kerswill, P.E., Llamas, C. and Upton, C. (1999) 'The First SuRE Moves: Early Steps towards a Large Dialect Project'. In C. Upton, and K. Wales (eds.) *Leeds Studies in English*, 30. Leeds: Leeds University Press, pp. 257-269.
- Information Commissioner (2002) *The Principles of Data Protection* [online]. Available at: <http://www.dataprotection.gov.uk> [Accessed: 24th September 2003].
- Labov, W. (1966) *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington D.C.: Center for Applied Linguistics.
- Labov, W. (1972a) *Language in the Inner City. Studies in the Black English Community*. Oxford: Blackwell.

- Labov, W. (1972b) *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Labov, W. (1984) 'Field methods used by the project on linguistic change and variation'. *Sociolinguistic Working Paper 81*. Austin, Texas: South Western Educational Development Laboratory.
- Labov, W. (1990) 'The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change'. *Language Variation and Change*, 2: 205–51.
- Labov, W. (1994) *Principles of Linguistic Change: Internal Factors*. Vol 1. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Labov, W. (2001) *Principles of Linguistic Change: Social Factors*. Vol 2. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Lave, J. and Wenger, E. (1991). *Situated Learning: Legitimate Peripheral Participation*. Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Leeds Archive of Vernacular Culture (LAVC) (2005) Available at: <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/english/activities/lavc/index.htm> [Last accessed: May 2007].
- Le Page, R.B. and Tabouret-Keller, A. (1985) *Acts of Identity. Creole-based Approaches to Language and Ethnicity*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Llamas, C. (1999) 'A New Methodology: Data Elicitation for Social and Regional Language Variation Studies.' *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics*, 7: 95-118.
- Llamas, C. (2000) 'Middlesbrough English: Convergent and divergent trends in a part of England with no identity'. *Newcastle and Durham Working Papers in Linguistics*, 8. Available at: <http://www.leeds.ac.uk/linguistics/WPL/WP2000/Llamas.pdf> [Last accessed: May 2007].
- Llamas, C. (2001) *Language Variation and Innovation in Teesside English*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Leeds.
- Llamas, C., Pichler, H. and Watt, D. (2006) 'Relating metalinguistic commentary to production patterns in Berwick English'. Paper presented at *Sociolinguistics Symposium 16*, University of Limerick, July 2006.
- Macafee, C. (1983) *Glasgow*. Amsterdam: Benjamins.

- Macaulay, R.K.S. (1977) *Language, Social Class and Education: A Glasgow Study*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Maguire, W. (2004) 'The reversal of the NURSE/NORTH merger in Tyneside English: Data from the *Tyneside Linguistic Survey*'. Paper presented at *Sociolinguistics Symposium 15*, University of Newcastle, April 2004.
- Maguire, W. (2005) 'The 'NURSE/NORTH Merger' in Tyneside English: Origin, Status and 'Reversal''. Paper presenter as the *Centre for Linguistic Research seminar series*, University of Aberdeen, April 2005.
- Maguire, W. (2007) *What is a merger and can it be reversed? The origin, status and reversal of the 'NURSE-NORTH Merger' in Tyneside English*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Maley, J. (2005) 'New twists to the great class conundrum'. *The Guardian*. 5th May 2006. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/britain/article/0,,1768057,00.html> [Last accessed: May 2007].
- Mather, J.Y., Speitel, H.H. and Leslie, G.W. (1975) *The Linguistic Atlas of Scotland* (3 vols). London: Croom Helm.
- Mathisen, A.G. (1999) 'Sandwell, West Midlands: ambiguous perspectives on gender patterns and models of change'. In P. Foulkes and G.J. Docherty (eds.) *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. pp. 105-123.
- McCafferty, Kevin (1999) '(London)Derry: between Ulster and local speech – class, ethnicity and language change'. In P. Foulkes and G.J. Docherty (eds.) *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. pp. 246-264.
- McDonald, C. (1981) *Variation in the Use of Modal Verbs with Special Reference to Tyneside English*. Unpublished University of Newcastle PhD. Thesis.
- Mees, I. (1987) 'Glottal stop as a prestigious feature in Cardiff English.' *English World-Wide*, 8 (1): 25-39.
- Mees, I. and Collins, B. (1999) 'Cardiff: a real-time study of glottalisation'. In P. Foulkes and G.J. Docherty (eds.) *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. pp 185-202.
- Mesthrie, R., Swann, J., Deumert, A. and Leap, W.L. (2000) *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Milroy, J. (1982) 'Some connections between Galway and Ulster speech'. *Scottish Language*, 1: 23-29.

- Milroy, J. (1983) 'On the sociolinguistic history of /h/-dropping in English'. In M. Davenport, E. Hansen, H.F. Nielsen (eds.). *Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics*. Odense: Odense University Press, vol. 4. pp 37-53.
- Milroy, J. (1992) *Linguistic Variation and Change: On the Historical Sociolinguistic of English*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Milroy, J. and Milroy L. (1978) 'Belfast: change and variation in an urban vernacular'. In P. Trudgill (ed.) *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English*. London: Arnold. pp.19-36.
- Milroy, J. and Milroy, L. (1985) 'Linguistic change, social network and speaker innovation'. *Journal of Linguistics*, 21: 339-384.
- Milroy, J., Milroy, L. and Hartley, S. (1994a) 'Local and supra-local change in British English. The case of glottalisation'. *English World-Wide*, 15 (1):1-33.
- Milroy, J, Milroy, L., Hartley, S. and Walshaw, D. (1994b) 'Glottal stops and Tyneside glottalization: competing patterns of variation and change in British English'. *Language Variation and Change*, 6: 327-358.
- Milroy, L. (1982) 'Social network and linguistic focusing'. In S. Romaine (ed.) *Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities*. London: Edward Arnold. pp. 141-152.
- Milroy, L. (1987a) *Language and Social Networks* (2nd ed.). Oxford : Blackwell.
- Milroy, L. (1987b) *Observing and Analysing Natural Language. A Critical Account of Sociolinguistic Methods*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Milroy, L. (2000) 'Two nations divided by the same language (and different language ideologies)'. *Journal of Linguistic Anthropology*, 9 (1): 56-89.
- Milroy, L. (2004a) 'Language ideologies and linguistic change'. In C. Fought (ed.) *Sociolinguistic Variation. Critical Reflections*. Oxford University Press. pp. 161-177.
- Milroy, L. (2004b) '*Off the shelf or under the counter?* On the social dynamics of sound changes'. Paper presented at the *Sociolinguistic Symposium 15*. University of Newcastle upon Tyne.
- Milroy, L. and Gordon, M. (2003) *Sociolinguistics. Method and Interpretation*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Milroy, L., Milroy, J., Docherty, G., Foulkes, P. and Walshaw, D. (1997) 'Phonological variation and change in contemporary English: Evidence from Newcastle-upon-Tyne and Derby'. In S. Conde and J. Hernandez-Campoy

