«Ge[ʔ]ing be[t]er»

Accent variation and change in Inverness English

Evita Svardal Vedå

"The Highlands, you'll be able to tell by the accents from up here, we're fairly clear. Hopefully."

Jamie, Inverness

Master's Thesis in English Linguistics

Department of Foreign Languages

University of Bergen

May 2015

ABSTRACT IN NORWEGIAN

Denne masteroppgåva utforskar fonologisk variasjon og endring i språket i det skotske høglandet sin hovudstad, Inverness. Det er frå før utført særs få studiar i dette området av Skottland. Målet med denne studien er å undersøkje i kor stor grad det er variasjon mellom informantar, i to forskjellige aldersgrupper, med fokus på sju fonologiske variablar. I tillegg til å ha fokus på variasjon og endring, nemner studien fonologiske trekk ved Inverness-engelsk (InvEng), og undersøkjer om InvEng har vorte påverka av språkendringar i andre skotske eller britiske byar. Dette konseptet er kjend som *levelling*, eller *utjamning*, og resultata frå studien vert diskuterte i lys av dette temaet. Studien fokuserer òg på om InvEng utviklar seg meir i retning av ein standardisert variant (Scottish Standard English). Hovudbakgrunnen for oppgåva er Shuken (1984) si studie «Highlands and Islands», som er den einaste studien som, til ein viss grad, forklarar korleis høglandsdialekter er forventa å høyrast ut.

Dei sju fonologiske variablane er valde ut i frå nylege trendar i endringar i skotske og britiske byar. TH-Fronting, til dømes [fɪŋk] for *think,* og L-Vocalisation, til dømes [mɪʊk] for *milk*, er London-trekk som har vorte spreidde til engelske byar. Desse trekka er òg funne i låglandsbyar i Skottland, som Edinburgh og Glasgow. T-Glottaling, til dømes [wɒʔəɹ] for *water,* er vanleg i Sør-England, men har tidlegare òg vorte nemnd som eit skotsk aksenttrekk. The Wine-whine merger, erstatning av den tradisjonelt skotske varianten [ʍ] med [w] i *wh*-ord, og R-Dropping, tap av [r] etter vokalar, er døme på endringar som er nemnde i samband med nyleg utvikling i skotsk-engelsk, det same gjeld diftongisering av FACE og GOAT som tradisjonelt sett vert uttalde med monoftongane [e] og [o] i skotsk-engelsk.

Resultata frå denne studien viser at i nokre tilfelle har den 'nye' varianten fått fotfeste i InvEng. Det er lite bruk av TH-Fronting, R-Dropping, L-Vocalisation og GOAT-diftongisering for begge aldersgruppene, men for T-Glottaling, The Wine-whine merger og FACE-diftongisering er tala mykje høgare. Dei yngste har høgast tal for dei nye variantane, men dei eldre har òg ganske stor bruk, spesielt av [ʔ] og [w]. Lite kan seiast om kjønnsvariasjonar, då det er få mannlege informantar med i studien, og resultata varierer med kvar variabel. I nokre tilfelle kan det verke som om InvEng er vorte påverka av aksentutjamning frå andre skotske og engelske byar.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

CE	Cardiff English
EdinEng	Edinburgh English
EE	Estuary English
InvEng	Inverness English
MC	Middle-class
MUE	Mid Ulster English
NIE	Northern Irish English
NORM	Non-Mobile Older Rural Males
RP	Received Pronunciation
SSE	Scottish Standard English
SUE	South Ulster English
US	Ulster Scots
WC	Working-class

1. INTRODUCTION

1.1 Aim and scope

The present thesis aims to investigate the accent of the biggest city of the Scottish Highlands: Inverness. Inverness is known as the capital of the Highlands, and is often referred to by its inhabitants as the fastest growing city in Europe. Very little linguistic research has been carried out in the Scottish Highlands, and therefore little is known about the accents there. Inverness English (henceforth InvEng) is one of the many accents of the Scottish Highlands, and this thesis aims to define and describe features of that accent. The main descriptive account of this linguistic area comes from Shuken's (1984) article "Highlands and Islands", which is, to my knowledge, the only study that to some extent describes what a Highland accent is expected to sound like. However, the article mainly focuses on the accents on the Scottish Islands of Lewis, Harris and Skye, and the Highland accents are to some extent expected to follow the same patterns. Thus, another important part of this thesis is to discover whether or not one particular accent of the Scottish Highlands differs from Shuken's descriptions of Island accents. Additionally, this thesis compares InvEng to accents of the Scottish Lowlands, where plenty of research has been carried out over the years. This is done in order to discover whether changes happening in the Scottish Lowlands are moving north and influencing a Highland accent as well. Recent British trends have been known to influence Scottish Lowland cities, especially the cities of Glasgow and Edinburgh, and if InvEng follows the same pattern, this could indicate that the accent is changing towards a more English-English pronunciation. The accent could also be changing in a different direction, towards a more standardised way of speaking (i.e. towards Scottish Standard English (SSE)), and thus sticking with a traditional Scottish pronunciation.

This thesis is a small scale study into InvEng, and data from two generations of native Invernessians has been collected. Differences between these groups are discussed in relation to language variation and change, and the speech of one group represents a different time period than the speech of the other group. These differences can be interpreted as indication of change (cf. Milroy and Gordon 2003). Thus, *age* is one of

the extralinguistic variables considered in this study. Additionally, *gender* will be looked into, in order to discover whether there are any differences in usage between males and females. The social class of the informants is also briefly mentioned. Emphasis is placed on the process of accent levelling, by which differences between regional varieties disappear, and distinctive features of accents are reduced, thus making accents more similar (cf. Foulkes and Docherty 1999).

Seven phonological variables were chosen for the purpose of discovering variation and change in InvEng. TH-Fronting and L-Vocalisation were previously typical of London 'Cockney' speech, but have spread throughout England, and are now found, to some extent, in Scotland as well. Most Scottish accents are rhotic, and non-prevocalic <r> is realised in speech; R-Dropping is included as a variable in order to discover whether English-English has influenced InvEng. T-Glottaling is known to be typical of London 'Cockney' English, and is also associated with urban Scottish accents. Recent change shows that this feature is increasing in usage, especially in casual contexts. The three remaining variables; the Wine-whine merger, FACE diphthongisation and GOAT diphthongisation, are standard in southern English-English, but are not typical of Scottish English, and may or may not appear in InvEng.

Since no studies have, to my knowledge, been carried out in Inverness, and there are few studies from the Highlands and Islands in general, there are many things that need to be included in the present thesis. The aims are presented in list-form below. This is done in order to clarify, and to be explicit about what is included in the present study.

This thesis aims to

- Describe and define selected features of InvEng
- Compare one Highland accent (InvEng) with the previous descriptions of Highland and Island accents
- Discover if the accent follows recently described patterns of change in Lowland Scottish accents
- Discover if the accent follows recently described British trends
- Discover if the accent is changing towards a more standardised variety (SSE)

All these things need to be considered, because there are no previous studies from this area, and therefore the present thesis is an attempt at starting to fill the research gap that exists as far as the Highland and Island accents are concerned.

1.2 Research questions and hypotheses

The research questions and hypotheses are as follows.

Research questions

With so little background research about the Highland and Island accents, the overall question for this thesis becomes "what does an investigation of the chosen phonological variables tell us about accent variation and change in Inverness English?" This question must be kept in mind while considering the three, more specific, questions below.

1. Two social categories will be considered in this thesis; age and gender. Age-related variation may be an indicator of change in progress, and males and females are known to behave differently when it comes to adopting new variants (cf. chapter 4). Are there any differences in usage between the two genders or between the younger group and the older group when it comes to the seven variables of this thesis?

2. Research literature often equates the accents of English spoken in the Highlands with the accents spoken in the Hebrides (Highlands and Islands). Does the data from speakers of InvEng strengthen this claim, or are there notable differences between InvEng and previous descriptions of Islands accents?

3. If the InvEng accent is found to have traits that do not fit previous descriptions; does the accent of Inverness more closely resemble the accents spoken in the Scottish Lowlands than the accents of the Islands? And could this point towards

InvEng being influenced by the process of accent levelling and/or general British trends?

Hypotheses

1. Previous studies into language variation and change in Britain suggest that an analysis of phonological variables will show age- and gender-related variation. It is therefore realistic to assume that there will be differences between the two age groups and the two genders in InvEng.

2. The literature suggests that Highland accents should have several features in common with the accents spoken in the Hebrides. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that InvEng is similar to Island accents. However, given the lack of previous research into the accents of the Highlands, it is difficult to predict whether this is the case or not. Therefore the null-hypothesis is chosen: there are no notable differences between the accents in these two regions. The data then has the potential to reject the null-hypothesis.

3. If the accent of Inverness (contrary to Hypothesis 2) differs from that of the Islands, it is likely that it has several features in common with the urban accents of the Lowlands, which will most likely be due to the process of accent levelling and/or general British trends.

1.3 Structural notes

The present thesis is divided into six chapters. The introduction presents the aims and scope of the thesis, as well as the research questions and hypotheses. Chapter 2 includes sociolinguistic framework, linguistic background and previous studies. The first part of the chapter focuses on linguistic theory, including accent levelling and previous studies on accent levelling in Britain. The subsequent section presents general descriptions and previous studies of Scottish Lowland accents. The final part of the chapter presents the Highlands and Islands as a linguistic area, and includes descriptions of Highland and

Island English (mostly based on Shuken (1984)). The phonological descriptions are mainly concerned with the seven variables that are under investigation in the present thesis. Structuring chapter 2 was difficult due to the fact that there are few studies from the Highlands and Islands in general, and much more information can be found about Lowland Scottish English. The chapter has been structured so that the reader may find descriptions of Lowland accents and previous studies in the same linguistic area in the same section, and then move on to reading what is known about the Highlands and Islands in the following section. This is done in order to make the presentation of the theoretical information easier to follow.

Chapter 3 presents the linguistic variables chosen for the study. The subsequent chapter is concerned with material and method. The first part of the chapter presents information about data collection, the sociolinguistic interview, the reading passage and sentences used to collect data, and finally the informants who took part in the study. The next section of the chapter focuses on methodology and presents the method for data analysis and token classifications for all the linguistic variables. The final part of chapter 4 presents the extralinguistic variables; *age, gender* and *social class*.

Chapter 5 includes the results of each of the phonological variables in separate sections. The results are discussed in relation to the aforementioned aims of the thesis, as well as in relation to the research questions and hypotheses. The sixth and final chapter of the thesis includes concluding remarks and attempts to answer the research questions and hypotheses proposed in the present chapter, followed by the shortcomings of the thesis. It then goes on to suggest further research in relation to Inverness English and Highlands and Islands in general, in addition to mentioning the contributions made by the present study to the field of linguistic research.

2. LINGUISTIC THEORY AND PREVIOUS RESEARCH

2.1 Theory

In the 1960s, William Labov pioneered the field which is today known as sociolinguistics. Since the field itself is so big, studies that are concerned with accent variation and change, such as the present one, have often been referred to as *variationist sociolinguistics* (cf. Milroy and Gordon 2003: 1). The following chapter presents the linguistic theory and previous research that form the basis of this study. Sections 2.1.1-2.1.5 present the relevant linguistic theory for the thesis, followed by section 2.2 which gives an overview of the previous research that this thesis is based on.

2.1.1 Accent variation and change

Variationist sociolinguists "seek to uncover relationships among social and linguistic variables" (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 136), and this implies that language is studied in relation to different social categories like gender, age and social class. Meyerhoff (2011: 137) states that understanding language change has been the focus of variationist sociolinguistics from the beginning. However, the way in which language is studied has developed a lot since the beginning of sociolinguistics back in the 1960s. Traditional dialectology selected the conservative and rural speakers (Non-Mobile Older Rural Males or NORMs) in order to study their accents, and consequently ignored the people living in cities, as their accents were not considered to be 'genuine' or 'pure' (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 16). More recent studies (variationist studies) are described by Milroy and Gordon as

> employing the concept of the linguistic variable […] [they] examine alternative linguistic forms, seeing this alternation as a significant property of language rather than admitting the concept of 'pure' or 'genuine' dialect (2003: 16).

Other advances have also been made in relation to the way in which language variation and change is studied. After his survey of Martha's Vineyard (1963), Labov realised

that "by comparing older and younger speakers, a researcher could obtain a window into the long-term changes that linguists traditionally studied at a much greater distance in time" (Meyerhoff 2011: 25). It then became possible to study change in progress, while previously it was believed that change could only be studied once it had happened (2011: 25).

One part of studying accent variation and change is understanding *how* accents differ from each other. Wells (1982: 73-80) states that accents differ primarily in four areas; phonetic realisation, phonotactic distribution, phonemic systems and lexical distribution. Realisational differences refer to the several different realisations that a linguistic variable may have. The way different speakers use monophthongs and diphthongs is an example of this. For instance, diphthongal FACE and GOAT is common in southern England, whereas they are traditionally monophthongal in Scotland. Phonotactic distribution is also relevant for the present thesis. This refers to the fact that accents differ "in the environments in which particular phonemes do or do not occur" (Wells 1982: 75), and the phonotactic distribution is the set of phonetic contexts where a phoneme may occur. For instance, in a rhotic accent /r/ may occur in non-prevocalic position, whereas they are deleted from these particular contexts in non-rhotic accents. Phonemic systems and lexical distribution suggest that certain varieties have their own systems that vary systematically from other accents, and that there is variation between which phonemes are selected for representation of particular words or morphemes (Wells 1982: 77-80). The variables under investigation in the present thesis vary in phonetic realisation or phonotactic distribution, and phonemic systems and lexical distribution are less relevant here.

Understanding *why* accents differ, is also an important part of studying language variation and change. Wells states that the fundamental reason why accents differ, is that languages change. The popular layman view is that language change equals language decay and corruption, and that change is mainly caused by human laziness and sloppiness (1982: 94). Change, however, may happen in many different ways, some of which are outlined below. Although the layman view that human laziness and sloppiness causes change is incorrect, it is not entirely misguided. The principle of least effort is where speakers pronounce things the in the way that involves the least articulatory effort (while still maintaining intelligibility), and sometimes this might lead

to a change in the distribution of different phonemes (for instance by using a voiced/tapped /t/ or a glottal realisation [ʔ] instead of the alveolar plosive [t]). Language change may also happen as a result of assimilation where "a sound is made more similar to the sounds constituting its phonetic environment" (Wells 1982: 96), or by simplification of less 'natural' sounds (such as [θ] and [ð] becoming [f] and [v]).

It may also be important to understand why innovations in language spread. There are two possibilities for new variants; they might catch on, or they might be stillborn. If they do catch on they might do so in one particular area, and continue to spread throughout various accents of English. The usage of the new variable may, on the other hand, only be restricted to a small group of speakers and consequently die out with said speakers. When it comes to new variants a lot comes down to whether or not they are considered *fashionable* (Wells 1982: 103-104). Innovations generally arise in large cities and spread outwards to other cities, then towns and finally villages. This is why country speech is more conservative, and city speech is 'up-to-date' (1982: 104). Innovations may also spread from speakers of the higher social classes, who are considered to define the standards of speech, to people belonging to lower social classes. Sometimes, however, the opposite may be the case, and the features of the speech of the lower social classes, spread into the speech of the higher social classes. One reason for this development may be that there is prestige attached to the accent of large cities (even lower class accents within large cities), and this can lead to adaptation of characteristic features by speakers elsewhere.

2.1.2 Investigating accent variation and change

It is important for the researcher to identify the relevant linguistic variables for the area under investigation (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 136). Previous research into accent variation and change in Scotland has shown some general trends that are happening in the cities in the Lowlands (see section 2.2.2), and the variables for this thesis were chosen on the basis of these studies. Features that are not considered local to Scotland (TH-Fronting, R-Dropping, the Whine-wine merger and diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT) are reported to be on the increase in the Lowlands, and it is therefore relevant to see if a Highland city follows the same pattern. T-Glottaling in Scotland can be

problematic. The feature is commonly associated with the London 'Cockney' accent (Hughes et al. 2012: 75), but it has also been claimed to be a well-known Scottish feature, especially in Glaswegian (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007: 232). It is therefore appropriate to include this feature in the study. L-Vocalisation has also been included in recent linguistic studies in Scotland, and it has been noted to be on the increase, especially in Glasgow (see for example Stuart-Smith et al. 2007). This feature is also included in the analysis.

