A SOCIOLINGUISTIC STUDY OF ACCENT USE IN IRISH FILMS

Master's thesis in English linguistics

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May 2015

Front page: Scene from *Intermission* (2003)

Sammendrag

Denne oppgaven, "en sosiolingvistisk studie av irske filmer", ser på språkbruk og språkholdninger i et utvalg av populære og kritikerroste irske filmer fra de siste 25 år. Formålet er å undersøke om det finnes systematiske sammenhenger mellom språkbruk (standard og ikke-standard irsk-engelsk) og uavhengige faktorer som filmsjanger, kjønn og sosial status. Basert på tidligere studier forventet jeg å finne systematiske sjangerforskjeller, kjønnsforskjeller og sosiale forskjeller som påvirker hvilken form for irsk-engelsk som snakkes. Disse forskjellene forventet jeg videre å kunne tolke i lys av *språkholdninger*.

Tidligere holdningsstudier har vist at spesifikke verdier og egenskaper assosieres med spesifikke dialekter eller *accents*. Film brukes som kilde fordi filmer gjenspeiler virkeligheten og de verdiene som til enhver tid er gjeldende, også språklig sett. Filmer kan derfor fortelle oss mye om de gjeldende språkholdninger, som for eksempel gjør seg synlig gjennom at visse typer karakterer "tildeles" visse dialekter for å definere denne typen karakter. Dette er et viktig premiss for studien.

Studien er bygget opp slik at kapittel 2 går gjennom den nødvendige teorien, både lingvistisk (det som gjelder engelsk i Irland) og sosiolingvistisk (det som gjelder språkholdninger, tidligere holdningsstudier og de uavhengige variablene). Kapittel 3 beskriver så datamaterialet (filmutvalget) og metoden som ble brukt i analysen av dette. Kapittel 4 går gjennom resultatene av studien. Disse støtter ikke hypotesen angående sjangerbestemte språkforskjeller, men i høyeste grad at det finnes kjønnsbestemte og sosialt bestemte språkforskjeller.

Acknowledgements

First I would like to thank my supervisors Bente Hannisdal and Kari Haugland for providing invaluable comments and going through parts of the film corpus. Many thanks for your guidance and enthusiasm. Also, thanks to Kevin McCafferty for recommending some introductory works in the early phase of the project. Thanks to the faculty of humanities for financial support to purchase the films used in the study, and the films themselves for providing speech data and some entertainment as well.

Special thanks to all my fellow students for excellent and memorable times on exchange in Lancaster, for all the quizzes in Ad fontes and in lunchbreaks outside "lesesalen". Thanks to my friends old and new, football mates, beer buddies and band members who have made my years in university worth while. Last but not least, thanks to my family and especially my mother and Anette, for your love and support.

Bergen, May 2015

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Tables and figures

Abbreviations

The following abbreviations are introduced in the text, but gathered here for easy reference.

SIRE   Southern Irish English

SS   Southern Supraregional (Standard Irish English)

DubMain   Mainstream Dublin English (largely same as SS)

DubOld   Local Dublin English (North Dublin, working class)

DubNew   'Fashionable' Dublin English (South Dublin, middle class)

DubEng   Both local and 'fashionable' Dublin English (DubOld and DubNew)

Rural S/W Rural south/west Irish English (provinces Munster and Connacht)

RP   Received Pronunciation (Standard British English)

GA   General American (Standard American English)

STS   Societal treatment studies (type of attitudinal study)

1   Introduction

1.1   Aim and scope

This thesis aims to investigate the use of accent in thirteen Irish feature films from the last 25 years. This is done by means of examining the distribution of standard and non-standard Irish English according to three independent variables, namely genre, gender and social status. It was hypothesised that there would be systematic correlations between accent use and these variables (see 1.2 below), which can be interpreted in terms of language attitudes. Such attitudes (see 2.1.1) are based on personal experiences and social environment (Garrett 2010:22). Many sociolinguistic studies have shown that specific attitudes are associated with specific language varieties of language, and that accent is often the main basis for drawing inferences about people (Sønnesyn 2011:2). Accent is therefore often used as a *characterisation tool* in films, especially in the comedy genre (see 1.3 below).

Being no expert on Irish English, the topic was chosen mainly out of an interest in Ireland and the Irish that presented itself to me during my studies. The decision to study Irish English in film was based on a fondness for film and television, these being sources of entertainment as well as topics of conversation and discussion, since film and television to a large extent reflect reality. There have been several attitudinal studies on American films (notably Lippi-Green 1997), and one similar study on Australian films (Fjeldsbø 2013). The present thesis is a contribution to the field of attitudinal studies in being (to my knowledge) the first to examine accent use in Irish films.

It should be noted that in the present study, accent refers to *pronunciation* and pronunciation only, as opposed to the term *dialect* which is more often taken to include also grammar and vocabulary. These levels of language, as well as prosody and pragmatics, are disregarded altogether in the present study. Amador-Moreno (2010:5), for instance, uses the more neutral term *variety* with reference to language use in general. This thesis uses both *accent* and *variety*, however the important thing is that *pronunciation* is in focus.

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1.2 Variables and hypotheses

As mentioned above, it was hypothesised that there would be systematic correlations between accent use and the non-linguistic variables, namely genre, gender and social status. In other words, I expected to find genre differences, gender differences and social differences in accent use. All these variables, including the linguistic variables, are binary, meaning they are represented by only two opposing categories. The linguistic categories are standard and non-standard Irish English as defined in 2.1.4, often referred to simply as (non-) standard *accent* or *usage*. The *non*-linguistic categories are male and female gender (2.4.1), high and low social status (2.4.2) and the genres drama and 'dramedy' (see 2.4.3).

More specifically, then, I expected that the drama genre, female characters and high-status characters would display more standard Irish English. Conversely, I expected that the opposite categories, namely the dramedy genre, male characters and low-status characters, would display more non-standard usage. It is important to note that standard/non-standard and the other labels and categories used here are not universal, unambiguous terms, but terms which are defined in the next chapter. Additionally, I expected that standard usage would be dominant overall. This assumption was based on a reported pressure in the film industry to modify accent variation (Sønnesyn 2011:1). This strategy of *standardisation* is adopted to appear politically and linguistically 'correct' and perhaps reach a wider audience. The hypotheses of the study can be presented as follows:

H1 *Overall distribution:* Standard Irish English will be dominant overall.

H2 *Genre differences:* Drama films will display more standard usage and dramedy films more non-standard usage.

H3 *Gender differences:* Female characters will use more standard usage and male characters more non-standard usage.

H4 *Social differences:* High-status characters will use more standard usage and low-status characters more non-standard usage.

It should also be noted that the hypotheses are based on, and thus largely in line with, previous sociolinguistic and attitudinal research (see 2.3). With regard to the traditional sociolinguistic variables gender and social status, studies have shown clear gender and class

differences in accent use. The so-called *sex/prestige pattern*, meaning that women use more standard accent than men, has been attested in numerous studies (see 2.4.1). With regard to the film-specific genre variable, the study most similar to the present (Fjeldsbø 2013) actually found no correlation between genre and accent use (see 2.3.3 and 4.2). However, Fjeldsbø (2013) and similar studies comment that accent stereotyping is more prevalent in the comedy genre. Based on this observation it was hypothesised that the dramedies included in this study (dramedy being a mix of drama and comedy) would display more non-standard usage than the drama films.

The variables and categories included in the study are presented in table 1.1 below. Note that the categories expected to display more standard usage are placed accordingly in the same column as standard, and that the opposite categories expected to display more non-standard usage are placed under non-standard. Thus the categories are ordered in columns according to the hypotheses discussed and presented above.

Table 1.1 Variables included in study, categories ordered according to hypotheses

Variables		Categories	
Linguistic	Irish English (accent)	Standard	Non-standard
Non-linguistic	Genre (H1)	Drama	Dramedy
	Gender (H2)	Female	Male
	Social status (H3)	High	Low

Since the present study examines Irish English in Irish films, it is in order at an early stage to make some comments on accent use in film in general and why this is an interesting field of study.

1.3   Accent use in film

Lippi-Green (1997:81) states that 'in traditions passed down over hundreds of years from the stage and theater, film uses language variation and accent to draw character quickly'. Filmmakers use language as one of several *characterisation tools*, that is 'a quick way to build character and reaffirm stereotype' (1997:84), in the sense that 'certain traits need not be laboriously demonstrated by means of (...) actions and an examination of motive'

(1997:81). Similarly, Fjeldsbø (2013:16) states that 'due to the format of films, artistic tools are needed to draw characters quickly'. There is not much time to present characters and filmmakers therefore rely on artistic devices to do this, such as symbolic names, visual cues (clothing and overall appearance) and, perhaps most importantly, language and accent. Bratteli (2011:29) also points out that 'stereotyping is often accomplished through a combination of different factors, such as appearance, demeanor, and accent'. Filmmakers thus employ language and accent to *highlight* character features (Fjeldsbø 2013:16).

In addition to using accent as a characterisation tool, it should be noted that 'there is sometimes supplementary motivation in establishing the setting of the story' (Lippi-Green 1997:84). In many films, however, accent is undoubtedly used to create and define characters. Accent is not only used to signal group membership, but also to equip characters with attributes that are stereotypically linked to the accent in question (Bratteli 2011:29). This is directly connected to language attitudes and the reason why films are interesting in sociolinguistic research, besides being easily available sources of speech data. More importantly, films are cultural documents reflecting some of the social values in society, including attitudes to language (Fjeldsbø 2013:2, Moltu 2014:14–15). Sønnesyn (2011:2) points out that 'using accent as an artistic device would not have had the same effect unless accent itself had an effect on people'. Numerous sociolinguistic studies have shown that accents affect our opinions of people, including assumptions about personal qualities and social status (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006, in Sønnesyn 2011:2). Undoubtedly, these remarks extend to fictional characters on the screen.

Using dialect coaching handbooks as evidence, Bratteli (2011:29) argues that filmmakers are highly aware of 'the power of the accent and the associations they inspire'. Many such handbooks not only describe diagnostic accent features and how to emulate these, but also 'include descriptions of what sort of people typical speakers of the varieties are' (ibid). As an example from the *Lord of the Rings* franchise, Bratteli states that the dwarves in particular, in having a Scottish accent although 'nowhere in the books is such a link mentioned' (2011:36), are subject to some stereotyping. With regard to the hobbits, Jacks (in Bratteli 2011:42–43) states that 'we were looking for something timeless and rustic, [so] we chose the speech of Gloucestershire'. Bilbo and Frodo, however, are educated hobbits and therefore linguistically closer to the British standard called *Received*

Pronunciation (RP). Furthermore, the Men of Gondor were given a northern accent to 'conjure up (...) a warrior-like demeanour' (ibid). These examples illustrate that 'the tie between accent and character is strong, and that the movie makers clearly believe that accents flesh out the characters and give them attributes' (2011:42–43).

1.4   Structure of thesis

This brief initial chapter has introduced the present study in terms of aim and scope (1.1), variables and hypotheses (1.2), and accent use in film (1.3). The next chapter presents the theoretical background for the study. Section 2.1 introduces English in Ireland in terms of history, varieties and features, and thus identifies the linguistic variables included in the study. Section 2.2 introduces the field of *sociolinguistics*, the field in which this study is placed, the concept of *language attitudes* and *societal treatment studies*. Section 2.3 examines some relevant previous studies, before section 2.4 discusses the above mentioned non-linguistic variables in greater detail.

Chapter 3 deals with the data and method employed in the present study. Firstly, section 3.1 describes how the films were sampled. Secondly, section 3.2 details the method used in categorising the characters featured in the films, in linguistic terms (3.2.1) as well as in social terms (3.2.2). Finally, section 3.2.3 discusses some methodological challenges and concerns. Chapter 4 presents and discusses the results of the study, first the accent distribution overall (4.1) and then ordered according to the independent variables mentioned above. Sections 4.5 and 4.6 summarise and discuss the findings. Finally, chapter 5 sums up the thesis and provides some concluding remarks, including limitations and contributions of the study and some suggestions for further research.

2 Theoretical background

This chapter presents the theoretical groundwork on which the rest of the study is based. Firstly, section 2.1 introduces English in Ireland and identifies the linguistic variables included in this study. The history, varieties and features of English in Ireland have been studied extensively by scholars like Hickey (2004, 2007), and section 2.1 is largely based on the work of Hickey and others. Section 2.2 introduces the field of *sociolinguistics*, the concept of *language attitudes* and *societal treatment studies*. Section 2.3 examines some relevant previous studies including Walshe (2009), Lippi-Green (1997) and some recent MA theses. Finally, section 2.4 discusses the *non*-linguistic variables, namely film genre, gender and social status.

2.1 English in Ireland

Since this study is concerned with Irish English, it is in order at this point to briefly introduce the linguistic situation in Ireland. There are two main language varieties in Ireland, namely the indigenous Irish language, also called Irish Gaelic, and English/Scots as introduced from Britain in the medieval and early modern periods (see below). Disregarding Irish Gaelic, which is a Celtic language, English/Scots is subdivided into Southern Irish English (SIRE), Northern Irish English and Ulster Scots. This thesis is concerned with SIRE, excluding the North and Ulster altogether since Northern Irish English (not to mention Scots) is quite unique and different from SIRE (Wells 1982:436).

2.1.1 A brief history of English in Ireland

A brief history of English in Ireland helps to better understand the development and present-day forms of English in Ireland (a far more detailed history of English in Ireland, and an outline of Irish history in general, can be found in Hickey 2007).

The history of English in Ireland is that of the uneasy relationship between the English and Irish peoples and languages. A distinction is generally drawn around 1600 between a first (medieval) and second (modern) period in the development of English in Ireland. A similar distinction can be made between the *Old English* and the *planters*,

respectively. In the medieval period, English was mainly spoken in Dublin and *the Pale* (see below). With the *plantation* period after 1600, however, English gained an increasingly dominant position which has continued to this day. Present-day Irish English derives from the English brought to Ireland by the *planters* (Hickey 2015).

The arrival of English (medieval period). English was first brought to Ireland with the Anglo-Norman invasion in 1169 (Amador-Moreno 2010:17). By 1300 most of Ireland had been conquered (Melchers and Shaw 2003:72). The Old English established themselves in particular in Dublin and the surrounding areas known as *the Pale*, which means *boundary* (Hickey 2007:32). However, although settlement and thereby English spread from Dublin to other cities, English was not as dominant in the more rural west, which remained mostly Irish-speaking. English was also not as dominant at this stage as it was to become after 1600 (ibid). During the fourteenth century, the Old English 'were absorbed by the Irish in rural areas and only remained a distinctive group in fortified towns' (Barry 1981, in Amador-Moreno 2010:17). Despite attempts to counteract this assimilation, 'the English language continued to give way to the Irish' (Walshe 2009:17). By 1500, only the Pale was strictly under English control, and even here English was almost extinct (Wells 1982:417). Generally, the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries witnessed a revival of Irish and *gaelicisation* of the Old English (Hickey 2007:346).

Seventeenth century (plantation period). The start of the seventeenth century marks the start of the modern period in the development of English in Ireland. In this period, a new wave of settlers began a process of *plantations*, which involved settlement of English planters on Irish soil, largely as payment for military services (Hickey 2015). The Irish, in turn, were 'famously told to go to Hell or Connacht', that is the less fertile west of Ireland (Walshe 2009:17). Importantly, the (trans)plantation policy is described as 'instrumental in establishing the English language' (ibid), that is in *anglicising* the Irish, ensuring landowners were English-speaking and thereby forcing their tenants to learn it (Bliss, in Walshe 2009:17). The planters provided a fresh linguistic input which was discontinuous with earlier varieties and, according to Bliss (in Hickey 2007:39), 'the seed of modern Irish English'.

Eighteenth century (the long peace). The eighteenth century has been described as 'the long peace' where English continued to expand on its position (Hickey 2015). The

Penal Laws excluded Catholics from political and social life as well as education, and severely punished to use of Irish (Hickey 2007:44–45). As a response developed a loosely organised system of *hedge schools* where wandering schoolmasters taught small groups English and other subjects, largely outdoors in rural areas (hence the term) in order to allow for a quick getaway should be authorities appear (Hickey 2007, Walshe 2009). Walshe (2009:18) states that 'the school masters were very often self taught and therefore the English they taught often bore the marks of Irish interference (...), resulting in many of the distinctive features which are associated with Irish English even today'.

Nineteenth century (final shift). The nineteenth century was characterised by the final shift from Irish to English (Hickey 2015). At the time of the Act of Union (1801), which incorporated Ireland into the UK, English was probably the language of about half the population of Ireland (Melchers and Shaw 2003:72). In the course of the century Irish suffered a 'rapid and irreversible decline' (Amador-Moreno 2010:22), and by mid-century the language shift had taken place for the majority of the population. The language shift was considerably reinforced by the National school system of 1831, the instruction in which was in English (Hickey 2007:46). English became associated with literacy and modernisation (Daly 1990, in Amador-Moreno 2010:23) and 'the language of prestige and power' (Amador-Moreno 2010:22), whereas Irish became associated with poverty and peasantry (Edwards 1984, in Walshe 2009:18). The language shift was also drastically reinforced by the *Great Famine* (1841), which is described as a watershed in the development of English in Ireland (Hickey 2015). The famine actually *decimated* the native population as two million Irish speakers, mainly from rural areas, died or emigrated (Hickey 2007:46). Importantly, 'given the prospect of emigration (...), knowledge of English became an even greater priority' (ibid).

Twentieth century to present. The twentieth century saw the Irish War of Independence (1919–21), the declaration of the *Irish Free State* (1922) and the Irish Civil War (1922–23), events which are dramatised in two of the films included in the study, namely *Michael Collins* (1996) and *The Wind That Shakes The Barley* (2006). The present-day Republic of Ireland (declared in 1949) inherits from the constitution of the Free State two official languages, namely English and Irish Gaelic (Melchers and Shaw 2003:73). However, 'despite all efforts the number of native Irish speakers has continued to decline'

(ibid). Today English is the first language for most Irishmen and there are no longer any Irish monolinguals. The few thousand who still use Irish live in the discontinuous *Gaeltachtai* (meaning Irish-speaking districts) in Western Ireland, which receive economic aid to 'discourage migration away from the area, with consequent loss of the language' (Wells 1982:417).

Concluding remarks. In sum, we see a general historical and geographical pattern where the English language moves, and thereby forces the Irish language to retreat, from east to west (Hickey 2015). The language shift is most obvious in Dublin and the Pale where it began in the medieval period (Hickey 2007:121). The western seaboard, on the other hand, was much later in adopting English. According to Hickey (2007:124), 'the historical picture is that of a gradual dissemination of English from east to west and from urban centres to rural districts'.

While many probably *overreported* the use of English during the language shift in the nineteenth century, due to its position and importance then, people tend to overreport the use of Irish today (Hickey 2015), perhaps nostalgically, as an indication of 'wishful thinking', cultural heritage and so on (Melchers and Shaw 2003:73). According to Edwards (1984, in Melchers and Shaw 2003:73), places for Irish are 'ceremonial, trivial or exist only in tandem with English', examples being street signs, salutations etc. Although 'the restoration of Irish as a subject as well as the medium of instruction is actively encouraged at all levels of education' (ibid), the language seems 'relegated to merely a peripheral role in Irish society' (Walshe 2009:19).

Although the role of Irish seems marginal, considerable traces of Irish remain in present-day Irish English due to the historical contact between Irish and English (Wells 1982:417, Amador-Moreno 2010:26). In the words of Melchers and Shaw (2003:73), the Irish substratum pervades Irish English at all levels of language. Then again, Irish English is after all English and derives mainly from the plantation period (see 2.1.2 below). According to Wells (1982:418) it has since proved remarkably conservative and British English has not exerted much influence on Irish English. Although Standard English enjoys a certain status and prestige (Amador-Moreno 2010:2), 'RP is in no way seen as a norm of good pronunciation' (Wells 1982:418).