- (eds.) *Variation and Linguistic Change in English*, London: Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa. pp. 35-46.
- Montgomery, Chris (2005a) 'A perceptual approach to Northern English Dialects. Mental maps of the North'. Paper presented at the *Twelfth International Conference on Methods in Dialectology*. 1st – 5th August, 2005. Université de Moncton (Moncton, Canada).
- Montgomery, Chris (2005b) 'Attitudes to Northern English Dialects. Perception and placement of dialects in the North'. Paper presented at the *UK Language Variation and Change 5 Conference*. 12th – 14th September 2005. University of Aberdeen (Aberdeen, UK).
- Montgomery, Chris (2007) *Northern English Dialects: A Perceptual Approach*. Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Sheffield.
- Moore, Emma (2005) 'Sticks and stones'. *BBC Voices*. Available at: <http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/yourvoice/sticksandstones.shtml> [Last accessed: May 2007]
- Mugglestone, L. (2003) *Talking Proper: The Rise of Accent as a Social Symbol*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- National Statistics Online* (2007) 'Census 2001 – Sunderland'. Available at: <http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001/profiles/00cm.asp> [Last accessed: April 2007]
- National Statistics Online* (2005) 'Standard Occupational Classification 2000'. Available at: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/methods_quality/ns_sec/soc2000.asp [Last accessed: August 2006].
- National Statistics Online* (2005) 'The National Statistics Socio-economic Classification'. Available at: http://www.statistics.gov.uk/methods_quality/ns_sec/default.asp [Last accessed: August 2006].
- Newbrook, M. (1999) 'West Wirral: norms, self-reports and usage'. In P. Foulkes and G.J. Docherty (eds.) *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. pp. 90-106.
- Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English – NECTE* (2005) University of Newcastle: Newcastle-upon-Tyne. Available at: <http://www.ncl.ac.uk/necte/> [Last accessed: May 2007].

- Nordberg, B. (1980) *Sociolinguistic Fieldwork Experiences of the Unit for Advanced Studies in Modern Swedish*. FUMS Report no. 90. Uppsala: FUMS.
- Ochs, E. (1992) 'Indexing gender'. In A. Duranti and C. Goodwin *Rethinking Context: Language as an Interactive Phenomenon*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. pp. 325-358
- O'Connor, J. D. (1947) 'The phonetic system of the dialect of Newcastle-upon-Tyne'. *Le Maître Phonétique*, 58-63: 6-8.
- Olliphant, T. K. (1873) *The Sources of Standard English*. London: Macmillan.
- One North-east website (2007) Available at:
<http://www.onenortheast.co.uk/page/onene/index.cfm> [Last accessed: May 2007].
- Orton, H. (1933) *The Phonology of a South Durham Dialect*. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd.
- Orton, H. and Dieth, E. (1962-1971) *Survey of English Dialects*. Leeds: Arnold.
- Orton, H., Sanderson, S and Widdowson, J.D.A. (1978) *The Linguistic Atlas of England*. Croom Helm.
- Oxford English Dictionary* (2007) 'OED Wordhunt'. Available at:
<http://www.oed.com/bbcwords/> [Last accessed: February 2007]
- Påhlsson, C. (1972) *The Northumbrian Burr: a Sociolinguistic Study* (Lund Studies in English 41). Lund: CWK Gleerup.
- Parry, D. (ed.) (1977, 1979) *The Survey of Anglo-Welsh Dialects* (2 vols). Swansea: University College of Swansea.
- Pearson, H. (1994) *The Far Corner*. London: Waverley.
- Pellowe, J., Nixon, G., Strang, B. and McNeany, V. (1972) 'A dynamic modelling of linguistic variation: the urban (Tyneside) Linguistic Survey'. *Lingua*, 30, 1-30.
- Pichler, H. (2006) 'Variation in the use of discourse marker I don't know in a British border community'. Paper presented at *Sociolinguistics Symposium 16*, University of Limerick, July 2006.
- Pichler, H. (forthcoming) *Language and Identity in a Border Community: Morpho-Syntactic and Discoursal Variation in Berwick-upon-Tweed*. Unpublished Ph.D. Thesis, University of Aberdeen.
- Preston, D. (1989) *Perceptual Dialectology: Non-linguists' Views of Areal Linguistics*. Dordrecht: Foris.

- Preston, D. R. (1996) 'Whaddayaknow?: The modes of folk linguistic awareness'. *Language Awareness*, 5 (1): 40-74.
- Preston, D. R. (2002) 'Language with an attitude'. In J.K. Chambers, P. Trudgill and N. Schilling-Estes (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 40-66.
- Reed, J.S. (1983) *Southerners: The Social Psychology of Sectionalism*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press.
- Roach, P.J. (1973) 'Glottalisation of English /p/, /t/, /k/ and /tʃ/ - re-examination.' *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, 3 (1): 10-21.
- Romaine, S. and Reid, E. (1976) 'Glottal sloppiness? A sociolinguistic view of urban speech in Scotland'. *Teaching English. The Journal of Teachers of English in Scotland*, 9 (3): 12- 17.
- Rosewarne, D. (1984) 'Estuary English'. *The Times Educational Supplement*. 19th October.
- Rosewarne, D. (1994) 'Estuary English: tomorrow's RP?' *English Today*, 10: 3-8.
- Rothwell, W. (1968) 'The teaching of French in medieval England'. *Modern Language Review*, 63: 37-46.
- Rowe, C. (2007) "'Ye divn't gan tiv a college ti di that, man!'" A Study of *do* (and *to*) in Tyneside English'. *Language Sciences*, 29:360-371.
- Rowntree, D. (1981) *Statistics Without Tears*. London: Penguin.
- Sankoff, G. (1980) *The Social Life of Language*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Saville-Troike, Muriel (2003) *The Ethnography of Communication. An Introduction*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Schneider, E.W., Burrige, K., Kortmann, B., Mesthrie, R. and Upton, C. (2004) *A Handbook of Varieties of English, v. 1: Phonology*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter.
- Scragg, D. G. (1970) 'Initial *h* in Old English'. *Anglia. Zeitschrift Für Englische Philologie*, 88: 165-196.
- Sheridan, T. (1762) *A Course of Lectures on Elocution*. London: W. Straham for A. Miles, R. & J. Dodsley, T. Davies, et al.
- Sheridan, T. (1781) *A Rhetorical Grammar of the English Language*. Dublin.

