A variationist multilocality study of unstressed vowels and verbal -s marking in the peripheral dialect of east Suffolk

Robert Stephen Potter

A thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

Department of Language and Linguistics

University of Essex

February 2018

Contents

List of Figures

Abstract

This thesis presents a variationist analysis of two linguistic variables among 72 speakers in three Suffolk communities. It is chiefly inspired by the Labovian sociolinguistic methodology, and the work of Trudgill (e.g. 1974, 1988) in another East Anglian locality, Norwich. It broadly speaking seeks to ascertain whether either of the linguistic variables show evidence of change in progress away from traditional East Anglian forms; and if so, whether this could represent dedialectalisation or levelling of the Suffolk dialect.

The results show that one of the variables has undergone change, while the other appears to be resisting it. The verbal -s variable, which refers to traditional East Anglian zero marking of third person singular present tense verb forms (e.g. *he run, she go*, c.f. Standard English *he runs* and *she goes*), shows evidence of being at a late stage of change. Across the three locations, younger speakers are almost categorical in their use of the Standard English-like -s marking of third singular subjects, while middle aged and older speakers use traditional East Anglian zero marked forms more often. That said, older speakers still use standard -s marked forms around 73% of the time; suggesting that even for this group the change towards a Standard English-like present-tense verb system is well underway. The 'David' variable, the propensity for unstressed /ɪ/ to be realised as schwa in East Anglia, shows the opposite effect. The use of the traditional [ə] variant remains high among all three age groups, albeit with perhaps the slight beginnings of a movement towards [ɪ] among middle aged and younger speakers. Perhaps the most significant finding is that the initial (arbitrary) classification of each of the three locations from which data was collected as 'urban', 'rural' and 'intermediate' does not appear to sufficiently account for the variation uncovered. Instead, the factor of 'place' – the specific socio-political context unique to each of the communities – provides a more satisfactory explanation as to why Ipswich (the urban location) and Wickham Market (the rural location) should behave similarly to each other, while Woodbridge (the intermediate community with higher social status) is more innovative in showing greater and earlier movement away from traditional East Anglian features.

Acknowledgements

First and foremost, I wish to say a big thank you to my supervisor, Professor Enam Al-Wer. Without Enam's support and inspiration this thesis wouldn't exist, and I can't overstate how grateful I am for her guidance at every step of the way. I'd also like to thank Professor David Britain and Professor Peter Trudgill for their help, suggestions and encouragement, especially in the early stages, and for leading the way in studies of East Anglian English. At the University of Essex, I'd like to say thank you to Professor Peter Patrick, Professor Nancy Kula, Dr. Vineeta Chand, Dr. Uri Horesh, Dr. Jenny Amos, and Dr. Doug Arnold, for teaching me the skills to be able to undertake this research project, and also supporting me in my own teaching endeavours. Thanks particularly to Jenny for her helpful and constructive comments on my definition of the 'David' variable. I'd also like to state my gratitude to all of the administrative staff in the department of Language and Linguistics at Essex for their help during the completion of the thesis and in the initial application process. I must also thank the members of the Arabic Linguistics Research Group at Essex, who inspired me with their own work, and kindly and patiently translated everything into English so that I could understand! I'm grateful to have been able to gain an insight into (socio)linguistics in cultures other than my own, and to have glimpsed the universality of variationist theory.

A big thank you to my family, especially my mum and dad, Janie and Steve, and my grandma, Joan, for encouraging me to follow my academic dreams – and also putting up with me while doing so! There have been some up and down moments, but their support has been a rock to lean on. I'd like to thank my sister Vicky and brother-in-law Glyn, and Glyn's family, for their encouragement and help in finding willing participants to interview. I owe a debt of gratitude to every one of the 72 participants for volunteering their time to let me record their wonderful range of Suffolk accents, and also to everyone who helped to recruit them. In this regard I'd particularly like to thank Philip Tallent, Mary Morris and the Wickham Market Area Archive Centre, who were invaluable in finding and recruiting interviewees in Wickham.

<Blank page>

Chapter 1 Introduction

The main overarching aim of this thesis is to investigate a case of language variation and change in Suffolk English. This variety has been little studied at doctoral level, with the most prominent previous investigation being Kokeritz's (1932) thesis on Suffolk phonology, although there has been work carried out on East Anglian English more widely, as well as on Suffolk at the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. It should be noted here that the terms 'Suffolk' and 'East Anglia' will be used more-or-less interchangeably throughout this thesis unless specified – justification for this is given at the beginning of chapter 3, but suffice it to say here that the county of Suffolk is a significant part of the region of East Anglia; and something or someone from Suffolk is almost always considered to be East Anglian. This is certainly true linguistically – Suffolk English is a variety of East Anglian English, along with, for example, the closely related Norfolk English variety.

The initial hypothesis of the thesis is that at least some traditional features of the Suffolk dialect are being lost, reducing its distinctive East Anglian flavour. This hypothesis is based on evidence from the previous studies of Suffolk English which have been completed (most notably Kingston's 2000 study of the rural village of Glemsford which predicted a gloomy outlook for the dialect), and also to some extent the researcher's own experience as a native of the county. The approach to be taken in investigating this claim (with a completely open mind) is that of a variationist sociolinguist, inspired particularly by the work of William Labov and Peter Trudgill. At the same time, this is also a multilocality study inspired by the work of David Britain, and will investigate three communities within Suffolk – an urban town (Ipswich), a rural village (Wickham Market), and an intermediate town (Woodbridge).

1.1 Why investigate Suffolk English?

The question remains – why choose Suffolk English for this project? There are several reasons which make it a good candidate for this researcher to investigate. For one thing, there has been relatively little previous study of the dialect, especially from a variationist perspective, and especially at doctoral level. As noted above, to this researcher's knowledge the most recent completed doctoral study of Suffolk was

Kokeritz in the late 1920s and early 1930s – near on nine decades have passed since then, and it is high time that the academic understanding of Suffolk speech is updated. Additionally, the researcher is well placed to investigate this variety. As a native of Suffolk, and having grown up in one of the communities under investigation, the researcher has both a special interest in the results of the study, as well as the advantage of first-hand knowledge of the communities and speakers to be investigated. This is in addition to longstanding contacts within the communities which served an important role during the data collection process. The fact is that the researcher is an 'insider' within these communities and thus would have easier access to speakers to collect data from, and also the data itself should be of the more natural, vernacular style prized in variationist research (see chapter 4 for a greater discussion of this concept). Finally, Suffolk English provides an excellent case study of a run-of-the-mill peripheral dialect under pressure from the processes of supralocalisation and dialect levelling, and will thus allow us to investigate how such dialects react in this situation – do speakers abandon their dialect in favour of less regional variation, and if so does this affect all features of the dialect at a similar rate? This thesis will attempt to provide answers to these questions, among others.

1.2 The chapters

The thesis will begin with a review of the relevant literature in chapter 2. This will include an outline of the development of the field of sociolinguistics and the variationist approach, and will situate this project within that field. It will also discuss the use of external constraints (i.e. extralinguistic information such as the age, social class and gender of a speaker) in sociolinguistic investigations, and the issue of geographical linguistic variation. Following this, chapter 3 will go on to present an overview of the locations from which data has been collected – beginning with a brief history of East Anglia, aimed at readers unfamiliar with the region, it will also include a dialect description, a discussion of the linguistic boundaries of East Anglian English, and demographic information for Ipswich, Woodbridge and Wickham Market. Chapter 4 will discuss the methodology to be employed in the project, including considerations about data collection, coding and analysis. This chapter will also present a brief introduction to the linguistic variables to be investigated in this project. Following this, chapters 5 and 6 will delve into the variables in much greater detail, presenting in

depth discussions of their historical development, as well as outlining the findings of previous studies before presenting the results for the analyses conducted in this project. Finally, chapter 7 will summarise these findings, and draw general conclusions, aimed at providing answers to the research questions posed in section 1.3.

1.3 Research questions

This thesis is chiefly a variationist sociolinguistic investigation into the language use of three communities in Suffolk. It is concerned mainly with quantifying the use of two linguistic variables among 72 speakers, as part of a larger goal to attempt to uncover whether the Suffolk dialect as spoken in three communities may be undergoing dedialectalisation. The two linguistic variables which have been chosen are traditional features of Suffolk (and wider East Anglian) English, and so any loss of such features (i.e. evidence for a movement away from the traditional, local variants of either variable) would suggest that the Suffolk dialect is endangered, and this may be viewed in a larger context of a trend towards regional/supralocal dialect levelling in Britain. In the investigation of this main goal, several other smaller scale research questions will be asked, and these will be outlined in the discussion in sections 1.3.1, 1.3.2 and 1.3.3.

Broadly speaking the research questions which this thesis asks fit into three main avenues of enquiry:

1) Does either variable show a case of linguistic change in progress?
2) Is there evidence of geographical variation across the three communities under investigation?
3) Is the use of the variables linguistically and/or socially motivated?

Each of these broad questions will be discussed in the remainder of this section, illuminating the smaller questions and areas of enquiry encased within.

1.3.1 Does either variable show a case of linguistic change in progress?

This is the 'holy grail' question for variationists, and is an obvious one to ask given that the main aim of the thesis is to investigate whether the Suffolk dialect is undergoing dialect death and being abandoned by speakers. If such a scenario is occurring (and Kingston, 2000, for one thinks it is), we would expect to find evidence of it in the form of greatly reduced use of the traditional East Anglian variants of the two linguistic variables among the youngest speakers in the study, compared to their older (and possibly even middle-aged) counterparts. As such this research question does also encompass other smaller questions – a) does the use of the two variables differ among the three age groups? b) if so are any differences statistically significant? c) do the patterns uncovered for both variables (individually and taken together) show cause to suggest a wider pattern of loss of traditional Suffolk/East Anglian features?. On this last point, it is important to note that the scope of the thesis only covers two variables in the speech of 72 participants from three locations in one county in East Anglia – in other words, we can make an informed prediction but we cannot say for sure whether the Suffolk dialect (and on a wider scale the East Anglian dialect) is on the endangered list. That said the findings from this project can add to the conversation, along with the findings of previous and future studies of East Anglian English.

1.3.2 Is there evidence of geographical variation across the three communities under investigation?

Another consideration of this study, inspired largely by the work of David Britain, is whether there may be differences in the patterns of language use observed in the three communities, which on first inspection seem to be positioned across an urban-rural continuum. As will be noted in chapter 2, Britain (e.g. 2009, 2012) has pointed out that there is no reason why smaller, more rural communities should not be involved in linguistic change as much as larger, more urban ones – yet the latter have been investigated in much greater numbers by sociolinguists. To this end, and in the context of the first research question outlined in section 1.3.1, this thesis will attempt to explore whether there is any evidence of the different behaviour of the urban, rural and intermediate communities from which participants were sourced; and whether they can indeed be positioned along an urban-rural continuum according to their use of the two linguistic variables to be investigated (see chapter 2 for further discussion). Doing so

will again involve asking smaller scale questions – namely a) is there a statistically significant difference in the patterning of the three locations for each variable? b) if so, what do the patterns uncovered tell us about the use of the variables in Ipswich, Wickham Market and Woodbridge? c) do any of the locations appear to be more or less resistant to change than the others? d) and if so why might this be?. These last two questions relate directly back to the first goal of the project outlined in section 1.3.1, in looking for signs of the possible loss of the Suffolk dialect in the three locations.

1.3.3 Is the use of the variables linguistically and/or socially motivated?

As well as investigating the possibility of linguistic change in the two variables, this thesis is also interested in uncovering the patterns of linguistic variation within the variables, i.e. their correlation with internal and external constraints (in other words, both linguistic and social factors). The choice of internal/linguistic factors to be tested will be informed by previous studies of the variables, and details are given in chapters 5 and 6. The external factors to be investigated are age, gender, social class and location. The first and last of these have already been accounted for in the two research questions above, while gender and social class will be included here. The smaller research questions to be asked in this section are – a) do the variables show evidence of the presence of internal (i.e. linguistic) constraints? b) if yes how do these compare to the findings of previous studies? c) do the variables show evidence of the presence of external (i.e. social) constraints? d) if yes how do these compare to the findings of previous studies? e) how do these external constraints (i.e. age, gender, social class, location) pattern together, and what does this tell us about the variation uncovered?.

To recap – the research questions to be investigated in this thesis are the following:

1) Does either variable show a case of linguistic change in progress?
    a. does the use of the two variables differ among the three age groups?
    b. if so are any differences statistically significant?
    c. do the patterns uncovered for both variables (individually and taken together) show cause to suggest a wider pattern of loss of traditional Suffolk/East Anglian features?

2) Is there evidence of geographical variation across the three communities under investigation?
    a. is there a statistically significant difference in the patterning of the three locations for each variable?
    b. if so, what do the patterns uncovered tell us about the use of the variables in Ipswich, Wickham Market and Woodbridge?
    c. do any of the locations appear to be more or less resistant to change than the others?
    d. (and if so why might this be)?
3) Is the use of the variables linguistically and/or socially motivated?
    a. do the variables show evidence of the presence of internal (i.e. linguistic) constraints?
    b. if yes how do these compare to the findings of previous studies?
    c. do the variables show evidence of the presence of external (i.e. social) constraints?
    d. if yes how do these compare to the findings of previous studies?
    e. how do these external constraints (i.e. age, gender, social class, location) pattern together, and what does this tell us about the variation uncovered?

Answers to all of these questions will be provided in the analysis presented in chapters 5, 6 and 7. Chapter 2 will begin by outlining key relevant literature, providing a background to the study and the field in which it is situated.

Chapter 2 Literature Review

This chapter will act as a review of the literature most relevant to the current project and its research questions. Section 2.1 will begin by describing the field in which the study sits, from its roots in early 19th and 20th century dialectology through the advent the Labovian paradigm (e.g. Labov, 1963, 1966b, Trudgill, 1974), and into the different waves of variationist studies (Eckert, 2012). It will then go on to situate this study within the field at the conclusion of section 2.1.3. Section 2.2 summarises the main theoretical concepts around the use of social variables (such as age, social class and gender) as explanatory factors in studies of language variation and change. It should be noted that this will be a mainly theoretical treatment (albeit with reference to methodological issues where necessary) – an account of how the external variables are to be treated practically in this study, informed by this theoretical summary, can be found in chapter 4. Section 2.3 will finish with a discussion of the main issues around the use of space as an explanatory factor in variationist studies, including the rise in supralocalisation and dialect levelling in southern British dialects (e.g. Altendorf and Watt 2004, Britain, 2010a). A fuller review of the literature for each linguistic variable can be found in chapters 5 and 6. Similarly, a review of previous studies of East Anglian English will be presented in chapter 3.

2.1 Variationist sociolinguistics

> "Sociolinguists are people with training in linguistics and a primary interest in questions about what language is like, how it works, and what its functions are… Many sociolinguists focus on variation – why not everyone talks alike – and the relationship between linguistic variation and language change. Some are particularly interested in how ways of talking function as claims to and displays of people's social class, gender, ethnicity, and social and personal identity"
>
> (Johnstone, 2000: 1)

This is, in a nutshell, the definition of variationist sociolinguistics. It is distinct from other areas of inquiry in linguistics in that it is chiefly interested in investigating how speakers use language in everyday interactions, and with reference to the social context

of this interaction, rather than purely how language is structured in isolation (Gordon, 2013: 7). While other areas of linguistic investigation treat variation as problematic and leave it to one side, variationist sociolinguistics values it as a key aspect of the investigation (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 1-2, Gordon, 2013: 7, Johnstone, 2000: 1). This manifests itself in a key methodological difference between (variationist) sociolinguistic studies and theoretical linguistics, whereby the former generally rejects the latter's reliance on introspective data (i.e. 'how do I say x'), instead favouring an approach in which the data is collected empirically – that is, through observations of the actual language use of real speakers of the variety under investigation (i.e. 'how do different groups of speakers say x') (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 2). This point will be elaborated on in the discussion presented in this chapter.

The variationist approach can be seen as a subfield of the broader field of sociolinguistics – other areas of sociolinguistic investigation are interested in answering different types of questions, for example the various roles which speakers act out in conversations, or the pragmatic meanings of ambiguous utterances, while variationists are mainly concerned with uncovering how language use varies across (groups of) speakers (Johnstone, 2000: 1). As Gordon (2013: 31ff.) points out, William Labov was not the first to study the variation in language, but he was the first to build a distinct field of inquiry around it, which is often known as the 'Labovian approach' – this influential framework will be discussed further throughout this chapter, and in greater methodological depth in chapter 4.

Sections 2.1.1, 2.1.2 and 2.1.3 will give a brief history of the subfield of variationism, from its historic predecessors, via its inception in the work of Labov, to the present day.

2.1.1 Early dialectology

As it is generally accepted that variationist sociolinguistics is most directly related to traditional dialectology, having continued and developed the techniques utilised in this field (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 11), it would be useful to begin by giving a short description of the field of dialectology, some key studies, and criticisms of the approach. It is important to note that, while this section may be fairly critical, it is not intended to be an outright condemnation of the approach – but rather is included in order to give context to the development of the Labovian, variationist sociolinguistic

approach which will be discussed in section 2.1.2. Labov himself notes the key inspiration of traditional dialectology to his own work, and those of his followers (Gordon, 2013: 34).

Chambers and Trudgill (1998) discuss the history of 'dialect geography' (which they equate to the term 'dialectology' used elsewhere) in great detail. They assert that dialectology initially began as something of a hobby rather than a serious field of investigation, and thus developed independently of linguistic theory – at least until the advent of sociolinguistics. Chambers and Trudgill state that the general aim of dialectological work has been to collect data on the geographical spread of dialect features, particularly lexical and phonological ones. The results of these studies have often been depicted in dialect maps which show the prevalent use of a linguistic form within each community studied – sometimes on a national scale and sometimes on a smaller scale. One criticism of this approach has been that the format of the maps, with each location represented by its most commonly used 'variant', often masks individual variation within each location (Gordon, 2013: 37-38). As an example, Gordon notes that a speaker who produced a form like [wɔːkɪn] (*walkin'*), using the non-standard [n] variant of the variable (-ing) would be represented as [n] on the map. But we now know that individual speakers use more than one form of a linguistic variable, depending in part on factors such as the context in which interaction takes place, and so this is a misleading representation – as Gordon states, more data is needed than just one token, in one context. It must be noted however, that traditional dialectological studies were often more interested in the historical spread of linguistic features across space, rather than the focus being on current (or future) variation as in variationist sociolinguistics (Trudgill, 1982: 239, Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 12).

Other criticisms of the approach are related to the methods of data collection. Chambers and Trudgill (1998) state that dialectological studies have generally utilised questionnaires as the main instrument through which data has been collected. This method has been positive in that it allows lots of data to be collected from a single participant, and also allowed for the collection of data in times before recording devices were commonly available. As Chambers and Trudgill describe, fieldworkers would often ask questions designed to elicit certain lexical or phonological items from participants. An example they give is the question 'What do you say to a caller at the door if you want him to enter?' (the expected response would be some variant of

'come in'). The fieldworker could then note down the participant's response, in phonetic transcription if necessary, and move on to the next item. This of course raises questions about the accuracy of transcriptions, a point which will be addressed later.

As practical as this method could be, there are also some drawbacks which Chambers and Trudgill highlight. The first is that the interview in which data would be collected would most likely produce fairly formal/careful speech, due to the question and answer nature being unlike most casual conversations. The Labovian approach to overcoming such challenges will be discussed through this chapter. A second drawback would be the sheer amount of data collected – Chambers and Trudgill estimate around 1500-2000 tokens per speaker, meaning that (especially in the days before computers were widespread tools available to researchers) only small subsets of the data could be investigated and reported on. Linked to this is the amount of time needed to complete interviews with each speaker – Chambers and Trudgill estimate anywhere between 10-24 hours per participant, often divided into two or more sittings.

By far the most prominent and oft repeated criticism of the approach however is the selection of speakers to take part in the interviews – or rather, the omission of certain types of speakers from the data collection process (Trudgill, 1982: 239, Chambers and Trudgill, 1998: 29, Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 12-13, Gordon, 2013: 36-37). As has already been noted, traditional dialectological studies have generally been interested in mapping historical, traditional dialectal forms, and as such relied heavily on one particular type of informant – which Chambers and Trudgill (1998: 29) termed 'NORMs' (for Non-mobile, Older, Rural, Males). The traditional dialectologists did not entirely rely on these kinds of speakers, as some made an attempt to include an equal number of male and female informants (Johnstone, 2000: 7), and it is perhaps understandable, given that due to the aims of their research they were interested in locating the 'pure' dialect as was traditionally spoken in each community (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 13) – and as will be shown in section 2.2, there is empirical evidence that the NORMs are generally found to be the most conservative, traditional speakers (Gordon, 2013: 37). However, in focusing mainly on these speakers, traditional dialectologists failed to note the everyday, social variation of language use which would become a major component of the Labovian variationist approach outlined in section 2.1.2 (Chambers and Trudgill, 1998: 29-30, 47).

2.1.2 Labov, Trudgill and the birth of the variationist paradigm

The fields of dialectology and variationist sociolinguistics are closely related, in that the Labovian approach is generally considered to have been conceived as a reaction to the critically perceived shortcomings of dialectological methods (Britain, 2009: 225). This section will outline the main studies which helped to establish the field of sociolinguistics in the 1960s – the work of William Labov in Martha's Vineyard and New York City. A brief mention will also be made of a key influence on this study, the work of Peter Trudgill in Norwich; however this will receive fuller attention in chapter 3.

The famous Martha's Vineyard study was Labov's master's thesis, published in 1963, but its legacy continues to this day – along with his study of New York, it helped to establish an entire field of investigation. As Gordon (2013: 46) puts it, "it seems that someone forgot to tell [Labov] that graduate students aren't meant to be revolutionaries". As stated earlier, before Labov the main focus of linguistics was generally historical or theoretical – it is not that researchers had not wondered about the effect of social factors on language use, but that the general consensus was that current frameworks were not able to account for it. Indeed, Gordon (2013: 78) asserts that "what Labov introduced was not so much a new set of questions as a new way of answering questions that had been set aside in the past", and as such, the Labovian methodology was readily adopted by (socio)linguists with an interest in these questions. For example, it was initially thought that it was not possible to observe a sound change in progress, as the process was too slow for linguists to capture in individual studies (Labov, 1963: 291, 1994: 44). However, Labov – realising that it was indeed possible – set up his methodology in Martha's Vineyard to show as such by investigating the contrasting use of linguistic variables among different generations of speakers. This point will be returned to in greater detail in section 2.2.1. The wider argument of Labov's paper was that:

> "…one cannot understand the development of a language change apart from the social life of the community in which it occurs. Or to put it another way, social pressures are continually operating upon language, not from some remote point in the past, but as an immanent social force acting in the living present"
>
> (Labov, 1963: 275)

Given that the general assumption at the time was that language change could not be observed in progress, Labov's argument that it was in fact possible was something of a revolutionary claim.

The setting which Labov initially selected to provide evidence for his new approach was the island of Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts, located off the east coast of the USA. At the time of Labov's study in the early 1960s, the island had a population of around 5,500, of which roughly 3800 lived in the 'down-island' towns of Edgartown, Oak Bluffs and Vineyard Haven, and roughly 1700 live in the rural 'up-island' areas (ibid: 277). As an outsider to the community, Labov describes the island as "a very beautiful place, and a very desirable place to live" (ibid: 296). He adds, however, that due to the cost of transporting goods to and from the mainland to buy and sell, along with the related decline in the agricultural industry (and similar trades), the island was one of the poorer areas in the state of Massachusetts, with at the time higher than average unemployment levels. These two factors combined to result in a yearly swamping of the island by 'the summer people' – tourists on whom many native islanders relied to make a living, but who were seen "as a threat to [the islanders'] personal independence". As will be discussed shortly, a theme running through the findings for this study was the conflict between the generally negative feelings of the islanders towards the summer visitors, yet the simultaneous (reluctant) acceptance of the need for them to bring money and employment to the island.

In order to investigate a possible case of language change on the island, Labov selected a sample of 69 native inhabitants, and collected data from each utilising a method which came to be known as the sociolinguistic interview (this will be discussed in great detail in chapter 5). Another methodological innovation of this study was the division of participants into different age groups representing different generations of speakers (this will also be discussed in more detail in section 2.2.1 and chapter 4). Labov selected as his linguistic variable (another novel concept at the time) the centralisation of the first element of the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, from the standard [aɪ] and [aʊ], to the local forms [ɐɪ] and [ɐʊ], or even [əɪ] and [əʊ], respectively (ibid: 280). Crucially, Labov was adamant that the variation in this feature was not 'random' or 'free variation', and would not be written off as such, but would instead be

demonstrated to be structured and systematic "using every available clue to discover the pattern which governs the distribution of centralized diphthongs" (ibid: 280).

The key finding of Labov's study echoed this – he showed that there is precedent for investigating the link between linguistic variation and the social context in which it takes place, by providing evidence of a possible sound change in progress through comparison of the rates of centralisation of the different generations sampled. The oldest speakers were found to have the lowest rates of centralisation of the two diphthongs, with rates of centralisation rising as the age of participants decreased, with the exception of the very youngest group (age 14-30). This anomaly will be accounted for shortly. In order to explain this finding, Labov turned (as promised) to the social context of the community under investigation. It was discovered that "the [social] meaning of centralization, judging from the context in which it occurs, is *positive orientation towards Martha's Vineyard*" (ibid: 306, italics in original). The general finding was that the more warmly a speaker felt about the island, and life on it, and therefore the less warmly they felt towards the incursions of the 'summer people', the more likely they would be to centralise their /ai/ and /au/ diphthongs. Labov was able to establish that this began among a group of Chilmark (a rural 'up-island' location) fishermen – a group who had been hit particularly by the decline in local industry, and the subsequent rise of tourism as the main viable means of earning a living – and actually constituted a revival of an older dialectal form from the island (ibid: 297-298). Labov shows that the younger speakers were clearly separated by their desire to stay on the island or move away (ibid: 300, 305). This diluted the centralisation scores for this age group, and thus explains the anomaly noted above. As a result, this also explains the highest levels of centralisation being found in the middle-aged speakers – they had already made the decision to stay on the island, and therefore were much more likely to be open to identifying outwardly as an islander (ibid: 299).

Having first tested his innovative methodology on Martha's Vineyard, Labov turned his attention to investigating the social stratification of English in New York City. He began with a smaller scale pilot study, conducted in department stores in the city, utilising a methodology known as a rapid and anonymous survey (RAS). This is discussed in more detail in chapter 4, but the main findings and theoretical implications will be outlined here.

In using the RAS methodology, Labov was chiefly interested in gathering as much data on the use of the variable (r) (rhoticity) in New York as possible, in as little time as possible, in order to test his hypothesis that "if any two subgroups of New York City speakers are ranked on a scale of social stratification, then they will be ranked in the same order by their differential use of (r)" (Labov, 2006: 41, italics removed). In total, he was able to collect data from 264 participants in around six and a half hours (ibid: 46), in the form of casual and (seemingly) spontaneous speech events with department store workers. Labov selected three department stores to act as surrogates for socioeconomic class as an external variable, reasoning that the workers would most likely adapt their language use to converge towards that of their expected customers, and thus their language use would, superficially at least, reflect that of their customer base (ibid: 41). The three department stores were carefully chosen (based on factors such as advertising and price points) to represent three levels of social stratification and prestige in the city – Saks Fifth Avenue was the highest ranking, most exclusive store, followed by Macy's in the middle, and lastly by S. Klein which was the lowest ranking store. Thus, Labov expected to find that the employees in Saks used were more r-ful than those in Macy's, who were never-the-less more r-ful than those in Klein's, as it was hypothesised that rhoticity was becoming prestigious in the city at the time (ibid: 42).

The method of data collection involved asking assistants a question which elicited the response 'fourth floor', thus providing two tokens of non-prevocalic /r/ per speaker in different linguistic environments. Labov pretended not to have heard the initial answer and asked each assistant to repeat it, thus drawing attention to their speech and providing two more tokens but this time in a more emphatic, less casual manner. Doing so enabled him to also test a further hypothesis that attention to speech would play a role in increasing the use of r-ful pronunciations among speakers (due to its presumed higher prestige) (ibid: 45). The findings did indeed confirm both of Labov's hypotheses. Due to the low number of tokens per speaker (only four each), Labov grouped his participants into those who had entirely r-ful responses, those with some /r/, and those with no /r/ at all. The results followed the social stratification of the stores as predicted, with 62% of assistants at Saks using r-ful pronunciations (either entirely r-ful, or some [r]), compared to 51% at Macy's and 21% at Klein's. The same stratification remained when Labov investigated the percentage of speakers who had

entirely r-ful pronunciations in emphatic contexts – 63% of Saks assistants were entirely r-ful in the word 'floor' in the casual context, compared to 64% in the emphatic context, while 44% of Macy's assistants were entirely r-ful in the casual context, compared to 61% in the emphatic context. Finally, just 8% of Klein's assistants were entirely r-ful in the casual context, which rose to 18% in the emphatic context. Labov explains the greater increase among Macy's employees as caused by the r-ful pronunciation being the "target" at which they aim, while the lower increase among Sak's assistants is explained as due to them being more linguistically secure than any other group (ibid: 47-48). The key finding of this study was that (r) was both variable and clearly socially stratified in New York speech, at least to the extent that it suggested that socioeconomic class would be a relevant external factor to help explain any variation uncovered for all variables in Labov's more in depth investigation of the Lower East Side of New York City.

Labov chose to focus on just the Lower East Side for two main reasons: a) New York was far too large a city for a single researcher to be able to collect and analyse a representative sample of the entire community in the time available to complete the study, and b) because the Lower East Side was itself a "microcosm" of the wider city, containing a rich mixture of social class groups and speakers of different ethnic backgrounds, reminiscent of that of the city as a whole (Gordon, 2013: 59, 60 Labov, 2006: 97, 112). In this study, Labov applied and developed his methodology from the Martha's Vineyard investigation, adapting it where necessary to fit the requirements of an urban dialect survey. One example of this is in the sampling of speakers to be interviewed. In Martha's Vineyard, Labov (1963: 308) self-critiqued his own sampling method as being "far from rigorous". He set out to improve this in the Lower East Side study, by implementing a random sample, guided by principles of sociological work, which would provide every speaker within the sampling universe with an equal opportunity of being selected (Labov, 2006: 96). The issues around collecting representative samples in sociolinguistic studies will be highlighted in greater detail in chapter 4. Labov was significantly aided in this approach by the discovery of a previous sociological survey of the Lower East Side (the Mobilization For Youth project) which had been completed a few years before, and which aimed to improve the opportunities afforded to youngsters growing up in the Lower East Side (ibid: 99). He was able to gain access to data about the wide-ranging sample collected for this

study (988 people), and built his sample around this by re-interviewing a selection of these informants (ibid: 107, 100). As he was interested in studying the native dialect of the area, Labov excluded 'non-native' New Yorkers from the sample – an approach which continues to be the generally accepted norm in variationist sociolinguistics to the current day, although not necessarily unproblematically.

In total Labov analysed data from 81 native New York speakers resident in the Lower East Side, which had been collected through sociolinguistic interviews (ibid: 117). As with the sampling method, the interview method was also expanded from the version used on Martha's Vineyard. Elements of the methodology (such as the full Labovian sociolinguistic interview technique) will be covered in much more depth in chapter 4, but it is sufficient to state here that Labov added elements to his interview technique, such as a reading passage, which were aimed at investigating intra-speaker stylistic variation (in addition to investigating inter-speaker variation through the social stratification of participants) (Gordon, 2013: 61-62). The basis of this approach was the hypothesis that the amount of attention participants paid to their speech would alter their language use – less formal contexts (e.g. casual, everyday style speech) would elicit greater use of the vernacular, local variants, while more formal contexts (e.g. reading passage) would encourage speakers to monitor their language use more closely, and thus elicit more overtly prestigious variants (Labov, 2006, 58ff., Gordon, 2013: 61-62).

As in the department store study, the two issues of social class stratification and stylistic variation were the main avenues of investigation in the Lower East Side study (Labov, 2006: 130). Style was measured as outlined earlier, through the addition of more and less formal elements to the interview. The measurement of speakers' socioeconomic class was entirely based off the data Labov was able to access from the Mobility For Youth study (as each of the participants had already been classified along this scale during the original study), which took into account three factors – occupation, education, and income (Labov, 2006: 133, 134). The exact method used in defining a speaker's social class will be discussed in further detail in section 2.2.3. This was necessarily a more precise and conclusive ranking of social class than in the department store study, which was based solely on the assumption of store assistants accommodating to the expected speech of their customers – but which nevertheless

was successful in providing an account of the social stratification of (r) among New York speakers.

Labov chiefly investigated five phonological variables: (r) – the presence or absence of non-prevocalic /r/, (th) and (dh) – the stopping of the fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ (to [t] and [d] respectively), (æh) – the realisation of the vowel in words such as *bag* and *ask*, and (oh) – the realisation of the vowel in words such as *caught* and *cot* (Gordon, 2013: 63, Labov, 2006: 33-37). He also looked at other variables such as (-ing) and the /ai/ and /au/ diphthongs from the Martha's Vineyard study to a lesser degree. Labov's findings are too numerous and complex to do justice to in this brief outline of the study, and so for the sake of simplicity and maintaining continuity with the department store study outline above, this discussion will focus on the variable (r). In general, Labov's (2006: 152) findings for (r) reflected those from the department store study. He found that as speakers moved from casual to more formal speech, their production of r-ful pronunciations increased, from close to 0% r-fullness in the lower social class groups in casual speech, to close to 80% r-fullness in the lower middle class group in word lists and minimal pairs, the most formal speech styles. This compares favourably to the department store study finding, in which more speakers produced r-ful pronunciations when paying closer attention to their speech (when asked to repeat 'fourth floor'). This finding holds for most of the social class groups, showing a clear stratification from the lowest class group to the highest (the upper middle class), as in the department store study, however with one clear exception. This exception comes in the lower middle class speakers, who show regular stratification in the casual, interview and reading passage styles, but cross-over the class above them (the upper middle class) in the most formal word list and minimal pairs styles. This higher use of the prestigious r-ful pronunciation by the lower middle class group, going beyond the only social class group above them in the most formal styles, was termed by Labov (ibid: 151-152, 1972: 122ff.) as 'hypercorrection', and explained as an attempt by the lower middle class speakers – thought to be the most linguistically insecure – to imitate the language use of the class group above them (the otherwise highest users of the prestige form). In this attempt, they 'overdo' it and end up using more r-ful pronunciations than the upper middle class, and in so doing become the highest users of the prestige form themselves. In an additional note to the second edition of *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*, Labov (2006: 151)

comments that this hypercorrection "has appeared quite often [in variationist studies] as a general characteristic of a second-highest status group" (in this case, the lower middle class speakers).

Thus, Labov's findings generally proved that it was possible to carry out a structured investigation into an urban community's language use. Labov himself (ibid: 130) states that the Lower East Side study's investigations of stylistic and social stratification of language use "started the quantitative study of linguistic change and variation [on a wider scale]". And that's how, as Gordon (2013: 45-46) puts it, Labov founded a new field of enquiry as a graduate student.

Special mention should also be made in this section to the work of Trudgill (1974) in Norwich, who was the first researcher to utilise the Labovian methodology outside of the US and was thus able to confirm its status as field of inquiry. Unsurprisingly, due to its significant and important status in sociolinguistics, and also its focus on an East Anglian dialect, Trudgill's work in Norwich is a key influence on the current study. It will however not be discussed in much greater detail in this chapter, as the study will be outlined more fully in chapter 4.

2.1.3 The development of the variationist approach and criticisms

Since the early work of researchers such as Labov and Trudgill, there have been many developments in the field of (variationist) sociolinguistics. To do justice to them all would be beyond the scope of this study. However, an excellent and succinct summary is presented in Eckert (2012). In general Eckert describes a movement away from a focus purely on the existence of variation in linguistic forms, towards an attempt to provide an understanding of the social meaning behind this variation. She classifies studies of language variation and change into three 'waves'. Characteristic (albeit not exclusively) of the first wave is the work of Labov in New York and Trudgill in Norwich, as discussed in section 2.1.2. While acknowledging the importance of these studies in forming and launching the field of sociolinguistics, Eckert (ibid: 88-90) also criticises such studies for not necessarily recognising the individuality and social agency of speakers, or at least not valuing it to a high enough degree. She highlights that data collection methods in this wave generally resulted in the researcher spending only a small amount of time with each participant, the inference being that this is not enough time to fully understand each individual's linguistic/social motivations.

Furthermore, other than Labov and Trudgill's random sampling methods of selecting participants, many studies in the first wave selected speakers from a community in order to fit certain pre-defined categories (such as older middle class males, or younger working class females), and as such treated participants as "human tokens – bundles of demographic characteristics" (ibid: 88). This is often still the case in the present day, and arguments for the benefits of such 'judgement sampling' will be outlined in chapter 4. Finally, Eckert also criticises the perception of social class stratification as the most important explanatory factor for the language use patterns uncovered in first wave studies, rather than a speaker's individual agency. She asserts that "[linguistic] variables were taken to mark socioeconomic status, and stylistic and gender dynamics were seen as resulting from the effects of these categories on speakers' orientation to their assigned place in that hierarchy" (ibid: 90). Put simply, Eckert is saying that there was a tendency to view variation through the prism of social class stratification, rather than on its own merits, and that little attempt was made to address the social meaning of different linguistic variables beyond this.

The main defining characteristic of the second wave of variation studies which Eckert notes is a movement towards ethnographic approaches to data collection and participant observation. She states:

> "these studies sought out local categories that could shed light on the relevance of macrosociological categories [e.g. age, gender, social class] for life in the local setting, drawing a direct relation between the social dynamics giving rise to these categories and the use of linguistic variables"
>
> (Eckert, 2012: 90-91)

In other words, second wave studies took a step towards attributing language choices to the individual social agency of speakers by investigating more closely their personal ties within, and links to, the local community, but still retained an interest in the overarching speaker characteristics, such as social class, employed in the first wave studies. Interestingly Eckert (ibid: 88) points out that Labov's (1963) study of Martha's Vineyard fits into this second wave, despite pre-dating the (first wave) lower-east side study in chronological terms. Eckert explains that this is because in the

Martha's Vineyard study, Labov was able to explain the shift towards the centralised diphthong in terms of locally relevant social factors, in this case the construction of an 'islander' identity in reaction to the perceived incursions of tourism and the decline of local industry, especially fishing. It should be noted that Eckert's waves are not ordered chronologically, but rather by their focus on the local social meaning in each community. Another example of the second wave approach comes from Eckert's own (2000) ethnographic study of a high school in suburban Detroit, Michigan, USA. Eckert (2000: 1) begins by making clear that her focus lies in uncovering the local factors within the school which help to explain the linguistic variation found within, in order not to lose sight of the "local experience that makes variation meaningful to speakers" – a criticism which was levelled at the first wave studies of language variation and change. In order to do this, Eckert (ibid: 75ff.) took up a role within the school community, observing the day to day routines of the different people within the community, spending time (both formally and informally) with speakers of all types, and completing sociolinguistic interviews with a sample of 200 speakers, of whom 69 provided the data for the study, all in the pursuit of understanding the locally salient social categories. Eckert (2000: 76, 2012: 92) explains that the most relevant social category which quickly became apparent during her ethnographic observation was the distinction between 'jocks' and 'burnouts' – two contrasting social groups "which constituted middle- and working-class cultures, respectively". The jocks were the group which were more likely to go on to college (university), and participate in school-based activities, while the burnouts were unlikely to pursue higher education, and based their social gatherings outside of school in the local community. It should also be noted that around half of the students in the school identified with a third group, the 'in-betweens' – however Eckert's analysis focused more on the 'extremes' of the jocks and burnouts. Overall she found that not only were the burnouts more likely to use non-standard forms of the linguistic variables, such as negative concord (known folk-linguistically as the use of 'double negatives'), but that a particular section of the burnouts who prided themselves on being the most rebellious and the most unlike the jocks, were the most likely to use non-standard forms out of all speakers. This led Eckert to conclude, not dissimilarly to Labov in Martha's Vineyard, that the burnouts (and particularly the most non-standard group) were using non-standard, vernacular forms in much greater quantities in order to put forward an identity which marked them out as different from the other social categories in the

school, both the jocks and the in-betweens (2012: 92-93). This finding was possible because Eckert was able to identify the most relevant social categories within the local community (school), rather than attempting to impose generic ones which may not have been as appropriate.

Eckert (ibid: 93) reflects that although the second wave studies made a greater attempt to explain variation with reference to locally salient (micro-) social categories, they were still fundamentally interested in the same overarching social characteristics as first wave studies. The third wave studies moved towards investigating "the linguistic practice in which speakers place themselves in the social landscape" (ibid: 94). As Eckert points out, central to this approach is the theory of indexical order, developed by Silverstein (2003). Eckert's discussion of first, second and third wave studies is built largely on the premise of whether the focus of the studies is mainly macro-social or micro-social. Silverstein (2003: 193) developed the theory of indexical order to give researchers a framework through which to understand the link between these, in practical settings. The key idea which Silverstein puts forward is that at the micro-social level, i.e. interactions between interlocutors in different contexts and communities, speakers make use of linguistic forms in order to 'index' macro-social categories (such as age, gender, social class) and the locally relevant ideologies surrounding these, to construct, maintain and develop an identity for themselves. Both Silverstein (2003: 217) and Johnstone et al. (2006: 81ff.) draw comparisons between indexical order and Labov's (1972: 178-180) categorisation of linguistic variables as indicators (variables which are not salient to speakers, and whose use signals membership of a certain group within the community), markers (variables which are becoming more salient to speakers within the community, and begin to show stylistic variation as speakers respond to the social meanings attached to different variants "without necessarily being aware of it") or stereotypes (variables which are salient both within and outside of the community, are likely to be stigmatised, and may "become increasingly divorced from the forms which are actually used" in the community, and "eventually disappear"). In particular Johnstone et al. give a practical example of the implementation of indexical order in the study of a community, the language of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, in the USA. In doing so, they (ibid: 82-83) explain that Labov's indicators, markers and stereotypes match up with Silverstein's first (n^{th}), second ($n^{th}+1$) and third order indexicals respectively. A first (or n^{th}, in

Silverstein's terminology) order indexical is indicative (to specialists, i.e. linguists) of a local Pittsburgh identity, and particularly of the male, working class speakers, for many of whom this distinction is not salient as they are not aware that not everyone produces the same forms. A 2nd (or nth+1) indexical is a form which speakers are beginning to notice has a local, community specific (i.e. in this case, Pittsburgh-specific) social meaning, "shaped mainly by ideologies about class and correctness". A third order indexical is a stereotype, in that it becomes salient to, and available for use by speakers both within and outside the community in 'performing' a local (Pittsbugh) identity, "often in ironic, semiserious [sic] ways". In short, Johnstone et al. illustrate the differences between first, second and third order indexicality through the examples of linguistic variables in Pittsburgh speech, such as the monophthongisation of the diphthong /aw/, as in the word *house*. The monophthongal variant is especially characteristic of local, working class male speakers, although they may not necessarily be aware of this (as is the case with their speaker John K.), and may assume that everyone pronounces *house* with a monophthong (first order) (ibid: 89-91). Those that are aware show some contextual variation, for example the speaker Barb E., who reports being aware of using higher levels of regional forms with speakers who have been identified as Pittsburghers (second order) (ibid: 92). Finally, Johnstone et al. present evidence that the monophthongisation of /aw/ is among the stereotypes of the Pittsburgh dialect, through the testimony of their speaker Jessica H., who found this to be among the local features of her accent which were commented on by others when she travelled outside of Pittsburgh for university (third order) (ibid: 97-98). In addition, Johnstone et al. (ibid: 94-95) assert that the local Pittsburgh variety has been 'enregistered' – that is, has become "differentiable within a language [in this case English] as a socially recognized register of forms" (Agha, 2003: 231) – through (third order) public discourse of local forms, such as in newspaper articles which began by poking fun at the 'oddities' of local speech, and eventually legitimised the local dialect as a speech variety to be aware of, as well as proud of.

To conclude, this section has presented a summary of the history of variationist sociolinguistics, from its dialectological beginnings through the three waves of approach to studying language variation and change. There is much more that could be said than is presented here, but it is hoped that this discussion has given an insight into how the different waves of variationist work have treated their approaches to

explaining and understanding the social meaning of variation in different ways. This study is inspired in the most part by the first wave, particularly Trudgill's work in the East Anglian locality of Norwich, but as the discussion in this section has hopefully shown, the criticisms of this wave by scholars such as Eckert are to be borne in mind throughout. This will manifest particularly in a willingness to take account of local issues relevant to the communities under investigation, and elements such as attitudes and ideologies and the indexing of particular identities, where appropriate in the analysis. The view of this researcher is that there really is no right or wrong way to investigate language variation and change as such, and that each wave's approach serves different (complementary) purposes in our understanding of the processes underpinning linguistic variation – (somewhat simplistically) the first wave approach is particularly appropriate for conducting larger scale linguistic surveys of communities, the second wave for differentiating locally salient social categories, and the third wave for understanding the underlying meaning of variation within a community – as discussed throughout this final subsection.

2.2 Social variables

Having situated this study in the field of variationist sociolinguistics, attention will now be turned to outlining the main theoretical reasons behind the use of certain social characteristics of speakers to help explain their linguistic choices. Except where necessary for the discussion, this section will avoid the methodological issues surrounding the use of these social factors as independent variables, as a discussion from this perspective can be found in chapter 4.

2.2.1 Age

This discussion will address the question of why to include age as an independent variable in sociolinguistic studies – Schilling (2013: 50) states that variationist investigations "almost always" do so in order to help identify possible cases of linguistic change in the target community. This subsection will explain why age is one of the most important external constraints in variationist investigations, with reference to examples from previous studies where relevant.

In essence, the inclusion of age as a social variable in the vast majority of sociolinguistic studies is to enable the researcher to make some judgement as to the

presence and progress of linguistic change within the community under investigation (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 35). This aim of studying and even making predictions about language change as it is ongoing, and not merely reporting it after its completion, is one of the main goals of variationist sociolinguistics (Al-Wer, 2013: 241), dating back to the work of Labov in Martha's Vineyard as explained in section 2.1.2. This makes age an incredibly important external factor to take into account in a variationist study. As noted in section 2.1.2, it was once thought that language change was a process which could not be observed in progress by researchers, and thus the only way to measure the change in a linguistic variety over time would be to compare speakers of the variety at different points in time. This is known as the real-time approach – and any differences observed would be taken as evidence of linguistic changes that have occurred in the community in the time between studies taking place (Labov, 1994: 73). Labov (ibid) and Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2013: 254) outline the different ways in which real-time studies can be carried out. The first method is to compare to historical data from previous studies in the community. This was a method employed, for example, by Labov (1963) in Martha's Vineyard – by comparing to the recently completed Linguistic Atlas of New England, Labov was able to ascertain that the centralised variants of the diphthongs /ai/ and /au/, used by some speakers to promote a local 'islander' identity, were actually older dialectal forms which had previously undergone linguistic change (away from the centralised variants) before seemingly being resurrected as a reaction to the incursions of tourists on the island.

Cukor-Avila and Bailey (2013: 254-255) however point out some problems with this method – largely that historical data either does not exist for some communities, or that where it does it may not be comparable to modern data as methods of data collection, presentation and analysis have advanced over time. For example, Al-Wer (2013: 242) states that one source of the data which sociolinguists often use to provide historical perspective in studies is the work of early dialectologists. As discussed in section 2.1.1, the majority of samples collected in these studies (comprised for the most part of NORM informants) would not be considered representative by current variationist standards, and are not strictly comparable as data has not been collected from a large proportion of the community – e.g. younger speakers, female speakers, and those not considered to have a 'strong' local accent. A similar problem arises when considering the method of data collection in such studies,

which (generally due to the lack of tape-recording facilities) often took the form of a questionnaire aimed at eliciting self-reported data. As discussed in section 2.1.2, this approach has generally now been eschewed in favour of the Labovian sociolinguistic interview technique (or at least, something very similar – see chapter 4 for more details). The methods of traditional dialectology also often relied too heavily on the proficiency of the fieldworker in accurately transcribing spoken forms in phonetic symbols, which are generally different from those used today, and so may not be entirely accurate and would require 'translating' into their modern equivalents before comparisons can be drawn (Trudgill, 1982: 240-242, Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2013: 254). Again, as such the historical data is not strictly comparable with that collected in variationist studies today. Of course it is easy to criticise in hindsight, and it must be noted that these studies did not collect the data for the purpose of informing studies many decades later, in a field which did not exist at the time of data collection. The data provided by these studies can be useful, as long as researchers keep in mind the caveat that it may not show the whole picture for a given community. This problem is not just limited to use of historical evidence from dialectological studies either – for example, when attempting to compare findings for the centralisation of /ai/ on Martha's Vineyard to those in Labov's (1963) original study, Blake and Josey (2003) were faced with a choice of using an updated acoustic analysis technique which had not been available to Labov – thus reducing the comparability of their findings – or reproducing Labov's original methodology, and thus maintaining comparability while potentially sacrificing the accuracy of their analyses. In the event, they decided to do both – employing Labov's initial methodology whilst also implementing a more modern acoustic analysis (ibid: 452, 459). While this seems to be a reasonable solution, it is not particularly practical on a regular basis, and would take more time than a single analysis – and may explain why they investigated just one of the diphthongs (/ai/, but not /au/) which Labov utilised as linguistic variables. This is therefore a problem with the method of re-surveying as a real-time approach to the investigation of language variation and change which must be born in mind. Blake and Josey's major finding was that the centralisation of /ai/ no longer appears to be a social identity marker for natives of the island, due to the changing employment opportunities of the groups highlighted as responsible for beginning the trend of centralisation in Labov's study – the Chilmark fishermen who, due to the continued decline of the local fishing industry, have necessarily expanded into jobs linked to

tourism in order to make a living and thus "no longer have the status they once did… the marked contrast between Chilmarkers as "local" and mainlanders as "other" has virtually dissipated" (ibid: 480-481). In place of centralisation of /ai/, Martha's Vineyard has seen a rise in Canadian raising, which Blake and Josey found to be more prevalent in their re-survey data (ibid: 481). It's certainly not impossible that their use of more recent methods of analysis may have played some part, however small, in producing these different results – for example, their use of normalisation (the 'new' technique which Labov did not have access to) confirmed that no group is centralising significantly more than any other, so allowed them to more firmly draw this conclusion.

The Blake and Josey (2003) example also introduces a different, but related option for making use of real-time data to investigate the potential linguistic change in a community – namely to carry out a re-survey of a study in the same community, at a later point in time (Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2013: 255). There are two ways in which this can be done – panel studies, and trend studies. A panel study involves resurveying the same participants at a later point, and observing whether their language use has changed over time (Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2013: 255). A large problem with this kind of study is its impracticality and cost (both in terms of money and time) – the mobility of speakers means it not always possible to locate the exact same informants for repeat interviews, and some may simply wish not to take any further part, for any number of reasons. As a result the sample size is likely to reduce in size in later years, which impacts the validity of the results (although they are often still useful to an extent) (Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2013: 257, Labov, 1994: 76).