2.1.2 Terminology

This section briefly discusses the terminology relating to Irish English, since scholars have not agreed on a single term and therefore various labels are found in the literature (Hickey 2007:3). Melchers and Shaw (2003:74) draw a main distinction between *Planter English* and *Hiberno-English*. Planter English is subdivided into *Anglo-Irish* and *Ulster Scots*, stemming from the English and Scottish planters (respectively). Anglo-Irish is linguistically misleading since it denotes an Irish variety of English and not, as the term suggests, and English variety of Irish (Hickey 2007, Walshe 2009). The term is also politically loaded (consider the so-called Anglo-Irish treaties) and may refer to the decendants of English planters, authors like Oscar Wilde or literature in general. Hickey (2007:3) argues that 'given the loaded nature of the term it is scarcely appropriate as a linguistic label'.

Hiberno-English, on the other hand, emphasises the Irish Gaelic influence and heritage (*Hibernia* is the Latin name for Ireland). This term is seen as too technical for readers outside Ireland (Hickey 2007:5). At any rate, Hickey (2007:124) claims that in present-day Southern Ireland there is 'no discernible difference' between the native Irish and descendants of the planters in terms of speech. Considering these remarks, none of the above terms are very useful to the present study. The more neutral and generic term *Irish English* is favoured in recent research and understood outside Ireland. It is 'a cover term, devoid of connotation (...) and an inclusive label' (Amador-Moreno 2010:8–9). It is also in line with other terms like Australian English (Walshe 2009:16), and internal distinctions like Southern/Northern can made additionally (Hickey 2007:5). Following these remarks, *Irish English* is preferred in the present study, and should be understood as *Southern* Irish English (SIRE) unless otherwise specified.

2.1.3 Varieties of Southern Irish English

Leaving Northern Irish English out of the equation, there seems to be 'widespread agreement' that varieties of SIRE are relatively uniform, meaning they are more similar than different (Bliss 1977, in Walshe 2009:20). There is, however, a main distinction within SIRE between varieties found in Dublin and the east on the one hand (roughly the province of Leinster), and varieties found in the more rural south and west on the other (roughly Munster and Connacht, respectively). As mentioned in 2.1.1, the former area (east) is where

English was first introduced, whereas the latter area is still influenced by the Gaelic substratum. Disregarding Dublin and the sociolinguistic variation there, the east and south/west are seen as fairly uniform dialect areas (Hickey 2004, 2007). For the purpose of this study, I have adopted four distinct and generally recognised varieties of SIRE which are presented below.

Table 2.1 Main varieties of Southern Irish English

Variety	Abbrev.
Southern Supraregional Standard (Dublin mainstream)	SS/DubMain
Dublin 'fashionable'	DubNew
Dublin local	DubOld
Rural south/west	Rural S/W

The varieties listed in the above table will now be presented in that order (some general remarks on Dublin are included before turning to the marked Dublin varieties and Rural S/W). Note that *DubEng* refers to the marked Dublin varieties, local (DubOld) and 'fashionable' (DubNew), and that the features of all the varieties are described in 2.1.6.

Southern Supraregional Standard

Supraregionalisation is the historical process whereby varieties lose specifically local features and thus become 'less regionally bound' (Hickey 2007:309). Hickey states that a supraregional standard SIRE 'arose from the suppression of vernacular features (...) during the late nineteenth century with the establishment of a Catholic middle class in Ireland' (2007:26). This standard is defined in negative terms, in being 'delimited both from vernacular varieties (...) in Ireland and from extranational norms' (ibid). As the term implies, the supraregional standard is spoken all over Southern Ireland and therefore could be called *mainstream* or *general* SIRE. However, *supraregional standard* is more precise and in keeping with Hickey (2004, 2007).

Apparently, the standard 'does not enjoy the consciousness of standard languages in other countries'; for instance it has not been codified to any great extent (Hickey 2007:26). Unconsciously, however, it is adhered to by educated speakers all over Ireland (ibid). Note

the references to class in light of the hypothesis that high-status characters will tend to use standard accent (see 1.2). Note also that 'mainstream' DubEng is largely the same as the standard as it is the origin of the standard: According to Hickey (2007:21), the standard 'derives from non-local [mainstream] Dublin usage and provides and orientation for the southern middle-class'. Considering these remarks, the standard and Dublin mainstream will be treated as one variety labelled *SS/DubMain*. Finally, Hickey (2007:316) remarks that many of his statements on the supraregional standard 'will probably be superseded when the recent forms of DubEng [see *DubNew* below] have spread completely throughout the south of Ireland and have ousted the older supraregional variety'. The following section introduces Dublin and DubEng.

Dublin English (introductory)

Since nearly two-thirds (eight of thirteen) of the films included in the present study are set in and around Dublin, it is in order to introduce the capital of Ireland and its historical and linguistic significance before we examine the varieties of DubEng and finally Rural S/W.

Dublin has been 'the political and cultural centre of Ireland from the earliest days of English settlement' (Hickey 2007:345–346). Recall that the Old English established themselves in particular in Dublin and the Pale (see 2.1.1), which thereby became 'the centre of English in Ireland' (ibid). Recall also that the *planters* provided a fresh linguistic input which was discontinuous with earlier varieties. In Dublin, however, there is phonological evidence that many local features go back further than the plantation period (ibid). Hickey states that 'within the boundaries of the Pale the political influence of England never ceased to exist. This is basically the reason for the continuous existence of English in Dublin' (2007:32).

Today, Ireland is a centrally organised country with nearly a third of the population (well over a million) living in the Dublin conurbation. The government as well as the national radio and television services are located here (Hickey 2007:360). Hickey (2015) states that Dublin dominates Ireland demographically, economically and, most importantly in this context, linguistically. Due to the status and prestige of Dublin, recent pronunciation changes here have spread to the rest of the country, so that 'fashionable' DubEng is 'fast becoming the mainstream, supraregional variety' (Hickey 2007:360). However, 'like any

other modern city, Dublin shows areas of high and low social prestige' (ibid), seen in the divide between north (local) and south (fashionable) side of the city.

Varieties of DubEng and Rural S/W

'Fashionable' DubEng is the variety of the metropolitan middle-class which do not identify with local DubEng (Hickey 2007:354). In the present study, this variety is labelled *DubNew*, since it involves fairly recent pronunciation changes (ibid), and in contrast to the historically continuous *DubOld* (see below). Especially young females who do not identify themselves locally in linguistic terms favour 'fashionable' DubEng (ibid; see also 2.4.1). Hickey (2007:360–61) argues that since DubNew is 'cool', it is adopted by those who, consciously or not, see it as a 'means of partaking in the urban sophistication of modern Irish life'. Since fashionable speech is associated with South Dublin, it is worth noting that *What Richard Did* (2012), one of the films included in the present study, explicitly deals with South Dublin teenagers (see 3.2.2).

     Local DubEng is the historically continuous working-class vernacular associated with North Dublin (Hickey 2007:354). It is labelled *DubOld* in the present study, in contrast to *DubNew* and since it includes features which go back to the period of the Old English who first brought English to Ireland. Among the films included in this study, especially *Intermission* (2003) and the *Barrytown* films (see 3.2.2) allow to 'observe the occurrence (as fictional representation) of some of the most characteristic features of local Dublin speech' (Amador-Moreno 2010:83).

     Rural S/W. Lastly, note that the varieties of English found in the rural south and west of Ireland are treated jointly as *Rural S/W*, disregarding minor pronunciation differences found in this rather large dialect area which is described as fairly uniform (Hickey 2007, Walshe 2009).

2.1.4 Standard and non-standard speech

For the purpose of the present study, the previously discussed varieties of Irish English needed to be defined in terms of standard and non-standard. In keeping with the above remarks on the supraregional standard, this variety has of course been defined as standard. Recalling also from the previous section that the standard seems to be in the process of

being replaced by recent forms of DubEng (Hickey 2007:316), I have also defined DubNew as a standard variety.

Hickey (2007:303) states that *non*-standard pronunciation features, on the other hand, are most commonly found in rural areas and local urban varieties. He explains that 'the rise of the middle class in the late nineteenth century brought with it a large amount of linguistic prejudice against prominent features of Irish English', which were removed by supraregionalisation and thereby confined to vernacular speech (2007:23). Again in keeping with Hickey, then, DubOld and Rural S/W haven been defined as non-standard varieties in the present study.

2.1.5 Lexical sets for Southern Irish English

The aim of the present study made it necessary to identify what consitutes SIRE and which features are standard and non-standard. In order to identify the features and varieties of SIRE, and then analyse and categorise the characters in the film corpus linguistically, I adopted a selection of the *lexical sets* presented in Hickey (2004, 2007; see table 2.2 below) as linguistic variables. A lexical set consists of a group of words which share the same pronunciation for a certain sound in a given variety (ibid). For instance, the set GOAT consists of words generally pronounced with a diphthong [oʊ] in standard SIRE and possibly a monophthong [oː] in non-standard SIRE. For the purpose of this study, the lexical sets, such as GOAT, are linguistic *variables*, and the different pronunciations or *realisations*, such as [oʊ, oː], are *variants* depending on the *varieties* of SIRE presented in 2.1.3.

Lexical sets (conventionally written in SMALL CAPITALS) were first devised by Wells (1982) to compare the vowel sounds of RP and GA (General American). However, according to Hickey (2004:54), it became increasingly clear that these sets were not sufficient to deal with the realisations and distinctions in many other accents of English. As an example, Wells' NURSE set needed to be revised and differentiated in dealing with Irish (or rather local Dublin) English, which is why Hickey (2004) added the set TERM to better account for that variety. Thus, in keeping with Hickey, NURSE and TERM reflect the [ʊː] and [ɛː] pronunciations (respectively) found in DubOld. Note that Hickey (ibid) also devised consonant sets which are also adopted here as linguistic variables.

Table 2.2 below presents the lexical sets most relevant for SIRE and the main pronunciations according to the varieties presented in 2.1.3. The table is largely based on the work of Hickey (2004, 2007), however I have also incorporated elements from Wells (1982) and Walshe (2009) and made some adjustments: According to Hickey (2004, 2007), FACE and GOAT are *traditionally* realised as monophthongs [eː, oː]. However, in keeping with evidence from sound files accompanying the *Sound Atlas of Irish English* (Hickey 2004), I have listed them as diphthongs [eɪ, oʊ]. Similarly, Hickey lists THIN and THIS as stops [t, d], but I have incorporated here the fricative forms [θ, ð] found in the same sound files (see below). Generally, where Hickey's descriptions differ from evidence in these recordings, the latter have been given priority.

Again in keeping with Hickey (2004, 2007), the parenthesised length marks (ː) and approximants (ɹ, ɻ) indicate variable length and rhoticity, respectively. The parenthesised vowels (ə) in FLEECE, GOOSE indicate possible *vowel breaking* (see 2.1.6 below). Other parentheses indicate secondary (possibly recessive) forms or realisations. Finally, note that in unstressed vowels and all consonants, the letters that represent the relevant sound have been underlined as in LETT<u>ER</u>. A description of the lexical sets follows in 2.1.6.

Table 2.2 Lexical sets for Southern Irish English

Monophthongs	SS/DubMain	DubNew	DubOld	Rural S/W
KIT	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ	ɪ
DRESS	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ	ɛ (ɪ)
TRAP	æ	æ	æ	æ
LOT	ɑ	ɒ	ɑ	ɑ
FOOT	ʊ	ʊ	ʊ	ʊ
STRUT	ʌ̈	ʌ̈ (ʊ)	ʊ	ʌ̈
BATH	aː (æ)	aː (æ)	æː	æ(ː)
SOFT, THOUGHT	ɒ(ː)	ɔː (oː)	ɒː (ɔː)	ɑ(ː)
FLEECE	iː	iː	iː(ə) (eː)	iː (eː)
GOOSE	uː	uː	uː(ə)	uː

Diphthongs, rhotacised and unstressed vowels	SS/DubMain	DubNew	DubOld	Rural S/W
PRICE	aɪ	ɑɪ	əɪ, ɔɪ	æɪ
MOUTH	æʊ	ɛʊ	ɛʊ	aʊ (oʊ)
CHOICE	ɒɪ	ɔɪ, oɪ	ɑɪ	ɑɪ
FACE	eɪ	eɪ	eɪ (eː)	eɪ (eː)
GOAT	oʊ	əʊ	ʌɔ	oː
NEAR	iːɹ	iːɻ	i:(ɹ)	iːɹ
SQUARE	eːɹ	eɻ, (øɻ)	ɛː(ɹ)	eːɹ
CURE	uːɹ	uɻ (ɚ:)	uːə(ɹ)	uːɹ (ɚː)
START	ɑːɹ	aɻ, ɑɻ	aː(ɹ), æː(ɹ)	a(ː)ɹ
NORTH	ɒːɹ	oɻ	ɑː(ɹ)	ɑːɹ
FORCE	oːɹ	oɻ	oː(ɹ)	oːɹ
NURSE	ɚː	əːɻ	ə:(ɹ), ʊ:(ɹ)	ɚː
TERM	ɚː	əːɻ	ə:(ɹ), ɛ:(ɹ)	ɚː
LETTER	ɚ	əɻ	ə(ɹ)	ɚ
COMMA	ə	ə	ə, ɐ	ə
HAPPY	i	i	i	i
Consonants	SS/DubMain	DubNew	DubOld	Rural S/W
THIN	θ	θ	t	t
THIS	ð	ð	d	d
TWO	t	t, ts	t	t
WATER	t (ɾ)	t, ɾ, ts	t (h, ʔ, Ø)	t (h, ʔ, Ø)
GET	t, ts	t, ts	t (h, ʔ, Ø)	t (h, ʔ, Ø)
DIP, READY, SAID	d	d	d	d
LOOK	l	l	l	l
FEEL	l (ɫ)	ɫ	l, ɫ	l
RUN	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ	ɹ
SORE	ɹ (ɻ)	ɻ	ɹ, Ø	ɹ
GAP, CAP	g, k	g, k	g, k	g, k
SEE, BUZZ, SHOE, VISION	s, z, ʃ, ʒ	s, z, ʃ, ʒ	s, z, ʃ, ʒ	s, z, ʃ, ʒ
TALKING	ŋ	ŋ	n	n
WET	w	w	w	w
WHICH	hw	w	w	hw

2.1.6 Pronunciation features of Southern Irish English

In this section we will take a more detailed look at the lexical sets in the order they are presented above. By doing so we will identify the pronunciation features of SIRE and, more importantly, the lexical sets that are included as linguistic variables in this study. First only a few general remarks:

As a preliminary investigation before conducting the data analysis (I have some phonetic training but am not an expert on Irish English), the sound files accompanying the *Sound Atlas of Irish English* (Hickey 2004) provided some indication as to which lexical sets were (not) useful as linguistic variables. To find recordings relevant to the varieties outlined in 2.1.3, I listened to sample sentences (containing the relevant lexical items) spoken by three informants from Dublin (one mainstream, one local and one 'fashionable'), as well as one from Co. Cork and one from Co. Galway (two speakers were needed to represent the rural south and west, or Munster and Connacht, respectively, since this is a large area). Note that *Sound Atlas* henceforth refers to these five speakers.

In line with Hickey (2004, 2007), some lexical sets are described as 'generally unremarkable', meaning they display little if any salient variation and therefore were disregarded as linguistic variables in the first place. The lexical sets which are not 'unremarkable' have been provided with comment as to variation, as well as evidence from the *Sound Atlas*. These were *initially* included as *potential* linguistic variables. Although the *Sound Atlas* was useful as a preliminary investigation, many more lexical sets were disregarded after the data analysis. Importantly, only the lexical sets that display salient variation *in the film corpus* between clearly distinguishable variants were useful as linguistic variables. Note that FEEL and WHICH display salient variation between [l] and [ɫ], and between [w] and [hw], respectively, but since all these variants are listed as both standard and non-standard in table 2.2 above (cf. Hickey 2004, 2007), FEEL and WHICH are *non-applicable* altogether in categorising characters linguistically. These exceptions show that lexical sets, in order to be included as linguistic variables, needed to display variation in the film corpus between variants which can be defined (and thus used to categorise characters) in terms of standard/non-standard (cf. table 2.3 below).

Certain variants, like the centralised realisation of STRUT [ʌ̈] and NURSE/TERM [ɚː], the fronted realisation of MOUTH [ɛʊ] and the diphthongised realisation of FACE [eɪ], are

both standard (SS/DubMain, DubNew) and non-standard (DubOld, Rural S/W). These are therefore also described as *non-applicable* in categorising characters linguistically (cf. table 2.3 below; see also 3.2.1). Finally, it should be stressed that the selection of lexical sets used as linguistic variables is based exclusively on observable variation, without any consideration given to the independent variables.

Monophthongs

KIT, *DRESS*, *TRAP*, *LOT*, *FOOT*. These short monophthongs are described as generally unremarkable (Hickey 2004, 2007) and, as expected, do not display any salient variation in the *Sound Atlas*. They were therefore disregarded as linguistic variables in the first place. Note that Rural S/W has potential DRESS raising where the vowel quality approaches that of KIT, also called KIT–DRESS (or PIN–PEN) merger, however this feature is described as recessive (ibid). LOT is generally unrounded (like SOFT and THOUGHT below).

STRUT. The centralised variant [ʌ̈] is both standard and non-standard and therefore non-applicable in categorising characters linguistically (cf. table 2.3 below). The rounded variant [ʊ], however, is a particularly local Dublin feature and therefore a useful indicator of non-standard accent. The DubOld speaker in the *Sound Atlas* has a clearly rounded [ʊ], as in FOOT. Hickey (2015) points out that this variant is particularly old (from the medieval period). STRUT was included as a linguistic variable as the non-standard [ʊ] is clearly distinguishable from [ʌ̈] in the film corpus.

BATH. This vowel has variable length. Hickey (2004, 2007) states it is realised as [æ], and thus merged with TRAP in terms of quality (and possibly quantity), mainly in vernacular speech, however all the above mentioned reference speakers in the *Sound Atlas* seem to use this variant. In the film corpus, BATH displays salient variation in quality between the standard [a] and the non-standard [æ], and was therefore included as a linguistic variable.

SOFT, THOUGHT. These are treated jointly as they differ mainly in terms of quantity: THOUGHT is generally long whereas SOFT has variable length (it seems to be long in DubEng but otherwise short). In terms of quality, SOFT and THOUGHT are near-identical *within* each of the varieties outlined in 2.1.3. More importantly, they seem to differ *between* the varieties: the DubNew and DubOld speakers in the *Sound Atlas* have long rounded variants [ɔ:], unlike the DubMain and Rural S/W speakers. SOFT and THOUGHT display

salient variation in the film corpus and were therefore included as linguistic variables.

FLEECE, GOOSE. These are generally unremarkable except perhaps in DubOld, where some 'striking diphthongal variants' may be found in words like *mean* [miʲən], *school* [skuʷəl] (Wells, 1982:424–5). Note the *hiatus elements* between the syllables, hence this is called *disyllabification* or simply vowel breaking. Walshe (2009:219–20) states that in vernacular speech, FLEECE may be lowered to [e:] as in the monophthongal variant of FACE, so that FLEECE–FACE (or MEAT–MATE) are merged. This is described as 'chiefly associated with rural or conservative working class urban accents', and thus would be a useful indicator of accent. However, FLEECE and GOOSE show little variation in the *Sound Atlas* and film corpus and therefore were not included as linguistic variables.

Diphthongs, rhotacised and unstressed vowels

PRICE, MOUTH, CHOICE. PRICE is generally [aɪ] but may be retracted to [ɑɪ] in DubNew, centralised [əɪ] or rounded [ɔɪ] in DubOld and opened to [æɪ] in Rural S/W. The DubOld speaker in the *Sound Atlas* has a rounded starting point [ɔɪ], a feature reflected in the spelling *Oirish*. MOUTH is generally [æʊ] but often [ɛʊ] in DubEng and [aʊ] in Rural S/W. In the *Sound Atlas*, the Co. Cork speaker has a rounded starting point [oʊ], as in GOAT. Note that since [ɛʊ] is both standard (DubNew) and non-standard (DubOld), this variant is non-applicable in categorising characters linguistically (cf. table 2.3 below). CHOICE is generally [ɒɪ] but may be realised as [ɔɪ, oɪ] in DubNew and [ɑɪ] in vernacular speech (Hickey 2004, 2007). In the film corpus, PRICE and MOUTH tokens are very frequent and display salient variation. CHOICE tokens, on the other hand, are very infrequent but still variable. Due to these considerations, PRICE, MOUTH and CHOICE were included as linguistic variables.