- Silverstein, M. (1979) 'Language structure and linguistic ideology'. In R. Clyne, W. Hanks and C. Hofbauer (eds.) *The Elements: A Parassession on Linguistic Units and Levels*. Chicago: Chicago Linguist Soc. pp. 193-247.
- Silverstein, M. (1992) 'The uses and utility of ideology: some reflections'. *Pragmatics*, 2 (3): 311-323.
- Silverstein, M. (1998) 'Contemporary transformations of local linguistic communities'. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 27: 401-26.
- Skeat, W.W. (1897) 'The proverbs of Alfred'. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, 399-418.
- Smith, G. (2000) *Language Varieties: Newcastle English ("Geordie")*. Available at: <http://www.une.edu.au/langnet/geordie.htm>
- Stoddart, J., Upton, C. and Widdowson, J.D.A. (1999) 'Sheffield dialect in the 1990s: revisiting the concept of NORMs'. In P. Foulkes and G.J. Docherty (eds.) *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. pp. 74-89.
- Stuart-Smith, J. (1999a) 'Glasgow: accent and voice quality'. In P. Foulkes and G.J. Docherty (eds.) *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. pp 203-222.
- Stuart-Smith, J. (1999b) 'Glottals past and present: A study of t-glottalling in Glaswegian'. *Leeds Studies in English*, 30: 181-204.
- Sunderland City Council Website (2007) 'The Wearmouth bridge'. Available at: <http://www.sunderland.gov.uk/Public/Editable/Themes/Visitors-Guide/Heritage/wearmouth-bridge.asp> [Last accessed: 2007].
- Sweet, H. (1908) *The Sounds of English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- The Guardian* (23/02/2006): 'Man admits being the Ripper hoaxer'. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/crime/article/0,,1716198,00.html> [Last accessed: March 2007]
- The Guardian* (20/03/2003): 'Ripper hoaxer 'Jack' pleads guilty'. Available at: <http://www.guardian.co.uk/crime/article/0,,1735287,00.html> [Last accessed: March 2007]
- Tollfree, L. (1999) 'South East London English: discrete *versus* continuous modelling of consonantal reduction'. In P. Foulkes and G.J. Docherty (eds.) *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. pp. 163-184.

- Torgersen, E., Kerswill, P. and Fox, S. (2007) 'Phonological innovation in London teenage speech: New multiethnic norms?'. Paper presented at *UK Language Variation and Change VI*, Lancaster University, Lancaster, September 2007.
- Townsend, A.R. and Taylor, C.C. (1975) 'Regional culture and identity in industrialised Societies: the case of North-east England'. *Regional Studies*, 9: 379-393.
- Trudgill, P. (1974) *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Trudgill, P. (ed.) (1978) *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English*. London: Arnold
- Trudgill, P. (1983a) 'Language, contact, language shift and identity: Why Arvanites are not Albanians'. In P. Trudgill (ed.) *On Dialect: Social and Geographical Perspectives*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 127-140.
- Trudgill, P. (1983b) 'Linguistic change and diffusion'. In P. Trudgill (ed.) *On Dialect: Social and Geographical Perspectives*. Oxford: Blackwell. pp. 52-87
- Trudgill, P. (1983c) *Sociolinguistics. An Introduction to Language and Society*. (2nd ed.) Harmondsworth: Penguin.
- Trudgill, P. (1988) 'Norwich revisited: recent linguistic changes in an English urban dialect'. *English World-Wide*, 9: 33-49.
- Trudgill, P. (1990) *The Dialects of England*. Blackwell.
- Trudgill, P. (1999) 'Norwich: endogenous and exogenous change'. In P. Foulkes and G.J. Docherty (eds.) (1999) *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. pp. 124-140.
- Underwood, G.N. (1988) 'Accent and Identity'. In A.R. Thomas (ed.) *Methods in Dialectology*, Clevedon & Philadelphia: Multilingual Matters. pp. 406-427
- Upton, C. and Llamas, C. (1999) 'Two Large-scale and Long-term Language Variation Surveys: a Retrospective and a Plan'. *Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa*, 8: 291-304.
- Upton, C. and Widdowson, J.D.A. (1996) *An Atlas of English Dialects*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Virtual Tourist* (2002) 'Sunderland – Land of the Mackems'. Available at: <http://www.virtualtourist.com/m/2587d/4a601/> [Last accessed: February 2007].
- Visit Newcastle-Gateshead* (2007) 'Newcastle-Gateshead initiative –the organisation'. Available at:

http://www.visitnewcastle Gateshead.com/mediacentre/md_view.php?i=fact&id=11&backurl=md_search.php%3Fterms%3D%26category%3D%26boolean%3D%26searchby%3D%26searchin%3Dfact%26page%3D0#fact [Last accessed: April 2007].

- Wales, K. (1999) 'North and South: A Linguistic divide?' *English Today*, 16 (1): 4-15.
- Wales, K. (2002) 'North of Watford Gap'. A cultural history of Northern English (from 1700). In R. Watts and P. Trudgill (eds.) *Alternative Histories of English*. London: Routledge. pp. 79-88.
- Wales, K. (2006) *Northern English. A Social and Cultural History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Walker, J. (1791) *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary*. London: G.G.J. and J. Robinson, and T. Cadell.
- Watson, K. (2006) 'Phonological resistance and innovation in the North-West of England'. *English Today*, 22 (2): 55-61.
- Watt, D. (1998) *Variation and Change in the Vowel System of Tyneside English*. Unpublished PhD Thesis, University of Newcastle.
- Watt, D. (2000) 'Phonetic parallels between the close-mid vowels of Tyneside English: Are they internally or externally motivated'. *Language Variation and Change*, 12: 69-101.
- Watt, D. (2002) 'I don't speak with a Geordie accent, I speak, like, the Northern accent': Contact-induced levelling in the Tyneside vowel system'. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 6: 44-63.
- Watt, D. (2006) 'Rhoticity and competing national identities in Berwick upon Tweed, Northumberland'. Poster presented at *Sociolinguistics Symposium 16*, University of Limerick, July 2006.
- Watt, D. and L. Milroy (1999) 'Patterns of variation and change in three Newcastle vowels: is this dialect levelling?' In P. Foulkes and G.J. Docherty (eds.), *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. pp. 25-46.
- Wearside Online* – 'Wearmouth Bridge'. Available at: http://www.wearsideonline.com/Sunderland_Wearmouth_Bridge.html [Last accessed: May 2007].

- Weinreich, U., Labov, W. and Herzog, M. I. (1968) 'Empirical foundations for a theory of language change'. In W.P. Lehmann and Y. Malkiel, *Directions for Historical Linguistics*. Austin: University of Texas Press. pp. 95-188.
- Wells, J.C. (1982) *Accents of English* (3 vols). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, A. and Kerswill, P. (1999) 'Dialect levelling: change and continuity in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull'. In P. Foulkes and G.J. Docherty (eds.), *Urban Voices. Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold. pp 141 – 162.
- Woolard, K.A. (1992) 'Language ideology: issues and approaches'. *Pragmatics*, 2 (3): 235-249.
- Woolard, K.A and Schieffelin, B.B. (1994) 'Language ideology.' *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 23: 53-82.
- Wright, J. (1896-1905) *The English Dialect Dictionary*. London: Henry Frowde.
- Wright, J. (1905) *The English Dialect Grammar*. Oxford: Henry Frowde.
- Wyld, H.C. (1920) *A History of Modern Colloquial English*. London: Fisher Unwin.
- Youssef, V. and Winford J. (2004) 'The creoles of Trinidad and Tobago: Phonology'. In E.W. Schneider, K. Burridge, B. Kortmann, R. Mesthrie and C. Upton (eds.), *A Handbook of Varieties of English, vol. 1: Phonology*. Berlin/New York: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 508-524.

NEWSPAPERS:

The Independent

The Guardian

A p p e n d i x 1

Llamas' (2001) original SuRE questionnaire

Llamas' (2001) SuRE Instructions sheet

Name

Place of birth

Other places you have lived and for how long

.....

.....