The linguistic variables may differ according to "social parameters (age, sex, social class, ethnicity), stylistic parameters (casual, careful, formal), and/or linguistic parameters (segmental, suprasegmental)" (Feagin 2013: 22). Milroy and Gordon write that "variationist sociolinguistics seek to uncover relationships between social and linguistic variables" (2003: 136). This suggests that it could be useful to include some social parameters in this thesis. The final stage in the analytic process is to put the linguistic results in context with their social distribution (2006: 137). The two main social variables in this thesis are age and gender. In addition the social class of the informants is considered, but to a lesser extent than the other two (see chapter 4 for more detail on the extralinguistic variables). Tagliamonte (2012) writes that

> [...] linguistic data from different age groups in the speech community, or different communities in the same country, or even communities in different countries in different circumstances, provide important evidence for understanding how language change may be happening (2012: 8).

This is an indication of how important it is to include social variables in a study. Tagliamonte continues to say that the context in which the variables occur (their patterns of use), is key to understanding linguistic change (2012: 8-9).

Feagin (2013) also mentions style and how linguistic variables may differ according to this parameter. According to Schilling, stylistic variation has always been a component of variationist sociolinguistics, but not always a central focus (2013: 327). She writes that

> under the original Labovian formulation, stylistic variation was held to be on offshoot of social group variation, especially social class, with speakers using variants associated with upper class groups in more formal situations and those

associated with lower social class groups in more casual, relaxed settings (2013: 327).

In recent years style has become an important factor in variationist sociolinguistics, as the researchers began to understand the importance of "social factors pertaining to audience in shaping speech style" (2013: 327). The present thesis will include stylistic variation within different degrees of formality. Labov's (1972a) first variationist investigations were focused on capturing people's 'natural' or 'casual' speech, and he therefore developed the sociolinguistic interview. These interviews are considered informal, since the speakers are able to talk freely, and as long as they like about certain topics. The aim is to obtain a flow of casual conversation and to "steer the interviewees' attention away from speech itself toward the subject matter of their talk" (Schilling 2013: 329). However, the degree of informality of the recorded speech is debatable (Feagin 2013: 26). Despite all attempts at making them feel comfortable, the informants are still in an interview setting, and it may be difficult for them to feel relaxed in such a situation, especially with a recording device present. Eckert (2000) writes that speakers are adaptable in research and non-research contexts, and therefore they may shape their speech in a sociolinguistic interview, as well as in other speech events in their daily interactions. This means that although they might alter their speech in some sense while being interviewed, this may also be what they do in everyday situations. Furthermore, Feagin suggests that with the advances in technology, recording devices are becoming less obtrusive and more commonplace (2013: 26). In addition to the conversational speech, sociolinguistic interviews "originally included a series of additional tasks designed to yield increasingly self-conscious, careful and hence standard speech" (Schilling 2013: 329). Reading passages, word lists or minimal pairs are included in order to obtain this kind of speech. The idea of it is that speech style depends on how much attention is paid to the speech itself rather than the topic of conversation. This way casual and non-standard speech would be less self-conscious, whereas self-conscious styles are more formal and adhering to standard language varieties (Schilling 2013: 330). Schilling states that although patterning formal vs. informal styles yields important information about language variation and change, the main reason for eliciting different styles is to identify each individual's least self-conscious style; their vernacular (2013: 330-331).

When it comes to measuring the usage of the variables, "the counting should proceed in accordance with the *principle of accountability*" (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 137). This principle states that a researcher must not choose to include only those variants of a variable that confirm their argument, and ignore the ones which do not. All variants of the variable must be included in order to establish whether the variant remains stable or whether it is in the process of change (2003: 137). After this, the search for patterns may begin.

2.1.3 Accent levelling

One of the processes that normally are used in order to explain language variation and change is the process of levelling. Levelling is defined by Williams and Kerswill as "a process whereby differences between regional varieties are reduced, features which make varieties distinctive, disappear, and new features emerge and are adopted by speakers over a wide geographical area" (Foulkes and Docherty 1999: 13). This could in effect mean that accents are becoming more and more similar, since the distinctive features are disappearing. However, levelling is different from standardisation, since the speakers do not always abandon their local features in preference for the standard, but often adopt features that are considered non-standard. There seems to be tension between the speakers' desire to signal loyalty to their own community by using local speech norms, and the urge to appear outward-looking or more cosmopolitan (Foulkes and Docherty 1999: 13). In order to achieve the latter, speakers may avoid features that are particularly connected to their local forms, while at the same time adopting non-local features. In addition, it seems to be important that the non-local features do not signal another well-defined variety, because this may also signal disloyalty to local norms (1999: 14). Milroy and Gordon state that levelling may create a pressure towards linguistic convergence, but this does not mean that the communities that undergo this process lose their linguistic distinctiveness. It can lead to "tension between pressures toward supralocalism and homogenization on the one hand and the desire of speech communities to maintain a distinctive social and linguistic identity on the other" (2003: 132). In addition, Milroy and Gordon state that even though speakers want to sound (for instance) Welsh or Irish, and distinguish themselves from the social groups they see

themselves as opposing, this might not be sufficient for keeping their local features (2003: 132). They write that "motivations alone appear to be insufficient to maintain non-standard patterns reliably, since spreading supralocal varieties often engulf minority dialects contrary to the desires of their speakers to maintain distinctiveness" (2003: 132).

Local norms do not always survive and Milroy and Gordon suggest that

if a close-knit community network structure loosens and members become mobile, levelling and simplification processes follow naturally as the social and cognitive prerequisites for supporting highly localised norms disappear (2003: 132).

This means that the community's sense of distinctiveness weakens, in addition to the fact that the speakers lack the regular input needed in order to maintain the variety. Inverness is a city that has grown rapidly in recent years. From 2001 to 2011 the city's population grew by 17.8 percent, compared to the Highland average of 11.1 percent (The Highland Council census report 2014), but even before this, the city was commonly known as one of the fastest growing cities in Europe (several of the informants who took part in this study elaborated on this subject). Informants mentioned that only 20-30 years ago the area was much smaller, and it was not until 2000 that Inverness was awarded city status (BBC 2000). With this rapid growth came immigrants from Europe, in addition to newcomers from all over Scotland and the rest of the UK. These newcomers brought their own accents with them and today Inverness is a city of various accents and tongues. This means that despite the fact that Inverness is situated in the Highlands of Scotland, it does not necessarily mean that the accent spoken there is representative of other Highland accents (as other Highland towns or cities may have fewer newcomers, and thus less direct influence from other accents). One of the informants who had spent some years abroad elaborated on the change she noticed when she came back

Isobel: eh and you found I fou- I just found that really there were very few i-it s-
seemed to me when I was listening around town few people that I knew
and few people that were speaking with an a-an Invernessian or a
Highland accent it all seemed to be either English or g- central belt

Scotland you know Glasgow because as I said they'd all moved into the area.

The huge influx of people from all over Scotland might have had an impact on how susceptible the accent is to levelling. The community is not as tight-knit as it might have been several years ago when it mainly consisted of people who were born and bred in Inverness. Another informant talked about these changes:

Graham: but now y-you recognise fewer people of course, but eh, it's a much bigger town, you know, and the spread of houses eh, housing estates, quite anonymous housing estates you know where, where there's no real sense of community, you know? There's less sense of community now in in Inverness I think than before, you know.

A number of studies have shown accent levelling in the UK, and as very few people in the UK speak Received Pronunciation (RP), the rest of the population has some form of regional accent. Sometimes these may be put into broad categories like 'northern' 'Welsh' or 'Scottish', but this does not mean that there is just one 'Welsh' accent or one 'Scottish' accent. Hughes et al. state that this

means only that speakers in one area – say Wales - , have enough pronunciation features in common with each other which are not shared with speakers of other areas for us to say of someone we hear speaking 'He's from Wales' (2012: 10).

Since there are, to my knowledge, no studies from Inverness itself, the changes in the surrounding areas, or Britain in general, may give an indication of change that could be happening there as well. The following section presents some of the recent changes that have happened in Britain.

2.1.4 Variation and change in Britain

The glottal stop has been widely stigmatised and often characterised as 'ugly' or 'sloppy' (Hughes et al. 2012: 67). Despite the stigma attached to it, it is now found in

almost all regions of the UK, and it is particularly associated with younger urban working-class (WC) speakers (2012: 67). Hughes et al. report that even young RP speakers are now adopting the feature in certain contexts, which shows that the highly stigmatised feature has even made it into a standard dialect (2012: 67). Milroy et al (1999) discovered an increase in the use of glottal stops in Newcastle, and although this is not a characteristic feature of the Newcastle accent they concede that it reflects a change happening all over Britain, where the glottal stop is found in accents where it did not appear earlier. They also reported that in places like Derby, Norwich and Milton Keynes, where the glottal stop was already established as a part of the rural and urban working class accent feature, the stops were "[…] reported to be spreading into the speech of higher status speakers or into more formal styles" (1999: 39).

TH-Fronting is mentioned as a Cockney feature by Upton and Widdowson, but they also mention that in the Survey of English Dialects, which took place between 1950 and 1960, TH-Fronting was discovered to some extent in south-west England. They even mention that there are nineteenth century records that report the usage of this feature even as far north as Yorkshire (2006: 55). They conclude that this feature should thus not be regarded local only to southern English regions. Stoddart et al. (1999) found that both [f] and [v] are possible realisations of the dental fricatives [θ] and [ð] for younger speakers in Sheffield. This is backed up by a recent master's thesis from the University of Bergen, where Fatnes (2014) finds an increase in TH-Fronting in Sheffield, which suggests that the accent is changing towards a more southern pronunciation.

L-Vocalisation is mentioned by Beal as a "very recent development in London English" (2010: 20). She also writes that the feature has spread geographically throughout the southeast of England, in addition to its spread socially into Estuary English (EE), and even RP. Beal states that both Wells and Trudgill believe that L-Vocalisation will become the norm in England, but it is also mentioned that the feature may not spread throughout the country. This is due to the fact that it is the dark [ɫ] that is vocalised, and it is more likely that the feature will take over in places where the boundaries between clear [l] and dark [ɫ] are not maintained (for instance in the North-East of England) (2010: 20).

A master thesis from the University of Bergen looks into variation and change in the accent of the Midlands' town of Northampton (Bonness 2011). Bonness aimed to uncover data from an area of England that had previously not been given much attention, in addition to investigate the claimed geographical spread of EE. She focused on five consonantal features; L-Vocalisation, Yod Coalescence, T-Glottaling, TH-Fronting and H-Dropping. Her results show that Northampton has been affected by the rapid spread of EE, and London accent features have been adopted into the local accent (See Bonness 2011 chapter 4). It is thus likely that the accent of Northampton has been influenced by the speech of the surrounding areas, and the process of accent levelling.

When it comes to language change in Wales and especially in the Welsh capital Cardiff, there has been a trend of increasing glottalisation. Mees and Collins' (1999) real-time study of Cardiff English (henceforth CE), uncovered an increase in glottalisation among middle-class (MC) speakers. The feature seemed to be considered a prestigious feature and young MC females where leading the change. However, they found little evidence that the feature had entered the speech of the WC, where "glottalisation remained sporadic" (1999: 195). Mees and Collins conclude that glottalisation may be attractive to ambitious CE speakers "because it represents, at a subconscious level, a move away from local Welsh characteristics towards a more sophisticated and fashionable speech" (1999: 201). In addition they state that glottalisation is associated with metropolitan London life, and that many Cardiff speakers look away from Wales towards England, and consider the glottal stop to be a prestige feature (1999: 201). They also mention some other changes that seem to be associated with this look towards England. The originally monophthongal FACE and GOAT have changed into having diphthongal glides. They attribute these changes to the "movement away from Welsh-accented speech and towards south-eastern varieties" (1999: 201).

Finally, Corrigan (2010) focuses on the English spoken in Northern Ireland. She states that in Ulster Scots (US), Mid Ulster English (MUE) and South Ulster English (SUE) the pronunciation of GOAT is monophthongal, and that although there is some variation within US, there is no reported diphthongisation of these types of words in MUE and SUE (2010: 37). In FACE words she reports that [e] is most common in Northern Irish English (NIE) and US, especially in formal situations. In informal

contexts, a study by McCafferty (1999: 248) observes that Catholics in (London)Derry prefer [ɪ], whereas young Protestants are innovating towards the Belfast standard [iə], a feature that has spread to "the urban west and as well as to more rural northern Coleraine and Articlave" (Corrigan 2010: 34). Corrigan mentions that in many vernaculars in The Republic of Ireland both [θ] and [ð] are replaced by dental stops [t] and [d]. However, when it comes to NIE and US, Corrigan writes that the fricatives are usually retained, and the use of dental stops north of the border is unusual, except in a few areas (2010: 41). TH-Fronting is not reported in NIE or US, but Corrigan mentions that two of her younger speakers variably fronted [θ] and [ð]. She continues to say that the phenomenon needs further investigation, but that after a talk with primary school children and teachers in Belfast she found out that these variables are present even in quite young children, and that it is perceived as 'cool' (2010: 41). This could mean that TH-Fronting will become more widespread in the future. /t/ is reported as being dental in most cases, or sometimes tapped in /r/ contexts such as *writers*. Corrigan mentions that Kingsmore (2006) discovered that in Coleraine, [tʔ] is used in polite rural speech, whereas [ʔ] is an uncorrected rural form used within the community. Most importantly, however, is that it is used as a marker of female identity, and it is on the increase among younger speakers (2010: 43). Phonological data for the realisation of /l/ suggests no variation across regional or social space, and the clear /l/ is thought to be the main variable all over Northern Ireland. However, dark [ɫ] exists in Belfast, and in the rural north and west, and it is believed to be a recent newcomer with several social connotations (Corrigan 2010: 44). In Tyrone L-Vocalisation occurs, and especially with middle-aged speakers; these also may drop the /l/ altogether (2010: 45). NIE and US are firmly rhotic, and Corrigan does not report any R-Dropping. The distinction between [ʍ] and [w] is also kept, however, it is seen as a rural feature, and Corrigan finds that both her younger and older female speakers from Belfast all use [w] for <wh>. Outside of the city, even the younger speakers use [ʍ], and there is retention of the variant for middle-aged and older speakers in US, SUE and MUE (2010: 46).

2.1.5 Apparent time studies

A distinction can be made between real time and apparent time studies. The real time studies "compare the way people talk at one point in time with the way they talk a decade, or a generation, or a hundred years later"(Meyerhoff 2011: 135). These types of studies are naturally time consuming and complex, which makes them unfit for a thesis such as this one. The decision was made that an apparent time study was more appropriate for the purpose of this project. Here the "notion of time is a more abstract one […] it involves abstracting from the way the speakers of different ages talk at a single point in time" (Meyerhoff 2011: 135). In these types of studies the researcher tries to gather speech data from people of different ages. These people are taken as representatives of different points in time, and the differences across generations are then interpreted as linguistic change (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 35). By this reckoning, a person of 80 represents a different time than a 50-year-old or a 20-year-old. The apparent time construct relies upon the belief that a speaker does not change the way s/he talks, or in any case only changes his/her speech minimally, after reaching adulthood. This would mean that the 80-year-old speaker's way of talking represents the speech norm of 50-60 years ago. By comparing the frequency of a variant across generations, it is possible to discover how common the variant is at different points in time. This enables the researcher to make "informed comments about the rate and directions of change in a speech community" (Meyerhoff 2011: 142). For a sociolinguist it is imperative to see how new variants are incorporated into a speaker's vernacular, but it is also important to discover which directions languages may take in the future. Meyerhoff states that

> "[…]if we were to find out enough about the regularity of language change in progress, and if we could work out comparable generalisations about how changes work their way through communities of speakers, we could use that information to make informed guesses about the general directions a language might take in the future (2011: 138).