FACE, GOAT. As mentioned, Hickey (2004, 2007) states that these are *traditionally* realised as a monophthongs [e:, o:], but classifies only FACE as such. This vowel, according to Hickey (2004:73), 'is not of any sociolinguistic relevance in the south of Ireland and is usually a monophthong. In Dublin speech there may be a very slight tendency to have a diphthong'. Despite these remarks, all the reference speakers in the *Sound Atlas* clearly have diphthongs in both FACE and GOAT [eɪ, oʊ]. Even the Co. Galway speaker, who one might expect to have a monopthong [o:] in GOAT, has a diphthong (note that GOAT has its particular DubEng variants [əʊ, ʌɔ] as shown in the table). The diphthong in FACE occurs in

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all the varieties and is therefore non-applicable in categorising characters linguistically (cf. table 2.3 below). However, both FACE and GOAT are very frequent and clearly variable in the film corpus (although mainly realised as diphthongs) and therefore included as linguistic variables.

NEAR, SQUARE, CURE, START, NORTH, FORCE. These represent *rhotacised* vowels (see /r/ below) except perhaps in DubOld, where the /r/ may be omitted. The rhotacised vowels are generally long and pronounced with a postalveolar [ɹ], however in DubNew they may be short and realised with a retroflex [ɻ] (Hickey 2004, 2007). In the *Sound Atlas*, there is no retroflexion or deletion of /r/. In CURE, the DubNew and Rural S/W speakers have a centralised variant [ɚː] as in NURSE. In the film corpus, NEAR, SQUARE, CURE, NORTH and FORCE display little if any salient variation (CURE and NORTH tokens were also very infrequent), and were therefore not included as linguistic variables. START, on the other hand, displays salient variation and was therefore included.

NURSE, TERM. These are also rhotacised vowels which are generally long and centralised [ɚː]. Since this variant is both standard and non-standard, it is non-applicable in categorising characters linguistically (cf. table 2.3 below). The DubOld variants [nʊːɹs, tɛːɹm], however, are clearly distinguishable from the unmarked [ɚː] in the *Sound Atlas* and film corpus and NURSE, TERM were therefore included as linguistic variables.

LETTER, COMMA, HAPPY. These represent unstressed, word-final vowels which are generally unremarkable with only a few exceptions: in DubOld, LETTER may be non-rhotacised, and thus realised as [ə] rather than [ɚ], whereas COMMA may be lowered to [ɐ]. Unlike the centralised vowels in LETTER and COMMA, HAPPY typically has a tense vowel [i] in Irish English (Hickey 2007:330), hence *HAPPY-tensing*. As far as unstressed vowels are concerned, there is no salient variation in the *Sound Atlas* and these lexical sets were therefore disregarded as linguistic variables in the first place.

Consonants

THIN, THIS. According to Walshe (2009:202–3), the dental fricatives /θ, ð/ in RP are generally realised as (or replaced by) stops [t, d] in SIRE, a phenomenon called *th-stopping*. Hickey (2004, 2007) states that the standard varieties have dental stops [t̪, d̪] whereas the non-standard varieties have alveolar stops [t, d]. However, since this distinction is described

as not very salient and difficult to hear even for the Irish themselves, and since the Dublin speakers in the *Sound Atlas* actually have fricatives [θ, ð], the distinction is drawn between fricatives and stops in general instead, disregarding the internal distinction between dental and alveolar stops. These are clearly distinguishable in the film corpus and THIN and THIS were therefore included as linguistic variables.

TWO, WATER, GET. Note that the unmarked variant [t] occurs in all positions in all the varieties and is therefore non-applicable in categorising characters linguistically (cf. table 2.3 below). Word-initial /t/ (TWO) is generally unremarkable except the lenited DubNew variant symbolised as [ts]. This feature, called *t-opening* or *-weakening*, is considered an Irish Gaelic substratum effect and occurs in all positions in DubNew. Very few lenited tokens of TWO were found in the film corpus and TWO was therefore not included as a linguistic variable. Intervocalic /t/ (WATER) may be realised as a tap [ɾ], and word-final /t/ (GET) may be lenited [ts]. In vernacular speech, both intervocalic and word-final /t/ can be glottalised [ʔ], weakened to [h] or deleted [Ø] (Hickey 2004, 2007). All the mentioned variants in intervocalic and word-final position are clearly distinguishable in the *Sound Atlas* and film corpus, and WATER and GET were therefore included as linguistic variables.

DIP, READY, SAID. These sounds are generally unremarkable. Hickey (2007:331) states that 'in principle, the lenition which applies to /t/ [see above] also holds for /d/. However, it is not as obvious and generally has low phonetic salience'. Considering these remarks, these lexical sets were disregarded as linguistic variables in the first place.

LOOK, FEEL. Clear /l/, that is alveolar [l], in all positions is seen as a characteristic substratum feature of Irish English (Walshe 2009:214). Word-initial /l/ is generally alveolar [l], which is why LOOK was not included as a linguistic variable. Word-final /l/ (FEEL), on the other hand, may be velarised [ɫ], in particular in DubEng. Hickey (2007:331) states that 'the [ɫ] of local Dublin English has been adopted into advanced Dublin English and hence is spreading rapidly (...) throughout the Republic'. However, since both [l] and [ɫ] are both standard and non-standard variants, FEEL is non-applicable altogether in categorising characters and therefore not included as a linguistic variable.

RUN, SORE. Irish English is described as a firmly rhotic accent (Wells 1982:418), meaning /r/ is pronounced not only prevocalically, as in non-rhotic accents like RP, but also in preconsonantal and word-final positions. In contrast to the traditionally clear quality of

/l/, /r/ generally has a dark resonance in Irish English (Hickey 2004, 2007). Word-initial /r/ is generally postalveolar [ɹ], which is why RUN was not included as a linguistic variable. Word-final /r/ (SORE), on the other hand, may be realised as a retroflex [ɻ] in DubNew or altogether deleted [Ø] in DubOld. Like velar [ɫ] (see above), the retroflex is spreading rapidly and 'will most probably become the dominant realisation of /r/ for all mainstream varieties' (Hickey 2007:321). Somewhat surprisingly, however, it was difficult to hear any word-final retroflexion [ɻ] (and thus any salient variation) in the *Sound Atlas* and film corpus. Therefore, SORE was not included as a linguistic variable.

CAP, GAP, SEE, BUZZ, SHOE, VISION. The velar plosives /ɡ, k/ (GAP, CAP) and the sibilants /s, z, ʃ, ʒ/ (SEE–VISION) are described as generally unremarkable in Irish English (Hickey 2004, 2007). These lexical sets were therefore disregarded in the first place.

TALKING. Vernacular speech often includes what Hickey (2004, 2007) calls *ng-dropping* (which is rather *g-dropping* or *ng-reduction*), meaning <ng> is pronounced [n] instead of [ŋ]. Note that the variation between [ŋ] and [n] may seem social and stylistic (dependent on level of formality, audience, speaker situation etc) rather than regional, however that serves just as well to distinguish between standard and non-standard usage. [ŋ] and [n] are easily distinguished in the film corpus and TALKING was therefore included as a linguistic variable.

WET, WHICH. Words spelt with <w> are generally pronounced [w], which is why WET is not included as a linguistic variable. Words spelt with <wh> (WHICH), on the other hand, are *traditionally* pronounced [hw]. However, DubEng is losing this variant and generally has [w] in WHICH <wh> as well as WET <w> (Hickey 2004, 2007). Thus, the traditional distinction between [hw] and [w] seems confined to older, rural speakers (Hickey 2015). In the *Sound Atlas*, especially the Co. Cork speaker has a clear [hw] variant. However, since both [w] and [hw] are both standard and non-standard variants, WHICH is non-applicable altogether in categorising characters and therefore not included as a linguistic variables.

To sum up, fifteen lexical sets display salient variation in the film corpus between standard and non-standard variants (see 2.1.4), and have therefore been included as linguistic variables. These are presented and ordered in terms of standard/non-standard/non-applicable in table 2.3 below, for easy reference.

Table 2.3 Variables included in analysis, with variants ordered in terms of standard/non-standard

Lexical sets	Standard	Non-applicable	Non-standard
STRUT		ʌ̈	ʊ
BATH	aː		æ(ː)
SOFT, THOUGHT	ɔː, oː	ɒ(ː)	ɑ(ː)
PRICE	aɪ, ɑɪ		əɪ, ɔɪ, æɪ
MOUTH	æʊ	ɛʊ	aʊ, oʊ
CHOICE	ɒɪ, ɔɪ, oɪ		ɑɪ
FACE		eɪ	eː
GOAT	oʊ, əʊ		ʌɔ, oː
START	ɑːɹ, aɹ, ɑɹ		aː(ɹ), æː(ɹ)
NURSE/TERM	əːɹ	ɚː	ʊːɹ/ɛːɹ
T<u>H</u>IN	θ		t
T<u>H</u>IS	ð		d
WA<u>T</u>ER	ɾ, ts	t	h, ʔ, Ø
GE<u>T</u>	ts	t	h, ʔ, Ø
TALKI<u>NG</u> \<ng\>	ŋ		n

2.2   Sociolinguistics

This section introduces the field of sociolinguistics, the sociolinguistic concept of language attitudes (2.2.1) and the main approaches to studying language attitudes (2.2.2) including, most importantly in this context, *societal treatment studies*. While the mentioned sections discuss language attitudes and societal treatment in general terms, section 2.2.3 discusses language attitudes in a specifically Irish context.

The present study lies with the field of sociolinguistics, which is the study of the relationship between language and society (Van Herk 2012, in Moltu 2014:5). In this study, *language* is Irish English and *society* the social factors including gender and social status. Sociolinguistics is a relatively young field of study, pioneered by Labov (1966) who found that the use (or non-use) of /r/ in New York City was conditioned by social factors. This study illustrates that sociolinguists are interested not only in language in itself or the features of language varieties (like Irish English), but the *use* of language according to

social factors like gender and social status (since this thesis studies accent use in film, *genre* is also included as a non-linguistic factor).

Since language is socially situated, sociolinguists are interested in non-linguistic or *extralinguistic* information in explaining linguistic variation. Very often, 'frequencies of particular [linguistic] variants are constrained not only by different linguistic contexts (...) but also by social characteristics of the speaker' (Milroy and Gordon 2003:5). Thus, sociolinguistics concerns what social information we ascribe to linguistic forms and features, variation and change (Meyerhoff 2006:2–3). In addition to how social factors influence language use and how language varies between (groups of) speakers (synchronic variation), sociolinguists also study how language changes in the course of time (diachronic change), and how languages and varieties are perceived in society. This leads us to the sociolinguistic concept of language attitudes.

2.2.1 Language attitudes

Moltu (2014:5) points out that whereas a sociolinguistic approach is empirical, descriptive and objective, concerned with how people *actually* speak and regards all languages as equal, non-linguists are often quick to pass judgements regarding how people *should* speak and which varieties are good or bad, right or wrong, or inherently more logical and beautiful than others. Such language *attitudes* are not always explicitly articulated or even conscious (Garrett 2010:1), but often manifest themselves indirectly through words and actions (Moltu 2014:5). Before we turn to language attitudes specifically, a brief remark on attitudes in general is in order.

Attitudes are not easily defined since attitudes involve thoughts and beliefs, emotions and opinions. According to Baker (1995, in Moltu 2014:5), 'attitudes are often unspoken beliefs about something that become visible through what we say, how [we] react or choose to behave'. According to Garrett (2007:116), there is broad acceptance of Sarnoff 's definition, namely 'a disposition to react favourably or unfavourably to a class of objects' (Bradac *et al* 2001, in Garrett 2007:116). Allport (1954, in Garrett 2010:19) defines attitude as 'a learned disposition to think, feel, and behave toward a person (or object) in a particular way'. This definition then includes thought (how the world works), feeling (how we favour and disfavour something) and behaviour (how we react in words or action).

If we use Allport's definition, *language* attitudes are dispositions to think, feel and behave in a particular way towards language. An example could be disfavourable attitudes to working class accents (Moltu 2014:7), perhaps local Dublin speech, or as a different example, standard accents like RP. It is important to note that language attitudes are based on personal experiences and social environment (Garrett 2010:22), and not the relevant language or variety itself. Language attitudes exist everywhere in our daily lives and extend to all levels of language including spelling and grammar, accent and pronunciation, and even entire languages (Garrett 2010:12). Numerous sociolinguistic studies have shown that specific attitudes are associated with specific varieties of language, and that accent is actually often the main basis for drawing inferences about people, including their personal qualities and social status (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 2006, in Sønnesyn 2011:2). As pointed out by Lund (2009:6), 'how you speak is intrinsically connected to how other people categorise you, and to how you present yourself'. Since language is a social phenomenon related to the social structure of society, forms of language and their speakers are evaluated differently (Trudgill 1974, in Moltu 2014:7). According to Meyerhoff (2006:54), 'our attitudes to different varieties of a language colour the way we perceive the individuals that use those varieties'. Indeed, it is described as difficult to distinguish attitudes to language from attitudes to the speaker(s) of the relevant forms or features (Garrett 2010:16).

2.2.2 Approaches to attitudes

According to Coupland and Bishop (2007:74–75), language attitudes research has 'contributed substantially to our understanding of *indexical relationships* [added emphasis]', that is relationships between speech and social meanings (ibid). There are three main approaches to studying language attitudes (Garrett 2010), namely the direct and indirect approaches and, more relevant to the present thesis, *societal treatment studies* (STS). These approaches all have different strengths and weaknesses. Before we turn to STS, we will briefly examine the direct and indirect approaches.

Direct approach

The direct approach relies on *overt elicitation* of attitudes by means of asking questions directly (hence the term), using questionnaires or interviews. In this sense, people are 'invited to articulate explicitly what their attitudes are' (Garrett 2010:39). The direct approach is described as straightforward and efficient (Vilkensen 2013:27), however there are also several weaknesses. Firstly, the *social desirability bias* involves the possibility that 'respondents may not answer truthfully in order to appear more politically correct', or they may 'interpret the questions as a test of their knowledge of the correct pronunciation' (ibid). Secondly, the *acquiescence* bias involves respondents responding 'based on how the questions are formulated', and 'what they believe the interviewer is looking for' (ibid). The risk of so-called loaded or slanted questions and labels requires the researcher to be considerate in selecting and formulating these. Examples in Garrett (2010:37–38) of studies using the direct approach are MacKinnon (1981) and Sharp *et al* (1973).

Indirect approach

The indirect approach or *speaker evaluation paradigm* involves 'using more subtle, even deceptive, techniques than simply asking straight questions' (Garrett 2010:41). One indirect method is the *matched guise technique* (MGT), which involves respondents listening to the same text read several times by the same speaker, each time different in one respect only (as far as possible), for instance in terms of accent. Thus, respondents are (hopefully) not aware that the speaker is one person using different *guises*, or what it is they are evaluating.

According to Lambert *et al* (1965, in Garrett 2010:42), this technique 'probably evoked more private emotional and conceptual reactions'. Lambert *et al* assumed that 'there is a difference between people's private attitudes and the ones they are normally prepared to tell people about' (cf. direct approach above), and they were 'sceptical as to whether local people's overt responses to direct questions truly reflected their privately held inter-ethnic views' (Garrett 2010:42–43). Garrett (2007:116) states that 'because attitudes are a mental construct, there can be uncertainty whether our research data truly represent the respondent's attitudes'.

The MGT is less vulnerable to some of the above mentioned disadvantages relating to the direct approach (Garrett 2010:57). The potential disadvantage here is related to how

authentically one speaker can imitate various accents. The other main indirect method is the *verbal guise technique*, whereby *several* speakers who are *native* speakers read the same text or discuss the same topic. This avoids the mentioned problem relating to authenticity (Vilkensen 2013:28). Lastly, note that *folklinguistics*, which may be seen as an indirect approach or an approach in its own right, will not be discussed here (interested readers are referred to Garrett 2010:179).

Societal treatment studies

The third main approach to study language attitudes, and the approach employed in this thesis, is known as *societal treatment studies* (STS). Garrett (2010:29) defines STS as 'studies of attitudes to language as they are evident in sources available in public social domains, such as the media'. In other words, STS examine the *treatment* of language varieties and their speakers (hence the term), by analysing the content of public sources (Garrett 2010:51), which is why the approach is also called *content analysis* (Knops and van Hout 1988, in Garrett 2010:37). Examples of public sources are books and documents, news and advertisements, 'linguistic landscapes' including road signs and street names (Garrett 2010:142) and, most relevant in this context, film and TV. Although Garrett does not specifically mention the film medium in relation to STS, films undoubtedly reflect the societal treatment given to language varieties and their speakers (see 2.3.2 and 2.3.3). According to Amador-Moreno (2010:89), 'the analysis of fictional sources is a good way of determining how a particular social group is perceived by others'.

STS use sources of data which 'have not been generated for the purpose of the study, but which already exist' (Moltu 2014:26). However, public sources are just as authentic as real informants (ibid). STS are described as more indirect than the indirect approach, and the least obtrusive approach overall, since it generally works from observations rather than through eliciting responses (Garrett 2010:52).

Disadvantages to STS include the subjectivity involved in this type of study. Some have seen STS as somewhat informal and 'preliminary to more rigorously designed surveys' (Garrett 2010:51). For instance, in studies of accent use in film, the researcher must use and justify his own categories and criteria for the classification of characters (Moltu 2014:26). Also, in contrast to the mentioned approaches where the researcher elicits responses from

real subjects, the 'content analyst' has no access to the attitudes underlying the content in question (for instance the motivations or intentions of filmmakers). Since attitudes are a psychological construct, meaning attitudes are thoughts and feelings and not always behaviour, they are not directly observable. Fjeldsbø (2013:9) argues that 'it is possible, however, to observe *manifestations* of attitudes [added emphasis], by observing (...) how attitudes are reflected through (...) media'. In other words, the researcher needs to *infer* attitudes from 'various kinds of observed behaviours and sources' (Garrett 2010:52), like accent use in the media, based on their treatment of language varieties (Moltu 2014:26).

An example of disfavourable treatment is that given to non-standard accents in Disney films (Lippi-Green 1997; see 2.3.2). A more favourable treatment is that given to RP, which was practically the only accent heard in British broadcasting until the early seventies (Moltu 2014:15), hence its popular term *BBC English* which is telling of the role of the media in relation language attitudes. Generally, 'the range and role of accents in the media may tell us something about the status of various accents and people's attitudes towards them' (ibid). As an example of how 'linguistic landscapes' offer insight into language attitudes and ideology, Scollon and Wong Scollon (2003, in Garrett 2010:54–55) describe an Irish sign where the Gaelic place name appears above the English name but, importantly, in a smaller font which makes the English name stand out.

Apparently, STS tend to be relatively overlooked in language attitudes research, despite being 'a useful way of obtaining insights into the social meanings and stereotypical associations of language varieties' (Garrett 2010:51). Importantly, STS often 'delve deeper into the sociocultural and political backdrop to attitudes' (Garrett 2007:116). STS have revealed and generated awareness around how the media reflect, reinforce and even create language attitudes (Vilkensen 2013:30). Although she does not refer to her own work as such, Lippi-Green (1997, see 2.3.2) is a prime example of STS in uncovering the treatment of accents in Disney films. Also, Kramarae (1982) is described as 'a good demonstration of the value of the societal treatment approach in gaining historical insights into attitudes', which lies 'beyond the reach of direct and indirect approaches' (Garrett 2010:50).

2.2.3 Language attitudes in an Irish context

This section briefly discusses language attitudes in a specifically Irish context. Hickey states that 'a brief glance at the historical relationship of England and Ireland shows that from the beginning the English held the view that the Irish were uncivilised and generally inferior' (2007:19). Interestingly, the phrase *beyond the pale*, meaning socially unacceptable, indicates that those inside the Pale saw the natives outside as barbarians, so to speak (2007:32). This attitude certainly extended to the native Irish language. As one might expect, the feeling seems to be somewhat reciprocal on behalf of the Irish, who seem to have an ambivalent attitude, at best, to the English language in general and *Irish* English in particular, since English is the language of their former colonisers. The Irish seem reluctant to openly recognise the status of English although it is the native language of the vast majority of the population, 'because national feelings demand that one views the Irish language as the carrier of native culture' (Ó Riagáin 1997, in Hickey 2007:22). This attitude is enforced by a bad conscience or even an 'unconscious trauma over having abandoned the Irish language' (Hickey 2007:24). According to Hickey (2007:22), this 'post-colonial inferiority complex' explains why there is no strong awareness, recognition or appreciation of Irish English and why there is some terminological confusion relating to Irish English (see 2.1.2).