- Please complete the sheets with words you think are dialect words or are local to the area you are from.
- Try to put down the first thing that comes to your mind, words you use every day when talking with friends, for example.
- After that, think about it for a while and note down any other examples of words local to the place you live which come to mind.
- Feel free to discuss the words with other people from the same area as you. But try to keep a note of who you discuss them with (especially if you note down their suggestions).
- Put down more than one word, if you like. Also, feel free to use expressions as well as single words.
- Use the sections called 'any others' to note down any extra words or expressions you think of (yourself, or in discussion with others). If these are words for things not listed on the sheet, please put down what you think they mean, or what someone not necessarily from your area would understand by them.
- Have a look through the questions about your language and your area, which we'll also be talking about (there is no need to answer these questions on the sheet).

Llamas' (2001) SuRE Biographical Information form

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

name

sex

age (dob).....

place of birth.....

birth place of mother.....

birth place of father

birth place of grandmothers.....

birth place of grandfathers

ethnic group.....

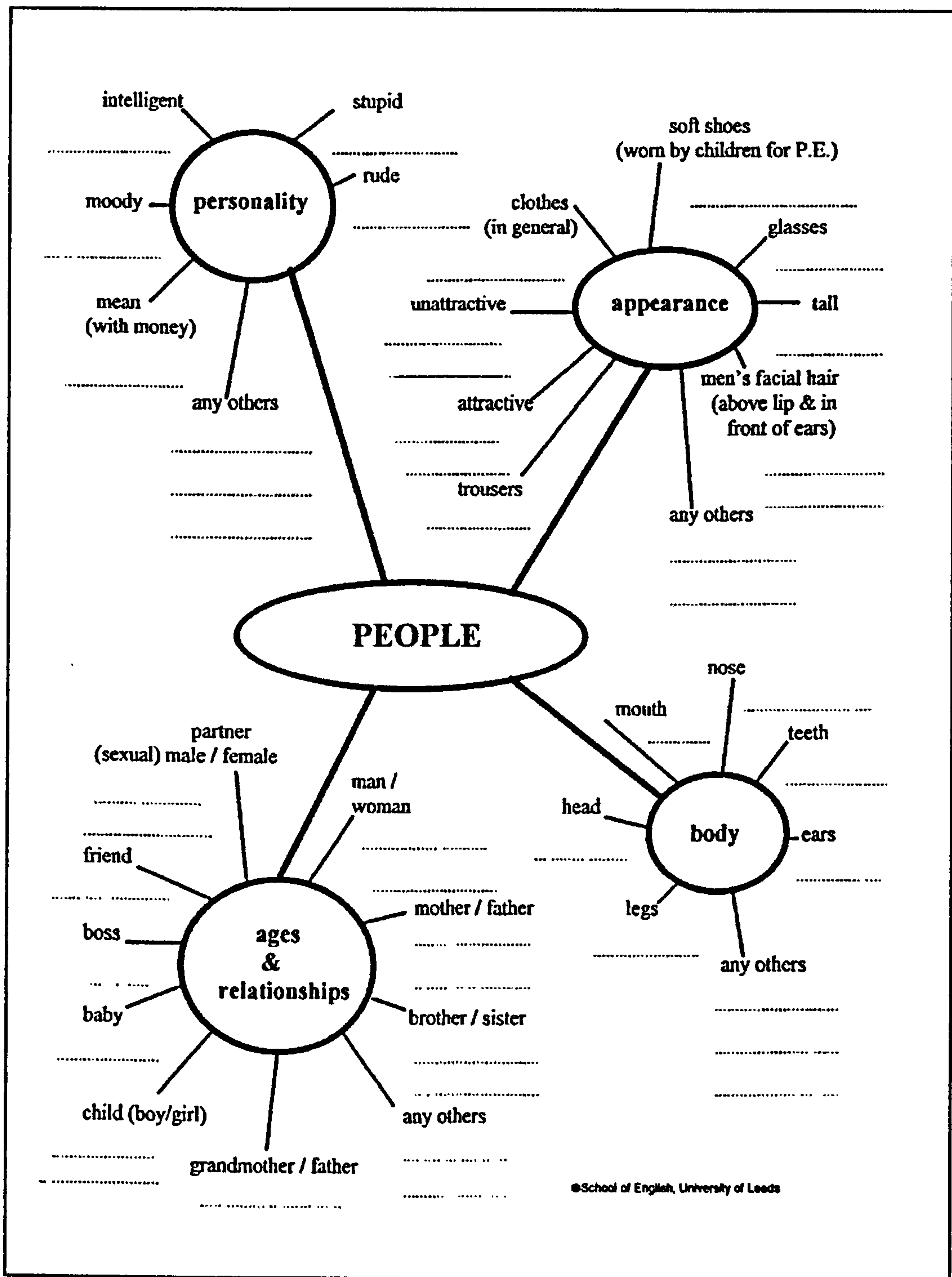
occupation (current / usual).....