In Britain there is competition between supra-local non-standard variants, local vernacular variants and supra-local prestige forms of Standard English (Meyerhoff 2011: 142-3). In the present study six supra-local non-standard variants will be looked

into in order to discover whether they are present in InvEng, and if they have taken the place of the local variants. TH-Fronting and L-Vocalisation are typical of recent change in England, and have been noted in accents of the Scottish Lowlands as well. The Wine-whine merger, FACE Diphthongisation and GOAT Diphthongisation are all non-standard in SSE, but standard in RP and England, and they may appear in the InvEng accent. R-Dropping has been noted, to some extent, in Scottish cities (cf. section 2.2.2), and is another change that may be happening in InvEng. At the same time a non-standard feature that has been claimed to be local to both Scotland and England (T-Glottalisation) is investigated in order to discover whether it has been local to Inverness for a long time, or whether it has been introduced recently.

2.2 General descriptions and variation within Scotland

There are few descriptions of any accents of the Scottish Highlands. Finding previous studies into accent variation and change in Inverness English turned out to be quite difficult. In most cases the Highland accents are equated with the accents of the Scottish Islands. In the following sections, previous descriptions of Scottish accents and the relevant background literature for the present thesis is presented. Additionally, studies into variation and change in Scotland are included in this section.

2.2.1 The Lowlands of Scotland

When it comes to the Scottish Lowlands, there has been much more research on the accents of these areas. When the Gaelic language retracted from eastern and central Scotland, Scots took its place. Scots is descended from Old English, and today's Scottish Standard English (SSE) is closely related to it (Melchers and Shaw 2011: 63). There have been many attempts at determining where the line that divides the Highlands from the Lowlands is, and Speitel writes "The boundary in the Highlands is predominantly one of the Scots dialect against the English which has replaced the Gaelic language" (1981: 116). There are several descriptions of what the accents in the Lowland area sound like, and it is useful to include a description in this thesis, since

InvEng will be compared to both the Lowland and the Island descriptions. The following is a shortlist of particularly salient features of Scottish accents taken from Wells' (1982) *Accents of English*.

A descriptive account of Scottish accents according to Wells

- FACE and GOAT are usually realised with monophthongal [e] and [o], but the diphthongal realisations are spreading.
- Lack opposition between /ʊ/ and /u/ (*pull vs. pool,* FOOT vs GOOSE). They may also lack oppositions between /a/ and /ɑ/ (TRAP vs. PALM), and /ɒ/ and /ɔ/ (LOT vs. THOUGHT).
- The vowel in KIT may be more open and/or more retracted than in RP. In the north-east it may be realised as [ɛ] especially before /r/. In Glasgow it ranges from [ɪ] to [ʌ].
- Vowel duration varies according to the phonological environment; a vowel is usually short unless it is followed by a morpheme boundary, a voiced fricative, or /r/. This is commonly referred to as the Scottish Vowel Length Rule or Aitken's Law (cf. for instance Aitken 1981).
- PRICE words have two distinct diphthongs; [ae] and [ʌɪ] which are virtually in complementary distribution. [ae] is used in environments which call for a long vowel, and in morpheme-final position before an ending or a suffix. In all other instances [ʌɪ] is used.
- MOUTH ranges from high status [au] and [ʌu] to popular [u+].
- Some accents have undergone the NURSE merger and thus *first, perch* and *hurt* (which traditionally had distinct pronunciations), rhyme and are realised with [ɜr]. In the Glasgow area there is a partial merger where *dirt* and *hurt* are realised with [ʌr], while *pert* and *heard* are realised with [ɛr].
- Retention of the voiceless velar fricative [x] in words with orthographic <gh> or <ch> such as *loch* and *Waugh.*
- Syllable initial /hw/ or [ʍ] in words with orthographic <wh>.
- The glottal stop [ʔ] is used in the case of non-initial /t/ in popular Scottish English accents (especially Glaswegian).

- Scottish English is rhotic, and non-prevocalic <r> has several different realisations. The most usual is the alveolar tap [ɾ], and a post-alveolar or retroflex fricative or approximant [ɹ ~ ɻ].
- Scottish English does not distinguish between clear /l/ and dark /ɫ/.

<div align="right">(Wells 1982: 399-412)</div>

In Wells' description there is no mention of TH-Fronting, which indicates that this is not a characteristic feature of Scottish English accents. However, it will be discussed whether this feature is making its way into accents of the Lowlands. With this descriptive account in mind we may now look into studies that have recorded variation and change in Scotland.

2.2.2 The Lowlands and Shetland

The first accent that will be discussed is the accent of Scotland's capital city; Edinburgh. Chirrey's (1999) chapter in Foulkes and Docherty's (1999) *Urban Voices*, identifies the characteristics of the accent of Edinburgh and its surrounding areas. It becomes clear from a table included in the chapter (1999: 225) that both FACE and GOAT are monophthongal in Edinburgh English (EdinEng). When it comes to consonants Chirrey states that it is "relatively common to find speakers from all socio-economic groups realising /t/ word-medially as a glottal plosive [ʔ]" (1999: 226). She also mentions that like other accents of Scottish English, EdinEng has two additional consonants [ʍ] and [x], which the vast majority of the speakers use. However, younger speakers may use neither of these two consonants, and rather replace them with [w] and [k] (1999: 227). When it comes to rhoticity, Chirrey states that EdinEng remains rhotic, and that the most common realisation is the postalveolar approximant [ɹ] (1999: 228). /l/ is characteristically "a voiced velarized lateral [lˠ]" and the place of articulation would appear to be dental (1999: 229), and Chirrey also mentions that L-Vocalisation is widespread, but little noted in EdinEng.

 Romaine (1978) looks into postvocalic <r> with 24 WC Edinburgh school children of different ages (ten, eight and six-year-olds). She finds that the postvocalic <r> fluctuates between realisation and non-realisation, and that there are clear-cut

differences between males and females in each age group. The males use [ɾ] and [ø] to a greater degree than the females, and almost all age groups have lower scores for [ɹ], than [ø]. Females, however, prefer the use of [ɹ] more often than [ɾ] and [ø], and their accents are almost consistently rhotic. The differences between the age groups show that the ten-year-olds use [ɾ] more than other groups, and the six-year-olds make the greatest use of [ø]. Eight-year-olds use [ø] the least, and have equal distribution of [ɾ] and [ɹ] (1978: 148-49). Romaine states that all observations on the loss of postvocalic <r> in Edinburgh, indicate that this feature is adopted by the younger generation of WC speakers in a certain area of Edinburgh (1978: 155).

Schützler (2010) carried out a study of /ʍ/ and non-prevocalic <r> in the MC in Edinburgh. He discovered that younger speakers "tend not to observe the contrast of /ʍ/ and /w/" (2010: 15), and that male speakers are more inclined to merge the two. He also notes that there are only four speakers that seem to have completely merged the two into /w/, and 23 out of 27 speakers varied their use of /ʍ/ and /w/. This suggests a change in progress leading to the loss of /ʍ/ and an increase in the use of /w/. The picture is quite different in relation to non-prevocalic <r>. Schützler suggests that there is not really any change in progress, and that rhoticity is maintained in MC speech. However, there is great inter-speaker variation (2010: 17). Men are generally more inclined than women to retain non-prevocalic <r>, but only moderately so. Speakers who are considered to be middle-aged or older "tend to articulate a smaller proportion of non-prevocalic /r/" (2010: 10), whereas the younger speakers retain it, as opposed to the pattern discovered by Romaine.

A recent thesis from the University of Bergen by Reiersen (2013), looks into six phonological variables (TH-Fronting, T-Glottaling, the Wine-whine merger, R-Dropping, FACE diphthongisation and GOAT diphthongisation) produced by twelve late-adolescent students from Edinburgh. His results show that four out of the six variables vary significantly, whereas <r> and /o/ seem to remain stable. He does, however, state that "features such as TH-Fronting and T-Glottaling are more widespread in the Glasgow area" (2013: 77), but that they might be underway to become more common in places like Edinburgh and Aberdeen as well. When it comes to gender variation he states that "the tendency is that male speakers favour more non-local variants than female subjects" (2013: 65).

A large amount of research has been carried out in Scotland's largest city; Glasgow. Stuart-Smith has focused most of her linguistic research on this area, and many of her articles are based on collected data from 1997 where 32 adults and children from working- and middle-class communities were interviewed. Stuart-Smith has observed several changes, in addition to features that remain stable in Glaswegian. For instance she notes that the FACE and GOAT vowels tend to be monophthongs in Glaswegian Standard English and Glasgow Vernacular, and that there is not much evidence for diphthongal realisations of these vowels (1999: 208). When it comes to the glottal stop, she states that there has been an increase in glottaling, and that it is a "strongly stigmatized yet extremely common feature of Glaswegian" (1999: 208). Macafee (1983: 34) notes instances of 'Cockney' /f/ for /θ/ in Glaswegian. This is also mentioned by Stuart-Smith and she states that this change is found "variably, but frequently in the speech of [working-class] children" (1999: 209). In addition there are also instances of /v/ for /ð/ in words such as *smooth*.

In a more recent study by Stuart-Smith et al. (2007), eight consonantal variables are investigated in order to discover socially stratified variation. Differences are found, especially with respect to class and age, but are less clear with gender. Most interesting, however, is the discovery that MC speakers deviate very little from the regional standard. It is expected that since the MC is usually more mobile than the WC, and more weakly tied to the community, that they are thus in more contact with speakers of other accents, and should therefore have more non-local variants. The results show that both MC adults and adolescents maintain Scottish regional standard norms. When it comes to the WC the picture is quite different. The adults show a great degree of diversity in for instance in "the moderate use of [w] for (ʍ), and the occurrence of vocalised variants for postvocalic (r)" (2007: 250). The leaders of the change, however, are the WC adolescents. Speakers from this group are also most prone to non-standard variation. Stuart-Smith et al. state that these speakers "seem to be using all possible linguistic resources to construct identities which are as anti-middle-class and anti-establishment as possible" (2007: 251).

Hughes et al. (2012: 131) state that Scotland's third largest city; Aberdeen is still "heavily influenced by the conservative 'Doric' dialect of Scots which is spoken throughout the north-eastern part of Scotland." They also mention that within the city of

Aberdeen itself, the speech of the younger generations resembles that of the central belt cities Edinburgh and Glasgow. According to Hughes et al. this could be due to the large amount of incomers to Aberdeen from other parts of Scotland, in addition to arrivals from other parts of the UK and North America, when the city expanded as a result of discovering oil in the North Sea in the 1970s (2012: 131). Brato's (2007) first results from Aberdeen adolescents show that change is happening. When it comes to phonetic realisations for orthographic <wh>, [f] is the local variant in Aberdeen, but Brato finds that this realisation is virtually absent from the speech of the adolescents. However, [w] is found frequently within all groups, and in contrast with the Glasgow results (Stuart-Smith et al. 2007), there are high figures for [w] in the MC groups. When it comes to the WC groups the results mirror the ones found in Glasgow; [w] is used to "dissociate from the standard as spoken by MC adults" (Brato 2007: 1490). In regard to orthographic <th> Brato finds that [θ] is most frequently used by all groups except the two groups of WC boys. In his discussion he states that

> systematic TH-fronting seems to be in its very early stages in Aberdeen and is only found frequently in those speakers who either described themselves or were described by their peers as different from the group (2007: 1492).

In addition to this study into Aberdeen English, Brato published a poster at the Sociolinguistic symposium in 2008 regarding T-Glottaling in Aberdeen adolescents (Brato 2008). Here he claims that when reading word-lists, glottal stops only occur sporadically in young speakers from all classes, and in older speakers from MC groups. Mixed area older speakers show more glottaling than the previously mentioned groups, but it is the older WC speakers who clearly favour the glottal stop, "although much less so than their Glasgow counterparts" (2008: poster). Brato concedes that the standard variant still is the most dominant in all groups apart from the WC older speakers. This could indicate a change towards less glottaling.

The Shetland Isles and the accent there should also be briefly mentioned. The accent is believed to be highly influenced by insular Scots and the accents of the Scottish Islands (Hughes et al. 2012: 162). Hughes et al. (2012) mention some of the characteristic features of the accent in *English Accents and Dialects,* and many of the features correspond to what has been written about the Highland and Island accents. The

variety is categorically rhotic, /l/ is mostly clear, and [ʍ] for orthographic <wh> is common. A recent study by Smith and Durham (2011) looks into six different variables in order to discover change across generations in Lerwick, Shetland. The six variables are taken from three different areas of grammar (phonetic, morphosyntactic and lexical), and all are related to believed changes in the Shetland accent. Three of the variables are considered to be *Scotland-wide*; meaning that they have all been attested throughout Scotland. The remaining three are more local to Shetland and called *Shetland-specific*. Smith and Durham state that "using a standardised form of Scottish English is said to be much maligned […], and even has a particular word to describe it: *knapping*" (2011: 201). However, this situation may be changing. The phonetic variables under investigation are Shetland-specific TH-Stopping and Scotland-wide L-Vocalisation. The results for TH-Stopping show a gradual decrease in use and there is great variation between the different generations. However, the researchers find a paucity of stop variants even in middle-aged and older speakers. When it comes to L-Vocalisation the older and middle-aged speakers have high rates of vocalisation, which decreases with the younger speakers. Nevertheless, the overall results show a dramatic increase in the use of the Scotland-wide variables over three generations, which leads the authors to suggest that "the dialect may be facing rapid dialect attrition" (2011: 220).

2.2.3 The Highlands and Islands

The main theoretical background for this thesis is Shuken's (1984) chapter in *Language in the British Isles* (Trudgill 1984), entitled "Highland and Island English". There have been few studies into the accents of the Scottish Highlands and this chapter seems to be one of the few that to some extent give a descriptive account of Highland English. However, the main focus of the chapter is on the English spoken in the Scottish Islands of Lewis, Harris and Skye.

In the tenth century, Scotland was largely Gaelic speaking, but during the eleventh century the aristocracy started using Norman French (Melchers and Shaw 2011: 62). In eastern and central Scotland, Gaelic was replaced by Scots and the language retreated north to the Highlands and the Hebrides. After 1745 when the Highland clans were defeated in a rebellion, Gaelic began losing ground also in the

Highlands (2011: 62). Highland and Island English are often mentioned as one and little attention has been put forth to discover the differences between them, if any exist. The Highlands and Islands have been treated this way because, as opposed to accents in the Lowlands that have derived from Scots, these areas used to be mainly Gaelic, and the people living there were forced to learn English at a later stage. These areas are thus considered together because "the history of English there is different from other parts of Scotland, because Gaelic shifted/is shifting over to Scottish Standard English (but not via Scots)" (Stuart-Smith: personal communication). Shuken states that

> [t]he elimination of Gaelic and the implantation of English was seen by official institutions as a key to social control of a geographically inaccessible and culturally distinct part of Scotland (and later Britain) over which governments found it difficult to exercise their authority (1984: 152).

Most people in the Highlands are aware of this part of their linguistic history, and many of the informants in this study, (in addition to people who did not take part in the study such as taxi drivers and public house owners) mentioned that the English spoken in the Highlands and Islands was the "closest to the Queen's English you'll ever get." They all attributed this to the fact that their ancestors (or indeed family members) at some point had to learn English out of a text book, and it would therefore be closer to Standard English than those accents that are derived from Scots. This is backed by Douglas, who states that Highland English is a distinctive form of English, mainly influenced by Gaelic, and derived from Standard English rather than Scots (2006: 44-45). This explains why the accents in the Highlands and Islands are considered to be closely related to "The Queen's English."

When it comes to Gaelic, the language use has declined, and "native Gaelic-speaking communities are to be found only in the Hebrides and north-west coastal fringes of the Highlands" (MacKinnon 1984: 503). One of the informants in this study (Graham) told a story from his childhood where children would be severely punished at school if they spoke any Gaelic. He states that Gaelic was practically beaten out of them, so it is clear that there were strict regulations regarding the mother tongue of many people in the Highlands. Clement (1980: 13) claims that in the Highland villages, English would be used not only among people who only spoke English, but also among

Gaelic bilinguals (either through choice or force of habit). Gaelic was, according to Clement, regarded as old-fashioned, rural or primitive in the Highlands.