Trend studies, on the other hand, involve resurveying different members of the same community at a later time. Labov (1994: 76) describes this as the "simplest type of replication study", and points out that care must be taken to ensure that the methods used in sampling speakers and collecting data are comparable (or even entirely the same) as in the original study, for the results to be meaningful. An example is Trudgill (1988), who followed up his study of Norwich around a decade and a half later in order to confirm whether the language features he identified as being involved in linguistic change had indeed progressed as hypothesised. Trudgill (ibid: 38) opted to utilise the exact methodology from the initial study in order to maximise the comparability of the data, despite the development of sociolinguistic methods which

had occurred in the intervening years, with one exception – a younger fieldworker (also a native of Norwich) was employed in order to more closely match the characteristics and insider status of Trudgill from the first study. Using this methodology, data was collected and analysed from 17 additional Norwich English speakers who were aged between 10-25 years old at the time of the second study, and had thus been too young to participate in the original study. The data provided by these speakers was able to confirm Trudgill's expectations for some variables – for example, the use of the monophthong [eː] in words such as *gate* and *face* was found to be on the decline in Trudgill (1974), and had indeed continued to decline in the speech of the younger participants in the follow-up study, to be replaced by the diphthong [æi]. Furthermore, as predicted in the original study the vowels of words such as *beer* and *bear* were found to have completely merged, with both pronounced as [ɛː] among the additional participants (ibid: 39-40). On the other hand, some variables presented findings which differed from those of the original study. One example is the realisation of /r/ as the labio-dental approximant [ʋ], which was barely present in the speech of participants in the initial study, but was much more prevalent among the additional participants in the follow-up study. Trudgill (ibid: 40) asserts that he would have been very unlikely to predict the spread of this feature from the results of the initial study, due to the low percentage of participants who used the labio-dental approximant at the time. A similar but even more dramatic situation occurred with the use of th-fronting, the replacement of the dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ by the labiodental [f] and [v] respectively – the use of [f] and [v] was non-existent among the original participants, but by the follow-up study around 70% of the additional participants demonstrated some form of th-fronting in their speech (ibid: 42-43). These findings clearly suggest that the only way to be certain of the progress of linguistic changes in a given community is to study them in real-time, a point made more generally by Trudgill (1982: 238) and Eckert (1997: 152).

Despite this, there are problems which make the use of the real-time method less attractive to researchers. Labov (1994: 76) points out that one such problem with this method is the fact that for the results to be "meaningful… it is essential that the community have remained in a more or less stable state in the intervening period [between initial and follow-up studies]". He adds that if the community has changed significantly since the first study was carried out, giving the example of the Norman

invasion of English speaking areas and the subsequent language change which followed, then any change observed would be almost entirely due to external social factors and not internal, linguistic ones and as such would not help sociolinguists to draw universal generalisations on the behaviour of language in society. This is a sentiment echoed by Cukor Avila and Bailey (2013: 256), who warn that researchers must be sure that any linguistic changes identified in the follow-up study have not been caused by demographic and social changes within the community between the original study and the re-survey. Both Cukor-Avila and Bailey, and Labov, do point out however that as long as the researcher is careful to ensure that the re-survey follows the original study's methodology as closely as possible, and that major social or demographic change has not occurred in the community in the intervening years, a trend study can provide reliable real-time data which can confirm whether linguistic change has occurred within a specific community. In addition, similarly to panel studies, trend studies can be impractical due to the length of time taken to achieve meaningful results, and as such it can be difficult to achieve funding for such long-term projects (Labov, 1994: 44). A further downside to the use of trend studies presented by Labov is that areas of interest, theories and methods of investigation often change considerably over the length of time taken to complete a project (or, as discussed above in the case of the Martha's Vineyard re-survey, to follow up on a previous study carried out by other researchers). As shown in the example of Blake and Josey's Martha's Vineyard follow up, this leaves researchers having to find a way of either implementing a revised methodology which is as close to the original as possible, but still makes use of newer methods (thus reducing the comparability of results), or implementing the original methodology (thus ignoring developments in the field and potentially reducing the validity of the results obtained).

Regardless of the potential problems with the use of real-time data, it can still provide "valuable insight into [the progress of] language change" (Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2013: 254), and is the only sure way of confirming whether linguistic change has taken place in a community (Eckert, 1997: 152). So far this section has focused on the methods of studying linguistic change over the passing of time, and there has been little discussion of the use of speaker age as an independent variable. An alternative approach is the apparent-time method which, in studying the "distribution of linguistic variables across age levels" (Labov, 1994: 45-46), allows researchers to make

immediate predictions about potential language change in progress. In doing so it relies heavily on the veracity of the apparent time hypothesis, which holds that:

> "[the speech of] people of different ages [is] interpreted as representative of different times. Thus, the speech of a 75-year-old of today represents the speech of an earlier period than does the speech of a 50-year-old or a 25-year-old"
>
> (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 35)

Schilling (2013: 55) adds that the apparent-time hypothesis assumes that a speaker's language use remains more or less unchanged across their lifespan, at least from their late teenage years onwards. This is a fairly major assumption which, as will be demonstrated later in this section, is neither uncontroversial nor universally accepted – nevertheless, its acceptance is still "deeply engrained in sociolinguistics" (Chambers, 2003: 217).

Although he was not actually the first to use age as an independent variable, Labov (1963) is generally credited (e.g. by Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2013: 239) as being the first researcher to have sought to prove that sound changes could be systematically observed in progress by doing so in his Martha's Vineyard study. As stated in section 2.1.2, Labov initially set out to show that linguistic variation was systematically structured and could be studied in relation to the social context in which it exists. A specific element of that goal was to prove that linguistic change could be predicted and observed in progress, rather than merely being reported after the fact. In order to do this, Labov stratified his Martha's Vineyard sample by age group, finding that the levels of centralisation of /ai/ and /au/ (which as discussed earlier was a traditional Vineyarder feature, that had been lost but was returning as a local identity marker) were lowest among the oldest age group (over 75s), and increased through each generation as age decreased. In simpler terms, levels of centralisation increased as age decreased and this finding was clear proof that Labov was able to demonstrate the progress in this sound change at a particular point in time, using what came to be referred to as an apparent-time methodology. The only exception was the youngest age group (14-30) who showed a slight decrease in centralisation, akin to the second and

third oldest groups (61-75 and 46-60 respectively). The highest users of the centralised, local identity marker variants were the middle-aged speakers (ibid: 291). The reason for the decrease in centralisation among the youngest speakers compared to the middle-aged group was explained by Labov (ibid: 304-306) as due to the competing aspirations among this age group – whereas the middle-aged speakers who participated in the study had already made the decision to stay on the island and thus were more likely to be open to promoting an 'islander' identity through their language use, the younger speakers were yet to reach that point in their lives. As such, Labov showed that those younger speakers who intended to remain on the island had higher levels of centralisation than those who did not, and when these speakers were averaged out the result was an overall lower level of centralisation than in the middle-aged group – hence the anomaly in the results.

There are of course, drawbacks to the apparent-time methodology. For one, the only way to truly tell whether linguistic change is occurring is through real-time data. The apparent-time method is a more practical and less costly "surrogate" for this process, which allows researchers to make predictions in a much shorter timescale, but we cannot state this with a complete degree of certainty (Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2013: 241). A case in point is the findings of Trudgill (1988) reported above, in which he found some (but crucially not all) of his predictions from his (1974) study to have turned out slightly differently from his initial expectations. Particularly interesting are the cases of th-fronting and the spread of labio-dental [ʋ] for /r/ which Trudgill (1988: 40) was unable to foresee from the data collected in the original study. Trudgill explained that if a feature is only just beginning to change then variation may not occur widely or often enough in the speech of the target community that it will show up as anything more than (seemingly) individual idiosyncrasies in a small number of speakers in the sample. In other words, only real-time data allows researchers to identify these variables, at the present time.

But perhaps the most important critique of the apparent-time hypothesis is that the assumption that a speaker's language use remains constant throughout their lives (from adolescence, at least) has not been categorically proven. Age grading is the name for the process in which an individual speaker's language use changes over time (Llamas, 2007: 73). Milroy and Gordon further explain that variation in language use

among different generations in a sample may not actually show linguistic change in progress:

> "Synchronic indications of generational differences are not necessarily evidence of change in progress. Similar patterns emerge from cases of *age-grading* in which the use of a form is associated with a particular stage of life. These are stable patterns that are repeated in each generation; speakers begin to use the form around a certain age and eventually abandon it as they grow older"
>
> (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 36, italics in original)

The classic representation of age-grading in the literature is of individual instability combined with simultaneous communal stability (Labov, 1994: 83-84). Hence age-graded features are often referred to as stable variables, an example being the morphological ending (ing) which (in its classic form) is concerned with the variation between the realisation of the standard velar stop [ŋ] and the non-standard alveolar [n]. Labov (2001: 86) asserts that (ing) has been shown to be the most consistently stable variable across many different communities, even going so far as to state that not one study of the variable has shown a case of change in progress towards one variant or the other, and that only stable variation between the variants has ever been reported. This stability in variation often manifests itself as a U-shaped curve – that is, younger speakers prefer one (usually non-standard) variant, then upon reaching early adulthood into middle-age speakers – impacted by the pressures associated with maturing and participating in the job market (the so called 'linguistic marketplace') – revert to a more standard realisation, before retiring and returning to higher use of the non-standard variant once more (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 39, Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2013: 253). This is exactly the pattern reported by, for example, Trudgill (1988: 35) for (ing) in Norwich casual- and interview style-speech. More individual evidence for these linguistic marketplace pressures comes from Rickford and Price (2013), who interviewed two young speakers of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) in a community in East Palo Alto, California over the course of two decades. They found (ibid: 147, 171-172) that although the two girls were initially very strongly vernacular in their use of AAVE features such as zero marking of verbal -s for third person singular subjects and the absence of copula *be*, over time their usage of these features

became more standard-like, likely due to the pressures placed upon them to conform linguistically in the workplace, and also because of their own considerations of becoming parents and setting an example for their children. One of the speakers in particular, who Rickford and Price refer to as Roxy, was shown to be extremely proficient at style shifting depending on the context of interaction, particularly her addressee and the topic of conversation, throughout the interviews. That said, Rickford and Price are still able to conclude that their speakers' linguistic usage appears to have become more standardised into their mid-thirties for the reasons outlined above, even though the community around them remained stable (i.e. their variable use of the features investigated could not have been explained as them taking part in linguistic change, as no change occurred in the community for these features).

It must therefore be borne in mind that the presence of variation across different generations or points in time does not necessarily show evidence of linguistic change from one variant to another. It should be noted, however, that Chambers (2003: 206, 213) and Milroy and Gordon (2003: 36-37) both argue that as age-graded sociolinguistic variables are relatively rare, this is not a major problem – as long as researchers keep in mind that variation does not necessarily lead to change all of the time. A key point raised by Milroy and Gordon is that age-graded variables tend to be those that are more salient to speakers, and are thus more likely to be altered in order to conform to the linguistic marketplace – therefore researchers must be particularly careful when using an apparent-time methodology to investigate such features. The apparent-time method has the advantage of being much more cost-effective (in terms of both time and money) than carrying out a real-time study.

Taking this all into account, there are advantages and disadvantages to both methods of using age as a social variable – a balanced approach including both apparent time and real time data is needed to be certain, and also to overcome the problems of waiting for time to pass before completing a study (Cukor-Avila and Bailey, 2013: 258). In this way, it is possible to make a prediction of the possible course of change, before carrying out further fieldwork at a later date in order to test this prediction.

2.2.2 Gender

The treatment of gender in sociolinguistics is fiercely debated and often politicised (Cheshire, 2002: 423), and this thesis makes no claim to fully represent the complexities of the discussion around this social factor here (to do is beyond the scope of the current investigation). However, every attempt will be made in this section to summarise and highlight the different approaches which have been taken to operationalising gender as a social variable in sociolinguistic studies, and to explain why it has been included as an external constraint and potential explanatory factor in this project.

The first point to make is the distinction between the use of the terms 'sex' and 'gender' in the literature. Put simply, 'sex' refers to the biology of a person as male or female, which is defined at birth in most cultures. Gender, on the other hand, often refers to the socially constructed identity of a person, which exists at some point on a continuum with female at one end and male at the other (Cheshire, 2002: 423, Chambers, 2003: 117-118, Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 100, Coates, 2007: 63). Chambers (2003: 118, italics removed from original) adds that despite the existence of ideologies to the contrary, there is absolutely no reason why (biologically classified, i.e. by 'sex' rather than 'gender') "women must do X whereas men must do Y" – every person is capable of, to use Chambers' examples, acting as a caregiver, or running a law firm, or digging a ditch, regardless of their gender identity; however many do not break out of these gender roles due to the societal pressure to behave like a man or woman 'should' (Coates, 2007: 63). This is an idea which will be returned to, from a linguistic perspective, later in this section. The main point to be made here is that the term 'gender' will be used to refer to the enactment of both biological sex and gender identities by the participants in this study.

Coates (2007: 65-66) identifies four approaches which have been taken to investigating gender in sociolinguistic studies, and that have coexisted in sociolinguistic research. The first (chronologically) was the 'deficit' approach, which implicitly treated 'women's language' as somehow inferior to men's, which was seen as the norm. This was followed by the 'dominance' approach, which investigated the language use of both genders as a way of asserting and maintaining men's dominance over women in society. The third approach, a reaction of sorts to the assumption of male dominance over females, is the 'difference' approach. This highlighted the idea

that men and women belonged to different cultures, and interactional groups, emphasising the similar behaviours of speakers based on their gender. The final approach is the social constructionist approach, in which "gender identity is seen as a social construct rather than as a 'given'" – in other words, speakers are not merely assigned a gender identity at birth, but are able to perform (and alter) their identity in different contexts (ibid: 66). Overall there appears to have been a general movement of studies of language and gender from demonstrating or reinforcing male dominance and differences between males and females (classified biologically, i.e. by 'sex' rather than 'gender'), to an understanding that speakers perform a gender identity in interactions, and that this can shift fluidly along a continuum between male and female, depending on the context of interaction.

Meyerhoff (2014) further analyses the approach to investigating gender differentiation in language, through the framework of Eckert's (2012) three waves of variationist sociolinguistics which was outlined in section 2.1.3. Meyerhoff paints the first wave treatment of gender as somewhat simplistic, in so far as it was used as a means of explaining the patterns of linguistic change observed, but with no desire to go beyond this and explain how gender forms a part of the identity which speakers construct by using certain variants of the linguistic variables under investigation. She does however state that this approach continues to be utilised by researchers when justified "perhaps for methodological or ontological reasons, such as a desire to focus on the dynamics of language change across groups and over… periods of time" (ibid: 98). The second wave studies addressed this criticism of the first wave treatment of gender to a degree, in terms of (generally) "asking questions about the local context of language variation at the time the research is conducted" (ibid: 89). This means not only identifying where the use of different variables is constrained by gender, but also attempting to explain this with reference to the context of the community under investigation. The example which Meyerhoff uses to illustrate this point is Labov's Martha's Vineyard study – specifically the way in which he identified the main proponents of the apparent change towards centralised diphthongs as being the middle-aged male fishermen from Chilmark, who were reacting to the increase in tourism to the island by constructing a local 'islander' identity, which then spread to other groups who felt the same way. Labov did not just identify the gender group leading the change, but dug down into their social capital in the local community (including other

traits such as age and occupation, and attitudes towards local-ness and the presence of outsiders in the form of large numbers of tourists) in order to explain why they were involved in the change. Finally, Meyerhoff's description of the third wave treatment of gender in variationist studies encompasses the social constructionist approach outlined by Coates above. Meyerhoff illustrates this with reference to the work of Eckert and McConell-Ginet (1992: 462), who "encourage[d] a view of the interaction of gender and language that roots each in the everyday social practices of particular local communities, and sees them as jointly constructed in those practices". Their main point (ibid: 462-463) was that speakers' language use is not necessarily restricted by their biological sex, but that speakers take agency in constructing a gender identity for themselves in interaction, and that this can vary within speakers in different contexts or styles – to use their examples, a woman is not just a woman, but may also be African-American, a mother, a sister and/or a neighbour – and in each of these contexts, a speaker's representation of their gender through their language use may differ. This idea has become known as 'intersectionality'. Not every study utilises the third wave approach to gender – especially if justified because the study is more interested in identifying potential cases of change, with gender just as a possible explanatory factor (as here), or if the approach to data collection is not ethnographic (again, as in this study) (Meyerhoff, 2014: 98). This study will include gender as an explanatory factor, and if it is found to important it will be investigated in more local-specific detail in the results, discussion and conclusions – much as in the second wave treatment of gender outlined above.

The generally observed trend of studies which have investigated gender differences in language use is that (with other social factors such as age and social class held constant) females generally use more standard/prestigious (and sometimes supralocal) variants, while males generally have been found to favour localised, vernacular forms more often – although this is not an absolute finding (Trudgill, 2000: 70, Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 103). One such example comes from Trudgill's (1974: 93-94) study in Norwich, where he found that males used the vernacular [n] variant of the variable (ing) more often than females within most social class groups and speech styles. The most notable exception comes in the lower middle class (LMC) group, in which the females show an index score of 067 (000 representing categorical use of the standard form [ŋ], and 100 representing categorical use of [n]), while the males score

just 017 (i.e. high use of the standard form). Trudgill (ibid: 94) explains this in terms of the male score here being lower than expected, and indeed "unrepresentative" – it is lower than the LMC male score in both formal speech (027) and the reading passage (020), as well as the MMC males' casual speech score (031). He explains that this is likely due to the smaller number of tokens which occurred in the casual speech section of the interviews with LMC males, compared to other groups. Otherwise, males in the other four social class groups (all three working class groups and the MMC) all had higher index scores for (ing), showing greater use of non-standard [n] than their female counterparts.

Trudgill (1972: 182ff., 1974: 94-95) explains the findings here by theorising on the role of women and men in society (at the time), the expectations placed upon them, and the social forces operating on speakers. His explanation can be subdivided into two parts. Firstly, the less secure social status of women in society (due to male imposed dominance) results in a situation in which, while the social status of men is evaluated on "what they *do*", for women it is more likely to be on "how they appear" – i.e. the identity that they index in everyday interactions including speech (ibid: 183, italics in original). Therefore females could be expected to use variants with more prestige attached in order to boost perceptions of their social standing. The second explanation is linked to this idea, and builds on Labov's (1966a: 84-85) notion of linguistic variables having more than one possible type of prestige, which he refers to as 'pressures from above' and 'pressures from below', but which have since come to be termed overt and covert prestige, respectively. Chambers (2003: 241) defines overt prestige as the "social pressures which promote standard dialects", and covert prestige as the "counterpressures favoring the local, the informal, and the vernacular". Trudgill (1972: 183) adds that 'working class speech' (by which he is referring to the production of greater number of vernacular/non-standard variants by working class speakers, particularly males) indexes masculinity and toughness – traits which are (or were at the time of writing, at least) generally "not desirable" for females to show. Through comparison of the self-reported language use of a sample of his Norwich speakers to their actual usage in interviews, Trudgill draws some conclusions about the differing effect of overt and covert prestige on female and male speakers. Just one example is the variable (er) – the production of standard [ɪə] or the local variant [ɛː] in words such as *near*, *beer*, and *idea*. Trudgill (ibid: 186-187) found that female

speakers were more likely to over-report their usage of the variable. This means that more female speakers (68% of those analysed) were found to report that they had used the standard form more often than the local form, when the data from the interview showed they actually had not. The proportion of male participants who over-reported for this variable was just 22%. On the other hand, more male speakers (50%) were found to report that they had used the standard form less often than they actually had in the interviews, showing a tendency for males to under-report their usage of standard forms. This (and similar patterns for other variables) led Trudgill to theorise that, assuming that the form which speakers report is the one which they target, i.e. aim to use more often than not, males are more strongly affected by the draw of covert prestige attached to local, non-standard and often stigmatised forms, while females are more attracted to standard forms by the overt prestige which is attached to them. More recent evidence for this link comes from Eisikovits (2011: 45-46), who studied the use of vernacular forms among adolescent speakers in Sydney, Australia. She found that both the youngest female and male speakers in her sample showed similar tendencies towards use of non-standard forms, for example the presence of irregular past tense verb forms in utterances such as 'he woke up and *seen* something' (ibid: 39, italics added). The older (but still adolescent) males did not show any decrease in the use of non-standard forms; however the older (but still adolescent) females did show a reduction. Eisikovits explained this as the effects of overt and covert prestige taking hold of the older adolescent speakers. Further evidence for this was given in self-corrections which the children made during interviews – the older adolescent males tended to self-correct towards non-standard forms, such as "I don't know what I did – *what I done*", whereas older adolescent females self-corrected towards the (perceived) standard, such as in "An [sic] me and Kerry – or should I say, *Kerry and I* – are the only ones who've done the project" (ibid: 45-46, italics added). Eisikovits concludes, similarly to Trudgill, that the higher use of non-standard forms among the older adolescent males, as well as the tendency to self-correct away from standard forms, shows that non-standard forms have covert prestige, and index typical masculine traits such as toughness. She also adds that, not only do the younger adolescent males and females show roughly equal usage of non-standard forms, but that the younger females tend to self-correct towards non-standard forms in the same manner of the older males, suggesting that this "consciousness of external prestige norms is only just developing among the older girls" – and therefore that the gravitation towards covertly prestigious

forms among men and overtly prestigious forms among women is a social norm which is not innate, but rather develops during adolescence.

A slightly different, more recent and third wave example of gender patterns in language use comes from Kiesling (1998: 69), who focused only on male speakers in a college fraternity in the USA, through the perspective of intra-gender variation rather than inter-gender variation. In other words, Kiesling did not observe males using more vernacular forms than females, but different groups of males using different amounts of the vernacular variant [n] of the variable (ing) in order to construct different gendered identities for themselves within the social hierarchy of the fraternity. Overall he (ibid: 79) did find generally high levels of usage of [n] among the male speakers, particularly in the least formal speech style, which encompassed informal social events such as talk while watching TV, personal narratives and arguments between group members. This is not unexpected given the general trend of language use by males identified above, and evidenced in the example of Trudgill in Norwich. However, when Kiesling dug further into the stylistic variation between the use of (ing) in the least formal style (socialising) and the most formal style, meetings "which are when business matters are discussed" and are run to a "set format" (ibid: 73-74), he found that there were differences in the roles speakers play within the group, and how they demonstrate this through their (non-)use of the vernacular variant [n]. He (ibid: 85) shows that in the socialising style, all 10 speakers use a high amount of [n] – ranging from just below 70% to just above 90%. In the meeting style, all but three of the speakers reduce the percentage of [n] to below 50%, and the majority sit between around 15% to 35% use of the vernacular form. He gives the example of the speaker 'Mack' as a typical member of this group. Kiesling shows that Mack uses less [n] (and therefore more of the standard form [ŋ]) in meetings than when socialising as a way of indexing his role as a powerful member of the group, a veteran of the fraternity and an all-knowing figure whose opinion is to be respected (ibid: 91-93). It can be inferred that the other members of the group who behave in this manner do so for similar reasons. However, three speakers do not style shift in this manner, actually showing slight increases in use of [n] in the more formal meeting style (thus contrasting them greatly with the other members of the fraternity who shift towards the standard form in meetings). Kiesling (ibid: 84-91) shows that each of the speakers does so for slightly different but similar and related reasons. The speaker 'Speed' does so to index a

working class identity, and also his rebellious nature (as the majority shift towards the standard form in meetings, he rebels by instead maintaining high use of the vernacular form [n]). 'Mick' and 'Waterson' also use greater percentages of [n] in order to index a hardworking, working class identity, but for their own reasons – 'Mick' in order to reference and appeal to the camaraderie of social events while maintaining a role as a leader within the fraternity, and 'Waterson' as a young member of the fraternity aiming for election to an important role which may be out of his reach, and potentially attempting to emulate 'Mick'. Overall Kiesling's analysis shows that while the generally observed trend in sociolinguistics has been for males to prefer vernacular forms more than females, even within each gender there may be exceptions and nuances based on interactions with social factors (such as stylistic variation here) and the construction of different identities on an individual basis.

Labov (1990: 205-206, 210, 213, 215) further exemplifies the generally observed trends into two principles: one, that where a variable is in stable variation or is involved in change from above the level of consciousness, females tend to be found to favour prestigious and non-stigmatised variants more than males, and two, that in cases of change from below the level of consciousness females have been observed to generally lead changes towards new, incoming variants. This creates the so-called gender paradox, in which female speakers have been observed to "conform more closely than men to sociolinguistic norms which are overtly prescribed, but conform less than men when they are not" (Labov, 2001: 293, bold removed from original). Eckert (1989, 2000, cited in Meyerhoff, 2014: 93) critiques this apparent paradox, stating that it is only a paradox if it is assumed that it is the same women who both conform and do not conform to sociolinguistic norms. This is a point echoed by Cameron (2003: 190), who adds that while women have been found to lead the majority of cases of linguistic change, it is likely to be the case that it is different women who lead different types of change, as "women's behaviour is not uniform… and cannot be explained in terms of some essential characteristic common to all members of the group". In other words, as with any collection of people, some females behave differently (linguistically) than others in the same group. This was illustrated above through the example of Kiesling's (1998) male fraternity study, albeit for men rather than women. Incidentally, the arguments put forward by Labov and then Eckert and Cameron are indicative of the different approaches to studying gender which were

outlined above, with Eckert and Cameron's view (and Kiesling's analysis) representing the social constructionist and third-wave approach.

Investigations into non-English speaking communities have also provided much illumination on the treatment of gender in variationist studies, as well as its interaction with other social factors. Al-Wer (2013: 251ff., 2014) explains that initial studies made the mistake of taking a top-down approach to linguistic variation in Arabic varieties – that is, they assumed that a) the patterns of variation were identical throughout the Arabic-speaking world, for all varieties of Arabic, and b) that the high (H) variety, Classical Arabic, acted as the standard and therefore most prestigious point of reference for speakers, much as Standard English is to other British English varieties. This disregard for the individual intricacies of variation in different Arabic communities led researchers to believe that the general tendencies for linguistic variation by gender in western communities did not apply to Arabic varieties. This was justified as being caused by the limited participation afforded to women in public spheres in Arabic-speaking communities. However, Ibrahim (1986) argued that research which concluded that the typical gender pattern was different or reversed in Arabic-speaking communities had made the mistake of uncritically equating standard language forms with prestigious language forms, and that "linguistic varieties that are socially advantageous (or stigmatized) for one group may not be for the other" (Smith, 1979:113, cited in Ibrahim, 1986: 115). The main point he raised is that the H variety in Arabic is not the standard to which speakers ascribe overt prestige throughout the Arabic-speaking world, but is a variety whose use is imposed by the rules of diglossia in certain specific domains, and which is not acquired, as L varieties are, but rather learnt through education, which not every speaker has access to. The local prestige form is therefore the most dominant variety within each community, and "in any particular region of the Arabic vernacular world [speakers] know full well which L varieties carry more prestige" (ibid: 118). Ibrahim shows that when this fact is taken into account, the gender patterns identified in studies of Arabic communities are very much the same as the general sociolinguistic tendencies. Thus, this demonstrates the importance of taking into account local factors which are salient in each community under investigation. It also adds evidence for the generally observed gender-based usage patterns from non-western communities.

There is evidence from Arabic investigations of patterns where young men do lead changes, or where male speakers are less conservative than females – but this time, they can be explained with reference to locally salient social factors. One example which Al-Wer (2013: 256ff.) cites is the study of linguistic variation in Damascus, Syria, by Ismail (2007). Ismail (ibid: 207ff.) found young males to be leading a change towards the innovative variants of her variable (r) in one of her locations, the inner-city locality of Shaghoor. Due to the fact that older and middle-aged speakers in her other location, the suburban Dummar, were involved in the change (albeit not as strongly as the younger speakers in either community), Ismail theorised that the change had not begun in Shaghoor, but that the younger speakers, and particularly the younger males, were the "early adopters" of the innovative forms in this community (ibid: 208). Ismail explained this finding through the filter of the employment status of the speakers in Shaghoor. The younger females in her sample were mostly not in employment. On the other hand, the younger Shaghoor males in the sample were employed in jobs which facilitated regular contact with speakers from outside of the community – speakers who had the innovative variants in their speech. Ismail also notes that the younger female speaker with the highest use of innovative variants in her speech had worked in "an uptown neighbourhood of Damascus" before returning to start a family, and thus would have also had greater contact with the innovative variants than the other younger female participants. Finally, it should also be noted that Ismail's results identified that in the Dummar locality, it was the younger females who lead the change ahead of younger males, as would be expected following the general sociolinguistic gender pattern identified in this section.

Another recent study which found a similar gender pattern in an Arabic-speaking community is Al-Hawamdeh (2016). Al-Hawamdeh found that in her community of Suf, Jordan, the most conservative users of her variable (k) – which had been found to be undergoing change away from the local traditional form – were the female speakers. This was explained, similarly to Ismail, through the local social conditions operational in the community. Not only are "women… considered the custodians of the local traditions and customs" in Suf, but they are also likely, if in employment, to work producing and selling local foodstuffs (such as fruit, yoghurt and cheese) – and in the markets where they sell these, the use of local forms is seen as a "'stamp' of… authenticity" (ibid: 116). Furthermore, the most innovative users of the

incoming variant were found to be the middle-aged males – and like in the situation in Shaghoor above, these are the speakers whose employment opportunities bring them into most contact with speakers of the new variant. These factors combined ensure that it is not unsurprising that females in Suf are more conservative in their use of this variable. Interestingly, a similar, but reversed situation was found by Alqahtani (2015) in Saudi Arabia. In both of her localities, it was the men who were more conservative in their use of the traditional m-article (which was in competition with the innovative l-article, generally favoured by female speakers). In this case, the male speakers were the salesmen of a local produce, honey, and therefore their adherence to traditional dialect features was partly explained in this manner (ibid: 215). A key point, however, is the qualitative data both Alqahtani and Al-Hawamdeh provide for the female speaker's attitudes towards local life (and by extension the local dialect) in their respective communities. In Suf, a younger female (who is also the most innovative user of the (k) variable) reports feelings of pride in her local community, and being "a Sufani girl" (Al-Hawamdeh, 2016: 117). On the other hand, Alqahtani (2015: 210) reports the negative feelings of females towards their local community, partly due to their dislike for the job opportunities they are afforded (mainly hard work in agriculture, such as animal husbandry) and their dissatisfaction with their role in the community. This seems to be the crucial difference between the findings in these two studies – and it may well be the case that the social variable of gender here is actually a proxy for the opportunities afforded to speakers for engagement in the communities, and their subsequent attitudes towards these.

Overall, as the discussion here makes clear, gender is a very complicated social variable. The theories presented in this section will inform the treatment of gender in this study.

2.2.3 Social class

Social class (or socioeconomic class as it may also be referred to in the literature) is another social variable which will employed in this study as a possible explanatory factor. It is important to note, however, that it is not the main focus of investigation of this project, and as such this review of the literature does not claim to be an exhaustive summary of the use of social class as an external variable in sociolinguistics – rather, it will be targeted towards explaining why the variable is to be taken into account in this study, from a more theoretical standpoint. A more methodological focus, explaining

how social class was incorporated into the sampling in the study, can be found in chapter 4.

Milroy and Gordon (2003: 40) state that social class has been shown to play such an important role in governing language variation and change that "a socially accountable researcher cannot avoid considering it at least at some level of the analysis". The generally observed social class stratification of linguistic variables is explained by Labov as such:

> "it is the nature of stable sociolinguistic variables to become aligned with… class hierarchies in a monotonic fashion. For a prestige marker, the higher a speaker's socioeconomic status, the higher the frequency of use. For stigmatized markers, the reverse is true"
>
> (Labov, 1990: 220)

One example of this pattern comes from Labov's (2006) study in New York. As was outlined in section 2.1.2, Labov's variable (r) showed clear stratification by social class groups – with the general picture being the lower the class group, the higher the use of the less prestigious r-less realisation, with the exception of the hypercorrection by the lower middle class speakers who crossed over the social class above by using higher amounts of the prestigious r-ful pronunciation. This type of hypercorrection is not unexpected from the second highest social class group (Labov, 2006: 151, c.f. Labov 1966a). This general pattern was also implicitly discussed in the outline of overt and covert prestige in section 2.2.2, in drawing a link between men's speech and working class speech, or in other words the higher use of local, non-standard or covertly prestigious variants. A further example will also be given in chapter 5 from Trudgill (1974), whose method of social class stratification was tested against the results for his verbal -s variable (which is also one of the linguistic variables under investigation in this project).

Milroy and Gordon (2003: 40) go on to point out, however, that it has not always proved as simple and straightforward to include social class as an external variable in a study as might be expected. Chambers (2003: 41-42) asserts that it can often be more difficult to assign speakers to social class groups than to age and gender

groups due to the "inherently fuzzy" nature of social class, and the fact that lines cannot be drawn as easily between different class groups, as they can between different age and gender (if based on biological sex) groups – although the discussion in sections 2.2.1 and 2.2.2 suggests that these may not necessarily always be as straightforward to classify in every community either. As was discussed in section 2.1.2, Labov's (2006) study of New York speech in the 1960s was one of the first investigations of language variation and change, and as such laid a framework for others to adopt and adapt in different communities (as, for example Trudgill (1974) did in Norwich). Labov was fortunate enough to follow in the footsteps of the Mobility For Youth (MFY) sociological survey, which had been completed shortly before he began fieldwork in the lower-east side. As a result, he was able to gain access to vast amounts of data on the socioeconomic characteristics of his speakers which allowed him to classify them into finely stratified class groups with relative ease. This stratification scale was based on three indicators, occupation, income and education level, which were equally weighted (2006: 136). One possible drawback with this approach was that, in the original MFY data, the occupation of a family's main breadwinner was applied to all participants from that family. This is less problematic for young people who had yet to begin work, but where both partners in a relationship were in work, the occupation of the partner who earned less would be superseded by the other partner, regardless of whether they worked in the same sphere or not. There was also a similar problem which Labov (ibid: 135) did address in terms of the education level of the participants – again here, the MFY carried the main breadwinner's education level over to all members of close family. Labov however chose not to follow this, and instead substituted in his own scores for each individual participant's education level. According to Labov, this change actually had little effect on the social class stratification of the language use of the participants in the end anyway. In seeking to replicate Labov's study for the community in Norwich, Trudgill (1974: 35ff.) devised his own social class stratification scale, with six indicators as opposed to Labov's three (occupation, income, education level, type of housing, locality within the city, and father's occupation). Each participant was assigned a score from 1-5 for each indicator, and these were added up to give an overall score for each participant – the higher the score, the higher the social class ranking of the speaker. This method is not without its critics, for example (Macaulay, 2009: 15) assesses that in following this method, each of Trudgill's indicators were given equal weighting in

determining a participant's social class stratification. As will be seen with the example of occupation later in this section, and also in chapter 4, it appears as though some indicators may be more salient than others, and this may even differ due to the local social situation in different communities. Furthermore, Chambers (2003: 51) adds that in general, the more indicators used to obtain a social class stratification, the "fuzzier" or less well defined the boundaries between class groups will be, and therefore the less conclusive any results will be. That said, Trudgill's method was still successful as an early attempt to provide data on the social stratification of linguistic variables in Norwich – as will be illustrated in an example in chapter 5.

Ash (2013: 350, 364) asserts that there is no real agreement in sociolinguistic literature as to which indicators, and in what combination, provide the most accurate stratification of speakers by social class. Chambers (2003: 52) adds that "the use of elaborate class indices has declined since the early [variationist] studies", such as Labov's and Trudgill's work. Ismail (2007: 195) found that when attempting to draw up a stratification of speakers in Damascus, using three indicators (housing density, occupation and education), some speakers were placed in class groups which did not reflect their own sense of social standing. This was particularly apparent for some of the families who owned shops in Damascus and had done well financially out of it, thus elevating them into a higher class group, but who shared a similar outlook on life and work as shop owners who made rather less money. Ash (2013: 364-365) adds that sociolinguistics often does not treat social class as systematically in as in sociological studies, but that this may not necessarily be problematic because a) sociolinguists are interested in studying language variation and change first and foremost, not social class stratification itself (i.e. social class is used as a possible explanatory factor, not an avenue of investigation itself) and b) despite this lack of nuance in approach "the dimension of social class has repeatedly been found to be highly productive in sociolinguistic research" (as in the example from Labov outlined above). More frequently, studies are relying on just one indicator of social class status when stratifying speakers. Although different studies have utilised different indicators, one which almost always appears is a speaker's occupation. This may well be the single most important factor for determining a speaker's standing in many communities (cf. Ash, 2013: 365, Chambers, 2003: 52-53, Labov, 1990: 232, Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 47). Eckert (2000: 164) asserts that this is likely to be due to the fact that a speaker's

occupation defines their position in the 'language market', in other words that their language use is likely to conform more or less to standard or regional forms, depending on the other speakers they interact with through work and the identity which they portray in the course of their work. A similar point is also made in the discussion of age-grading in section 2.2.1. Labov himself (1990: 232) unproblematically moved from using the 3-point stratification scale in New York, to occupation alone in his study of linguistic variation in Philadelphia, PA. Chambers (2003: 42-43) champions an approach which uses just occupation, sorting speakers (broadly) into middle class and working class groups based on the metaphor of 'white' and 'blue' collar workers – white collar workers being those who would prototypically wear a white shirt and tie to work, usually in jobs with less manual tasks involved such as company owners and directors, and blue collar workers being those who would prototypically wear an open collar, perhaps denim, shirt and take part in manual jobs, such as mechanics, plumbers and electricians. Chambers does point out that this metaphor of blue collar for working class and white collar for middle class does not quite fit exactly, as there is a mixture of blue and white collar jobs in the upper working class group (where for example plumbers and electricians sit alongside department store salespeople and supermarket checkout workers), but it does largely hold. He also (ibid: 52-54) cites Macaulay's (1976) investigation of Glasgow speech as an example of a study which successfully utilised just occupation as an indicator of social class.

A final point to make in this section is that as much as social class distinctions are relevant to different communities in different ways, researchers who are "intimately" acquainted with the community under investigation are able to make intuitive judgements on a speaker's social class (at least as either working class or middle class) with relative ease and reliability, because they themselves are part of that same system (ibid: 42, 44). This is a point which was also raised by Trudgill (1974: 32). Chambers (ibid: 53) adds that there has been a realisation of late that "multidimensional indices [of social class stratification] are much more elaborate than is necessary in sociolinguistics", while Milroy and Gordon (2003: 47) conclude that although the scales developed and utilised by the likes of Labov and Trudgill in the earlier variationist studies may be more a more nuanced than just relying on occupation as a single factor, doing so is still able to provide researchers with a way of

taking into account the possible interaction of social class with other social variables such as age and gender in studies of language variation and change within different communities. This section has established a theoretical basis for the treatment of social class in this study. A methodological account of how this explanatory factor is to be operationalised is given in chapter 4.

2.3 Language, space, contact, supralocalisation and dialect levelling

A final external factor which will be considered in the analyses of the data in this project is geographical variation. This section will present a (by no means exhaustive) outline and discussion of the role which space can play in language variation and change, as well as introducing concepts such as contact between dialects and the phenomena of supralocalisation and dialect levelling.

2.3.1 Language and Space

Britain (2013: 472-475) points out that one element of social variation which has received comparatively less attention in variationist studies, particularly those in the first wave, is the interaction between (geographical) space and linguistic variation. While early dialectological studies treated space as simply a "blank canvas on which… findings could be mapped", variationist studies often ignored it entirely in favour of investigating other social categories such as age, gender and social class. As Britain summarises:

> "Dialect geographers were busy quantifying geometric space, devoid of its social content, whilst urban sociolinguists studied their speech communities with little regard for their integration into a larger socio-spatial framework"
>
> (Britain, 2013: 475, italics removed from original)

At the same time, Britain continues, the first wave of variationist studies generally moved away from investigating the rural communities which characterised the work of dialectologists, most likely as a reaction to the problems identified in section 2.1.1 (especially the over-reliance on NORM participants), instead focusing on urban communities. There was a general feeling that rural communities were backwaters, and

not interesting (linguistically or otherwise), while urban communities were innovative, at the forefront and "where it's all happening". However, Britain (2009: 224) asserts that this is not the case at all, and that, despite the general tendency for variationist studies to focus on urban settings, there is no inherent reason why the theories and methods outlined in this chapter cannot be applied to non-urban settings, including rural areas. He adds that, although tendencies have been observed for rural areas to be more conservative linguistically, and for innovations to start in urban areas, these findings are not absolute certainties. There is no reason why speakers in urban areas cannot be just as conservative (for example in terms of maintaining the use of local dialectal forms) as those in rural areas and vice versa (ibid: 232). An example which Britain gives (based on data from Kingston, 2000, and Spurling, 2004, studies which will be discussed in greater detail in chapters 3, 5 and 6) is the use of verbal -s in three locations in East Anglia – the highest maintenance of the traditional East Anglian third person singular zero marking variant actually comes in the more urban county town Ipswich, rather than the less urban town Sudbury or the rural village of Glemsford. Britain explains that this may well be due to processes which have seen large scale counterurbanisation occurring in these communities, including the movement of (mainly middle class) people from urban areas such as London, or Ipswich, into smaller towns and the countryside, such as Sudbury and Glemsford, bringing with them a greater tendency to utilise more standard-like/overtly prestigious linguistic forms, such as the -s marking of third person singular subjects for present tense verbs found in Standard English. The tendency for middle class speakers to prefer overtly prestigious and standard-like forms has been noted throughout section 2.2.

It is also important to point out, as Britain does, that the terms urban and rural can themselves be considered to be problematic. For one thing, it is difficult to pin down the exact definition of a rural or urban area. Cloke (1994: 536-537), in *The Dictionary of Human Geography*, defines 'rural' areas both in terms of land use (mainly for agricultural purposes, and in small settlements) and subjective opinions of residents towards the lifestyle of an area, and respect for the environment. Perhaps sensing that this is not a fully satisfactory definition, he adds that "in practice, rural areas vary considerably, from those which may still be defined functionally (by land use and geographical location) to those closer to urban centres where 'rural' is more of a socially constructed category". In the same publication, Johnston (1994: 651) defines

'urban' areas largely in terms of their population; an area is urban when it "exceed[s] the thresholds of population size and/or density which are frequently used in census definitions of urban places". The UK government's own definition of a location as either rural or urban also depends (somewhat unsatisfactorily) on population size alone: "The [Rural Urban] Classification defines areas as rural if they are outside settlements with more than 10,000 resident population" (Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, 2016). And yet despite the problems of producing a nailed down definition, as Cloke, Crang and Goodwin (2014: 688) write, "urban and rural are two of those taken-for-granted concepts we use all the time in an almost unthinking manner… we know what 'rural' means, we know what 'urban' means, and we know how they differ". It is precisely this approach to the use of the terms which Britain (2009: 230-231, 2012: 17) warns about, cautioning researchers not to attach causal effects to the terms urban and rural – in other words, to bear in mind that patterns of variation are not inherently different in two locations because one location is classed as rural and another is urban. This is a point which will be taken forward in this study, and although the definitions of rural and urban presented here will be applied to the three locations under investigation, every effort will be made not to prejudge the variation uncovered within and across the locations as a result.

Britain (2006: 655-656, 2013: 478-482) describes two models which have been proposed in the literature in order to help explain the diffusion of (innovative) linguistic forms across geographical space. The first is the wave model, the "simplest" model which merely assumes that innovations diffuse like ripples in a pond, outwards from a central point and reaching all surroundings areas at the same rate (dependent upon their distance from the centre). This is perhaps an idealistic model, and Britain points out that "relatively few examples of such diffusion have been found in the literature" (2013: 478). The second model is the so called urban hierarchical model, which holds that innovations diffuse between larger urban areas first, before reaching smaller urban areas and eventually (if at all) more isolated and/or rural areas. The innovations are thought to diffuse down a "descending… hierarchy of metropolis to city to town to village" (2006: 655) – in this model, it is not so much geographical distance between communities which determines how quickly innovations spread, but more social distance. Britain further explains:

> "…interaction between urban centres in modern societies is likely to be greater and, therefore, a more frequent and effective conduit for the transmission of new forms than between urban and rural. Transportation networks tend to link urban with urban, and economic and consumption infrastructures tend to be based in and oriented towards urban centres, with the ensuing consequences for employment, commuting, and leisure patterns, and these feed the hierarchical nature of diffusion"
>
> (Britain, 2006: 655)

That said, Britain notes that there are examples of the opposite effect, contrahierarchical diffusion, a clear example of which is the case of smoothing in East Anglia, discussed by Trudgill (1986, 2004a). Trudgill defines smoothing as the monophthongisation of triphthongs whose final element is a schwa, for example in words such as *tower*, [tɑʊə] which becomes [tɑː], and *fire*, [faiə] which becomes [fɑː]. In East Anglia, this can also occur in other contexts where a diphthong is followed by a schwa, for example *playing*, [plæiʲən] which is smoothed to [plæːn], and *allow it*, [əlæuʷət], which becomes [əlaːt] (2004a: 173). It should be noted that, as Trudgill points out, East Anglian dialects have traditionally often had schwa in place of short /ɪ/ in unstressed syllables, resulting in a greater number of contexts in which smoothing could take place. This is a point which will be returned to in chapter 6. Trudgill (1986: 47-50) explains that this kind of smoothing is most widespread, "perhaps more [so] than anywhere else in England", in the northern towns and cities of Norfolk: King's Lynn, Cromer, Dereham, Norwich and Great Yarmouth, and also in Lowestoft which lies near the border between north Suffolk and south Norfolk. However, Trudgill adds that at the time of writing this process of smoothing appeared to be spreading southwards into other East Anglian locations such as Ipswich, Woodbridge, Stowmarket, and Hadleigh in Suffolk, where it had begun to show in younger speakers, and may even have reached as far as London. As Trudgill states, other cases of linguistic diffusion involving East Anglia had found the opposite effect – they either started in, or reached London first before spreading north through Essex and Suffolk, and on into Norfolk in a typical urban-hierarchical manner. But smoothing was one example of a variable which appeared to be travelling in the opposite direction.

Aside from the problem of (infrequent) counter examples such as smoothing, the urban-hierarchical model is not universally accepted within the literature. One of

three main problems that have arisen with the concept of the urban-hierarchical model which Britain (2013: 481-482) summarises is that it does not take into account the social characteristics of locations or the people (speakers) within (which will be referred to in this thesis as the factor of 'place'), which groups appear to be the innovators and which groups are not involved. This model "work[s] from the assumption that everyone in place A who uses the innovation has an equal chance of passing it on and everyone… in place X, has an equal chance of adopting it, an absurdly untenable position" (ibid: 481). Additionally, Britain asserts that there may be geographical or social barriers to innovation, such as mountains or a lack of transport routes between locations which slow down or even halt the spread in one direction, and that such models do not take into account the fact that innovations may actively be rejected in some localities rather than just fizzling out as they reach further from the centre, be it because a location's "linguistic system is not compatible with that innovation", or for other reasons (ibid: 482). For these reasons, Britain reports that geographical scholars in particular do not subscribe to this model of the diffusion of innovations across space, although it is still generally accepted in sociolinguistic literature.

The treatment of geographical variation in this thesis will start by cautiously assuming that the three locations can be aligned along an urban-rural continuum – with Ipswich at the urban end, Wickham Market at the rural end, and Woodbridge 'intermediate' in-between. Previous studies would seem to suggest that the more urban a community is, the more linguistically innovative it is likely to be. An example of this comes from Piercy (2007), who investigated four communities in the west of England. She found a correlation between the 'ruralness' of a community and the maintenance of rhoticity (i.e. the use of non-prevocalic /r/), which is a local dialect norm. Speakers in her more rural locations were more likely to exhibit higher levels of maintenance of rhoticity, while she found her urban locations to be more innovative in adopting a higher proportion of non-rhotic pronunciations. If this finding translates to the current thesis, we would expect Ipswich to be the most innovative community, with Wickham the most conservative, and Woodbridge somewhere in the middle. However Britain (as discussed above), for one, would dispute this correlation between urban and innovative, and rural and conservative. As will be discussed in chapter 3, the definition of the three locations investigated in this thesis as urban, rural and intermediate is

based on the less-than-convincing criteria outlined above – namely, by population size rather than any innate characteristics of urban and rural areas. In light of Britain's criticisms of the handling of urban-rural classifications and the urban hierarchical model in sociolinguistics it may well be the case that the factor of 'place', the unique cultural and socio-political context within each community, actually plays a greater role in explaining the variation uncovered for the two linguistic variables. This will be discussed with explicit reference to the results presented in this thesis in chapters 5 and 6, as well as in the conclusions in chapter 7.

2.3.2 Supralocalisation and dialect levelling

Having outlined the more abstract concepts of language and space, this section will turn to a discussion of the processes of supralocalisation, dialect levelling, and dedialectalisation which have been observed to be taking place in (particularly, but not entirely, southern) British dialects in recent times. Britain (2010a: 193) states that dialect levelling and supralocalisation are processes which cause "linguistic variants with a wider socio-spatial currency [to] become more widespread at the expense of more localised forms". More specifically, he (ibid: 194-195) notes that dialect levelling can have different meanings in sociolinguistic parlance, ranging from the reduction of verbal paradigms to the emergence of majority variants at the expense of others in dialect contact situations (e.g. koineisation). The key similarity between these definitions is in the notion that contact between speakers of different dialects leads to the eventual levelling, however that is defined. Supralocalisation (ibid: 196-197) is a term which is used to avoid placing a specific limit on the regionality/spatial scope of variation – 'supra'-local infers a status as being above the level of local, but without specifying at what level. In this way, Britain explains, supralocal variation can be described as taking place across the distance between a town and its surrounding villages, as well as across many urban centres within a larger area, for example the southeast of Britain, or even on a larger scale if necessary. Williams and Kerswill's (1999: 149) definition of dialect (and accent) levelling differs slightly from those offered by Britain, and appears to incorporate the concept of supralocalisation as well. They define the phenomenon in terms of the spread of non-regionally specific forms over (vaguely-defined) wide areas, which results in the reduction of the features which make different dialects distinct from each other. In other words, dialect levelling (and

supralocalisation) causes accents and dialects (across different sized areas) to seemingly converge together, and become more similar.

Kerswill (2011: 229) identifies a related concept in the form of dedialectalisation. Whereas levelling takes place where there is contact between two or more dialects, dedialectalisation is not contact induced, but rather may be seen as a process similar to standardisation, where speakers abandon local variants in favour of standard-like forms. The end result of both phenomena is a reduction in the regional distinction of any dialects involved, and Trudgill (1999: 320) even states that cases of extreme dedialectalisation can result in the total loss (death) of a dialect. Foulkes and Docherty (1999: 10) assert that dedialectalisation, like levelling, arises due to external pressures from outside of the local dialect undergoing change. They (ibid: 13) also point out that, unlike dedialectalisation, levelling does not generally completely remove the local 'flavour' of a dialect, and in this process "there appears to be a tension between speakers' desire to continue signalling loyalty to their local community by using local speech norms, and a concurrent urge to appear outward-looking or more cosmopolitan". Kerswill (2011: 229) states that dedialectalisation has not received much explanation in the variationist literature, although is believed to be "all but gone to completion, at least in England". Sayers (2014: 191) adds that changes brought about by dedialectalisation mainly took place in British dialects between the late-19th and mid-20th century, and postulates that (2009: 51-58) this was largely caused by the promotion of a standard language-favouring ideology, boosted by synchronous improvements to education and the resulting increase in literacy levels in the UK. After this point, Sayers (2014: 191) argues, dedialectalisation "was gradually eclipsed by dialect contact and mixture", i.e. the levelling of dialects.