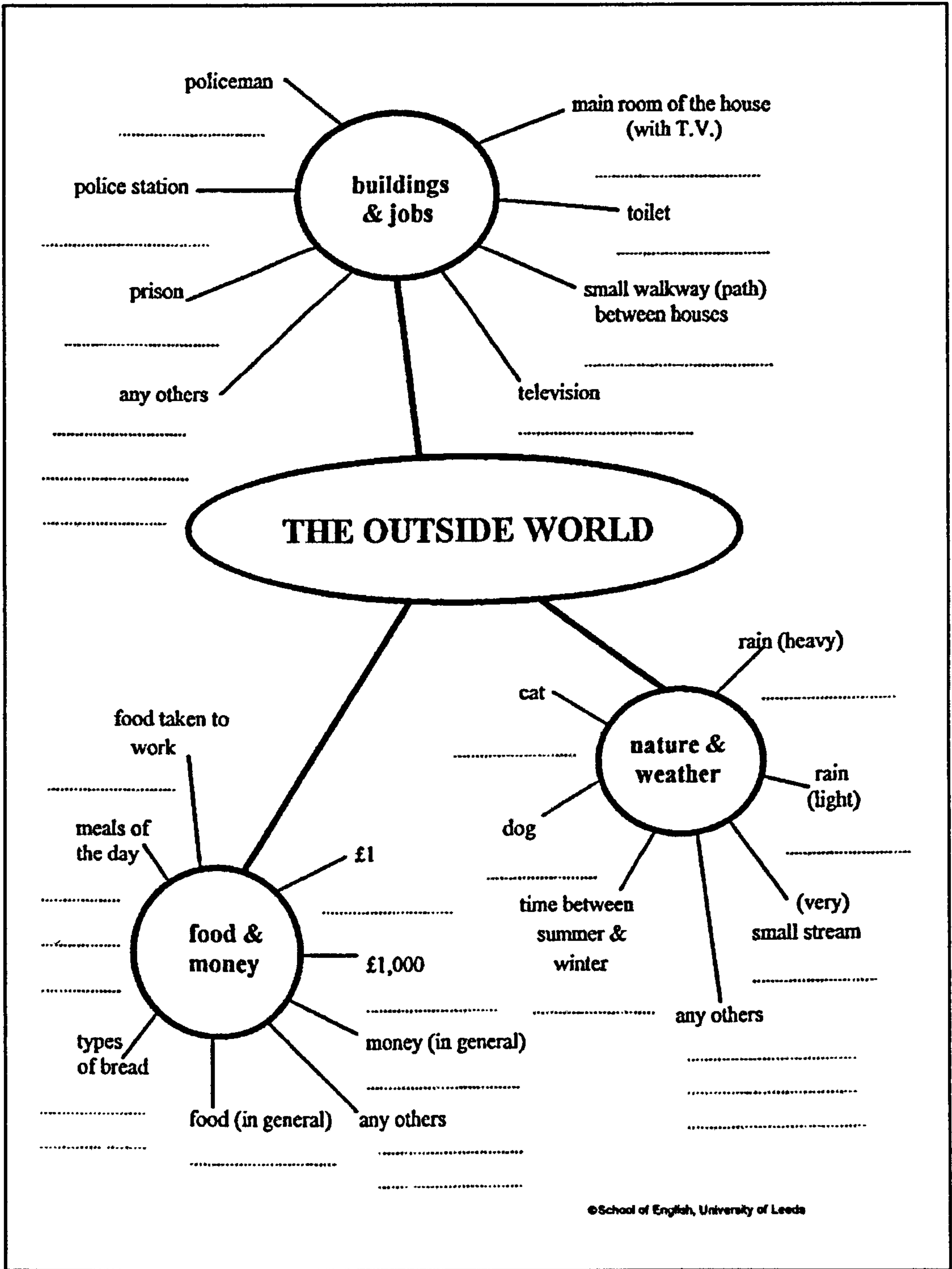
assessment of social class

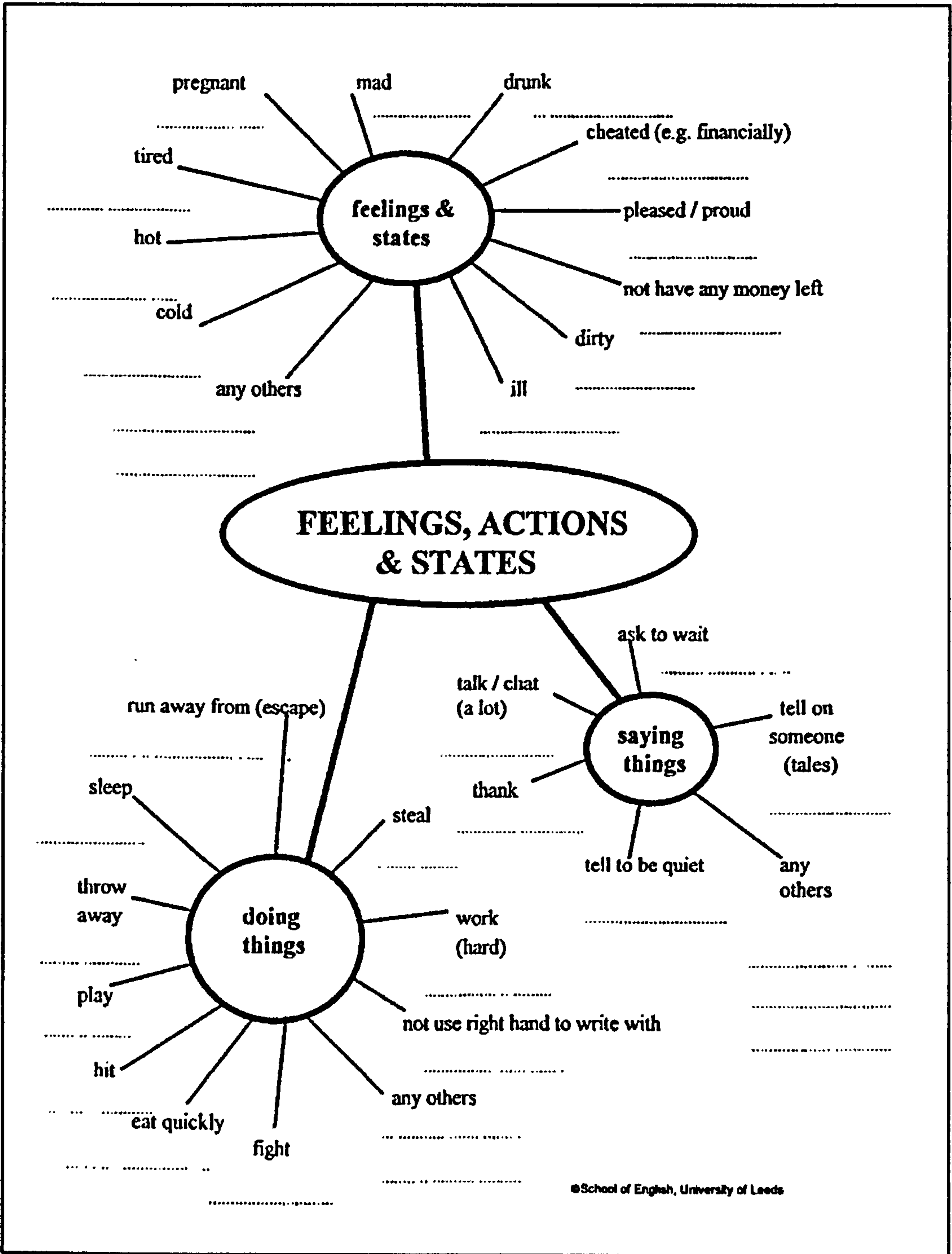
housing.....

education.....

Llamas' (2001) SuRE Sense Relation Networks (SRNs)







A p p e n d i x 2

The Sunderland Language Questionnaire

The grammatical questionnaire (figures A.1 and A.2) was designed to elicit grammatical data in order to ascertain some of the main distinctive grammatical features of SundE. After reviewing previous dialect studies into the North-eastern dialects, I was able to pick out a number of grammatical constructions that had been identified as (stereo)typical of these varieties. These were likely to be characteristic of the Sunderland dialect as well and, therefore, needed to be investigated. The questionnaire would try to attest their usage in Sunderland. The data elicited might actually be supported by the interview recordings. Provided that the informants produced informal speech in the interview, it would be possible to back up their answers in the questionnaire with examples of actual usage of those non-standard grammatical features produced during the interview.

The questionnaire was constructed on the basis of that used by Cheshire *et al.* (1989) in the *Survey of British Dialect Grammar* and that designed by Llamas (1999, 2001) for her study of Middlesbrough English, which is itself based on the former. A total of 60 sentences were included in the questionnaire. Whilst many of them were attested TE utterances present in the Newcastle Electronic Corpus of Tyneside English (NECTE),¹ others were taken from Cheshire *et al.*'s or Llamas' questionnaires. The remaining sentences represent features worthy of investigation not found in these three sources. Using attested utterances that had previously been recorded in the surrounding areas would enable the comparison of the Sunderland data with that of those other studies. The sentences contain grammar features characteristic of:

- (i) non-standard dialects in general: e.g. multiple negation, double comparatives and superlatives, non-standard relative pronoun use, non-standard verb forms, etc.
- (ii) Tyneside and Northumberland English (henceforth NbE), to the north of Sunderland: e.g. double modals, the 'Northern Subject Rule', replacive *one*, personal pronoun *ye*, question tags, etc.²

¹ See: <http://www.ncl.ac.uk/necte/>

² See Beal (1993a and 1993b) and McDonald (1981).