Shuken states that the spread of English in the Highlands was much more rapid than in the Islands. She concedes that economic forces and the Highland Clearances, in addition to increasing accessibility played a part in this (1984: 153). Clement backs this up by saying that in the Islands, English was only spoken to tourists, and school children. English was thus a language not used in the home or indeed at all, that is until the arrival of the television. According to Clement the TV "has been compared to an English-speaking lodger in every household" (1980: 13).

As previously stated there are very few descriptions of any Highland accent, but a few general trends have been noted. Most important, perhaps, is the repeated statement that the speech is close to a variety of Standard English. Speitel writes

> [a]s far as their English pronunciation goes, it is close to Standard English as pronounced in the Scottish Lowlands, from which it is historically derived, but it has been modified by the Gaelic substratum in certain ways. This speech variety is often called Highland English to distinguish it from the Standard Scottish English of the Lowlands (1981: 116).

It is clear, then, that there are some differences between the accents of the Highlands and Lowlands, and that this is mainly attributed to the fact that Gaelic has influenced the Highland accents, but not the Lowland accents. However, the varieties are not massively different according to Speitel, and this could be because of the way the Highlanders were taught English. "The English accent used for instruction has been mainly [Scottish Standard English] (through schoolmasters from the Lowlands) which accounts for the similarity of [Highland English] to that variety" (Speitel 1981: 117). Both these accounts by Speitel are very general and do not provide a proper descriptive account of the Highland English that is mentioned, but it does reveal that the English in the Highlands (as has been mentioned several times already) should be close to a variety of Scottish Standard English. McClure writes about SSE that it is widely spoken in all regions of Scotland "including Gàidhealtachd, where 'Highland English' is a highly distinctive variant of the model rather than one with a separate identity" (1994: 79). This suggests that Highland English is similar enough to SSE to be considered a variant

of it, but at the same time it is described by McClure as 'highly distinctive', suggesting that it is not identical to SSE.

Shuken (1984: 155) has a more descriptive account of the Highland and Island accents and therefore it is useful to use her research as basis. She does however mention that most of her research was done in the Scottish Islands, so the generalisations she makes pertain mainly to that area. She does include some Highland speakers in her research, but states that they are too few to generalise too much about. What is stated about the Highland accent then, is generally tentative guesses and not set in stone. The following sections will give descriptive accounts of the features studied in this thesis, and hopefully shed some light on what they are expected to sound like in the Highlands and Islands.

2.2.3.1 Descriptions of /θ/

Shuken states that lenis and fortis fricatives occur at the dental place of articulation (1984: 158). This means that both /θ/ and /ð/ are present in the Highland and Island accents. She also mentions that devoicing of all fricatives occurs, and that "/ð/ is sometimes devoiced, particularly before voiceless consonants, but even sometimes before voiced consonants" (1984: 158). This is all that is written about /θ/, and thus it is implied that Shuken did not find any occurrences of TH-Fronting when conducting her research. It is therefore reasonable to assume that this feature is not part of the accents of the Highlands and Islands, but as seen in section 2.2.2 there has been an increase in the use of TH-Fronting in the Scottish Lowlands, and it is possible that the feature has reached the north as well.

2.2.3.2 Descriptions of /t/ and [ʔ]

Pre-aspiration of stops is, according to Shuken, common in the Islands, but none of the Highland speakers she studied had pre-aspirated stops (1984: 158). Melchers and Shaw state that there are "strongly aspirated voiceless plosives in these areas" (2011: 68), so it is clear that aspiration is a recognisable feature, especially in the Islands. Shuken states that "only in Skye do some speakers replace post-vocalic stops by glottal stops, e.g. *but*

[bʌʔ]" and claims that this is probably due to mainland influence (1984: 158). She continues to say that her Highland speakers (the Argyllshire and most frequently the Perthshire speaker) had glottalised medial and final stops (1984: 158). The first thing the present researcher was told when she arrived in Inverness and told a taxi driver that she was writing a thesis about the Inverness accent, was "be sure to focus on [ˈbɒʔl], [ˈwɔʔər], and [ˈsæʔərde:]." Although this is not a suggestion coming from a linguist it does shed some light on how the Inverness accent is perceived, both by outsiders (since the taxi driver was originally from Glasgow), and by the people who speak it themselves (since this feature was frequently mentioned by informants and non-informants alike). Due to its previous stigmatisation, and recent general acceptance, this feature will be studied in this thesis.

2.2.3.3 Descriptions of /ʍ/

Shuken mentions that "/ʍ/ is used by most speakers, although not with complete consistency" (1984: 159). The pronunciation of this sound, however, does vary, and some speakers occasionally use /ʍ/ where /w/ is expected. In addition it has been mentioned by both Aitken (1984) and Douglas (2006) that there are occurrences of [f] for orthographic <wh> in some north-eastern Scottish accents. This is a well-known feature of the Aberdeen accent, but since it is also mentioned as a feature of northern variants, it may or may not be present in the accent that is under investigation in this study.

2.2.3.4 Descriptions of /r/

Highland and Island accents are rhotic and the /r/ phoneme has a number of variants. According to Shuken it is usually a "retroflex approximant or fricative word initially; a tap intervocalically; a fricative, or an affricated tap (a tap followed by a fricative) word-finally, where it also is voiceless" (1984: 160). Similar to some Lowland varieties, some speakers may also have epenthetic central vowels between /r/ and /m/ for instance in words like *arm* [aːɾəm] or *warm* [wɔːɾəm], but she mentions that approximant /r/ is equally common [aːɹm] and [wɔːɹm]. These descriptions mainly describe Island accents,

but Shuken states that Highlanders use similar variants to those of Hebridean English (1984: 160). Hughes et al. write that in Scotland the most common <r> realisation is a tap [ɾ], but that in the Scottish Highlands a retroflex approximant [ɻ] is used (2012: 66). This thesis will not look into the quality of the /r/ used, but look for the presence or absence of non-prevocalic <r> in InvEng. As seen in section 2.2.2, there have been various reports of R-Dropping in Scotland, and it was considered of more importance to discover whether Invernessians dropped the non-prevocalic <r> or not.

2.2.3.5 Descriptions of /l/

According to Melchers and Shaw's description "/l/ is generally dark [in Scots and SSE] but tends to be clear in the Western Isles and the Highlands" (2011: 68). This has been attributed to the influence Gaelic has had on the language. Shuken backs this up by stating that speakers in Lewis have very clear variants of /l/ (1984: 160). However she also mentions that younger speakers in Skye have a velarized variant [ɫ], which she attributes to mainland influence. She identifies a neutral variant (that is to say not very clear or not very velarized) in Highland speakers from Sutherland. Her Argyllshire speaker has neutral to dark laterals and the Perthshire speaker has strongly velarized laterals (Shuken 1984: 160). There is no mention of L-vocalisation in the Highlands, and this thesis will aim to discover whether that feature is present or not in InvEng. In addition, the quality of the /l/ used in InvEng is looked into.

2.2.3.6 Descriptions of FACE and GOAT

When it comes to vowels, Shuken states that there is great variability not only among speakers, but within the speech of individual speakers, which makes it difficult to determine whether contrasts exist or not (1984: 161). Nevertheless, she mentions that for most speakers NEAR, FACE, CURE and GOAT are monophthongal, but "occasionally /i/, /e/, /u/ and /o/ may show slight diphthongisation" (1984: 161). Shuken also mentions that most speakers distinguish between long and short monophthongs; so *great* /gɾeːt/ and *grate* /gɾet/ are not homophones (1984: 162). This thesis aims to discover whether the monophthongs in FACE and GOAT are being diphthongised in

InvEng, because recent change in Edinburgh and Glasgow, particularly, indicates that the vowels may be changing towards diphthongisation.

      At this point it is appropriate to include a reminder of the research questions and hypotheses proposed in chapter 1, before focusing on the material and method presented in chapter 3.

Research questions

With so little background research about the Highland and Island accents, the overall question for this thesis becomes "what does an investigation of the chosen phonological variables tell us about accent variation and change in Inverness English?" This question must be kept in mind while considering the three, more specific, questions below.

4. Two social categories will be considered in this thesis; age and gender. Age-related variation may be an indicator of change in progress, and males and females are known to behave differently when it comes to adopting new variants (cf. chapter 4). Are there any differences in usage between the two genders or between the younger group and the older group when it comes to the seven variables of this thesis?

5. Research literature often equates the accents of English spoken in the Highlands with the accents spoken in the Hebrides (Highlands and Islands). Does the data from speakers of InvEng strengthen this claim, or are there notable differences between InvEng and previous descriptions of Islands accents?

6. If the InvEng accent is found to have traits that do not fit previous descriptions; does the accent of Inverness more closely resemble the accents spoken in the Scottish Lowlands than the accents of the Islands? And could this point towards InvEng being influenced by the process of accent levelling and/or general British trends?

Hypotheses

4. Previous studies into language variation and change in Britain suggest that an analysis of phonological variables will show age- and gender-related variation. It is therefore realistic to assume that there will be differences between the two age groups and the two genders in InvEng.

5. The literature suggests that Highland accents should have several features in common with the accents spoken in the Hebrides. Therefore it is reasonable to assume that InvEng is similar to Island accents. However, given the lack of previous research into the accents of the Highlands, it is difficult to predict whether this is the case or not. Therefore the null-hypothesis is chosen: there are no notable differences between the accents in these two regions. The data then has the potential to reject the null-hypothesis.

6. If the accent of Inverness (contrary to Hypothesis 2) differs from that of the Islands, it is likely that it has several features in common with the urban accents of the Lowlands, which will most likely be due to the process of accent levelling (cf. chapter 2).

3. THE VARIABLES

3.1 Introduction

Seven variables are chosen for the purpose of outlining variation and change in InvEng.

TH-Fronting

T-Glottaling

The Wine-whine merger

R-Dropping

L-Vocalisation

FACE diphthongisation

GOAT diphthongisation

These variables are also paramount in outlining whether the accent of Inverness closely resembles the accents of the Scottish Islands, or whether it is more similar to the accents of the Scottish Lowlands. In addition, they are used in order to theorise about whether Inverness follows the same change patterns as Lowland Scottish cities, whether it is changing towards a Scottish Standard English pronunciation, or whether there is little variation at all. Some of the variables are known to be typical of recent change in Scotland. TH-Fronting, the Wine-whine merger, R-Dropping, L-Vocalisation and diphthongisation of FACE and GOAT have, to some extent, been reported to be on the increase in Lowland Scottish cities (cf. chapter 2). T-Glottalisation can be seen as a feature typical of Cockney, but it is also considered common in urban Scottish accents (especially Glaswegian) (cf. chapter 2). The following is a phonetic description of the variables in question.

3.1.1 TH-Fronting

TH-Fronting is the process where the fortis and lenis dental fricatives /θ/ and /ð/ are fronted and replaced by labiodental /f/ and /v/. This is a typical feature of London and Cockney speech which makes *thing* sound like [fɪŋg] and *brother* becomes [ˈbrʌvə]. The fortis fricative may be fronted in all positions, whereas its lenis counterpart is only

fronted non-initially (Wells 1982: 328). TH-Fronting has been widely observed in the speech of young people in England, and although it is widespread in London speech it is a more recent feature elsewhere, and in 2010 it was only just beginning to be adopted into the accent of Newcastle (Beal 2010). Beal points out that the feature is spreading westwards and northwards from London. In addition she mentions how Kerswill states that in the Survey of English Dialects there are more instances of TH-Fronting in the areas immediately surrounding London and Bristol, and there are few instances in the north. He thus summarises that the feature is adopted later the further north you go (Beal 2010). If this is true it is unlikely that the feature will have reached Inverness, due to the northern location of this city. Bonness (2011) found an increase in the use of TH-Fronting over three generations in Northampton. Here the first and second generation speakers produced /f/ and /v/ in zero percent of the cases, whereas the third generation used these in 26% of the cases. Fatnes (2014) discovered relatively few instances of TH-Fronting in Sheffield English, and states that it cannot be seen as an established feature of the accent of the middle-class in that city. She continues to theorise that what she was observing was perhaps the first steps in a change towards more fronting of /θ/ in Sheffield. Reiersen (2013) also found few instances of TH-Fronting in the Edinburgh accent. 90 percent of the tokens were realised as /θ/ and his results showed great inter-speaker variation. As seen in chapter 2, TH-Fronting has been found variably, yet frequently in the working class accent of Glasgow, especially when it comes to /f/ for /θ/ (Stuart-Smith 1999). Since the feature is present, to a varying degree, in the accents of Scotland's largest cities, it may have spread to other Scottish cities as well. As TH-Fronting is a common feature of recent change in Britain, and indeed Scotland, it has been included in this study.

3.1.2 T-Glottaling

T-Glottaling refers to the replacement of the fortis alveolar plosive /t/ with the glottal stop [ʔ]. The glottal stop can occur word-medially ("button" /bʌʔn/), word-finally ("cat" /kæʔ/) or across word boundaries ("that car" / ðæʔ kɑ:/). Certain other sounds are also frequently glottalised such as /p/ and /k/, but *glottal replacement* is "much commoner as a realization of underlying /t/ than of /p/ or /k/" (Wells 1982: 323), and for this reason

the decision was made that only T-Glottaling would be looked into in this study. Similar to TH-Fronting, T-Glottaling is a feature typical of London and Cockney speech, but Andrésen (in Bonness 2011: 25) has found early references to the glottal stop, dating back to the 1860s and here the feature is described as a feature of Scottish English . Another early source is Grant, who states that the glottal stop is common in certain Scottish dialects (1913: 30). This is also backed by Cruttenden who claims that intervocalic /t/ is often realised as a glottal stop in SSE (2013: 86). According to Aitken (1984) the glottal stop was formerly believed to be a typical feature of Glasgow speech, but it has spread throughout Scotland, at least as far north as Wick. Aitken goes on to say that the glottal stop is "absent in most regions only in speakers who are both elderly and conservative" (1984: 102). If Aitken's statements are true, the young Invernessian informants, especially, should produce glottal realisations of /t/.

As seen in chapter 2, Milroy et al. (1999) discovered an increase in the use of glottal stops in Newcastle, and conclude that it reflects a change happening all over Britain, where the glottal stop is found in accents where it did not appear earlier (1999: 39). It is clear then, that the glottal stop is spreading, and more and more accents are adopting it into their everyday speech. The glottal stop has been a stigmatised feature, and sometimes even been referred to as a vulgarism, but according to Wells

> […]the increased use of glottal stops within RP may reasonably be attributed to influence from Cockney and other working-class urban speech. What started as a vulgarism is becoming respectable (1994: 201).

This suggests that although the glottal stop has been a highly stigmatised feature, it has, with its spread throughout the UK, become more common and accepted, and the stigmatisation has to some extent decreased.

It is very likely that the glottal stop is present in the accent of Inverness, and there is a possibility that the younger informants use the feature more than the older informants. This could either be interpreted as change in process, where the glottal stop is making its way into InvEng, or it could have been present all along, but its recent acceptance makes it easier for the younger generations to use [ʔ] without appearing 'vulgar.' It will be difficult to determine whether the presence of the glottal stop in InvEng is influenced by recent change in Scottish cities, or whether it is influenced by

changes in Britain in general. Another possibility is that both younger informants and older informants frequently use the glottal stop. In this case it is likely that the feature has been part of the Inverness accent for quite some time. It is also possible that there are few or no occurrences of the glottal stop in InvEng. In this case the accent has not been influenced by recent change in Scotland or Britain in general.