The ambivalent attitude to English also involves the paradox that English is the native language of most Irish, whereas having an English *accent* (as spoken in England) is considered pretentious (ibid). As mentioned in 2.1.1, 'RP is in no way seen as a norm of good pronunciation' (Wells 1982:418). Hickey (2007:21) concludes that 'the attitude is clear: those who use RP, or anything like it, are regarded as un-Irish, at least linguistically'. We will now briefly consider a few attitudinal studies relevant to Irish English.

BBC Voices was an interactive exploration of language variation in the UK involving, most importantly in this study, a preliminary survey of language attitudes where just over 5,000 respondents rated 34 accents of English in the dimensions status and social attractiveness (respondents were asked how *prestigious* and how *pleasant* is this accent). The survey was in some respects an extension of Giles (1970) and 'collected a greater volume of data than is usually possible under the normal constraints of academic research' (Coupland and Bishop 2007:76–77). The accents, including most major British accents and

other varieties with a clear presence or relevance in Britain (ibid), were given simple, *conceptual* labels like Standard English, Southern Irish, London, Liverpool, Asian, Australian and so on. Coupland and Bishop states that 'in most cases we were able to select relatively unambiguous regional or national accent labels' (ibid). Although the precise number of accents and labels used are different, Coupland and Bishop (2007) and Giles (1970) have roughly the same accent categories, so that 'the studies provide a very reasonable basis on which to compare' (Garrett 2010:173).

Indeed, the findings in the two studies are very similar in terms of both status and prestige rankings, with RP and respondent's own accent at the top and Liverpool and Birmingham at the bottom (ibid). Generally in the UK, RP is seen as the most prestigious accent, followed by regional varieties like Scottish and Irish English, whereas urban vernaculars like Birmingham and Liverpool are 'systematically downgraded' (Coupland and Bishop 2007:74). While standard/identical and the mentioned vernaculars 'attract rather similar evaluations in both dimensions' (2007:80), accents like London English are regarded more prestigious than pleasant. Southern Irish, conversely, is seen as more socially attractive than prestigious (ibid). Garrett (2010:175) states that

> Southern Irish and Scottish-accented English are seen as the most attractive accents apart from the RP-type accents, and in fact the younger BBC respondents see Southern Irish as the most attractive of all the accents, including RP-type varieties and "an accent identical to your own".

Both Coupland and Bishop (2007:85) and Garrett (2010:176) find it interesting that respondents rated SIRE as more socially attractive than *Queen's English*. They also comment that the Celtic varieties in general receive high ratings and show 'interesting patterns of ingroup loyalty' (ibid). This may seem strange in light of the previously discussed ambivalent Irish attitude to English. Perhaps ingroup loyalty is stronger when the relevant ingroup is compared to outgroups represented the other accent labels in the mentioned studies.

2.3   Previous studies

This section examines some earlier studies which are of particular interest to the present thesis. While *Irish English as Represented in Film* (Walshe 2009) is specifically relevant to this study, Lippi-Green (1997) and the various MA theses discussed in 2.3.3 (which are inspired by her study) are more generally relevant in being societal treatment studies of accent use in visual media.

2.3.1 Walshe (2009)

Judging by its title and parts of the film corpus, *Irish English as Represented in Film* (Walshe 2009) is the study most similar to my own. Its scope is of course much broader as it examines not only phonology but also grammar, vocabulary and discourse in no less than fifty Irish films made in the course of seventy years. Also unlike the present study, Walshe (2009:1) examines 'how Irish English is constructed in film and (...) to what extent it is faithful to what linguists consider Irish English to be'. He is thus concerned with the notion of *authenticity*, which he rightly describes as a problematic concept. Cheng (2004:28, in Walshe 2009:9) asks what it means to be Irish or what defines Irishness; is it to be born there, which excludes all immigrants, or to live there, which excludes all emigrants? Is it the rural west of Ireland, excluding all cities? If so, one would consider films like *The Field* (1990) 'authentically' Irish, unlike for instance *Intermission* (2003) and the *Barrytown* films set in Dublin (see 2.1.3 and 3.2.2).

Walshe also discusses authenticity in relation to actors' nationality and the fact that Irish characters are often played by non-Irish actors, which makes the concept even more problematic. There is also the issue that what is convincing Irish English outside of Ireland, may be considered 'Stage Irish' to the home audience. Using *Far and Away* (1993) as an example, Walshe (2009:12) states that 'opinions regarding the performances of both Tom Cruise and Nicole Kidman [neither of whom are Irish] varied greatly on either side of the Atlantic'. Thus, 'perceptions of what is authentic can be very different depending on an audience's experience and expectations' (ibid). Perhaps luckily, this study is not one of how 'authentically' Irish English is represented in film, but rather, as mentioned, how *in social terms* Irish English *varieties* is represented in film, or the societal treatment (see 2.2.2) given

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to Irish English varieties on the screen.

Walshe (2009:2) states that 'while there have been numerous studies on Irish English, as well as on (...) stereotyping in film, this work is the first of its kind to reconcile the various disciplines'. According to Walshe (2009:4), Asián and McCullough (1998) is the only study prior to his own which examines, only briefly, Irish English in film. However, Asián and McCullough (1998:46) mention mainly the novel *The Snapper* (Doyle 1990, film 1993) in a discussion of grammar. Walshe (2009:4) further states that 'any other research into literary dialect in Ireland has examined its use in poetry, prose and drama, yet never explored the medium of film. Indeed, studies on the use of *any* sort of dialect in film are also extremely rare'; Walshe mentions only the works of Lippi-Green (1997), O'Cassidy (2004) and Edensor (2009). In that sense, the present study contributes to a field of research which is pioneered by Walshe.

Lippi-Green (1997) is probably the best known societal treatment study of popular media (Moltu 2014:1) and has therefore been given special attention in section 2.3.2 below. O'Cassidy (2004) is not as relevant in specifically dealing with West Virginia, however the study 'is modeled on and found support for Lippi-Green' (ii). O'Cassidy further states that 'while West Virginia characters were the focus of this study, this type of research may be beneficial for any stereotyped accented group' (ibid).

Edensor (2009) examines the South Yorkshire accent in films directed by Ken Loach, who according to Lund (2009:4) 'uses local amateurs in his productions, suggesting they use their local accent'. This is interesting since Loach directed one of the films included in this study, namely *The Wind That Shakes the Barley* (2006). Although Cillian Murphy and Liam Cunningham are hardly amateurs, it is worth noting that Edensor, again according to Lund (ibid), 'found Loach's films to exhibit a natural form of speech from the characters'. *The Wind* is also a film where the dialogue seems closer to everyday speech, or at least less scripted, rehearsed, stilted and 'polished' than in most films. This can be seen in support of the idea that drama films are more concerned with authenticity, also linguistically (in terms of accent use, cf. 2.4.3).

2.3.2 Lippi-Green (1997)

Lippi-Green (1997:85) examines language stereotyping in animated Disney films from 1938 to 1994. One example is *Aladdin* (1992), where the title character and the good guys in general 'talk like Americans, while all the other Arab characters have heavy accents' (Precker 1993, in Lippi-Green 1997:80). Generally, 'the overall representation of persons with foreign accents is far more negative than that of speakers of US or British English' (Lippi-Green 1997:92). 'This pounds home the message that people with foreign accents are bad' (Precker 1993, in Lippi-Green 1997:80).

Specifically, Lippi-Green (1997:87) concentrates on Disney's representations of African Americans, the French and female characters. She finds that female characters almost never work outside the home and family; they are princesses, nurses and nannies whereas men, on the other hand, are doctors and detectives. According to Lippi-Green (ibid), 'it is certainly and demonstrably the case that the universe (...) in these films is one with a clear division between the sexes. Traditional views of the woman's role in the family are strongly underwritten, (...), whether they are filmed in 1938 or 1994'. A perhaps more striking finding is that characters speaking *African American Vernacular English* (AAVE) generally 'appear in animal rather than humanoid form' (1997:93). Disney's representations of the French, on the other hand, show that even 'positive stereotyping' is still condescending and misleading (1997:87). Lippi-Green comments that 'the domain of life experience for things French is as narrow (...) as that for AAVE speakers' (1997:100–101).

Lippi-Green is a relevant societal treatment study because since 'stereotyping is prevalent in television programming and movies [in general]' (ibid). Using *Schindler's List* (1993) as an example of more 'serious dramatic efforts', Lippi-Green (1997:102–3) argues that 'even the highest standards in film making cannot be free of the social construction of language'. Lippi-Green concludes that 'what children learn from the entertainment industry [or at least from Disney] is to be comfortable with *same* and to be wary about *other*, and that language is a prime and ready diagnostic for this division (...). For adults, those childhood lessons are reviewed daily' (ibid).

2.3.3 Earlier MA theses

Sønnesyn (2011:23) states that 'recent years have seen an increasing interest in the language used in different media productions'. However, there seems to be relatively few studies on accent use in the media other than MA theses. The present section briefly presents a number of recent MA theses (conducted at the University of Bergen) which are relevant to the present thesis in being attitudinal (societal treatment) studies of accent use in visual media. Perhaps not surprisingly, many of them were inspired by Lippi-Green (1997) and in turn have inspired the present thesis in various respects.

Lund (2009)

Lund (2009) compares the portrayal of working-class speech in British films from the 1960s and 2000s, expecting that the 'working class hero' of the sixties would have a less regionally marked accent than that of the 2000s. The film settings and accents included in the study are London vs. Northern England. The mentioned hypothesis is based on 'the historical fact that regional accents were less accepted in certain media genres in England in earlier days than they are now' (2009:1). The same hypothesis is supported but to a lesser degree than expected and with important nuances (2009:71). Interestingly, 'during the early period the BBC, regional accents would feature primarily as an element of entertainment and characterisation in humour-centric productions, where certain stereotypes were likely to be promoted' (2009:1). RP, on the other hand, 'would be used for matters concerned with the intellectual and the serious' (Mugglestone 2003:269, in Lund 2009:1–2).

Sønnesyn (2011)

Sønnesyn (2011) examined 'The use of accents in Disney's animated feature films 1995–2009' and thus conducted a follow-up study to Lippi-Green (1997). She hypothesised that 'a change will be detectable in comparison with previous results', because 'during the past fifteen years we have experiences an increased pressure to appear politically correct' (2011:1). Due to this pressure, Sønnesyn (2011:19) expected increased variability but instead found an increased use of GA (2011:53). The unexpected strategy of standardisation rather than diversity was ascribed to audience expectations of 'how certain types of characters *ought to* sound' (2011:55) and, more generally, the prevailing language attitudes

and ideology (2011:92).

With regard to gender, Sønnesyn (2011:57) found a great majority of male characters and thus largely the same gender balance as in Lippi-Green (1997). GA was found to be clearly dominant among both genders, more so for females. There was generally more variability for male characters, which is 'in line with prior expectations, as well as real-life language use' (2011:59). Generally, 'women speak more standardised, whereas men have a more regionally marked language (...), and this is seemingly the pattern that emerges in Disney's universe as well' (ibid).

Bratteli (2011)

As a study of accent use in computer games, Bratteli (2011) is perhaps not directly relevant to the present thesis, but still interesting in various respects. Bratteli was inspired by Lippi-Green (1997) and Sønnesyn (2011) in terms of method and otherwise, but adopted slightly different variables and categories to fit the different (and far less investigated) material under study, namely computer games. Bratteli (2011:105) states that 'the field of computer game linguistics is rather young, and no previous studies on accent use in computer games were found'. The linguistic variables included mainly 'the usual suspects' in varieties of English, namely RP, GA, regional and foreign accents. The social variables included gender and social status, as well as more game-specific categories like *species* and *alignment* (2011:62).

Bratteli (2011:11) hypothesised that RP would be more prominent in fantasy games, GA more so in sci-fi games. Generally, GA was found to be 'relatively dominant, being spoken by well over half of the characters' (2011:74). The reported lack of socially/regionally marked American accents in the fantasy genre is attributed to a 'strive for authenticity' (2011:97): 'it is easy to imagine that the game developer would feel that a barmaid speaking like a "Southern belle" would crush the illusion of being at a traveller's inn in a medieval fantasy setting, or that a dueling knight speaking AAVE just would not be "quite right"' (ibid).

Bratteli found more accent variation in older games, indicating that non-standard accents are increasingly replaced by standard ones. This is in line with Sønnesyn (2011) who compared newer Disney films to the older ones examined by Lippi-Green (1997). The

gender balance, where males outnumber females three to one, is also in keeping with both Lippi-Green and Sønnesyn. Arguably, the fantasy games reflect medieval gender roles, but the sci-fi games include only a slightly higher percentage of female characters. According to Bratteli (2011:81), this 'does not imply equality or reflect modern society, nor does it reflect the gender distribution among gamers'.

Fjeldsbø (2013)

Fjeldsbø (2013) conducts an attitudinal study of Australian English (AusEng) in Australian films from 1981 to 2010. More specifically, she examines the distribution of *General* and *Broad* (standard and non-standard) AusEng in the genres drama and comedy, searching for correlations between accent use and genre (2013:1). Gender and character background are also examined (ibid).

Like Irish English, AusEng is described as a relatively uniform variety with speakers displaying 'growing national confidence and identity distinguishing Australians from their previous colonial power' (2013:2). Fjelsbø's study is highly relevant since it is clearly similar to the present in terms of the film corpus and its time frame, linguistic variables (standard and non-standard variants of national variety) and non-linguistic variables (including genre division). Fjeldsbø (2013:4) hypothesises that the General accent will be dominant (due to reported language change or *standardisation*), and that the comedy genre and male characters will display more Broad features (based on previous research).

Fjeldsbø found an unexpectedly even (near fifty-fifty) overall distribution of accent, which could be coincidental or a result of factors relating to the film sample and accent criteria (2013:45). Another explanation is 'that Australia to a large extent is not marked by class or regional provenance and that linguistic variation can be found within (...) even the same family' (ibid). Apparently, 'the results may (...) support the claim that Australians are not overly concerned with the way they speak' (ibid).

In terms of gender, nearly two thirds of the characters in Fjeldsbø are male (again in line with Lippi-Green 1997). The Broad category is dominated by male characters whereas the General category shows a near fifty-fifty gender distribution, as expected and in keeping with the *sex/prestige pattern* (2013:55–56; see 2.4.1). Thus, Fjeldsbø's expectations are confirmed with regard to gender, but not in terms of genre, as the two accents are evenly

distributed in both genres (2013:62). Comparing her findings to Lippi-Green (1997) and Sønnesyn (2011), Fjeldsbø (2013:64) concludes that 'Australian film production does not appear to follow the same pattern as the American industry'. This might indicate that Australians are more authentic or less politically correct, or that the Broad accent is less stigmatised (ibid).

Lundervold (2013)

Lundervold (2013) compared language attitudes in *Harry Potter* (eight films 2001–11) and *Game of Thrones* (HBO series, first season 2011) and thus, by extension, compares languages attitudes in film vs. television. She expected to find both similarities and differences between the mentioned franchises (the former clearly aims at teenagers, the latter at a more adult audience). In addition to comparing the franchises, Lundervold also aimed to compare her findings to those of previous studies, again notably Lippi-Green (1997) and Sønnesyn (2011). The linguistic variables are British Isles accents of English, including foreign accent (Lundervold 2013:6). The social variables are gender, as well as various character traits and character *roles* which are not relevant to this study.

Since *Game of Thrones* covers a wide fictional world, Lundervold expected that the accent use here will indicate the geographical origin of characters (2013:4). She finds that in both franchises, half of the characters are RP speakers. In *Game of Thrones*, most of the remaining half are Northern English (NE) speakers (2013:55). Arguably, the distribution of NE and RP is used to highlight social differences and rivalry between north and south (respectively) in the *Game of Thrones* universe (2013:59–60). Interestingly (or perhaps rather disappointingly), Lundervold (2013:54) finds no Irish English speakers in *Game of Thrones*, although the series are mainly filmed in Northern Ireland and many of the actors are Irish. In *Harry Potter*, on the other hand, there are five Irish English speakers who are all categorised as *unsophisticated* but also *sympathetic* and *good* (2013:78). Apparently, only one of these is portrayed as Irish in the books and thus it seems that in the other cases, the Irish accent is used as a characterisation tool. The Irish English speakers are described as eccentric and strange, but also 'good natured and somewhat misunderstood' (ibid). Lundervold states that her findings do not support those of Coupland and Bishop (2007), where Irish English scores 'fairly high' in terms of prestige (Lundervold 2013:79).

With regard to gender, well over two thirds of the characters in Lundervold are male, yet again in keeping with Lippi-Green (1997) and Sønnesyn (2011). Generally, the male characters are more variable in terms of accent use (Lundervold 2013:57). The *Game of Thrones* and *Harry Potter* universes are described as quite different in terms of gender roles, the former being rather medieval and the latter more modern (2013:50). Lundervold concludes that her findings 'largely support the theory that women speak with a more standard accent to be seen as more prestigious' (2013:84), and that 'the language attitudes portrayed in *Harry Potter* and *Game of Thrones* are more similar than different' (2013:87).

Vilkensen (2013)

Vilkensen (2013) compares the use of accent in American situational comedies (sitcoms) from the 1950s and 1990s, searching for correlations between accent use (varieties of English) and gender (character role and character traits will not be considered here since no such variables are included in this study). Vilkensen also aimed to compare her findings to those of Lippi-Green (1997) and thus see whether they also apply to sitcoms.

In line with expectations and previous studies, Vilkensen (2013:44–45) found GA to be vastly dominant for both sexes, more so for women. However, where 70% of the Disney characters in Lippi-Green (1997) and Sønnesyn (2011) are male, Vilkensen found a more even gender balance in her sitcom corpus (ibid). A surprising finding was the large number of accents used by female characters, who were expected to be more uniform and standard linguistically (ibid). Comparing the two periods, Vilkensen found these to be 'strikingly similar' (2013:41), contrary to expectations and the mentioned findings in Sønnesyn (2011), 'where the use of GA is more frequent in newer Disney films [compared to Lippi-Green 1997]' (Vilkensen 2013:42). There was however a 'reduced discrepancy between male and female GA characters found in newer sitcoms [which] implies that sitcoms are adjusting to the more modern world' (2013:49–50). Vilkensen (ibid) states that

> The gender changes are also reflected in the roles of the female characters. In the older sitcoms, [they] are housewives, housekeepers, secretaries, or actresses, whereas the male characters are usually businessmen (...). It appears as though the newer sitcoms have caught up to modern times, not only with accent use, but also in regard to character roles.

Sitcoms are an interesting genre considering their vast audience and popularity, and the claim that 'sitcoms are infamous when it comes to perpetuating stereotypes through language' (Lippi-Green 1997:101). Similarly, Vilkensen (2013:79) concludes that 'sitcoms to a great extent display a stereotypical use of accents' and that her overall findings thus strengthen the claim of Lippi-Green and other societal treatment studies.

Moltu (2014)

Under the catchy title 'One accent to rule them all', Moltu (2014) conducted 'a sociolinguistic study of accent use and stereotyping in American fantasy films'. She states that in a societal treatment study, it was natural to choose a genre with a wide audience, strong characterisations and clear categories of good and bad (2014:2). Furthermore, fantasy films often involve fictional worlds where accent is not necessarily tied to a specific geographical location. Instead, accent is more probably used as a characterisation tool. According to Moltu, such accent use is more related to language attitudes (ibid).

Moltu (2014:3) searches for correlations between accent use and character traits as well as targeted audience. The social variables included gender, role, species, alignment and sophistication. In order to examine accent use according to targeted audience, Moltu sampled an even share of family and PG-13 films (2014:2). She expected that family films will to a greater extent use accent to build character, that females and human species will speak more standardised, that GA will be preferred by 'good' characters and RP by 'bad' characters (2014:4). While bad characters typically use RP in Lippi-Green (1997) and Sønnesyn (2011), this accent-allegiance pattern is not found by Moltu (2014:67), where 'good' characters in fact prefer RP. This is attributed to the overall predominance of RP in fantasy films (2014:68–69). The dominance of RP is described as surprising considering that the films are mostly produced by US film companies and aimed at a US audience, but not surprising considering the genre (2014:40). Since fantasy films are often inspired by medieval times, 'using accents with deep historical roots' is 'a good way to highlight this' (ibid). Arguably, 'a British accent is sufficiently exotic to transport the viewer to a different reality (...) while still being comprehensible to a global audience' (BBC News, in Moltu 2014:40). Moltu (2014:64) suggests that RP might function as a 'nerdy superstandard'.