(iii) features recorded in some dialects to the south of Sunderland, i.e. Durham English (henceforth DuE) and further south: e.g. personal pronoun *thou*.

Form ID No. ()

Language Questionnaire

Please, tick as appropriate – do select more than one box for each sentence if necessary. Feel free to write any comments by the sentences.

Tick (✓) this box if you would hear this in Sunderland

Tick (✓) this box if you would use this type of sentence yourself in speech.

Tick (✓) this box if you would use this type of sentence when writing to a friend.

1.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	When are yous two going home?
2.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	What are thow ^{thya} doing?
3.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Ye can get lost, Kevin!
4.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Give us a pen, I want to write a letter.
5.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Us do it.
6.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	This is wog car.
7.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	This is me cup.
8.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Give I a cup of tea!
9.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Them shoes there are very expensive.
10.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	My friend came to visit me last week lives in France.
11.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	The radio what I bought yesterday isn't working properly.
12.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	The man what I was talking to is my boss.
13.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	You know me cousin that her husband died?
14.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	My cousin which got married last year is getting divorced.
15.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Would you like a chocolate? Yes, I'll have a one.
16.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Their new house is much more bigger than the old one.
17.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	These are the most beautifull ^{est} paintings I've ever seen.
18.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	This is geet hard, Sir.
19.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	They're useless, them.
20.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Nevermind, I'll manage but.
21.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	I've never heard of him like.
22.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	I do all the work, dinn ^{et} I?
23.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	I dinn ^{et} like him.
24.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	Ye dinn ^{et} like him, div ye?
25.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	There was ten kids playing in the street.
26.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	The capets was soaked.
27.	<input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/> <input type="checkbox"/>	They was soaking.

Figure A.1: Sunderland language questionnaire – page 1

28. I can't find nothing in this mess.
29. They said they were coming back on Monday and they never.
30. I'll put the kettle on for to make some tea.
31. With the wife being ill, I had to stay in and look after her.
32. Joe can't come tomorrow, being as he's working late.
33. The house needs painted.
34. You can't eat sweets in lessons, can't you not?
35. He can't come to the party, can he not?
36. She can come, can she not?
37. He is coming, isn't he?
38. You could say it could you?
39. She once asked me did it interfere with me.
40. When he discovered I wasn't at school he wanted to know what was the matter.
41. Can I come in?
42. Will I open the window?
43. He must can do it.
44. He wouldn't could've worked, even if you had asked him.
45. I can't play on Friday. I work late. I might could get it changed, though.
46. John mustn't be at home because he doesn't answer the phone.
47. That traffic sign means that you haven't got to park here.
48. You don't have to come if you don't want to.
49. I've broke a plate.
50. I come this morning, but you weren't in.
51. He done it all right.
52. I had ~~forgetten~~ to buy the onions.
53. He give us a pound for doing it.
54. We had went to the coast for the day.
55. I seen Albert on Tuesday.
56. We usually ~~gan~~ down the pub on Thursday's.
57. I knew a bloke who were doing speech therapy.
58. We was walking along the road when it happened.
59. It were too cold out
60. You wasn't listening to what I said.

Figure A.2: Sunderland language questionnaire – page 2

In order to elicit Sunderland people's perceptions of the grammatical features they may or may not use, I adapted the three options that Llamas gave her Middlesbrough informants in her Language questionnaire. These three options were:

- (i) Tick (✓) this box if you would hear this in the area where you live.
- (ii) Tick (✓) this box if you would use this type of sentence yourself in speech.
- (iii) Tick (✓) this box if you would use this type of sentence when writing to a friend.

Some small modifications were made to adapt Llamas' options to the Sunderland study, and a fourth statement was added to ascertain to whether they were able to perceive variation between their community and the Geordie one. The resulting four statements read as follows:

- i. Tick (✓) this box if you would hear this in Sunderland.
- ii. Tick (✓) this box if you would use this type of sentence yourself in speech.
- iii. Tick (✓) this box if you think this type of sentence would be only used by Geordies.
- iv. Tick (✓) this box if you would use this type of sentence when writing to a friend.

Under the *Language questionnaire* heading some instructions were added to ensure that all participants understood that these four options were not mutually exclusive: choosing one of them would not rule out the possibility of selecting one or more other options at the same time.

The third option, nevertheless, was eventually removed due to the fact that, after conducting a pilot study with a group of students of A-level English from one of the colleges in Sunderland,³ it became evident that when answering the language questionnaire, most of the informants seemed to follow the same *modus operandi*: if the grammatical feature they were trying to classify was not regarded as typical of

³ This pilot study was conducted to ensure that both the grammatical and the identity questionnaires produced the expected results and to reveal any possible problems in their content and/or structure.

SundE and/or of their own linguistic repertoire, they would label it as a Geordie feature. Everything that was alien to them was Geordie: they did not contemplate the possibility of leaving all the options blank. Such was the case with the following features, to mention a few:

- (i) The personal pronoun *thou* (cf. sentence 2) traditionally used in County Durham but not in NbE.
- (ii) *Ye* (cf. sentence 3), traditionally used in NbE.
- (iii) The possessive *wor* characteristic of TE (cf. sentence 6).
- (iv) The use of *them* as a demonstrative (cf. sentence 10).
- (v) *But* as a sentence-final word (cf. sentence 23).
- (vi) Double modals (cf. sentences 12, 13, 58).
- (vii) *For to* with the sense *in order to* (cf. sentence 32).
- (viii) *Being* as a conditioning clause operator (cf. sentence 35).
- (ix) *Dinnet* as a tag question auxiliary (cf. sentence 46).

Some of these features are known to be, or have been, characteristic of TE and/or NbE, e.g. *ye*, *wor*, double modals, *div/divvent*, *for to* + infinitive (Beal 1993a); yet research into TE has proved that some, e.g. double modals, are extremely rare nowadays, which means that my informants were quite unlikely to be familiar with them. A clearer example was nevertheless obtained from the sentence containing *thou*. Many of the students classified it as a Geordie feature. However, we know from evidence recorded in the NECTE and the SED that *thou* is not used north of the Tyne. These examples suggest that there was a tendency amongst the students to attribute any unfamiliar construction to Geordies. Thus, although I had hoped to elicit data of people's linguistic perceptions through the language questionnaire, option three, 'tick this box if you think this type of sentence would be only used by Geordies', was not producing the results expected. Consequently, it was removed and only the three options that had been adapted from Llamas' Middlesbrough questionnaire were kept. Any grammatical differences between the two neighbouring varieties would have to be identified by comparing the results of obtained from the Sunderland questionnaire to the data recorded by previous research into TE.