Altendorf and Watt (2004: 181-182) assert that the southeastern dialects of British English are currently taking part in a process of dialect levelling, such that the 'home counties' dialects of Kent, Surrey, Sussex, Essex, Hertfordshire, Hampshire, Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Bedfordshire (and to some extent those of East Anglia including Cambridgeshire, Norfolk and Suffolk) are becoming less distinct from each other. They cite Trudgill (1999), who shows this through analysis of the geographical spread of different linguistic variables, such as l-vocalisation, over time. Trudgill also makes the point (ibid: 81) that he expects the home counties dialect area to continue to spread until it engulfs "all of Hampshire, Bedfordshire, Cambridgeshire, Suffolk and

parts of Northamptonshire", and that it is likely that East Anglia, as a dialect area, will "probably… contract… in the face of continuing expansion of the Home Counties area" (ibid: 84). Altendorf and Watt (2004: 182) add that although the dialects do seem to be converging in the use of some features, it is not yet clear exactly how similar these dialects are becoming, and that "local and regional accent differences [do] also [still] persist" across this area. They (ibid: 182-184) argue that the main reasons for this dialect levelling are threefold; firstly the movement of speakers out of London into the surrounding areas since World War Two, largely young families who wish to bring their children up in the suburbs away from the bright lights, and older people who either wish to realise "the English dream of buying a house by the seaside or a cottage in the country", or cannot afford/do not wish to live in the capital any longer. The second reason is the attraction of people from the rest of Britain to the southeast, due to its higher economic growth, greater job prospects and general prosperity in the last few decades. The final reason is the general movement of people around the southeast, mainly for work, and the increased contact this has brought between the home counties (and East Anglian) dialects. Altendorf and Watt argue that this has likely led to "short-term accommodation… which in turn can then lead to long-term accommodation, accent convergence and change". Britain (2010a: 197-201) points to similar factors, which have caused the added mobility of speakers in (and into) the area, and that although supralocalisation and associated dialect levelling is not a new phenomenon, it does seem to have sped up in recent times as result of these factors. He also points out, in slight contrast to Altendorf and Watt, that the economic growth in the south-east of Britain has not been high across the board, but has in fact been relatively uneven, with those lower down the social stratification feeling the effects to a lesser extent. As a result, it may well be the case that the (lower) working class speakers within the area do not take part as strongly in the contact with 'outsider' dialects and thus the general dialect levelling – a point which Trudgill (1999: 80-81) also touches on when discussing the rise of the 'folk-linguistic' term 'Estuary English' to describe this process. This is a term which is generally favoured by journalists and rejected by (socio)linguists (Altendorf and Watt, 2004: 186). Trudgill states that:

> "This is an inappropriate term… because it suggests that we are talking about a new variety, which we are not; and because it

> suggests that it is a variety of English confined to the banks of the Thames Estuary, which it is not. The label actually refers to the lower middle-class accents, as opposed to working-class accents, of the Home Counties Modern Dialect area…
>
> (Trudgill, 1999: 80)

He goes on to add that 'Estuary English' (more scientifically, the south-eastern Britain dialect levelling),

> …has probably attracted so much journalistic attention since, because of the increasing democratization of British society, many people who in earlier generations would have abandoned their local accents for… [R.P.] no longer do so. People who are upwardly socially mobile or who come into the public eye may still reduce the number of regional features in their speech, but they will no longer remove such features altogether"
>
> (Trudgill, 1999: 81)

Altendorf and Watt (2004: 186) also explain that the term 'Estuary English' is used to refer to the adoption of typically working class language features by those in higher social class groups who would otherwise either be speakers of, or be expected to become speakers of, R.P. These points, combined with Britain's above, suggest that we may possibly expect (lower) middle class speakers to be more involved in the regional dialect levelling in the home counties area than working class speakers.

Having situated this thesis in the field of variationist sociolinguistics, chapter 3 will present a historical and linguistic overview of the region of East Anglia.

Chapter 3 East Anglia: A Historical and Linguistic Overview

This chapter will sketch an outline of the areas under investigation in this thesis – namely, three communities in the East Anglian county of Suffolk. It will begin in section 3.1 with an outline of the history of the region, before discussing the linguistic bounds and characteristics of East Anglia generally, and Suffolk more specifically (section 3.2). It will conclude in section 3.3 with a discussion of the three communities from which data has been collected – urban Ipswich, rural Wickham Market, and intermediate Woodbridge. As will be seen in the course of this chapter, definitions of the exact geographical and linguistic bounds of the region of East Anglia can vary. However, it is generally accepted that at the minimum East Anglia consists of the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk – and thus those who were born in either Suffolk or Norfolk can claim to be East Anglian. The same can be said for things like customs, traditions and linguistic features – and it is in this sense that the terms 'Suffolk' and 'East Anglia' will be used to some extent interchangeably in this thesis. Much is shared between the counties of Suffolk and Norfolk, although there are also differences which exist between them too (including, as we will see in section 3.2, linguistically) – and so to this end every effort has been made to clearly note where these differences exist. To summarise simply, the terms 'Suffolk' and 'East Anglian' are both used to refer to things which have to do with the county of Suffolk and which are also more widely considered to be East Anglian. Where differences exist within the region of East Anglia, these are clearly pointed out in the course of the discussion.

3.1 East Anglia – a brief early history

The chapter will begin by giving a whistle-stop outline of the formation of the region of East Anglia, particularly those incidents which highlight its national importance historically and linguistically. A far reaching and comprehensive report of the history of the region is beyond the scope of this thesis; however the information presented here is intended to serve as useful and interesting background for readers who are not familiar with the communities under investigation. It would be useful to start by locating East Anglia (marked by the red square) within the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland in Figure 1 (Google, 2017).

Figure 1 Map showing East Anglia's location within the United Kingdom, Google (2017)

It should be noted that this is only a rough outline for illustrative purposes – a more detailed discussion of the boundaries of East Anglia will be presented in section 3.2.1. The map shows the region's proximity to London. East Anglia includes two main administrative centres – Norwich in the north of the region, and Ipswich in the south, as well as big towns such as Newmarket and Bury St. Edmunds to the west, Great Yarmouth in the north-east and Lowestoft, which is the UK's most easterly town. The major shipping port of Felixstowe is also located on the East Anglian coast. Places such as Cambridge and Colchester are sometimes included in definitions of East Anglia – however, as will be discussed in section 3.2 there is no set agreement on whether the counties of Cambridgeshire and Essex are truly East Anglian. The remainder of this section will be devoted to providing some brief background

information focusing on the historical and linguistic importance of East Anglia on a national scale.

Fincham (1976: 9, 19) asserts that the earliest evidence of settlement in the area now known as East Anglia dates to around 300,000 years ago, in the Palaeolithic period between phases of the Ice Age. Although he admits that not much is known about these people, Fincham supposes that they "must have lived the life of nomadic hunters, in temporary camping sites", apparently hunting "elephants, rhinoceroses, bison and various deer" using "crude tools and weapons from the flints which are so plentiful in East Anglia's layers of chalk" (ibid: 19). This statement is echoed by Dymond and Northeast (1985: 11), although they date the first settlement to around 100,000 years earlier. Skipping ahead to the Roman invasion of Britain, Fincham (1976: 21) states that around AD 43 the north Essex town of Colchester, for a short time at least, "was in effect the capital of Britain". Both Fincham and Dymond and Northeast make reference to the uprising of the East Anglian Iceni tribe against the Romans around AD 61, which was initially successful but ultimately resulted in the death of the Iceni leader Boudicca – the latter referring to it as "the first major incident of [East Anglian] regional history to be recorded in documentary form".

East Anglia as we know it today began to take shape around the fifth century through the arrival of the Anglo Saxons into the British Isles. These people, made up largely of Angles, Saxons, Frisians and Jutes (as well as smaller tribes such as Swabians), came from Germanic areas of western Europe around what is now modern-day Germany, the Netherlands and Denmark, and brought with them the beginnings of the present-day English language (Dymond and Northeast, 1985: 25, Martin, 1999: 22, Trudgill, 2003: 20-21, 2004a: 163). Trudgill goes as far as to suggest that Norfolk (and by extension, East Anglia) could conceivably lay claim to being the first place in the world in which the particular mixture of West Germanic varieties that we now know as English was spoken, while some further evidence for this claim comes from Martin (1999: 7, 21), who reports that "the earliest known inscription in English is on a gold pendant of the late 5th century found at Lakenheath [in Suffolk] in 1981".

Martin notes that the first recorded occurrence of the place names 'Suffolk' and 'Norfolk' dates to the 1040s; however Dymond and Northeast (1985: 25) remark that they were "surely current much earlier". Martin adds that the names literally mean 'the

north/south folk of the Kingdom of East Anglia', which was a self-governing area distinct from the other Kingdoms of the British Isles formed by the Angles. He goes on to admit that we do not know exactly when Norfolk and Suffolk became separate entities, although it may have been as early as the original settlement of the Germanic tribes on arrival in Britain between the 5th–7th centuries. As Trudgill (2003) explains:

> "The Angles arrived in England via the Wash [on the north-west Norfolk coast]. Some then turned east, and others north. The ones who turned east were to become known in England as the Eastern Angles. Groups of Saxons, on the other hand – the ones later to be known as the East Saxons – also arrived via the Wash but headed south… occupying Cambridgeshire and Essex, as well as areas further west – Middlesex, Huntingdon, Hertfordshire and Bedfordshire. Norfolk and Suffolk, then, were mainly Anglian, and the areas which bordered them to the south and west – Essex and Cambridgeshire – were distinct from the very beginning by reason of being mainly Saxon"
>
> (Trudgill, 2003: 23)

Trudgill adds that this background of settlement of different areas by Angles and Saxons is the most likely explanation for any cultural and dialectal differences found between Norfolk and Suffolk and the surrounding areas (see further section 3.2). He believes that the Kingdom of East Anglia (i.e. Norfolk and Suffolk) was initially one linguistic and cultural area, which helps to explain the large number of similarities between the two dialects in the present-day. That said, he also asserts that it did not take long for differences to manifest between the dialects of the two areas, most likely due to the treacherous and difficult to navigate nature of the land around the River Waveney, which created a natural barrier to communication between the north and south of the Kingdom reducing the amount of contact between early Norfolk and Suffolk dialect speakers. This explanation from Trudgill suggests that the Kingdom of East Anglia was therefore split into the 'north folk' and 'south folk' at a fairly early stage after forming.

The Kingdom of East Anglia did not stay a separate entity for too long however – in the year 869, King Edmund of East Anglia (later St. Edmund of Bury St. Edmunds fame, otherwise known as Edmund the Martyr) was killed by an invading Danish army

led by Ivar the Boneless. East Anglia was briefly ruled by the Danes before they were defeated and the region became part of the Kingdom of England in the early 10th century (Fincham, 1976: 26-27, Dymond and Northeast, 1985: 28-30). A century later, interestingly, the Domesday book of 1086 recorded Suffolk as being the most densely populated area of England (Fincham, 1976: 27). It is clear that East Anglia has been an important region of England both historically and linguistically – Trudgill (2004a: 163) notes that if East Anglian varieties can lay claim to being the first dialects of the English language, it follows that they must also have played an important role in the make-up of Standard English, and evidence also shows that some colonial Englishes have at least partial roots in East Anglia (e.g. New England US English, Australian and New Zealand English – more on the latter in chapter 6).

Having outlined the historical and linguistic importance of East Anglia, section 3.2 will turn to a discussion of the modern day speech of East Anglians, beginning in section 3.2.1 by outlining the geographical and (particularly) linguistic boundaries of the region.

3.2 East Anglian English

3.2.1 The boundaries of 'linguistic East Anglia'

There is some ambiguity surrounding the use of the term 'East Anglia'. It is agreed that East Anglia is a region of England; however there is no general consensus as to exactly where the boundaries of the area lay. As Trudgill (2004a) summarises:

> "As a modern topographical and cultural term, *East Anglia* refers to an area with no official status. Like similar terms such as "The Midlands" or "The Midwest", the term is widely understood but stands for an area which has no clear boundaries. Most people would agree that the English counties of Norfolk and Suffolk are prototypically East Anglian, although even here the status of the Fenland areas of western Norfolk and northwestern Suffolk is ambiguous: the Fens were for the most part uninhabited until the 17th century, and the cultural orientations of this area are therefore less clear. The main issue, however, has to do with the extent to which the neighbouring counties, notably Cambridgeshire and Essex, are East Anglian or not"
>
> (Trudgill, 2004a: 163, italics in original)

As Trudgill explains, then, the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk are included in all definitions of East Anglia. Martin (1999: 22) points out that the northern and eastern boundaries are unproblematically defined as the points at which these two coastal counties meet the North Sea, but that the western and southern boundaries are less clear. This is a point which Trudgill (2001a) addresses, using evidence from the geographical spread of the following seven known traditional East Anglian dialect features in data from *The Survey of English Dialects*:

- third person singular zero (also known as verbal -s marking)
- the absence of h-dropping
- the realisation of /ɐ/ in words such as *third* and *church*
- the realisation of /ʊ/ in words such as *road* and *both*
- the realisation of the vowel /ɑː/ as [aː] in words such as *start* and *bath*
- glottalling (glottal reinforcement) and glottalisation (glottal replacement) of /t/
- the realisation of short /ɪ/ as [ə] in words such as *suet*

The first and last of these are the linguistic variables under investigation in this thesis, and much more detailed discussion will be presented for these two variables in chapters 5 and 6. The other features will also be discussed in section 3.2.3. Trudgill (ibid: 10-11) presents a composite map of isoglosses of the use of the above features, which provides an excellent illustration of the geographical extent of linguistic East Anglia. The maps he presents show that East Anglia can be divided up into a core area encompassing most of Norfolk and Suffolk in which all of the above traditional East Anglian features are found to occur, and which is bordered to the south and west by a transition zone where no less than two of the traditional features are found to occur. Trudgill summarises that "East Anglia, from a linguistic perspective, consists of all of Norfolk and Suffolk apart from the Fens, and part of northeastern Essex. The transitional area consists of the Norfolk, Suffolk and Cambridgeshire Fens plus most of the rest of Cambridgeshire, central Essex, and a small area of northeastern Hertfordshire" (ibid: 10). He does also note, however (1999: 81, 2003: 29, 2004a: 164), that this area (both the transition zones and the core) are reducing in size over time due to the supralocal dialect levelling discussed in chapter 2.

The transitional nature of the Fens is discussed further in the work of Britain (2001, 2013). He explains that the area was historically difficult to pass through and inhabit, consisting largely (particularly in the central Fenland) of marshland – that is, until drainage work was carried out between the mid-17th and 20th centuries, when it became more accessible to settlement. Because of this historical inaccessibility, the area became a boundary between East Anglia and areas to the west, and this (linguistic) boundary continues to exist in the present day, with the Fens area making up part of the East Anglian English transition zone. Britain (2001: 221) notes that among the features which have been found to illustrate the transition between East Anglian dialects to the east and Midlands dialects to the west are h-dropping (/h/ is absent to the west as in Midlands dialects and present to the east as in East Anglian dialects), the vowel in words such as *house* (Midland-like [ɛː] to the west and East Anglian [ɛu] to the east) and the realisation of /ɪ/ as schwa in unstressed syllables (such as in the words *running* and *wanted* – [ɪ] to the west and East Anglian [ə] to the east). Similarly, typically East Anglian features such as the distinction between the vowels of *nose* and *knows* ([nʊuz] vs [nʌuz]) and the absence of verbal -s marking with third person singular subjects are not present in central Fenland dialects, but are to the east, while the central dialects lack Midlands features present in northern and western Fenland varieties, such as the realisation of the vowel in *take* as [ɛ].

As well as operating as a transition between East Anglia and the Midlands, Britain shows that the Fens also act as a transition zone between northern and southern British dialects, with respect to the realisation of the vowels in words such as *bath* and *cup*. The former is known as the TRAP-BATH split, referring to the southern tendency for some words historically of the TRAP lexical set to be produced with a long [aː] and thus become part of the BATH lexical set, while remaining in the TRAP lexical set in northern dialects. The latter is known as the FOOT-STRUT split, referring to a similar tendency for some historical FOOT words to move to the STRUT lexical set in southern British dialects, while remaining in the FOOT lexical set in northern dialects. Through analysis of historical data from the *Survey of English Dialects* as well as contemporary data from his own investigation of the Fens, Britain (2001, 2013) shows that both the TRAP-BATH and FOOT-STRUT splits transition through the Fenlands, with more northern forms found to the north, more southern forms found to the south and intermediate forms found in-between. This is a very simplistic summary of Britain's findings –

which go into much greater detail on the nature of the transition zone between northern and southern British dialects – however no further detail will be given here as it does not directly pertain to the boundaries of linguistic East Anglia.

Finally in this section, it should be noted that even the core area of linguistic East Anglia (i.e. Norfolk, Suffolk and northeast Essex) does not constitute one uniform, homogeneous dialect area. Trudgill (2004a: 164) explains that it may be split into northern and southern East Anglian dialects, roughly analogous to the terms 'Norfolk dialect' and 'Suffolk dialect'. The boundary, however, does not align exactly with the political border between the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, instead running slightly south of it – so that some northern Suffolk towns, such as Southwold and Lowestoft, are linguistically considered to be northern East Anglian (or simplistically, Norfolk dialect) speaking. In addition, the analogy of the southern East Anglian dialect area with the term 'Suffolk dialect' is slightly misleading, as the southern area as defined by Trudgill also includes the north Essex town of Colchester, and its surrounding area.

3.2.2 Previous studies

As we have seen in section 3.2.1, linguistic East Anglia consists of the majority of Norfolk and Suffolk, as well as north Essex, with transition zones running through the remainder of Essex to the south, and the Fens to the west. This section will give an outline of the most important previous linguistic studies into East Anglian (and particularly Suffolk) English, which have informed the current study. It will serve as an introduction to the different studies that have been carried out into Suffolk English specifically (so will not include large scale projects such as the *Survey of English Dialects*) at graduate level or beyond – looking specifically from the perspective of the research questions stated in chapter 1, largely the possibility of change in traditional East Anglian features in Suffolk. This section will give a background to the study of language variation and change in Suffolk, focusing mainly on those studies which are of relevance to this thesis (some of which will also be discussed in chapters 5 and 6).

The earliest study to be outlined here is that by Kokeritz (1932), who through observation of speakers devised a phonological description of the Suffolk dialect as it was spoken in the early 20th century. Kokeritz (ibid: viii) notes that his was not the very first study to describe the phonology of the Suffolk dialect, but that those before

him had either done so as part of a wider ranging discussion of English dialects in general, and thus had not paid full attention to the Suffolk way of speech (e.g. Ellis, 1889, cited in Kokeritz 1932: viii) or were based on, in Kokeritz's opinion, a "not seldom erroneous" interpretation of spellings rather than actual speech data (e.g. Binzel, 1912, cited in Kokeritz 1932: viii). In reaction to this latter practice, Kokeritz is very keen to point out that "under no circumstance whatever did I record the pronunciation of a word unless… [an] informant had actually pronounced it himself" (ibid: xii). Kokeritz's investigation, whilst not perfect by modern standards, shed a spotlight on the Suffolk dialect alone and is still a valuable tool for historical information on how Suffolk speech sounded around the turn of the 20th century. He interviewed speakers, observed speech and even collected some recordings on gramophone records during regular short visits to the county from his native Sweden between 1926 and 1930, and this data forms the basis of his description of the dialect (ibid: ix-x). Kokeritz spent time in Woodbridge during some of his visits, which is one of the communities under investigation in the current thesis, and a handful of his 40 participants were located in and around the town.

His data collection methods were mainly born out of the traditional dialectological approach discussed in chapter 2, and involved noting down the realisations of different phonemes as they were pronounced. It is important to note, however, that by his own reckoning very few of Kokeritz's observations were made overtly by asking informants outright 'how do you pronounce x' (or variations on this method, including asking a question for which the answer contained the target feature) – instead, much of the data from which Kokeritz noted down Suffolk pronunciations came from less formal, more conversation-like data:

> "Very often a dialect word or a vernacular pronunciation directed my informants' thoughts to some trivial problem or made them remember incidents from their earlier days, which were then duly narrated to the foreigner with notebook in hand"
>
> (Kokeritz, 1932: xiii)

Topics which were covered by the informants included:

> "the doings of Lord and Lady So-and-so, or… the very decided opinions expressed by my Suffolk friends on Church and Chapel (sic), on Mr Lloyd George and the Bolshevists, on the best ways of growing strawberries and catching moles"
>
> (Kokeritz, 1932: xiii)

In this way Kokeritz's data collection methodology was not unlike the sociolinguistic interview method pioneered by Labov in the 1960s, albeit not as structured and with the obvious exception of not involving tape recorders. As noted above, Kokeritz did make some recordings of his Suffolk informants on gramophone records; however due to the technological limitations of the time these involved speakers reading pre-written passages of text in a recording booth, rather than more informal conversations between speakers (ibid: xx). Finally, it should be noted that Kokeritz focused on phonological features (i.e. pronunciation) only, and did not record any grammatical, syntactical, or morphological features of the dialect. Some of Kokeritz's observations will be discussed as historical evidence in chapter 6.

Claxton (1968) also provides a description of the Suffolk dialect in the 20th century. While undoubtedly well intentioned and enthusiastic, Claxton was not a trained linguist (ibid: v). As such his description is a folk-linguistic account and so cannot be relied on as absolute fact – but that said, with careful consideration it can nevertheless be a useful historical source. The main focus of Claxton's book is on reporting common Suffolk dialect words, although he does also include short sections on the pronunciation of vowels, and grammar. There is little overt discussion of his methodology; however it seems to be partly introspective and partly based on informal observations from conversations with Suffolk residents in his day to day life (ibid: xv). Claxton is aware of the existence of Kokeritz's phonological dialect description, but laments that it is written in "the scientific phonetic system of pronunciation incomprehensible to the majority of people", and instead sets out to provide a more accessible account "to the general reader" (ibid: xv). Some of Claxton's insights will be discussed where relevant in section 3.2.3.

Perhaps the most important studies of East Anglian English to discuss in this section are those by Trudgill (1974, 1988) in the city of Norwich. Trudgill's work is important not just as an example of a comprehensive investigation of language variation and change in an East Anglian location, but also (as noted in chapter 2) as the first application of the Labovian methodology outside of the USA, and therefore a key part of the development of the field of sociolinguistics. Trudgill's (1974) methodology followed that pioneered by Labov closely, with adaptations to the demands of the community in Norwich. He selected 10 speakers from each of five locations (wards) within the city on a quasi-random basis from the local electoral register, as well as 10 schoolchildren, giving 60 informants in total (ibid: 21-27). The data collection method involved the full Labovian range of 'field exercises' designed to elicit various levels of formal and informal style speech (as outlined previously in chapter 4) – ranging from sociolinguistic interviews to word lists and a reading passage (ibid: 46-54). Whereas Labov was fortunate enough to have access to a wealth of data on the socioeconomic status of his informants, Trudgill had to collect this information for himself. The technique he used for assigning each speaker to social class group was outlined in chapter 2, and largely followed Labov's lead in utilising multiple indicators of socioeconomic class membership, although went further in using a six point scale as opposed to Labov's three point version.

Trudgill went on to investigate the linguistic variation and change occurring in Norwich with respect to a number of phonological variables including (-ing), (t) and various vocalic variables, and also the morphosyntactic verbal -s variable. This culminated in his construction of the 'Norwich diasystem', an attempt to formulate a set of shared rules which accounted for the phonetic and phonological variation observed in the Norwich speakers (ibid: 133 ff.). Among the variables which Trudgill's results suggested were undergoing change was the centralisation, and in extreme cases backing to [ʌ], of the vowel in words such as *hell* and *well*. Trudgill found the index scores of younger speakers to generally be higher for this variable than those of older speakers, suggesting that the use of centralised variants was gaining traction among the younger generation. He also found greater use of centralisation among the working-class speakers, and particularly the upper-working-class and middle-working-class who appeared to be leading the possible change (ibid: 87, 104-105). However, in his follow up study (1988: 46-47) which was discussed in chapter 2,

Trudgill found the progress of this change to have slowed rapidly among the additional younger generation which were interviewed, at least in the interview style speech (i.e. the least formal speech styles). That is not to say that the youngest generation were not using centralised/backed variants, they were and in great numbers, but their usage had not progressed beyond that of the youngest generation in Trudgill's original study. The progress of centralisation had continued, however, in the more formal reading passage and word list styles, which were in effect 'catching up' to the high levels of centralisation in casual style speech. This is just one example of the investigations carried out by Trudgill on East Anglian English, and his work will be revisited throughout this thesis.

As noted in section 3.2.1, the Fenlands form part of a transition zone between East Anglian and Midlands dialects. As such, although they do not fall into the core linguistic East Anglia area, the eastern Fens in particular show some use of East Anglian features, and are thus of some interest. We know this, largely thanks to Britain (1991) (and later works), a thesis which illuminated the linguistic variation and change present in the Fens for the first time. Although Britain's work is sociolinguistic by nature, it is also heavily inspired by ideas from the field of human geography, and he describes his thesis as "first and foremost a study with linguistic aims, which seeks to incorporate principles of human geography into a sociolinguistic study of dialect variation" (ibid: 11). What this means is that, while Britain's investigation largely followed the Labovian approach – his data collection consisted of recording informal, conversational style interviews with 81 participants, split by the social categories age and gender (with social class held constant, as only working-class informants were approached) – there was also a focus on the role which spatiality plays within linguistic variation. Britain's 81 informants were sourced from communities all across the Fens, which allowed him to map the East Anglian linguistic transition zone. In many ways, Britain's study is the logical combination of sociolinguistic theory with earlier dialectological geographical curiosity. Although it will not involve spatiality in the analysis to the same extent, the current thesis has been inspired to a great degree by Britain's work.

Contemporary sociolinguistic investigations of the Suffolk dialect are rare, although as the remainder of this section will show, becoming less so. One such example is the work of Straw (e.g. Straw and Patrick, 2007, Brana-Straw, 2016) who

presents comparisons of the Afro-Caribbean and Anglo communities in Ipswich. Her analyses are framed from a perspective of investigating the maintenance of heritage features and possible shift towards East Anglian variants among her Afro-Caribbean participants, and to this end she also investigates to what extent the patterns of variation of the Anglo East Anglian and the Afro-Caribbean speakers are linguistically similar. Straw's work is particularly interesting as other studies of East Anglian varieties (including, admittedly, this thesis) have tended not to investigate ethnicity as a social variable, even though East Anglia is certainly not homogeneous in this regard.

The remaining studies to be outlined here are all from work at BA and MA level completed at the University of Essex, which help to fill in the picture of more recent developments in Suffolk English. In her MA thesis (and also in an unfinished PhD thesis, Bray, n.d.) Kingston (2000) set out to investigate the seeming loss of traditional, local Suffolk dialect features. The target community of her study was the village of Glemsford in west Suffolk (and also the town of Sudbury – in Bray, n.d.), which Kingston (ibid: 20) notes had undergone "rapid population growth" due to the "influx of Londoners to the area" as part of an overspill program. As a native of the village, Kingston hypothesised that this in-migration would contribute to a reduction of the use of traditional Suffolk dialect forms among younger speakers, and eventual levelling of the local dialect. Her data collection method followed the Labovian approach, with sociolinguistic interviews carried out with 18 participants in an attempt to elicit the most casual speech data possible in such a situation (see chapter 4 for a discussion of the Labovian methodology) (ibid: 21). In total, Kingston collected recordings from 18 speakers, with equal numbers of older, middle-aged, younger, female, and male informants. The results for both of her variables – coincidentally the same two as are to be investigated in this thesis – will be discussed in greater detail in chapters 5 and 6; however suffice to say that they predicted a gloomy future for the local dialect in Glemsford, and by extension Suffolk. Kingston (ibid: 88) concludes that, although her younger speakers do show some use of traditional Suffolk forms, her results demonstrate that "it is an undeniable fact that the traditional Suffolk dialect as spoken in the village of Glemsford is undergoing dialect attrition", and she forecasts that the Suffolk dialect may be completely lost, in this community at least, "within the next two generations" – a fairly bold claim to make, even given the trends identified in her data. The current thesis, just shy of 20 years later, hopes to add evidence to the

argument either way. In a similar vein, Spurling (2004), a BA project at Essex, investigated the same two verbal -s and unstressed vowels variables in the speech of 12 informants from Ipswich – again, her findings will be discussed in chapters 5 and 6.

Previous studies by the current author, a BA project (Potter, 2012) and an MRes dissertation (Potter, 2014) also investigated the same two variables, along with th-fronting and l-vocalisation, in the Suffolk town of Woodbridge. Potter (2014) was intended as a pilot study of the methods to be used in this thesis, as well as an investigation in its own right, and focused on 16 working class speakers, employing the Labovian sociolinguistic approach. The success of this study as a pilot is discussed further in chapter 4, while the results for the 'David' variable are outlined in chapter 6. The most recent study to be discussed here is that by Butcher (2015), also an MRes dissertation completed at Essex. She took a purely phonological approach to analysing the realisation of unstressed /ɪ/ as [ə] in the morpheme *-ing* and also t-glottalling in Ipswich, although collected data through sociolinguistic-like interviews aimed at eliciting everyday style speech (ibid: 9). Part of her analysis is devoted to discussing the linguistic constraints on the realisation of schwa in *-ing* words, in much the same way as a sociolinguistic study would, while she also utilises an Optimality Theory framework in order to present a more thorough phonological analysis of her variables. Butcher's findings for unstressed vowels will be discussed in chapter 6.

3.2.3 Dialect description

Having discussed the linguistic boundaries of East Anglia, it would be appropriate to present a dialect description in order to provide background on the linguistic context of the variation to be studied in this thesis. The following is not intended to be an exhaustive description of the dialect – see Wells (1982b) and particularly Trudgill (2004a, b) for such – but instead is a discussion of the main features which set the East Anglian dialect apart from other British varieties (particularly RP), as well as some innovative (supralocal) features which are being adopted.

The East Anglian dialect has the FOOT-STRUT and TRAP-BATH splits typical of southern British dialects of English, and is also non-rhotic (Wells, 1982b: 337). As was noted in section 3.2.1, East Anglian dialects can be broadly split into north and south varieties, resembling (but not entirely following) the political boundary between the

counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. As discussed in section 3.1, while there are differences between the northern and southern dialects, there are many more similarities between them. Relying largely on the excellent and detailed description of East Anglian English given in Trudgill (2004a, b) this section will describe the dialects of East Anglia, assuming heterogeneity between the northern and southern varieties except where explicitly stated that differences occur. In this vein, as the focus of this thesis is specifically on Suffolk English rather than East Anglia as a whole, any variation which occurs only in the northern half of the region and is not present in the southern half will not be discussed.

Starting with phonology, Trudgill (2004a: 165-169) explains that East Anglian speakers have six stressed short vowels - /ɪ/ in words such as *kit*, /ɛ/ in words such as *dress*, /æ/in words such as *trap*, /ʊ/ in words such as *foot*, /ɐ/ in words such as *strut*, and /ɒ/ (rounded) or /ɑ/ (unrounded) in words such as *lot*. Traditionally, there was some lexical variation in the realisation of the vowels in the KIT, DRESS and TRAP lexical sets. Words such as *get, yet, head* and *again* which are expected to be part of the DRESS lexical set were realised with the KIT vowel, while words such as *catch, have, has* and *had* which would be expected to be part of the TRAP lexical set were traditionally realised with the DRESS vowel. It is important to note that variation was lexically conditioned, and so words such as *pit* and *bid* remained in the KIT lexical set, while the likes of *bed, bet* and *help* remained in the DRESS lexical set. Trudgill points out that this kind of variation is to still be found among older East Anglian speakers, and anecdotally this researcher can confirm to having heard examples of such variation among some older (and more basilectal) participants in this project, although there is as yet no set consensus on whether this variation in TRAP-KIT-DRESS can still be heard in the speech of younger East Anglians. The STRUT vowel was traditionally realised as a back [ʌ], but nowadays has moved to a central (but still low) [ɐ] as is common in southern British dialects. Trudgill notes that this process spread up towards Norfolk from the very south of East Anglia, meaning that it has progressed further in Colchester and Ipswich than in Norwich (and the surrounding areas). The LOT lexical set is generally realised with the rounded vowel [ɒ] by southern East Anglian speakers (i.e. in most of Suffolk and northeast Essex), and though the unrounded [ɑ] can be heard among older speakers in Norfolk, Trudgill asserts that younger speakers of the northern variety are also increasingly moving towards a rounded vowel in this lexical

set – although an older form [ɔː] can still be heard among working class speakers, particularly in the words *off* and *dog*. Finally for short vowels, the NURSE lexical set traditionally had a vowel somewhat resembling [ɐ]; however Trudgill explains that this has all but been replaced by the form [ɜː], as found in other southern British varieties.

In terms of long vowels, it has already been mentioned that East Anglian English has a long monophthong in the BATH lexical set, distinct from the short vowel of the TRAP lexical set as is typical of southern British dialects. Trudgill (ibid: 172) explains that basilectal East Anglian speakers realise BATH, START and PALM words with a front vowel [aː], while less strongly dialectal speakers (who Trudgill refers to as middle class speakers) have "more centralised variants". The lexical sets of NEAR and SQUARE have the same vowel in the northern East Anglian area (around [ɛː]); however the southern area (i.e. Suffolk) has a diphthong [ɪə] for NEAR, and the long [ɛː] for SQUARE only. The vowel of the THOUGHT, NORTH and FORCE lexical sets is the RP-like [ɔː], while the vowel of the NURSE lexical set, as mentioned above, is nowadays [ɜː] – but perhaps "a little closer than in RP" (ibid). For diphthongs (ibid: 169-172), FLEECE (and also the second vowel of words such as *very* and *money*) is usually [ɪi], in contrast to the usual London pronunciation [əɪ]. For the FACE lexical set, the modern pronunciation is usually around [æi] for more basilectal speakers, and closer to RP-like [eɪ] in less local-sounding speakers (again, referred to by Trudgill as more middle-class speakers). The PRICE vowel is usually around [ɐi], although the form [ɑi] is gaining traction among younger speakers, while the CHOICE vowel is [ʊi] for more basilectal speakers and [ɔi] for others. Trudgill reports that the GOOSE vowel is largely [ʉ̟ʉ], "with more lip rounding on the second element than on the first" (ibid: 170), although in speakers with extensive yod dropping (particularly in the northern half of the region) it may also be [uː], so that words such as *do* and *dew* are homophones. The MOUTH vowel is typically somewhere between [æʉ] and [əʉ] in the northern half of the region, and [ɛʉ] in the southern half. The situation of the GOAT lexical set is complicated; however Trudgill summarises that in the northern half of the region words such as *rowed* have [ʌu] while those such as *road* have [uː~ʊ], words like *rude* have [ʉː] and words like *rood* have [ʉː~uː]. More recently in the southern half, *road* and *rowed* both commonly have [ʌu]. A final vocalic feature of East Anglian English noted by Trudgill (ibid: 172-173) is the process of smoothing which was discussed as an example of contrahierarchical diffusion in chapter 2, in which triphthongs with a

schwa as the final element (e.g. *fire*, [faiə] and *playing*, [plæiʲən]) are monophthongised (in this case to [fɑː] and [plæːn] respectively).

In terms of consonants (ibid: 173-176), it has already been noted at the beginning of this section that East Anglian English is non-rhotic, that is to say that /r/ does not occur non-prevocalically. However, the phenomena of linking and intrusive /r/ (i.e. /r/ as a hiatus breaker between vowels) are prevalent in the region. Trudgill notes that intrusive /r/ "occurs invariably where the vowels /ɛː, aː, ɔː, ə/… [are followed by] another vowel both across word and morpheme boundaries" (and linking /r/ is also found after /ɜː/) (ibid: 175). Due to the prevalence of reduced vowels in East Anglia (i.e. schwa; see below and also chapter 6), intrusive /r/ can occur more frequently in East Anglia than in other varieties of English – the example which Trudgill gives to illustrate this is the phrase *give it to Anne*, which may be pronounced [gɪv ət tər æn], as opposed to [gɪv ɪt tuːʷ æn]. H-dropping was traditionally not found in East Anglia; however Trudgill reports that it is now present to some extent in the urban areas of Norwich and Ipswich. At one time /l/ was clear in all positions in the northern half of the region; however "modern speech now has the same distribution of clear and dark allophones as RP" (ibid: 175). Trudgill reports that l-vocalisation is rare in the northern half of the region – perhaps as a result of the later establishment of clear /l/-dark /ɬ/ allophony (Johnson and Britain, 2007); however he adds that it is more common in the southern area. Further evidence for the existence of l-vocalisation in Suffolk comes from Potter (2014: 62ff.), who found this supralocal feature to be particularly prevalent among the younger generation of speakers (aged 18-30), who vocalised 76% of the time. Johnson and Britain (2007) also note increasing vocalisation of /ɬ/ among speakers in the Fens. Another supralocal consonantal feature which Trudgill (2004a: 173-174) notes is on the increase among younger East Anglians is the glottal replacement of /t/, for example in the word *later*, [læiʔə]. Where a glottal stop follows the nasal /n/, the /n/ may be deleted, for example in the word *twenty* which in East Anglia may be realised as [twɛʔɪi]. As well as glottalling of /t/, which is found in many British English dialects, East Anglian English also features glottalisation (i.e. glottal reinforcement) of the stops /p, k/ and to a lesser extent /t/, in words such as *paper* [pæipʔə] and *baker* [bæikʔə]. The final traditional feature which Trudgill discusses under consonants is yod dropping, the loss of the glide /j/ before the vowel /ʉː/ in words such as *music*. Trudgill points out that in the northern East Anglian

dialect area, yod dropping is total, i.e. /j/ is lost after all consonants rather than just /r, l, s, n, t, d, θ/ as in many other English dialects. In the southern half of the core East Anglian linguistic area, however, yod dropping is less extensive, with Trudgill reporting that /jʉː/ is often realised as [ɪʉː]. Finally for consonants, although Trudgill does not make mention of it in his (2004a) dialect description, in his follow up study of Norwich (1988: 42-43) he reported on the rise of th-fronting, that is the use of [f] for /θ/ and [v] for non-word initial /ð/, in the city. Potter (2012) also found this feature to be present among younger speakers in Suffolk, albeit not very far advanced with the [v] variant used 47% of the time by the younger age group, and [f] 21%, compared to 53% use of RP-like [ð] and 79% use of [θ] respectively. As with l-vocalisation, th-fronting is not a traditional East Anglian feature but rather a supralocal feature spreading across British dialects (Kirkham and Moore, 2013: 281), which appears to be being adopted into East Anglian varieties.

In terms of morphology and syntax, Trudgill (2004b) points out several ways in which East Anglian English differs from Standard English, and other regional dialects. This description will focus on those attested to be part of the present day dialect, and which are considered to be characteristic of East Anglian speech. Among the most important to note is morphosyntactic verbal -s variation, in terms of the zero marking of third person singular subjects which would otherwise have the inflection -s in standard-like dialects (ibid: 142). This feature is one of the linguistic variables under investigation in this thesis, and so will be discussed in much greater detail in chapter 5. Another frequently occurring syntactic construction is the use of *that* in place of stressed realisations of the pronoun *it*, for example in the phrase *that's raining* (it's raining) (ibid: 146-147). Unstressed forms remain as *it*, but are generally realised with a schwa (e.g. [əʔ]) as part of a separate, phonological, process. Some irregular past tense verb forms are present, including *snew* as the past tense of *snow* (c.f. Standard English *snowed*) and *shew* for *show* (Standard English *showed*) (ibid: 143-144). These are also noted in Claxton's (1968: 11) folk linguistic account of the Suffolk dialect. Trudgill (2004b: 144) notes that *shew* is "very widely used and is still very frequently found in the speech even of people whose English is not very dialectal", and anecdotally this researcher can attest to the veracity of this statement.

Finally, both Wells (1982b: 341) and Trudgill (2001a: 8, 2004a: 176) note the characteristic rhythm/prosody of East Anglian English, which they concurrently

attribute to the lengthening of stressed syllables at the expense of unstressed ones. The resulting abundance of schwa in unstressed syllables is the second linguistic variable to be investigated in this thesis, and will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 6. Examples of such rhythmic patterns given by Trudgill include the phrases *half past eight*, [haːpəs æɪʔ], *forty two*, [fɔːʔtuː], and *have you got any coats?*, [hæjə gɑʔnə kʊʔs].

3.3 The locations

In terms of locating the three communities to be investigated, Figure 1 above gave a rough outline of the location of East Anglia within the UK. Figure 2 (Google, 2017) zooms in on the southern half of the area, showing the location of Ipswich, Woodbridge and Wickham Market within the county of Suffolk.

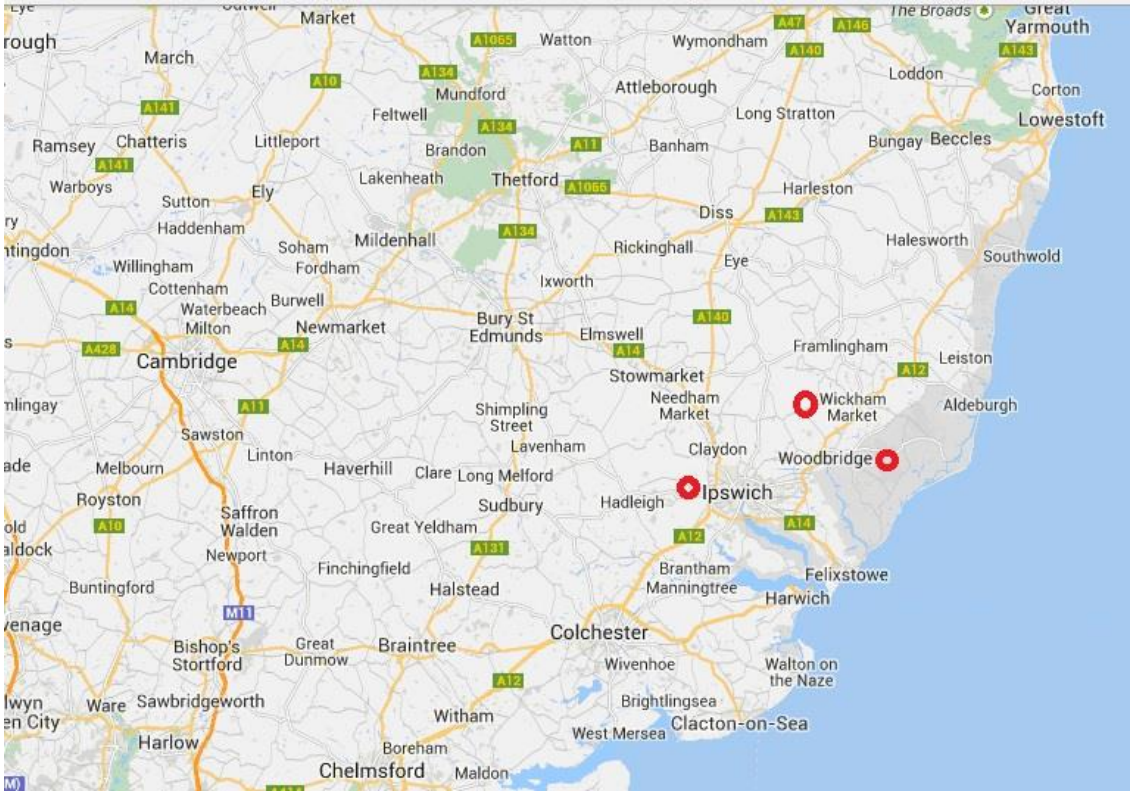

Figure 2 Map showing the location of the three communities under investigation within the county of Suffolk, Google (2017)

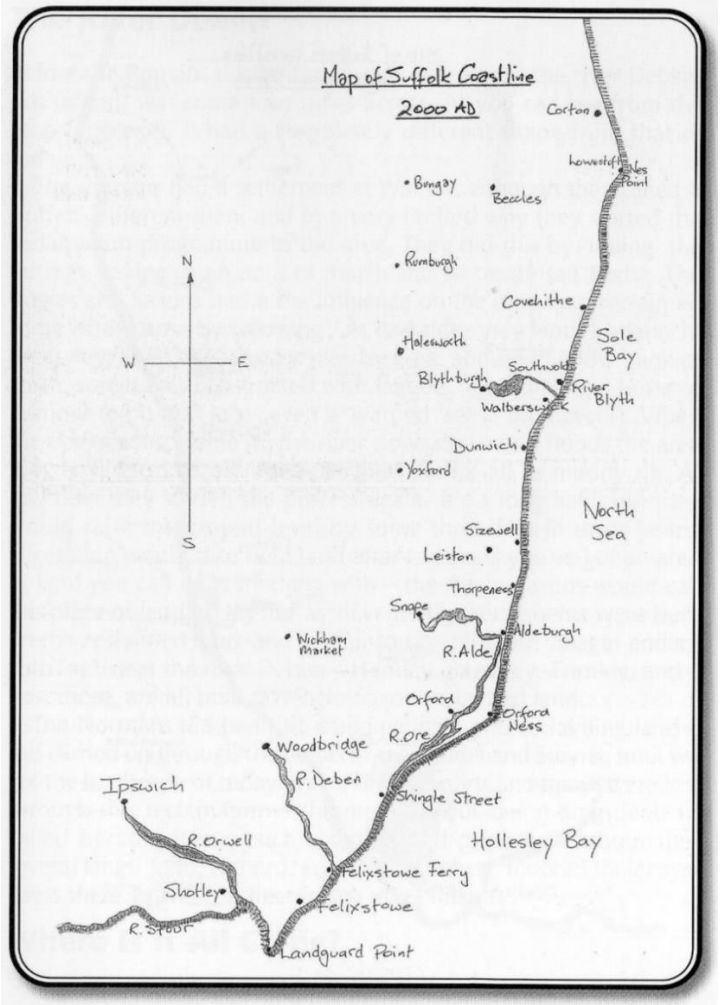

Figure 3 Map of the Suffolk coastline showing the location of the three communities, Haylock (2008: 94)

As shown, the three locations are situated in the southeast corner of Suffolk within a relatively modest distance of each other. All three are also sited just off the dual-carriageway A12 main road which runs between the outskirts of London (where it joins the major M25 London ring-road) and southeast Norfolk. All three communities are also located on the railway line which runs between Ipswich and Lowestoft, although confusingly the station for Wickham Market is actually located in the nearby village of Campsea Ashe. Until recently this line ran directly to London, but the service is now split at Ipswich. As can be seen in Figure 2, the city of Cambridge is located to the west of the three communities, while Colchester and Chelmsford lie to the southwest. The city of Norwich, the largest urban area in the core East Anglian region, is situated to the north of the map limits. It should be noted that the hoops drawn on the map above are intended to draw attention to the locations of the three

communities, but do not represent an exact demarcation of their geographical location – in all three cases, the place name label covers the location of the community. A more accurate representation of the geographical location of the three communities, relative to other coastal Suffolk locations, is given in Figure 3, a hand-drawn map of the Suffolk coast from a local folk-dialectology book (Haylock, 2008: 94).

Table 1 shows the 2011 UK Census data (Nomis, 2013) for both usual population and average age of residents for each of the three locations.

Location	Population	Mean Age
Ipswich	**144,957**	38.1
IPS Males	72,135 (49.8%)	-
IPS Females	72,822 (50.2%)	-
Woodbridge	**11,341**	46.7
WOO Males	5,297 (46.7%)	-
WOO Females	6,044 (53.3%)	-
Wickham Market	**2,156**	47.3
WIC Males	1,025 (47.5%)	-
WIC Females	1,131 (52.5%)	-

Table 1 Census 2011 – population data by location (Nomis, 2013)

By way of comparison Nomis (ibid) reports the national mean age for England and Wales to be 39.4 – so Ipswich is just younger than the national average, while Woodbridge and Wickham Market are a little older. As the table shows, there is roughly a 50-50 split between females and males living within each location (albeit with ever so slightly higher numbers of females in Woodbridge and Wickham), and this is therefore reflected in the sample for the project, with 36 female and 36 male participants interviewed in total. Table 2, Table 3 and Table 4 present further Census 2011 statistics for the three locations, as well as overall totals for England and Wales by way of comparison. Table 2 shows the UK government's classification of deprivation – this equates to the percentage of households within a community which are considered to be 'deprived' in up to four categories – employment, education,

health and disability, and housing (Nomis, ibid). Woodbridge has the highest percentage of households which are not considered to be deprived in any category, at nearly 50%, while Ipswich and Wickham match the overall total for England and Wales at just over 40%. Wickham has the highest percentage of households deprived in 2 or more dimensions, at 27.3%, while Ipswich follows at 26.5%. Woodbridge has the lowest of the three locations, at 19.2%, which is below the overall national total at 24.5%.

Location	Deprived in **0** dimensions	Deprived in **1** dimension	Deprived in **2** dimensions	Deprived in **3** dimensions	Deprived in **4** dimensions
Ipswich	41%	33%	20%	6%	0.5%
Woodbridge	49%	33%	16%	3%	0.2%
Wickham	41%	33%	23%	4%	0.3%
England and Wales	42%	33%	19%	5%	0.5%

Table 2 Census 2011 – deprivation dimensions by location (Nomis, 2013)

Table 3 shows selected categories of the UK government's economic activity classification – this splits the post-school age population into those who are 'economically active' (i.e. working or actively looking for work, including the currently unemployed) and 'economically inactive' (i.e. not working or actively looking for work, including the retired and those unable to work due to health issues). Woodbridge has the lowest levels of unemployment, slightly ahead of Wickham and then followed by Ipswich. Ipswich has the highest percentage of economically active residents, although it should be noted that Woodbridge and Wickham both have relatively high levels of retirees (above the overall total for England and Wales).

Location	Economically active	Unemployed	Retired
Ipswich	74%	5%	12%
Woodbridge	67%	3%	21%
Wickham	66%	3.5%	22%
England and Wales	70%	4.5%	14%

Table 3 Census 2011 – economic activity by location (Nomis, 2013)

Table 4 shows the UK government's approximated social grade statistics for the three locations – although the exact method of calculating this figure is not disclosed, it is seemingly based on occupation. Rank AB equates to "higher and intermediate managerial/administrative/professional occupations", rank C1 covers "supervisory, clerical and junior managerial/administrative/professional occupations", C2 equates to "skilled manual occupations" and DE covers "semi-skilled and unskilled manual occupations; unemployed and lowest grade occupations" (ibid). Of the three communities under investigation, Woodbridge has by far the highest percentage of residents in the highest social grade, and the smallest percentage in the lowest social grade, with Wickham and Ipswich relatively similar to each other.

Location	AB (Highest)	C1	C2	DE (lowest)
Ipswich	18%	28%	25%	30%
Woodbridge	32%	28%	22%	18%
Wickham	20%	21%	30%	29%
England and Wales	23%	30%	22%	25%

Table 4 Census 2011 – approx. social grade by location

Sections 3.3.1, 3.3.2, and 3.3.3 will give some more specific background on each of the three locations under investigation, aimed particularly at readers unfamiliar with the communities of Ipswich, Woodbridge and Wickham Market. Where relevant, the researcher will add his own (anecdotal) observations of each location as a native of the area, having grown up in Woodbridge and frequently visited both nearby Ipswich and Wickham Market in day to day life.

3.3.1 Ipswich

Ipswich is an urban town with a population variously given in the 2011 Census figures as either 133,384 or 144,957 depending on the exact boundaries drawn around the town (Nomis, 2013). The higher figure was preferred in Table 1 as it comes from the same dataset as the figures for Woodbridge and Wickham, the only level at which the two smaller communities are individually and wholly represented in the Census data. There has been a fair population increase in Ipswich in the last two centuries – Malster (2000: 174) notes that in the early 1800s the population of the town was recorded as 11,277, but had reached 32,914 by 1851, and 66,630 by 1901, and has more than doubled again in the last 100 years to the current figures given above. Malster (ibid: 211-214) also notes that there was expansion of the town after the second world war, in response to a shortage of housing following bombing raids during the war. This led to the building of the Chantry estate to the south of the town. He also details that in the mid 1960s the UK government announced an intention to resettle people from London in Ipswich and two other (unnamed by Malster) towns. The envisaged resettlement would add around 70,000 people by the early 1980s, with natural growth in the following years taking the total population of the town to around 250,000. Malster states that the plan called for an expansion to local services including schools, shopping and the town centre, and that around 1500 new homes were planned to be built on land surrounding the town every year for 12 years. Combined with similarly proposed developments in nearby Needham Market, Stowmarket and Haughley, this plan would see a population of around 400,000 in a 'development band' in Suffolk. However, "in June 1969, the minister of Housing and Local Government announced that he had decided not to go ahead with the expansion after all" and "Ipswich was to be allowed to expand at its own rate without further government interference" (ibid: 214). Malster gives no explanation for this decision, and it is not clear whether it was ever justified by the government. It seems as though at least some of this resettlement was instead directed to smaller towns and villages in the county (e.g. Britain, 2009: 232-233).