With regard to gender, three quarters of the characters in Moltu are male (again in line with previous studies), and the standard accents are spoken by 96% of the female characters (2014:45). Male characters, on the other hand, are much more variable in terms of accent use (2014:46). Clearly, 'it is an undeniable fact that non-standard accents are severely underrepresented in the female category. It seems that female characters are limited to standard varieties and their linguistic choices are very few' (ibid). This is explained in terms of medieval gender roles often found in fantasy films, where women are mothers and princesses with high moral and dignity (ibid).

Moltu found a 'considerable increase' in the use of GA in family films, which is ascribed to GA being 'a familiar and neutral accent for American children' (2014:68). In PG-13 films, 'there is reason to suspect that accents are used to build characters to a greater extent' (ibid). Moltu concludes that her selection of fantasy films have shown 'clear patterns of accent use that can be said to reflect existing language attitudes' (2014:64).

Concluding remarks

Unlike this study, most of the above discussed MA theses (notably except Fjeldsbø 2013) do not aim to go into phonological detail but merely to identify which accents the characters use and then search for correlations with non-linguistic variables. Necessarily, one needs to identify the main features of the relevant accents, which are then typically defined in the broadest terms possible and with few internal distinctions. Also unlike this study, most of the mentioned MA theses deal with films and series which are animated, set in fictional worlds and generally aimed at a young audience (Disney, Tolkien franchise, *Harry Potter*, fantasy films and games in general). These are interesting sources of study since they rely on accent stereotyping and characterisation more so than realistic films aimed at more adult audiences. For instance, Sønnesyn states that her study could have been performed on any kind of film or television, but since Disney films are aimed at children, 'they need to be very explicit in their creation of characters, and the need to emphasize stereotypical features is thus greater' (2011:3). Disney films are often fairytales with 'clearly defined character types', and presumably 'it will be easier to detect any possible correlation between character and accent in animated films' (ibid).

Many of the character categories used in the above discussed theses, like species and allegiance (good or bad), do not apply to the more realistic film corpus included in this study. Therefore, Fjeldsbø (2013) is the most relevant study with which to compare the present one. Considering the many theses dealing with animated and fantasy material, there is a need for societal treatment studies of more realistic films.

2.4   Non-linguistic variables

Whereas the pronunciation features of Irish English and thus the linguistic variables included in the present study were investigated in 2.1.6, this section discusses the relevant *non*-linguistic variables, that is the non-linguistic factors that may have an effect on accent. Since this study is concerned with film, genre is included as a non-linguistic variable together with gender and social status.

2.4.1 Gender

Research on language and gender is described as 'particularly lively' since the early nineties (Meyerhoff 2006:5), gender now being the sociolinguistic variable which has been investigated more than any other social category by far (2006:201). Milroy and Gordon (2003:101–2) point out that where early sociolinguistic research tended to privilege social class, 'this is no longer necessarily the variable that best accounts for variability'.

Note that the term *gender*, often seen as synonymous to *sex*, describes a *social* category and not a biological one, in which case *sex* would be the relevant term. Since the eighties, gender has largely replaced sex in sociolinguistic terms (Meyerhoff 2006:201). The latter is easily defined in objective, scientific criteria, whereas gender not necessarily maps directly onto that biological category (Milroy and Gordon 2003:100). Meyerhoff (2006:206) explains that 'a speaker uses one variant more than another, not because he *is* male but because (...) he is *constituting* himself as an exemplar of maleness, and *constituting* that variant as an emblem of masculinity [original emphasis]'. Sociolinguists are thus not primarily interested in in variation according to biological sex, but to understand 'what social categories like "male" and "female" mean within any given communtiy' (ibid). Considering these remarks, it makes sense to *sample* and *categorise* speakers according to

sex, but rather think of gender as the relevant category in *interpreting* sociolinguistic variation (Milroy and Gordon 2003:100).

In sociolinguistic research, a strong tendency has been noted for women to use more high-status, standard forms and fewer low-status, vernacular forms than men overall (Milroy and Gordon 2003:93, Meyerhoff 2006:27). In other words, the typical pattern with regard to language and sex/gender is that women tend to speak more standardised than men, who in turn prefer more non-standard forms and features and a more regionally and socially marked language (Sønnesyn 2011:43). This well-known tendency is referred to as the *sex/prestige pattern* and has been attested in numerous sociolinguistic and attitudinal studies (Fjeldsbø 2013:38), including also societal treatment studies like Lippi-Green (1997) and Sønnesyn (2011). In fact, the tendency for women to use more standardised language has been described as 'the single most consistent finding to emerge in sociolinguistic studies' (Trudgill 1983, in Moltu 2014:9–10).

According to Meyerhoff (2006:2008), the sex/prestige pattern has been interpreted in various ways: 'Very often it is seen as indicating women's greater sensitivity to what is considered standard and non-standard', or what Fjeldsbø (2013:38) calls norms of correctness. Fjeldsbø (ibid) points out that this may be due to women's role in the upbringing of children. According to Holmes (1997, in Milroy and Gordon 2003:100), however, 'no satisfactory explanation has emerged of why women should orient more readily than men to a prestige norm'. Milroy and Gordon (2003:102) state that women not only prefer but indeed *create* prestige variants; a generalisation which 'avoids the problem (...) of identifying the relevant prestige variant'.

The sex/prestige pattern in general, and the suggestion that women invent prestige forms in particular, is highly relevant in relation to DubNew. Hickey (Dublin English, retrieved 26.03.15) has argued that linguistic change and 'fashionable' forms and features in Dublin (DubNew) is a result of female speakers in particular wanting to *dissociate* from local forms and features (DubOld). Two 'fashionable' features in particular seem to be strongly favoured (or even invented) by female speakers, namely a strong diphthong in GOAT and a retroflex /r/, that is [ɻ] (ibid). Importantly, these features are adopted or invented as a form of *dissociation* from the traditional monophthong in GOAT and the low rhoticity in local DubEng (see 2.1.6). Recordings made for the book *Dublin English* (Hickey 2005) are

seen as evidence that females prefer these features, and in support of the observation that women are often leaders in language change. As a suggestion of *why* women prefer standard language and lead in language change, Hickey (Dublin English, 26.03.15) argues that using standard forms and features gives more power to women by increasing their social status. In Dublin in particular (and perhaps in Ireland in general), pushing or at least participating actively in language change also adds to the power and prestige of women, since the change here is motivated by dissociation from low-status forms and features (ibid).

2.4.2 Social status

This section discussed the sociolinguistic variable of class. For the purpose of this thesis I have adopted the term social status, but in this discussion *class* and *status* are used interchangeably. According to Milroy and Gordon (2003:95), 'a class is rather vaguely said to consist of a group of persons sharing similar occupations and incomes, life-styles and beliefs'. Social class seems to have 'fallen somewhat out of flavour in sociolinguistics these days as a non-linguistic variable for study' (Meyerhoff 2006:182), recalling from the previous section that the gender variable has become increasingly popular and perhaps better accounts for linguistic variation. Despite these remarks, social status has been included as a non-linguistic variable because, after all, research shows that linguistic variation often correlates with class (Fjeldsbø 2013:39).

Social status is generally measured on the basis of occupation, education or accommodation (Labov 2001, in Meyerhoff 2006:159). According to Milroy and Gordon (2003:95), occupation is 'thought to correlate particularly closely with language variation'. Eckert (2000, in Milroy and Gordon 2003:99) suggests that this is because occupation indicates *participation* whereas education is rather seen as *preparation*. Also, films do not always provide explicit background information as to characters' education and accommodation, so that 'superficial information about people's occupations (...) may be the only information available to us' (Meyerhoff 2006:183). Otherwise (in film), social status can be measured on the basis of clothing or general appearance or behaviour (note that *linguistic* behaviour, that is speech, may *not* be used as a basis on which to measure social status, since we are searching for correlations between speech and social status). In real life, it may seem a bit simple and misleading to say that social status can be *measured* based on

clothing and appearance. On the screen, however, these should be seen as artistic tools employed to create and define characters and thereby convenient means to measure their social status. In keeping with these remarks, social status has been measured on the basis of occupation and appearance in this study (see 3.2.2).

2.4.3 Genre

Since this study is concerned with film, genre was included as a non-linguistic variable together with the more common sociolinguistic variables gender and social status. In order to compare accent use in drama versus comedy, these broad genres need to be identified. This section therefore provides a brief outline of some basic similarities and differences between drama and comedy. Note that the films used as examples are those included in the film corpus (see 3.1).

Drama is probably the broadest movie genre as it includes numerous subgenres, relevant examples being biographical (*Michael Collins*, *Veronica Guerin*), historical (*Michael Collins*, *The Wind*), crime drama (*Intermission*, *The Guard*) and, importantly, *dramedy*, which (as the name implies) is a mix of drama and comedy (*The Snapper*, *Inside I'm Dancing*). Considering that for instance *Michael Collins* (1996) serves as an example of different subgenres, it also illustrates how these may overlap.

In drama films, authenticity is an important factor (Filmsite.org, in Fjeldsbø 2013:34). Drama films typically portray realistic characters in realistic situations and themes often include social issues. Characters in drama films are generally more complex and dynamic than in the comedy genre, where characters are rather oversimplified, stereotyped and one-dimensional (ibid), also linguistically. Comedies often exaggerate situations, characters and, importantly in this context, language. According to Mühleisen (2005, in Fjeldsbø 2013:35), 'accent and dialect are widely applied tools in comedies', where they are often 'overdone and parioded'. Comedy also has subgenres like black comedy and (again) dramedy, both of which are represented in the film corpus by films like *Intermission* (2003) and *The Guard* (2011). In the next chapter (section 3.1.3) we will discuss genre in terms more specifically related to the film sample. Before that, a brief summary of this chapter is in order.

Section 2.1 introduced English in Ireland in terms of history, varieties and features and thus identified the linguistic variables of the study, mainly based on the lexical sets in Hickey (2004, 2007). Section 2.2 dealt with the sociolinguistic theoretical groundwork of the thesis, most importantly the societal treatment approach to attitudinal studies. As mentioned (see 2.2.2), societal treatment studies (STS) are 'studies of attitudes to language as they are evident in sources available in public social domains, such as the media' (Garrett 2010:29). STS were also described as more useful than the direct and indirect approaches in examining 'the sociocultural and political backdrop to attitudes' (Garrett 2007:116). Section 2.3 discussed some relevant previous studies, namely Walshe (2009), Lippi-Green (1997) and a number of recent MA theses. The present section (2.4) has examined the non-linguistic factors expected to correlate with accent use in the film sample.

3 Data and method

This chapter describes the data and method employed in the present study. Firstly, section 3.1 below describes how the films were sampled. Secondly, section 3.2 details the method used in categorising the characters featured in the films in linguistic terms (3.2.1) as well as in social terms (3.2.2), and discusses some methodological challenges and concerns (3.2.3).

3.1   The film corpus

This section details how Irish films were defined and sampled (sections 3.1.1 and 3.1.2 respectively), and briefly discusses genre and setting (3.1.3). To provide some context for the film selection and later analysis, brief descriptions of the films have been included in 3.2.2.

3.1.1 Defining Irish films

The present thesis studies the use of accent in thirteen Irish films which, to be included in the study, had to meet certain criteria to qualify as Irish. Before we discuss these, note that in keeping with *Irish English as Represented in Film* (Walshe 2009), documentaries were excluded since this study is concerned with the *artistic representation* of speech. Television series are also not included; this decision avoids too large amounts of data as well as the potential methodological implications of the differences between feature film and television. Also, to my knowledge, Irish TV series are not as easily available on DVD, which is a suitable format in terms of quality (films available on DVD also allow interested readers to access them more easily).

Turning now to the criterion of 'Irishness', Irish films had to be defined and identified. Firstly, since the present study is concerned with Southern Irish English, I decided only to include films set in Southern Ireland and not Ulster.[1] Secondly, I decided

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1   There are two reasons for not using the denominations *Republic of Ireland* and *Northern Ireland* here. Firstly, the terms *Southern Ireland* and *Ulster* are 'in keeping with the recognised linguistic boundary between north and south' (Walshe 2009:22). Also, the war dramas *Michael Collins* (1996) and *The Wind* (2006) are set during the time before the Republic was declared (in 1949).

that the films needed to *be* at least partly Irish, which would involve Irish direction and/or production. This is where for instance *The Quiet Man* (1952) fails to satisfy the criterion of 'Irishness', being essentially an American film and a Hollywood production. Walshe (2009:23) divides his film corpus into 1) 'Irish-made' and 2) 'set in Ireland, but produced, financed and directed by non-Irish groups or individuals'. This is because 'representations of the Irish in non-Irish films have often been less than accurate' (ibid), and therefore 'one would typically expect (...) that the non-Irish films would perhaps even include some clichéd or erroneous language' (Walshe 2009:28).

To divide his corpus, Walshe adopted the methodology set out by Kirby and MacKillop (1999, in Walshe 2009), who distinguish between Irish and Irish-*related* films. Irish films are defined as (a) Irish-made, (b) Irish-directed, (c) 'produced or backed by an Irish company' and (d) based on a text by an Irish writer. Following these criteria, most of the films included in the present study qualify as Irish. Interestingly, Walshe (2009:25) notes a complete absense of Irish films predating 1989 (again by the same criteria), and concludes that the Irish film industry was a late bloomer. The unexpected success of *My Left Foot* (1989) and *The Field* (1990), both directed by Jim Sheridan, is described as a catalyst inspiring future Irish filmmaking (ibid). McLoone (2006:88, in Walshe 2009:26) argues that 'prior to that the development of an Irish film industry was deemed neither economically viable or ideologically desirable'. The time frame from 1989 to present has been adopted in the present study.

3.1.2 Sampling the films

Looking for at least ten films to include in the present study, a Google search for 'top ten Irish films' directed me to the Wikipedia article *Cinema of Ireland* (retrieved 05.05.14), which included two lists of particular interest (see below), namely 1) a top ten poll of Irish films (2005) and 2) the ten most recent 'Best Irish Film' award winners (Irish Film and Television Awards from 2003 to 2013, with the year 2006 apparently missing for some reason). Sampling from these two lists gave the opportunity to include both popular (top ten poll) and critically acclaimed (award-winning) Irish films, all except *The Quiet Man* (1952) from the last 25 years (1989–2014) at the time of conducting the sample and analysis.

Google and Wikipedia may not seem ideal starting points from which to sample films for an academic study. However, since the present thesis is concerned with popular media, it makes sense to sample data using popular sources of information. The films were sampled before I was made aware of the sampling method and corpus used by Walshe (2009), but as mentioned, most of the films included in this study qualify as Irish by the above mentioned criteria. All the fifty films analysed by Walshe are of course far too many to include in a master's thesis, and therefore it seems appropriate to include only the most popular and critically acclaimed among them (film enthusiasts should note that at the time of submitting the thesis, *Calvary* (2014) had been added on the Best Irish Films list). Table 3.1 below presents the lists from *Cinema of Ireland* (the films marked with an asterisk fail to meet the previously discussed criterion of 'Irishness' and were therefore disregarded).

Table 3.1 Top ten poll and Award winners 2003–13 (Cinema of Ireland, 05.05.14)

Top ten poll (2005)	Best Irish Film Award winners 2003–13
1. *The Commitments* (1991)	2003: *Intermission* (2003)
2. *My Left Foot* (1989)	2004: *Omagh** (2004)
3. *In the Name of the Father** (1993)	2005: *Inside I'm Dancing* (2004)
4. *The Quiet Man** (1952)	2007: *The Wind That Shakes the Barley* (2006)
5. *The Snapper* (1993)	2008: *Garage* (2007)
6. *Michael Collins* (1996)	2009: *Hunger** (2008)
7. *The Field* (1990)	2010: *The Eclipse* (2009)
8. *Intermission* (2003)	2011: *As If I Am Not There** (2010)
9. *Veronica Guerin* (2003)	2012: *The Guard* (2011)
10. *Inside I'm Dancing* (2004)	2013: *What Richard Did* (2012)

There are various reasons why the films marked with an asterisk were disregarded. *The Quiet Man* (1952) has already been mentioned. Secondly, *As If I Am Not There* (2010) is set in the Balkans and uses Serbo-Croatian language (Cinema of Ireland, 05.05.14). Thirdly, *In the Name of the Father* (1993), *Omagh* (2004) and *Hunger* (2008) are produced in Northern Ireland and/or set during the time of the Troubles. Lastly, since *Intermission* (2003) and *Inside I'm Dancing* (2004) occur on both lists, I ended up with a total of thirteen films,

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which was deemed sufficient considering the scope and time frame of the study. The film corpus is presented and ordered according to genre in the following section.

3.1.3 Genre and setting

As mentioned in 1.1, this study aims to compare accent use in drama vs. comedy. Conveniently, none of the thirteen films were disregarded on genre criteria, since they all qualify as drama and/or comedy (*and/or* meaning that genres in general, and these two in particular, often overlap as mentioned in 2.4.3). The films were classified according to genre based on the basic genre differences outlined in 2.4.3, but were not easily subdivided into 'pure' drama and 'pure' comedy. Therefore, many of them may be described as *dramedy*, that is a mix of drama and comedy (see 2.4.3). The films classified as drama here have the same label on the *Internet Movie Database* (IMDb.com). Similarly, the dramedies here are labelled drama *and* comedy on IMDb. The genre classification here is thus in keeping with IMDb although I have adopted the term (and category) *dramedy*. Generally, the Irish seem to have an affinity for dramedy and so-called black humour of the type found in films like *Intermission* (2003) and *The Guard* (2011). The former has been described in terms which translate as 'a cheerful mix of violent humour and tragic romance – as done only by the Irish!' (Norwegian DVD version, Scanbox Entertainment, my translation). Table 3.2 below shows the genre classification of the film corpus.

Table 3.2 Film corpus ordered according to genre

Drama	Dramedy
My Left Foot (1989)	*The Commitments* (1991)
The Field (1990)	*The Snapper* (1993)
Michael Collins (1996)	*Intermission* (2003)
Veronica Guerin (2003)	*Inside I'm Dancing* (2004)
The Wind (2006)	*The Guard* (2011)
Garage (2007)	
The Eclipse (2009)	
What Richard Did (2012)	

Following the work done by Walshe (2009:30), the films included in the present study have been ordered according to *setting* in table 3.3 below. Walshe (2009:27) notes that 'unfortunately, the setting of many (...) films is never explicitly mentioned, leaving one to guess (...), based perhaps on possible landmarks, topographical details or the accents of the characters featured'. Looking for famous buildings or landscape is rightly described as problematic since filmmakers often use numerous locations and 'pass these off as being one place' (ibid). *The Quiet Man* (1952) is again taken as example, locations moving from Western Ireland through Hollywood to South Africa.

Table 3.3 Films ordered according to setting (time and place)

When/where	Dublin and east	Rural S/W
1920s	*Michael Collins* (1996)	*The Wind* (2006)
1950s	*My Left Foot* (1989)	*The Field* (1990)
1980s	*The Commitments* (1991)	
1990s	*The Snapper* (1993), *Veronica Guerin* (2003)	
2000 to present	*Intermission* (2003), *Inside I'm Dancing* (2004), *What Richard Did* (2012)	*Garage* (2007), *The Eclipse* (2009), *The Guard* (2011)

Finally, note that the three films which are released after 2010 and thereby too recent to have been included in Walshe (2009), have been put in the '2000 to present' category. These have been ordered according to location based on the IMDb, information on the DVD covers and explicit mention of the setting in the films. Note that almost half of the films in the corpus are set in the twentyfirst century, and almost two thirds (8 of 13) in or near Dublin. Eleven of the thirteen films fit at least one of these criteria; only *The Field* (1990) and *The Wind* (2006) are neither set after 2000 nor in or near Dublin.