A certain level of disagreement was noted in the selection of options between the Sunderland students and the six Washington students that participated in the pilot. Despite the fact that Washington is currently part of the City of Sunderland, usage differences seemed to arise between the two localities. This division between the six Washington students and the Sunderland ones, however, was apparent both in the language questionnaire and in the identity questionnaire. Although the small number of informants that participated in this pilot study – 13 from Sunderland and 6 from Washington – increased the likelihood that the data recorded was the result of random fluctuation, this division was noted especially in the following two grammatical features:

- (i) Washington informants in general claimed that they used *ye*, and that this pronoun was actually used not only in Sunderland but also in Newcastle. The Sunderland students, however, denied that they used it.
- (ii) The Washington students also admitted that they use the intensifier *geet*, an attested and typically TE item, which they also labelled as being characteristic of TE and SundE, whereas most Sunderland students denied either using it or hearing it in their city and classified it as a TE feature.

These opposed perceptions seemed to reveal interesting aspects of the Washington and Sunderland identities that need to be explored in some detail. It was hoped that enough informants from Washington would be recruited in the actual fieldwork to be able to follow up this apparent divide. However, in the end, only one was found, which means that the divide in the actual Sunderland study was only examined from the point of view of Sunderland people but not from the Washington side.

A p p e n d i x 3

**Letter sent to the Sunderland Echo to recruit
informants**

**MACKEMS NEEDED:
AN APPEAL FOR VOLUNTEERS TO COLLABORATE IN A
STUDY OF SUNDERLAND ENGLISH**

I am a second year PhD student at the University of Sheffield. I am studying Sunderland English and I am trying to find out not only what its main features are, but also what the main differences between Sunderland and Newcastle English are. Dialect studies carried out in the North-east to date have almost exclusively focused upon Tyneside English which means that no study has looked into the dialect of Sunderland as distinct from Newcastle English. Also I am looking into issues of local identity such as what makes Mackems feel so proud of their accent and city, why they do not like being taken for Geordies or why there is such a strong rivalry with Newcastle.

Over a year ago I wrote another letter to this same newspaper asking people to send me their views on some of these matters and all the e-mails and letters I received in answer to my letter confirmed some of the views I heard when I, myself, lived in Sunderland for a year. Since I got such a good level of response at the time I have decided to turn to Sunderland people to ask them for help for a second time. At the moment I am trying to find people of all ages (minimum age 17-18 years old) who would not mind volunteering to fill in a questionnaire and then be interviewed. This will provide me with all the information I need in order to complete a study that will show how the way Mackems speak differs from that of Geordies.

Anyone wishing to volunteer for my study can contact me via e-mail at

L.Burbano-Elizondo@sheffield.ac.uk

Alternatively, you can write to the following address and send me a telephone number so that I can contact you:

L. Burbano-Elizondo
National Centre for English Cultural Tradition
University of Sheffield
9 Shearwood Road
Sheffield
S10 2TN

A p p e n d i x 4

Population sample

Informant's ID number	Age group	Age	Date of birth	Place of birth	Sex	Ethnic group
YF01⁴	16 - 30	17	25 / 10 / 1985	Sunderland	Female	White
YM02	16 - 30	16	05 / 06 / 1987	Sunderland	Male	White
MM03	31 - 50	46	04 / 10 / 1956	Sunderland	Male	White
MF04	31 - 50	45	11 / 06 / 1958	Sunderland	Female	White
YM05	16 - 30	22	30 / 12 / 1980	Sunderland	Male	White
YF06	16 - 30	26	03 / 05 / 1977	Sunderland	Female	White
OM07	50 +	51	28 / 07 / 1951	Thorpe (Co Durham)	Male	White
OF08	50 +	52	25 / 01 / 1951	Hendon (Sunderland)	Female	White
YF09	16 - 30	23	16 / 10 / 1979	Sunderland	Female	White
OM10	50 +	71	16 / 07 / 1932	Deptford (Sunderland)	Male	White
OF11	50 +	74	11 / 02 / 1929	North Shields	Female	White
OM12	50 +	60	09 / 05 / 1943	Hendon (Sunderland)	Male	White
OF13	50 +	60	07 / 09 / 1942	Fence Houses (Houghton le Spring)	Female	White
MM14	31 - 50	31	05 / 06 / 1972	Sunderland	Male	White
YF15	16 - 30	20	17 / 07 / 1982	Sunderland	Female	White
YF16	16 - 30	19	03 / 03 / 1984	Sunderland	Female	White
OF17	50 +	51	25 / 07 / 1951	Sunderland	Female	White
OM18	50 +	53	03 / 10 / 1949	Sunderland	Male	White
MM19	31 - 50	42	21 / 01 / 1961	Belfast (Northern Ireland)	Male	White
MM20	31 - 50	42	21 / 01 / 1961	Belfast (Northern Ireland)	Male	White

⁴ The ID of the informants who were included in the simple analysed appear in bold font.

Informant's ID number	Age group	Age	Date of birth	Place of birth	Sex	Ethnic group
OF21	50 +	52	03 / 10 / 1950	Sunderland	Female	White
OM22	50 +	52	16 / 07 / 1950	Sunderland	Male	White
MF23	31 - 50	46	14 / 05 / 1957	Sunderland	Female	White
MF24	31 - 50	47	18 / 08 / 1955	Sunderland	Female	White
OM25	50 +	60	17 / 09 / 1942	Sunderland	Male	White
MF26	31 - 50	32	31 / 05 / 1971	Maidstone (Kent)	Female	White
OM27	50 +	68	03 / 12 / 1934	Houghton-le-Spring	Male	White (non religious)
MM28	31 - 50	34	07 / 03 / 1969	Sunderland	Male	White (Mackem)
MM29	31 - 50	36	09 / 03 / 1967	Sunderland	Male	White (English)
OM30	50 +	58	24 / 10 / 1945	Sunderland	Male	White
OM31	50 +	55	24 / 10 / 1948	Sunderland	Male	White
MF32	31 - 50	32	17 / 06 / 1971	Sunderland	Female	White (English)
YM33	16 - 30	18	07 / 07 / 1985	Sunderland	Male	White
YM34	16 - 30	20	08 / 02 / 1984	Sunderland	Male	White
YF35	16 - 30	18	14 / 08 / 1985	Sunderland	Female	White (Irish)
YF36	16 - 30	28	30 / 06 / 1975	Sunderland	Female	White (British)
OF37	50 +	69	15 / 12 / 1934	Sunderland	Female	White
OF38	50 +	59	18 / 08 / 1944	Sunderland	Female	White (British)
MF39	31 - 50	32	23 / 01 / 1972	Sunderland	Female	White (European)
MF40	31 - 50	33	20 / 07 / 1970	Sunderland	Female	White (European)
MM41	31 - 50	34	22 / 04 / 1970	Sunderland	Male	White (British)
YM42	16 - 30	30	10 / 03 / 1974	Sunderland	Male	White (British)
YM43	16 - 30	23	10 / 09 / 1981	South Shields	Male	White