As the county town of Suffolk, Ipswich serves as the "administrative and judicial heart" of the county, although there is some dispute locally about whether the honour should instead lie with the west Suffolk town of Bury St Edmunds (Ghaemi, 2017). A related but separate campaign also promotes St Edmund as a replacement for

the patron saint of England, St George (Ghaemi and Reason, 2017). Ipswich is home to the only professional football team in Suffolk, Ipswich Town F.C., who play in the second tier of English football and enjoy a keen (albeit of late, rather one-sided) East Anglian rivalry with Norwich City football club. This fixture is known informally as the 'Old Farm derby', a humorous take on the 'Old Firm' derby contested between Glasgow Rangers and Celtic in Scotland, with a nod to the stereotypical perception of both Norfolk and Suffolk as agricultural hotbeds. Similarly Ipswich Town have reluctantly adopt the media's nickname of 'The Tractor Boys', and local sounding speakers are often referred to as (sounding like and/or being) 'farmers', as for outsiders traditional East Anglian features conjure (outdated and stereotypical) images of an agricultural way of life. Ipswich Town F.C.'s achievements in their 1960s-1980s heyday, under two managers who would both go on to success with the England national team in Sir Alf Ramsey and Sir Bobby Robson, included winning the First Division (now the Premier League) title in their first season at that level, as well as the FA Cup and a European trophy in the form of the UEFA cup, raising the profile of the town both at home and abroad. The football team play their home games at the circa 30,000 capacity Portman Road stadium which is located just out of the town centre a short walk from the train station. The town has frequent rail links to London and the north (via Peterborough), as well as Cambridge, Norwich, and north Suffolk on the Lowestoft line. It also at one time had an airport; however it is no longer in operation and has not been for some time – Malster (2000: 206-208) states that despite high hopes on its opening in the early 1930s, proposed flights into Ipswich by international operators such as Lufthansa "did not materialise", some short range local flights (for example a Sunday return service to Southend) did, but the airport was taken over by the Royal Air Force during WWII and afterwards fell out of use.

Similarly, Ipswich has operated a port on the River Orwell for several hundred years; however as Malster outlines in detail, largely due to a lack of foresight in completing renovation and expansion on a large enough scale, it has been overshadowed by the nearby Port of Felixstowe which has become "Britain's largest and busiest container port" (ibid: 214). As Malster points out, the growth of Felixstowe port also necessitated the building of a bypass road, the A14, in the late 1970s and early 1980s to carry heavy goods vehicles to and from the port without passing through Ipswich and nearby towns and villages. The 20th century also saw the town's major

businesses switch from industrial manufacturing such as Ransomes, manufacturers of heavy machinery (e.g. agricultural machines) and Churchman's cigarette factory, to insurance firms such as Axa and Willis. BT have also established a centre for new technology in the growing nearby village of Martlesham Heath, located on the A12 main road between Ipswich and Woodbridge (ibid: 215).

3.3.2 Wickham Market

The next area to be outlined here is the rural area in the study, Wickham Market (known locally simply as Wickham). Wickham is, to all intents and purposes, a typical British village. It has a primary school, a church, a doctors' surgery, tea rooms and restaurants, a small Coop supermarket, a post office – in fact, the one element it is missing is a pub, with the last (the George) having burnt down in 2013. This event (being fresh in mind) was noted several times during data collection, including by one participant whose home adjoined the pub, and who told the story of waking up to find the pub alight, and having to evacuate their family in the middle of the night – fortunately with no harm to life or property. Another informant (an older gentleman who had lived the majority of his life in the village) described how Wickham had at various times had as many as 13 or 14 pubs and even a hotel, but which had one by one all closed. This has left the village short of venues for residents to socialise, however, there is a British Legion club with a bar, an amateur and youth football club, a tennis club, two bowls clubs, a WI, a scouts group, and other such social clubs (The Wickham Market Partnership, n.d.). There is also an active and excellent local archive centre run by volunteers, which keeps and makes publicly available historical records for Wickham and the surrounding smaller villages and parishes.

Given its full name, it is no surprise to find that Wickham historically hosted a market, which was given a royal charter by Edward I in the 13th century and drew in trade from surrounding villages (Wickham Market Area Archive Centre, 2015). However, this was eventually overtaken by the market held down the road at Woodbridge, and was moved to the village of Campsea Ashe (Mills West, 2002: 90) (presumably this move was related to the confusing naming of the train station in the latter as Wickham Market). As for housing in the village, the Wickham Market Area Archive Centre (2015) reports that there is a mixture of council housing built largely in the 1920s and 1930s, as well as private housing and some more "substantial" (i.e. bigger, more expensive) houses which were built for "farmers, doctors and retired

military officers etc.". The 2011 Census statistics (Nomis, 2013) show that around 24% of homes in Wickham (233 out of 959 in total) are classified as 'socially rented' (i.e. council housing) – the average for the whole of England and Wales is 18% (4,118,461 out of 23,366,044). This shows that Wickham has a significant proportion of 'affordable housing', higher than the national average. At the time of data collection a new (private) housing estate was being built on entry to the village from the direction of Woodbridge – in some interviews locals complained of an influx of residents 'from London' (which seems to be the stock phrase for in-migration from outside of the county), and also the increase in holiday homes in the village, albeit this appears to be at an early stage.

Historically Wickham had a good deal in the way of job prospects for locals, with both an iron works and gas works operating in the village, as well as a school and local shops and businesses such as shoe menders, convenience stores and also farming and a mill (Wickham Market Area Archive Centre, 2015). A Victorian-era workhouse also opened in the village in the 19th century, which has since been converted into flats (Wickham Market Area Archive Centre, 2015). The iron works in particular "brought great prosperity to Wickham" in the 19th century (Dyke, 2015: 73). However, in a historical account of life in the village written in 1944 but published after her death by the Archive Centre she founded, Dyke (ibid: 95) explains that the family that ran the works, the Whitmores, died out and it closed in the early 20th century. Dyke connects the closure of the iron works with the decline of job prospects and also social opportunities in Wickham. In the current day, there are fewer job opportunities in the village, aside from small local businesses and shops such as the butchers and tea rooms (which the Wickham Market Area Archive Centre, 2015 says are slowly reducing in number) – and as such it seems there is little to encourage local youngsters who grow up in Wickham from staying in great numbers once they reach adulthood (for example, almost all of the middle and older participants' grown up children had left the village, even if only for nearby places such as Framlingham and Ipswich). They have experience of life outside the village at a young age as well, as there is no secondary school in Wickham – most pupils travel to Framlingham, while some go to Woodbridge. This situation made it more difficult to locate younger speakers to interview, although it was possible in the end.

Road links to Wickham from the surrounding area are good – it lays just off the A12 bypass which runs from London through places such as Ipswich and Woodbridge from the south, and continues onwards from Wickham to north Suffolk. Public transport is not as readily available however – as mentioned above, Wickham Market train station is actually located in the village of Campsea Ashe a mile or two away (with no safely walkable route between the two). Bus services to and from the village have become less frequent recently; however they do run to places like Woodbridge and Ipswich. As such, Wickham is more isolated than both Ipswich and Woodbridge, which are better served by public transport, but is by no means inaccessible. Wickham was included in the current investigation as the most rural area. As discussed in chapter 2, the terms 'rural' and 'urban' do not have clear cut definitions, and the government's own definition is not particularly useful as it is based purely on the population level of an area – any settlement with a population of less than 10,000 counting as rural. As discussed, this does not seem a completely adequate and satisfactory definition. With a population of just over 2,100 Wickham would definitely count as rural by this criteria – by way of context, the population of Wickham is almost half that of the rural village of Glemsford studied by Kingston (2000: 18), which at the time of her study had around 4,000 inhabitants. Additionally, it could also be argued that all three of the locations under investigation in this project, even Ipswich, are rural to some degree, being surrounded by countryside, farmland and rural settlements in Suffolk. Crucially, it is clear that Wickham is more rural than either Ipswich or Woodbridge.

3.3.3 Woodbridge

The third location in which data was collected was Woodbridge, a small town with a population just over 11,000 (as reported in Table 1). As can be seen from the Census 2011 data presented above, Woodbridge is a fairly high-status area with lower levels of deprivation and unemployment than Ipswich and Wickham. It is not entirely clear where the name 'Woodbridge' originates from, as there is no wooden bridge to be found in the town – writing in a local free magazine Simper (2017: 18-19) (a historian) explains two main theories: 1) that there was a wooden bridge which connected the two original settlements that became the town, one on the banks of the River Deben at Kyson Point and the other on the Market Hill in what is now the town centre, or 2) that it comes from 'Woden's burgh', after the Anglo Saxon god Woden (possibly a variant

spelling of Odin). Simper favours the first explanation, arguing that if the town had been named after an Anglo Saxon god it would have later been changed as "early medieval churches ruthlessly stamped out any pagan connections", and in his expert opinion the church would have likely chosen the name of a Christian saint to replace it. As this did not happen, he suggests that the first theory is more plausible. However there was historically a strong Anglo Saxon presence in and around the town – the burial site of the East Anglian king Raedwald (who is thought to have at one time ruled the entire Anglo Saxon Kingdom) lies just out of Woodbridge at Sutton Hoo (Fincham 1976: 25-26, Dymond and Northeast 1985: 27).

Woodbridge, much like Wickham, is a fairly typical British town. It has a town centre with many shops including chains and independents, a small supermarket, banks, an independent cinema/theatre, coffee shops, tea rooms, pubs and restaurants. Transport links are fairly good – it sits on the A12 main road, there are hourly trains to Ipswich (and onwards to London, Norwich, Cambridge etc.) in one direction and Lowestoft in the other, there are frequent bus services to Ipswich and slightly less frequent ones to surrounding villages. The outsider view of Woodbridge is generally a fairly affluent, middle class town – this came across in interviews (particularly with some participants from Wickham), with words such as 'rich' and 'posh' used to describe the town. As a native, the researcher can add that this is a little misleading – as with any town, Woodbridge has a mixture of socioeconomic class groups with different levels of wealth. Just over 15% of accommodation is socially rented (820 out of a total of 5274 households in the 2011 Census) (Nomis 2013). This is lower than Wickham Market, and by way of comparison much lower than Ipswich (20,802 out of 62,041 households = 33.5%) (ibid). Perhaps the outside view of Woodbridge is partially fed by media, such as a local newspaper report in the East Anglian Daily Times (Hirst, 2017) which drew attention to a travel website guide proclaiming Woodbridge to be the seventh best destination in the UK for a 'mindful getaway' (i.e. a holiday away from stressful living). A quote from the mayor of Woodbridge, Claire Perkins, sums up the conservative, those-were-the-days image which the town seeks to present to tourists: "Woodbridge is free from the hustle and bustle of the 21st century. It's a little bit of England that has retained its charm" (ibid).

On the subject of housing, another East Anglian Daily Times article (Townsend, 2017) reports that Woodbridge was ranked fourth in a list of the top ten

‘property hotspots’ in the UK in 2017, compiled by a well-known property website. This list claims to rank places by the rise in house prices over the previous year, which suggests that Woodbridge is a desirable place to live. The article gives an estimate of the average house price in Woodbridge to be £385,585. Anecdotally, it is well known locally that house prices in Woodbridge are relatively high – many of the researcher’s friends from school have moved out of the area, and this is at least partly due to not being able to afford to buy a house. This may also explain the average age pattern given in Table 1 – Woodbridge is a good five years older than Ipswich on average, and this may be partly because the cost of buying a house is prohibitive to younger people (i.e. first-time buyers). Another stereotype of Woodbridge (even from some groups inside the community, e.g. younger people) is that it is full of older, retired people, and is thus not an exciting place for young adults to live and socialise.

As noted in section 3.2.2, some of Kokeritz’s participants in his investigation of Suffolk phonology were from Woodbridge and the immediate area. Otherwise there has been no (socio)linguistic investigation of the town as far as this researcher knows, until the current project (and its pilot – Potter, 2014). Woodbridge is included as the intermediate area in this study. This means that it lies somewhere in-between Ipswich and Wickham on the urban-rural continuum. As stated in chapter 2 and reinforced in section 3.3.2, the definitions of rural and urban are not clear cut and there is no real consensus on what constitutes an example of each. Taking the government’s definition of a population of less than 10,000 people, Woodbridge doesn’t quite classify as rural, but anecdotally it doesn’t feel urban. Hence the intermediate classification, and so it sits somewhere between Ipswich and Wickham in this regard – it is less urban than Ipswich but less rural than Wickham, although it resides slightly closer to the Wickham end of the continuum, rather than exactly in the middle of the two other communities.

Having given a historical overview of East Anglia, the linguistics of the region and the locations under investigation, chapter 4 will outline and justify the methodology to be utilised in this project.

Chapter 4 Methodology

This chapter will present the methodology used in conducting the current study into Suffolk English. It will begin by discussing the data collection methods to be utilised (section 4.1), before briefly introducing the linguistic variables under investigation in section 4.2. This section will also include a discussion of the differences between morphosyntactic and phonological variables, and the way they have been treated in sociolinguistic studies. Section 4.2.3 will then recap the independent variables discussed in chapter 2, before outlining the sampling method (section 4.4) and other considerations during data collection, namely ethical considerations (section 4.5), recording techniques (section 4.6) and data coding and analysis (section 4.7).

4.1 Data collection methods

4.1.1 Pilot studies

Pilot studies can be an important first step in sociolinguistic investigations. They are often smaller and more focused in scope than 'full' studies, but present an opportunity for researchers to plan and refine their methodology in an environment where results are not always the most important outcome, and to deal with any unforeseen problems which may occur (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 141, Youngman, 1978: 23). Johnstone (2000: 114) adds that pilot testing the sociolinguistic interview technique can allow a researcher to self-analyse their approach, and "helps you see what kind of an interviewer you are" – whether on one hand you are happy to let the participant lead the topic shifts and consequently run the risk of the interview becoming unstructured and going on for longer than planned, or at the other extreme whether you naturally tend to stick so closely to pre-planned topics that the interview becomes stilted and the data collected is not as representative of everyday casual speech as hoped. As will be discussed in section 4.1.2, a delicate balance must be struck between conducting a semi-structured interview which allows for comparable data to be collected, and allowing the participant to feel relaxed enough to produce speech which is representative of their everyday language. From personal experience, the more experience a researcher has of carrying out the interviews, the easier it becomes to find and consistently maintain this balance in all interviews.

Quite possibly the two most famous and important examples of pilot studies in sociolinguistics were carried out by Labov (1963, 1966b/2006) on the island of Martha's Vineyard and in New York City department stores respectively. As a disclaimer, this discussion here is not intended as a full-ranging analysis of these two classic studies, merely to highlight aspects of the studies which show the importance of piloting techniques before using them – a more theoretically-oriented discussion of both was given in chapter 2. Both studies stand alone in their own right, with well-structured and useful results; however both also functioned as pilots for Labov's larger study of the Lower East Side in New York. As discussed in chapter 2, Labov's (1963) study of Martha's Vineyard has been credited as the paper which spawned variationist sociolinguistics as a systematic field of interest and investigation. As such, although a stand-alone study in its own right, the Martha's Vineyard study can also be thought of as a pilot of what is now recognised as the Labovian sociolinguistic method, in which Labov tested his methods of selecting and analysing linguistic variables, selecting and stratifying samples of speakers, and collecting data through sociolinguistic interviews. The department store study (Labov, 1966b) is an interesting example of a pilot in that it did not aim to further test the methodology to be utilised in the Lower East Side survey – this was done through 70 individual interviews with New York speakers (Labov, 1972: 44) – but rather to a) test the Rapid and Anonymous Survey method, and b) to test the correlation between the social stratification of speakers in New York, and the stratification of one of the linguistic variables which was identified through the initial interviews – non-prevocalic /r/. To recap briefly, in order to test the correlation between use of his variable (r) (i.e. rhoticity) and social class, Labov approached employees at three department stores (which stood as proxies for three social class groups) and asked for directions to an item that was located on the fourth floor, then asked them to repeat their answer as if he had not heard properly. This gave Labov a total of four tokens from each speaker – two in assumed 'casual' speech and two in speech which was assumed to be more careful. As discussed in chapter 2 previously the results did indeed prove Labov's hypothesis that the use of (r) appeared to be stratified according to social class, thus confirming that investigation of the social stratification of linguistic variables in New York would be a worthwhile enterprise (bearing in mind that at the time no such sociolinguistic study had taken place on such a large scale in an urban area).

A further example of the merits of piloting comes from Milroy and Gordon (2003: 141-143), who report on the impact of piloting of the Milroys' Belfast study on the design of the main study, in particular to the classification of the variable (a). Initially they had observed separate processes of backing and raising of the vowel, and assumed that the innovative form which would be most prevalent among younger speakers was raising, as was the case in New York City. However, in the course of conducting and analysing 20 interviews with participants across different age groups, it became clear that the stereotypical raising of (a) was recessive and confined only to tokens followed by a velar consonant, such as *bag* and *back*, and that backing was indeed the innovative process in the community, and was spreading to replace once fronted variants in all environments except before a velar consonant. As a result it was decided that all tokens with a following velar should not be counted in the analysis in the main study, as the backed variant could not occur in that environment (i.e. the environment of following velar consonants was not involved in the variation for this variable). Without this knowledge, the results from the main study would have been skewed towards increased usage of the raised variant due to its prevalence in an environment in which variation does not take place.

Having discussed and seen some examples of the benefits of pilot studies, it is appropriate to report the piloting process for this project. An initial investigation was carried out as a final year undergraduate project at the University of Essex, which investigated the use of both of the variables under investigation in the current study in the speech of eight participants in Woodbridge. The second pilot formed the dissertation element of a master's degree at the University of Essex (Potter, 2014). This study presented a quantitative analysis of the 'David' variable (along with L-vocalisation) for 16 working class speakers in Woodbridge, and the findings are discussed in chapter 6. A final pilot examined qualitatively both the verbal -s and 'David' variables in four speakers (two each from Ipswich and Wickham) in order to ensure that the selected linguistic features showed signs of systematic variation in these locations. These three studies were excellent opportunities for the researcher to familiarise himself with the Labovian variationist methodology employed in this project, and also with the two variables under investigation. Many valuable lessons were learnt about the use of the recording device – including to make sure that it did not run out of battery during an interview – the interviews themselves and how to

conduct a semi-structured interview which feels as far as possible like a spontaneous conversation to the interviewee, and other methodological considerations such as the ethical approval process, sampling and approaching participants (all of which will be discussed in more detail in the remainder of this chapter).

Aside from early teething issues with the recording device, there were no significant problems which had to be circumvented during the piloting process – it really acted more as a chance to polish and hone the skills required for the larger project. It was initially intended to investigate yod-dropping alongside the 'David' variable in the Woodbridge pilot; however during the first few interviews it became clear that the environment in which this variable could occur (e.g. in words like *tune* and *news*) had not come up frequently enough to provide a satisfactory amount of tokens to run inferential statistics (considering the relatively small sample size) – and this was also a key area in which the researcher was aiming to gain experience. As a result, yod-dropping was replaced by L-vocalisation, which provided interesting findings as the Woodbridge speakers appeared to be conservative in maintaining the traditional, local [ə] variant of the 'David' variable, while simultaneously introducing innovative, supralocal vocalisation of /l/ into the dialect (Potter, 2014). The other major point to take away from this pilot was in the choice of inferential statistics software for the larger project. The pilot utilised Goldvarb for this purpose; however it was found to be less user friendly than Rbrul – the main reason being that factors are restricted to just one character which made both coding and understanding of the results trickier, and also the ease with which Excel spreadsheets can be imported into Rbrul without first being reformatted using a complicated formula, as was the case with Goldvarb. It should be stressed that this is just the personal preference of the researcher in this case.

4.1.2 Sociolinguistic interviews

Meyerhoff (2016: 432) explains how Labov pioneered the sociolinguistic interview as a method for collecting data that was as close to everyday, casual speech as possible. Previously, linguistic data for analysis was largely introspective – either linguists reporting how they thought they would say something, or participants in dialectological surveys self-reporting their speech patterns – but, as noted by Meyerhoff, Labov realised that this data was not representative of "how people talk when they hang up the phone of the telemarketer, shut the door on the university

researcher or go home and tell their family how things went at the department of social welfare office today" (ibid: 432). As such, Labov developed and refined the sociolinguistic interview technique in his Martha's Vineyard and New York City studies (as discussed in section 4.1.1) in order to access the vernacular – the everyday, unmonitored speech of the person-in-the-street (Tagliamonte, 2006: 8). This section will describe the sociolinguistic interview technique, before detailing its application as the primary data collection method in this project.

It is important to note early on in this section that both Meyerhoff (2016: 433-434) and Becker (2013: 91) draw a distinction between the Labovian sociolinguistic interview technique, which has a very specific set method as laid out in Labov (1984), and the use of the term to mean "one-on-one recordings of variable lengths involving a trained interviewer and local members of the speech community [under investigation]" (Meyerhoff, 2016: 434). Becker asserts that this second definition is the more common usage in present day sociolinguistic studies – in essence, the sociolinguistic interview has generally (but not always) become a semi-structured conversation (as described, for example, by Schilling, 2013: 93), informed and inspired by, but not equal to, the more strictly defined set of techniques championed by Labov.

Having made this important distinction, it would be useful to outline what exactly is meant by the Labovian sociolinguistic interview technique, as detailed in Labov (1984). In doing so, it will be necessary to identify and explain several assumptions and principles which underpin the method. The first of these is the vernacular, which Labov (ibid: 29) defines as the form of language which is acquired "in pre-adolescent years", which is used in informal, everyday situations, contains the most regular and systematic examples of linguistic variation, and is the form of speech against which other more formal styles are to be compared. As Tagliamonte (2006: 8) points out (and as alluded to earlier in this section) the vernacular is the form of speech which the sociolinguistic interview is most concerned with gaining access to – and as a result the methods involved are designed around this aim. Unfortunately, accessing the vernacular is not a straightforward case of just recording a participant's speech – because of the other Labovian principles which have been empirically observed, namely that speakers shift their speech along a continuum depending on the formality of the context in which interaction takes place, and the resulting amount of attention which they pay to their speech (Labov, 1984: 29). This was covered in much greater

detail in chapter 2, but for the purposes of recapping here, suffice to say that many sociolinguistic studies (including Labov, 1966b in New York and Trudgill, 1974 in Norwich) have shown that irrespective of independent variables such as age, gender and social class, speakers generally produce variants closer to the regional standard when paying more attention to their speech in more formal styles. As also discussed in that chapter, this is not the only method by which style can be measured in sociolinguistics; however it is the most applicable to a discussion of the Labovian sociolinguistic interview as it was a key principle in the original formulation of the method.

The main conflict between the aim of accessing the vernacular in sociolinguistic interviews and the principle of style-shifting comes in the form of the observer's paradox. As Labov (1984: 29) points out, the sociolinguistic interview is not an ordinary, everyday interaction due to the presence of a recording device – in other words because the participants know they are taking part in systematic observation of their speech, and are more likely to attempt to utilise the social capital of their regional standard/prestige variety (e.g. RP in British English) by producing more formal variants, access to the vernacular is blocked. The observer's paradox can thus be formulated as the idea that "the aim of [socio]linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation" (Labov, 1972: 209). Much attention has been paid in variationist research as to how to circumvent the problems caused by the observer's paradox. This idea will be revisited several times in the remainder of this chapter, but will begin by focusing on just one method – the use of Labov's (1984: 33-39) interview modules.

In approaching this methodological quandary, Labov (ibid: 23-33) decided that a key solution would be to attempt to shift a participant's attention towards what they were saying, rather than how they were saying it. He postulated that eliciting long stretches of speech in the form of personal narratives and experiences of the participant would achieve this aim – and so the modules were born as a method of doing so, while still providing data which would be comparable across all participants interviewed in a community. Labov explains that modules are sets of questions on different topics, which have been carefully formulated, tested and refined in sociolinguistic interviews, in order to provide opportunities for participants to produce long stretches of speech.

Each module is organised so that it begins with more general questions such as 'Did you go to one of the schools in the neighbourhood?' (Tagliamonte, 2006: 38), which are used to gauge a participant's level of engagement with that topic. If the participant appears to show a level of interest in the topic the researcher continues down the memorised list of questions for that module, towards more personal experience-based questions which would hopefully produce narratives in response, for example 'Did you have any teachers that were unfair/that you liked?' (ibid). If the participant does not show obvious interest in a module the researcher can move on to another topic and repeat the process. Although the modules are internally hierarchical, through the process of refinement over a number of interviews, there is no set order in which modules must occur – instead, they are organised (in the researcher's mind) into networks, with connections drawn between similar topics which can be used as a continuation of a previous successful module, or can replace modules which do not engage the participant (Labov, 1984: 33-34).

Besides producing recollections of events in everyday casual speech, one of the other key advantages of the use of modules is that the interviews are systematically structured, even if that structure is not set in stone. Macaulay (2009: 31) points out the importance of acquiring data from all speakers (across different social categories) which is "sufficiently similar to allow for meaningful comparison", while Johnstone (2000: 114-115) adds that it is possible to collect comparable data from all participants "without having exactly the same conversation with each one". This highlights the semi-structured nature of the sociolinguistic interview – indeed Tagliamonte (2006: 37) calls the use of the term 'interview' a "misnomer", a point which Labov (1984) picks up in greater detail:

> [The modules are] a guide for the interviewer as he or she constructs a simulated conversation which follows principles quite similar to unfocused conversations of everyday life. The interviewer does initiate topics, often with questions; this is an expected role. But there is no rigid insistence upon a pre-set order of topics, and ideally the interviewer plays a part in the conversation which approaches that of any other participant; volunteering experience, responding to new issues, and following the subject's main interests and ideas wherever they go. Interviewers vary in the degree to which they utilize the structure of the network, but the most successful

> interviews follow a path which is both natural to the speaker and comparable to other paths.
>
> (Labov, 1984: 36-37)

We can see that Labov recommends the modules be applied in a systematic manner, not rigidly so as to stifle the flow of conversation, but flexibly enough to allow the participant to indicate which topics are of most interest to them, and therefore are most likely to produce long stretches of speech as close to the vernacular as possible.

So far we have described the process of collecting causal speech data from participants. But this is only part of the Labovian definition of the sociolinguistic interview – returning to the arguments of Becker (2013) and Meyerhoff (2016) at the beginning of this section, this is the part that is most often informally applied in sociolinguistic studies in the present day. However, Labov (1984: 42-45) also promotes the use of several techniques alongside the interview, which he refers to as "field experiments". These take advantage of the fact that speakers are prone to produce more formal speech when they are aware of how they are speaking, and aim to intentionally and incrementally raise the level of attention which participants pay to their speech. Labov (1972: 79ff.) describes the different levels of attention to speech utilised in the data collection from his New York study (from most to least formal) – minimal pairs, word lists, reading passage, more careful speech within the interview, and more casual speech during the interview (e.g. during the telling of narratives, or when a speaking to a third party other than the interviewer). Trudgill (1974) applied the Labovian method in the city of Norwich in East Anglia, studying the speech of participants across all five contextual styles. A fuller discussion of the treatment of style in sociolinguistic studies (including the work of Labov and Trudgill) was presented in chapter 2.

The ultimate aim of a sociolinguistic interview is to produce as much speech data as possible across different contextual styles, embedded in which will be systematically constrained occurrences of various quantifiable linguistic variables. This key term was defined in detail in chapter 2, and will be returned to in section 4.2. The remainder of this section on sociolinguistic interviews will be dedicated to outlining how the methodology discussed above was put into practice in this project.

In terms of Meyerhoff's and Becker's distinction of the 'strict' Labovian interview, the technique used in this project was closer to what could be termed the 'soft implementation' definition given by Meyerhoff at the beginning of this section. In general Labov's methodology for the interview section was applied in a slightly more informal way – i.e. modules were prepared in advance representing possible conversation topics, and began with more general questions before moving onto personal experiences, but were not applied as strictly as Labov recommends in terms of memorising the exact 'optimal' wording of questions.

In terms of the interview modules, the most successful topics were generally those about previous life experiences – especially childhood/growing up, school, and how the local town/village had changed. This presented one slight problem, in that the speech produced was mostly in the first person and past tense, while one of the variables (verbal -s) relates specifically to third person singular subjects in the present tense in East Anglia (see chapter 5). This was anticipated, as verbal -s had been investigated in a preliminary pilot study (as mentioned in section 4.1.1) and so modules were designed which would hopefully produce present tense speech about a third party. The most successful topics here were on current pets and children, although some discussion on current affairs (especially in sport – ruminations on Jose Mourinho's future as Chelsea FC manager were fertile ground with some participants), along with occasional general proclamations about 'the state of things' (e.g. when discussing the lack of second language learning in Britain one participant – a teacher – stated 'we are so bad, I think *it needs* to start early in primary schools because that's when children have got the ear for picking things up'). For the most part, the speakers who agreed to take part were happy to talk without needing a whole lot of prompting. Some began the interview in a stilted fashion due to the presence of the recording device but soon relaxed, while others appeared not to be bothered by its presence at all, and produced casual style speech throughout the entire interview process (including before and after recording was completed) which appeared not to alter once the recording device was turned on, even though they were clearly told before this happened. The only really difficult interview occurred with one speaker who appeared to have forgotten about the arranged meeting time when the researcher turned up. The researcher offered to return at a later date, but the participant decided to go through with the interview there and then. This provided something of a spike in attention to

speech at the beginning of the interview, and the usually popular modules resulted in mostly short answers at first. However, the participant did relax after a few minutes, and the interview was largely successful despite this false start.

4.2 The linguistic variables (introduction to)

Sections 4.4, 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 will discuss the key ideas of sampling, research ethics, audio recording of the interviews, and data coding and analysis, respectively. But firstly, there follows a short introduction to the linguistic variables under investigation in this study which will be discussed in much greater detail (variants, examples, historical development, previous sociolinguistic studies of the variables) in chapters 5 and 6.

As was mentioned in section 4.1.2 the aim of a sociolinguistic interview is to elicit, among other styles, vernacular speech in which units of language known as 'linguistic variables' show the most regular and systematic variation. Meyerhoff (2016: 433) explains that the notion of linguistic variables was an innovation of Labov's, in order to allow linguists to quantify the process of linguistic variation and change. Labov (1963: 279), in attempting to identify a suitable candidate among Martha's Vineyard speech, initially described the ideal linguistic variable as a feature which is common enough in everyday speech to occur frequently in different linguistic environments in interview situations, should exist in a recognisable structural system which linguists can identify, should be stratified within a community by age or other independent variables, and although salience can be a positive element, not be so salient (i.e. a stereotype) as to result in "conscious distortion" of the natural variation by participants in interviews. Tagliamonte (2006: 9, 70) states that although this can be considered to be an overly complicated definition, it boils down to, simply, a linguistic variable being more than one way of saying the same thing, with the same referential meaning. Having defined the linguistic variable, sections 4.2.1 and 4.2.2 will present a brief introduction to the two features under investigation in this project. Sections 4.2.3 and 4.2.4 will conclude with a discussion of the theoretical and methodological differences between morphosyntactic and phonological variables.

4.2.1 Verbal -s

The first linguistic variable under investigation is morphosyntactic, the presence/absence of third person singular present tense -s marking (this is part of a larger linguistic variable also known as subject-verb concord, or simply verbal -s). The (Standard) English present tense verb paradigm is relatively straightforward, with only one inflectional ending for third person singular subjects, as shown for the verb 'to run' in Table 5.

'to run'	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st person	I run	we run
2nd person	you run	you run
3rd person	he/she/it runs	they run

Table 5 Present tense paradigm for the verb 'to run'

Verbal -s was one of Trudgill's (1974) variables in the Norwich study. East Anglian dialects are unique in Britain in that they don't traditionally have -s marking on any person, so that speakers produce forms such as *he go* and *that say/it say* as well as *I go* and *you say* (Trudgill, 2004b: 142). Other dialects of English, both in Britain and outside, have -s marking for third person singular subjects, or even on persons other than third singular – this will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5.

Trudgill (2001b) posits a language contact theory for the development of third person singular zero marking in East Anglia, which again will be discussed in more detail in chapter 5. A brief summary is that the zero form was brought into Norwich by non-native English speakers who had fled as refugees from what is now Belgium and the Netherlands due to persecution of Catholics by the Spanish King Philip in the 16th century. At the time there was already variability in British dialects between the 'northern' -s ending, and the 'southern' -th, and Trudgill theorises that as a result of the presence of three competing forms, the simplest won out and then spread throughout East Anglia – and that is the reason East Anglian dialects traditionally have zero marking of verbal -s for third person singular subjects.

As stated above, no other British English dialects show verbal -s variation in exactly the form found in traditional East Anglian speech (i.e. where no subjects are

inflected at all). Outside of Britain, however, it may be found in speakers of African American Vernacular English (AAVE), as noted by Labov (1998: 116) and Fasold (1972, cited in Rickford 1999: 7). In discussing the development of zero marking in East Anglia Trudgill draws parallels with AAVE, which he believes also acquired zero marking as a result of simplification following the language contact situation caused by the displacement of slaves to the US from Africa, in much the same way as East Anglian dialects acquired zero. The competing theory, which Trudgill rejects, was that zero marking was brought to the US by East Anglian speakers through emigration, and survived in the African American dialects but not in white speakers. As Britain (2014: 258-259) points out, it is wrong to assume that if the same linguistic feature is variable in more than one dialect, they must share the same source – it is just as likely that they were separate developments. Here Trudgill argues convincingly that the presence of zero marking in both East Anglian English and AAVE is the result of similar but separate processes.

Trudgill (2001b) also adds that it is likely that East Anglian dialects never had a stage where -s was the norm, which would make any movement towards Standard English -s marking of third singular subjects an innovation in this dialect. This makes it a good variable to investigate in order to ascertain whether the traditional zero marking is being replaced over time by Standard English-like -s marking. To summarise, the verbal -s variable has two variants in East Anglia – traditional zero and innovative/standard -s. As mentioned in section 4.1.2, some of the interview modules were designed in order to elicit present tense speech about a third party, which would show the presence or absence of verbal -s marking. All tokens of third person present tense singular verbs were coded for in each of the interviews, except for forms of the verb 'to be', following for example Bailey et al. (1989: 288) who explain that "this verb paradigm has suppletive forms rather than inflections". In other words, the paradigm for 'to be' does not follow regular English present tense verb inflection (**I be, *you be, *he/she/it bes*) but can be considered irregular as the 1st, 2nd and 3rd person forms of the verb are different lexical items (*am, are* and *is* respectively). As a result there is no variation between zero and -s to investigate for this verb. Additionally, following for example Cheshire (1982) forms of 'to have' and 'to do' were included in the overall Rbrul runs, but were marked out separately as they can function as both full verbs and auxiliaries, while other verbs (such as 'to run', 'to go' and 'to say') function

only as full verbs. This will be discussed in greater detail in chapter 5. In total, 1748 tokens were coded for this variable – between 20 and 30 tokens for most participants, with a small number falling just below this (also discussed in section 4.7).

4.2.2 The 'David' variable

The second variable is phonological, the reduction of the short high front vowel /ɪ/ to schwa in unstressed syllables. This is not a particularly widely studied variable, and as such there is a relative paucity of information available in the literature. However, what has been proposed is that traditionally, a phonotactic constraint existed in East Anglian English which restricted (and may continue to do so) the occurrence of vowels in unstressed syllables to schwa only (Trudgill, 1986: 53). Trudgill adds that this may be undergoing change, so that other vowels (i.e. [ɪ]) may occur in such contexts, but that the strength of the constraint may well slow any change which occurs. He (2004a: 165) also states that (at the time of writing) the realisation of schwa in unstressed syllables is still the norm for East Anglian speakers.

Kokeritz (1932: 79-80) gives examples in which unstressed short /ɪ/ may be "pronounced differently from what is considered the correct [Standard English, meaning RP] usage" (i.e. is variable with [ə]), including in the first syllable of *enough*, *deceit*, and *reproach*, and the final syllable of *crooked*, *thicket* and *sharpest*. Trudgill (2001a: 8) gives further examples in which [ə] may be preferred to [ɪ] in East Anglian speech, including *wanted*, *horses* and *David*. Claxton's (1968) folk guide to the Suffolk dialect in the 20th century makes no explicit reference to the pronunciation of unstressed short /ɪ/, but does give an example of the words *something* and *nothing* being "pronounced in a careless and slovenly way" as "suffin" and "nawthen" (ibid: 5). It's likely that the main object of his ire was the realisation of the suffix (ing) as the alveolar nasal [n] in place of the prescribed and 'prestigious' velar [ŋ], but the difference in the representation of the vowels preceding the nasal shows at least an unconscious awareness of the presence of variability between [ɪ] and schwa (i.e. the 'David' variable). Indeed, Trudgill (1974: 84) also noted the presence of variability in the vowel preceding the alveolar variant [n] of (ing), with variants [ɪ] and [ə], but did not focus on this as his interest was in the consonantal variable in this case. On the basis of these examples we can conclude that the 'David' variable has two variants – the traditional East Anglian [ə], and the RP-like 'standard' form [ɪ]. Trudgill's original definition of the variable seems to imply that it can only occur in unstressed, closed

syllables (see section 6.2.1). However, as will be explored in chapter 6, variation between [ɪ] and [ə] in Suffolk can also occur in unstressed open syllables where the consonant following the vowel is realised in the onset of the following syllable (for example in the first syllable of a word such as *remember*). As a result, any tokens containing unstressed short [ɪ] or [ə] in these two environments (as per the examples above) were coded. Sections 6.2.1 and 6.3 will explain this decision in greater detail. Furthermore, this variation may occur in the suffix -ing, but is only variable before an alveolar nasal – as schwa cannot occur before a velar nasal (Kingston, 2000: 59). Therefore, tokens with a following velar nasal were not coded, as this particular environment is not variable. In addition, tokens of proper nouns were not coded, and a maximum of three tokens of each individual lexical item was allowed, so as to avoid bias from lexically-specific realisations. In total, around 30 tokens were coded from each speaker (see section 4.7 data coding and analysis for more information about token numbers).

As outlined in chapter 1, this project is interested in establishing the degree to which traditional dialect features may be being lost from the Suffolk (East Anglian) dialect, and as such this variable would be a great candidate for investigation – after all, if a variable with such a (proposed) strong linguistic constraint favouring the traditional form is undergoing change, then in theory all traditional Suffolk features may be in danger. This was the conclusion which Kingston (2000) drew, although the data from the Woodbridge pilot study (Potter, 2014) did not concur, showing overall use of traditional [ə] among Woodbridge working class speakers to be relatively high, at around 70%. It is possible that the results for this project may differ with the inclusion of two added locations and another (middle) class group.

4.2.3 Morphosyntactic variables

It would be useful to end this section by briefly discussing the study of morphosyntactic and phonological variables in sociolinguistic investigations. Hudson (1996: 170-173) identifies the different kinds of linguistic variables, including phonological/phonetic, lexical, morphological, and syntactic variables. He classifies verbal -s marking, such as that found in East Anglian dialects, as a morphological variable (separately from syntactic variables); however elsewhere (e.g. Rickford and Price, 2013) it is classified as morphosyntactic, conveying that -s marking carries both morphological and syntactical meaning. In addition, Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams

(2005: 135, 150) define a morphosyntactic variable as one in which "syntax has morphological effects" and which more specifically "involve[s] the morphological expression of a syntactic or semantic relation such as negation, agreement, or tense". They give verbal -s marking as one example of this type of variable – it fits their criteria as it involves the morphological expression of subject-verb agreement. Hudson (1996: 173) makes the point that syntactic (and by extension morphosyntactic) features do not tend to occur as frequently in speech as phonological features. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 63) echo this statement. In anticipation of this, and as explained in section 4.1.2, the researcher in this project designed and asked interview questions which were aimed at eliciting responses in the present tense, about third person singular subjects (e.g. 'what does your wife/husband/partner do for work?' eliciting a response along the lines of 'she/he works/drives/repairs things etc. for X company', or some variant thereof). A fertile topic for accomplishing this was (current, i.e. present tense) pets and their habits and quirks, as well as questions about the lives of children or grandchildren of the participants, and mutual acquaintances of the researcher and participants, where relevant.

Buchstaller (2014: 252-256) explains that there is as yet no general consensus in the sociolinguistic literature as to whether morphosyntactic variables are salient to speakers. She states that one factor which has been used to suggest that this type of variable is not especially salient to speakers is its lack of frequency in speech – however, Buchstaller does point out that some morphosyntactic variables behave differently to others in this regard. In particular, she argues that verbal -s marking (i.e. marking of third person singular verb forms in the present tense) does occur relatively frequently in everyday speech. This point is backed up by the data collected for the present study – despite the fears of low token numbers for this variable, with the measures taken to ensure its occurrence as outlined above, a total of 1748 tokens were coded from the 72 interviews. Buchstaller also argues that an impression of low social salience for morphosyntactic variables may be caused by the general assumption that they are constrained more strongly by internal (i.e. linguistic) factors than by external (i.e. social) ones. However, she asserts that this assumption is not necessarily correct, and seems to have been borne out of the fact that many studies of morphosyntactic variables have focused on internal constraints more than external ones – not necessarily because they explain the variation to a greater degree, but because such

studies just happen to have been more interested in internal constraints than the social conditioning of the variables investigated. Rickford and Price (2013: 173) argue that morphosyntactic variables are often more salient to speakers than phonological variables, evidenced by their increased participation in stylistic variation (i.e. as a result their use is often more greatly affected by the amount of attention paid to speech by participants, particularly in interview settings). This could be explained with reference to the added grammatical (morphological or syntactical) meaning which is present in the variants of morphosyntactic variables, and is not present in the variants of phonological variables - it would therefore not be unexpected that the presence of this grammatical meaning makes speakers more aware of morphosyntactic variables, a point which Buchstaller (2014: 253) raises. Some possible evidence for this comes from Labov's (2006: 324) report of attitudes to the New York dialect in his study of the Lower East-Side – he reflects that when speakers were asked to name features of the dialect which they did not like, they mostly selected stigmatised morphological or morphosyntactic features, such as the use of non-standard negative past tense *ain't* in place of standard *isn't*, and few participants named phonological features.

4.2.4 Phonological variables

It is a sociolinguistic fact that different linguistic variables can be observed to behave differently to each other, even within a single community of speakers (Al-Wer, 1999: 38) – in other words, just because one variable appears to be undergoing change does not mean that all linguistic variables within a community will follow suit. It would not be unexpected if the results presented for the 'David' variable showed a different pattern to that highlighted in chapter 5 for verbal -s. This flags up the question, could any differences observed (assuming any are) be attributed to the fact that verbal -s is a morphosyntactic variable, while the 'David' variable is phonological? This subsection will attempt to address this question.

Firstly, it would be useful to define a phonological linguistic variable. Hudson (1996: 170) draws a distinction between the two types of variable which chiefly involve variation at the level of sound: phonetic variables are those in which "the same phonological pattern has different phonetic realisations", the example given being variation in the pronunciation of the phoneme /t/ which may be realised as [t], [ʔ], and other variants such as flaps and taps in English. Phonological variables, meanwhile, are to Hudson those in which "the same lexical item has alternative phonological

structures", the example given being the variable deletion of /h/ in the lexical items *house* and *happy*. The difference between these two types of variables is relatively subtle, and for the most part the term 'phonological variable' has come to encompass both of Hudson's definitions of phonetic and phonological variables, as an umbrella term (e.g. Foulkes, 2006: 626, Hebda, 2012: 237). The latter term will be (and indeed has been) employed in this investigation. Foulkes (2006) explains that phonological variation may be subject to different conditioning factors, ranging from physical/biological (i.e. the shape and development of a speaker's vocal tract) which is often not an area of inquiry for sociolinguistic studies, to those which are of interest such as the surrounding phonological environment (and other linguistic constraints), the underlying rules of a speaker's dialect (i.e. governing which phonemes can occur and in which environments in a specific dialect), to geographical and social factors such as the age and location of a speaker. These will be investigated for the phonological variable presented in chapter 6, just as they will be for the morphosyntactic variable in chapter 5.

This brings the discussion back to the question posed earlier – is it reasonable to expect the phonological variable to behave differently to the morphosyntactic variable with respect to these factors? There are methodological differences to take into account when handling phonological variables, as discussed in section 4.7 – not least that phonological variables are generally more likely to occur regularly and spontaneously in sociolinguistic interview data than morphosyntactic variables (Hudson, 1996: 173, Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 63) – although Buchstaller (2014) argued that there were exceptions to this, such as verbal -s which occurs less infrequently than other (morpho-)syntactic variables in everyday speech. The main problem with eliciting tokens of verbal -s, as noted throughout this chapter, has been that variation only occurs in a very specific context – with third person singular present tense subjects only in Suffolk English – and spontaneously occurring opportunities for participants to talk about a third party in the present tense during the sociolinguistic interview were relatively rare. Utterances in the past tense naturally occurred much more frequently. However, as discussed in this chapter and chapter 5, this was not an insurmountable problem and could be addressed at the data collection stage through careful design of interview modules which specifically presented opportunities for participants to talk about a third party in the present tense at every available

opportunity (both through the use of purpose-built modules, as well as through requests for (present tense) elaboration whenever the topic of a third party was brought up – be it for example children, grandchildren, pets or celebrities).

It was stated in the discussion of morphosyntactic variables in section 4.2.3 that they are often thought to be more salient to speakers than phonological variables (e.g. Rickford and Price, 2013). However, that is not to say there are no cases of phonological variables which are salient to speakers, and in fact quite the opposite is true. As outlined in chapter 2, through their discussion of the links between Labov's types of linguistic variable (indicator, marker, stereotype) and Silverstein's orders of indexicality, Johnstone et al. (2006) used evidence from a phonological variable – the diphthong /aw/ in Pittsburgh English – which they showed to be simultaneously non-salient to some speakers within the community (who had little contact with speakers of anything other than the local monophthongal variant and so assumed it was the norm), and yet stereotypical of 'Pittsburghese' to others, largely outside of the community. So while morphosyntactic variables are generally considered to be more salient, this may not necessarily always be the case. The same discussion above also highlighted the idea that 'higher level' variables, such as morphosyntactic ones, have been thought to vary in different ways to phonological variables. Buchstaller (2014) presented a rebuttal of the theory that (morpho)syntactic variables are generally more highly constrained by internal factors than external ones, arguing that this is likely to be a misconception caused by the fact that many studies of morphosyntactic variables have either been more interested in linguistic constraints on variation and thus either ignored or not reported findings for social constraints, or have simply assumed that the social constraints are not important as they have not been discussed in great detail in previous literature. The findings for verbal -s in this project (see chapter 5) support Buchstaller's argument, as external constraints are found to be just as important as internal ones (and perhaps even more so) in explaining the variation observed. Additionally, Cheshire et al. (2005: 135, 165-167) conclude that we simply do not know enough about the differences (or lack thereof) between different types of linguistic variables to reliably draw such conclusions, and their comparison of different types of variables in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull found little to suggest an inherent difference between the sociolinguistic variation of phonological, (morpho)syntactic and discourse variables. In many cases (such as the examples of

phonological t-glottalling, th-fronting and h-dropping versus morphosyntactic multiple negation, non-standard *were* and third person singular negative *don't*) similar patterns of either convergence between the three locations, or the divergence of Hull from the two southern towns were observed, with differences only in the social distribution of variants within age, gender and social class groups – as would not be unexpected between, say, two phonological variables in different communities. As such, it seems that there is little reason to expect the phonological variable in this study to behave inherently differently from the morphosyntactic one – the differences observed (if any) cannot be attributed solely to the different levels of language at which the two variables operate.

A final point to be made in this section is to acknowledge the existence of phonotactic constraints on the distribution of phonemes in a dialect. Wells (1982a: 71, 75-76) describes the phonotactic distribution of a phoneme as "the set of phonetic contexts in which it may occur". The example which Wells gives of such a constraint is operative in non-rhotic varieties of English, such as RP as well as many other accents of England and Wales. In rhotic accents, such as West Country varieties, /r/ may occur "in a wide variety of phonetic contexts" including before vowels, and before consonants as well as pauses (i.e. word/utterance finally). However, in non-rhotic dialects /r/ is not permitted to occur in these latter two environments and may only occur pre-vocalically – thus, a word such as *farm* would be pronounced something like [faɹm] in a rhotic dialect, but [faːm] in a non-rhotic one, while *far away* would be [faːɹəweɪ] in both types of dialect. The question which Wells notes is whether there is an underlying /r/ in non-rhotic dialects which is deleted in every possible occurrence except non-prevocalically, or whether its occurrence in non-prevocalic environments is a case of insertion (i.e. as a linking /r/) rather than restoration. He favours the latter argument, theorising that /r/ can only occur in non-rhotic dialects as a hiatus breaker. Trudgill (1986: 53) asserts that such constraints within a dialect can be subject to change over time; however the presence of the phonotactic constraint may be significant enough to slow or even halt the progress of changes. The existence of such phonotactic constraints will be an important consideration for the 'David' variable in this project, as will be seen in chapter 6.

4.3 Independent variables

Having introduced the linguistic variables under investigation in this study, it would be worth recapping the independent variables by which the sample will be stratified. These were discussed in much greater detail in chapter 2, and what follows in sections 4.3.1-4.3.3 is a brief explanation of how each independent variable was operationalised in the project, focusing on methodological concerns informed by the theoretical arguments in the literature review.

4.3.1 Age

Schilling (2013: 50) explains that the vast majority of variationist studies include age as a social variable in order to observe whether linguistic change is occurring in the selected dependent variables. The study will use an apparent-time methodology (as discussed in the literature review) to stratify speakers, which, as Sankoff (2004: 121) states, will mean that the possibility of age-grading will also need to be taken into account in the analysis of the data. The study will also make use of real-time data from past studies (such as the Survey of English dialects, and Kokeritz, 1932) in order to provide evidence of possible change over a greater period of time. The main methodological consideration was whether to stratify age etically or emically, in other words by chronological age or by cultural life stages. Eckert (1997) explains that cultures differ in the importance and definitions of chronological age and life stages. Therefore, any decisions about how to stratify age should be made on a community-specific basis. As a native of the wider community under investigation (east-Suffolk/British society) the researcher is well placed to make a judgement on the best way of stratifying the sample by age. The approach taken here should be considered to be etic, in that it groups speakers arbitrarily by chronological age – the younger group are aged between 18-35, the middle-aged group are between 36-65, and the older group are aged 66 and over. However, it also represents emic qualities, in that these categorisations are not random – age 18 is generally considered to be the beginning of adulthood in British society, and as such the younger group can be thought of as being in 'early adulthood', where they are perhaps finishing school and/or university and beginning in the job market. The middle-aged group ends at age 65, which is generally considered to be the age of retirement in Britain, so they can be thought of as being in 'working adulthood', while the older group were all either already retired, or due to retire in the very near future.

4.3.2 Gender

There was much discussion of the theoretical side of gender in chapter; however there is not as much to say about the operationalisation of it as a social factor in this study. The approach taken here will follow the classic variationist approach of grouping speakers by biological sex, unless they identified otherwise (which none of the participants did), for two reasons. The first is ease of comparability with previous studies which also treated gender in this way, and the second is simply because gender is being included in this project as a possible explanatory factor to help make sense of the results, and is not the main subject of enquiry. If it were, a much more nuanced approach based on the theories described in the literature review would be utilised.

4.3.3 Social class

There is as yet no consensus on a set scale for measuring socioeconomic class systematically in sociolinguistics (Ash, 2013, Macaulay, 2009). As described in the literature review, some of the most important variationist studies (e.g. Labov, 1966b, Trudgill, 1974) have attempted to quantify participants' socioeconomic class using different combinations of factors such as occupation, income, neighbourhood, education and housing type. In his Norwich study, Trudgill developed a five-point scale based on these factors, which through investigation of his verbal -s variable he showed to produce regularly stratified class groups for whom the use of standard and non-standard variants of this variable, and others, were correlated with socioeconomic class score. However, this method was later criticised for treating each of the factors as equally important, and not weighting the factors to acknowledge that some may play a greater role in determining a speaker's social class (Macaulay, 2009: 15). Although a valid point, this is somewhat harsh as at the time Trudgill was innovating in applying the Labovian technique outside of the USA for the first time, and as a result was attempting to adhere to Labov's methodology as closely as possible, while taking into account the differing characteristics of the community under investigation.