3.1.3 The Wine-whine merger

The Wine-whine merger refers to the replacement of the fortis labio-velar fricative [ʍ] with the lenis labio-velar approximant [w]. [ʍ] is represented by orthographic <wh> as in *what, which, when* and *where* (Schzützler 2010: 13). In RP, words such as these are usually pronounced with [w], but it is a traditional feature of Scottish English that *wh*-words are pronounced with [ʍ]. Most parts of England, Wales and Australia use [w], while [ʍ] still exists in Scotland, Ireland and certain American states. Douglas (2006) writes that [ʍ] is found in most Scottish English accents, and that its use allows these speakers to distinguish easily between words like *Wales* and *whales*. She also mentions that this feature might be undergoing modification or "erosion", especially with urban speakers (2006: 49). It has been previously reported that [ʍ] is losing ground to the non-local variant [w] in Scotland (cf. for instance Schützler 2010). This makes it an important variable for the present study. Reiersen (2013) discovered that young speakers in Edinburgh merged in 89 percent of the cases, and that there was great inter-speaker variation. Most of the young speakers pronounced [w] in all cases, and the young speakers of InvEng may follow the same pattern.

Grant reports that "lowering of the tongue to a neutral position converts the [ʍ] into labio-dental [f]" and that this takes place in some Northern Scottish accents (1913: 38). This results in words like *what* and *where* being pronounced /fɒt/ and /fer/, rather than the expected /ʍɒt/ and /ʍer/. This feature is also mentioned in Aitken (1984) and in Douglas (2006) as a well-known north-eastern feature. Since it has been mentioned as a feature of Northern Scottish English it is expected that there might be occurrences of [f] for orthographic <wh> in InvEng, and any occurrences of [f] for <wh> are included in the results of this study.

3.1.4 R-Dropping

A central feature of Scottish English accents is the presence of the non-prevocalic <r> (Schützler 2010: 5). This is a distinct feature in differentiating between accents of a language. General American, Scottish English and Irish English are all *rhotic* or *r-full* meaning that <r> in writing is realised prevocalically. RP and several English-English accents on the other hand are not rhotic and non-prevocalic <r> is thus not pronounced. Douglas (2006: 49) states that rhoticity is perhaps the most distinguishing phonological feature of Scottish English. Giegerich (1992: 302) claims that the rule of <r>-deletion is simple and straightforward; <r>-deletion occurs in non-rhotic accents only. Since it has already been established that Scottish English is rhotic, there should be no occurrences of R-Dropping. An even older source; Grant (1913: 35) states that the consonantal effect is "never lost in genuine Scottish speech", this however, does not hold true for all Scottish English accents anymore. In a more recent publication by Cruttenden it is mentioned that the rhoticity in SSE is declining with some speakers and that SSE is now only semi-rhotic (2013: 85). Schützler states that non-prevocalic <r> is most likely to be dropped prepausally and least likely to be dropped in linking contexts. He bases these facts on Romaine's 1978 study. He goes on to state that Johnston (1997) finds loss of non-prevocalic <r> increasingly common in Mid-Scots urban speech. In addition to these studies Stuart-Smith's (2003) study into Glasgow speakers is mentioned. Stuart-Smith found that the non-prevocalic <r> is articulated by middle-class speakers 90% of the time, whereas the speakers of the working class are more prone to drop <r>, especially female adolescents (2010: 7). Reiersen's (2013) thesis, however, shows that adolescents in Edinburgh are firmly rhotic with <r> being pronounced in 93,5% of the cases. With so many varying accounts of R-Dropping in Scotland, it seemed appropriate to include this variable in the study.

3.1.5 L-Vocalisation

There are two realisations of the phoneme /l/ in English pronunciation: clear [l] and dark [ɫ]. When pronouncing a clear [l] the tip of the tongue touches the alveolar ridge, but the back does not rise. Dark [ɫ] is pronounced by raising the back of the tongue as well as

the front (Grant 1913: 33). Cruttenden mentions that in SSE the phoneme /l/ is commonly realised as a dark [ɫ] in all positions, for instance in the word *plough* [pɫaʊ] (2013: 86). Wells on the other hand states that a very clear variant of /l/, [l,] is common in Gaelic and post-Gaelic areas, for instance in the Highlands and Islands, and the south west of Scotland (1982: 412).

L-Vocalisation, however, is where the dark [ɫ] in words like *call, build, handle, people* and *cold,* that is where the [ɫ] follows a vowel or when the consonant is syllabic, becomes vocalised and is pronounced [ʊ]. According to Nilsen (2010) this pronunciation started in London and surrounding areas at the beginning of the twentieth century. "The apical contact was lost, and we were left with the articulation of a back vowel with or without lip rounding [ʊ] or [ɤ]" (2010: 204). In some cases this lead to little or no distinction between the preceding vowels so that words like *fill* and *feel* are both pronounced [fɪʊ] (Nilsen 2010: 204). The [ʊ] integrates with the preceding vowel and becomes a diphthong. As noted in chapter 2, the feature has since its origins spread throughout the southeast of England, in addition to socially spreading into Estuary English and to some extent RP (Beal 2010: 20). Bonness (2011) found a steady increase in the use of vocalised /l/ in Northampton over three generations, showing that the feature is not only present in accents of southern England, but also occurs in the speech of people from the Midlands. (2010: 20). Since there are no accounts of what InvEng sounds like it is impossible to know whether L-Vocalisation is present at all. If Wells' statement that clear /l/ is most common in the Highlands and Islands is true, there should be few or no instances of L-Vocalisation. However, since the accent has not been properly described before, it is difficult to know whether this still holds true. In addition to looking into L-Vocalisation, it will be attempted to discover whether there is distinction between clear /l/ and dark /ɫ/ in InvEng, in order to take the first tentative steps in describing the Inverness accent.

3.1.6 FACE diphthongisation

In Scottish English the vowel in FACE words is pronounced with the close-mid front monophthong /e/ (cf. section 2.2.1). In RP and General American this lexical set is pronounced with the front-closing diphthong /eɪ/, which is normally not present in

FACE words in SSE. Thus in Scottish English *face* is pronounced /fes/ rather than /feɪs/, and *eight* is pronounced /et/ as opposed to RP /eɪt/. FACE diphthongisation is the process by which the Scottish Standard variant /e/ is replaced by the standard RP variant /eɪ/. Giegerich (1992: 55) states that as opposed to RP, which has a diphthongised realisation /eɪ/, SSE only has a pure monophthongal realisation /e/, but recent change has pointed towards a slight change and a more diphthongised variant in certain Scottish English accents (cf. studies like Reiersen (2013)). Milroy et al. (1999) discovered variations in the pronunciation of FACE words in Tyneside. In the north of England the local variant is /e/ and the women in the area seemed to stick to this variant, whereas the men used this variant as well as other localised variants (1999: 42). In the Milroy et al. study the gender contrast was quite dramatic and it surprised the researchers.

Reiersen (2013) found that adolescents in Edinburgh pronounced the local variant /e/ in 84% of the cases, and the non-local variant /eɪ/ only in 16% of the cases. However he mentions that in several of the cases there was a slight glide towards /ɪ/, but these were all analysed as monophthongs due to strict token classification. He continues to state that diphthongisation happened fairly frequently and that this could point in the direction of anglicisation. The recent change of the monophthong towards a diphthongal realisation is the reason why this variable is included in the present study.

3.1.7 GOAT diphthongisation

The vowel in GOAT is pronounced with the diphthong /əʊ/ in RP and /oʊ/ in some Southern accents of English-English, but in Scottish English, however, the vowel is pronounced with the close-mid back monophthong /o/ (cf. section 2.2.1). In Scottish English then, the word *goat* is pronounced /got/ as opposed to RP /gəʊt/, or Southern English /goʊt/ and *road* is pronounced /rod/ and different from RP /rəʊd/, or Southern English /roʊd/. Similar to FACE, GOAT diphthongisation is the replacement of the Scottish standard variant /o/ with the English English /oʊ/. According to Wells (1982) the feature varies greatly and is pronounced with several different monophthongal and diphthongal realisations within Britain alone. Giegerich (1992: 55) states that in SSE /o/ is a pure monophthong, while it has diphthongal realisations in RP. Milroy and Watt (1999: 36) found that in Newcastle there was a preference for the unmarked variant [o:]

by all groups except working-class males, showing that in a city in northern England, there is not a great trend towards diphthongisation.

Similarly, Reiersen (2013) found very few instances of GOAT diphthongisation among adolescents in Edinburgh. The local monophthong was used in 95% of the cases, and he therefore concludes that there are few traces towards anglicisation. However, this variable is also included in this study in order to discover whether diphthongisation of /o/ happens in Inverness, and it will be helpful for the purpose of describing InvEng.

Table 3.1: Variables and possible variants

Variable		Variants	
TH	[θ]	[f]	
T-Glot	[t]	[ʔ]	
WH	[ʍ]	[w]	[f]
R-Drop	[r]	[ø]	
L-Voc	[l]	[ɫ]	[ʊ]
FACE	[e]	[eɪ]	
GOAT	[o]	[oʊ]	

4. MATERIAL AND METHOD

4.1 Introduction

This thesis is focused on phonological variation and change in Inverness, Scotland. The present chapter presents the method used when gathering data, and when analysing it. In addition the chapter includes notes on methodology. The first section concerns data collection, the structure of the sociolinguistic interview and the Observer's Paradox. This can be problematic when studying language change and the Paradox is that the only way to find out how people speak when they are not being observed, is to observe them (Labov 1972: 209). This might be a challenge for researchers trying to pinpoint change. In the same section there is also a note on the informants who took part in the study. In section 4.2 the methods for data analysis are included, along with notes on token classification for all the phonological variables. Section 4.3 introduces the extralinguistic variables that are relevant for this project.

4.1.1 Data collection

The decision was made to gather data from the biggest city of the Scottish Highlands; the city of Inverness. A written agreement was drawn up for the informants to sign, and it gave them all the relevant information they needed in order to decide whether they wanted to take part in the study or not. Signing the agreement meant approving of the use of their speech data in the thesis, but it also informed them that they were free to withdraw from the project at any time.

People were approached on the street, in shops or in cafés, and asked if they would agree to be interviewed for a master's thesis project on Scottish English language. Two different age groups were approached; people between the ages of 20-30 and people over the age of 50, this was done in order to discover the effects of age on linguistic variation (cf. Milroy et al. 1999: 37). Initially the idea was that the young group should only include informants between the ages of 18-25. However, as the

informants in this thesis were approached on the street and asked to take part in the study there was no way of knowing who would agree to be interviewed and who would not. It proved difficult to find any informants under the age of 20 willing to take part in the study, whereas people between the ages 25-30 seemed more willing to participate. Therefore the young age group was changed to include people who were older, and thus excluded anyone younger than 20 years of age. Another initial idea was to interview the informants in pairs due to the obvious disadvantage of being a foreign researcher. It was assumed that the people of Inverness would notice right away that the researcher was not Scottish, and that they therefore may not speak their everyday accent while being interviewed (cf. section 4.1.2) They might modify their accent to make sure the researcher would understand everything they said or in order to sound 'proper' while being recorded. In addition the informants might subconsciously accommodate their speech according to the accent of the researcher (more on this in section 4.1.2). If the informants were interviewed in pairs, and the two informants knew each other, they would perhaps be less prone to change their accent. This was the plan upon arriving in Inverness, but when the first people who agreed to take part in the study were in fact at their place of work, and thus not able to take breaks in pairs in order to be interviewed, this idea had to be abandoned, and the informants were interviewed one-on-one. Despite losing the advantages of the paired interviews some advantages were gained by this approach. All the researcher's attention was focused on one informant at a time, and therefore it was possible, if necessary, to bring a quiet informant out of his/her shell by asking questions that I hoped would interest them. In addition the informants were able to elaborate freely if they had a 'long story' to tell (for instance Amy's "scared to death" story, which takes up 8 minutes out of a 19 minute interview).

Interviews were carried out in November of 2014 and recorded on an Olympus VN-731PC digital voice recorder. The sound quality of the interviews was very good, especially when the surroundings were quiet, but also reasonably good in interviews with a lot of background noise. The recorder comes with a USB-cable so after the informants were interviewed, the files could be transferred to a computer and thus create a digital library to go through.

4.1.2 The sociolinguistic interview

The first thing the informants went through was a sociolinguistic interview. Interviewing informants is a way of gathering speech data, and later this data may be analysed and quantified and thus help the researcher make some tentative assumptions about the speech area that has been investigated. In the interviews, the informants were asked to talk freely about a range of different topics. According to Labov the interviewer and informant should "isolate from a range of topics those of greatest interest to the speaker, and allow him or her to lead in defining the topic of conversation"(1984: 32). While preparing for the interviews, the goal was to include as many and as wide-ranging topics as possible. This way several different types of people could be interviewed, and the conversation would flow freely with all of them. It was likely that there would be differences between the two age groups with regard to their topics of interest. The younger group might speak freely about education, social life, and plans for the future, whereas the older group might be more inclined to talk about their childhood or how the city has changed since they were young (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 60). The researcher should always stick to topics and questions that the informants are comfortable with, and try to avoid questions that are noticeably uncomfortable, or too personal (cf. Milroy and Gordon 2003: 61).The idea was that I would say as little as possible and hope that the informants, when asked about a topic, would elaborate, and hopefully forget that they were in an interview setting. This was used as a way to capture informal speech.

When studying variation and change the researcher's objective is to record spontaneous and *vernacular* speech. Labov describes the latter as "the style in which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech" (1972: 181). In practice this means that the researcher hopes to observe the speech that a person uses when s/he is not being observed (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 49). This has become known as the Observer's Paradox. Labov states that "the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed; yet we can only obtain these data by systematic observation"(1972: 209). As a researcher interviewing people, one must always be aware of the Observer's Paradox and try to lessen the effect of this in any way possible. One of the methods suggested by

Labov is the "Danger of Death Question." Here the interviewer asks the informant whether they can recall a time when they were in real danger of being killed. Another possible question is "have you ever been scared to death?" These questions are intended to make the informants involved in the story they are telling, to the extent where they forget that they are in an interview setting.

There are several disadvantages of face-to-face interaction with the informants, especially when it comes to the Observer's Paradox. It is possible that informants subconsciously accommodate their speech when speaking to a researcher. Communication accommodation theory is defined as consisting of two ways of speech modification; convergence and divergence (Garrett 2010: 105). Convergence is the act of "reducing dissimilarities in the communication features used with communication partners" whereas divergence is described as "accentuating differences" between the communication partners (Garrett 2010: 106). As it was quite obvious that the researcher was not a Scotland native, it was believed that the informants might converge their accent as to make it more similar to the one spoken by the researcher. Even if this most probably would not result in the informants producing an RP accent, it would be harmful for the purpose of capturing their everyday speech. As mentioned in section 4.1.1 the informants might also change their accent to make sure the interviewer would understand everything that they said. In addition they might change their accent in order to standardise their speech while being recorded. By using the "Danger of Death" question, and topics believed to inspire enthusiasm in the informants, I hoped that the risk of speech accommodation would be reduced as the informants got involved and excited about telling their stories.

When interviewing one person at a time, a shy person may be brought out of his/her shell if the interviewer asks them questions that excite them. As all the interviewer's attention is on one person it is possible, for a good interviewer, to get reasonably long answers even from a person who is relatively quiet (the exception in this study is Angela, whose answers were very short, and who did not seem to think a single question asked by the interviewer was interesting). The interviewer might not be able to crack the code of what it is that excites the informant, to the extent that they will speak freely about it. In this study several of the informants gladly told their "scared to death" stories, and since many informants were found in the Yes Inverness shop (a

political shop run by volunteers who supported and still support Scottish independence), they also happily shared their views on the recent independence referendum. In addition the "What is great about Scotland?" question got many enthusiastic replies.

According to Labov (1984: 32), a sociolinguistic interview should ideally include one to two hours of recorded speech from each speaker. One problem with this is that it can be difficult for the interviewer and informant to have enough topics and material to fill such a large space of time. Another issue relates to the way in which the informants in this project were approached. When asking someone to participate in a sociolinguistic interview, one is relying on the goodwill of the person asked. If said person agrees to be interviewed, it should be on his or her terms. The researcher must be satisfied with what s/he gets, and hopefully obtain the relevant speech tokens in a limited time frame. Most of the interviews in this study lasted between 15-20 minutes, but a few were longer and one was much shorter (Angela).