3.2   Method

As explained in 2.2.2, the present thesis is a *societal treatment study*. In that sense, the method used in this study has already been described in general terms in that section. This section provides a more detailed account of how the characters featured in the film corpus were categorised in linguistic terms (3.2.1) as well as in *social* terms (3.2.2), that is

according to the social variables described in 2.4.

3.2.1 Film analysis and linguistic categorisation

This section details the method used in the analysing the film corpus. A total of 90 characters were included in the analysis, that is an average of just below seven per film, ranging from only two in *The Eclipse* (2009) to thirteen in *The Commitments* (1991). All the films were watched in full on DVD, a format which is suitable in practical and methodological terms. While watching the films, I used forms (one per character) with the linguistic variables and variants described in 2.1.6, to determine which variants the characters used most frequently. When five or more tokens of one variant had been noted (see table 3.4 below), the variant in question was included in categorising the relevant character in linguistic terms (see table 3.5 and following description).

Table 3.4 Simplified analysis form for Lehiff (*Intermission*)

Variables	*Variants*			
STRUT	ʌ̈	ʊ 卌		
PRICE	aɪ	ɑɪ	əɪ	ɔɪ 卌
MOUTH	æʊ	ɛʊ 卌	aʊ	oʊ
FACE	eɪ 卌	eː		
GOAT	oʊ 卌	əʊ	ʌɔ	oː
NURSE/TERM	əːɻ	ɚː	ʊːɻ 卌	ɛːɻ
THIN	θ 卌	t 卌		
THIS	ð 卌	d 卌		
GET	t	ts	h, ʔ, Ø 卌	
TALKING	ŋ	n 卌		

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Table 3.5 Simplified variant list for Lehiff (*Intermission*)

Variable	Variant	Categorisation
STRUT	ʊ	Non-standard
PRICE	ɔɪ	Non-standard
MOUTH	ɛʊ	Indeterminate
FACE	eɪ	Indeterminate
GOAT	oʊ	Standard
NURSE/TERM	ʊːɹ	Non-standard
THIN	θ, t	Indeterminate
THIS	ð, d	Indeterminate
GET	h, ʔ, Ø	Non-standard
TALKING	n	Non-standard

In cases where a character used both standard and non-standard variants in the same variable (as in THIN, THIS above), or where the preferred variant is *non-applicable* (as in MOUTH, FACE, cf. 2.1.6), the variables in question were coded as *indeterminate*, and therefore disregarded altogether in the process of categorising the characters. This process will be described in the following.

When I had analysed the films, the amounts of standard and non-standard variants were used to categorise the characters linguistically. Characters with the same amount of standard and non-standard variants (allowing one more or less of either type) were coded as linguistically indeterminate altogether. As an example, Rory O'Shea (*Inside I'm Dancing*, 2004) has mainly indeterminate variants (which were disregarded) and, within a margin of one, the same amount of standard and non-standard variants, and has therefore been categorised as indeterminate. Characters with a majority of standard or non-standard variants (at least two more of either type) were coded accordingly, as in the case of Lehiff (see tables above), who was categorised as non-standard (six non-standard variants, only one standard). As a different example, Veronica Guerin (2003) has eight standard and only two non-standard variants and were therefore categorised as linguistically standard.

As mentioned above, variants with five or more tokens were included in coding the characters. It follows that variants with *fewer* than five tokens were not. In cases where characters had fewer than five tokens of any variant of a variable, the variable in question

was disregarded altogether. Generally, main characters (for instance the title characters Michael Collins or Veronica Guerin) had large amounts of speech time and thereby enough tokens in all fifteen variables. Most of the other characters in the film corpus, however, often did *not* (for instance, especially CHOICE tokens were generally infrequent). I decided that characters needed enough tokens in at least ten of the fifteen variables to be included in the analysis. I also decided to adopt a rather strict definition of 'standard speakers', so that the indeterminate speakers were grouped together with the non-standard speakers in a group of *not markedly* standard speakers. Therefore, *non-standard* henceforth refers to this group, including the indeterminate speakers.

3.2.2 Character selection and social categorisation

Like the films themselves, the characters featured in them also needed to meet certain criteria to be included in the analysis. Importantly, they needed to be Southern Irish English speakers with sufficient speech time and thereby tokens, as discussed above. Also importantly, this criterion regards the fictional characters and not necessarily the actors playing them. Walshe (2009:36) also uses this approach:

> If one knows that the actors are British or American, then one is more likely to focus on their pronunciation, scouring it for traces of something foreign. Bearing this in mind, I have tried to conduct my analysis as objectively as possible, disregarding biographical details of the actors and letting them speak for themselves, so to say.

In keeping with the above remarks, and since accent is seen as an artistic device used to convey character, actors' nationality has generally not been taken into consideration. For instance, Daniel Day-Lewis (Christy Brown, *My Left Foot*), Cate Blanchett (*Veronica Guerin*) and James McAvoy (Rory O'Shea, *Inside I'm Dancing*) are leading actors in the film corpus who are not Irish, but nonetheless included in the analysis because they contrive an Irish accent. Characters with accents other than Southern Irish English, on the other hand, were *not* included. There are very few Northern Irish characters in the film corpus, but a number of *non*-Irish ones, most often played by non-Irish actors. This regards, most importantly, 'the American' (Tom Berenger) in *The Field* (1990), British characters in the

mentioned war films (see 2.1.1 and 3.1), American author Michael Holden (Aidan McQuinn) and presumedly Danish author Lena Morell (Danish actress Iben Hjejle) in *The Eclipse* (2009), FBI agent Wendell Everett (Don Cheadle) and London-based drug trafficker Clive Cornell (Mark Strong) in *The Guard* (2011), and Peter Karlsen, Richard's dad in *What Richard Did* (2012), who has a Danish name and accent and is played by Danish actor Lars Mikkelsen.

After deciding which characters to include in the analysis, these needed to be categorised or coded according to the non-linguistic variables discussed in 2.4, in order to examine possible correlations with the *linguistic* variables described in 2.1 (that is, with accent use). Deciding on gender and genre was fairly straightforward, firstly since no transgender characters are encountered in the film corpus, and secondly since genre is not an individual character trait as such, but depends on the relevant film. Measuring social status, on the other hand, bears some theoretical consideration, as discussed in 2.4.2. In line with that discussion, characters were coded according to social status based primarily on their *occupation*. In cases where occupation was unknown or unclear, the occupation of people in the same family or social network was used as an indicator. Generally, characters who are criminal, unemployed or have low-status jobs, like Lehiff in *Intermission* (2003), were categorised as low status. Characters with higher education and higher status jobs, like Veronica Guerin (2003), were categorised as high status. It is in order to discuss in some detail the social categorisation of characters in the film corpus, and thus briefly describe the films in chronological order. I have included few if any 'spoilers', so that readers interested in watching the films may wish to read this section as an introduction. However, those extremely afraid of any advance publicity are advised to skip this section and read it later.

My Left Foot (1989) is a book adaptation directed by Jim Sheridan and starring Daniel Day-Lewis as Christy Brown, a man born with cerebral palsy and the author of the book. Christy is an aspiring artist, so to speak, but has been categorised as low status based on his working-class family background. Only speech therapist Dr Eileen Cole was categorised as high status based on her occupation and education.

The Field (1990) is a play adaptation set in the rural west of Ireland, also directed by Jim Sheridan. Most of the characters here are poor people leading a simple life as farmers (and 'tinkers', or travellers), and have therefore been categorised as low status. The

exception here is Father Doran, who was categorised as high status based on his occupation as priest. As in *The Wind* (below), the priest is accused by the main character for siding with the rich.

The Commitments (1991) is a comedy about a working-class soul band by the same name. *The Snapper* (1993) is also a comedy, about the working-class Curley family. Filmed and set in Dublin, these films are based on Roddy Doyle's *Barrytown* trilogy and examples of films where all the characters included in the analysis are working-class and therefore categorised as low status. In *The Commitments*, the many band members have low-status, part-time jobs at best, Ireland is referred to as a third world country, and another band name suggestion is *The Northsiders* (cf. North Dublin).

Michael Collins (1996) requires some special comment with regard to categorising characters according to status. Although the film is a historical war drama, based on actual people and events, biographical details from external sources were generally not taken into account. In that sense, the film was not given 'special treatment' and the characters were categorised, as far as possible, based on the film itself. Unlike the rural working-class characters in *The Wind* (below), and despite the fact that Collins refers to himself as 'a yob from West Cork', Collins and the others in *Michael Collins* are clearly urban, middle-class people. Some of them have higher education and positions in politics and administration, like Ned Broy, Joe O'Reilly, Cathal Brugha and Eamon de Valera, the later president of Ireland. Collins himself and his partner Harry Boland were also categorised as high status based on their leading roles in the struggle for Irish independence.

Intermission (2003) is a black comedy involving intersecting storylines and starring, most famously, Colin Farrell as the character Lehiff, who is a petty criminal and was therefore categorised as low status. John, Oscar and Mick have also been categorised as low status based on their low-status, working-class jobs as warehouse workers and bus drivers. Jerry and Sam were categorised as high status based on their occupations as policeman and office worker, respectively. The female character included in the analysis have been judged as working-class and therefore categorised as low status.

Veronica Guerin (2003) is a biographical drama starring Cate Blanchett as the journalist whose investigations into the Dublin drug scene in the nineties led to her murder. The gangsters in this film (John Traynor, John Gilligan, Brian Meehan, Martin Cahill) were

categorised as low status. Standing in the street and watching a football game through a shop window, the Manchester United fan played by Colin Farrell is a good example of a character categorised as low status based on general appearance and clothing, which is very similar to Farrell's character Lehiff in *Intermission* (above). Veronica and the other characters were judged as middle-class people with high-status jobs and therefore categorised as high status.

Inside I'm Dancing (2004), also released as *Rory O'Shea Was Here*, is a dramedy filmed in Dublin. The title character here was difficult to categorise in social terms. Although he is disabled and therefore has no job, Rory was categorised as high status because he seems to have a middle-class family background. The female lead in the film, Siobhan, is also clearly middle-class. Eileen and Keane were also categorised as high status since they have safe jobs and positions in the health service. It should be noted that one of the main characters, Michael, who has cerebral palsy, was not included in the analysis since he has minimal amounts of understandable speech.

The Wind That Shakes the Barley (2006) is a war drama that tells the story of Ireland's struggle for freedom from a darker, more realistic and less heroic perspective than *Michael Collins* (above). Also unlike *Michael Collins*, *The Wind* is set in the rural Ireland (Co. Cork) and largely involves poor peasants and farmers. As in *The Field* (above), only the priest in the film was categorised as high status, based on that occupation. Although the main character Damien is a newly educated doctor, he and the rest of the characters come from a poor, working-class background and were therefore categorised as low status.

Garage (2007) is a rather sad story about a lonely petrol station attendant in rural Ireland. Garda Michael is the only character who was categorised as high status, based on his occupation as policeman. The rest of the characters in the film are clearly working-class and have been categorised accordingly.

The Eclipse (2009) is a supernatural drama set during a literary festival in Cobh, Co. Cork. Only two characters were included in the analysis, namely the main character Michael Farr and his daughter Sarah, who are clearly middle-class. Michael is a teacher and writer involved in the literary festival and was therefore categorised as high status. In keeping with the general remarks above, Sarah was categorised based on the occupation of her father.

The Guard (2011) is another black comedy or crime comedy, starring Brendan Gleeson as Gerry Boyle, 'an unorthodox Irish policeman' (hence the title) in Connemara, Co. Galway. Gerry Boyle, Aidan McBride and Gerry Stanton were categorised as high status based on their occupations as policemen. The other characters included in the analysis (Francis, Liam and Billy) are criminals and drug traffickers and were therefore categorised as low status.

Unlike *The Commitments*, or *The Northsiders* (cf. above), *What Richard Did* (2012) is a drama film that explicitly deals with a 'privileged set of South Dublin teenagers' (*What Richard Did* on IMDb, retrieved 28.04.15). Like *Inside I'm Dancing* and *The Eclipse* (above), the film involves very few characters that were included in the analysis. The title character, his girlfriend and his mother are clearly middle-class and have therefore been categorised as high status. To sum up this section, table 3.6 shows how all the characters included in the analysis were categorised, in linguistic as well social terms. Note that S = status, A = accent, Std = standard and Not = not markedly standard.

Table 3.6 Categorisation of all characters included in analysis

Character (gender)	S	A	Character (gender)	S	A	Character (gender)	S	A
My Left Foot (drama)			*Michael Collins* (drama)			*The Wind* (drama)		
Christy Brown (M)	Low	Not	Michael Collins (M)	High	Not	Damien (M)	Low	Not
Mrs Brown (F)	Low	Std	Eamon de Valera (M)	High	Std	Teddy (M)	Low	Not
Paddy Brown (M)	Low	Not	Harry Boland (M)	High	Not	Dan (M)	Low	Not
Mary (F)	Low	Not	Kitty Kiernan (F)	High	Std	Sinead (F)	Low	Not
Dr Eileen Cole (F)	High	Std	Joe O'Reilly (M)	High	Std	Finbar (M)	Low	Not
The Field (drama)			Ned Broy (M)	High	Std	Rory (M)	Low	Not
Bull McCabe (M)	Low	Not	Cathal Brugha (M)	High	Std	Steady Boy (M)	Low	Not
Tadgh McCabe (M)	Low	Not	*Intermission* (dramedy)			Lily (F)	Low	Std
Maggie McCabe (F)	Low	Std	Lehiff (M)	Low	Not	Priest (M)	High	Std
Bird (M)	Low	Not	John (M)	Low	Not	Leo (M)	Low	Std
Tinker Girl (F)	Low	Not	Oscar (M)	Low	Not	*Garage* (drama)		
Flanagan (M)	Low	Std	Mick (M)	Low	Not	Josie (M)	Low	Not
Father Doran (M)	High	Std	Jerry (M)	High	Std	David (M)	Low	Not
The Commitments (dramedy)			Sam (M)	High	Std	Carmel (F)	Low	Not
Jimmy Rabbitte (M)	Low	Std	Deirdre (F)	Low	Std	Sully (M)	Low	Not
Outspan Foster (M)	Low	Not	Sally (F)	Low	Std	Breffni (M)	Low	Not
Derek Scully (M)	Low	Not	Maura (F)	Low	Std	Garda Michael (M)	High	Std
Imelda Quirke (F)	Low	Not	Noeleen (F)	Low	Std	*The Eclipse* (drama)		
Natalie (F)	Low	Not	*Veronica Guerin* (drama)			Michael Farr (M)	High	Std
Bernie (F)	Low	Not	Veronica Guerin (F)	High	Std	Sarah Farr (F)	High	Std
Steven Clifford (M)	Low	Std	Bernie Guerin (F)	High	Std	*The Guard* (dramedy)		
Deco Cuffe (M)	Low	Not	John Gilligan (M)	Low	Not	Gerry Boyle (M)	High	Not
Billy Mooney (M)	Low	Not	John Traynor (M)	Low	Not	Francis (M)	Low	Not
Mickah Wallace (M)	Low	Not	Chris Mulligan (M)	High	Std	Liam O'Leary (M)	Low	Not
Dean Faye (M)	Low	Not	Graham Turley (M)	High	Std	Aidan McBride (M)	High	Std
Joey Fagan (M)	Low	Not	Aengus (M)	High	Std	Billy Devaney (M)	Low	Std
Mr Rabbitte (M)	Low	Not	MP Gregory (M)	High	Std	Gerry Stanton (M)	High	Not
The Snapper (dramedy)			Brian Meehan (M)	Low	Not	*What Richard Did* (drama)		
Sharon Curley (F)	Low	Not	Martin Cahill (M)	Low	Std	Richard Karlsen (M)	High	Std
Dessie Curley (M)	Low	Not	Man United fan (M)	Low	Not	Lara (F)	High	Std
Kay Curley (F)	Low	Std	*Inside I'm Dancing* (dramedy)			Katherine Karlsen (F)	High	Std
Jackie O'Keefe (F)	Low	Not	Rory O'Shea (M)	High	Not			
George Burgess (M)	Low	Std	Siobhan (F)	High	Std			
Lester (M)	Low	Not	Eileen (F)	High	Std			
			Keane (M)	High	Std			

3.2.3 Challenges and concerns

Some methodological challenges have already been mentioned but a few additional concerns should also be addressed. Note that limitations of the study in general are discussed in the final chapter (see 5.2).

The present study is mostly qualitative in the sense that I have a relatively small film sample and therefore cannot make generalisations to any great extent. However, this leaves room to discuss and try to explain interesting findings in terms of non-linguistic factors (see 2.4) and language attitudes (see 2.2.1) in the next chapter. Dörnyei (2007, in Lundervold 2013:52) points out that qualitative research is subjective in nature, as the researcher has to interpret the data. Although some quantification has been done, the study mainly relies on discussion and comparison with previous studies (notably Fjeldsbø 2013).

I analysed the films using my own auditory judgement, which also adds to the subjectivity of the study and involves some uncertainty. However, this seemed to be the most feasible and reasonable approach given the nature and amount of data. Inevitably, many lines and sequences required repeated listening, especially where there is background noise, 'things happening' and people talking simultaneously, excitedly or in a low voice. Note that singing and particularly formal speech (speeches, sermons, voice of narrator etc.) was not included in the analysis. Hopefully, repeated listening has made my judgement more reliable and the analysis more accurate. I did not see it necessary to do a second analysis of the entire film corpus, but *Intermission* (2003) was subject to a second analysis. It was also analysed independently by my two supervisors, whose findings were very similar to my own, and thus served as an *intersubjectivity control* which corroborated the validity of the initial analysis.

There are some concerns relating to social status, this being the least objective non-linguistic variable included in the study. Social class is complex and includes many aspects, and some simplification was inevitable. Chambers (2002:41) remarks that 'the notion of social class is inherently fuzzy', and since class is a continuum it was rather difficult to operationalise this variable by means of labelling various occupations as high or low status.

4   Results and discussion

This chapter presents the results of the analysis of the film corpus. Firstly, section 4.1 briefly discusses the overall distribution of accent in the film corpus. Subsequently, sections 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4 present and discuss the overall distribution of the non-linguistic variables and, more importantly, the distribution of accent ordered according to these variables, namely genre, gender and social status. It should be noted that the overall distributions and the correlations between non-linguistic variables (for instance gender and genre; see figure 4.4) are not the main focus of the study, but still of interest and therefore part of the discussion. Section 4.5 sums up the findings in light of the hypotheses presented in 1.2.

4.1   Overall distribution of accent

This section briefly discusses the overall distribution of accent in the film corpus. As mentioned in 1.2, it was expected that standard usage would be dominant overall (H1), based on reported political correctness in the film industry and modification or *standardisation* of accent variation (Sønnesyn 2011:1), a strategy perhaps used to reach a wider audience. Figure 4.1 shows that 46% of the 90 characters included in the analysis are standard speakers whereas 54% are non-standard speakers. Thus we have a fairly even accent distribution overall, at least as defined in 3.2.1. Considering that the non-standard category comprises both markedly non-standard and more *indeterminate* characters, the accent distribution might be seen as more imbalanced in favour of standard speakers. However, in this discussion we will adhere to the previously made distinction and disregard the internal distinction within the latter group.
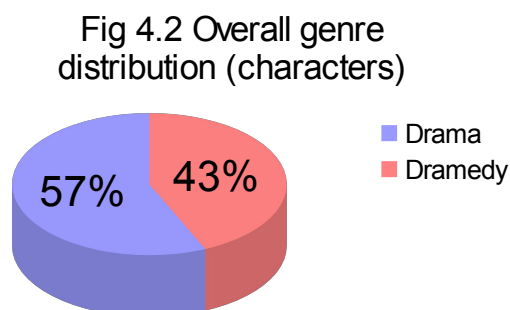

Fig 4.1 Overall accent distribution (characters)

■ Standard
■ Non-standard
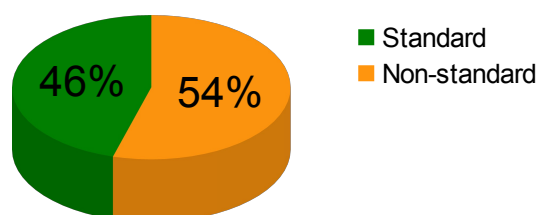
The even accent distribution disproved the mentioned hypothesis that standard usage would be dominant overall (H1). The majority of non-standard speakers sets this study apart from most other societal treatment studies of visual media (cf. Lippi-Green 1997, Sønnesyn 2011; see 2.3), where standard usage is clearly dominant. As mentioned, Sønnesyn (2011:1) explained this in terms of political correctness. The different result from this study tells us that Irish films are perhaps not as concerned with political correctness or reaching an outside audience, or that the Irish have more positive attitudes to non-standard accents (cf. Fjeldsbø 2013, see 2.3.3). It is also worth recalling that the positive evaluations of SIRE in the BBC Voices survey (see 2.2.3) were interpreted in terms of *ingroup solidarity* (Coupland and Bishop 2007:85, Garrett 2010:176).