Informant's ID number	Current place of residence	Other places of residence	Social class	Occupation	Education
YF01	Houghton le Spring		WC	Student	18
YM02	Sunderland		MC	Student	16
MM03	Houghton le Spring	Suderland (24 years)	WC	Teaching support	18
MF04	Houghton le Spring		WC	Housewife	16
YM05	Newcastle upon Tyne	Fence Houses (Houghton) (1980-2000)	WC / MC	Student teacher	BA (Higher education), GNVQ, GCSE
YF06	Houghton le Spring		WC	Student teacher	26 + continuing (completed degree, then left and returned in 2002)
OM07	Sunderland		WC	Visitor services assistant at Sunderland Museums / Before he worked as shipyard welder on Wearside	School up to 15 / 15-21 further education studying shipbuilding / 37-40 degree
OF08	Sunderland	Southwick, Fulwell, Redhouse	WC	Nursery nurse	15
YF09	Sunderland		WC	Customer service advisor	18
OM10	Sunderland	World-wide travel in Merchant navy	WC	Electrical engineer	Up to 14 in full-time education. Up to 16 night school, management and industrial courses
OF11	Sunderland	North Shields (26 years)	WC	Dressmaker, teacher	Up to 14. Then further education in order to gain the teacher's certificate...
OM12	Fulwell, Sunderland	Pennywell (Sunderland) (1950-1967)	WC	Fire officer in Sunderland for 26 years. Retired in 1988. Magistrate for the last 15 years	15

Informant's ID number	Current place of residence	Other places of residence	Social class	Occupation	Education
OF13	Sunderland	Lived in Fence Houses (City of Sunderland) 24 years but worked in Sunderland from 17 years of age.	WC	Clerical, Post-office counter clerk	16
MM14	Leeds	Manchester (3 yrs), France (1 yr), Portugal (1 yr), Spain (1 yr), Home Counties (3 1/2 yrs), Newcastle (3 1/2 yrs)	Feels WC but MC	Academic / journalist	to present date
YF15	Sunderland		WC	Shop assistant	Up to 17
YF16	Sunderland	Greenhead (a few years)	WC	Customer Service Advisor	Up to 19
OF17	Sunderland		WC	Foster care worker	16
OM18	Sunderland		WC	Manager	52
MM19	Sunderland	Belfast (5 years)	WC	Careers adviser	Up to 18 (see quest. For more details??)
MM20	Sunderland	Belfast (5 years), Bradford (6 years)	MC	Personal adviser	Up to 18 and then university. Post graduate diploma.
OF21	Sunderland		WC	Bank cashier	16
OM22	Sunderland		WC	Firefighter, electrician	16
MF23	Sunderland		MC (!!)	Domestic. (School cleaner)	15
MF24	Sunderland		MC (!!)	Cleaner	15
OM25	Sunderland	London (5 years)	MC	Careers adviser	21+ (BA of Arts? + Postgrad degree)
MF26	Sunderland	Stevenage (1 year), Bournemouth (3 years, for University). She moved to Sunderland when she was two.	MC	Centre manager	24 (BA of Science)

Informant's ID number	Current place of residence	Other places of residence	Social class	Occupation	Education
OM27	Houghtong - le-Spring (10 years)	Grasswell (11 years), New Herrington (3 years), Homelands Estate (10 years), Newbottle (10 years), Sunnyside (7 years), Homelands (15 years), Easington lane (2 years), Hetton (1 year)	WC	Miner (from 1950 to 1985) (made redundant)	15
MM28	Seaham (Co. Durham)	Rocker (Sunderland (1 year)), Hylton Caste (Sunderland (20 years)), Downhill (Sunderland (5 years))	Feel WC (others would say MC)	Banking (11 years). Now teaching (5 years)	30
MM29	Sunderland		Traditional WC	Manufacturing, sales	State comprehensive to 16
OM30	Southwick, Sunderland	(He gives all the addresses he has lived in in Sunderland)	WC	Miner / cleaner	15
OM31	Southwick, Sunderland	London (6 months)	WC	Driver / Scaffolder (shipyards)	16
MF32	Sunderland		WC	Young persons personal adviser	18 (college). Currently at Sunderland University through my employer
YM33	Sunderland		WC-MC (interview)	Motor vehicle technician	16
YM34	Sunderland		MC	Motor vehicle technician	16
YF35	Sunderland		--	Sixth-form student	18
YF36	Sunderland		MC	Ward clerk Sunderland Hospital / Receptionist	23 (BA - cf interview)
OF37	Sunderland	Glasgow (6 months and 4 months) (?)	MC	Display artist. Demonstrator	Up to 18 plus adult education

Informant's ID number	Current place of residence	Other places of residence	Social class	Occupation	Education
OF38	Sunderland		MC	Ward clerk Sunderland Hospital	15
MF39	Gateshead	Hertfordshire (6 1/2 years), Newcastle (3 1/2 years), Valencia, Spain (2 years)	WC	Teacher	Up to 22 (University degree)
MF40	Gateshead	London (6 years), Newcastle (2 years), San Francisco (6 months), Glasgow (6 months)	No	Performer / choreographer / lecturer / teacher	Up to 21 plus a postgraduate professional degree.
MM41	Sunderland			Adviser	16
YM42	Washington	Durham (6 years), Whitley Bay (1 year), Consett (2 years)		Careers advisor	21
YM43	Sheffield (University address)	Washington, Tyne and Wear (23 years)	WC	Student	23 (University degree)

A p p e n d i x 5

Where do you like going in your spare time within Tyne and Wear? What is your favourite shopping centre? (IdQ. 9)

Informants' answers to IdQ question 9

Inf 1	Sunderland, Newcastle, Metrocentre.
Inf 6	I go to cinema in Metrocentre and to food venues for evenings out. Shopping centre: Bridges in Sunderland or Metrocentre.
Inf 9	Newcastle / Metrocentre.
Inf 35	Eldon Square in Newcastle.
Inf 36	South Shields Metrocentre.

Inf 2	Metrocentre and the Eldon Square.
Inf 5	Tynemouth and Whitley Bay coast or Beamish Museum. Shopping centre: Metrocentre, Gateshead.
Inf 33	To the pub. Favourite shopping centre: Metrocentre.
Inf 34	To the pub??
Inf 43	Metrocentre, Eldon Square, Newcastle City Centre.

Inf 4	Durham City.
Inf 23	All areas / Bridges
Inf 26	Newcastle.
Inf 32	Mostly go to Newcastle, Metrocentre or Sunderland.
Inf 39	Newcastle and Durham.

Inf 3	Durham – Seaburn.
Inf 14	Newcastle City Centre – Northumberland Street.
Inf 19	The Bridges, Sunderland.
Inf 20	Sunderland, Durham, South Shields. Shopping: The Bridges although I don't like shopping..
Inf 28	Sunderland.

Inf 8	Bridges, Sunderland.
Inf 13	Tynemouth coast North of Newcastle upon Tyne, South Shields, Whitburn and the coast of Seaburn. Haven't really got a favourite shopping centre but shop in Sunderland. I want to support my town.
Inf 17	Metrocentre
Inf 37	Weardale, Seaburn Shopping centre: Bridges.
Inf 38	Sunderland Bridges. The coast is very relaxing.

Inf 7	Back to my roots to Southwick to have a drink with my mates. Prefer to shop in Sunderland city centre.
Inf 10	No favourite shopping places / Countryside.
Inf 12	1 - Durham City. 2 – Weardale. 3 – Durham outskirts. 4 – Darlington. Shopping: Durham city.
Inf 27	Metrocentre, Eldon Square, The Bridges.
Inf 31	Football, also visit museums in all of Tyne and Wear.