As Ash points out, it is problematic that sociolinguistic studies often employ different methods for calculating social class scores. The one factor which all of these studies have in common is occupation, and it appears as though if only one factor was to be included, it would have to be occupation. Indeed, Labov (2006: 41) asserts that a speaker's language use is more strongly linked to their occupation than any other factor, while some studies have relied on occupation as a sole determining factor of

socioeconomic class (e.g. Horvath, 1985, Baranowski, 2013, Horesh, 2014). Cedergren (1973, cited in Ash, 2002: 412) followed up a sociological study of Panama City in Panama which stratified speakers purely by occupation, using a more in depth method of stratification including multiple factors which were relevant in the community as well as occupation, which were education, average number of people per room in a household, and access to a private toilet and refrigerator. Ash reports that Cedergren's stratification of the sample was remarkably similar to that achieved by just occupation alone in the sociological study. This can be taken as evidence that occupation has a strong influence on a speaker's socioeconomic classification, and in the absence of a universally agreed upon scale, may even be enough in itself to accurately stratify speakers within a community.

Following this, the sample in this project will be stratified into two social class groups based on occupation – 'working class' speakers who hold (or held in the case of retirees) blue collar jobs, and 'middle class' speakers who hold white collar jobs. The reason for choosing a two-point stratification and not three as in Horesh (2014: 46) was simply to avoid over-stratification of the sample. This will be discussed further in section 4.4. It is acknowledged that this is perhaps not the ideal way to stratify a sample by socioeconomic class; however in the absence of an agreed upon set method, and taking into account that as with gender above social class is used in this project as a possible explanatory factor and is not the main avenue of investigation, it is felt that this application of this independent variable should suffice.

4.4 Sampling

Having dealt with the data collection method and the dependent and independent variables it is appropriate to discuss the sample of participants from which the data will be obtained. Firstly it is important to define the sampling universe (Milroy and Gordon, 2003: 26), either socially or geographically (Tagliamonte, 2006: 18). The project is a multilocality study, interested in investigating the use of the linguistic variables in three east Suffolk locations – one urban, one intermediate, and one rural. As a result, the towns of Ipswich and Woodbridge and the village of Wickham Market were chosen (respectively) as the geographical definitions of the sampling universe. The independent variables of age, gender and social class were chosen as secondary,

explanatory factors – and these will define the social scale of the sampling universes within each location.

Next is the question of sample size. Schilling (2013: 31) asserts that, as it would not be practical to collect data from every single member of each community, we must select a sample of the population that is rather smaller in nature but is as representative of the entire population as possible. There is no absolute guide to the overall size of a sample – Tagliamonte (2006: 33) states that it can be the case that a smaller but well-planned sample can be more effective in meeting the research goals of a project than a larger less organised one, and that it is important to think practically and balance the amount of data to be collected and analysed with the time available to do so. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 29) add that due to these practical (time) constraints, many sociolinguistic studies can end up with less than four speakers in each cell when fully stratified (an example of one such cell being 'younger working class females in Ipswich'). The overall sample in this project contains 72 speakers across all three locations. Given that the sample is stratified by location (3 groups), then by age (3 groups), gender (2 groups) and social class (2 groups), there are 12 cells within each location (and 36 cells in total across all three locations). This means that to achieve four speakers in each cell, the total sample size would need to be 144 participants, which is too large to be practical. Even with three speakers in each cell, the sample would number 108 participants in total. As a result, it has been necessary to collect data from just two speakers in each cell, giving a total of 24 speakers in each location, and 72 participants across all three locations. Table 6 shows a breakdown of the sample by the independent variables of age, gender and socioeconomic class within each location, while Table 7 gives the same breakdown of the sample across all three locations (i.e. all 72 participants combined).

Younger WC Males	Younger MC Males	Middle-aged WC Males	Middle-aged MC Males	Older WC Males	Older MC Males
2	2	2	2	2	2
Younger WC Females	Younger MC Females	Middle WC Females	Middle MC Females	Older WC Females	Older MC Females
2	2	2	2	2	2

Table 6 Representation of the sample within each location

Younger WC Males	Younger MC Males	Middle-aged WC Males	Middle-aged MC Males	Older WC Males	Older MC Males
6	6	6	6	6	6
Younger WC Females	Younger MC Females	Middle WC Females	Middle MC Females	Older WC Females	Older MC Females
6	6	6	6	6	6

Table 7 Representation of the sample for all locations

As can be seen, when the sample is investigated as a whole across all three locations there are six speakers in each cell, which is more than acceptable. Even within each location, the number of speakers in a cell only reaches as low as two when the sample is fully stratified (i.e. when discussing only one specific age, gender and class group, for example 'older middle class males in Ipswich', or 'younger working class females in Wickham'). Although this is not ideal, the multilocality nature of the project combined with the practicalities of completing, coding and analysing sociolinguistic interviews with all participants makes a sample larger than 72 impractical - but this situation will have to be held in mind when drawing conclusions from the results.

The final consideration for sampling is how to identify and approach potential participants. Schilling (2013: 31) states that the most representative sample can be drawn by the process of random sampling, as carried out, for example, by Trudgill (1974) in Norwich. This method selects speakers at random from publicly available lists of community members such as telephone directories and electoral registers, meaning that every speaker has an even chance of being selected. However, there are problems – for one, it is possible that not all speakers within a community will appear in the telephone directory or electoral register (if say they are ex-directory or not registered to vote), meaning that in practice random sampling cannot guarantee that everyone has an even chance of being selected. Secondly, those selected may be unwilling to take part when approached out of the blue by a stranger (the researcher), and thirdly there is no guarantee through random sampling that a sample will be drawn which equally fills all cells required, resulting in an unbalanced (and thus unrepresentative) sample (Tagliamonte, 2006, Schilling, 2013). Milroy and Gordon (2003: 30) instead recommend an approach known as judgement sampling, whereby a

researcher uses their initiative to fill the required cells equally, and snowball (or friend-of-a-friend) sampling, whereby the researcher approaches someone known to them within the community under investigation to take part, who then recommends a friend, who does likewise and so on. This allows the researcher to fill the sample much more easily as potential participants are less likely to say no if the researcher comes recommended by a friend or family member. This is the method which was carried out in this project, with general success. The procedure for sampling many of the middle-aged and older speakers in Wickham is also discussed in section 4.5.

4.5 Ethical considerations

Milroy and Gordon (2003: 79) highlight the importance of proper consideration of ethical issues when beginning a research project in sociolinguistics. The sociolinguistic researcher holds a responsibility towards their participants and the community under investigation, as well as their research institution and future researchers, to uphold the highest standards in the ethical implementation of their data collection methods. This includes seeking ethical approval from a research institution before commencing investigation, preserving participants' right to anonymity, confidentiality, and withdrawal from the study, secure storage of data and the moral obligation to give back to the community from which data is collected. This section will outline how each of these considerations were treated before, during and following the data collection process in the three communities under investigation.

Before beginning data collection, ethical approval was gained from the University of Essex. This process is important because it ensures that the data collection methods have been examined by the researcher, their doctoral supervisor, and the departmental ethics officer (who will almost always have in-depth experience of carrying out research on human participants themselves) in order to ensure that they are ethically sound. It can be easy for an inexperienced researcher to rush out in excitement to begin data collection without giving serious thought to the protection of their data and the participants who provide it, and this process forces the researcher to address these issues from an early stage. Milroy and Gordon (ibid: 79) point out that the issues around the use of human participants in sociolinguistic research do not present the same level of problems as in a field such as medical research, especially in

this project as all of the participants were aged 18 or older and none could be considered to be vulnerable or incapable of making the choice to participate on their own terms. That said, there are issues (such as those outlined at the beginning of this section) which are important and should be taken into account. Milroy and Gordon add that failure to follow established ethical guidelines can have severe implications for research institutions, including loss of reputation and a subsequent reduction in funding. A further consequence could be the damaging of relations between research institutions and the communities under investigation, which could reduce or entirely block access to the community for future researchers – hence the assertion above that researchers hold an obligation to those who wish to carry out future study in the same community.

Part of the ethical approval process is the design of a form with which to gain written consent from speakers taking part in recorded interviews. Milroy and Gordon (ibid: 79-81) and Johnstone (2000: 42-43) both highlight the importance of this stage of the interview process, to ensure that the participant is fully aware of what taking part in the project entails, and the rights which they hold. Both state that a written consent form should formally present key information to participants, such as a brief outline of the project and its aims, the rights of the participant to anonymity, confidentiality and withdrawal, and contact information for the researcher. One issue with this process which Milroy and Gordon (ibid), Johnstone (ibid), and Trechter (2013) all point out is the potential juxtaposition of presenting a formal consent form to participants while simultaneously trying to reduce the perceived levels of formality of the interview event in order to elicit casual speech data, stating that this can actually have the unwanted consequence of increasing the effects of the observer's paradox (discussed in section 4.1.2). There is, it seems, no straightforward method to overcome this problem. The approach taken in this project was to jokingly assure the participant that the "formal bit is out of the way and it's much more informal from now on". Crucially this was only said after the consent form had been completed, so as not to either trivialise the consent-giving process, or diminish the attention which the participant devoted to the information contained within the consent form. It was hoped that by humorously acknowledging the absurdity of signing consent before taking part in a 'casual' speech event, the participant may relax and lower their perception of the level of formality of the interview.

For this project, a combined participant information sheet (PIS) and consent form was adapted from a template provided by the Department of Language and Linguistics at the University of Essex. The front sheet contained information about the project, explaining that it was interested in investigating the people of Suffolk, their stories and folklore, jobs and occupations, schools and education, hobbies and pastimes, language features, opinions on Suffolk as a place, and jokes and humour. It was hoped that presenting the information as such would reduce the focus on the linguistic aspect of the study, thus hopefully reducing the impact of the observer's paradox on the data collected. Although this approach could be considered to be verging on deceptive by some, it certainly was not untruthful, as all of the elements listed on the PIS were of interest to the researcher, either as conversational topics during the interview aimed at eliciting near-vernacular speech, or as additional information to aid with the later processing of the results and analysis of the data. The second sheet contained a consent form on which the participant signed their consent to take part in the project, and used a tick list to indicate their understanding of what participation entailed (i.e. their right to anonymity and confidentiality, the right to withdrawal at any time, and the right of the researcher to quote their words in research publications where deemed useful, so long as doing so would not breach the previous rights). All participants were given the opportunity to ask questions about the process at any time before or during the interview, or even afterwards with the provision of the researcher's contact details on the PIS. In addition, it was made clear immediately before and after the interviews that participants could ask for any data they were unwilling to share in the project to be removed from the recording at any time. This right was exercised on a small number of occasions.

Part of the participants' right to anonymity and confidentiality is the confidence that their data will be stored securely by the researcher. Following the recommendation of Schilling (2013: 263-264) the recordings produced in the interviews have all been password protected on the researcher's laptop (and on the external hard-drive on which they are backed-up), while all completed PIS and consent forms are stored in a locked drawer, to which only the researcher has access.

A final ethical consideration for this project is the desire to give something back to the communities under investigation in gratitude for the participants' time and efforts in supplying data. Labov (1982: 173) asserts that "a linguist who has gathered

data in a speech community has an obligation to act in the interests of members of that community, when they have need of it". Although in some extreme cases of persecution this may entail offering aid in legal or human rights cases, in explanation of his "Principle of the debt incurred" Labov adds that in most cases linguists can give back to the community simply by sharing their (anonymised) data and results with the community. After all, "the knowledge that springs from linguistic analysis is, by definition, the general property of the speech community" and "it is in no one's interest for it to remain buried in the linguist's field notes or unpublished papers" (ibid: 173). This sentiment is echoed more recently in Johnstone's (2000: 48-49) concept of "debriefing": that is, informing participants of the results of the study once they have been determined. Johnstone adds that the benefits of "debriefing" include keeping the issues faced by the communities under investigation in the researcher's mind, and also allowing for the community to see that the researcher has treated them fairly, potentially increasing their trust in future researchers wishing to engage with that community. Johnstone does add, however, that this is not always practically possible, especially as some participants may simply not be interested in any results. In the case of this project, there were two obvious ways in which the researcher could in some small way repay the debt incurred to the three communities. Firstly, (as previewed in section 4.4) the Wickham Market Area Archive Centre was particularly helpful in selecting and approaching older participants in the rural area. It quickly became clear that they had been intending to carry out oral history recordings with older members of the community in the near future, and so a deal was struck – three of the older speakers agreed to take part in a joint sociolinguistic interview/oral history recording which were to be shared with the Archive Centre as a start to their own oral history project. This did not affect the participants' right to confidentiality as they were made fully aware of the joint nature of the recording before taking part. Furthermore, all three of these recordings were made in the presence of the Archive Centre chairman, who was well known to the participants. It seemed an obvious gesture that could be made, especially as the topics discussed for the benefit of the Archive Centre were largely the same that would have been discussed as part of the sociolinguistic interview anyway (interview modules were outlined in section 4.1.2) – indeed, if anything it may have reduced the amount of attention the participants paid to their speech (thinking more about what they were saying than how they were saying it), and thus reduced the effect of the observer's paradox in these recordings. The second way of giving something

back will be to offer copies of the completed thesis and a less technical breakdown of the results to the Archive Centre in Wickham, their counterparts in Woodbridge and Ipswich, and those participants who indicated during the course of their meeting with the researcher that they would be interested.

4.6 Recording techniques

Schilling (2013: 216) points out the importance of taking into consideration recording techniques before carrying out sociolinguistic interviews, as it is frustrating to return "from a sociolinguistic interview… only to realize you cannot use it because the sound quality is too poor… or… you failed to record anything at all". She expounds the importance of practice with the chosen recording device before beginning data collection – this was something that was achieved in the process of completing the pilot studies (section 4.1.1).

As was discussed in (section 4.1.2) the main aim of the sociolinguistic interview is to elicit natural speech data, as casual and close to the vernacular as possible. The main obstacle to this is the observer's paradox, an element of which is the recording equipment, which can be thought of as the instruments of observation – in other words the observer's paradox comes into effect largely because of the participants' awareness of a recording device in the interview setting. One possible way around this is to carry out surreptitious recording, whereby the device is hidden and the speaker does not realise they are being recorded, sometimes until after the event, and sometimes at all. However as Milroy and Gordon (2003: 81-82) point out this is highly unethical and even illegal in many places, and should never be considered to be acceptable in sociolinguistic research. So this leaves us with the problem of attempting to obtain excellent quality recordings representative of each individual sociolinguistic interview speech event, while allowing the participant to feel as relaxed and comfortable as possible, in order to elicit everyday speech data. Reducing the intrusiveness of equipment and recording techniques is not the only way of combatting the observer's paradox – interview topics can be just as important (if not more so – see section 4.1.2), but it does play an important role.

The recording device used was an M-Audio Microtrack II, which was perfect for the requirements of this project. It was compact enough to sit on a coffee table in

front of the participant and still not be completely noticeable and off-putting, while it met all of Schilling's (2013: 217-222) recommended audio quality specifications. The microphone type and placement is a further consideration that must be made – specifically, whether to use a lavalier mic that is attached to the participants' clothing, or a table top microphone placed in front of them. Schilling (2013: 226) reports a slight preference (based on experience) for table mounted microphones, explaining that some (but certainly not all) sociolinguists feel that a speaker may be more aware of being observed if the microphone is physically attached to them, unless the table-top microphone is unnaturally large, in which case it may have the same effect. In this project, a table-top microphone was utilised for this very reason – and as it was not overly large in size and plugged straight into the 1/8 inch jack on the recording device, creating a relatively discreet set-up, it was found that this choice was a good balance between recording sound of a good enough quality for the purposes of the analysis and reducing the effects of the observer's paradox. Another advantage of this method was that only one microphone was required to capture interviews with multiple speakers, as will be noted in the discussion below.

The final consideration which we can make is the setting for the recording. As with the recording equipment, the ultimate aim of the setting for the interview is to help participants to feel as relaxed as possible, in order to reduce the effects of the observer's paradox. At the same time, it is important to record in a place with relatively little background noise, so as to make later data coding a more accurate and successful enterprise. With this in mind, it is often a good idea to carry out interviews in participants' homes, with the living room being an optimal choice due to the presence of 'soft' surfaces which reduce the amount of echo and reverberations produced by speakers, and are also comfortable rooms where the participants are likely to be used to sitting and conversing informally (Schilling, 2013: 239-241). For this reason interviews were mainly carried out in participants' homes, often in the living room. A further element of the setting is those present. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 66-67) state that it can be helpful to carry out sociolinguistic interviews with more than one participant or more than one researcher at a time, as this can change the speech event from a one-on-one interview (with the likely expectations of a formal question and answer style for the participant) towards a more casual group conversation. As a result the participant won't necessarily forget that they are taking part in a

sociolinguistic interview, but may be constrained by the group dynamic to produce more natural everyday speech, for fear of being judged on adopting a more formal style by their fellow participants. Tagliamonte (2006: 19) and Macaulay (2009: 32) add that participants and researchers are often not known to each other, which can create a one-off speech event which is more formal than a casual conversation (which, as discussed in section 4.1.2, the sociolinguistic interview intends to mimic in a semi-structured way). So we can see that a move towards a group dynamic, and a degree of familiarity between participants in the interview can help to reduce the effects of the observer's paradox. Taking this into account, in cases in this project whereby an interview took place between participants who did not have a pre-existing relationship with the researcher, every effort was made to carry out the recording with two participants who were known to each other at the same time, or to include an 'intermediary' in the conversation who was known mutually to the researcher and participant. The intermediaries were not trained in the sociolinguistic interview technique, but were instructed beforehand that their role was to let the participant speak as much as possible, and to introduce topics that would be of interest to the participant if needed (for example if the general interview topics discussed in section 4.1.2 did not achieve long stretches of casual style speech).

4.7 Data coding and analysis

Once each recording had been completed the data was coded into an Excel spreadsheet, as recommended by Tagliamonte (2006: 106). Tokens of each variable were noted, along with the dependent and independent variables (the linguistic constraints on each variable will be discussed in more detail in chapters 5 and 6). There is no absolute rule on the number of tokens which should be extracted for each variable; however in recognising that there is a balance to be struck between acquiring a lot of data and the time it takes to do so, Milroy and Gordon (2003: 164) cite Guy's (1980) assertion that 30 tokens per-variable-per-speaker is the optimal amount for phonological variables. Milroy and Gordon (ibid: 163) also note that many sociolinguists choose to restrict the number of tokens of any one lexical item per speaker, often to between three to five occurrences, in order to prevent bias in the results. Following this, 30 tokens were collected per speaker for the phonological

variable in this project (the ‘David’ variable), with each lexical item restricted to a maximum of three occurrences This yielded a total of 2,176 tokens for this variable.

With respect to morphological and syntactic variables, however, Milroy and Gordon (ibid: 170) explain that their occurrence is usually restricted to specific contexts and as such are much less likely to occur in casual speech data collected from sociolinguistic interviews. A good example is the first variable in this project, verbal -s. For this variable to occur, participants must talk about a third party individual in the present tense – which although not the most uncommon context, is not as common as for example a first person narrative in the past tense, which as discussed in section 4.1.2 is the type of speech most often elicited by the sociolinguistic interview modules. As detailed in section 4.2.1, the interview modules were designed with this in mind, in order to hopefully allow for situations in which this variable could occur. Despite this, there were a lower number of tokens for this variable than for the phonological variable. All but three of the speakers did produce at least 20 tokens, with some even reaching over 30, however three speakers did fall just short of 20 tokens. Overall this gave a total of 1,748 tokens which, while not as high as for the phonological variable, was higher than anticipated and demonstrates that the interview modules were successfully applied in this case.

A further consideration for the coding of phonological variables is whether to extract tokens through auditory (impressionistic) methods, or whether to use acoustic analysis at this stage. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 144-151) give an excellent description of the pros and cons of each method, namely the increased objectivity of acoustic analysis versus the practical advantages of impressionistic analysis. In addition, they point out that when using an impressionistic technique, the researcher is hearing and identifying the tokens from the same input as interlocutors in the community under investigation. As a native speaker of the dialect under investigation, and with experience of working with the ‘David’ variable in past pilot studies, it was felt that the researcher in this project was well placed to judge between occurrences of [ɪ] and [ə]. Following Kingston (2000), the main investigative aim of including this variable was to see whether speakers were continuing to produce an alternative to the standard [ɪ] variant, and not what the actual realisation of this alternative is (although this would be an interesting and fertile avenue for further study in the future, it does not directly address the research goals of this thesis). As a result, the variants were

coded as discrete rather than continuous, with occurrences of [ɪ] coded separately (and impressionistically) from all other occurrences, which were characterised as [ə] even if they appeared to be somewhere intermediate between [ɪ] and [ə].

Once coding was completed, the data was run through Rbrul. More detail on this process is given in chapters 5 and 6, which will present the analyses for both linguistic variables in turn.

Chapter 5 Linguistic Variable 1: Verbal -s

The first linguistic variable to be investigated here is a morphosyntactic one, verbal -s marking. This chapter will begin by discussing verbal -s as a linguistic variable (section 5.1), including the scope of variation (section 5.1.1), its history and the theories surrounding its origins (section 5.1.2), and the relevant constraints on variation which have been identified in past studies (section 5.1.3-5.1.4). It will then discuss verbal -s variation in East Anglia more specifically (section 5.2), the historical development of this variable in East Anglian English (section 5.2.1) and previous studies which have been carried out (sections 5.2.2-5.2.3). The chapter will conclude by talking about the methodological considerations for this variable (section 5.3), informed by the earlier discussion, before presenting the results for the variable in section 5.4.

5.1 Verbal -s as a linguistic variable

Having defined and discussed the main issues surrounding the study of morphosyntactic variables, this section will introduce the verbal -s variable which will be investigated in this study.

5.1.1 Introduction to verbal -s variation

Verbal -s as a linguistic variable refers to variation in the marking of present tense verb forms in English. Bauer (2004: 34) explains that in (Standard) English, a verb in the present tense signals its agreement with its subject (often, although not always, a pronoun such as *he*, *she* or *it*) through inflection, with the addition of -s to certain forms. This is subject-verb concord. Fromkin and Rodman (1998: 91) assert that English has only eight inflectional morphemes, including the verbal marker -s which signals agreement (concord) with third person singular subjects for verbs in the present tense, whereas other languages such as Finnish have much greater numbers of inflectional forms. These descriptions of subject-verb concord in English do not apply to all dialects however. Broadly speaking, verbal -s variation can be categorised into three 'types', which will be outlined here. Firstly, Table 8 shows the Standard English verbal paradigm for a regular English verb, *to run*, in the present tense.

Person/Number	Singular	Plural
1st	I run	We run
2nd	You run	You run
3rd	He/She/It runs	They run

Table 8 Standard English present tense paradigm for the verb 'to run'

The only form which is inflected is the third person singular form, *he/she/it runs*. This is commonplace for all regular verbs (and auxiliaries *have* and *do*) in Standard English, but is not applicable for irregular verbs such as *to be*, which has different forms for each subject. There is no variation for verbal -s in this kind of dialect – -s must always be marked in third person singular subjects, and cannot occur anywhere else in the paradigm. Thus, forms such as *I walks* and *she run* are not possible in this type of dialect. As this is the 'standard' ('prestige') form against which other dialects are to be compared, and considering that there is no actual verbal -s variation to be found in dialects like this, we will call this kind of dialect Type 0.

Table 9 shows the verbal paradigm for the same verb, *to run*, also in the present tense, in another type of (this time non-standard) dialect.

Person/Number	Singular	Plural
1st	I run(s)	We run(s)
2nd	You run(s)	You run(s)
3rd	He/She/It run(s)	They run(s)

Table 9 Type 1 variation in present tense 'to run'

In this type of dialect, which we will call Type 1 as it is the first of those presented here to exhibit variation in verbal -s marking, -s may be marked variably across the entire paradigm. This means that forms such as *I walk* and *I walks* are both equally valid in the grammar of Type 1 dialects. Similarly, *he walks* and *she walk* are both perfectly acceptable to speakers of this type of dialect. Examples of dialects with this type of variation are south-western English dialects – e.g. Devon (Godfrey and

Tagliamonte, 1999) and Reading (Cheshire, 1982), as well as varieties of African American Vernacular English (AAVE) (Poplack and Tagliamonte, 2001: 160-161).

Finally, Table 10 shows the third type of variation for verbal -s, again for the verb *to run* in the present tense.

Person/Number	**Singular**	**Plural**
1st	I run	We run
2nd	You run	You run
3rd	He/She/It run(s)	They run

Table 10 Type 2 variation in present tense 'to run'

In this type of (also non-standard) dialect, which we will call Type 2 as it is the second to show variation in verbal -s marking, variation between -s and zero (or ∅) is only possible for third person singular subjects, and -s marking is not permitted in any other subjects. Thus forms like *I runs* and *you walks* do not occur in Type 2 dialects, but forms such as *he walks* and *she run* are both acceptable. Traditionally, East Anglian dialects (including Suffolk) have been examples of Type 2 dialects, and are the only varieties of British English to show this pattern of variation for verbal -s marking (Trudgill 2001b: 181). Trudgill (1996: 415ff.) says that 'hypercorrect' forms (by which he is referring to -s marking anywhere other than 3rd person singular subjects in a 'faulty' attempt to imitate the standard English verbal marking system) do not ever occur in East Anglian speech, despite this being an expected outcome of a system in which traditionally zero marking East Anglian speakers come into contact with (through, say, education or the media), and are likely influenced by, prestigious standard-like Type 0 dialects. Anecdotally, having been born and grown up in Suffolk, the researcher in this project can attest to the veracity of this statement. Trudgill explains that the likely absence of these hypercorrect forms is due to the manner in which zero marking of verbal -s originated in East Anglian speech. This will be discussed in further detail in section 5.2.

To summarise, the three 'types' of verbal -s variation are:

1. Type 0 – the Standard English verb paradigm, which shows no variation (-s marking occurs categorically in 3rd singular subjects, and never anywhere else)
2. Type 1 – variation is possible all across the verbal paradigm; -s may be (variably) present or absent for all subjects
3. Type 2 – variation only occurs in third person singular subjects. Verbal -s marking is variable in this context (the variants being -s marking, and zero marking), but never occurs with any other subject

It should be noted that this numerical classification does not seek to suggest that dialects move laterally from being Type 0, through Type 1 and eventually into Type 2. It seems unlikely, as far as this researcher is aware, that this type of change has ever occurred. Type 0 is the standard-like system, while Type 1 and 2 are just two different ways in which there can be variation in the present-tense verb marking system. As this study is investigating an East Anglian dialect it will be mostly interested in Type 2 variation. However, the majority of the literature on verbal -s focuses on Type 1 dialects, so these will necessarily be consulted (and where possible, findings for third person singular subjects will be separated from all other subjects). The remainder of section 5.1 will discuss the literature on verbal -s marking across dialects of English except for East Anglia (which will be covered separately in section 5.2). Furthermore, in order to address the research question of whether traditional East Anglian forms may be being lost among the three locations, this study will investigate whether the Suffolk dialect as spoken by the 72 participants remains a Type 2 dialect, or whether it is moving towards becoming a Type 0 (i.e. standard-like) dialect.

5.1.2 Historical development of verbal -s variation

It was stated at the beginning of section 5.1.1 that modern-day Standard English has only one present tense verb inflection – third person singular -s. However, this has not always been the case (Trudgill, 1996: 416, Poplack and Tagliamonte, 2001: 166). Historically, Middle English had inflections across the verbal paradigm. Poplack and

Tagliamonte (ibid) state that different explanations have been given for the possible loss of inflections everywhere but for third person singular subjects, including "ease of articulation or the need to increase the number of rhymes available for poetry", but they do not find any explanation to be fully satisfactory. Trudgill (1996: 416) posits one credible theory, illustrated with reference to the Middle English present tense verb paradigm for the verb *to thank*, which is reproduced here in Table 11 (italics in original, bold added here for emphasis).

Subject	**South**	**Midlands**	**North**
1st singular	thank***e***	thank***e***	thank***e***
2nd singular	thank***est***	thank***es(t)***	thank***es***
3rd singular	thank***eth***	thank***eth/es***	thank***es***
Plural	thank***eth***	thank***en***	thank***es***

Table 11 Middle English present tense paradigm for the verb 'to thank', from Trudgill (1996)

As can be seen, there is inflection across the paradigm in Table 11. The theory holds that the eventual decline of inflectional forms outside of third person singular (and the shift towards -s marking as the third singular norm in English dialects) occurred as a result of the spread of processes originating in both the Midlands and Northern English dialects. As Trudgill explains:

> "The Midland plural form *-en* was borrowed from the subjunctive, and provided a singular/plural distinction not available in the other dialects. During the Middle English period, this form gradually spread to the other dialects, and the *-n* was increasingly lost. With eventual loss of final /ə/, only the 2nd and 3rd-person singular forms retained inflectional endings. With the loss of the singular 2nd-person *thou* forms in favour of plural *you* forms, this left the 3rd-person singular forms as the only ones distinct from the base"
>
> (Trudgill, 1996: 416, italics in original)

After this development, both Trudgill and Poplack and Tagliamonte explain that the Northern -(e)s form eventually spread south and replaced the -(e)th form giving rise to the modern Standard English -s marking in third person singular subjects only.

Trudgill's theory does appear to provide a logical and reasonable explanation. It should of course be noted that some (non-standard) modern-day dialects of English do have variable inflection across first, second and third person singular and plural subjects. There has been a good deal of disagreement in the literature in attempting to explain how variation in verbal -s marking has been found to be present in so many varieties with otherwise few similarities – e.g. East Anglian English, south-west British English, AAVE, Appalachian English, and English-based creoles such as Tok Pisin (Godfrey and Tagliamonte, 1999: 88, Trudgill, 2001b: 181, Schreier, 2003: 91). Trudgill (2001b: 181) asserts that it is not surprising that some varieties of English have 'regularised' or 'simplified' the verbal paradigm, given that only third person singular subjects are marked in Standard English, and these are the forms thought to be least intuitively marked in world languages. A key point which he makes is that all of the non-British varieties which exhibit any kind of variation (be it Type 1 or Type 2) in the present tense verbal paradigm have historically been affected by periods of language contact – although as Schreier (2003: 92) points out, this is not the case for all of the British English dialects which exhibit verbal -s variation (such as southwestern British dialects).

By way of illustration of how such contact-affected varieties have come to showcase verbal -s variation, Trudgill presents a summary of the theories surrounding the origins of verbal -s variation in AAVE. This is, in his words, a "simplified" description of a complicated and hotly debated issue. Broadly speaking, he explains that the theorists can be categorised into two groups – the creolists, and the dialectologists. The general view of the creolists (again, represented here in a simplified form) is that verbal -s variation in AAVE is the result of its origins lying in creoles formed through contact between English speakers and speakers of African languages displaced to the USA under the conditions of slavery. It is well attested that language contact of this sort often involves the simplification of linguistic forms (e.g. Trudgill, 1986). This theory could also help to account for the fact that verbal -s variation is more common in African American varieties of English than those more directly descended from British English which have not undergone a process of

creolisation. However, the dialectologists, on the other hand, believe that AAVE is directly descended from British English varieties and does not have creolised origins, but that the presence of verbal -s variation in AAVE is a result of that variety retaining verbal -s variation from its ancestor dialects (specifically, according to these theorists, East Anglian English), while at the same time other American English varieties did not. Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001: 161-164) outline in a little more detail four possible explanations as to the origins of verbal -s variation which have been put forward in the literature. To summarise briefly, verbal -s in AAVE has been considered to have originated as a hypercorrection, possibly as an attempted accommodation to speakers of other dialects of American English (with a Type 0, standard-like present tense verb paradigm); as a marker of habitual or durative aspect; as a marker of punctual aspect in present tense narrative utterances; or as a grammatical marker of present tense left over from contact with different types of British dialects (with different kinds of verbal -s marking).

Although there is no agreement which theory is most plausible, and no hard evidence either way, the contact/creolisation theory appears to this researcher to be the most likely. As noted earlier, a considerable number of dialects which have developed verbal -s marking have historically been subject to language contact with other varieties. As outlined in chapter 4, and as will be expanded on in section 5.2, verbal -s in East Anglia developed through contact between native and non-native speakers of English. Another example of the development of verbal -s variation comes from the South Atlantic island of Tristan da Cunha. Schreier (2003: 90-93) concludes that the presence of verbal -s marking in the local variety of English (the only language known to be spoken on the island, ibid: 82-83) is not as a result of the original English settlers bringing with them dialects which exhibit verbal -s variation, as the early settlers were speakers of dialects not known to have such variation. Instead, Schreier believes that the origin of verbal -s variation on the island is similar to that of East Anglian dialects, in that contact between the original settlers who were native speakers of English and later settlers who spoke English non-natively led to simplification of the present tense verbal paradigm. That said, as mentioned above, not all dialects with verbal -s variation obtained it through language contact, so it is certainly possible that AAVE might not have either. However, language contact has undoubtedly played a role in the presence of verbal -s variation in some varieties of English, even though it is not

universally agreed that contact is a general prerequisite for verbal -s variation to occur in a given variety.

5.1.3 Internal constraints on verbal -s variation

Having given an outline of the historical development of verbal -s as a linguistic feature, we can turn to describing the literature on verbal -s as a linguistic variable. This subsection will begin by outlining the relevant previous findings for the internal (linguistic) constraints on variation in studies of verbal -s outside of East Anglia, followed by a presentation of the previous findings for external constraints in section 5.1.4. Both the internal and external constraints relevant to the relatively sparse East Anglian studies of this variable will be presented in section 5.2. Many of the studies on verbal -s outside of East Anglia focus on Type 1 dialects – that is, they are investigating -s marking across the verbal paradigm rather than confined to third person singular subjects as in Type 2 dialects (e.g. East Anglian varieties), and thus the non-standard form is -s rather than zero for subjects other than third singular. In order to aid comparability between the results of the current study and these past studies, efforts will be made to present results which pertain directly to third singular subjects – in some cases (e.g. Godfrey and Tagliamonte, 1999) these are marked out separately. However, it should be noted that this is not always the case – and the studies of Type 1 dialects which do not mark third person subjects out separately are still useful to identifying possible overall patterns (especially given the relative lack of previous data on internal constraints in East Anglian varieties), but it will be held in mind that they are looking at the variation from almost a reverse stance.

It could be argued that the innovative variant in both Type 1 and 2 dialects is -s. As will be made clear in section 5.2, typical Type 2 dialects such as East Anglian varieties can be conceptualised as having underlying zero marking due to the historical development of the present tense verb paradigm – and therefore zero is the traditional and local 'norm' within Type 2 dialects, while -s is the innovative form. In the same way, some Type 1 dialects (namely, those which are undergoing change from a standard-like verb paradigm to a Type 1 paradigm) can be considered to have underlying zero marking in subjects other than third singular, and as such -s can also be considered to be the innovative form in these dialects (except in third singular position). However, it should be noted that those Type 1 dialects which are well established will have -s marking in all subjects as the local norm, and in this case any

change would be in the direction of the standard – so -s would not be innovative in such dialects.

The first study to be outlined here is Cheshire's (1982) investigation of the use of non-standard forms by adolescent speakers in Reading, a Type 1 dialect. Cheshire's data was collected through ethnographic observation and recordings of very informal conversations between groups of young working class speakers in two playgrounds in the town, over a period of nine months (ibid: 13-15). Cheshire's analysis of her verbal -s variable illustrates the point that studies of Type 1 dialects often focus on subjects other than third person singular. In this case, Cheshire (ibid: 31) notes that although there is variation elsewhere, third person singular subjects in Reading show categorical use of the standard form -s as in Type 0 dialects (e.g. Standard English). As such, the results are not entirely comparable with the current study, although it should be noted that Cheshire's own data appears to contradict this in showing at least some use of non-standard (i.e. zero marked) *do* (as opposed to standard *does* or the local -s marked form *dos*) with third person singular subjects, in phrases such as "My dad do, mate" (ibid: 17, 35, 36). It should be noted though that Cheshire marks the auxiliaries *have* and *do* out separately from other verbs, so it may be that the initial statement was in reference to regular verbs and did not include auxiliaries. Regardless, the internal constraints identified by Cheshire are still of interest, particularly as it is one of relatively few studies of verbal -s variation in modern day British dialects – Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999: 88) assert that at the time of writing there had been only two (not including their own) – Cheshire's study in Reading, and Trudgill's (1974) study in Norwich which focused on the social stratification of the variable, and did not investigate the internal constraints on verbal -s. Since then, Kingston (2000) and Spurling (2004) have also investigated verbal -s in Suffolk, and these studies will be discussed in more detail in section 5.2. Although the majority of the literature for verbal -s focuses on AAVE, the review of internal and external constraints presented here will focus mainly on these studies of British (and in some cases East Anglian) varieties as it is felt they are the most directly comparable with the variety under investigation in this project. These studies of British dialects have already been informed by of the studies of AAVE; and in a manner of speaking have 'filtered' out the less relevant constraints for British English – studies of verbal -s outside of the British Isles have been noted by Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999: 88) to have

"produced diverse and conflicting results" across different varieties. In this way, it is hoped that the current study will focus on internal constraints which are more relevant to the British regional dialect under investigation. That said, some studies of AAVE will be discussed where appropriate.

The reason that Cheshire marks *have* and *do* out separately is because they may act as either full verbs (e.g. "we has a muck around in there") or auxiliaries (e.g. "They have been down here once") in a sentence, unlike regular verbs such as *go* or *run* which only operate as full verbs (1982: 31-32). She found that the use of non-standard -s marking (i.e. -s marked anywhere other than third person singular) was higher for full verbs in her data (which had index scores between 50-65, where 100 means categorically -s marking), than for *have* (36-39) and *do* (12.5-25). Although this does not cover third person singular subjects, the result does provide evidence that these auxiliaries may behave differently to other verbs and may need to be marked out separately in the analysis. For the full verbs, Cheshire investigated the effect of the surrounding linguistic environment, including the 'preceding' and 'following sound', the 'preceding' and 'following word class', and the 'time reference' of the verb (which will be discussed as 'aspect' below), although found none of these to have a significant effect on constraining the variation and presents no discussion or results for these. One linguistic constraint which Cheshire (ibid: 42-43) did find to be important was what she refers to as the 'vernacular verb constraint', finding that the use of non-standard -s in non-third person subjects was higher for a certain set of verbs which either did not occur in Standard English, or had different non-standard meanings in Reading English. The full list is:

- to go (= to say)
- to chin (= to hit on the chin)
- to boot (= to kick)
- to kill (= to beat in a fight, but not to death)
- to leg it (= to run away)
- to poke (= to be nosey)
- to bunk (= to play truant)
- to bus (=to travel by bus)

In these verbs, Cheshire found the index score for use of non-standard -s to be between 90-95 for her groups, as opposed to between 50-65 for other verbs. This led her to conclude that the 'non-standard' status of these verbs may promote the use of non-standard verb marking amongst her speakers. This is one constraint which will not be considered in this project, however, as on reflection it is felt that there are problems with the somewhat imprecise and subjective nature of categorising some verbs as either 'vernacular' or 'non-standard', and others as 'standard'.

One example of a study of a Type 1 dialect which does mark third person subjects out separately in the analysis of verbal -s marking is Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999). Their investigation focused on another southwestern British dialect, that spoken in the county of Devon. As alluded to above, Godfrey and Tagliamonte found little prior discussion of the quantitative study of verbal -s in British dialects in the literature, and so their study was necessarily somewhat exploratory in attempting to ascertain which of the constraints attested in AAVE and other non-British varieties would be relevant in Devon English. Their analysis focused on eight older speakers who lived around the town of Tiverton, near the city of Exeter. For third person singular subjects, Godfrey and Tagliamonte (ibid: 100) found that the standard form -s was retained 86% of the time, giving 14% non-standard zero marking across their speakers. In comparison, the use of non-standard -s marking elsewhere across the verbal paradigm varied from 15% in second person singular subjects to 37% in third person plural subjects. As for the internal constraints, Godfrey and Tagliamonte investigated several that had been found to be important in the previous literature. The first of these to be discussed here is the 'type of verb' being marked – similarly to Cheshire above, Godfrey and Tagliamonte (ibid: 101ff.) marked the verbs *to have* and *to do* out separately from all other verbs, finding that for third person singular subjects these verbs had lower percentages of standard -s marking (71% each, compared to the average of 86% for full verbs).

The second factor that they investigated in their multivariate analysis was the 'phonological environment' surrounding the -s or zero inflection. They explain that there has been a lack of agreement over whether verbal -s variation is phonologically conditioned or not. Early studies found no correlation in AAVE, and thus assumed that -s presence outside of third person singular subjects was purely a form of hypercorrection. However, more recent studies (e.g. Poplack and Tagliamonte, 2001)

have found that in some varieties at least, there is evidence of phonological conditioning. Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999: 104-105, 106) found both 'preceding' and 'following environment' to be statistically significant for third person singular subjects (although this was not the case in third plural and first person), and that the variation was constrained in similar ways in both environments. In the 'preceding environment', a vowel was found to favour the production of the standard form -s with a factor weight of .63, while a consonant was found to disfavour with a factor weight of .40. Similarly, in the 'following environment', a vowel again favoured -s at .68, while a following pause disfavoured at .40, and a consonant also disfavoured with a factor weight of .35. It should also be noted that the 'following phonological environment' factor was only selected as significant in third person singular subjects.

Another linguistic constraint which Godfrey and Tagliamonte investigated is the 'aspect' of the verb being marked. As mentioned in the discussion above, Cheshire's study in Reading referred to this as the 'time reference' of the verb. The possible origin of verbal -s as an aspectual function of AAVE was outlined in section 5.1.2, and Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999: 105) explain that this favours the theory of creolisation as the origin of verbal -s, because it implies that verbal -s is an underlying aspectual feature in these dialects rather than being an underlying feature of tense. In other words, it suggests not that verbal -s can only occur in the present tense verb paradigm as is the case in Standard English, but that verbal -s can only occur in habitual or punctual verbs (depending on the dialect). However, Godfrey and Tagliamonte do not favour this theory, pointing to evidence of variation in production of -s or zero based on the 'aspect' of a verb which has been attested in studies of British English. They instead argue that 'aspect' is a linguistic constraint on verbal -s variation, rather than an underlying cause, and their results in Devon provide evidence for this. They investigated the effects of three aspectual contexts in their data – 'punctual', when a verb "referred to an event (hypothetical or otherwise) understood to have occurred once" (e.g. 'As long as I *gets* there tomorrow, I don't care'), 'habitual', when a verb "referred to an event which takes place repeatedly" (e.g. 'They sort of *commutes* to town, to work and back again'), and 'continuous', when a verb "referred to an event or process that extends in time or a state that exists continuously" (e.g. 'Well, it only *goes* down part ways') (ibid: 105, italics in original). In their multivariate analysis, Godfrey and Tagliamonte found habitual verbs to favour -s

marking in third person singular subjects with a factor weight of .60, while punctual verbs disfavoured at .32. Continuous utterances were found to be neutral, with a factor weight of .50.

The fourth constraint which Godfrey and Tagliamonte investigate is known as the 'northern subject rule'. Godfrey and Tagliamonte (ibid: 108) and Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001: 173) explain that this constraint is so named as it was at one time characteristic of northern dialects of British English, and that it involves the "use of verbal *-s* following full NP [noun phrase], as opposed to pronominal plural subjects". Godfrey and Tagliamonte further add that this constraint shows a tendency for -s marking with subjects that are noun phrases (such as 'Me legs *aches* a bit' rather than the third person plural pronoun *they* (e.g. 'They *sell* tickets so they *know* near enough how many's coming round about') (italics in originals). Godfrey and Tagliamonte also combined the 'type of subject' element of the 'northern subject rule', with another element – the 'adjacency of the subject to the verb'. In this context, an adjacent subject occurs directly next to the verb (as in 'I *enjoys* me, I *likes* me wildlife, anything, anything bar a computer') while a non-adjacent one has some element of speech in between (as in 'Cause here I gets me water, *goes* up and *fills* him up again' – note that there are two non-adjacent verbs here, *goes* and *fills*, and one adjacent to the subject, *gets*). Britain (2010b: 39) summarises that in general, the main finding for the 'northern subject rule' has been that –s "is favoured after noun phrases and non-adjacent pronouns, but disfavoured after adjacent pronouns". Although this initially appears not to be a relevant constraint in the current study, as it concerns the realisation of third person plural (as opposed to singular) subjects which, as already established, are not variable in East Anglian dialects, there is seemingly no theoretical reason why this constraint may not be operational for third person singular subjects as well (i.e. compare 'The lady who runs the shop' to 'she runs the shop'), and as such it would be useful to test whether it is significant for the data in the current study. Kingston (2000) adapted the constraint in this way in her study of East Anglian data, and found it to be significant (as will be discussed further in section 5.2.1). Godfrey and Tagliamonte also tested this constraint with their third singular subjects, although found it not to be significant. Even so, their results still show that they found non-adjacent pronouns to favour -s marking at a factor weight of .73, with adjacent pronouns neutral (.52), and non-adjacent and adjacent NPs disfavouring (.42 and .43

respectively). This almost matches the general finding outlined by Britain, in that non-adjacent pronouns favour -s, and adjacent pronouns are not too far from disfavouring, although the result for NPs is the opposite of what would be expected (i.e. they disfavour in Godfrey and Tagliamonte's data, rather than favouring as Britain suggests would be likely). Despite these difficulties, it would be interesting to see if there is a significant effect of 'subject type and adjacency' in the current data.

A final observation on Godfrey and Tagliamonte's results is that, interestingly, third person singular was the only subject to have more than one significant constraint – three out of the four factors ('preceding phonological environment', 'following phonological environment' and 'aspect') were significant, while first person, second person and third plural subjects only had one significant factor each ('aspect', 'preceding phonological environment', and the 'northern subject rule', respectively). This suggests that there may be many linguistic processes constraining the use of -s in third singular contexts.

Poplack and Tagliamonte (2001: 188) present the results of a multivariate analysis testing the same four constraints across five dialects of English (four from historical data in early North American varieties of African-American or African-Canadian English, in Samana English, Ex-slave recordings, North Preston English and Guysborough Enclave English, as well as one from Godfrey and Tagliamonte's modern data from Devon). No constraints were found to be significant in the Ex-slave recordings or Guysborough Enclave data, so these will not be discussed at length here. Also, this discussion will only report the findings for third person singular subjects, which as with Godfrey and Tagliamonte above, were analysed separately from other subjects. For the 'preceding phonological environment', as in Devon, vowels were found to favour -s and consonants to disfavour. This was true of all four historical varieties, although the difference was only significant in the Samana data, with vowels favouring at .62, and consonants disfavouring at .47. In the 'following environment', a similar pattern was discovered (as, again, with the Devon data above). Following vowels favoured -s in Samana (.59) and North Preston (.62), and following consonants disfavoured in both (at .44 and .43 respectively). The finding for 'aspect' also matched the Devon finding, with habitual utterances favouring -s, continuous utterances neutral, and punctual utterances disfavouring – as with the 'preceding phonological environment', this was true for all varieties but was only selected as significant in the

Samana data, with factor weights of .59, .44 and .21 for habitual, continuous and punctual verbs respectively. Finally, 'subject type and adjacency' was only found to be significant in the North Preston data, but does largely resemble the finding from modern day Devon English (although it was not selected as significant there), in that non-adjacent pronouns favour -s (albeit very slightly, at .52) while adjacent pronouns disfavour at .45 (these were found to be largely neutral in the Devon data). This finding does exactly match the generally observed pattern for the 'northern subject rule' as stated by Britain above, and so provides further evidence that it may be operational for third singular subjects just as much as third person plural ones. Overall these results for the historical data match the modern day Devon results very closely, suggesting that the linguistic constraints which were operative in early AAVE varieties are the same which are operative in modern day British dialects, a point which Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999) also make.

One further linguistic constraint which was tested by Poplack and Tagliamonte (1989: 63-64) in the historical data but was not reported on in the 2001 chapter, was the 'underlying phonetic form of -s'. They explain that -s may be realised as either [s] (following a voiceless sound, e.g. in *she works* [wəːks]), [z] (following a voiced sound, e.g. in *he loves* [lʌvz]), or epenthetic [əz] (e.g. in *it teaches* [tiːt͡ʃəz]). They found that in the Samana data, epenthetic [əz] was deleted only 7% of the time, compared to 44% for [z] and 50% for [s]. This was, they theorised, due to the phonologically more complex nature of [əz] which increases its salience, reporting that this mirrors a similar tendency for the retention of epenthetic forms in t/d deletion. This is a constraint which was also tested by Schreier (2003: 89-90) in his Tristan de Cunha data which consisted of 35 speakers from the island. Unlike the previous studies presented in this section, Schreier's results are organised with use of the zero form as the application value, as opposed to -s – so a higher factor weight actually shows lower use of -s, unlike in Godfrey and Tagliamonte, and Poplack and Tagliamonte's results, where -s was the application value. Unfortunately, Schreier did not find enough tokens of epenthetic [əz] to include it in the multivariate analysis, and so this constraint only had two factors – [s] and [z]. Nevertheless, it was found to be significant, with [s] favouring the production of the zero form (i.e. favouring deletion) with an FW of .70, while [z] disfavoured the zero form (i.e. was less likely to be deleted) at .41. This result is in a similar vein to that of Poplack and Tagliamonte, who as noted found [s] to be deleted

(i.e. zero marked) slightly more often than [z] in the Samana historical data. Of the three other constraints tested by Schreier, only the 'following phonological environment' was also selected as significant, with a following consonant favouring zero at .61 (therefore disfavouring -s), a following vowel disfavouring zero at .44 (therefore favouring -s), and a pause disfavouring zero at .08 (and therefore strongly favouring -s). This does therefore match the findings of both Godfrey and Tagliamonte and Poplack and Tagliamonte, with vowels favouring the production of -s, and consonants disfavouring. The tendency of pauses to promote the use of -s in an otherwise fairly strongly zero producing community – the overall use of zero is 95% for men and 73% for women – is explained by Schreier as likely due to the added salience of this environment encouraging the use of the Standard English form. Both the 'preceding phonological environment' and 'subject type' constraints were not found to be significant.

5.1.4 External constraints on verbal -s variation

Buchstaller (2014: 252-256) (as discussed in section 4.2.3) asserts that studies of (morpho)syntactic variables, including verbal -s, have often focused on internal constraints rather than external ones, either because these studies were just more interested in the internal constraints, or because of a mistaken belief that there is nothing interesting to say about the social patterning of such variables – Buchstaller states that it has generally been assumed that this kind of linguistic variable is sharply stratified, in other words working class speakers use the non-standard variants much more often and middle class speakers strongly favour the standard variants, to a greater degree than with, for example, phonological variables. In addition, the lack of overt comment on external constraints on (morpho)syntactic variables has led future researchers to assume that they are not socially constrained, or to focus only on groups for whom this kind of variation is thought to still exist (e.g. older and working class speakers). The literature on verbal -s does reflect this pattern, in that the vast majority of discussion is devoted to the linguistic constraints on variation, to the detriment of external factors. Happily, there is a good amount of more conclusive data on the external constraints on verbal -s in East Anglia, which is more directly related to this study, and will be presented in section 5.2.3. There is too some discussion of the social patterning of verbal -s outside of East Anglia in the literature reported on in section 5.1.3, which will be presented here.