4.2   Genre

As mentioned in 3.1, eight drama films and five dramedies were sampled for the present study. The larger average number of characters per film included in the analysis from the dramedies make up for some of the imbalance in the film sample. This larger average number is somewhat surprising, considering that drama films are expected to rely on more complex plots involving more characters (as pointed out by Fjeldsbø 2013:45). Figure 4.2 below shows that 57% of the characters included in the analysis feature in drama films whereas 43% feature in dramedies. At least measuring by characters included in the analysis, then, the genre distribution is relatively even, despite that more drama films were sampled than dramedies.

Fig 4.2 Overall genre
distribution (characters)

Some comparison of the overall accent distribution and the genre distribution (figures 4.1 vs 4.2) is in order. Although more drama films than dramedies were sampled, more characters

have been categorised as linguistically non-standard than standard. In light of the hypotheses presented in 1.2, the overall accent distribution is somewhat unexpected from a genre perspective since drama films were expected to display more standard usage (see H1 in 1.2 and 4.2.1 below). As mentioned, however, the genre distribution (measuring by characters) is relatively even, as is the accent distribution, partly because of the mentioned accent *categorisation* (see 3.2.1) where many non-standard speakers are rather *indeterminate*. Taking a gender perspective or a social persprective, that is in light of the distribution of gender and social status (see below), the overall accent distribution is largely as expected. There are more male characters (71%) and low-status characters (66%) overall, groups expected to use more non-standard accent (see 1.2).

4.2.1 Accent and genre

As mentioned in 1.2 (see H2), it was expected that drama films would display more standard usage and that dramedies, conversely, would display more non-standard usage, based on the genre differences outlined in 2.4.3. Figure 4.3 below presents the accent distribution ordered according to genre. While the accent distribution in the drama genre is almost completely even, it is far less balanced in the dramedy genre, where nearly two thirds (62%) are non-standard speakers. The accent distribution according to genre is as expected (in line with H2) as far as dramedies are concerned, and insofar as the drama films feature a higher relative frequency of standard speakers than the dramedies. However, the expectation that standard usage would be predominant in drama films is not supported, considering the even distribution here. H2, then, is only partially confirmed.

Fig 4.3 Accent distribution by genre
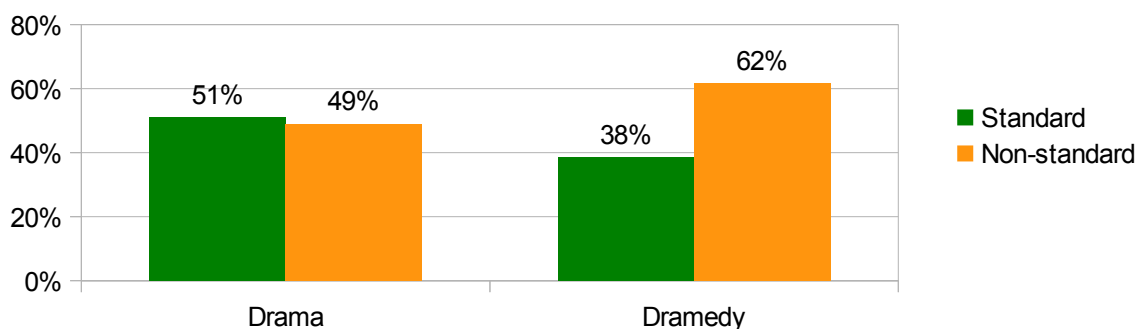
The even accent distribution in the drama genre is in keeping with Fjeldsbø (2013:49), who interprets the similar finding in her study in terms of the genre's claim to authenticity. One explanation why there are almost as many non-standard speakers as standard speakers in the drama genre, is that many of the films deal with low-status, working-class characters who one would expect to be non-standard speakers (see 4.4 below); consider for instance the working-class family in *My Left Foot* (1989), the rural workers and farmers in *The Field* (1990) and *The Wind* (2006), the gangsters in *Veronica Guerin* (2003) and the working-class characters in *Garage* (2007; see table 3.6). The non-standard usage in these films are probably used to highlight the environment in which the characters live and make that seem authentic (Fjeldsbø 2013:49; see 1.3).

As mentioned in 2.3.3, Fjeldsbø (2013:62) finds no correlation between accent use and genre in general, since the accents in her study (Broad and General AusEng) are evenly distributed in the comedy genre as well. The clearer genre divide in this study is surprising since drama and dramedy are more similar than drama and comedy. Dramedy, as mentioned in 2.4.3, is a mix of drama and comedy (examples being *The Snapper* and *Inside I'm Dancing*). One would of course expect fewer comic elements in dramedy than in 'pure' comedy. Accordingly, and more relevant to this study, one would also expect less accent stereotyping, which is also a regular feature of the comedy genre. As also mentioned in 2.4.3, 'accent and dialect are widely applied tools in comedies' (Mühleisen 2005, in Fjeldsbø 2013:35). In light of these remarks, it is surprising that there is more non-standard usage in the dramedies in this study than in the comedies in Fjeldsbø (2013).

Since there are many non-standard speakers in the drama films, it is not surprising that there are also many non-standard speakers in the dramedies. Many of the dramedies also deal with (exclusively) working-class, low-status characters expected to be non-standard speakers; consider for instance *The Commitments* (1991) and *The Snapper* (1993). At any rate, the comic elements and (more importantly) the accent stereotyping of the comedy genre seem to have a strong presence in the Irish dramedy films included in this study. A general explanation why there are many non-standard speakers in both genres, as suggested in 4.1, is that the Irish seem to have more positive attitudes to non-standard usage.

The gender distribution ordered according to genre is presented in figure 4.4 below, but will not be discussed in any detail since the gender distribution is very similar in both

genres, in keeping with the gender distribution overall (which will be presented and discussed in 4.3 below).

Fig 4.4 Gender distribution by genre
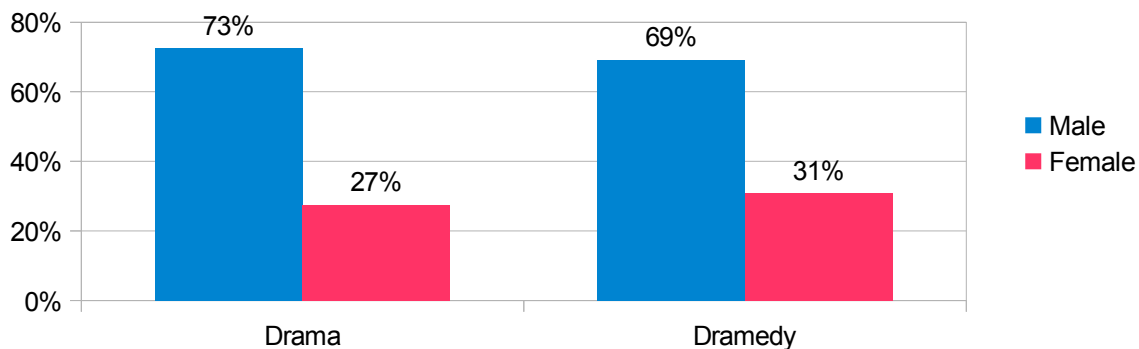
4.2.2 Social status and genre

As explained in 2.4.2 and 3.2.2, social status was measured mainly on the basis of occupation, since this is 'thought to correlate particularly closely with language variation' (Milroy and Gordon 2003:95). Also, in the film medium, information as to education or accommodation is often not available. Although it is not the main focus of the study, it is worth briefly considering the distribution of social status according to genre, which is presented in figure 4.5 below.
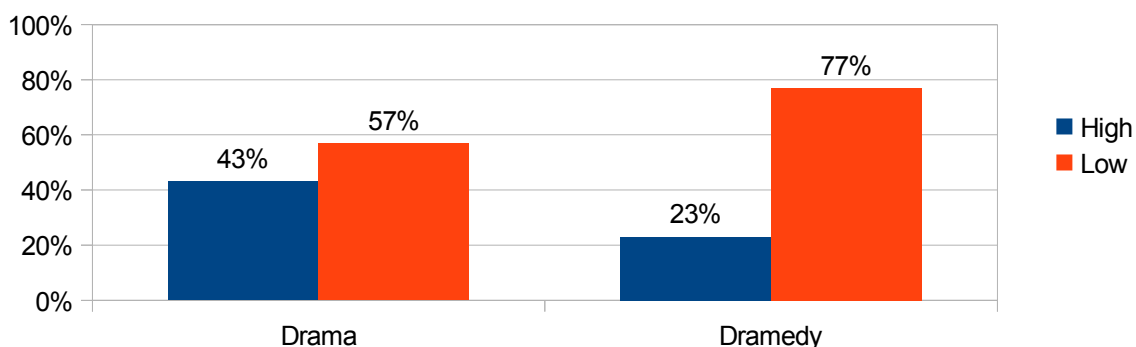
Fig 4.5 Status distribution by genre

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Figure 4.5 shows that there are more low-status characters overall, especially so in the dramedy genre. While the status distribution is fairly even in the drama genre, it is far less balanced in the dramedy genre, where low-status characters outnumber high-status characters more than three to one. The mentioned *Barrytown* films, which are dramedies where all the characters have been categorised as low status (see 3.2.2), are of course an important part of this picture. Many other films also feature predominantly low-status characters, which is the reason for the uneven social status distribution overall (see 4.4/figure 4.9 below).

The status distribution according to genre is generally more uneven than the accent distribution presented in figure 4.3. The accent distribution is even in the drama genre, with a slight majority of standard speakers. The status distribution is also relatively even in the drama genre. In light of the even accent distribution in the drama genre, with a slight majority of standard speakers, the larger number of low-status characters in the same genre may be seen as somewhat unexpected.

4.3   Gender

The gender variable was discussed in 2.4.1 and is the most common non-linguistic variable to include in societal treatment studies. Based on the sex/prestige pattern as attested in numerous such studies (see 2.3), it was expected that female characters would display more standard usage and that male characters, conversely, would display more non-standard usage (see H3 in 1.2). Before we discuss the accent distribution according to gender, however, we will briefly consider the overall gender distribution, which is presented in figure 4.6 below.

Fig 4.6 Overall gender distribution (characters)
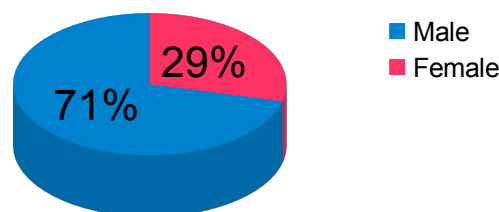
29%   71%

■ Male
■ Female

Figure 4.6 shows that 71% of the characters that were included in the analysis are male whereas only 29% are female. This is perhaps not surprising in light of the gender balance in most films, or in Lippi-Green (1997), Sønnesyn (2011) and Fjeldsbø (2013), where roughly two thirds of the characters are male. However, the fact that the gender distribution is even *more* uneven in this study, where almost three quarters of the characters are male, is somewhat unexpected, considering that the films included in this study are more realistic than the Disney films examined by Lippi-Green (1997) and Sønnesyn (2011). In more realistic films one would expect more female characters with a larger domain of life experience than the 'lovers and mothers' described by Lippi-Green (see 2.3.2). This is only partly true since there are actually fewer female characters in this study, but at least those included in the analysis are far from only 'lovers and mothers'; consider for instance Veronica Guerin (2003), Sharon Curley in *The Snapper* (1993) and the band members in *The Commitments* (1991).

Two of the films included in the corpus, namely the war films *Michael Collins* (1996) and *The Wind* (2006), can perhaps be excused for featuring few female characters, insofar as the wars in question were fought by men, and as far as the films focus on not only wartime but actual warfare. *The Snapper* (1993) and *Veronica Guerin* (2003), on the other hand, have strong female leads but still feature relatively few female characters overall, like all the films in the corpus. This is perhaps disappointing but again not surprising, considering the previous societal treatment studies mentioned above and discussed in 2.3, and the general male dominance in the film industry.

4.3.1 Accent and gender

Most societal treatment studies (cf. Lippi-Green 1997, Sønnesyn 2011, Fjeldsbø 2013) have found a clear correlation between accent and gender which is in keeping with the mentioned sex/prestige pattern. In other words, it is a common finding that female speakers are linguistically more standard and less variable than male speakers. To my knowledge, however, there are not many other studies that examine accent and gender in an Irish context.

The accent distribution according to gender in this study is presented in figure 4.7 below. While nearly two thirds (63%) of the male characters are non-standard speakers and

one third (38%) standard speakers, the female accent distribution is the other way round; nearly two thirds of the female characters (65%) are standard speakers and one third (35%) non-standard speakers. This is interesting but also as expected (see H3 in 1.2), based on the sex/prestige pattern, and again in line with previous studies like Lippi-Green (1997), Sønnesyn (2011) and Fjeldsbø (2013), where this pattern is attested. As mentioned in 2.4.1, the sex/prestige pattern has been described as 'the single most consistent finding to emerge in sociolinguistic studies' (Trudgill 1983, in Moltu 2014:9–10), and the films included in this study seem to reflect that reality.

Fig 4.7 Accent distribution by genre
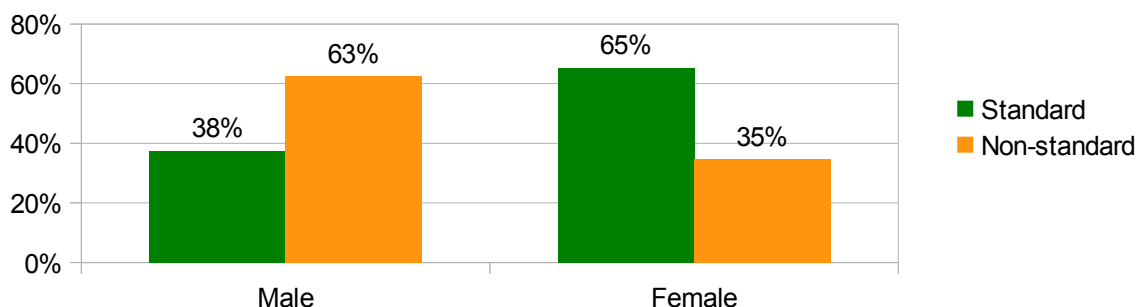
An important point made by Lippi-Green (1997) is that male characters are more variable, linguistically (in terms of accent variation) and otherwise (in terms of life experiences and opportunities), than female characters, who as 'lovers and mothers' have limited accent variation and life experiences. In this study, this pattern is not evident from figure 4.7 above, where (as mentioned) the degree of accent variation is largely the same in both genders. Judging from the figure, then, male characters are not necessarily more linguistically variable than females in this study.

It is worth recalling, however, that the standard category comprises both SS/DubMain and DubNew speakers, and that the non-standard category comprises DubOld as well as Rural S/W speakers (cf. 2.1.4). Many of the films included in this study are from the nineties, a period when pronunciation changes led to the development and establishment of 'fashionable' DubEng (DubNew; see 2.1.3). However, DubNew was probably not properly 'established' in the nineties or at least had not found its way into the film medium,

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perhaps not even in the 2000s. *What Richard Did* (2012) seems to be an exception, but the majority of standard speakers in the film corpus are clearly 'mainstream' (SS/DubMain) rather than 'fashionable' (DubNew).

The non-standard group, on the other hand, is clearly more evenly split into DubOld speakers and Rural S/W speakers, largely depending on where the relevant film is set. A majority of the films are set in or near Dublin (cf. 3.1.3/table 3.3), but there are also many Rural S/W speakers in the relevant films. In keeping with these remarks, the male characters in the film corpus, in being to a larger extent non-standard speakers, are more linguistically variable than the female characters. The reason for this, in other words, is that there are relatively few 'fashionable' (DubNew) speakers in the film corpus, which means the standard group is more homogenous (in line with H3).

The question remains as to *why* male characters display more non-standard accent use than female characters. As mentioned in 2.4.1, the sex/prestige pattern has been interpreted in various ways, for instance as indicating women's greater sensitivity to *standardness* or *correctness*, or as a result of women's role in the upbringing of children. As also mentioned, Milroy and Gordon (2003:102) have argued that women not only prefer but *create* prestige variants. Similarly, but in a specifically Irish context, Hickey (Dublin English, retrieved 26.03.15) has argued that 'fashionable' features in Dublin are not only preferred but invented by female speakers as a means of *dissociation* from local features (DubOld) and participating in modern urban life (see 2.1.3 and 2.4.1). Word-final retroflexion [ɻ] and especially a strong diphthong in GOAT are described by Hickey (2015) as particularly 'effeminate' features, again as a dissociation from the traditional monophthong in GOAT and the low rhoticity of local DubEng (see 2.1.6).

The sex/prestige pattern in Ireland, and as represented in Irish films, then, seems to be connected to traditional masculine/feminine gender roles reflected by accent use, more specifically use or non-use of particular features, like GOAT diphthonging. Hickey (Dublin English, 26.03.15) argues that using standard forms, or inventing 'fashionable' features, increases the social status of women, particularly in Dublin since the use of these features is motivated by dissociation from a local, low-status affiliation (see 2.4.1).

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4.3.2 Social status and gender

As already mentioned (see 4.2.2 above), social status was measured on the basis of occupation (see 2.4.2 and 3.2.2). The distribution of social status according to gender is presented in figure 4.8 below. This is not very interesting in itself since the status distribution is nearly identical in both gender groups, in keeping with the status distribution overall (see 4.4/figure 4.9), where there are twice as many low-status characters as high-status characters.

Fig 4.8 Status distribution by gender
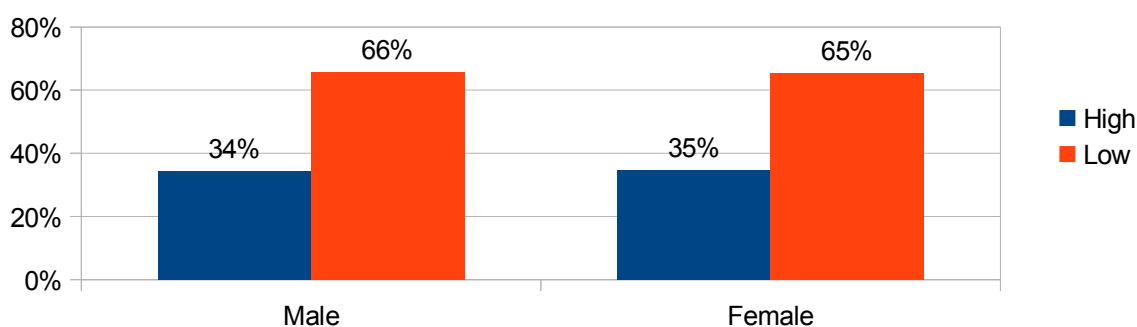
However, if we compare the status and accent distribution ordered according to gender (figures 4.7 vs 4.8), different patterns emerge in the two gender groups. As far as male characters are concerned, the status distribution is largely in keeping with the accent distribution, in the sense that the degree of variation is largely the same, and there is a majority of non-standard speakers and low-status characters. This is as expected based on the strong correlation between accent and social status which will be presented and discussed in 4.4. A more interesting pattern emerges if we compare the status and accent distribution among female characters. The accent distribution (figure 4.7), where two thirds of the female characters are standard speakers and one third non-standard speakers, is as expected based on the sex/prestige pattern. The degree of variation in terms of social status is largely the same, as in the male gender group, but (contrary to expectation) the other way round – two thirds are low-status and only one third high-status.