4.1.3 The reading passage

Towards the end of the interview the informants were asked to read a short passage in order to capture their formal speech. The passage that was used was *Comma gets a Cure* written by McCullough and Somerville (2000) which includes all the variables that were under investigation. Certain parts of the story were excluded or rewritten in order to make the reading fit better with the variables under investigation in this study. For instance "picked up her kit" became "picked up her things" for the purpose of discovering possible TH-Fronting (Appendix A contains the version the informants had to read). In addition to adding more formality to the interview, the reading part ensures that each participant produces a certain amount of tokens; this is especially relevant if it should transpire that these are not present in the sociolinguistic interview. The reading passage was introduced after the interview, because it was believed that if the interviews started with the reading passage the informants would become very conscious of their own accent and perhaps start to wonder what the researcher was looking for. If they started to become aware of the way their accent sounded while reading, they might not be able to bring it back to their natural and informal accent during the sociolinguistic interview, especially if the interview was cut relatively short. The reading task went

reasonably well. Some of the people in the young group found the story to be quite absurd and let out a few laughs while reading it, and a large amount of people had trouble with the word *ether* (which might be expected as it is not strictly speaking an everyday word). Much more surprising was the fact that several people seemed to struggle with the word *administered,* often misreading it as *administrated*. Beyond this there were few problems associated with the reading passage.

4.1.4 The sentences

It has become common to include word lists in the type of sociolinguistic interviews that has been described above. It was decided not to include a word list in this study, but rather a list of sentences. This was done in order to achieve connected speech rather than single words and as it includes word boundaries the number of phonetic environments is expanded. The list of sentences was not very long, as I believed that the informants should not have too much to do, and some of the sentences gave the opportunity to look for the presence or absence of more than one variable. Some of the sentences were copied from Reiersen's (2013) master's thesis and some were constructed by the present researcher. The reading of the sentences was very straightforward. The informants seemed to have few problems while reading, and on the occasions that they stumbled on a word or misread something they usually read the whole sentence again without being asked. A list of the sentences read by the informants in this study can be found in Appendix A.

4.1.5 Informants

Representativeness is important when it comes to studies in dialectology. Milroy and Gordon address the issue of representativeness and state that it is most challenging to select a representative group when studying a diverse population, typically in urban settings (2003: 25). They mention Labov's work in New York City, where he tried to attain representativeness by choosing informants from a *random sample*. The principle of random sampling is that "anyone within the sample frame has an equal chance of being selected" (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 25). A sample frame is described as any list

that "enumerates the relevant population" (2003:25), for example registers or the phone book. The sampling of the people in the sample frame should be done according to Milroy and Gordon by a mechanical procedure. For instance, by assigning numbers to the people on the list and selecting random numbers, or by choosing every *nth* person (2003: 25). As explained in section 4.1.1 the informants in this study were approached on the street, in shops or in cafés all around Inverness. Technically speaking, anyone who was out in the city on the days that the researcher was there, had a chance of being selected for the sample. Since the idea of paired interviews was abandoned and the informants were interviewed one-on-one, this meant only approaching those that were walking/sitting alone.

Defining the sample universe can also be problematic (2003: 26). This involves deciding which people should be included in the study. They may be people of a certain social class, people of a certain age, etc. For this study three social variables were chosen; age, gender and social class, all of which are described in section 4.3. It was assumed that by including different social variables, the results would vary according to these, as seen in previous studies (cf. chapter 2). Another decision that was made was that the informants must be Inverness natives; preferably having grown up in the city itself or at least within a close proximity, and that they had what is considered an Invernessian accent. As there are no sources describing what InvEng should sound like, it had to be assumed that if a person fulfilled the criteria above they would have an Invernessian accent.

The sampling size also needs to be determined in sociolinguistic studies. In a master's thesis such as this one, working with too large a sampling size is not possible, as the thesis needs to be finished within a relatively short time frame. The ideal number of 150 subjects for a large community of speakers, suggested by Sankoff (in Milroy and Gordon 2003: 29), is simply not possible for the purpose of this study. In addition, as the informants were approached on the street and in cafés, there was no possible way of knowing how many informants would agree to be involved. Previous master's theses have included a sample of ten to fifteen speakers, and the aim was to attain around the same numbers.

Thirteen informants took part in the study. Six of these belonged to the young group and seven to the older group. All of the informants are born and raised in

Inverness, with the exception of Kate who is originally from The Black Isle (roughly 11 miles outside of Inverness). Kate is also the only one who does not fit in exactly with the age groups, being 31 rather than 30. Still, it was decided that her speech data could be used in the study, mostly due to the fact that her speech did not appear to vary considerably from the other speakers in the young group. She does however not fit in perfectly with the criteria for participation, and this must be kept in mind while reading the results of this study. Originally, the plan was to have an even number of male and female participants. However, it became clear that it was much easier to get females to take part in the study, and this is the reason why there are nine female and only four male informants. This means that it is unlikely that the results can be generalised. The table below lists all the informants that took part in the study by pseudonym, age, place of origin and occupation.

Table 3.2: List of informants that took part in the study

Speaker	Age	Place of origin	Occupation
Ages 20-30			
Amy	20	Inverness	Tourism
Lauren	24	Inverness	Audiologist
Clare	27	Inverness	Guest house owner
Thomas	30	Inverness	Volunteer worker
Jamie	30	Inverness	Debenhams
Kate	31	The Black Isle	Tourism
Ages 50 +			
John	50	Inverness	Tourism
Graham	50	Inverness	Forestry industry
Angela	51	Inverness	Museum café + cleaner
Ruth	53	Inverness	Optician
Harriet	59	Inverness	Tourism
Isobel	66	Inverness	Teacher, volunteer worker
Peggy	66	Inverness	Retired, different jobs

4.2 Method for data analysis

In phonological studies, analysing speech data can be done in a number of ways; the most common being *auditory analysis.* Section 4.2.1 gives a short explanation of what

this term entails and how auditory analysis is used in connection with phonological studies. The seven sections following this explanation give descriptions of the phonological environments and contexts of the variants that were included in the analysis.

4.2.1 Auditory analysis

Auditory analysis is widely used when it comes to studies in phonological variation and dialectology. This approach relies on the auditory judgements of the investigators, and can thus sometimes be referred to as impressionistic coding (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 144). The researcher listens to the recorded interviews, and determines which variants are used. It is also up to the researcher to determine where the phonetic boundaries between the variants are. The results are transcribed and later quantified in order for the researcher to make certain assumptions about the variant and its usage. In some cases, this means finding out which out of two types is most common (e.g. /θ/ or /f/); sometimes it means determining the correct variant for a specific area (e.g. /r/, /ɾ/, /ɻ/, or /ʁ/); in some cases it might involve the alternation between two sounds (e.g. /ɪŋg/ and /ɪn/); and in other cases the alternation between the order of the sounds (e.g. /æsk/ or /æks/ in American English) (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 144). Some variants may be relatively straightforward to classify, but others may be more of a challenge.

The auditory analysis in this study was carried out by the researcher. When I returned from Inverness with the relevant speech data, the interviews were listened to and transcribed phonetically. Where there was doubt about the realisation of a variable, the supervisor was consulted as well, in order to be sure about which sound was used. After the transcriptions the relevant tokens were counted and used as data in the quantitative analysis. The following passages include the token classification of the variants that were investigated in this study.

4.2.2 Token classification for (θ)

When it comes to the study of (θ), initial (e.g. *thank, three, think*), medial (e.g. *something, anything, nothing*) and final (e.g. *north, bath, mouth*) occurrences are all

included in the analysis. The decision was also made that the study would only include tokens of the fortis variant and exclude lenis (ð). Thus the two main variants analysed were occurrences of the traditional [θ] and the non-local [f]. Tokens that were rushed or unclear are naturally not included in the analysis, neither are cases where the informant was interrupted in the middle of an utterance. If the informants struggled with the pronunciation of a word (either in *Comma gets a Cure* or from the sentence list) the word was not included in the analysis.

4.2.3 Token classification for (t)

In the present study the concern is with /t/ being replaced by the glottalised variant [ʔ]. Glottalisation can occur in a number of different contexts and according to Wells (1982:260) the most traditional environments for T-Glottaling are syllable-final contexts (e.g. *battle, bottle*) and between vowels (e.g. *city, gritty*). This study includes instances of intervocalic /t/, that is to say instances where /t/ occurs between a stressed and an unstressed vowel. The results also include instances of preconsonantal /t/ (including syllabic consonants), in addition to occurrences of /t/ across word boundaries (e.g. *lot of*). Words such as *that, but* and *it* have not been included in the analysis. All instances of /t/ and [ʔ] that fit the aforementioned criteria have been analysed. Only occurrences of [ʔ] with a clear pronunciation have been analysed as examples of glottal replacement. As previously mentioned, if the informant was rushed, unclear or interrupted during the pronunciation, the token has been excluded from the analysis.

4.2.4 Token classification for (ʍ)

Identifying contexts of (ʍ) is relatively straightforward. The fortis (ʍ) is used in words with orthographic <wh> (e.g. *when, what, where, whale*). The types of realisations possible were the Scottish traditional variant [ʍ] and the new variant [w]. Additionally, [f], which is a known feature of, for instance, Aberdeen English could also be present in InvEng. It was expected to find at least some examples of this token, especially since it has been mentioned it as a feature of certain Scottish accents of the north (Grant 1913: 38). Thus there were three different variants of (ʍ) to identify [w], [ʍ] and [f]. All

tokens that were not rushed, unclear or interrupted were included in the analysis. The *wh*-words present in the interviews were all analysed as tokens except *who, whom* and *whose* as these are not known to be pronounced with [ʍ] and are thus irrelevant environments. According to Wells (1982: 409) there is a possibility for words that do not have orthographic <wh>, but an initial <w> in spelling to be pronounced with [ʍ]. If examples of this came up during the interviews they were not included in the analysis. The present study is only concerned with [ʍ] replacement with [w] in *wh*-words.

4.2.5 Token classification for (r)

As stated in (3.1.4), Scottish English is mainly rhotic, and the decision was therefore made to look into the presence or absence of non-prevocalic <r> in the accent of Inverness. As seen in chapter 2, Scottish accents are usually rhotic, which means that non-prevocalic <r> is present. Examples of relevant contexts are *bird, arm, car, work, father,* and *first*. In this study most cases of [r] or the dropped variant [ø] have been included. Prepositions that normally appear unstressed are excluded, however, short verbs that were pronounced with stress in the interviews might be included (e.g. *are, were*). All tokens that were not rushed or interrupted and that were clearly pronounced have been included in the analysis.

Schützler (2010: 6) suggests that the complexity of <r> calls for it being divided into two subcategories; *articulation* (i.e. presence or absence of the variable) and *realisation* (i.e. the phonetic form of the variable). This means not only looking into whether <r> is realised or not, but also which type is used when it is. This study, however, does not focus on the realisation of <r>. This is because it was considered of less relevance to this thesis, than finding out whether non-prevocalic <r> was present or not.

4.2.6 Token classification for (ʊ)

L-vocalisation is no longer a feature exclusive to London-based English, it has since its origins spread to many cities in southern England. It is however a feature typical of

urban areas (Nilsen 2010: 204), and therefore it was decided that it should be investigated for the purpose of this study. In addition, it was important to identify the quality of the /l/ pronounced in Inverness. The vocalised variant appears in the same environments as dark [ɫ], that is to say in non-prevocalic position or when followed by a pause (Nilsen 2010: 79). This meant finding tokens of the presumed local variant [l], the possible [ɫ], or the non-local variant [ʊ]. Identifying tokens was relatively simple. All occurrences of [l], [ɫ] or [ʊ], after vowels or when the consonant was syllabic, which were uttered clearly and uninterrupted, were included in the analysis.

4.2.7 Token classification for (e)

The lexical set FACE refers to words that are pronounced with the front-closing diphthong /eɪ/ in RP and General American, and the front close-mid monophthong /e/ in Standard Scottish English. Relevant examples of these types of words are *eight, grace, say, name, wait* etc. The vowel may occur initially, medially or finally, and appearances in all of these placements have been included in the analysis. Both lexical and grammatical words were analysed, as long as they were pronounced clearly and without interruption. This variable presented the greatest challenge when it came to classification, because the narrow range of the diphthongal glide sometimes made it difficult to hear whether /e/ was diphthongised or not. If the diphthongisation was clearly present it was naturally analysed as a diphthong, but if there was only a slight glide from /e/ to /ɪ/ the occurrence was analysed as a monophthong. This decision was made in order to only capture those speakers that had a complete /eɪ/ pronunciation. As previously stated this particular lexical set was looked into to find out whether InvEng speakers used the local Scottish variant /e/ or had adopted the Southern English variant /eɪ/.

4.2.8 Token classification for (o)

The final variable looked into was the lexical set GOAT. In these types of words the vowel is pronounced with the back-closing diphthong /oʊ/ in accents of English-English and the back close-mid monophthong /o/ in SSE. The following is a list of examples of

these types of words; *coat, go, home, bowl* and *goal.* The vowel may occur initially, medially or finally, and all appearances in these positions have been included in the analysis. Short words such as *so* and *no* have not been included as tokens as they are usually unstressed. Similar to FACE, in GOAT words only full diphthongs were marked as such in the analysis, while slight glides were analysed as monophthongs. Rushed or unclear tokens have been excluded from the analysis.

4.3 Extralinguistic variables

This study looks into phonological variation in relation to certain social variables. In the following section the social categories chosen for the purpose of this project are presented. Age and gender are the most relevant to the present study, however social class is also included as it is considered an important variable in sociolinguistic studies, and since it may have some effect on the results of the present thesis.

4.3.1 Age

In a small scale study such as a master's thesis, there is no possibility for a researcher to follow the same individuals for a number of years while monitoring their speech, which is the normal procedure in real-time studies. Therefore the researcher must try to gather informants from the same linguistic area, but from different generations; these types of studies are known as apparent-time studies (cf. section 2.1.5). Systematic differences across generations are interpreted as evidence of linguistic change, and people of different ages are taken as representatives of different times (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 35). The speech of today's 80-year-old, then, represents a different time than the speech of a 50-year-old or a 20-year-old. This way, a researcher may draw conclusions about what the speech of the area sounded like X years ago, and compare it to what it sounds like today. If this type of analysis should be accepted, one must also accept that the speech of a person does not change drastically after a particular age. Milroy and Gordon state that

> […] the basic assumption of the apparent-time hypothesis – that an individual's speech remains stable throughout life – seems reasonably secure if we

understand it to apply to particular types of features (those that do not attract social awareness) and to cover the course of one's adult life only (2003: 37).

If we assume, then, that a person's speech stays relatively stable after s/he has reached adulthood, apparent-time studies are ideal for mapping developments in a speech area across generations. However, these types of studies are not wholly without challenges. One of the biggest issues is our "understanding of the relationship between age and sociolinguistic variation" (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 38).

It is simple to assign age to an informant, but this is only one step of interpreting age-related variation. One challenge can be to find good ways of grouping and comparing the informants (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 39). Eckert (in Milroy and Gordon 2003) suggests using life stages rather than simple chronology. Here, there are three different life stages to be considered; childhood, adolescence and adulthood, each with their respective subdivisions. In this study, however, the informants will be grouped into two age groups; 20-30 and 50 +. This is done because all the informants are in what is considered the adulthood life stage, and it is the development of adult speech in Inverness that is under investigation in this thesis.

Some general trends in age-related studies should also be mentioned. Milroy and Gordon state that adolescents tend to lead in the use of innovative forms, whereas the speech of middle-aged adults is conservative, often even more conservative than older speakers (2003: 39). As this thesis does not look into the speech of adolescents, the first trend may be of small significance. However the youngest informants (people in their early twenties) are recently out of adolescence, and may therefore represent somewhat recent trends. The tendency for middle-aged speakers to be more conservative could have an effect on the results in this study. It is expected that the people in the older group will use less of the non-local variants, and stick to the local variants.