Cheshire (1982) follows the pattern of focusing mainly on internal constraints. Where she does discuss external constraints, it is largely with reference to internal ones; however some insight can be gleaned here. 'Gender' seems not to be an important factor in the data – for the most part Cheshire's group of younger female speakers behave similarly to their male counterparts. An example of this is given in Cheshire's Table 7 (ibid: 32), in which the two younger male groups are shown to use non-standard -s marking (remembering that Reading is a Type 1 dialect i.e. there is variation across the verbal paradigm, not just in third person singular subjects) 50% and 66% of the time, while the younger female speakers use -s 52% of the time. The discussion of age differences is slightly marred by methodological issues in that Cheshire is comparing her younger speakers' very informal conversation data with historical data in the form of more formal interview style speech from older speakers. Cheshire's Table 16 shows that the younger speakers use more non-standard -s marking in absolute terms, between 50-66% as opposed to around 30-31% for the older speakers (there is also no gender distinction here either). She asserts that given that the percentages for the older speakers come from more formal interview style data, it is not unreasonable to suggest that they would reach and likely surpass the level of non-standard -s marking that the younger speakers show in informal speech, because in Cheshire's data the use of the non-standard form seems to be highly sensitive to stylistic changes (ibid: 38, 41). This would support Cheshire's hypothesis that the data shows a change in progress towards a more Standard English-like (Type 0) present tense verb paradigm, although this is a difficult claim to advocate given the lack of concrete empirical evidence, and the finding that younger speakers have hardly abandoned non-standard -s marking in the data.

Schreier (2003: 85-88) does give an overt discussion of the external constraints on verbal -s variation in Tristan de Cunha English (which is a Type 2 dialect – i.e. there is variation only in the marking of third person singular subjects). Overall he found the use of non-standard zero marking to be almost categorical, particularly among all of the male groups, and the older females. The factors of 'age' and 'gender' were not selected as significant in his multivariate analysis. Even so, there are some interesting patterns to outline. Overall, the use of the zero form is highest among the older speakers in each age group – older males use zero 98% of the time, and older females 96%. The middle-aged and younger males show only a very slight drop in

production of zero, at 97% and 91% respectively. The female pattern seems to be more age-graded – there is a reduction in the use of non-standard zero from the older females at 96% to the middle-aged females at 57%, before a rise back up to 71% use of zero among the younger females. Schreier believes that the generally lower use of zero (and therefore, higher use of the standard form -s) among the younger speakers is caused by their greater mobility, and therefore higher contact with standard -s producing speakers, than the older generation.

Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams (2005: 152) do not focus much on verbal -s, but do make mention of it in relation to the more widespread levelling of British dialects. They show that the loss of non-standard -s marking in Reading (a traditional regional norm) is part of a wider tendency towards the use of supralocal features by younger speakers in Britain.

Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999) also focus more on internal constraints than external ones in their Devon data; however they do (ibid: 96) make reference to the work of Schneider (1989: 74), who draws together a list of several studies of verbal -s variation in African American communities, and which shows a general tendency (although crucially not an absolute tendency) for middle class speakers to omit -s less often than working class speakers in these communities. For those speakers marked out as 'lower' (working) class, the percentage of zero marked (i.e. non-standard) third person singular forms ranges between 52%-77%, while the range for those marked out as middle class is just 7%-11%.

A final important factor which Buchstaller (2014: 254) discusses is that language ideologies can play a particularly strong role in morphosyntactic variation. As she writes:

> "In the area of morpho-syntax in particular, the process of standardization has resulted in certain grammatical inflections being codified and functioning as linguistic shibboleths… Hence, as a direct result of prescriptive language policies, certain aspects of (morpho-)syntactic variation [including verbal -s] have been drastically reduced amongst middle-class speakers, making them infrequent amongst this group of speakers but at the same time highly salient"
>
> (Buchstaller, 2014: 254)

Thus the pressures of the standard language ideology promote the use of standard -s marking for this variable, at least for middle class speakers, and we can expect the results for verbal -s in East Anglia to reflect this.

This section has presented an overview of the theories behind the historical development of verbal -s variation in world Englishes, with particular focus on British dialects, as well as outlining the key linguistic and social constraints that have been identified in the literature. Section 5.2 will outline the same processes in East Anglian studies of verbal -s.

5.2 Verbal -s in East Anglia

As outlined in section 5.1.1, East Anglian varieties of English, including the Suffolk dialect, traditionally have Type 2 verbal -s variation – that is, -s may be either marked or omitted in third person singular subjects, but does not occur anywhere else in the present tense verb paradigm. Thus we can say there are two variants in Suffolk English – the standard (and to some extent innovative) form -s, and the local, traditional, and non-standard form, zero. Trudgill (2001a: 1) says zero marking of verbal -s is not just characteristic of the East Anglian dialect, but is "probably the best known East Anglian dialect feature", hinting at its salience with speakers both inside and outside East Anglian communities. This section will describe the historical development of this variable in East Anglia, as well as presenting previous findings on the internal and external constraints on variation in this feature among East Anglian speakers.

5.2.1 Historical development of verbal -s variation in East Anglia

As was mentioned briefly in both chapter 4 and section 5.1.2, Trudgill (2001b) outlines the processes which led to East Anglian dialects developing zero marking for third person singular subjects. In section 5.1.2, it was established that a large number of the dialects with verbal -s variation of some sort have a history of language contact. It was also said that this is no different for East Anglian English. Trudgill (ibid: 182ff.) explains that in the latter half of the 16th century, around the time that the English present tense verb paradigm was changing, and northern -s marking was replacing southern -th marking for third person singular subjects (first person, second person, and third plural subjects having already lost their inflection, as outlined in section

5.1.2), there was an influx of people into Norwich, the main settlement in East Anglia and at the time one of the largest and most influential in England. These settlers were largely protestants, who came from modern day Belgium and the Netherlands, fleeing persecution by Spanish Catholics. Given the relative size of Norwich at the time, and its geographical location on the east coast of England, many chose to relocate there, and Trudgill reports that in 1579 the population of Norwich was around 16,000 – just over one third of which, 6000 people, were immigrants who spoke either French or Dutch natively (although eventually over the next two centuries these languages were abandoned in favour of English). Trudgill further explains:

> "East Anglian third-person singular present-tense zero is in origin a contact feature which developed as a result of the presence of large numbers of non-native speakers in Norwich who, in using English as a lingua franca amongst themselves and with the native population, failed to master, as non-native speakers often do, the non-natural person-marking system of English verbs [i.e. only third person singular subjects are inflected]. This feature then spread out of Norwich as the dominant central place, in the well-known pattern of geographical diffusion of linguistic innovations… until it covered the whole area of East Anglia"
>
> (Trudgill, 2001b: 183-184)

As Trudgill alludes to, the origin of zero marking in East Anglia is as a non-native simplification of the present tense verb paradigm. As to why this should take hold and become the majority form in the dialect, when originating in the speech of a minority group of non-native speakers, Trudgill posits that it was precisely because this occurred at a time when there was already variation between the northern -s marking and southern -th marking across the south of Britain (including Norwich) – in Norwich however, the zero form was a third competing variant, and in the event the simplest form (i.e. zero) won out. This also explains why such simplification, triggered by the 'Strangers' as they came to be known, only occurred for verbal -s and not for other linguistic variables – because of the unique variation which verbal -s was undergoing at the time (ibid: 184).

5.2.2 Internal constraints on verbal -s variation in East Anglia

Although there has been a fair amount of comment on the existence, possible causes and external constraints on verbal -s variation in East Anglia, investigations of the internal constraints are relatively rare. In fact, there are only two such investigations which this researcher is aware of, both by the same investigator – a study of Glemsford in west Suffolk by Kingston (2000) and an unfinished investigation of Glemsford and nearby Sudbury under her married name, Bray (n.d.). The results of these studies (which were outlined in chapter 3) will therefore be presented here.

In her study of rural Glemsford, Kingston (2000: 45ff.) considered the four main internal constraints which were found to be important in explaining the variation observed in the discussion of studies outside of East Anglia in section 5.1.3. In this case, Kingston found the 'preceding' and 'following environment' to be important – but not in the same way as Poplack and Tagliamonte (1989, 2001) and Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999), in that the use of -s was not constrained by whether the preceding or following sound was a consonant or vowel, but rather whether the sound was voiced or voiceless. This was particularly true in the 'preceding environment', where voiced sounds favoured the production of the standard form -s with a factor weight of .57, while voiceless sounds disfavoured at .46. 'Place of articulation' was also found to be significant in the multivariate analysis, and behaved differently in the 'preceding' and 'following environments'. Preceding alveolar, palatal, velar and dental sounds were found to favour the presence of -s, while bilabial and labio-dental sounds were found to disfavour. On the other hand, following velar, labio-dental, and bilabial sounds favoured -s, with glottal and dental segments generally neutral (but slightly favouring with factor weights of .53 and .52 respectively), and palatal and alveolar sounds this time disfavouring -s. 'Verbal aspect' was tested but was found not to be significant in Kingston's data. Finally, the 'northern subject rule' was found to be significant by Kingston, giving evidence that it can be operational in third person singular contexts; however it behaved differently to the general findings outlined in section 5.1.3. In general, NPs and non-adjacent pronouns have been found to tend to favour -s production, while adjacent pronouns often disfavour. Kingston, however, found pronouns and proper nouns to be generally neutral (or very slightly favouring -s) at .52 and .53, while noun phrases disfavoured -s at .29. It may be the case that this constraint operates differently in Type 2 dialects such as those in East Anglia, than in the Type 1

dialects which other studies of the northern subject rule have investigated – this is a question which will be addressed, and for which more East Anglian evidence will be presented, in the results for this study in section 5.4. It may also be the case that the linguistic constraints are not as operative in Kingston's data due to the fact that the overall use of -s is generally high, and there is subsequently less variation in this feature than in the studies from outside of East Anglia which were presented in section 5.1.3.

Bray (n.d.: 53ff.) also investigated these constraints in her follow up study of two East Anglian locations (Glemsford and Sudbury). In the analysis of the whole data set (i.e. both locations together), Bray reports similar results to the Kingston study, finding 'preceding' and 'following phonological environment' to be significant – but not in terms of whether the segments surrounding -s are vowels or consonants, but rather whether they are voiced or voiceless. However, unlike the previous study, here voiceless sounds were found to favour the production of -s with a factor weight of .57, and voiced sounds were found to slightly disfavour at .48. In the preceding environment dental and alveolar sounds were found to favour -s, with velar sounds slightly favouring but largely neutral, and bilabial, labio-dental and palatal-alveolar sounds disfavouring. This is not a dissimilar finding to the original study by Kingston. A break-down of 'voicing' and 'place of articulation' is not given for the 'following phonological environment'. The 'northern subject rule' was not found to be significant in the overall data, again possibly because of the generally high use of -s across the board, while 'verbal aspect' was not investigated in this study. It should also be noted that in both studies Kingston/Bray found external constraints (namely speaker 'age' and 'gender') to be more significant than internal ones. Such external constraints on verbal -s variation in East Anglian English will be discussed in section 5.2.3.

5.2.3 External constraints on verbal -s variation in East Anglia

As noted in section 5.2.2, more of the relatively modest amount of study of verbal -s in East Anglia has been devoted to external constraints than internal ones. Trudgill (1974: 55-63) focused on the social stratification of verbal -s marking among working- and middle class speakers in Norwich, finding a sharp stratification as per the discussion of external constraints outside of East Anglia presented in section 5.1.4. In casual everyday speech, the three working class groups show high usage of the traditional East Anglian zero marking variant, between 75% for the upper working class (UWC),

to 97% for the lower working class (LWC). There is a large discrepancy between the score for the 'highest' working class group, the UWC, and the 'lowest' middle class group, the lower middle class (LMC), who use zero only 29% of the time in casual speech. The 'highest' middle class group, the middle middle class (MMC), use zero in no more than a few percent of tokens in casual speech – i.e. barely at all. This finding gives a general picture that working class speakers in Trudgill's Norwich data overwhelmingly prefer the traditional East Anglian variant, while middle class speakers overwhelmingly prefer the standard -s marking variant. It is also interesting to note that in formal speech (i.e. speech which was more closely monitored by speakers), the LWC score shifts only slightly to 87%, showing that the use of zero is either not stigmatised, or is covertly favoured among this group. On the other hand, the LMC use only a very small amount of zero in formal speech, and the MMC use none at all – for these speakers the overtly prestigious and standard -s marking is the target (ibid: 61-62).

Sadly, the overall reported patterns in terms of age differences (and therefore possible linguistic change) reflect a situation of general loss of traditional East Anglian zero marking of third person singular present tense verbs. Kingston (2000: 50) reports that 'age' was selected as a significant factor in her Glemsford results, with younger speakers favouring the use of standard -s marking with a factor weight of .87, while middle aged and older speakers disfavour -s (and therefore favour the traditional form) at .25 and .12. Similarly, Bray (n.d.: 59) found 'age' to be significant – in this study, she investigated 8 different age groups (in roughly 10-year increments, from age 14 and below, up to age 80 and above). Bray's 3 youngest groups (speakers up to 36 years of age) favour the standard form -s, while her middle aged groups disfavour -s, and the oldest groups do so even more strongly. Spurling (2004) also found a sharp contrast between age-groups, with her younger speakers using -s 76% of the time, while her older speakers used it in just 21% of tokens. This pattern clearly points towards a change in progress away from traditional East Anglian zero marking of third person singular subjects. It should be noted, however, that none of these studies include 'social class' as an external factor, and as seen in Trudgill's work above, this variable appears to be highly socially stratified. It may be possible that the results for 'age' actually reflect a middle class-working class dichotomy, although the fact that the same result comes from three projects reduces this chance. However, as 'social class'

is included as an explanatory factor in the current study, this possibility will be investigated in section 5.4.

As for which groups are leading the potential change, Spurling finds that both younger males (factor weight .79) and younger females (.69) in Ipswich are innovators in the use of -s. In the older age group, the older females are the most conservative, disfavouring -s at .13 while the older males disfavour at .27. At first glance this result might seem to suggest that this is a rare example of a change in which males are taking the lead – however, it should be remembered that Spurling's results are based off of interviews with just 12 speakers (six younger, six older), and it may be that with more data the picture would begin to resemble that of the general sociolinguistic observation of females leading change. Furthermore, the differences between gender groups within each age group are minor – ultimately both younger males and females fairly strongly favour -s, while the older males and females both strongly disfavour it. It could perhaps be said that the change is being lead more-or-less equally by both females and males in the younger age group.

In Glemsford Kingston found a pattern much more like that observed generally in the sociolinguistic literature, with younger females leading the change by favouring -s at .91 while the younger males favoured at .72. In the older age group, the females however do disfavour -s very slightly more than the males, at .11 and .23 respectively, matching Spurling's finding for this group. The most interesting pattern is found in Kingston's middle aged group though, where the females behave similarly to the younger speakers in favouring -s at .91, while the males follow (and are even more conservative than) the older speakers in disfavouring at .05. Bray reports an almost identical finding in the follow up study of Glemsford, and also finds generally higher levels of -s marking across all groups in the urban town of Sudbury than the rural village of Glemsford, suggesting that the change is slower in the rural area (as was pointed out by Britain, 2010 in chapter 2).

These results lead us to expect to find a case of change in progress away from the traditional East Anglian zero marking in the three locations in this study, with the highest levels of -s usage expected among middle class speakers, and younger speakers, although it is not entirely clear from these results which gender group is to be expected to be leading the change. The remainder of the chapter will present the results

of the current study for Ipswich, Woodbridge and Wickham Market, beginning by outlining the methodological considerations undertaken in coding and analysing the data in section 5.3.

5.3 Methodological considerations

The first step in the analysis was to mine the interviews for possible occurrences of verbal -s marking in the present tense. It was noted in sections 5.1.1 and 5.2 that this is limited to third person singular subjects only in East Anglia, and so no other subjects are to be considered here. There are also other considerations to take into account when coding tokens of this variable. For one, all present tense verbs were considered except for the verb *to be*, which as explained in chapter 4 and again in section 5.1.1 does not follow the pattern of -s marking in English. This follows, for example, Trudgill (1974: 55), Bailey et al. (1989: 288) and Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999: 98). The auxiliaries *to have* and *to do* also behave slightly differently to regular verbs in the third person, as well as functioning as auxiliary verbs rather than full verbs, so have been marked out separately in some previous studies (e.g. Cheshire, 1982, Poplack and Tagliamonte, 1989, Godfrey and Tagliamonte, 1999). However, rather than automatically treating them as separate in this study, due in part to the lower number of tokens available for this morphosyntactic variable, this was instead incorporated into an internal constraint to be tested in the Rbrul models. If selected as significant the differences between these tokens of *to have* and *to do* and full verbs will be investigated in greater depth. The development of this constraint will be explained in more detail below. As well as tokens of the verb *to be*, instances of verbal -s followed by an /s/ or /z/ (e.g. *it make**s** **s**ense*, *she keep**s** **S**aturdays free*) were also excluded from the analysis. Godfrey and Tagliamonte (1999: 99) explain that in such cases "the following sibilant makes the morphological status of verbal *-s* impossible to determine".

In total, across the 72 interviews 1748 tokens were coded into an Excel spreadsheet, at an average of just over 24 tokens per speaker (some interviews produced as many as 30 tokens, one as low as 11 tokens, but most were around 20-25 tokens), and a multivariate analysis was carried out in Rbrul. Both log-odds and factor weights (labelled as 'FW') will be given in the multivariate results table presented

here, to cater for the personal preference of the reader. Both show more or less the same information – a positive log-odds number represents favouring of the application value (which here is the standard form -s), while a negative log-odds figure represents disfavouring of the application value. Similarly, a factor weight above 0.5 shows that a factor favours the application value, and anything under 0.5 disfavours. Any percentages of the use of variants given here are ascertained using the Labovian linguistic index formula, satisfying the principle of accountability (Labov, 1972: 72), and can be stated as:

$$\frac{\text{occurences of variant x}}{\text{possible occurences of all variants } (x + y + z \ldots)} \times 100$$

So for this variable, to work out the percentage of standard -s marking the index would be:

$$\frac{\text{occurences of} - \text{s marking}}{\text{total occurences of} - \text{s and zero}} \times 100$$

This is done automatically within Rbrul, so we can be completely certain of the accuracy of the percentages given. It would be useful, as an example, to briefly describe the modelling process (and the thought process behind it) for the overall Rbrul model for verbal -s variation in the whole dataset (i.e. all three locations together). The model was initially run with all factors in order to identify a) which factors were most important and b) the source of any interactions. The model went through three major changes from the first stage to the final one. One change was that the factor 'preceding word class' (e.g. noun, pronoun, conjunction) was included in the initial model; however due to a very high proportion of the tokens having either a noun or pronoun preceding the verb, this factor caused interaction with the 'subject type/adjacency' constraint which resulted in a mismatch between the step up and step down. As such, 'preceding word class' was removed from the model at an early stage; and later added back in, in a conflated form (pronoun vs other). It was found that

without this factor in the model, neither ‘aspect’ nor ‘subject type/adjacency’ were selected as significant, whereas when it was included, all three were. The other major change was that several different methods of categorising the surrounding phonological environment were tested, including ‘place of articulation’ (e.g. alveolar, dental, labial), ‘consonant or vowel’ (as per Poplack and Tagliamonte, 1989 and Godfrey and Tagliamonte, 1999), ‘voiced or voiceless segment’ (as per Kingston, 2000 and Bray, n.d.), and ‘manner of articulation’. These were tested in both the preceding and following environments. The only method of categorising this which was found to be significant and to reduce interactions in both preceding and following environments was a conflated ‘place of articulation’ factor, with alveolar and dental sounds coded as ‘coronal’, velar and palatal sounds coded as ‘dorsal’, bilabial, labial-velar and labiodental sounds coded as ‘labial’, glottal sounds coded as ‘laryngeal/guttural’, and vowels classified as front, back, mid-central (i.e. schwa) and diphthongs, and with the additional factor ‘pause’ in the following environment. The other major change was that some factors were conflated where necessary in order to eliminate interactions – for example in the ‘subject type/adjacency’ constraint, the factors ‘non-adjacent pronoun’ and ‘noun phrase’ behaved similarly in contrast to adjacent pronouns and so were conflated in order to better balance the token numbers (non-adjacent pronouns having just 194 tokens, while noun phrases had 408 – together 602 – and adjacent pronouns having 1146 tokens). The final model which will be presented here is represented in Table 12.

Constraint	Factors
Subject type/adjacency	Adjacent pronoun, Noun phrase or non-adjacent pronoun
Type of verb	Full verb, auxiliary (have or do)
Preceding word class	Pronoun, other
Verbal aspect	Punctual, habitual, continuous
Preceding place of articulation	Coronal, dorsal, labial, laryngeal/guttural, front vowel, back vowel, mid-central vowel, diphthong
Following place of articulation	Coronal, dorsal, labial, laryngeal/guttural, front vowel, back vowel, mid-central vowel, diphthong, pause
Underlying form of -s	Voiced [z], voiceless [s], epenthetic [əz]
Age	Younger, middle, older
Gender	Female, Male
Social class	Working class, middle class
Location	Ipswich, Woodbridge, Wickham Market

Table 12 Constraints on verbal -s in the whole Suffolk dataset

Section 5.4 will present the results of a multivariate analysis of this model conducted in Rbrul.

5.4 Results

The results of a step up/step down run on the above model are presented in Table 13 (cont. overleaf).

Application value = -s (the standard form) R^2 = 0.508, log likelihood = -526.936				
Constraint	**Logodds**	**FW**	**Tokens**	**% -s**
Social class (p<0.01)				
Middle	0.941	0.719	873	94.3%
Working	-0.941	0.281	875	73.8%
Preceding place of articulation (p<0.01)				
Back vowel	1.535	0.823	262	92.7%
Front vowel	0.867	0.704	396	91.9%
Mid-central vowel	0.286	0.571	67	91%
Laryngeal/guttural	0.186	0.546	200	89.5%
Coronal	-0.011	0.497	256	86.3%
Labial	-0.759	0.319	168	77.4%
Dorsal	-0.869	0.296	191	77.5%
Diphthong	-1.235	0.225	208	59.1%
Age (p<0.01)				
Younger	1.231	0.774	590	95.1%
Middle	-0.307	0.424	603	83.3%
Older	-0.924	0.284	555	73.2%
Preceding word class (p<0.01)				
Pronoun	1.011	0.733	1083	86.1%
Other	-1.011	0.267	665	80.8%
Subject type/adjacency (p<0.01)				
NP or non-adjacent pronoun	0.964	0.724	602	85.4%
Adjacent pronoun	-0.964	0.276	1146	83.3%
Gender (p<0.01)				
Female	0.307	0.576	882	87.4%
Male	-0.307	0.424	866	80.6%
Location (p<0.01)				
Woodbridge	0.391	0.596	599	87.5%
Ipswich	-0.014	0.496	581	83.1%
Wickham Market	-0.377	0.407	568	81.3%

Application value = -s (the standard form) R^2 = 0.508, log likelihood = -526.936				
Constraint	**Logodds**	**FW**	**Tokens**	**% -s**
Verbal aspect (p<0.02)				
Punctual	0.244	0.561	542	89.3%
Habitual	0.135	0.534	867	83.6%
Continuous	-0.379	0.406	339	76.7%
Following place of articulation (p<0.03)				
Diphthong	0.564	0.637	51	90.2%
Front vowel	0.275	0.568	116	87.1%
Laryngeal/guttural	0.273	0.568	89	86.5%
Back vowel	0.253	0.563	103	86.4%
Dorsal	0.205	0.551	241	91.7%
Labial	-0.167	0.458	238	85.7%
Pause	-0.409	0.399	103	80.6%
Coronal	-0.433	0.393	633	81.2%
Mid-central vowel	-0.561	0.363	174	77%

Table 13 Results for multivariate analysis of verbal -s in the whole Suffolk dataset

The overall finding is that the use of -s across all speakers is very high, with 84% of all tokens being -s marked and just 16% zero marked. This shows that, while there is still limited variability in this feature in the whole dataset, speakers are on the whole far more likely to use the standard form – hinting that not only is this feature likely to be found to be undergoing change in the current data (given that we know East Anglia has traditionally zero marked third singular subjects), but that this change is likely to be at a very late stage indeed. In terms of internal constraints, all of those found to be significant in another peripheral British dialect in Devon (Godfrey and Tagliamonte, 1999) were found to be so in Suffolk too. The only constraints found not to be significant were 'type of verb' (suggesting that there is little justification in marking out tokens of *to have* and *to do* out separately in the data – and to do so would leave just 995 tokens of full verbs to analyse), and the 'underlying form of -s'. Of the remaining (significant) internal constraints, the 'place of articulation' of the preceding sound was found to be the most important in constraining the use of -s. Although the categorisation of this constraint into 'consonant' or 'vowel' was not found to be

significant, the general pattern noted here does find vowels to favour -s more often than not in the preceding environment, which matches Poplack and Tagliamonte's (1989) and Godfrey and Tagliamonte's (1999) findings. Back vowels favour most strongly with a factor weight of .82, followed by front vowels at .70, with mid-central vowels slightly above neutral at .57. The only vowel group to buck this trend and disfavour -s is diphthongs at .23. On the other hand, consonants tend to disfavour -s (again, as predicted in the literature), with labial sounds disfavouring at .32, and dorsals at .30. Coronal sounds are all but neutral at .47, while the only consonantal group to favour -s is the laryngeal/guttural sounds (i.e. glottal stops) – although they are still fairly neutral at .55. As noted in the section 5.3, 'voicing' (which was important in Kingston and Bray's data) was found not to be significant at an earlier stage of the modelling process. The 'following phonological environment' was selected as the least significant (nonetheless, still statistically significant) internal constraint for the whole Suffolk dataset, and as predicted in the literature does behave similarly to the preceding environment in that, again, vowels are generally more likely to favour the standard form -s than consonants. This time a following diphthong most strongly favours the production of -s at .63, followed by front vowels and back vowels at .57 and .56 respectively. A following mid-central vowel (i.e. schwa) on this occasion does not follow this pattern though, most strongly disfavouring -s at .36. At the same time, consonants are more likely to be neutral (i.e. dorsals at .55) or to disfavour -s, as labial and coronal sounds do (.46 and .39 respectively). Again the laryngeal/guttural group breaks this trend by favouring -s at .57, slightly above neutral. Surprisingly a following pause actually disfavours the occurrence of -s marking at .40, despite the added salience of this environment which would be expected to promote use of the standard form. In general we can identify a pattern of vowels mainly favouring -s in both preceding and following environments and consonants mainly disfavouring in both environments, as found by both Poplack and Tagliamonte and Godfrey and Tagliamonte, albeit with a few slight exceptions.

The 'preceding word class' was selected as significant, with pronouns favouring -s production at .73, while the conflated other word class group disfavours at .27. Similarly, the 'northern subject rule' (or 'subject type/adjacency') constraint showed that subjects which were noun phrases or non-adjacent pronouns favoured standard -s marking at .72, while adjacent pronouns disfavoured at .28. This exactly

matches the general finding outlined by Britain (2010) in section 5.1.3, suggesting that this rule is operative in at least some Type 2 dialects in the same manner as in Type 1 dialects. Finally for the internal constraints in the overall Suffolk dataset, although 'aspect' was selected as a significant constraint, its behaviour here does not match that of Godfrey and Tagliamonte in Devon. Whereas they found habitual verbs to favour -s, punctual to disfavour and continuous to be neutral, here punctual verbs were found to favour -s (slightly above neutral) at .56, habitual verbs were more or less neutral but slightly favoured at .53, and continuous utterances disfavoured -s at .41. A key point to note throughout this discussion (and which may help to explain the finding for 'verbal aspect' in particular) is that, although Rbrul returned some factors as favouring or disfavouring -s marking, because the overall use of -s is high in the dataset even those factors which disfavour -s still generally show high percentage use of the standard form. In order to test whether this has an effect on the results for internal constraints, a multivariate analysis will be presented featuring only middle-aged and older speakers, who as will be seen later in this section have greater rates of variability for this variable than the younger speakers, who are all but categorical in the use of -s.

When you remove all of the younger speakers' tokens, there are 1158 tokens of verbal -s from the middle-aged and older speakers to investigate. Table 14 shows that when the same constraints are run on older and middle-aged speakers only, the result is fairly similar to that presented in Table 13.

Application value = -s (the standard form) R^2 = 0.434, log likelihood = -441.226				
Constraint	**Logodds**	**FW**	**Tokens**	**% of -s**
Social class (p<0.01)				
Middle	0.943	0.72	556	91.9%
Working	-0.943	0.28	602	65.9%
Preceding place of articulation (p<0.01)				
Back vowel	1.259	0.779	154	89.6%
Mid-central vowel	1.049	0.741	44	93.2%
Front vowel	0.851	0.701	276	88.8%
Laryngeal/guttural	0.132	0.533	135	85.2%
Coronal	-0.219	0.445	165	80%
Labial	-0.748	0.321	121	71.9%
Dorsal	-0.856	0.298	115	69.6%
Diphthong	-1.468	0.187	148	47.3%
Preceding word class (p<0.01)				
Pronoun	0.895	0.71	727	81.2%
Other	-0.895	0.29	431	73.8%
Gender (p<0.01)				
Female	0.479	0.618	578	84.9%
Male	-0.479	0.382	580	71.9%
Subject type (p<0.01)				
NP or non-adjacent pronoun	0.826	0.696	390	79.2%
Adjacent pronoun	-0.826	0.304	768	78%
Age (p<0.01)				
Middle	0.33	0.582	603	83.3%
Older	-0.33	0.418	555	73.2%
Location (p<0.01)				
Woodbridge	0.359	0.589	406	82.5%
Ipswich	0.002	0.5	390	77.9%
Wickham Market	-0.361	0.411	362	74.3%

Table 14 Results for multivariate analysis of verbal -s in the whole Suffolk dataset - middle aged and older speakers only

The ‘underlying form of -s’ was again not selected as significant, and on this occasion neither were the ‘following phonological environment’ nor ‘verbal aspect’. Otherwise, the same constraints were found to be significant as for the whole dataset. The ‘preceding phonological environment’ result is almost identical to the main model above, with the only notable difference being the mid-central vowels favouring -s slightly more strongly than before. Otherwise, vowels are generally more likely to favour -s and consonants to disfavour, with the same exceptions. Interestingly neither preceding (nor indeed following) ‘consonant vs vowel’ or ‘voiced vs voiceless’ was selected as significant when tested – these were found to be significant by Poplack and Tagliamonte/Godfrey and Tagliamonte, and Kingston/Bray respectively. Otherwise the results for the other internal factors selected as significant are also very similar to the model which includes the younger speakers. Again, it is important to note that the external factors are very important for this variable, with all four being selected as significant – indeed, when just the internal constraints were run without the external ones, the R^2 number fell below 0.1 (i.e. hardly any of the variation is explained by internal factors alone). As will be highlighted below, the use of -s is still high among the middle-aged group (83%), and even the older speakers use -s 73% of the time, so although the (all but) categorical younger speakers have been removed, the amount of variability in the data is still relatively small, which may reduce the effect of internal constraints.

Turning to the external constraints in the main model (Table 13), all four of those included in the multivariate analysis were found to be significant. As reported earlier, this matches Kingston/Bray and Spurling, who found external constraints to be more important conditioning factors than internal constraints in their respective studies of verbal -s in Suffolk. ‘Social class’ was selected as the most significant constraint in the overall dataset, with a p value of 7.93e-29 (i.e. much less than 0.01). Middle class speakers favour the standard form at .72, while working class speakers disfavour at .28. This preference for -s amongst the middle class speakers matches Trudgill’s finding from Norwich; however it is not anywhere near as sharply stratified as even the working class participants use -s 73% of the time. More light will be shed on this situation below. As for ‘gender’, females prefer -s at .88 while males disfavour at .42, although again the use of -s is high in both groups (87% for females and 81% for males). The most interesting findings for external constraints, however, come in the

discussions of the use of -s by different age groups. Earlier, it was predicted that the overall use of -s being at 84% across all speakers suggests that this feature may be at a late stage of change in the Suffolk dataset. The findings for 'age' here strongly support this hypothesis. In the multivariate analysis, younger speakers favour -s at .77, while middle-aged and older speakers disfavour at .42 and .28 respectively. However, Figure 4 shows that even among the older speakers the usage of -s is at 73%, suggesting that this change is present even in the majority of older speakers.

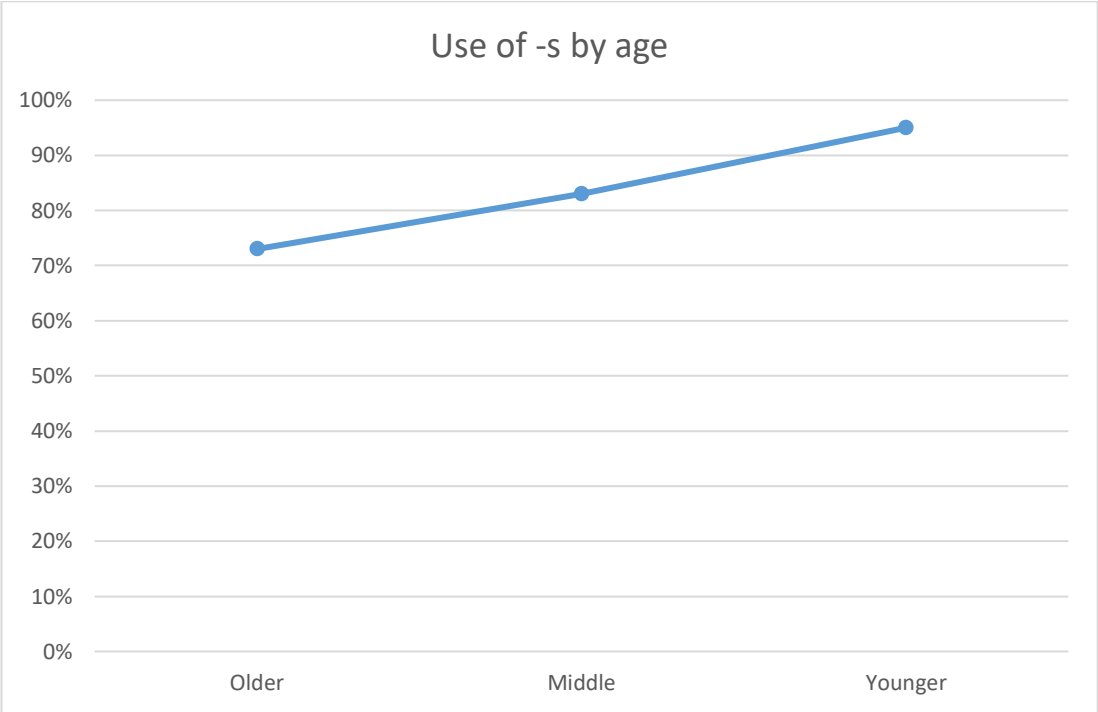

Figure 4 Graph showing the percentage use of -s by age group in the whole Suffolk dataset

The graph also shows that younger speakers are all but categorical in their use of -s (95%). The picture becomes clearer, however, when we cross-tabulate 'age' with 'social class', as in Figure 5.

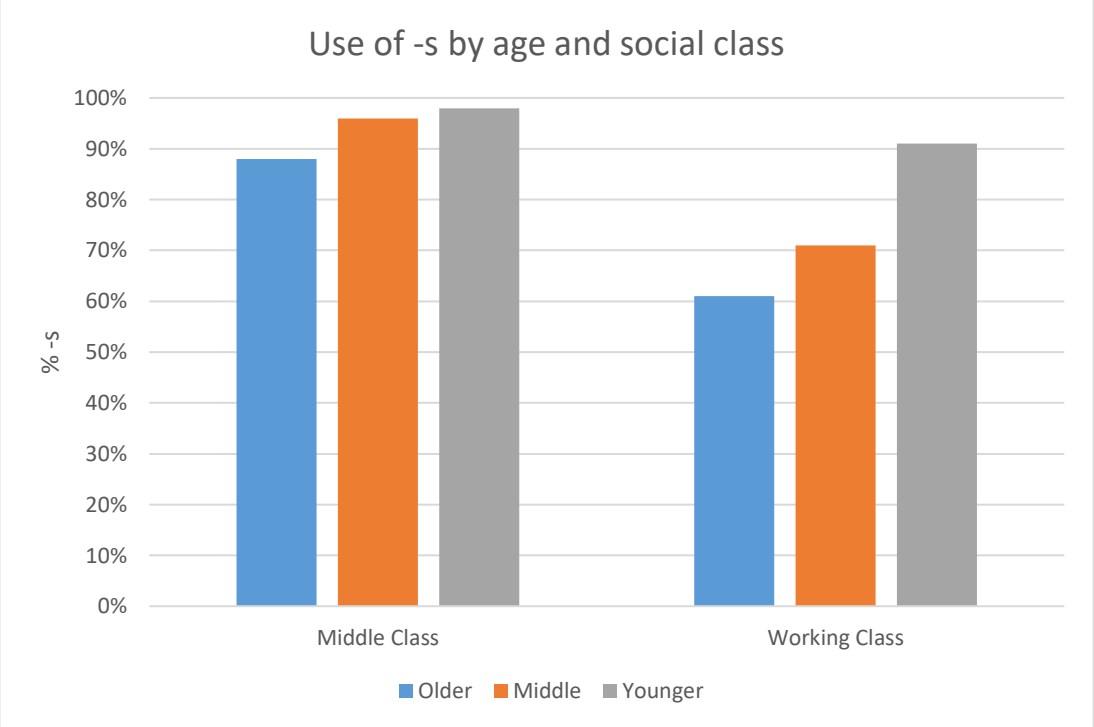

Figure 5 Graph showing the percentage use of -s by age and social class in the whole Suffolk dataset

Here we can clearly see that although the younger working class speakers are still very frequent users of -s (91%), and resemble all middle class groups in this respect, the middle-aged and older working class speakers are the most conservative in retaining variability in the use of verbal -s with just 71% and 61% use of -s respectively. This pattern shows more clearly the social stratification identified for this variable by Trudgill (1974) in Norwich, and also suggests that it may in recent times be being lost, although more data is needed in the future to confirm this. Turning to a cross-tabulation of 'age' with 'gender' in the overall dataset, Figure 6 shows that females generally prefer the use of -s more than males within each age group, with the slight exception of the younger speakers.

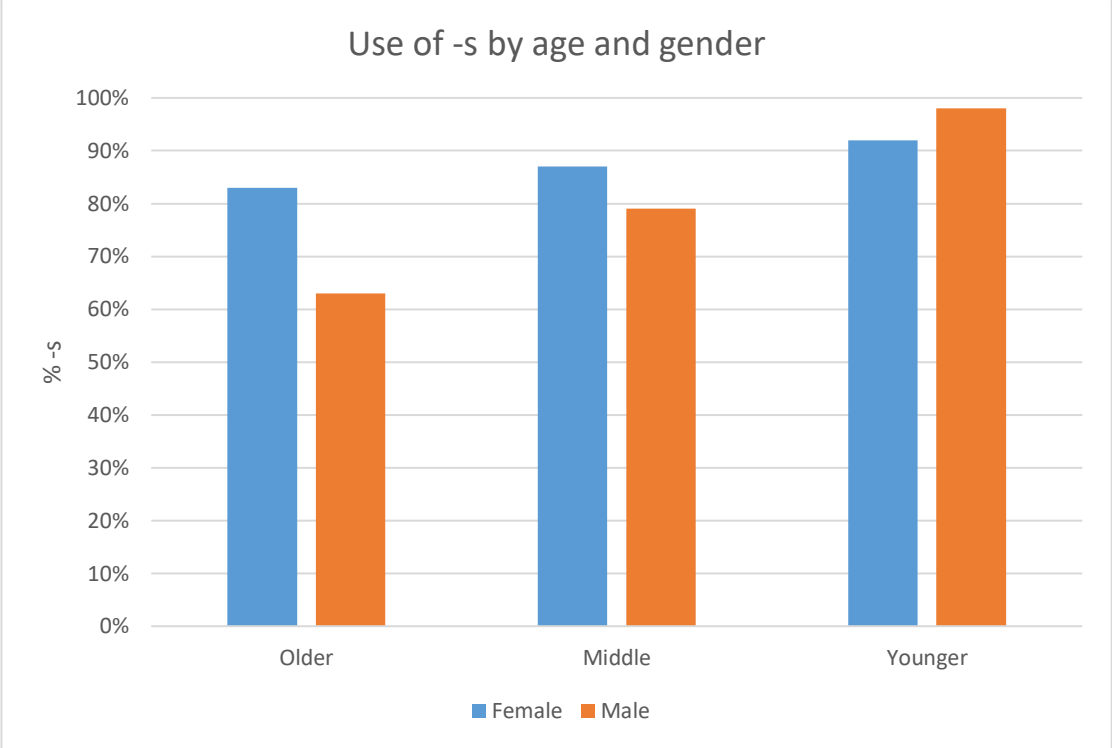

Figure 6 Graph showing the percentage use of -s by age and gender in the whole Suffolk dataset

The fact that the younger males are ahead of their female counterparts may at first appear to suggest that the use of -s is a male led change, and this is reminiscent of Spurling's (2004) finding in Ipswich. However, given the very minor difference between younger females and males (after all, the younger females still use -s 92% of the time), and that the older and middle-aged males are behind their female counterparts, it seems more likely that this is instead caused by individual idiosyncrasies among the younger speakers. It may be the case that, because the use of -s is generally very high among this group, any slight deviation from this (i.e. use of zero by one or two younger female speakers) is amplified. Figure 7, a cross-tabulation of 'age', 'gender' and 'social class' in the whole dataset, sheds a little more light on this situation – the middle class younger speakers show only an extremely minor difference between females (97% -s) and males (100% -s) – in other words, both are categorical or near categorical in using the -s marked form. Figure 7 shows that the likely cause of the slightly lower levels of -s among younger females are the working class younger females – but again the difference between males and females in this category is so small that it is unlikely to be significant – both still strongly favour the use of -s, and can be said to be leading the change to an equal extent.

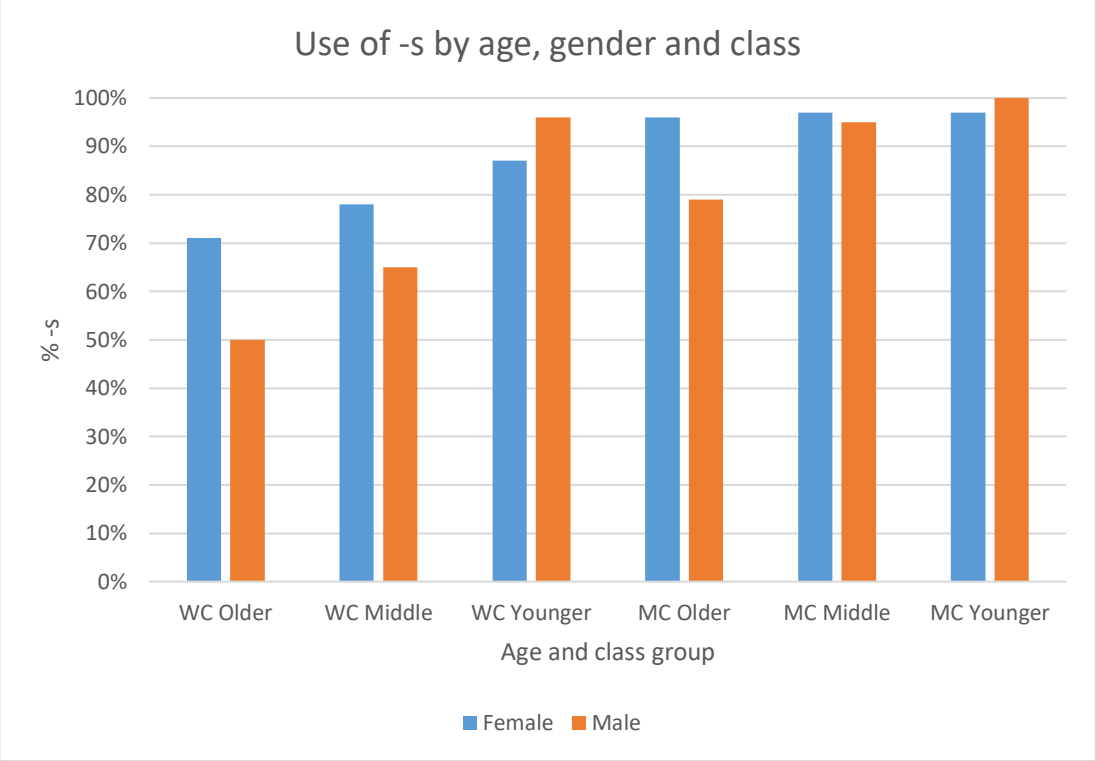

Figure 7 Graph showing the percentage use of -s by age, gender and social class in the whole Suffolk dataset

This trend for younger males to use the standard variant slightly more often than their female counterparts will be discussed in chapter 7.

The final external constraint to be covered here is 'location'. This was included as a factor in the Rbrul run in order to firstly ascertain whether there is a significant difference between the use of -s in the three locations or not. This factor was found to be significant with a p value of less than 0.01, which suggests that there is a difference in the use of -s among these three locations – with Woodbridge favouring -s at .60, Ipswich neutral at .50 and Wickham Market disfavouring -s at .41. That said, the average use of -s overall in Wickham is still as high as 81%, which suggests that although the rural area may be maintaining the use of traditional East Anglian zero marking to some extent, the change is still occurring in Wickham, as in Ipswich and Woodbridge. Anecdotally, the most basilectal speaker was found in Wickham, an older (now-retired) gentleman who spent most of his working life as a shoe mender, taking on his family's shop in the central village square. The shop closed when he retired as his son (now middle-aged with young adult children of his own) chose to move out of Wickham to find work in the tertiary sector. As reported in chapter 2, Britain (2009:

233) amalgamates findings from Kingston/Bray and Spurling's studies of verbal -s in Glemsford, Sudbury and Ipswich – showing that among both older and younger speakers the use of traditional East Anglian zero marking has receded least in the most urban area, Ipswich. The results in this study do not quite bear the same result, as Figure 8 shows.

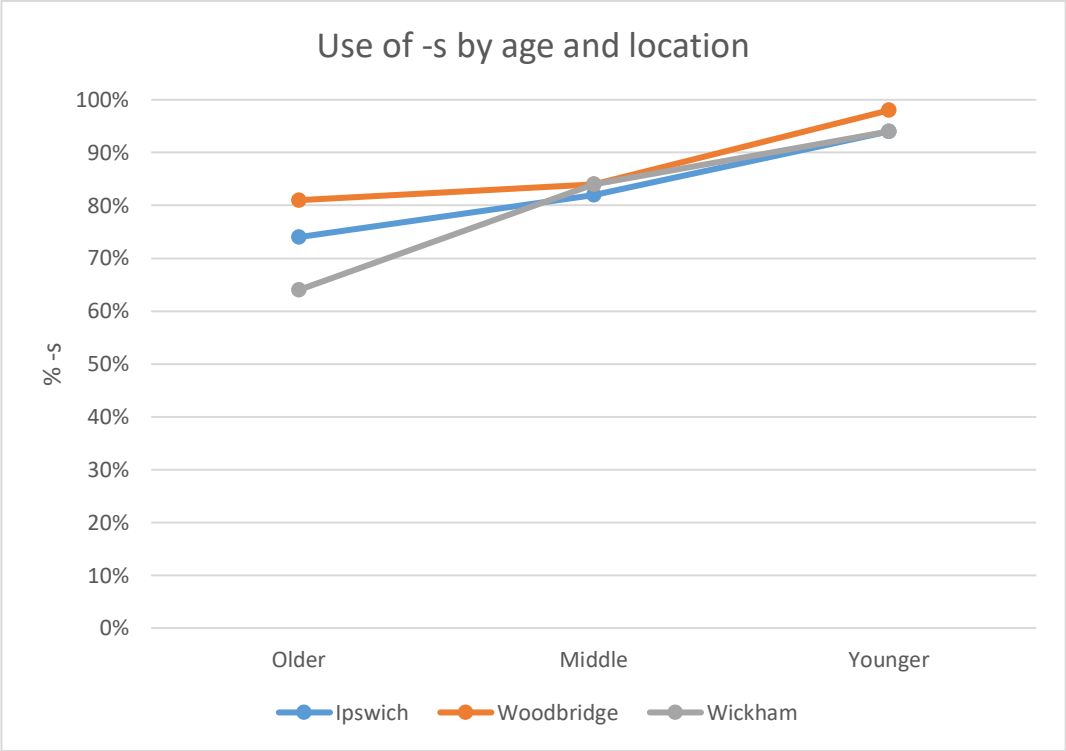

Figure 8 Graph showing the percentage use of -s by age in the three locations

Here we can see that Woodbridge (the small town) generally has the highest use of standard -s marking in all age groups. However, contrary to what would be expected from the finding detailed by Britain, here the rural area Wickham, not the urban area Ipswich, has the lowest use of -s (and consequently the highest maintenance of zero) in the older age group. There is then convergence in the use of -s in the three locations among the middle aged group, and in the younger age group Ipswich and Wickham share the joint lowest use of -s – but the gap to Woodbridge is also significantly reduced among this generation. This shows a striking contrast between the stratified pattern among the older speakers – exhibiting a wider range between the community with the most -s marking (Woodbridge, 81%) and that with the least (Wickham, 64%)

– and the convergence of all three locations among the middle aged and younger speakers. This suggests that, as zero marking is being lost, the three communities are moving away from a situation in which 'location' seems to have some predictive effect on speakers' use of -s and zero (i.e. older Woodbridge speakers are more likely to produce -s than older Ipswich and Wickham speakers in turn), and towards a situation whereby middle aged and younger speakers from all three locations show a similarly high level of -s marking – regardless of which community they are from. In other words, not only is the traditional zero form being lost, but so too is any distinction between different communities within Suffolk for this feature. As will be discussed further in chapter 7, it appears that the use of verbal -s in this dataset does not correlate with an arrangement of the communities along an urban-rural continuum. Finally, Table 15 presents a cross-tabulation between 'age' and 'social class' in the three locations.

Ipswich		
	Middle class	**Working class**
Older	89%	58%
Middle	95%	71%
Younger	98%	89%
Wickham Market		
Older	76%	53%
Middle	94%	75%
Younger	97%	90%
Woodbridge		
Older	98%	69%
Middle	97%	68%
Younger	100%	95%

Table 15 Use of -s by age and social class in the three locations

This table clearly demonstrates a general social class stratification (middle class speakers preferring -s) which holds across the three locations, as well as a general age pattern (younger speakers using -s more often than their middle-aged and older

counterparts, pointing to the likely loss of the traditional East Anglian zero marking form) which also holds across the three locations.

This chapter has presented an investigation of the morphosyntactic linguistic variable verbal -s, as spoken in the three Suffolk locations. Generally speaking the external constraints were found to be the most important in explaining the variation observed, with the main finding being that this variable appears to be at a late stage of linguistic change. In each of the three locations the traditional East Anglian zero marking variant appears to have all but been lost among younger speakers, although the change has progressed slightly less far in the urban area Ipswich and the rural area Wickham. Chapter 6 will present the results for another traditional East Anglian dialect feature, referred to here as the 'David' variable.

Chapter 6 Linguistic Variable 2: The 'David' Variable

This chapter will present the findings for the second linguistic variable investigated in this study, the 'David' variable. This variable is phonological, that is to say it is concerned with the variation between two phonemes in a given context. The chapter will begin by highlighting the processes underpinning the reduction of vowels to schwa in unstressed syllables in English (section 6.1). It will then give an outline of the 'David' variable (section 6.2.1), including its history (section 6.2.2), previous study (section 6.2.3-6.2.4), and how it has been treated in this investigation (section 6.3). The results for the variable will be presented in section 6.4.