There may be various explanations to this. Firstly, it should be noted that relatively few female characters were included in the analysis. Also, since two thirds of the female

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characters are standard speakers and two thirds are low-status characters, it follows that many in the low-status group are standard speakers, despite of being low-status as defined in 3.2.2. In the real world, this could be interpreted in terms of female speakers using standard features to increase their social status and prestige, as discussed above (Dublin English, 26.03.15). In the film medium, however, this must be explained in terms of how the filmmakers want to portray women. The findings in this study seem to reflect the attitudes which have also been inferred from other societal treatment studies where females in general, of high or low social status, are mainly portrayed as linguistically standard.

4.4   Social status

Although social class seems to have 'fallen somewhat out of flavour in sociolinguistics these days' (Meyerhoff 2006:182), it was included in this study because, after all, many studies have found class-related linguistic variation (Fjeldsbø 2013:39). Social status has already been discussed in this chapter, but mainly in relation to the other non-linguistic variables (see 4.2.2 and 4.3.3 above). In this section we will briefly examine the overall distribution of social status and, more importantly, the correlation between accent and social status. Like the overall gender balance in the film corpus (see 4.3/figure 4.6 above), the overall distribution of social status as shown in figure 4.9 below is also uneven.
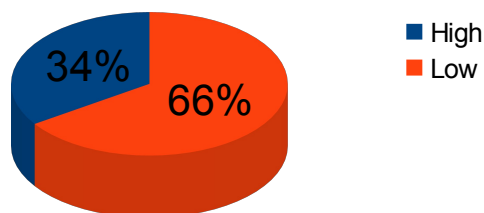

Fig 4.9 Overall status distribution (characters)

Figure 4.9 shows that 34% of the characters included in the analysis were categorised as high-status and 66% as low-status, mainly based on occupation (see 2.4.2 and 3.2.2). It should be mentioned that the low-status characters, like the non-standard standard speakers (see 4.1), are a large group with considerable internal differences, in this context different

occupations. It is fair to say that most of the low-status characters are *relatively* low-status, whereas characters who are unemployed or criminal, like Lehiff in *Intermission* (2003), are more *markedly* low-status. In light of these remarks, the status distribution may be seen as slightly more balanced. As in the discussion of accent, however, we will adhere to the previously made distinction, in this case the social categorisation into high and low status.

Based on previous sociolinguistic studies (see 2.3 and 2.4.2), it was expected that high-status characters would display more standard usage and, conversely, that low-status characters would display more non-standard usage (see H4 in 1.2). The accent distribution according to social status is presented in figure 4.10 below.

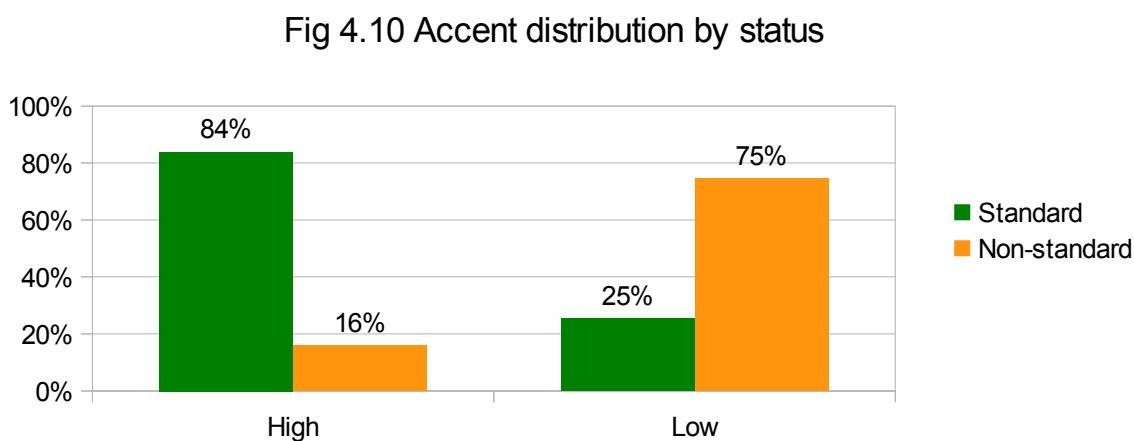## Fig 4.10 Accent distribution by status

Figure 4.10 shows that in the high-status group, 84% are standard speakers and only 16% non-standard speakers. In the low-status group, on the other hand, 25% are standard speakers and 75% non-standard speakers. In other words, as is evident from figure 4.10, there is a clear correlation between accent use and social status, more so than between accent use and genre (see 4.2.1/figure 4.3) or gender (see 4.3.1/figure 4.7). The correlation between social status and accent use is as expected, that is in line with H4. The finding that accent use correlates more closely with social status than with gender, however, is contrary to the the many recent studies that have found more salient gender differences and therefore have seen gender as prior to social class in explaining linguistic variation (see 2.4). Although there are indeed gender differences in accent use in the films included in this study (see above), there seems to be a stronger link between accent use and social status, or

more specifically occupation, this being the main basis of the social categorisation (see 2.4.2 and 3.2.2).

4.5   Discussion and conclusion

So far in this chapter we have examined the distribution of accent overall and according to the non-linguistic variables included in the study. It is therefore useful at this point to study the accent distribution ordered according to the non-linguistic categories separately. Thus we can get an overview of the accent distribution while keeping in mind the hypotheses presented in 1.2. Note that H1 (overall distribution) was discussed in 4.1 and will not be considered in this section. The other hypotheses, concerning correlations between accent use and the non-linguistic variables, will be repeated here for easy reference:

H2   *Genre differences:* Drama films will display more standard usage and dramedy films more non-standard usage.

H3   *Gender differences:* Female characters will use more standard usage and male characters more non-standard usage.

H4   *Social differences:* High-status characters will use more standard usage and low-status characters more non-standard usage.

The pie charts below are ordered in accordance with the hypotheses in the following way: Those concerning drama films, female gender and high status, the categories expected to correspond with standard accent, are placed to the left. The charts concerning the categories expected to correspond with *non*-standard accent, namely dramedy, male gender and low status, are placed to the right. Instead of reusing the diagrams above, the pie charts offer a more ordered view which allows to consider the accent distribution in light of the hypotheses. For the purpose of this discussion, these can be presented as follows:

(1)   Drama films, female characters and high status characters will display more standard accent use (as seen in the charts to the left).

(2)   Dramedy films, male characters and low-status characters will display more non-standard accent use (as seen in the charts to the right).
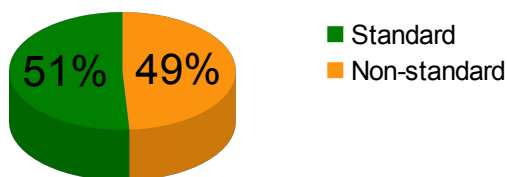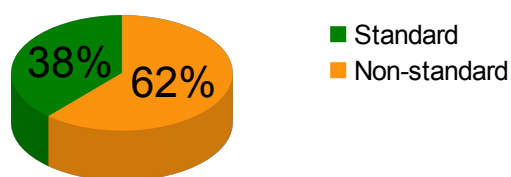
Fig 4.11 Accent distribution drama

- Standard: 51%
- Non-standard: 49%

Fig 4.12 Accent distribution dramedy

- Standard: 38%
- Non-standard: 62%

Fig 4.13 Accent distribution female

- Standard: 65%
- Non-standard: 35%
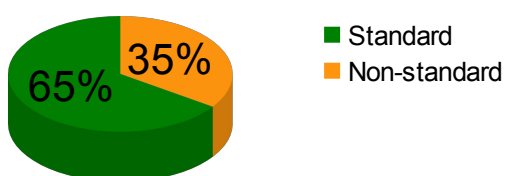
Fig 4.14 Accent distribution male

- Standard: 38%
- Non-standard: 63%
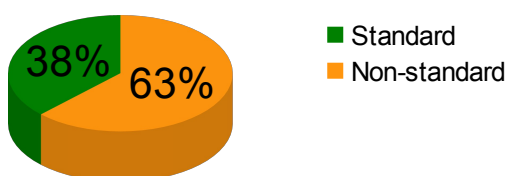
Fig 4.15 Accent distribution high status

- Standard: 84%
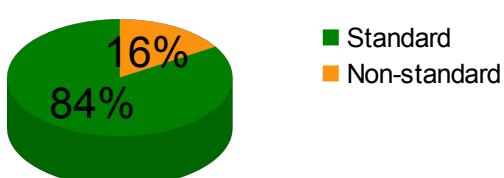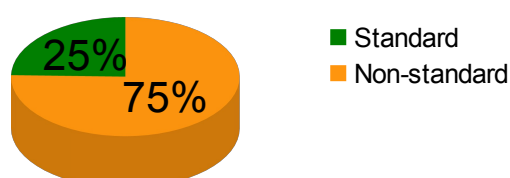- Non-standard: 16%

Fig 4.16 Accent distribution low status

- Standard: 25%
- Non-standard: 75%

When the pie charts are ordered in accordance with the hypotheses as seen (and explained) above, it is easy to notice the larger green areas in the charts to the left, representing more standard usage in the categories where this was expected (1), and conversely the larger orange areas in the charts to the right, representing more non-standard usage in the opposite categories (2). This observation tells us that the hypotheses presented above and in 1.2 are largely confirmed. If we calculate the overall percentages on both sides, there are twice as many standard speakers as non-standard speakers in the categories where this was expected (left side), and twice as many non-standard speakers in the opposite categories (right side).

It is also easy to notice that the green areas in the charts to the left (standard usage), and the orange areas in the charts to the left (non-standard usage), increase in size in moving downwards from genre through gender to social status. This observation, then, shows that the accent/genre correlation is rather weak. As mentioned, Fjeldsbø (2013:62) finds no such correlation in her study. The accent/gender correlation, however, is stronger and the accent/status correlation still stronger. The non-linguistic variable that best accounts for accent variation in the film corpus used in this study, then, seems to be social status. As

mentioned, the stronger correlation between accent and social status than between accent and gender was unexpected, in light of the comment that gender is now seen to better account for linguistic variation (see 2.4). It seems that gender and social status, factors that matter in real life, better account for accent variation than the film-specific genre variable.

5   Summary and concluding remarks

This final chapter aims to gather the threads from the previous chapters and place the study in a larger context. Sections 5.1 and 5.2 summarise the thesis in general and the findings from the previous chapter in particular. Section 5.3 then discusses some of the limitations and contributions of the study. Finally, section 5.4 provides some concluding remarks and suggestions for further research.

5.1   Summary of thesis

Chapter 1 introduced the present thesis in terms of aim and scope, variables and hypotheses, and why accent use in film is an interesting field of study. As mentioned, I expected to find systematic correlations between accent use (standard and non-standard Irish English as defined in 2.1.4) and the non-linguistic variables genre, gender and social status. More specifically, based on previous sociolinguistic and attitudinal research (see 2.3), I hypothesised that drama films, female characters and high-status characters would display more standard usage and, conversely, that the opposite categories would display more non-standard usage (see table 1.1).

Section 1.3 stated that filmmakers use accent as a *characterisation tool*, or 'a quick way to build character and reaffirm stereotype' (Lippi-Green 1997:81). Many studies have shown that accents carry social meanings and associations, in real life as well as in fiction. The observation that certain accents are assigned to certain character types is the reason why film and television are interesting sources from which to study language attitudes. Films were described as cultural documents reflecting the social values in society, including attitudes to language (Fjeldsbø 2013:2, Moltu 2014:1415).

Chapter 2 dealt with the theoretical background of the study. Section 2.1 introduced English in Ireland in terms of history, varieties and features. Section 2.1.4 defined the main varieties of Irish English in terms of standard and non-standard, and thus identified the linguistic variables of the study. Sections 2.1.5 and 2.1.6 then identified the lexical sets which were used to categorise linguistically the characters in the film corpus. It should be mentioned again that section 2.1 was largely based on the work of Hickey (2004, 2007).

Section 2.2 introduced the field of sociolinguistics, the concept of language attitudes (2.2.1) and the main approaches to studying language attitudes (2.2.2), most importantly societal treatment studies. As mentioned, this approach examines the *treatment* given to language varieties and their speakers (hence the term) in public domains like film and television. It was pointed out that since attitudes are a psychological construct and not directly observable, the researcher needs to *infer* language attitudes from *manifestations* of attitudes which are expressed, for instance, through accent use in film. Section 2.2.3 discussed language attitudes in a specifically Irish context, including some remarks on the BBC Voices study (Coupland and Bishop 2007).

Section 2.3 discussed some relevant previous studies, most importantly Walshe (2.3.1), Lippi-Green (2.3.2) and a number of MA theses (2.3.3) which are inspired by Lippi-Green, as is the present study. While *Irish English as Represented in Film* (Walshe 2009) was described as particularly relevant to this study, Lippi-Green (1997) and the various MA theses are more generally relevant in being societal treatment studies of accent use on the screen. At the end of chapter 2, section 2.4 discussed the non-linguistic variables included in the study, namely genre, gender and social status. These are the factors that were expected to have an effect on accent use in the films included in this study.

Chapter 3 described the data and method used in the study. Section 3.1 explained how Irish films were defined and sampled, before section 3.2 described how the characters in the film corpus were categorised, linguistically and socially. Section 3.2.3 addressed a few methodological challenges and concerns. Chapter 4 then presented and discussed the results of the data analysis. The main findings from chapter 4 are summarised in the following section.

5.2   Summary of findings

The previous chapter presented the results of the study. Section 4.1 first presented a relatively even overall distribution of accent (see figure 4.1), which disproved the expectation that standard usage would be dominant overall (H1). The majority of non-standard speakers is contrary to the many societal treatment studies that have found standard usage to be predominant (see 2.3). This finding could indicate that Irish films are not very concerned with political correctness or that the Irish have more positive attitudes to non-

standard accents.

While the accent distribution is almost completely even in the drama genre, two thirds of the characters in the dramedy genre are non-standard speakers (see figure 4.3). These findings are in line with expectations (H2) as far as dramedies are concerned, but not as far as drama films are concerned. H2 was then only partially supported. It was surprising that there is more non-standard usage in the dramedies included in this study than in the comedies examined by Fjeldsbø (2013), who generally found no correlation between accent use and genre.

Section 4.3 briefly discussed the overall gender distribution, where male characters outnumber females almost three to one (see figure 4.6). This is in line with (or actually less balanced than) the findings in previous attitudinal studies like Lippi-Green (1997) and Sønnesyn (2011). The accent distribution according to genre (see figure 4.7) showed that while two thirds of the male characters are non-standard speakers, two thirds of the female characters are standard speakers. This is in line with expectations (H3), based on the sex/prestige pattern (see 2.4.1) as attested in the mentioned studies including Fjeldsbø (2013). It was noted that the findings in this study seem to reflect the attitudes inferred from other societal treatment studies where females are mainly portrayed as linguistically standard. Considering the underrepresentation of 'fashionable' DubEng in the film corpus, it was also noted that the female characters, in being mainly standard speakers, are less linguistically variable than the male gender group, again in line with previous studies.

Section 4.4 first presented an uneven overall distribution of social status; two thirds of the characters in the film corpus were categorised as low-status (see figure 4.9), mainly based on occupation as explained in 3.2.2. Figure 4.10 then showed a clear correlation between accent use and social status, as the high-status group had a vast majority of standard speakers (84%) and the low-status a majority of non-standard speakers (75%). This finding confirmed the expectations (H4) to a higher degree than expected, considering that many studies have found gender to better account for accent variation (see 2.4).

Section 4.5 summarised the findings in light of the hypotheses presented in 1.2, and concluded that while the accent/genre correlation is rather weak, the accent/gender correlation is much stronger and the accent/status correlation very strong. In other words, while H1 (concerning overall distribution) was refuted in 4.1, the study found only partial

support for H2 (genre differences) but strong support for H3 and H4 (gender and social differences).

5.3   Limitations and contributions

Although some methodological concerns were briefly addressed in 3.2.3, it is in order to comment on some additional limitations of the study in general.

Irish films do not enjoy the global audience or the vast popularity of Disney films (cf. Lippi-Green 1997, Sønnesyn 2011), fantasy films (Moltu 2014) or American sitcoms (Vilkensen 2013). It is safe to say that Irish films are a far more narrow field of study and source of speech data. This is perhaps both a weakness and a strength. Although the findings can not be generalised to any great extent, they are nonetheless relevant in an Irish context, and show that some findings seem to be universal (cf. gender differences, that is the sex/prestige pattern), while others are not. As mentioned in 4.1, the larger number of non-standard speakers seems to make Irish films different in terms of language attitudes.

As discussed in 4.2, more drama films than dramedies were sampled (the films were categorised as drama/dramedy after they were sampled since it is problematic to decide on genre before watching the films). However, the larger average number of characters included in the analysis in the dramedies made up for some of the imbalance. There is also a certain gender imbalance since relatively few female characters were included in the analysis. This is partly due to the specific film sample, but it would be unfair to sample the films according to gender criteria.

As mentioned in 3.2.3, it was sometimes difficult to operationalise the social status variable by means of labelling various occupations as high or low status. While the genre and gender variables are naturally binary, perhaps it would have been fruitful to operate with three social categories. Bratteli (2011:60) also addresses the concern that his variables are divided into binary categories. He states that 'this potentially leads to a large number of quite different characters being lumped together in the same category, which in turn could be said to take away the uniqueness of the different characters'. This is countered by the point that 'the more categories there are, the harder it is to place something in the "correct" category and [the] fuzzy cases would still be present' (ibid).

Generally, as addressed by Fjeldsbø (2013:67), subjectivity is a main concern. The films were sampled on objective criteria, with no consideration given to my own preferences. The genre labels are based on recognised genre differences (see 2.4.3) and in keeping with IMDb (as mentioned in 3.1.3), and the gender distinction is also objective. The accent categorisation described in 3.2.1 was based on the varieties and lexical sets in Hickey (2004, 2007), as explained in 2.1, and the social categorisation based on occupation as discussed in 3.2.2. Although much effort was put in following the established criteria as closely as possible, the linguistic and social categorisation of the characters was ultimately based on my own judgement. The auditory analysis, as mentioned in 3.2.3, was supported by independent analyses done by my supervisors. It should be noted that no instrumental methods were used and the findings were not tested for statistical significance, mainly due to the scope and time frame of the study, and the general framework conditions of an MA thesis.

The previous chapter presented, discussed and attempted to explain the findings of the study. As with all sociolinguistic research, one needs to speculate. To my experience, as noted in 4.3.1, there are not many other studies that examine, for instance, gender-related accent variation in an Irish context. This is one of the contributions of the study. Another contribution is the thorough examination of the various descriptions of features of Irish English (ranging from Wells 1982 to Walshe 2009) and the categorisation of these in terms of standard/non-standard. This is useful to others who might wish to study Irish English.

5.4   Conclusion and further research

Due to the above discussed limitations, I have not been able to make generalisations to any great extent (as mentioned in 3.2.3). However, I hope that the study may have inspired in the reader an interest in Irish English, understanding of accent use and characterisation in film, and awareness around language attitudes in general. I also hope that the present study may, in some respects, inspire future MA theses and serve as a point of departure for similar studies.

A few suggestions for further research might therefore be of interest. Considering the concerns that were addressed in the previous section, there are many ways in which this study could have been improved or expanded. One idea is a similar study of Northern Irish

films or other sources of speech data which allow for a societal treatment study of Northern Irish English. Another idea is to generally expand the scope of the study by including many more films. This has been done by Walshe (2009; see 2.3.1) but not with the same aim as the present study. As mentioned in 2.3.1, Walshe is concerned with *authenticity* and not so much sociolinguistic variation and language attitudes. At any rate, expanding the film sample would make the results more reliable and conclusive, and allow for more discussion and generalisation. Taking other character traits into account (see 2.3.3) could also provide additional insights into language attitudes.

A general suggestion is to study accent use in films of any national origin. So far, Ireland has been studied in this thesis and Australia by Fjeldsbø (2013), but as mentioned one could expand the film sample and thus the scope of the study. Relevant English-speaking countries are of course Northern Ireland, Scotland, England (see Lund 2009), the US and New Zealand. It could also be interesting to study the stereotyping of Irish characters in general, by means of accent and otherwise, in non-Irish (British and perhaps mainly American) films. In this regard, Hickey (2007) and Walshe (2009) are sources of great interest.

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Inside I'm Dancing (2004). Dir. Damien O'Donnell. Universal Pictures.

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