There are six informants in the young group in this study and seven in the older group. This means that there is a relatively even ratio between the speech data acquired from young speakers and the data acquired from older speakers. The oldest of the young speakers is 31 and the youngest of the older speakers is 50, so there is an age gap of 19 years between the peripheries of the groups.

4.3.2 Gender

In sociolinguistic studies, gender is often included as a social category due to the knowledge that men and women differ in their speech. Holmes (1992: 164) suggests that "women are more linguistically polite than men […] and that women and men emphasise different speech functions." Men, on the other hand, are often expected to use more of the vernacular forms because of its connection to "toughness and roughness." One of the most common generalisations is that women use the standard variety more than men. This is often said to be based upon women's sensitivity to standard and non-standard varieties. While men are evaluated on what they do, women are evaluated on how they appear (Meyerhoff 2011: 219). Women are also expected to be "the guardians of society's values" and thus have a tendency to use more standard forms (Holmes 1992: 172). By contrast, women are also believed to use more of the incoming and innovative variants. This is known as the Gender Paradox; women are use the standard variant more than men, but at the same time they also use the innovative and vernacular forms more than men. Such generalisations about gender preferences may be problematic, but can also be helpful while studying change in process (Meyerhoff 2011: 218). Since it is unclear which generalisation holds true, many sociolinguists come to conclude that gender does not on its own determine the usage of variants, but rather that the connection to social roles and networks results in variation between the two genders (Meyerhoff 2011: 231). Milroy and Gordon state that in traditional variationist research women were said to use more of the prestige norm than men with the same social status, but they also concede that there are some problems with this traditional account (2003: 101). In the same paragraph they also mention that there has as of yet been no explanation as to why women orient more readily to the prestige norm than men, and specifying the prestige norm is not always straightforward. There are then some difficulties in identifying gender-related differences in a social setting. Milroy and Gordon also state that gender does not have "a constant effect on language, since linguistic variables relate to gendered behaviour in very different ways" (2003: 100).

     In connection to this study, gender differences are included in order to see if they fit with any of the above generalisations about gender and linguistic forms. In addition

the results from sociolinguistic studies into gender variation may help researchers understand who is leading the change in the community.

In this study, there are considerably fewer male than female participants. Out of the 13 interviewed, only four are male, while the remaining nine are female. This makes it hard to generalise about gender differences, but some tentative suggestions might be made on the basis of the results in this study. It must, however, be kept in mind that these suggestions are just that, and thus may not be generalised.

4.3.3 Social class

Social class is defined as "a measure of status which is often based on occupation, income and wealth, but also can be measured in terms of aspirations and mobility" (Meyerhoff 2011: 165). The people who score similarly on these factors can then be grouped into the same social classes. The notion of a social class system is connected to theories of social and political economies in the nineteenth century, in addition to figures like Karl Marx and Max Weber (Meyerhoff 2011: 165). Although social class is not the most important social variable in this thesis, it is considered "[…] a variable which plays such a prominent role in language variation […] that a socially accountable researcher cannot avoid considering it at least at some level of the analysis" (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 40), and it therefore deserves some attention. In addition, as mentioned in the previous section, it can be important in connection with linguistic variation and gender.

Most descriptions of social class start by contrasting it to the *caste system*. Whereas a person is born into – and stays within - a caste his/her entire life, social classes are more mobile (Meyerhoff 2011: 166). People can be born into the working-class and stay there their entire lives, but there is also a possibility that during their life they will move into the middle-class, for instance by undergoing higher education and getting what is considered a "middle-class job", or by marriage.

Determining which class a person belongs to can be based on several different factors. Some researchers decide only to base it upon the person's occupation, whereas others include parents' occupation, education, income and neighbourhood (Milroy and Gordon 2003: 42-43). In a thesis of this size it can be difficult to find informants from

various social backgrounds, and since one is dependent upon the goodwill of the people, one has to be satisfied with all the informants that take part. Ideally, of course, having informants from several social backgrounds would yield a more comprehensive study of linguistic change.

This thesis includes people who could all be considered to belong to the "middle-class", although few of the Invernessians wanted to categorise themselves as such. The study will then look into differences within one particular social class as opposed to differences between several social classes.

5. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

5.1 Introduction

The present chapter presents the results of the analysis of the data gathered in Inverness. All the variables are presented in their own sections, with both results and discussion included. The main aims of this thesis is to describe and define the accent of Inverness (with comparison both to Island accents, and Lowland accents), to discover whether the accent is affected by accent levelling from the Lowland cities or the rest of Britain, or if the accent is changing towards SSE.

In the following sections the results are presented in tables and figures. The tables include the number (N) of tokens for each variable in both casual and careful speech, in addition to the percentage scores of the variants. Percentages are provided without decimals, and thus e.g. 87.8% will be given as 88%. This is done in order to make the discussion easier to follow. The figures present the individual percentage scores of the speakers. Casual and careful speech are given separately, in different bar charts, in order to show the difference in style.

When it comes to the number of tokens it was decided that 15-20 minutes of each interview should be interpreted and all relevant tokens that appeared during this time were included in the analysis. In most cases this produced more than the minimal amount of 10 tokens which is mentioned by Milroy and Gordon (2003) as a sensible goal. Any number of tokens lower than 10 increases the likelihood of random fluctuation, but higher figures "move[…] towards 90 percent conformity with the predicted norm, rising to 100 percent with 35 tokens" (2003: 164). The numbers were usually higher than 30 for all speakers. The only person who did not produce enough tokens in some cases was Angela, whose interview was very short. In the cases where she produces less than 10 tokens of a variable she has been excluded from the data since it is likely that variation is due to random fluctuation, and no generalisations can be made about her speech in these instances.

One of the informants did not seem to follow the same patterns as the other speakers, and his speech was on some levels very different from that of the other Invernessians who participated in the study. For these reasons the speech data gathered from 50-year-old John have been excluded when it comes to the results for gender- and age-related variation. Additionally, his data often confounded the results. John is, for instance, the only speaker who consistently drops [r], and including his results in the gender and age scores made the numbers appear much higher for R-Dropping than they really were. His data is, however, not completely excluded from the study; it is included in the overall scores, and in the individual percentage scores for casual and careful speech.

5.2 TH-Fronting

TH-Fronting refers to the fronting of the dental fricative [θ] to labiodental [f] (cf. chapter 3). All recorded instances of [θ] or [f] that were pronounced clearly and without interruption in the interviews are included in the results of this thesis. Table 5.1 presents the total amount of tokens and the distribution between the two variants.

Table 5.1: TH-Fronting: total scores

Variants	N	%
[θ]	833	100
[f]	0	0
Total	833	100

As is quite clear from Table 5.1 there were no instances of TH-Fronting in InvEng, and it can be assumed that the feature has not made it into the accent of the Inverness middle-class. As there were no occurrences of [f] for [θ] whatsoever, the individual scores presented in Figure 5.1 below include data from both casual and careful speech. The informants have been arranged according to age with the youngest

speaker first and the oldest speaker last. The divide between the young group and the older group is between Kate and John.
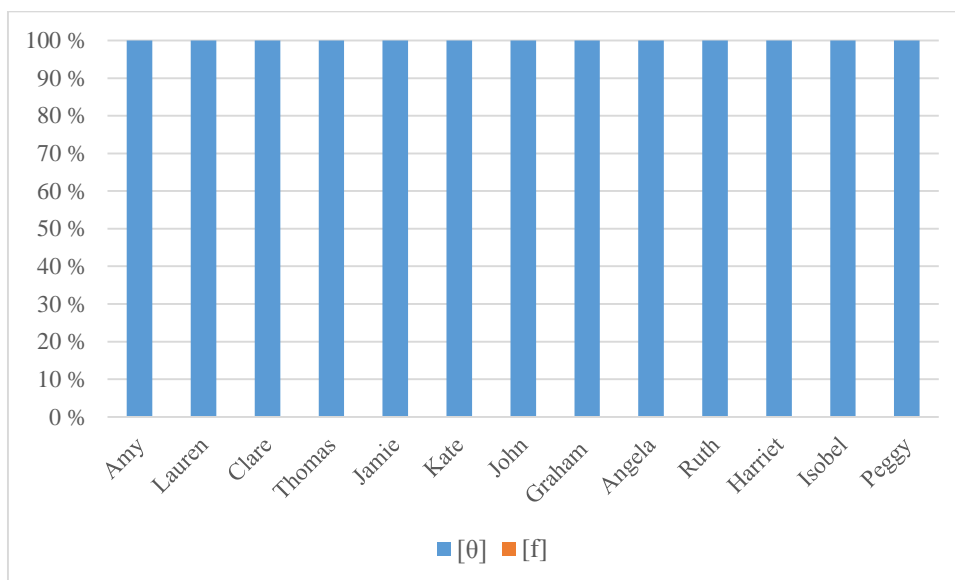

Figure 5.1: TH-Fronting: Individual percentage scores in casual and careful speech

As is quite obvious, there are no instances of TH-Fronting by any of the speakers in casual speech, and all of them have 100% usage of the standard variant [θ]. Additionally, there were no instances of TH-Fronting in careful speech by any of the informants.

It is evident from Figure 5.1 that there are no instances of TH-Fronting in any of the Inverness speakers. As stated in chapter 2, TH-Fronting has become more common in urban WC speech in Glasgow and, to some extent, Edinburgh (cf. section 2.2.2). The informants who took part in this study were all classified as MC speakers, and this may be the reason why no instances of TH-Fronting were found. If the present thesis had included speakers from the WC as well as MC speakers, it is possible that the results would have been different. In addition, no speakers under the age of 20 were interviewed, and it is also possible that younger speakers adopt the feature more readily, as has been previously noted in Glasgow (cf. Stuart-Smith 1999). Inclusion of younger WC speakers, then, might have yielded different results. The results of this study, suggest that it is reasonable to assume that TH-Fronting has not reached the MC

speakers of Inverness (if the rest of the MC population follow the same pattern as the informants who took part in this study). In terms of the other extralinguistic variables, neither age nor gender are relevant in this case, as there are no occurrences of TH-Fronting at all in InvEng. Since there was no mention of TH-Fronting in Shuken's (1984) data, I assumed that she found no occurrences of this feature in the Highland and Island accents she studied. The data from Inverness follows the same pattern, and when it comes to this particular variant, it is reasonable to group Inverness English and Island accents together. All the informants used the local variant [θ] in 100% of the cases, and thus there is no variation when it comes to this variable.

5.3 T-Glottaling

The results for glottal replacement of non-initial /t/ present an entirely different picture. The replacement of [t] with the glottal stop [ʔ] has been mentioned as a feature of London Cockney English, and as a feature of urban Scottish accents. Due to the lack of previous research, deciding whether the feature has traditionally been local to InvEng or not, can be problematic. The results include instances of non-initial /t/; preconsonantal (including syllabic consonants), intervocalic, and /t/ across word boundaries (e.g. *Scotland, bottle, city,* and *lot of*). Grammatical words such as *it, but* and *that* have not been included in the results. Table 5.2 gives the total scores for T-Glottaling.

Table 5.2: T-Glottaling: total scores

Variant	N	%
[t]	735	49
[ʔ]	767	51
Total	1502	100

As can be seen from Table 5.2 there is a relatively equal distribution of the two variants with 49% being realised as [t] and 51% as [ʔ]. However, there is great inter-speaker variation. Figure 5.3 presents the individual percentage scores for T-Glottaling

in casual speech (Angela has been excluded from the results as she only produced 9 tokens in casual speech; four of which were [t] and five [ʔ]).
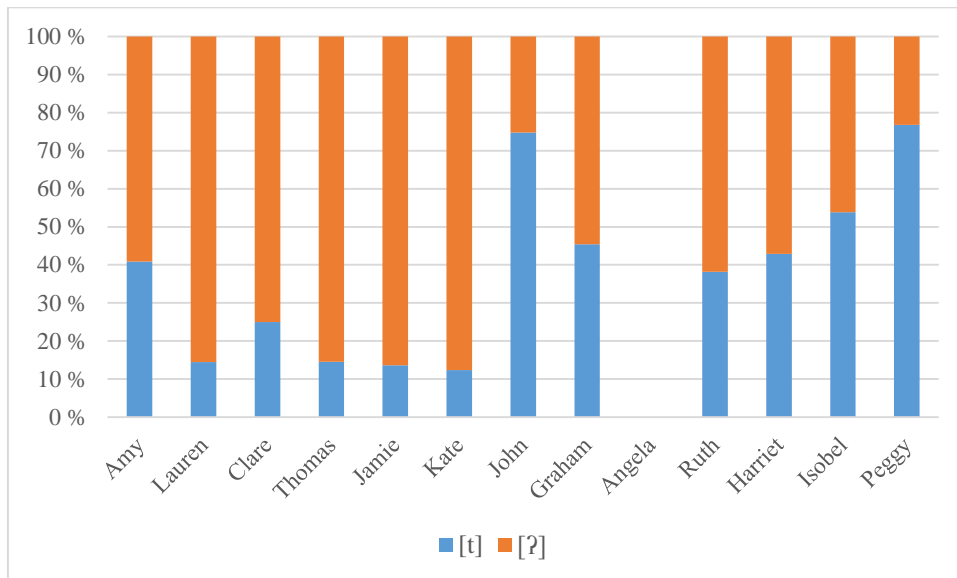
Figure 5.2: T-Glottaling: Individual percentage scores in casual speech

As can be observed in Figure 5.2, Lauren, Clare, Thomas, Jamie and Kate all have high scores for [ʔ], and lower scores for [t]. The youngest speaker, Amy, has the lowest scores for [ʔ] among the young speakers, but she still uses the glottal realisation 59% of the time. It is clear from Figure 5.2 that the younger speakers glottalise more than the speakers in the older group. John and Peggy have the highest scores for [t] among the older speakers, and Ruth has the highest scores for [ʔ], whereas the other speakers in the same group have relatively even distribution of the two variants. It would seem from these results that glottaling of (t) is common in InvEng, with young speakers as well as older speakers. The picture is slightly different when it comes to the speech elicited from the reading passage and the sentences. These scores are presented in Figure 5.3 below.

Figure 5.3: T-Glottaling: Individual percentage scores in careful speech

Most of the speakers have much lower scores for the glottal realisation in careful speech. One example is Lauren who uses the glottal stop in 85% of the cas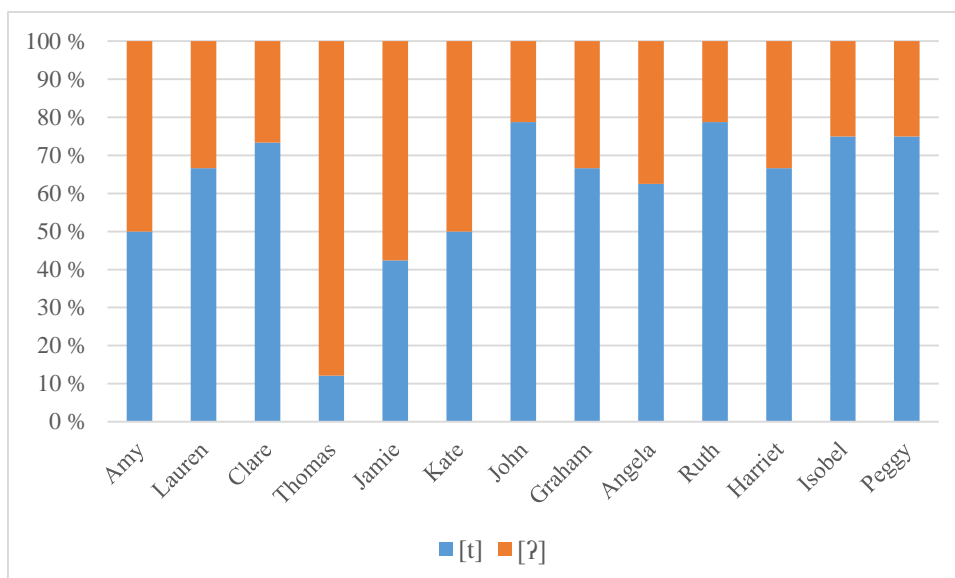es in casual speech, but her usage of this variant is reduced to 33% in careful speech. After the interview, she explained that her mother had always told her to say "be[t]er and le[t]er" when growing up, and she had often been told to avoid using [ʔ] (as it was not 'proper' or 'nice'). Although she could not avoid the glottal realisation in casual speech, she seemed able to avoid it while reading. The same can be seen for Ruth who uses the glottal variant in 62% of the cases in casual speech, and reduces her usage to 21% in careful speech. Thomas, on the other hand, does not display much difference when it comes to style. He consistently uses the glottal realisation more than the alveolar plosive (85% of the time in casual speech and 87% of the time in careful speech). Once again, John has low scores for glottaling.