6.1 Unstressed vowels

With regards to the realisation of unstressed vowels in English, Lass (1992) explains:

> "In many Germanic (and other) languages, unstressed syllables tend to behave rather differently from stressed ones. Their vowels shorten, may be qualitatively unstable and neutralise, giving unstressed vowel inventories simpler than stressed ones; the vowels are often less peripheral, so that the product of neutralisation may be a mid central [ə]-type; and the vowels, or even the whole syllables, tend to delete. [However] [t]hese are only tendencies (if reasonably explicable ones), not universals"
>
> (Lass, 1992: 76)

Giegerich (1992: 284-287) also states that schwa is the usual form for reduced vowels in unstressed syllables in English, for example in connected speech the words *as* and *at* are more likely to be produced as [əz] and [əʔ] rather than [æz] and [æʔ] (or in the absence of t-glottalling, [æt]). However, Giegerich points out that schwa is not the only vowel which can occur in unstressed syllables in English – noting that "/ə/ and /ɪ/ tend to contrast in weak [unstressed] forms just as they do in [stressed] citation forms" (citation forms here being idealised pronunciations of words in isolation, "enunciated with optimal clarity and at a fairly slow tempo") (ibid: 287, 249), and also that "there are no minimal pairs contrasting schwa with any vowel other than /ɪ/… under [primary and] secondary stress all vowel phonemes can occur, while in unstressed syllables only schwa and /ɪ/ are possible" (ibid: 69). This is the variation upon which the 'David'

variable to be investigated in this project is built. It is important to highlight, as Giegerich does, that this contrast between [ə] and [ɪ] occurs only in fully unstressed syllables – all vowels of English can occur in stressed syllables, even those that carry secondary stress (for example, the final syllable in a word such as *nightingale* has secondary stress – the primary stress being on the first syllable – and contains the vowel [eɪ] rather than a schwa) (ibid: 67).

Although unstressed vowels are often characterised as being /ə/ and /ɪ/, the exact realisation can vary in different instances. Flemming and Johnson (2007) set out to show that the general trend of transcribing most unstressed vowels in American English as schwa was in fact misguided, arguing that the majority of unstressed vowels in non word-final positions (in terms of phonetic segments, not syllables, e.g. in *roses*) were in fact closer to a barred-i, [ɨ], than [ə] or even [ɪ]. On the other hand, word-final unstressed syllables, such as in *Rosa* and *sofa*, as well as forms of the same words affixed by possessive and plural -s, for example in this case *Rosa's* and *sofas*, are the only environment in which the vowel most resembles a schwa rather than barred-i. This means that the words *roses* and *Rosa's* are a minimal pair, separated only by the realisation of the unstressed vowel as [ɨ] or schwa. They further explain:

> "The preservation of word-final schwa quality in suffixed words like *Rosa's* and *sofas* is part of a more general pattern: all word-final unstressed vowel qualities are preserved under affixation of the plural or possessive suffix, so [ˈsɪɾiz] *cities* preserves the unstressed tense [i] that otherwise only appears in word-final position, and the same applies to the [oʊ] of [ˈmɑɾoʊz] *mottoes*. So the minimal contrast between barred-i and schwa in pairs like *roses–Rosa's* can only arise because of the difference in morphological structure between the two words: in *roses* the stem boundary precedes the reduced vowel, [[ɹoʊz]ɨz], while in *Rosa's* it follows it, [[ɹoʊzə]z]"
>
> (Flemming and Johnson, 2007: 94, italics in original)

Through the comparison of recorded minimal pairs of the *roses–Rosa's* type by 9 American English speakers, Flemming and Johnson showed that there is a difference between the unstressed vowels produced in word final position (e.g. *Rosa, Rosa's*, *sofa*, *sofas*) and word-internally (e.g. *roses*, *leases*, *rushes*). They demonstrate through plots of the F1 and F2 of their participants' vowels in the minimal pairs test that while the unstressed vowels in both environments are central, those word-internally

generally tend to be higher (i.e. barred-i), while those word-finally are generally slightly lower (i.e. mid-central schwa). This is solid evidence that a vowel similar to – although not exactly the same as – /ɪ/ occurs regularly in unstressed syllables in English, as asserted by Giegerich above, but also that this vowel (barred-i) is not quite as front or as high as the stressed /ɪ/ which occurs in words of the KIT lexical set. Similarly, Giegerich (1992: 68) points out that the exact realisation of schwa can vary from speaker to speaker, sometimes even as back as to almost resemble [ʌ]. That said, speakers are clearly able to hear a difference between an intended barred-i and schwa – Flemming and Johnson (2007: 88-89) report that as part of their research they conducted a perception test with six of their participants, asking them to identify the order in which words from minimal pairs such as *roses–Rosa's* and *leases–Lisa's* were spoken in a recording of a single speaker. The participants were able to identify minimal pairs in the correct order that they appeared on the recording on average 88% of the time, "and all subjects performed at well above chance levels", showing that the difference in the pronunciation of unstressed /ɪ/ and /ə/ is meaningful to listeners regardless of the exact realisation of each vowel.

Gimson and Cruttenden (2001: 127-128) assert that the tendency for schwa to occur most often in unstressed syllables has been a feature of English for at least the last 1000 years. Lass (1992: 76ff.) describes this process in great detail, beginning by asserting that "by the earliest historical Old English times" all long vowels in unstressed syllables had been shortened, before merging over the next several centuries. The exact realisation of this merged unstressed vowel is not clear; however judging by historical evidence from spellings (given the obvious lack of audio evidence) Lass claims that it may have started as a slightly front /e/ vowel, before moving towards the mid-central schwa which has become the modern norm. It should be noted that as this is based on spelling data and there is, and never has been, no set spelling for unstressed vowels in English, it is difficult to draw firm conclusions about the exact realisation of such vowels (MacMahon, 1998: 419). Nevertheless, Lass (1992) dates the first evidence for the present-day appearance of /ɪ/ instead of /ə/ in certain unstressed contexts (e.g. affixes such as -ing, -ish and ge-) to the 13th and 14th centuries. By this time, word-final schwa in open syllables in lexical items such as *nose*, [nɔːzə] and *same*, [saːmə] had been deleted (although some remain to this day, such as in the examples of *Rosa* and *sofa* from above). The closed syllables are most

interesting for this study of the 'David' variable, and Lass also extensively outlines the processes underlying the deletion of schwa in many of these contexts:

> "The overriding phonological criterion is that /ə/ always remains if its deletion would cause an illegal cluster to arise : thus *weapon* keeps its /ə/ because it would otherwise end in **/pn/, and similarly *bottom*, *bosom*. With inflectional endings, deletion plus phonotactically derived constraints eventually give rise to variant allomorphs. Thus noun plurals and genitives in *-es* following a sibilant remain (*hors-es, hous-es*); otherwise /ə/ is lost (*catt-es* > *cat-s*), with assimilation of the remaining /z/ to /s/ after voiceless segments. After vowels /ə/ is lost on the general principle of hiatus avoidance… : thus *law-es* > *law-s*. There is a similar pattern in weak past-tense and participial endings : retention after /t d/ (*want-ed, wound-ed*), loss elsewhere, with assimilation of /d/ to /t/ after voiceless segments (*kiss-ed*). Here, as in the genitive and plural, deletion is blocked if an illegal cluster would result : deletion in *wounded* would give **/dd/, just as in *houses* it would give **/zz/"
>
> (Lass, 1992: 81, italics in original)

This very clearly explains how the modern-day distribution of schwa (or barred-i) in unstressed syllables developed – as Lass notes, in essence unstressed vowels were deleted in every closed syllable environment which would not create an illegal consonantal cluster, and remained in those which would.

Lass (1999: 134-135) describes how a tendency for both /ɪ/-like and /ə/-like (perhaps backer, resembling more closely [ʌ]) vowels to occur in unstressed syllables in which the vowel had not previously undergone deletion continued to emerge between the 15th and 18th centuries. Of particular note is the prescriptive urge in the late 1700s to command speakers of (perceived) higher social standing to produce the full range of vowel contrasts in unstressed syllables as in stressed ones – Lass comments that this pronunciation is championed as "'elegant' [but] is probably by that time already artificial, like what we still hear from school-teachers and clergymen who try to distinguish *counsel* and *council*, *allusion* and *illusion*". This could be characterised as a sort of hypercorrection by ultra-RP speakers, which as Lass correctly (albeit somewhat stereotypically) notes is still present in the modern-day English of some sectors of society. Finally, MacMahon (1998: 418ff.) charts the continued rise of the preference for either /ɪ/ or /ə/ in unstressed syllables between the late 18th and early 21st centuries. His Figures 5.1 and 5.2 in particular show this trend

very clearly, recording the approximate reported realisations of unstressed vowels in numerous lexical items showcasing different surrounding phonological environments, both word initially (e.g. *alert*, *destroy*, *eclipse*) and word finally (e.g. *backward*, *parish*, *cabbage*) respectively, using data from the late 18th, 19th and 20th centuries. The overall trend seems to be largely the (reported) use of /ɪ/ or /ə/ more often than other vowels. There are however plenty of examples of vowels such as /æ/ (e.g. in the second syllable of *frigate*), /ɛ/ (e.g. in the second syllable of *sweetness*), /ɒ/ (e.g. in the second syllable of *bannock*), /ɔ:/ (e.g. in the second syllable of *forward* – c.f. *backward* reported with schwa above) and /ʌ/ (e.g. the second syllable of *husband*, *diamond* – although it is not clear that this is not a form of perhaps slightly lower schwa) reported in the 18th century data, but these are almost entirely merged to schwa-like or /ɪ/-like vowel by the 20th century data.

This section has functioned as an introduction to the issues around the realisation of vowels in unstressed syllables in English, and has provided a snapshot of the historical development of the modern day preference for /ɪ/ and /ə/ in 'unaccented', 'weak' or 'reduced' syllables. Section 6.2 will introduce the second linguistic variable to be investigated in this thesis, the 'David' variable.

6.2 The 'David' variable

6.2.1 Introduction to variable

This variable concerns the variation between [ɪ] and [ə] in unstressed syllables. Rather than the allophonic distribution between the two phonemes outlined in section 6.1, (i.e. as asserted by Flemming and Johnson, 2007, in most dialects of English schwa and /ɪ/ each occur in specific unstressed contexts) this variable deals with cases where an expected unstressed /ɪ/ (in most varieties of British English at least, for example the 'prestige' accent RP) is realised as [ə] by East Anglian speakers. Examples of this include realisations of words such as *horses* as [hɔːsəz] rather than RP (and others) [hɔːsɪz], *wanted* as [wɑnʔəd] rather than [wɑnʔɪd] (both vowels also possible without t-glottalling), and *David* as [deɪvəd] rather than [deɪvɪd] (Trudgill, 1986: 53). Although as previously discussed the exact realisation of unstressed schwa and barred-i can vary slightly, the symbols [ə] and [ɪ] will be used here to refer to a schwa-like vowel and a

barred-i-like vowel respectively – justifications for this will be discussed further in section 6.3.

Trudgill (1986: 53) asserts that East Anglian English varieties traditionally had a phonotactic constraint which allowed only a schwa to occur in all unstressed syllables, open or closed. He adds that, although this does not necessarily prevent change to the dialect towards the use of other unstressed vowels (such as [ɪ]), it is very likely to slow the process down. The pronunciation of phrases like *mornin' David* as [mɔːnən deɪvəd] is somewhat stereotypical of East Anglian speakers, hence the name the 'David' variable. Trudgill (ibid) also states that this variable is likely to be salient to speakers as it involves variation between two phonemes and is subject to a phonotactic constraint – and its presence in stereotypical representations of Suffolk speech in local layperson dialect literature would appear to confirm this theory (e.g. the spellings of *Newmarket* as *Noomark't*, *enough* as *anuff*, *facing* as *fayc'n*, *waiting* as *wait'n*, and *warming* as *warm'n* in Haylock, 2008: 9, 23 25, 55, 95). This is a well attested feature of East Anglian English in (socio)linguistic literature (e.g. Kokeritz 1932, Trudgill 1974, 1986, 2001a, 2004a, Wells 1982b, Kingston 2000, Potter 2014, Butcher, 2015), but references to its existence are mainly in passing and it has, with some exceptions, received little attention as a linguistic variable to date – for example Trudgill (1974: 84) describes the usual realisation of the alveolar nasal variant of (-ing) as being [ən] rather than [ɪn] in Norwich, but otherwise does not specifically investigate the variation between [ɪ] and [ə] in his data. This is also the only mention which the variable receives in Wells (1982b: 339). Kingston (2000: 59) points out that the schwa variant can only occur before the alveolar nasal in such forms, and that realisations of (-ing) words with a schwa preceding /ŋ/ are not possible. Butcher (2015: 48) suggests that this may be due to schwa and /ŋ/ sharing a similar place of articulation, which results in /ŋ/ operating similarly to a syllabic consonant – which it may not do as "the velar nasal is restricted to appearing only within the coda in English". She further shows through optimality theory that neither [əŋ] nor syllabic [n̩] are possible in the coda in English.

The definition of the variable given by Trudgill (1986) seems to implicitly only include unstressed, closed syllables – in all of the examples he gives (e.g. *horses*, *wanted* and *David*), the unstressed vowel occurs pre-consonantally in a word-final (closed) syllable. As he points out, schwa can occur in unstressed open syllables in a

word such as *water*; however, it does not vary with [ɪ] in such contexts. A complicating factor here is the status of open syllables in words such as ***re****member*, ***be****fore*, *faci****li****ty* and *u****ni****ver****si****ty*. In such words, the consonant which follows the unstressed vowel is realised in the onset of the following syllable rather than the coda of the unstressed syllable. As such, the unstressed vowel is in an open syllable, and although it is not entirely clear whether Trudgill's 'pre-consonantal' definition allows such tokens, they do not fit into a 'word-final closed syllable' definition of the variable. However, variation between [ɪ] and [ə] is possible in such contexts. Kokeritz (1932: 79-80, italics and bold in original) for example notes this kind of variation in words such as *depart*, *desire*, *receive*, *return* and *remember*. Although (without explicitly saying so) Kokeritz appears to suggest this is lexically conditioned, i.e. "[Suffolk speakers only have] **də** in… *depart*… but **dɪ** in *declare*, *desire* etc.", he gives no evidence for this other than his own observations. As discussed in chapter 3, he did not have access to recording facilities for his main data collection and followed a dialectological approach of noting down forms as he heard them. As a result, it is likely that such words occurred with both [ɪ] and [ə] but were not always noticed and/or noted down – for example he also states that a word such as *rabbit* always occurs with [ə] rather than [ɪ] in Suffolk speech (based on his observations), but in actual fact either variant can occur in the unstressed syllable of such words. Further precedent for including these open syllable forms comes from the only previous multivariate analysis of the 'David' variable to date, by Kingston (2000:59). She includes words such as *u****ni****ver****si****ty*, *beau****ti****ful*, *co****mi****cal*, ***en****ough*, ***be****cause* and ***be****tween* (and others) in her list of examples of contexts in which the variable can occur, alongside unstressed, closed syllables (i.e. as in definition of the variable given by Trudgill) such as *tal****kin'***, *fi****nish*** and *mar****ket***. Furthermore, tokens of words such as ***be****fore* were noted with both [ɪ] and [ə] during the data coding process for the current project – confirming that there is variation in these open syllable tokens. The decision was therefore taken to include such tokens in the scope of variation, which has the benefit of maximising comparability between the current study and Kingston's findings. As in Kingston's study, both the open and closed syllable tokens have been included in one dataset – future work following on from this thesis will investigate whether there are any significant differences with regards to variation between [ɪ] and [ə] in the open and closed syllable contexts.

Wells (1982a: 167) states that "southern-hemisphere accents", such as Australian English, have undergone (in his terms) a 'weak vowel merger', meaning that unstressed vowels in closed syllables are always realised as schwa. In attempting to untangle the possible origins of Australian English Trudgill (1986: 135-136) also notes that its treatment of unstressed syllables is remarkably similar to that found in East Anglian varieties – for example schwa is very much the norm in words such as *wanted* and *David*. Qualitatively, an observation which arose regularly from the participants in the current project during data collection was that they had at some point been asked a variant of the question 'are you Australian?' based on perceptions of their accent, and it seems quite likely that the extensive presence of schwa in unstressed syllables in both East Anglia and Australia could be one of the main causes of this (Potter, 2016). This line of questioning was always reported by participants to have occurred outside of East Anglia, and generally outside of Britain – although not always (for example, one participant reported this occurring during a short stint living in Gloucestershire). Trudgill asserts that this confusion of East Anglians for Australians can be traced to the origins of Australian English – specifically, to the role that speakers of the Essex dialect played in the process. At the time, Essex English could reasonably be classed as an East Anglian variety – although the classification does not hold completely in the present day (as discussed in chapter 3) – and Trudgill shows that the traditional Essex dialect shares two salient features of Australian English which London English does not: the East Anglian propensity for schwa to occur in unstressed syllables, as well as the presence of a front vowel resembling /aː/ or /æː/ in words such as *bar* and *card*, where London has a back vowel /ɑː/. He discounts the influence of the 'core' East Anglian varieties of Suffolk and Norfolk as significant because although they have these two features "they do not, or at least did not, have the wide diphthongs of London and Australia" – wide diphthongs being those which have "a large phonetic distance between the first and the last elements", in words such as (but not limited to) *bay*, *boat*, and *buy* (ibid: 136, 134). The Essex dialect, however, traditionally had all three of these features (schwa, /aː/ and wide diphthongs) which is what leads Trudgill to conclude that Essex speakers formed the main East Anglian input into the mixture with London varieties which formed Australian English. This would therefore explain the comparisons between speakers of East Anglian and Australian English – put simply, they share some traditional features.

An interesting point to make is that there appears to be something of an analogous relationship between the 'David' variable and another East Anglian linguistic variable, yod dropping. This refers to the loss of /j/ in /juː/ following certain consonants (Wells, 1982a: 247). Wells (ibid) summarises:

> "Pairs such as *threw–through, brewed–brood* used to be distinguished by the use of a diphthong in the former member of each pair as against a monophthong in the latter. The diphthong, of the [ɪŭ] type, developed into a rising [juː] through the transfer of syllabicity from the first element to the second; in certain environments the [j] then disappeared, a development we may refer to as **Early Yod Dropping**. The pairs mentioned are accordingly now homophones in most accents… In London the falling diphthong [ɪŭ] had by the end of the seventeenth century given way to a rising [ĭuː], phonetically identical with the inherited /juː/ of *youth* etc. This development brought into existence a large number of new initial consonant clusters involving /j/. Several of them were intrinsically awkward to pronounce, so that we find that from the beginning of the eighteenth century the [ĭ] or [j] element disappears in certain environments, leaving a vowel identical with /uː/ and creating new homophones such as *threw–through***"**
>
> (Wells, 1982a: 206-207, bold in original)

He adds that:

> "The accents of East Anglia are notable for having extended Yod Dropping to most or all postconsonantal environments, for example in *few*, *music*, *cube*, *Hugh*… Other accents occupy intermediate positions, retaining /j/ after labials, velars, and /h/, but perhaps not after some alveolars"
>
> (Wells, 1982a: 207)

As Wells notes, the historical processes which led to the loss of /j/ in certain phonological environments occurred in most dialects of English, but were later extended to all environments in East Anglian English. The same could be said of the historical development of schwa in unstressed syllables, outlined in section 6.1 – a

merger caused schwa to be the most common reduced vowel in specific phonetic contexts; however in East Anglia (and, for example, Australian English) this process was extended so that, as Trudgill (1986: 136) points out, schwa would also occur in words such as *David* which were not part of the merger, and where RP has /ɪ/ (or equivalent e.g. barred-i). In this case the variant [ɪ] is analogous to a yod-ful pronunciation of a word such as *few*, [fjuː], whereas the [ə] variant is equivalent to a traditional East Anglian yod-less pronunciation, [fuː].

Having outlined and introduced the 'David' variable and its scope of variation, section 6.2.2 will sketch a history of the variable in East Anglia.

6.2.2 History of the variable

Little is known for certain in terms of the historical development of variation between [ɪ] and [ə] in unstressed syllables in East Anglian varieties. However, writing for a general (i.e. non-technical) audience in the Eastern Daily Press, a local newspaper around the Norwich area, Trudgill (2016: 126-127) posits one possible theory for the East Anglian preference for schwa in at least one environment, the morphological ending -ing. He points out that -ing has more than one grammatical function in English – as both a verbal inflection (the given example being the verb *to walk* and its present participle form *walking*, as in *she's walking down the road*) and a derivational suffix, turning verbs into nouns known as gerunds (the given example being *walking is good for you*). Trudgill asserts that in "mediaeval English" (a phrase presumably used in order to give the non-linguist audience a recognisable time reference) gerunds were formed using the morphological ending -ing, but present participle verb forms instead had the ending -end, as in *walkend* (for modern day *walking*). In Standard English (and presumably many other dialects) the -end suffix was lost and both gerunds and present participle verb forms were formed using -ing. In Norfolk (and by extension the other core East Anglian varieties), Trudgill theorises that the distinction between gerunds and verb forms was also lost; however it "went the other way", and -end was instead retained in both environments. Later, the /d/ in the coda was lost and the vowel would have been subject to the same process of reduction in unstressed syllables outlined in section 6.1, giving rise to the prevalence of forms like *walking* as [wɔːkən] in East Anglia. This is an interesting theory, and seems to provide a sound explanation of how such forms are found more extensively in East Anglia than other British dialects, albeit with no direct evidence – at the very least, there is no obvious reason not to believe

that this is what happened. A possible alternative theory could be that -ing was never lost in East Anglia, and that separate processes of the propensity to replace velar [ŋ] with alveolar [n] along with the phonotactic constraint permitting only schwa in unstressed syllables led to the high usage of the [ən] form by East Anglian speakers – however this would not explain why these processes should occur in only a handful of dialects (such as East Anglian English) and not more widespread in English.

Although this variable has been relatively little studied in modern sociolinguistic terms, it has been well attested in historical accounts of East Anglian dialects. Kingston (2000: 62-67) uses data and reports from three sources to outline a picture of the distribution of the two variants in Suffolk and Norfolk since the late 19th century. Firstly, Kingston counted the number of tokens of occurrences of both variants from data provided by Ellis (1889, cited in Kingston, 2000: 62-63), who did not otherwise make overt comment about this feature. Overall, Kingston totalled 25% use of schwa (7 out of 28 tokens) across five Norfolk locations (Narnborough, Stanhoe, North Walsham, Mattishall and Great Yarmouth), and 52% [ə] schwa (14 out of 27 tokens) across four Suffolk locations (Framlingham, Southwold, Orford, Pakenham). None of the Norfolk locations had more than 50% use of the traditional East Anglian schwa form, while three of the Suffolk locations did – Orford (75%), Framlingham (70%) and Southwold (66%) – although it is worth noting that the total number of tokens for each location ranged between a minimum of three and a maximum of twelve, and it is possible that more tokens would have produced a more equal result between the two counties.

Secondly, Kingston notes that Kokeritz (1932) makes reference to variation between [ɪ] and [ə] in his description of the phonology of the Suffolk dialect in the early 20th century, as was mentioned in chapter 4. Kokeritz provides annotated transcriptions of his interviews with three informants (including one from Woodbridge), and Kingston counts the number of occurrences of schwa in applicable contexts in these. The graph in which she presents the results is labelled as being in percentages, but actually appears to be in counts of raw tokens – she finds a slightly higher use of [ɪ] to be present in Kokeritz's transcriptions than in the reported data from Wells, which Kingston suggests shows the beginning of a movement towards a more RP-like weak vowel distribution (this point will be returned to later). It should also be noted that Kingston does not by her own admission include any instances of

syllabic [ṇ] in her count, which appears to be Kokeritz's favoured transcription for schwa in the morpheme -ing, for example in his (1932: 221) transcription of words such as *standing* as [stændṇ] and *nothing* as [nɔːθṇ]. This of course skews her count towards less use of schwa than is present (assuming that this the intention behind such transcriptions by Kokeritz), as she did not include any such tokens, and so it may not be the case that [ɪ] is that much more prevalent in Kokeritz's data than in Ellis's.

Finally, Kingston presents data from the Survey of English Dialects (SED) (1962, cited in Kingston, 2000: 65-67) which shows the use of the two variants across East Anglia as well as the wider British landscape in the early 20th century. In order to elicit tokens of this feature, Kingston reports that the participants were asked 'what animals do you keep in a hatch', with the anticipated answer being 'rabbits' with either barred-i or schwa in the second syllable. She counts that 95 out of 308 locations which provided an answer to this question (three locations did not) had schwa (31%), while 207 had [ɪ] (67%), and the remaining 2% consisted of the vowel [ʌ]. The map showing the geographical distribution of the variants (reproduced in Kingston, ibid: 66) suggests that schwa was for the most part the preferred form in Suffolk. It should be noted here, however, that there are problems with the SED data – for example (and as noted in chapter 2) assigning a single value to each location masks individual variation within communities. Additionally Trudgill (1983, cited in Kingston, 2000: 65-67) points out that the fieldwork in Norfolk, where [ɪ] was reported for the majority of locations, was inaccurate and that this result likely downplays the amount of schwa which actually occurred there. Nevertheless, the map shows a tendency for schwa to occur variably in place of unstressed /ɪ/ in East Anglia at the time, as well as in other peripheral locations such as the south-west and north-east of England and the Isle of Wight.

6.2.3 Internal constraints

As Kingston (2000: 67) notes, the 'David' variable has been little studied as a linguistic variable – in fact, her investigation was the first (and one of very few to date) to do so. As a result, "the primary objective [of her analysis] was to discover what might be conditioning the use of the schwa and [ɪ] forms, and then to establish… whether, and to what extent, the traditional form is being eroded" (ibid). The analysis

presented in this thesis will look to build upon the foundations laid by Kingston, but given the relative lack of attention the variable has received in the interim, will be similarly exploratory in approach.

Kingston's (ibid: 68ff.) internal constraints included the 'phonological environment' surrounding the unstressed vowel, the 'type of morpheme' in which the unstressed vowel occurred, the 'type of word' in which the variable occurred, the 'number of syllables' in the word, and the 'position in the word' of the syllable in which the variable occurred. She found that the 'place of articulation' of both the preceding and following sounds was significant for constraining the use of her application value, the 'innovative' RP-like [ɪ] form ('innovative' in terms of representing a change away from the traditional East Anglian [ə] form). In the preceding environment, labio-dental and dental sounds were found to fairly strongly favour [ɪ] at .62 and .59 respectively, while bilabial and glottal sounds also favoured at .55 and .52. Preceding alveolar and velar sounds (both .45) disfavoured most strongly, while palatal sounds also disfavoured [ɪ] at. 47. In the following environment, palatal (.92) and velar (.82) sounds most strongly favoured the innovative form, followed by bilabial (.69) and labiodental (.62). Following dental (.35), glottal (.44) and alveolar (.45) sounds all disfavoured [ɪ]. Kingston points out that the most likely environment for [ɪ] to occur is between a labiodental and a palatal or velar sound, whereas the most likely environment for the traditional [ə] form would be between an alveolar and dental sound. We can also note a preference for [ɪ] with both preceding and following bilabial and labiodental sounds, and a preference for [ə] with alveolar sounds in both environments.

In terms of other linguistic constraints, the 'type of word' and 'type of morpheme' factors were found to be significant. In the former, pronouns and verbs were found to favour [ɪ] at .66 and .54 respectively, while prepositions were slightly above neutral at .52. Adverbs very strongly disfavoured [ɪ] at .23, while nouns disfavoured at .48, as did proper nouns and adjectives at .40 respectively. Conjunctions and gerunds were eliminated as knockouts. In the latter morpheme type constraint, 45 different morphemes were tested, with 10 removed as knockouts. The remaining 35 varied between strongly favouring [ɪ] (e.g. -age at .98) and strongly disfavouring (e.g. ni- at .08), while of the three most common inflectional endings both -ing and -ed (the past tense marker) disfavoured at .40 and .30 respectively, and -es (the plural marker)

favoured slightly at .55. Also selected as significant were the factors concerned with the 'number of syllables' in a word, and the 'position of the syllable' containing the variable in the word. In general, the more syllables in a word the more likely it is to favour unstressed [ɪ] – with 2 syllable words disfavouring at .45, 3 syllables favouring at .64, 4 syllables at .66, and more than 5 syllables favouring most strongly at .71. The only exception was the 5 syllable words factor, which slightly disfavoured at .41. If the syllable containing the variant occurred word-medially, it disfavoured [ɪ] at .30, while word-final position disfavoured at .49. Word initial syllables strongly favoured [ɪ] at .79. Kingston's factor contrasting "whether the unstressed syllable was morphemic or not", by which it seems she is referring to the difference between bound morphemes (such as -ing) and free morphemes (for example in a word such as *habit*), was not found to be significant (ibid: 72).

Potter (2014) also investigated the use of the 'David' variable among working-class Woodbridge speakers, as a pilot to the current project. The application value for the results given in this study was the traditional form [ə], rather than [ɪ] as in Kingston's study. Only one linguistic constraint was found to be significant in a multivariate analysis, the 'preceding phonological segment'. All others ('following segment', 'number of syllables', 'word type' and 'morpheme') were not found to be significant. The results for 'preceding phonological environment' also differed from Kingston's in some respects; although there were some similarities – where palatal sounds were found to disfavour [ɪ] in Kingston's study, they favoured [ə] at .61 here, while alveolar sounds were also found to disfavour [ɪ] in Kingston's study and were very slightly above neutral in favouring schwa here at .51. Similarly, Kingston found dental and bilabial sounds in the preceding environment to favour [ɪ], and in Woodbridge they disfavoured schwa at .47 and .36 respectively. The main differences were that velar sounds were found to disfavour [ɪ] in Kingston's study, while in Potter (2014) they were found to disfavour schwa (thus preferring [ɪ]) at .45, and that labio-dental and glottal sounds, both of which favoured [ɪ] in Glemsford, were instead found to favour schwa in Woodbridge (both at .58). It is hoped that the results presented in section 6.4 will help to shed some light on the reasons for the differences observed.

Finally, Butcher (2015: 42ff.) completed a phonological analysis of the reduction of /ɪ/ to schwa in unstressed realisations of the morpheme -ing, noting that, as per Trudgill (1974), the usual East Anglian realisation of the non-standard variant of

(-ing) is [ən] rather than [ɪn]. She found schwa to occur in this morpheme in 58% of her 615 tokens, while [ɪn] occurred in 22%, and the completely non-reduced form [ɪŋ] in just 20%. In terms of preceding phonological environment, Butcher (ibid: 57) found the schwa variant to occur most frequently when preceded by glottal and labial sounds (66% and 64% of their respective tokens), with preceding coronal and dorsal sounds also slightly promoting schwa over [ɪn] and [ɪŋ], but to a lesser extent (both 53% of their respective tokens – leaving a combined total of 47% of [ɪ] in the [ɪn] and [ɪŋ] variants in such environments). In a further analysis of the patterning of [ən] with her other variable t-glottalling, Butcher's results also show a preference for schwa when preceded by a glottal stop rather than /t/ – of the 52 tokens of -ing which followed [ʔ], 65% were realised as [ən] (e.g. [gɛʔən] for *getting*), while 17.5% had [ɪn] and the same amount had [ɪŋ]. Of the (admittedly rare) 14 tokens in which -ing was preceded by [t], 50% were realised as [ən], 29% as [ɪn], and 21% as [ɪŋ] (a combined 50% for occurrence of the vowel [ɪ] in this environment). Butcher (ibid: 58-59) argues that this seems to be due to the place of articulation of both /t/ and /ɪ/ being coronal, and that a preceding coronal sound is likely to promote assimilation of the following unstressed vowel to some extent, therefore encouraging use of the variants of (-ing) containing the vowel /ɪ/. The circa 50% occurrence of schwa in such contexts can presumably be explained by the strength of the East Anglian 'schwa-in-unstressed-syllables' phonotactic constraint overriding this assimilatory preference some of the time.

Another assimilatory effect noted by Butcher comes from her interpretation of an early investigation of the 'David' variable in the speech of a single resident of Colchester by this researcher, reported in Potter (2011, cited in Butcher 2015: 44-45). That study, which focused on the morpheme -ing, found that a preceding glide /w/ produced 50% [ə] and 50% [ɪ] (out of 16 tokens) in the participant's speech. A preceding /j/, on the other hand, produced 75% of the [ɪ] variant – albeit in real terms this amounted to 3 out of just 4 tokens. While the low token number cannot be disregarded as a possible contributing factor to this result, Butcher explains that this would not be a surprising finding on a wider scale given that "the coronal glide /j/ is more likely to cause retention of the short vowel /ɪ/ as they share the same place of articulation… and therefore this can be considered a preservatory effect of the coronal". It remains to be seen whether the assimilatory effects of preceding coronals,

particularly /t/ and /j/ as discussed by Butcher, will operate on a wider scale in the data presented in the current study.

6.2.4 External constraints

In terms of external constraints, Kingston (2000: 69ff.) reports a significant decrease in the use of the traditional East Anglian schwa form amongst her participants in Glemsford. This (along with the loss of traditional zero marking of verbal -s) formed part of her conclusion that East Anglian dialect features were being lost in Suffolk, and that the chances of speakers preserving the local dialect in the future looked bleak. 'Age' was selected as the most significant factor in her multivariate analysis, with younger speakers favouring [ɪ] at .84, while middle-aged speakers disfavoured at .27 and the older speakers even more strongly disfavoured at .17. The raw percentages complete the picture, with older and middle-aged speakers using [ə] in 82% and 73% of their 853 and 930 tokens respectively – the younger speakers, however, used [ɪ] in 70% of 1341 tokens, showing a remarkably rapid shift away from the traditional form in just one generation. 'Gender' was also found to be significant, with females favouring [ɪ] at .53 and males disfavouring at .48. In a run combining 'age' and 'gender', it was found that the younger females were slightly ahead of the younger males in favouring [ɪ], with factor weights of .82 and .71 respectively. There was little difference between genders in the middle and older age groups, with middle-aged females and males both disfavouring [ɪ] at .34, and older females and males doing likewise at .21 and .26. Again, the percentage use of [ɪ] by the age and gender groups given in her Figure 25 illustrates this pattern exactly, with younger females using [ɪ] around 75% of the time compared to around 65% for the younger males, while the middle-aged and older females showed low percentage use of [ɪ] in an almost identical manner to their male counterparts.

On the other hand, Spurling (2004: 43-44) reported much greater use of schwa across both older and younger groups in Ipswich. Her older speakers used [ə] in 90% of their 772 tokens, while the younger speakers used it in 80% of their 1063 tokens, suggesting that in Ipswich at least the traditional form had not been lost – and was even the norm – into the 21st century. Spurling's data showed a slight preference for the traditional schwa form among males – in total 90% of male tokens had [ə], compared to 77% of female tokens. As in Kingston's data, the younger females were found to be ahead in adopting the 'innovative' [ɪ] variant, using it 30% of the time

compared to 12% for older females, 11% for younger males and just 9% for older males. Spurling concluded that traditional [ə] "is being eradicated very gradually despite still clearly being the predominant form in Ipswich" at the time of writing. This finding obviously differs from Kingston's in as much as, although there does appear to be some movement away from the local [ə] variant in the younger (female) speakers, the use of this variant was still found to be high across all age and gender groups. It remains to be seen whether the fact that Kingston's data comes from a rural location and Spurling's is from an urban location is important (the effect of location will be tested in the data for the current study).

The pilot study of working-class speakers in Woodbridge (Potter, 2014) found similarly high retention of schwa as reported by Spurling, and in opposition to Kingston's findings. 'Age' was found not to be significant in the multivariate analysis, largely due to the fact that the older, middle-aged and younger groups showed very similar percentage use of [ə] (73%, 68% and 68% respectively). We could possibly argue that this shows a very slight movement towards [ɪ] in the middle-aged and younger groups; however this is not backed up by the multivariate results. 'Gender' was found to be significant, with males favouring schwa at .60 and females disfavouring slightly at .41, which generally follows the patterns reported in Kingston and Spurling above. It should also be noted that although Butcher (2015) did not include any results for external constraints in her write up, which took a phonological approach to explaining the variation uncovered in the 'David' variable, her Ipswich data showed a similar pattern in terms of 'age' not being important in explaining the use of [ɪ] or [ə]. She actually found older speakers to use the variant of (-ing) with a schwa vowel (i.e. [ən]) slightly less often than younger speakers, but still around half of the time (~50%) (personal communication). This age pattern adds to the evidence that the use of [ə] remains high among younger speakers in Suffolk, at least in one specific linguistic context. In terms of gender, although her female speakers used [ən] just over half the time, the males used it more often, again matching the gender finding from all three studies above.

In general, we can note a disconnect between a study which predicted the loss of the traditional East Anglian form in Suffolk (Kingston), and three later studies which suggested this has not occurred (Spurling, Potter, Butcher). The results presented in section 6.4 provide further information about the 'David' variable in East

Anglia, which will help to ascertain whether the different results reported in the past studies may have been caused by characteristics of the different locations of the studies (rural Glemsford, urban Ipswich and intermediate Woodbridge), two of which are of course to be investigated here. The general past finding for 'gender' seems to predict that younger females in particular are more likely to prefer the [ɪ] variant, and males [ə]. It is also important, as a final point, to highlight the fact that this discussion of external constraints for the 'David' variable has focused on the age and gender of participants, with no discussion of their social class status. This is because none of the previous studies have examined 'social class' as an external constraint on this variable – the only previous evidence we have for the effect of this factor on the realisation of [ɪ] and [ə] comes from a comment by Trudgill (1986: 136), that "even educated speakers from [East Anglia]… have /ə/ in items such as *hundred, wanted, horses* etc., though not in *David, naked,* etc., where /ə/ is today typical only of working-class and rural dialect speech". Given that present-day RP has /ə/ in words such as *hundred,* although not *wanted* and *horses,* we could infer that this means that at the time middle class speakers (it is likely that Trudgill's label 'educated speakers' refers largely to middle-class speakers, given that it is presented in direct opposition to "working-class and rural dialect speech") had some East Anglian schwa in their speech, but less than working class speakers. From this, we can tentatively expect to find some social stratification of the 'David' variable, with middle class participants using some schwa, but to a lesser extent than working-class participants.

6.3 Methodological considerations

Having outlined the variable under investigation in this chapter, the literature around it and the findings of previous studies which have been carried out, this section will move on to explain the treatment of the 'David' variable in this thesis. Throughout the chapter, methodological choices have been noted, and these will be summarised here. Tokens of the 'David' variable were extracted from the interviews, as with the verbal -s variable presented in chapter 5, and coded into an Excel spreadsheet.

As was discussed in section 6.2.1, the original definition of the variable given by Trudgill (1986) seems to imply that variation between [ɪ] and [ə] can occur only in unstressed, closed syllables. However, as noted in that discussion, variation can also

occur in some open syllables where the following consonant has been resyllabified into the onset of the following syllable, for example in words such as *before* and *remember*. For the reasons outlined in that section, both the closed syllable and open syllable contexts will be coded for – so the occurrence of [ə] or [ɪ] in the final syllable of a word such as *wanted*, or in the first syllable of a word such as *enough*, would both count as valid tokens. However, the occurrence of schwa in the final syllable of a word such as *water* will not be coded for, because as Trudgill notes East Anglian varieties do not have variation between [ə] and [ɪ] in such contexts. The morpheme -ing can be realised with either a schwa or [ɪ] as part of the 'David' variable; however only when the unstressed vowel is followed by the alveolar variant of (-ing), [n], and never before the velar nasal variant [ŋ] where only [ɪ] may occur. As such, tokens of (-ing) with a velar nasal were not coded for. Additionally, some realisations of words such as *playing* can be smoothed to [plæːn] or [pleːn] (the process of smoothing was discussed earlier in chapters 2 and 3), and in doing so the weak vowel is lost. As a result, smoothed realisations were not coded.

The pronoun *it* occurs regularly in unstressed positions, and may therefore be realised with either [ə] or [ɪ]. However, it is relatively common for unstressed *it* to be realised with schwa in many dialects of English, and thus it is hard to argue that *it* falls into the scope of the 'David' variable as it is uniquely defined in East Anglian varieties (i.e. reduction of /ɪ/ to schwa in more extensive contexts than in other dialects). Kingston (2000: 59-60) marks *it* out separately from other tokens of the 'David' variable, while they were not coded for in this project in order to focus on the core variation between [ə] and [ɪ] in East Anglia. In addition, a maximum of three instances of the same lexical item were coded for each participant in order to guard against potential bias from frequently occurring items, following the advice of Milroy and Gordon (2003: 162-163). Taking this all into account, in total 2176 tokens were coded across all 72 participants, although as will be outlined below this was reduced very slightly during the modelling process in Rbrul, due to the removal of knockouts.

It should also be noted that the tokens were coded auditorily (impressionistically), that is, by ear rather than using acoustic analysis. The benefits and drawbacks of each method were discussed in chapter 4; however suffice it to say here that the main area of interest for this thesis (as was the case for Kingston, 2000) is to investigate whether variation between [ə] and [ɪ] is still present in the dialect, and

how it is linguistically and socially patterned, and it was decided that an auditory analysis would the most suitable choice to meet this research interest. As pointed out earlier in section 6.1, Flemming and Johnson (2007) show that the exact realisation of [ə] and [ɪ] can vary across speakers, and whilst this would be a very interesting and fertile area of research in the future, for now it is enough to note that there is variation, and that the researcher, as a native speaker of the dialect under investigation, is confident in their own ability to accurately perceive the difference between the two vowels.

The modelling process in Rbrul followed a similar pattern to that described for verbal -s in chapter 5, in that all of the coded constraints were included in the first run, before the model was refined. The independent variable 'location' was included in early runs as for the verbal -s variable; however on this occasion was not found to be significant. In the end it was left in the model, as removing it made no difference to the R^2 number. This result for location will be discussed further in section 6.4. Additionally, several factors had low token numbers and so were conflated together. The 'morpheme type' constraint initially had all raw morphemes (e.g. -ing, -ed); however some morphemes had low token numbers (such as -age, which had 8 tokens), and some (such as -ish) only had one token. As such, the factor was conflated to test the most frequently occurring morphemes (-ing, -ed, -es) against free morphemes, and all other bound morphemes (such as -ish and -age). The 'word type' constraint went through a similar process, again to test the three most frequently occurring word classes (noun, verb, adjective) against everything else. The 'number of syllables' constraint refers to the number of syllables in the word in which the variant occurs. This originally was coded as '2 syllables', '3 syllables', '4 syllables', '5 syllables' and '6 syllables'; however due to low token numbers the 5 and 6 syllable words were conflated into one '5+ syllable' factor. It should also be noted here that the 'position in word' constraint refers to the position of the syllable in which the variant occurs, not the position of the sound itself – so words such as *roses* and *walkin'* count as word-final instances of the David variable in this analysis because the variant occurs in the final syllable of the word. In this respect the definition of 'word-final' differs from Flemming and Johnson's (2007), which is framed at a segmental level rather than a syllabic level. This is necessary because, as previously established, word-final instances of schwa (e.g. in a word such as *water*) do not show variation with /ɪ/ and as

such are not part of the ‘David’ variable. For the ‘surrounding phonological environment’, preceding pauses and following dental sounds were knocked out, which removed 14 tokens from the sample. In addition, preceding dental sounds were found to behave similarly to preceding labiodental ones, and so were conflated into one ‘labiodental’ group. The constraints included in the final model can be seen in Table 16.

Constraint	**Factors**
Word type	Verb, noun, adjective, other
Number of syllables	2, 3, 4, 5+
Preceding place of articulation	Alveolar, bilabial, glottal, labiodental, labial-velar, palatal, velar
Following place of articulation	Alveolar, bilabial, glottal, labiodental, velar
Morpheme type	-ing, -ed, -es, other, free
Position in word	Initial, medial, final
Age	Younger, middle, older
Gender	Female, male
Social class	Working class, middle class
Location	Ipswich, Woodbridge, Wickham Market

Table 16 Constraints on the 'David' variable in the whole Suffolk dataset

Section 6.4 will present the results of a multivariate analysis of this model conducted in Rbrul.

6.4 Results

Table 17 shows the results of a step up/step down analysis in Rbrul for the ‘David’ variable (cont. overleaf).

Application value = [ɪ] (the 'innovative' form) R^2 = 0.209, log likelihood = -1109.61				
Constraint	**Logodds**	**FW**	**Tokens**	**%** [ɪ]
Following place of articulation (p<0.01)				
Velar	1.330	0.791	218	63.8%
Labiodental	0.241	0.56	121	39.7%
Glottal	-0.121	0.47	116	31%
Alveolar	-0.423	0.396	1583	22.5%
Bilabial	-1.027	0.264	124	21.8%
Position in word (p<0.01)				
Initial	0.389	0.596	430	47.9%
Final	0.337	0.583	1384	23.6%
Medial	-0.726	0.326	348	21%
Preceding place of articulation (p<0.01)				
Palatal	1.079	0.746	103	44.7%
Alveolar	0.367	0.591	1173	30.6%
Velar	0.298	0.574	167	24%
Glottal	-0.119	0.47	192	16.7%
Bilabial	-0.420	0.397	246	33.7%
(Labio)dental	-0.433	0.393	178	20.2%
Labial-velar	-0.773	0.316	103	9.7%
Morpheme type (p<0.01)				
Other	0.642	0.655	250	47.6%
Free	0.473	0.616	1027	32%
-es	0.169	0.542	117	26.5%
-ing	-0.621	0.35	608	16.3%
-ed	-0.662	0.34	160	17.5%
Social class (p<0.01)				
Middle	0.258	0.564	1086	34.3%
Working	-0.258	0.436	1076	21.7%

Application value = [ɪ] (the 'innovative' form) R^2 = 0.209, log likelihood = -1109.61				
Constraint	**Logodds**	**FW**	**Tokens**	**%** [ɪ]
Word type (p<0.01)				
Verb	0.250	0.562	864	24.2%
Adjective	0.129	0.532	275	36.7%
Other	-0.066	0.484	235	34.9%
Noun	-0.313	0.422	788	27.2%
Gender (p<0.05)				
Female	0.105	0.526	1082	30.2%
Male	-0.105	0.474	1080	25.8%

Table 17 Results for multivariate analysis of the 'David' variable in the whole Suffolk dataset

The three factors which were not selected as significant were the 'number of syllables' in the word, 'location', and the 'age' of the speaker. The latter two constraints will be returned to later in this section.

All but one of the internal constraints were found to be highly significant, with p values below 0.01. Two of the three most highly significant factors were the 'following' and 'preceding phonological environment'. Following velar sounds were found to strongly favour [ɪ] with a factor weight of .791, while labiodental sounds also slightly preferred the 'innovative' variant. It should be noted that a following velar was the only environment to show higher percentage use of [ɪ] than [ə], and also that this environment refers to the sounds /k/ and /g/, rather than the velar nasal /ŋ/, which as established earlier cannot follow the schwa variant and so was not coded for. Otherwise, following bilabial and alveolar sounds disfavoured [ɪ] at .264 and .396 respectively, while glottal sounds were just below neutral at .47. This is remarkably similar to Kingston's (2000) finding, with velar and labiodental sounds similarly favouring [ɪ] (in that order) and glottal and alveolar sounds slightly disfavouring – the only difference is that bilabial sounds favoured [ɪ] in Glemsford, but disfavour here. In the preceding environment, labial-velar, the conflated (labio)dental group, and bilabial sounds all disfavoured [ɪ]. Glottals were again just the [ə] side of neutral at .47, while preceding velar and alveolar sounds favoured [ɪ]. Palatal sounds most strongly favoured [ɪ] at .746, a finding which will be returned to shortly. This is almost an exact

opposite finding to Kingston, who had palatal, alveolar and velar sounds slightly disfavouring [ɪ], while glottal, labiodental and bilabial sounds all favoured it to some extent. A noticeable difference is the strong tendency for palatal sounds to favour [ɪ] here, where Kingston found them to slightly disfavour. Here the label 'palatal' must refer to the semi-vowel/glide /j/ which, as noted in section 6.2.3, Butcher (2015) argues is potentially likely to favour [ɪ] due to the two sounds sharing the same coronal place of articulation – so it is not an unexpected finding that a preceding /j/, often employed as a hiatus-breaker such as in the word *playing* [pleɪ̯ɪn], favours [ɪ].

The 'position in word' constraint was also selected as significant, with word initial and final syllables favouring production of the [ɪ] variant at .596 and .583 respectively, while word medial syllables disfavoured at .326. This matches Kingston's findings for initial and medial syllables, with a very slight caveat that word final syllables were found to be more or less neutral at .493 in her study. For 'morpheme type', the frequently occurring -ed and -ing morphemes were found to disfavour [ɪ] at .34 and .35 respectively, with -es slightly above neutral in favouring [ɪ] at .542. Free morphemes (e.g. *habit*) were found to favour [ɪ] more strongly, while the conflated 'other' group (including morphemes such as -age and -ish) also favoured [ɪ]. The results for -ing, -ed and -es match Kingston's previous finding for these morphemes. Finally for internal constraints, the 'word type' constraint found verbs and adjectives to slightly favour [ɪ], while nouns disfavoured, and the conflated 'other' group (containing conjunctions, gerunds, prepositions and adverbs which individually had low token numbers) is slightly the [ə] side of neutral. The result for nouns and verbs matches Kingston's findings in Glemsford, although in her data adjectives slightly disfavoured [ɪ], in contrast to here.

The discussion of external constraints will begin with the two which were not found to be significant – 'age' and 'location'. The overall use of the traditional East Anglian [ə] variant was high – schwa accounted for 72% of all occurrences of the variable, and [ɪ] just 28%. Combined with the fact that 'age' was not selected as significant, this strongly suggests that change away from the traditional form is not in progress in the data – or if it is, is happening extremely gradually. The factor weights for each of the age groups, calculated in a one-step Rbrul run of the above model, raise the possibility that, if anything, there may be a very modest movement towards [ɪ] among the middle-aged and younger participants, who both slightly favoured it at .518

and .514 respectively, while older speakers disfavoured at .469 – however, as Figure 9 shows, the percentage use of the [ɪ] variant remains at a similarly low level across all three generations.

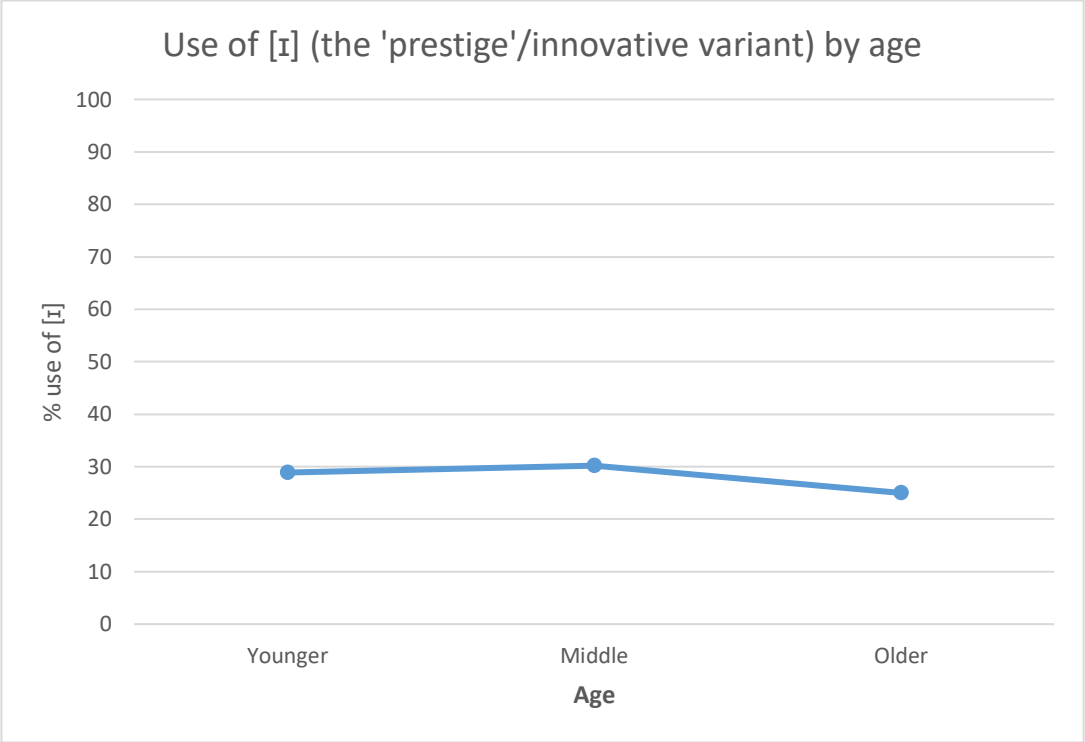

Figure 9 Graph showing the percentage use of [ɪ] by age in the whole dataset

Figure 10 shows the use of [ɪ] by age across the two gender groups. This graph overall suggests a pattern of stable variation across both genders in the three age groups. In general the female use of [ɪ] is on a par with, or higher than, the males within each age group – the slight exception being in the younger group, where the male usage of [ɪ] is 30% compared to the females' 29% (although this is such a small difference that it seems more likely to represent an idiosyncrasy of the data than a statistically significant difference). The biggest difference between the female and male speakers' use of [ɪ] comes in the middle-aged group – suggesting that there may be an element of age grading in the female use of the 'David' variable, while if anything the age pattern for males shown in the graph may suggest the possible (very early stage) onset of a change towards [ɪ]. Again though, both genders have fairly low usage of the innovative

[ɪ] variant across all three age groups, while the most innovative group are the middle-aged females as they use [ɪ] more than any other age and gender group.

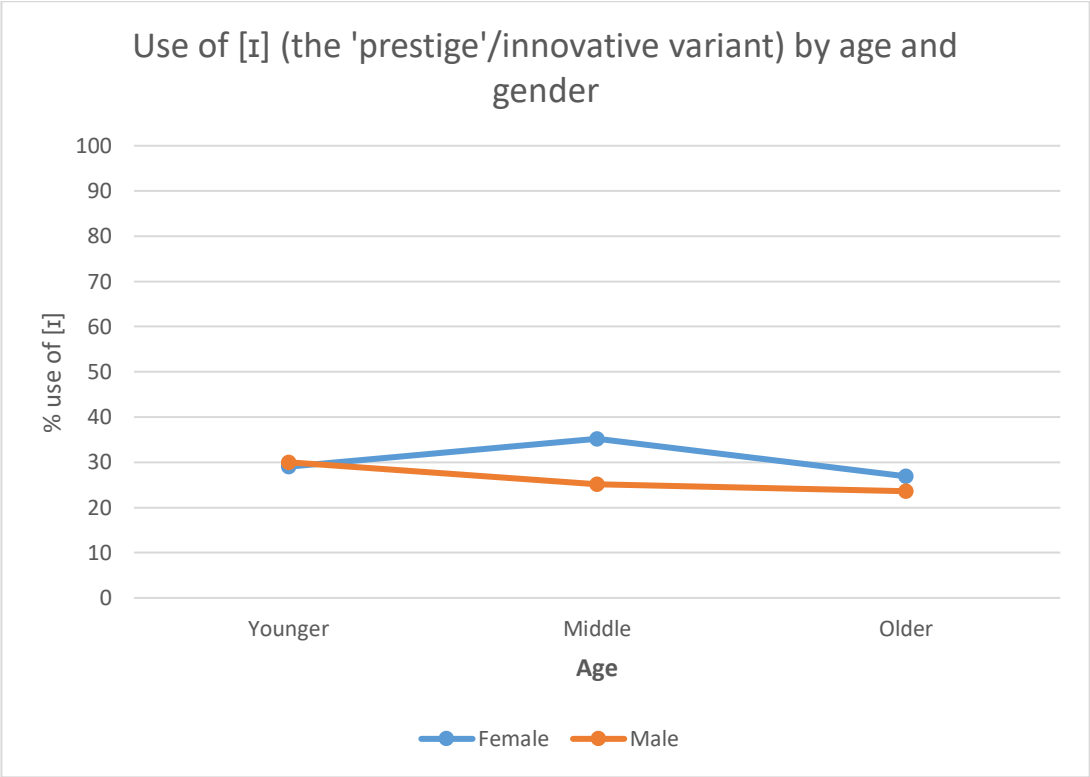

Figure 10 Graph showing the percentage use of [ɪ] by age and gender in the whole dataset

The findings for 'age' contrast with Kingston's (2000) warning that the East Anglian [ə] variant may be being lost, and conform more closely to the evidence from other previous studies carried out in Suffolk by Spurling (2004), Potter (2014) and Butcher (2015). This result also provides evidence that the phonotactic constraint proposed by Trudgill may well have slowed the process of change towards [ɪ] in unstressed syllables, lending support to his prediction. In terms of the other external constraint which was not selected as significant, 'location', the results show that (not unexpectedly, given the lack of statistical significance) there is very little difference between the use of the variants in each community. The use of [ɪ] ranges from 26.1% in Woodbridge to 27.1% in Ipswich and 30.8% in Wickham Market. It seems that 'age' and 'location' are not important factors for explaining the variation in the 'David' variable; and as with verbal -s, there is no correlation between the

classification of a community as urban, rural or intermediate, and the use of the variants of this variable.

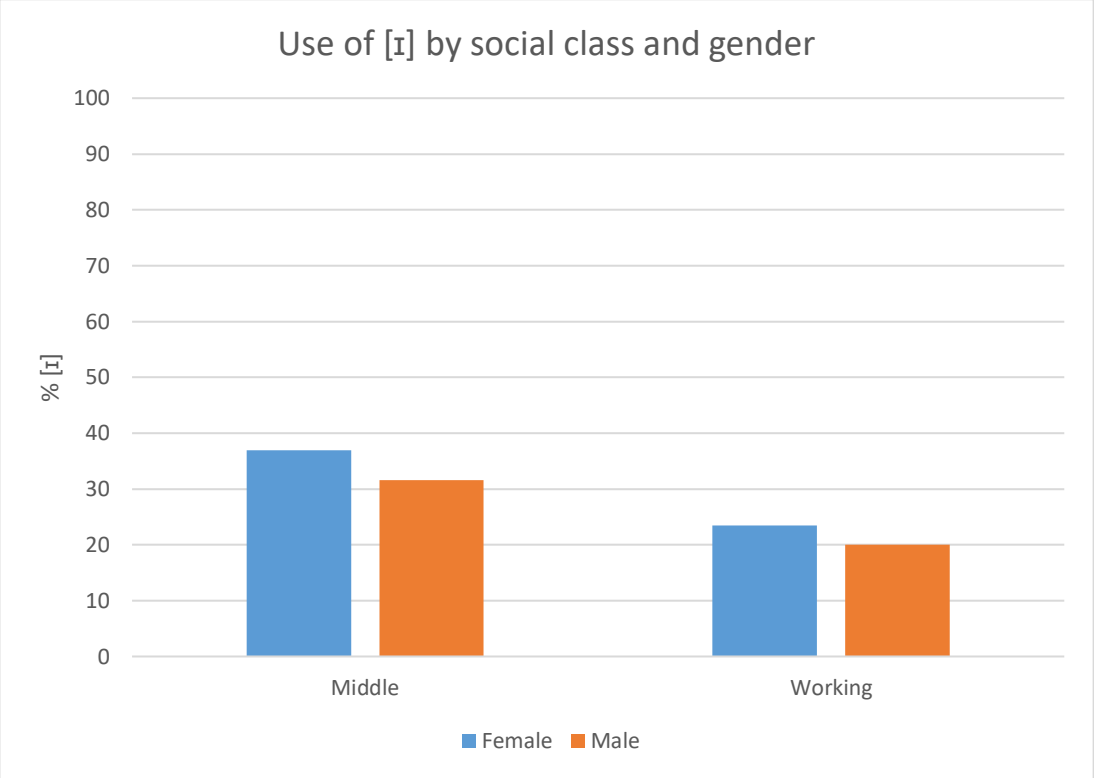

Figure 11 Graph showing the percentage use of [ɪ] by social class and gender in the whole dataset

On the other hand, 'social class' was selected as significant. In section 6.2.4 it was predicted, based on the single comment about the correlation between the 'David' variable and social class in the previous literature from Trudgill (1986), that [ə] would be present in both middle class and working class speakers to some degree, but that middle class speakers would be likely than their working class counterparts to prefer [ɪ]. This was indeed the case – middle class speakers were found to slightly favour [ɪ] at .564, while working class speakers disfavoured at .436 – however, it should be noted that while the percentage use of [ɪ] is higher for the middle class participants, they still use schwa almost two thirds of the time. Turning to the other significant external constraint, gender, the results show that females slightly prefer the [ɪ] variant at .526, while males slightly prefer [ə] at .474 – however, again the use of schwa amongst both groups is high, with females still using schwa 69.8% of the time. It should also be noted that 'gender' was by far the least strongly significant of the factors that were

selected by Rbrul, with its p value of 0.0467 falling just below the 0.05 threshold. So although statistically speaking gender was found to be significant, it does not seem to predict the use of the variants as much as other constraints – and the fact that the factor weights for females and males fall just either side of the 0.5 mark highlights this point. A cross-tabulation of 'gender' with 'social class' in Figure 11 highlights the interplay between these two independent variables. The graph shows that while there are slight gender differences within each social class group, with females using [ɪ] more often than their male counterparts, the bigger difference is between the two social class groups – with working class males using [ɪ] 20% of the time compared to their middle class counterparts' 31.6%, and working class females using the variant 23.5% of the time compared to their middle class counterparts' 36.9%. Table 18 presents the same cross-tabulation between 'gender' and 'social class', within all three age groups.

Older		
	Female	**Male**
Middle class	34%	30%
Working class	19%	17%
Middle-aged		
Middle class	39%	32%
Working class	32%	19%
Younger		
Middle class	38%	34%
Working class	20%	24%

Table 18 Use of [ɪ] by social class, gender and age in the whole dataset

This table shows that the social class pattern outlined above holds across all age groups – in general the middle class speakers use a much higher proportion of the RP-like variant [ɪ] than their respective working class counterparts, with the slight exception of the middle-aged working class females, who show 31.9% use of [ɪ] – much more in line with middle class speech in this dataset. The gender pattern reported above also generally holds across the three age groups, with female speakers using [ɪ] more often than their male counterparts with the notable exception of the younger working

speakers. In this group, the female use of [ɪ] (19.7%) matches the older working class participants; however the male use of [ɪ] is slightly higher at 24.2%. The most innovative speakers are the middle-aged middle class females, while the most conservative are the older working class males. It also appears that the two gender groups are behaving slightly differently in terms of the adoption of the [ɪ] variant – the pattern for females across age groups suggests possible age-grading (particularly for the working class females), whereas the pattern for males could be argued to show the early stages of a potential slow change away from the traditional East Anglian schwa variant.

This chapter has presented an investigation of the 'David' variable across the three Suffolk locations. It has shown that East Anglian varieties have a propensity to reduce short /ɪ/ to schwa in unstressed syllables – to a greater extent than many other (British) dialects of English. This is apparently largely due to a phonotactic constraint which historically permitted only schwa in unstressed syllables, and appears to have slowed the progress of change over time towards the use of [ɪ] in the same contexts. Chapter 7 will present a summary of the results for both variables, and draw some general conclusions.

Chapter 7 Conclusions

Chapters 5 and 6 have outlined the two linguistic variables which are under investigation in this thesis, and presented results of the analyses for both. Sections 7.1 and 7.2 will summarise these findings for each variable. Section 7.3 will conclude this thesis by drawing them together, noting common themes as well as divergent patterns.

7.1 Verbal -s

The main and clearest finding for the first variable to be investigated in this thesis, verbal -s, is that the use of the traditional East Anglian zero marking of third person singular verbs is being lost. There was a clear trend for younger speakers to use the standard-like -s marking variant more often than middle-aged and older speakers in turn. That said, even the older speakers use -s almost three quarters of the time on average, while the younger speakers are all but categorical in their use of -s, suggesting that this is a late-stage change which has been caught here almost at completion. This finding matches previous studies of verbal -s variation in Suffolk completed by Kingston (2000)/Bray (n.d.) and Spurling (2004), who also observed the use of zero marking to be decreasing among younger speakers, and thus we can draw a general conclusion that the traditional zero marking of third person singular subjects in the present tense is being lost from the Suffolk dialect, replaced by regular -s marking of all present tense subjects as in Standard English (as well as many other 'Type 0' dialects of English).

The internal constraints have been found to behave largely similarly to past studies of British dialects, with a few noted exceptions. However, it does appear to be the case that the external constraints are more important in explaining the patterns of variation uncovered for this variable. This may well be because we are seemingly at such a late stage in the change, whereby the social characteristics of the speakers are greater predictors of their use of the variable than the linguistic system. As noted in chapter 6, when the external constraints were removed from the Rbrul model, the R^2 number – which shows how much of the variation is explained by a particular model – dropped to below 0.1. As also noted, Kingston/Bray and Spurling similarly found external constraints to be more operative than internal ones in their Suffolk communities.

In the current study, aside from ‘age’, the other three external constraints of ‘gender’, ‘social class’ and ‘location’ were all found to be significant in the Rbrul run. The social class pattern matches that found by Trudgill (1974) in as much as middle class speakers favour the use of -s while working class speakers statistically speaking disfavour it. However, the use of -s among the latter group is still high at 73% on average (reflecting the overall high use of the standard variant by all participants). Trudgill found lower levels of -s use by the working class speakers in Norwich than were observed in this study. When cross-tabulated with both ‘age’ and ‘gender’ (Figure 7 – see chapter 5), the social class pattern becomes clearer – the working class groups do generally show lower use of the -s variant than the middle class groups (with the possible exception of the younger working class speakers), and the most conservative group are shown to be the older working class males. Although this graph also shows a general tendency for females to use -s more often than males (in line with the Rbrul result for gender), it should be noted that in both the working class and middle class younger speakers this trend is reversed – in both cases the male speakers are slightly more frequent users of the innovative -s form. However, as argued in chapter 5, it seems unlikely that this is a significant effect, as younger females and males in both class groups strongly favour -s, and the differences between genders are extremely minor (for example, 100% vs 97% in the younger middle class speakers). It is more accurate to say that both younger males and females are leading the change equally. As noted, the Rbrul run selected gender as significant; however the result showed that among the whole dataset females are more likely to prefer the standard -s marking variant (with a factor weight of 0.576 compared to the males’ 0.424).

The ‘location’ of the speaker was also included in the Rbrul model in order to test whether it had a significant effect on the use of the verbal -s variable. It was selected as significant, with the rural area Wickham disfavouring -s, the urban area Ipswich neutral and the intermediate area Woodbridge favouring the standard form. This finding does fit with comments made by some participants during interviews (particularly in Wickham), to the effect of describing people from Woodbridge as ‘posh’ – and one element of this stereotype may come from the greater movement away from the use of salient East Anglian features such as verbal -s by speakers in the town. Despite this statistical tendency, the cross-tabulation of ‘age’, ‘social class’ and ‘location’ given in Table 15 (see chapter 6) does show that the different age and social

class groups in the three locations behave similarly in their patterns of use of the verbal -s variable, in terms of older speakers generally using -s less than younger speakers, and middle class speakers for the most part using -s more often than working class speakers, within each location. An interesting finding, given in Figure 8 (see chapter 5), is that there is a much greater range between the use of -s in older speakers across the three communities (81% in Woodbridge to 64% in Wickham, a range of 17 percentage points) than younger speakers (98% in Woodbridge to 94% in Wickham and Ipswich, a range of just four percentage points). This highlights a pattern of convergence among younger speakers in the three communities towards almost categorical use of -s, and gives yet more evidence that the traditional East Anglian zero marking of third person singular verbs forms in the present tense is being lost, in Suffolk English at least.

7.2 The 'David' variable

Given that the verbal -s variable shows a picture of change away from a traditional East Anglian feature in Suffolk, we might have expected the 'David' variable to also show the same pattern as part of a process of levelling of the Suffolk dialect (which is the exactly the finding reported by Kingston, 2000, in Glemsford). Happily, however, this is not the case – in fact, the use of the traditional [ə] variant remains strong among the three communities investigated. Additionally, 'age' was not returned as a significant factor by Rbrul, and indeed the graph in Figure 9 (see chapter 6) shows that the use of the 'innovative' [ɪ] variant remains consistent across all three age groups. That said, there may be a very slight trend towards the beginning of linguistic change in the graph as the older speakers' use of [ɪ] is a few percentage points lower at 25%, with the middle-aged and younger speakers around 30% and 29% respectively – but it is impossible to predict this with much certainty without further real-time evidence from the next generations of younger speakers. One possible reason for the high maintenance of the schwa variant could be the phonotactic constraint proposed by Trudgill (1986), which he predicted was likely to slow down any change away from the traditional East Anglian form. The results of this study would appear to confirm this prediction – any change towards the use of [ɪ] is progressing very slowly, if at all.

This finding stands in stark contrast to that of Kingston (2000), whose younger speakers in Glemsford were observed to be abandoning the traditional East Anglian [ə] variant. However, it does match other more recent studies by Spurling (2004), Potter (2014) and Butcher (2015) who all found the use of schwa to remain high among younger speakers. As also predicted by all of these studies (including Kingston), female speakers in Ipswich, Woodbridge and Wickham generally promote the use of [ɪ] more than male speakers in the same age and/or social class group – and this is not surprising given the generally observed trends for gender in sociolinguistics. This is particularly illustrated in Figure 11 (see chapter 6), which shows that in both the middle class and working class female speakers are ahead in the use of [ɪ]. The only slight caveat to this pattern is that Figure 10 (chapter 6) shows that among the younger speakers this gender pattern disappears, as both groups converge around the 30% mark. Figure 11 also shows that the use of this variable is stratified by socioeconomic class, with middle class speakers generally using [ɪ] more often than their working class counterparts – this is a finding which had been predicted by Trudgill (1986), but until now had not been proven empirically.

There is clear evidence that the use of the 'David' variable is to some extent socially constrained by speaker gender and socioeconomic class. The Rbrul model also shows evidence that it is internally constrained, and in general the findings here match the only previous variationist study of the linguistic constraints for this variable, Kingston (2000), fairly closely. The only major exception is in the 'preceding phonological environment' – where the results in this project are almost a mirror image of Kingston's (despite all other internal constraints reporting results similar to Kingston's). A really interesting observation to note from this variable is that a preceding palatal sound (which in this case refers to the semi-vowel /j/) was found to favour the production of the innovative [ɪ] form – and indeed almost half of the tokens preceded by a /j/ were realised as [ɪ]. This is something which makes sense phonologically, as the phonemes /j/ and /ɪ/ share a place of articulation, and thus we can consider this to be some sort of assimilatory effect (Butcher, 2015). A final point to note for constraints on the variation is that in this case 'location' was not selected as a significant independent variable by Rbrul – and the average usage levels of [ɪ] across all three communities remain fairly constant at around the 25-30% mark. In other words, there is not a statistically significant difference in the realisation of the 'David'

variable between Ipswich, Woodbridge and Wickham Market, between urban, intermediate and rural locales.

7.3 The overall picture – dialect levelling and/or maintenance?

Throughout sections 7.1 and 7.2 we have seen some common themes. One such example is that for both variables the use of one variant is much higher than the other – in the case of verbal -s, the standard -s variant is used in 84% of tokens, while for the 'David' variable, the traditional [ə] variant was used 72% of the time in total. In addition, the use of both variables was shown to be linguistically and socially constrained (addressing research question 3 – see chapter 1), albeit to varying degrees. Both variables showed clear social stratification across socioeconomic class, with middle class participants generally using traditional East Anglian forms less often than working class participants, who in favouring zero marking and [ə] index a local East Anglian identity. This result is also confirmation of the expediency of the single factor method of determining a participants' social class – as outlined in chapter 5, each speaker's occupation was the sole basis for their determination into either blue collar (used here as a proxy for 'working class') or white collar ('middle class'). These are by admission somewhat fuzzy definitions and simplistic, and yet the results (for both variables) show clear social stratification of the type we would expect based on previous observations of social class patterns in variationist studies, and what we already knew about the use of verbal -s and the 'David' variable in East Anglia.

There are also some divergent themes in the results for the two variables. The most obvious is that one of the variables appears to be undergoing change, while the other does not. Or, more specifically, one of the variables appears to be at a late stage of changing from majority use of the traditional East Anglian form to majority use of the non-regionally specific standard-like form, while the other shows signs of either not changing, with speakers retaining the use of the traditional variant to a high degree, or perhaps being in the very early stages of a change which may or may not progress further over time. The obvious question to ask here is: why does one variable show change away from the East Anglian variant while the other does not? There are two answers which appear to explain this finding. The first explanation takes into account the salience of each variable. It was noted in chapters 5 and 6 that morphological and

syntactic variables tend to be more noticeable to speakers than phonological ones – and we can assume that this would give speakers a greater element of control (consciously or not) over the use of such variables. We could therefore expect morphological, syntactic, grammatical and morphosyntactic variables to be more susceptible to change away from traditional, local forms in a climate of widespread levelling of British dialects. In other words, in such a situation these types of marked variables are more likely to be levelled out and consequently exhibit less regional variation – hence, a feature like the zero marking of third person singular present tense verb forms in East Anglia is more likely to be lost sooner than an equivalent phonological variable. One possible reason for the greater salience of morphosyntactic variables (as noted in section 5.1.4), given by Buchstaller (2014), is the effect of language ideologies which have arisen out of the process of standardisation. This has increased the pressures guiding (particularly middle class) speakers towards the use of standard-like variants of such variables – therefore contributing to the speed at which we could expect non-standard variants, like zero marking of verbal -s, to be lost. It is because of these ideologies that speakers are taught at school that -s marked third person singular verb forms are 'correct' and zero marked equivalents are 'wrong'. The second explanation takes into account the phonotactic constraint proposed by Trudgill (1986) which at one time permitted only schwa in unstressed syllables in East Anglian English. Assuming no reason to doubt the presence of such a constraint, it would certainly be expected to slow down any change away from the use of the traditional schwa variant of the 'David' variable – promoting higher use of [ə] among the participants in this study. So altogether we have a setting which simultaneously promotes the loss of zero marking of verbal -s and discourages the loss of schwa in unstressed syllables among East Anglian speakers.

This provides an answer to research question 1 (see chapter 1), which asked whether either of the variables show evidence of linguistic change in progress. Research question 1c asked whether, when taken together, the results show cause to suggest a wider pattern of loss of traditional East Anglian features in Suffolk. The answer provided by the results of this study is inconclusive – for the reasons outlined above, one variable shows a case of change while the other does not. More evidence from other linguistic variables in Suffolk is needed to provide a clearer answer. Research question 2 (whether there is evidence of geographic variation across the three

communities) will be answered in section 7.4 below, while research question 3 (whether the use of the variables is linguistically and/or socially motivated) has been answered throughout chapters 5, 6 and 7.

7.4 Geographical variation and the role of 'place'

One of the main findings to emerge from this multilocality study concerns the apparent absence of a causal link between the classification of a community as urban or rural (or somewhere in-between) and linguistic variation. It was initially assumed that the three locations could be arranged along an urban-rural continuum, and that their use of the variables would conform to this arrangement. However, the results actually suggest that in this case the variation cannot be explained by an arbitrary classification of an area as urban or rural, but rather by 'place'; this term can have different interpretations in sociolinguistic literature (Johnstone, 2011), but here is used to refer to the specific social and political environment unique to each community under investigation.

The patterns of variation for verbal -s across Ipswich, Woodbridge and Wickham Market were presented in chapter 5. It was found that Woodbridge favours -s, Ipswich is neutral and Wickham statistically speaking disfavours -s (therefore favouring the local zero marked form). Figure 8 shows a clear pattern of movement towards a Type-0 (i.e. Standard English-like) present tense verb paradigm, in which third person singular verb forms are invariably -s marked, in all three communities. The younger speakers in Ipswich, Woodbridge and Wickham are almost categorical in their use of -s, and there is little difference between the three communities in this age group. The middle aged speakers also show little variation across the three communities, but they do use -s less often than the younger speakers (around 82-84% as opposed to 94-98%). It is the older speakers, however, who show the most variation in the use of -s and zero. Here, the most conservative community is Wickham, where older speakers produced just 64% -s, followed by Ipswich with 74% -s. Woodbridge is the least conservative, with 81% -s among the older participants. The range across the three communities for the older speakers is 17%, as opposed to just 4% for the younger speakers and 2% for the middle aged group. This highlights that, not only is the local, traditional zero form being lost from the Suffolk dialect over time, but so too is the distinction between different communities' use of this variable. All three communities have moved significantly

towards a standard-like verbal -s marking system, regardless of their assumed 'ruralness'.

Furthermore, the results here suggest that a rural-urban continuum classification of the communities based on their language use does not hold any weight. If the three communities did conform to such a classification, we would expect the rural area, Wickham, to be the most conservative (i.e. shows the lowest levels of -s), Ipswich, the urban area, to be the most innovative (i.e. show the highest levels of -s), and Woodbridge to be somewhere in between. The actual finding does not correspond to this – with little difference between locations among the younger and middle aged groups, and a different pattern observed among older speakers, whereby it is Woodbridge which is the most innovative location, Wickham the most conservative, and Ipswich sits in between. These results serve as a reminder that the concept of 'place' can often be more important as an explanatory factor for linguistic variation than any arbitrary classification of a community as urban or rural – especially given the problems around how exactly to operationalise these terms (as discussed in chapter 2).

That Woodbridge was found to be the most innovative community, in terms of adopting -s marking into the dialect at a quicker rate than Ipswich and Wickham Market, would not come as much of a surprise to anyone familiar with the town. As outlined in chapter 3, it is a relatively wealthy and high status area, with levels of deprivation lower than the other two communities, and the overall figure for England and Wales. House prices in Woodbridge are high and that forces many of the local youngsters who choose to remain in Suffolk to move to surrounding towns and villages such as Rendlesham and Kesgrave when buying their first house. Unemployment levels in the town are fairly low, below the overall national figure for England and Wales, and also lower than in Ipswich and Wickham. There is also a smaller proportion of socially owned housing in Woodbridge than the other two communities. Furthermore there is a greater percentage of residents in the higher social grades according to the scale utilised in the 2011 Census (Nomis, 2013). We know from the work of Trudgill, as well as the results presented in chapter 5 of this thesis, that middle class speakers use -s more often than working class speakers. Thus it is not a surprise to find that the higher status area with a greater proportion of wealthier middle class residents adopted -s sooner than Ipswich and Wickham, which are not quite as well-off or high status. The overall point to be highlighted here is that even among the older speakers these cultural and political

elements which combine to make up the factor of 'place' are more important in constraining the variation uncovered than an urban-rural classification; while geographical variation is not very important at all among the middle aged and younger speakers (hence the much-reduced differences between locations in these two age groups).

The results for the 'David' variable also point towards this conclusion. As with verbal -s, there is no correlation between the classification of each community as urban, rural, or intermediate, and the adoption of the incoming [ɪ] variant – if such a correlation existed, we would expect to find higher levels of [ɪ] in Ipswich, with Wickham maintaining [ə] to a higher degree, and Woodbridge somewhere in-between. Instead, 'location' was not selected as significant by Rbrul, and all three communities were found to maintain the use of [ə] at similarly high levels. It seems likely that this is caused by the combination of factors discussed in section 7.3 – the strength of the phonotactic constraint which appears to be operative on the 'David' variable in East Anglian varieties, alongside the more salient nature of the morphosyntactic verbal -s variable which makes it more readily available to speakers to index a certain identity; be it 'local' (i.e. Suffolk sounding, greater use of zero) or more 'cosmopolitan' (i.e. outward looking, more 'standard' sounding, greater use of -s). Whatever the cause, the 'David' variable also does not exhibit a pattern of correlation between classification as urban or rural and speakers' language choices.

To summarise, the data in this thesis demonstrates that the three communities under investigation do not conform with an urban-rural continuum in which the rural area is the most linguistically conservative, the urban area the most innovative, and the intermediate area somewhere in the middle. For the verbal -s variable, the intermediate area was actually found to be the most innovative, with the majority of speakers in Woodbridge adopting -s marking earlier than Ipswich and Wickham Market (as evidenced among the older participants in the sample). In addition, the 'David' variable showed no statistically significant effect of 'location' in the Rbrul run – all three communities were found to be preserving [ə] at similar rates. As argued above, it seems that to understand the variation uncovered for the two linguistic variables in these three communities, we need to take into account the locally significant cultural and political factor of 'place', as well as linguistic factors such as the phonotactic constraint which appears to be operative on the 'David' variable. Furthermore, we can say that the

maintenance of local East Anglian speech forms appears to be classed – that is, working class speakers are more conservative in their use of the verbal -s and 'David' variables. The highest status area, Woodbridge, with lower indicators of social deprivation, is the most innovative in adopting levelled, supralocal or standard-like forms (e.g. -s marking of third person singular verbs). Meanwhile the two locations with higher indicators of social deprivation, Ipswich and Wickham, show more conservative use of the two variables – speakers in these locations are more likely to index a local form of speech than those in Woodbridge. The data presented here give clear evidence that it is not enough to merely assume that a location can be unproblematically classified as 'rural' and therefore will be linguistically conservative, and similarly that an 'urban' community will be linguistically innovative. Instead we should always keep in mind the specific social context of every community in order to fully comprehend the variation uncovered within.

In the context of the findings presented in this thesis for these two variables, Suffolk English is both being levelled in some respects, while also preserving some kind of distinctive 'flavour' – and the variation uncovered here can be explained with particular reference to the concepts of 'place' and social class. It remains to be seen whether East Anglian speech in Suffolk will be levelled away entirely in the next few generations as predicted by Kingston (2000); although the results here do suggest that there is some hope for elements of the dialect to continue among speakers in the years ahead.

Chapter 8 References

Agha, A. (2003). 'The social life of cultural value', *Language and Communication*, 23 (3-4), pp. 231-273.

Al-Hawamdeh, A.M. (2016). *A Sociolinguistic Investigation of Two Horani Features in Suf, Jordan*. PhD thesis. University of Essex, UK.

Al-Wer, E. (1999). 'Why Do Different Variables Behave Differently? Data From Arabic', in Suleiman, Y. (ed.) *Language and Society in the Middle East and North Africa: Studies in Variation and Identity*. London: Routledge, pp. 38-57.

Al-Wer, E. (2013). 'Sociolinguistics', in Owens, J. (ed.) *The Oxford Handbook of Arabic Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 241-263.

Al-Wer, E. (2014). 'Language and Gender in the Middle East and North Africa', in Ehrlich, S., Meyerhoff, M. and Holmes, J. (eds.) *The Handbook of Language, Gender, and Sexuality*. 2nd edn. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., pp. 396-411.

Alqahtani, K. (2015). *A sociolinguistic study of the Tihami Qahtani dialect in Asir, Southern Arabia*. PhD thesis. University of Essex, UK.

Altendorf, U. and Watt, D. (2004). 'The dialects in the South of England: phonology', in Schneider, E.W., Burridge, K., Kortmann, B., Mesthrie, R. and Upton, C. (eds.) *A Handbook of Varieties of English, Volume 1: Phonology*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 178-203.

Ash, S. (2002). 'Social Class', in Chambers, J.K., Trudgill, P. and Schilling-Estes, N. (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 402-422.

Ash, S. (2013). 'Social Class', in Chambers, J.K. and Schilling, N. (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. 2nd edn. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., pp. 350-367.

Bailey, G., Maynor, N. and Cukor-Avila, P. (1989). 'Variation in subject-verb concord in Early Modern English', *Language Variation and Change*, 1, pp. 285-300.

Baranowski, M. (2013). 'On the role of social factors in the loss of phonemic distinctions', *English Language and Linguistics*, 17 (2), pp. 271-295.

Bauer, L. (2004). *A Glossary of Morphology*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Becker, K. (2013). 'The Sociolinguistic Interview', in Mallinson, C., Childs, B., and Van Herk, G. (eds.) *Data Collection in Sociolinguistics: Methods and Applications*. London: Routledge, pp. 91-100.

Blake, R. and Josey, M. (2003). 'The /ay/ diphthong in a Martha's Vineyard community: What can we say 40 years after Labov?', *Language in Society*, 32 (4), pp. 451-485.

Brana-Straw, M. (2016). 'Language change in a post-creole contact setting: non-standard *ain't* negation in Suffolk', *Dialectologia*, 16, pp. 1-18.

Bray, M. (n.d.). *Third Person Singular Present Tense Zero*. Unpublished manuscript.

Britain, D. (1991). *Dialect and space: a geolinguistic study of speech variables in the fens*. PhD thesis. University of Essex, UK.

Britain, D. (2001). 'Welcome to East Anglia!: two major dialect 'boundaries' in the Fens', in Fisiak, J. and Trudgill, P. (eds.) *East Anglian English*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, pp. 217-242.

Britain, D. (2006). 'Language/Dialect Contact', in Brown, K. (ed.) *Encyclopaedia of Language and Linguistics, Volume 6*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Elsevier, pp. 651-656.

Britain, D. (2009). '"Big Bright Lights" Versus "Green and Pleasant Land"? The Unhelpful Dichotomy of 'Urban' Versus 'Rural' in Dialectology', in Al-Wer, E. and De Jong, R. (eds.) *Arabic Dialectology: In honour of Clive Holes on the Occasion of his Sixtieth Birthday*. Leiden: Koninklijke Brill NV, pp. 223-247.

Britain, D. (2010a). 'Supralocal Regional Dialect Levelling', in Llamas, C. and Watt, D. (eds.) *Language and Identities*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, pp. 193-204.

Britain, D. (2010b). 'Grammatical variation in the contemporary spoken English of England', in Kirkpatrick, A. (ed). *The Routledge Handbook of World Englishes*. Oxon: Routledge, pp. 37-58.

Britain, D. (2012). 'Countering the urbanist agenda in variationist sociolinguistics: dialect contact, demographic change and the rural-urban dichotomy', in Hansen, S.,

Schwarz, C., Stoeckle, P., and Streck, T. (eds.) *Dialectological and Folk Dialectological Concepts of Space*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter GmbH & co., pp. 12-30.

Britain, D. (2013). 'Space, Diffusion and Mobility', in Chambers, J.K. and Schilling, N. (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. 2nd edn. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., pp. 471-500.

Britain, D. (2014). 'Geographical Dialectology', in Holmes, J. and Hazen, K. (eds.) *Research Methods in Sociolinguistics: A Practical Guide*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., pp. 246-261.

Buchstaller, I. (2014). *Quotatives: New Trends and Sociolinguistic Implications*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd.

Butcher, K. (2015). *An exploration of the variables (t) and (ing) in Ipswich English: modelling linguistic variation in phonological theory*. MRes dissertation. University of Essex, UK.

Cameron, D. (2003). 'Gender Issues in Language Change', *Annual Review of Applied Linguistics*, 23, pp. 187-201.

Chambers, J.K. (2003). *Sociolinguistic Theory: Linguistic variation and its social significance*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell.

Chambers, J.K. and Trudgill, P. (1998). *Dialectology*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cheshire, J. (1982). *Variation in an English Dialect: A sociolinguistic study*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cheshire, J. (2002). 'Sex and Gender in Variationist Research', in Chambers, J.K., Trudgill, P. and Schilling-Estes, N. (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. Chichester: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., 423-443.

Cheshire, J., Kerswill, P, and Williams, A. (2005). 'Phonology, grammar and discourse in dialect convergence', in Auer, P., Hinskens, F. and Kerswill, P. (eds.) *Dialect Change: Convergence and Divergence in European Languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 135-167.

Claxton, A.O.D. (1968). *The Suffolk Dialect of the Twentieth Century*. 3rd edn. Ipswich: The Boydell Press Ltd.

Cloke, P. (1994). 'Rural', in Johnston, R.J., Gregory, D., and Smith, D.M. (eds.) *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 536-537.

Cloke, P., Crang, P., and Goodwin, M. (2014). 'Urban and Rural Geographies: Introduction', in Cloke, P., Crang, P., and Goodwin, M. (eds.) *Introducing Human Geographies*. 3rd edn. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 688-689.

Coates, J. (2007). 'Gender', in Llamas, C., Mullany, L., and Stockwell, P. (eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 62-68.

Cukor-Avila, P. and Bailey, G. (2013). 'Real Time and Apparent Time', in Chambers, J.K. and Schilling, N. (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. 2nd edn. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., pp. 239-262.

Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs. (2016). *Rural Urban Classification*. Available at: https://www.gov.uk/government/collections/rural-urban-classification (Accessed 28 July 2017).

Dyke, G.W. (2015). *The History of Wickham Market, Suffolk*. Leiston: Leiston Press Ltd.

Dymond, D. and Northeast, P. (1985). *A History of Suffolk*. Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd.

Eckert, P. (1997). 'Age as a Sociolinguistic Variable', in Coulmas, F. (ed.) *The Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 151-167.

Eckert, P. (2000). *Linguistic Variation as Social Practice*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Eckert, P. (2012). 'Three Waves of Variation Study: The Emergence of Meaning in the Study of Sociolinguistic Variation', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 41, pp. 87-100.

Eckert, P. and McConnell-Ginet, S. (1992). 'Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-Based Practice', *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 21, pp. 461-490.

Eisikovits, E. (2011). ‘Girl-talk/Boy-talk: Sex Differences in Adolescent Speech’, in Coates, J. and Pichler, P. (eds.) *Language and Gender: A Reader*. 2nd edn. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., pp. 38-48.

Fincham, P. (1976). *The Suffolk We Live In*. Woodbridge: Barbara Hopkinson Books.

Flemming, E. and Johnson, S. (2007). ‘Rosa’s roses: reduced vowels in American English’, *Journal of the International Phonetic Association*, 37 (1), pp. 83-96.

Foulkes, P. (2006). ‘Phonological Variation: A Global Perspective’, in Aarts, B and McMahon, A. (eds.) *The Handbook of English Linguistics*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd., pp. 625-669.

Foulkes, P. and Docherty, G.J. (1999). ‘Urban Voices – overview’, in Foulkes, P. and Docherty, G.J. (eds.) *Urban Voices*. London: Arnold, pp. 1-24.

Fromkin, V. and Rodman, R. (1998). *An Introduction to Language*. 6th edn. Orlando, FL: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

Ghaemi, M. (2017). ‘Should Bury St Edmunds be considered Suffolk’s county town?’, *East Anglian Daily Times*. Available at http://www.eadt.co.uk/news/should-bury-st-edmunds-be-considered-suffolk-s-county-town-1-4895668 (Accessed: 1 October 2017).

Ghaemi, M. and Reason, M. (2017). ‘Ipswich mayor refutes Bury St Edmunds’ county town title claim as ‘not in the same league’’. *East Anglian Daily Times*. Available at: http://www.eadt.co.uk/news/ipswich-mayor-refutes-bury-st-edmunds-county-town-title-claim-as-not-in-the-same-league-1-4902850 (Accessed: 1 October 2017).

Giegerich, H.J. (1992). *English Phonology: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gimson, A.C. (2001). *Gimson’s Pronunciation of English*. 6th edn., Revised by Cruttenden, A. London: Arnold.

Godfrey, E. and Tagliamonte, S. (1999). ‘Another piece for the verbal -s story: Evidence from Devon in southwest England’, *Language Variation and Change*, 11 (1), pp. 87-121.

Google. (2017). *Google Maps*. Available at: http://maps.google.co.uk (Last Accessed: August 2017).

Gordon, M. J. (2013). *Labov: A Guide for the Perplexed*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.

Haylock, C. (2008). *Caw'd A Hell! Thas Suffen Good*. Newbury: Countryside Books.

Hebda, A. (2012). 'Phonological Variables', in Hernandez-Campoy, J.M. and Conde-Silvestre, J.C. (eds.) *The Handbook of Historical Sociolinguistics*. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., pp. 237-252.

Hirst, A. (2017). 'Southwold and Woodbridge feature in TravelSupermarket's Mindful Getaway Guide as top destinations to 'completely unwind''. *East Anglian Daily Times*. Available at: http://www.eadt.co.uk/news/southwold-and-woodbridge-feature-in-travelsupermarket-s-mindful-getaway-guide-as-top-destinations-to-completely-unwind-1-5255366 (Accessed: 26 October 2017).

Horesh, U. (2014). *Phonological outcomes of language contact in the Palestinian Arabic dialect of Jaffa*. PhD thesis. University of Essex, UK.

Horvath, B.M. (1985). *Variation in Australian English: the sociolects of Sydney*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Hudson, R.A. (1996). *Sociolinguistics*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Ibrahim, M.H. (1986). 'Standard and Prestige Language: A Problem in Arabic Sociolinguistics', *Anthropological Linguistics*, 28 (1), pp. 115-126.

Ismail, H. (2007). 'The urban and suburban modes: patterns of linguistic variation and change in Damascus', in Miller, C., Al-Wer, E., Caubet, D., and Watson, J.C.E. (eds.) *Arabic in the City: Issues in dialect contact and language variation*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 188-212.

Johnson, W. and Britain, D. (2007). 'L-vocalisation as a natural phenomenon: explorations in sociophonology', *Language Sciences*, 29 (2-3), pp. 294-315.

Johnston, R.J. (1994). ‘Urban’, in Johnston, R.J., Gregory, D., and Smith, D.M. (eds.) *The Dictionary of Human Geography*. 3rd edn. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, pp. 651-653.

Johnstone, B. (2000). *Qualitative Methods in Sociolinguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Johnstone, B. (2011). ‘Language and Place’, in Mesthrie, R. (ed.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 203-217.

Johnstone, B., Andrus, J., and Danielson, A.E. (2006). ‘Mobility, Indexicality, and the Enregisterment of “Pittsburghese”’, *Journal of English Linguistics*, 34 (2), pp. 77-104.

Kerswill, P. (2011). ‘Sociolinguistic Approaches to Language Change: Phonology’, in Wodak, R., Johnstone, B. and Kerswill, P. (eds.) *The SAGE Handbook of Sociolinguistics*. London: Sage, pp. 219-235.

Kiesling, S.F. (1998). ‘Men’s identities and sociolinguistic variation: the case of fraternity men’, *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 2 (1), pp. 69-99.

Kingston, M. (2000). *Dialects in danger: dialect attrition in the East Anglian county of Suffolk*. MA dissertation. University of Essex, UK.

Kirkham, S. and Moore, E. (2013). ‘Adolescence’, in Chambers, J.K. and Schilling, N. (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change*. 2nd edn. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., pp. 277-296.

Kokeritz, H. (1932). *The Phonology of the Suffolk Dialect*. Uppsala: A.-B. Lundequistka Bokhandlen.

Labov, W. (1963). ‘The Social Motivation of a Sound Change’, *Word*, 19 (3), pp. 273-309.

Labov, W. (1966a). ‘Hypercorrection by the Lower Middle Class as a Factor in Linguistic Change’, in Bright, W. (ed.) *Sociolinguistics: Proceedings of the UCLA Sociolinguistics Conference, 1964*. The Hague: Mouton and Co., pp. 84-113.

Labov, W. (1966b). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. Washington: Center for Applied Linguistics.

Labov, W. (1972). *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Pennsylvania: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, W. (1982). 'Objectivity and Commitment in Linguistic Science: The Case of the Black English Trial in Ann Arbor', *Language in Society,* 11 (2), pp. 165-201.

Labov, W. (1984). 'Field methods of the Project on Linguistic Change and Variation', in Baugh, J. and Sherzer, J. (eds.) *Language in Use: Readings in Sociolinguistics*. Englewood Cliffs: Prentice Hall, pp. 28-53.

Labov, W. (1990). 'The intersection of sex and social class in the course of linguistic change', *Language Variation and Change,* 2 (2), pp. 205-254.

Labov, W. (1994). *Principles of Linguistic Change, Volume 1: Internal Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Labov, W. (1998). 'Co-existent systems in African-American vernacular English', in Mufwene, S.S., Rickford, J.R., Bailey, G. and Baugh, J. (eds.) *African-American English: Structure, history and use*. London: Routledge, pp. 110-153.

Labov, W. (2001). *Principles of Linguistic Change, Volume 2: Social Factors*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Labov, W. (2006). *The Social Stratification of English in New York City*. 2nd edn. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Lass, R. (1992). 'Phonology and Morphology', in Blake, N. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume II 1066-1476*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 23-155.

Lass, R. (1999). 'Phonology and Morphology', in Lass, R. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume III 1476-1776*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 56-186.

Llamas, C. (2007). 'Age', in Llamas, C., Mullany, L., and Stockwell, P. (eds.) *The Routledge Companion to Sociolinguistics*. London: Routledge, pp. 69-76.

Macaulay, R.K.S. (2009). *Quantitative Methods in Sociolinguistics*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

MacMahon, M.K.C. (1998). 'Phonology', in Romaine, S. (ed.) *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume IV 1776-1997*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 373-535.

Malster, R. (2000). *A History of Ipswich*. Chichester: Phillimore & Co. Ltd.

Martin, E. (1999). 'Suffolk and the East Anglian Kingdom', in Dymond, D. and Martin, E. (eds.) *An Historical Atlas of Suffolk*. 3rd edn. Ipswich: The Archaeology Service, Suffolk County Council, pp. 22-23.

Meyerhoff, M. (2014). 'Variation and Gender', in Ehrlich, S., Meyerhoff, M. and Holmes, J. (eds.) *The Handbook of Language, Gender and Sexuality*. 2nd edn. Chichester: John Wiley and Sons Ltd., pp. 87-102.

Meyerhoff, M. (2016). 'Methods, innovations, and extensions: Reflections on half a century of methodology in social dialectology', *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 20 (4), pp. 431-452.

Mills West, H. (2002). *Suffolk Villages*. Newbury: Countryside Books.

Milroy, L. and Gordon, M.J. (2003). *Sociolinguistics: Method and Interpretation*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Nomis. (2013). *2011 Census Data for England and Wales on Nomis*. Available at: https://www.nomisweb.co.uk/census/2011 (Last accessed: August 2017).

Piercy, C. (2007). 'A quantitative analysis of rhoticity in Dorset: evidence from four locations of an urban to rural hierarchy of change'. *Proceedings of the Fifth Postgraduate Conference in Linguistics, CamLing 2007*, pp. 199-206.

Poplack, S. and Tagliamonte, S. (1989). 'There's no tense like the present: Verbal -s inflection in early Black English', *Language Variation and Change*, 1 (1), pp. 47-84.

Poplack, S. and Tagliamonte, S. (2001). *African American English in the Diaspora*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Potter, R. (2012). *Dialect maintenance in the speech of residents of Suffolk*. BA dissertation. University of Essex, UK.

Potter, R. (2014). *Investigating the Social Differentiation of Language Use in Suffolk*. MRes dissertation. University of Essex, UK.

Potter, R. (2016). '"Are You Australian?" Uncovering attitudes towards Suffolk English, the enregisterment of a peripheral British dialect, and otherness', *SociolinguistEssex conference*. University of Essex, 9 June.

Rickford, J.R. (1999). *African American Vernacular English: Features, Evolution, Educational Implications*. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Rickford, J. and Price, M. (2013). 'Girlz II women: Age-grading, language change and stylistic variation', *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, 17 (2), pp. 143-179.

Sankoff, G. (2004). 'Adolescents, Young Adults, and the Critical Period: Two Case Studies from "Seven Up"', in Fought, C. (ed.) *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp. 121-139.

Sayers, D. (2009). *Reversing Babel: Declining linguistic diversity and the flawed attempts to protect it*. PhD thesis. University of Essex, UK.

Sayers, D. (2014). 'The mediated innovation model: A framework for researching media influence in language change', *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 18 (2), pp. 185-212.

Schilling, N. (2013). *Sociolinguistic Fieldwork*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Schneider, E.W. (1989). *American Earlier Black English: Morphological and Syntactic Variables*. Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press.

Schreier, D. (2003). 'An East Anglian in the South Atlantic? Interpreting morphosyntactic resemblances in terms of direct input, parallel development, and linguistic contact', in Britain, D. and Cheshire, J. (eds.) *Social Dialectology: In honour of Peter Trudgill*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins Publishing Company, pp. 81-96.

Silverstein, M. (2003). 'Indexical order and the dialectics of sociolinguistic life', *Language and Communication*, 23 (3-4), pp. 193-229.

Simper, R. (2017). 'So Where's the Wooden Bridge?', *Living in Woodbridge* 8 (Autumn 2017), pp. 18-19.

Spurling, J. (2004). *Traditional feature loss in Ipswich: Dialect attrition in the East Anglian county of Suffolk*. BA dissertation. University of Essex, UK.

Straw, M. and Patrick, P.L. (2007). ‘Dialect acquisition of glottal variation in /t/: Barbadians in Ipswich’, *Language Sciences*, 29, pp. 385-407.

Tagliamonte, S.A. (2006). *Analysing Sociolinguistic Variation*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

The Wickham Market Partnership. (n.d.). *Wickham Market*. Available at: http://www.wickham-market.org.uk/index.htm (Accessed: 30 September 2017).

Townsend, E. (2017). ‘Woodbridge and Sudbury ranked in Britain’s top 10 property hotspots’, *East Anglian Daily Times*. Available at: http://www.eadt.co.uk/news/woodbridge-and-sudbury-ranked-in-britain-s-top-ten-property-hotspots-1-5111102 (Accessed: 1 October 2017).

Trechter, S. (2013). ‘Social Ethics for Sociolinguistics’, in Mallinson, C., Childs, B., and Van Herk, G. (eds.) *Data Collection in Sociolinguistics: Methods and Applications*. Abingdon: Routledge, pp. 33-45.

Trudgill, P. (1972). ‘Sex, Covert Prestige and Linguistic Change in the Urban British English of Norwich’, *Language in Society*, 1 (2), pp. 179-195.

Trudgill, P. (1974). *The Social Differentiation of English in Norwich*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Trudgill, P. (1982). ‘The Contribution of Sociolinguistics to Dialectology’, *Language Sciences*, 4 (2), pp. 237-250.

Trudgill, P. (1986). *Dialects in Contact*. Oxford: Basil Blackwell Ltd.

Trudgill, P. (1988). ‘Norwich Revisited: Recent Linguistic Changes in an English Urban Dialect’, *English World-Wide*, 9 (1), pp. 33-49.

Trudgill, P. (1996). ‘Language contact and inherent variability: the absence of hypercorrection in East Anglian present-tense verb forms’, in Klemola, J., Kyto, M., and Rissanen, M. (eds.) *Speech past and present: studies in English dialectology in memory of Ossi Ihalainen*. Frankfurt am Main: P. Lang, pp. 412-425.

Trudgill, P. (1999) *The Dialects of England*. 2nd edn. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers Ltd.

Trudgill, P. (2000). *Sociolinguistics: An Introduction to Language and Society*. 4th edn. London: Penguin.

Trudgill, P. (2001a). 'Modern East Anglia as a dialect area', in Fisiak, J. and Trudgill, P. (eds.) *East Anglian English*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, pp. 1-12.

Trudgill, P. (2001b). 'Third-person singular zero: African-American English, East Anglian dialects and Spanish persecution in the Low Countries', in Fisiak, J. and Trudgill, P. (eds.) *East Anglian English*. Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, pp, 179-186.

Trudgill, P. (2003). *The Norfolk Dialect*. Cromer: Poppyland Publishing.

Trudgill, P. (2004a). 'The dialect of East Anglia: phonology', in Schneider, E.W., Burridge, K., Kortmann, B., Mesthrie, R. and Upton, C. (eds.) *A Handbook of Varieties of English, Volume 1: Phonology*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 163-177.

Trudgill, P. (2004b). 'The dialect of East Anglia: morphology and syntax', in Kortmann, B., Burridge, K., Mesthrie, R., Schneider, E.W., and Upton, C. (eds.) *A Handbook of Varieties of English, Volume 2: Morphology and Syntax*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, pp. 142-153.

Trudgill, P. (2016). *Dialect Matters: Respecting Vernacular Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wells, J.C. (1982a). *Accent of English, Volume 1: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wells, J.C. (1982b). *Accents of English, Volume 2: The British Isles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wickham Market Area Archive Centre. (2015). *An Outline History of Wickham Market Suffolk*. 2nd edn. Wickham Market: Wickham Market Area Archive Centre.

Williams, A. and Kerswill, P. (1999). 'Dialect levelling: Change and Continuity in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull', in Foulkes, P. and Docherty, G.J. (eds.) *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Routledge, pp. 141-162.

Youngman, M.B. (1978). *Rediguide 12: Designing and Analysing Questionnaires*. Oxford: TRC-Rediguides Ltd.