When it comes to the extralinguistic variables, it is difficult to say much about gender variation in general. This is due to the fact that there are only three male speakers (since John has been excluded), and it is difficult to generalise about such a small sample. Nevertheless Table 5.3 shows gender-related variation.

Table 5.3: T-Glottaling: total group scores according to gender

Gender variation	[t]	%	[ʔ]	%
Female	409	45	492	55
Male	91	28	237	72

Table 5.3, without John's data, shows differences between the genders. The males use the alveolar plosive in 28% of the cases, whereas the females use it in 45% of the cases. When it comes to the glottal realisation the males have 72% usage of this variant as opposed to the females' 55%. Since the differences are based on such a small sample of male speakers there is no way of knowing whether they are representative, and the results cannot be generalised.

Age is a relevant extralinguistic variable when it comes to T-Glottaling. Figure 5.4 presents T-Glottaling group scores according to age.
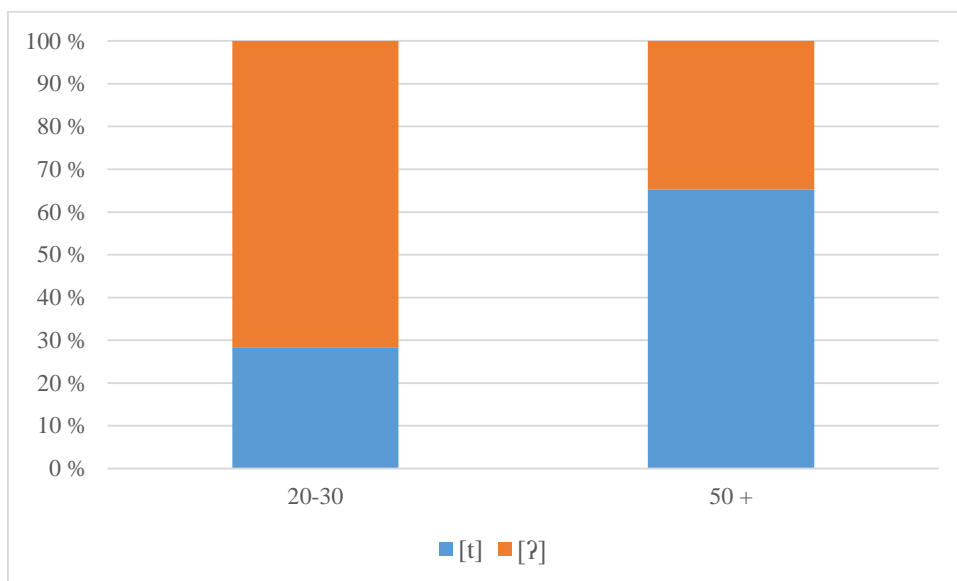

Figure 5.4: T-Glottaling: group percentage scores according to age

It is in relation to age that the more reliable differences occur. The young group uses the glottal realisation in 72% of the cases. This is in sharp contrast to the older group which only uses the glottal stop 35% of the time, and prefers the alveolar plosive in the remaining 65% of the cases.

As seen from Figures 5.2 and 5.3, when it comes to this variable, the realisations vary greatly according to style, and Table 5.4 gives the age group scores according to style (John's results are excluded from the table below).

Table 5.4: T-Glottaling: Age group scores according to style

Age group		[t]	%	[ʔ]	%
50+	Casual	277	63	165	37
	Formal	139	71	56	29
	Total	**416**		**221**	
20-30	Casual	108	21	408	79
	Formal	93	48	99	52
	Total	**201**		**507**	

It is clear that the glottal realisation is much more common in casual speech. In formal speech the older age group use the standard variant [t] in 71% of the cases and 29% of the tokens are realised as [ʔ]. This differs from their results for casual speech where they use the standard variant 63% of the time, while the glottal replacement is used in 37% of the cases. Still, the standard variant seems to be the most dominant among the older speakers. The younger speakers on the other hand have very different results. In casual speech their results for glottaling are very high (79%), and while that number is greatly reduced in formal speech, they still use [ʔ] 52% of the time while reading.

When looking at the individual percentage scores in casual speech it can be observed that although the younger participants use the glottal replacement more than the older participants, most of the 50 + people have high scores for glottal replacement as well (the exceptions are John and Peggy). The high frequency of glottal stops suggests that the feature has been part of InvEng for a while, but the difference in distribution between the two age groups, mirrors the change happening all over Britain, where the glottal stop is becoming more common in conversational speech with younger people. The change then, does not seem to be towards a more standardised variety, such as SSE, but is rather following recent British trends and change happening all over Scotland. Although it can be assumed that T-Glottaling has been part of InvEng

a while, it is also possible that the accent has been influenced by the process of levelling. Since the young informants glottalise more than the older informants, they may have been influenced by the changes happening in Scottish Lowland cities, where glottalisation has become more common. Inverness has grown rapidly, and the urbanisation, in addition to the fact that the population consists of many newcomers from all over Scotland, may also influence the accent of the city.

When it comes to the similarity between the Highland and Island accents, it is mentioned by Shuken (1984: 158) that some speakers from Skye replace post-vocalic [t] with the glottal stop, but this is not considered a feature of Highland and Island English. With its frequency within InvEng, and considering how often [ʔ] was mentioned as a typical feature of the Inverness accent, it is reasonable to suggest that this is a feature firmly rooted in InvEng. Thus, one of the Highland accents, shows considerable usage of the glottalised variant, and if other accents of the Highlands follow the same pattern, grouping Highland and Island accents together could be misleading.

5.4 The Wine-whine merger

The Wine-whine merger refers to the replacement of the fortis labio-velar fricative [ʍ] with the lenis labio-velar approximant [w] in words with orthographic <wh>. The disappearance of [ʍ] has been noted as a feature of recent change in Scotland, and is often attributed to influence from England, where [w] is the norm (cf. chapter 2). Additionally, it has previously been noted that varieties of northern Scottish English have a third option, the labio-dental fricative [f], and occurrences of this variant are also included in the analysis. Table 5.4 gives the total scores for the three variables.

Table 5.5: The Wine-whine merger: total scores

Variants	N	%
[ʍ]	96	22
[w]	341	77
[f]	1	< 1
Total	438	100

As can be seen from Table 5.5, only one occurrence of [f] was found in the interviews and the remaining tokens are either [w] or [ʍ]. Out of the total of 438 tokens, 96 were pronounced with the Scottish English variant [ʍ], and the remaining 341 tokens had merged into [w]. Figure 5.5 below presents the individual percentage scores in casual and careful speech. The scores for casual and careful speech are presented together due to the fact that some speakers had few tokens, and there were not many occurrences of these variables in the reading passage and the sentences.
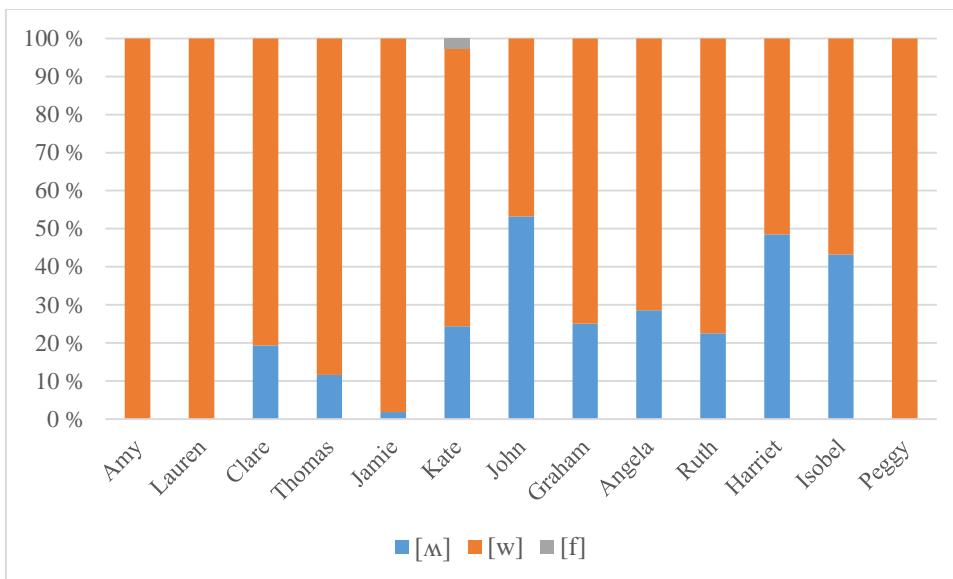

Figure 5.5: The Wine-whine merger: Individual percentage scores in casual and careful speech

Figure 5.5 makes it clear that three speakers (Amy, Lauren and Peggy) never use the traditional Scottish English variant [ʍ] in casual or careful speech. The other speakers all use it, but to varying degrees. Clare, Thomas and Jamie all use the variant very rarely, while John and Harriet have the highest scores for [ʍ]. Kate is the only speaker who once uses [f], and she is also the only informant who is not originally from Inverness, but from the Black Isle. This can be an explanation as to why the feature appears, but as this variant only occurs once, it cannot be generalised about (further study into the accents of the Black Isle could perhaps uncover whether this is a Black Isle accent feature). The results for gender-related variation can be found in Table 5.6 below. The results for [f] have been excluded as the variant only appeared once. John's data is not included in the gender- and age-related variation scores.

Table 5.6: The Wine-whine merger: total scores according to gender

Gender	[ʍ]	%	[w]	%
Female	61	21	224	79
Male	10	10	95	90

There are differences between the two genders when it comes to the Wine-whine merger. The female speakers use the Scottish variant in 21% of the cases, whereas the male speakers use it 10% of the time. According to Jones (1997: 330), [ʍ] has been viewed as the most prestigious variant, and the females were expected to use it more than the males. The differences between the genders are only based on data from three male speakers, and we cannot know if their results are representative. It is impossible to know if the results would have been different if more males had participated in the study.

It is evident from Figure 5.5 that most of the speakers in the older age group have high scores for [w]. This is perhaps unexpected as it has previously been reported that it is primarily young speakers who merge [ʍ] and [w] (cf. Schützler 2010), whereas older speakers only moderately use [w] for [ʍ] (cf. Stuart-Smith et al. 2007). Figure 5.6 shows the scores for age-related variation.
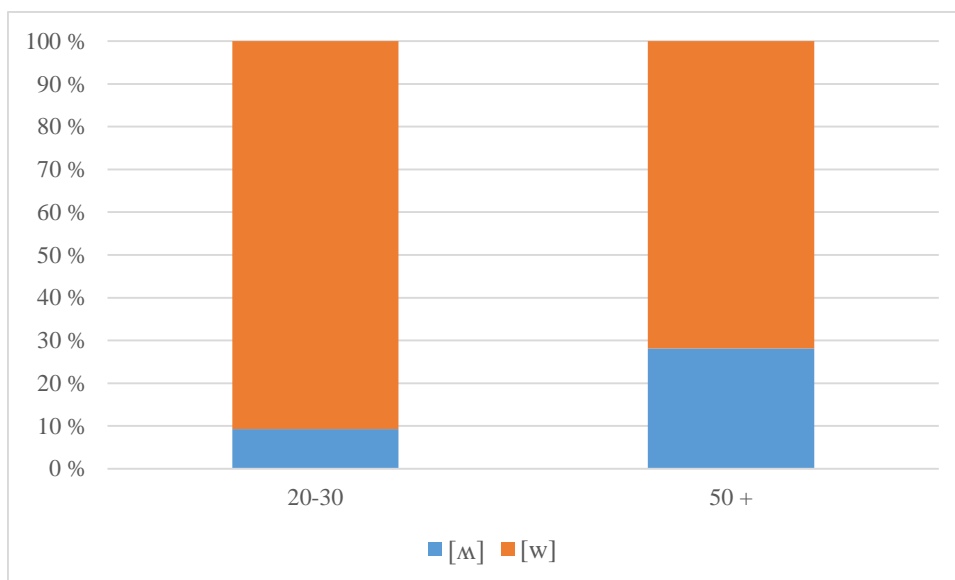
Figure 5.6: The Wine-whine merger: group percentage scores according to age

As may be observed from Figure 5.6, both age groups have scores lower than 50% for [ʍ]. When it comes to the 20 to 30 year-olds they only use the Scottish English variant in 9% of the cases, and 91% of the time they use [w]. The over 50 group has higher scores for the Scottish English variant. Here, [ʍ] is used in 28% of the cases, and the remaining 72% are pronounced with [w].

In relation to this variable it may be challenging to describe the InvEng accent, since there is much variability, not just between older and younger speakers, but between speakers in the same age group. One pattern that may be observed is that the older speakers use the traditional variant [ʍ] more than the younger speakers, and it may be assumed that [ʍ] has to some degree been part of InvEng. The two youngest speakers in the sample, Amy and Lauren, have completely merged [ʍ] into [w]. All the other speakers use [ʍ] to varying degrees in both casual and careful speech. It is clear from both the individual scores and the group scores according to age, that the younger speakers use [ʍ] much less than the older speakers. Schützler (2010: 18) suggests that MC speakers are likely to merge [ʍ] and [w] due to their believed direct contact with Anglo-English. Graham and Peggy who had both lived abroad in Canada, and thus been in contact with other accents of English over a longer period of time, may thus have been influenced by their stays abroad. Peggy displays no usage of the traditional

Scottish English variant whatsoever (and is the only person in the older group to have no occurrences of [ʍ]), and Graham has 25% usage of [ʍ]. Isobel, on the other hand, had also spent some years abroad in Australia, but she still used [ʍ] in 43% of the cases, and she is among the three speakers who use the traditional Scottish English variant most. The informants were classed as middle-class and as mentioned above Schützler states that speakers from this class are more likely to merge [ʍ] and [w]. This might offer an explanation as to why so many of the speakers merge the two variants. The question then becomes; what of the working-class? It is possible that working-class speakers do not merge the two variants to the same degree as the MC speakers do, due to their lack of mobility, and stronger ties to the community.

Shuken (1984: 159) states that /ʍ/ is used by most speakers in the (Highlands and) Islands. The results of this study, however, suggest that [w] is the leading variable in the Highland accent of InvEng. The young speakers use [ʍ] extremely rarely, as seen above, and the older speakers only use it in 28% of the cases. Grouping InvEng and Island accents together could be misleading as [ʍ] would appear to be more firmly rooted in the accents of the Islands (according to Shuken's results). The results of the present thesis seem to mirror change happening all over Scotland where the traditional Scots and SSE variant [ʍ] is merged and the usage of [w] is taking over. Interestingly, this seems not only to be happening with the younger speakers, but with the older speakers as well. There has, however, clearly been a change as [ʍ] is not only present, but also more frequent in the older group.

5.5 R-Dropping

Scottish accents are known to be rhotic, which implies the realisation of non-prevocalic <r>. The objective in studying R-Dropping in InvEng is to determine whether this accent follows the same pattern as other Scottish accents and is rhotic. In cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow, R-Dropping has been discovered to some extent (cf. chapter 2), and thus another aim of the present thesis is to discover whether InvEng is firmly- or variably rhotic. Table 5.7 gives the total scores for R-Dropping found among the Inverness informants.

Table 5.7: R-Dropping: total scores

Variant	N	%
[r]	1660	93
[ø]	128	7
Total	1788	100

Table 5.7 makes it clear that there is very little R-Dropping in InvEng, with 93% of the tokens being realised, and only 7% are dropped. Most of the speakers did not display any signs of R-Dropping, and remained firmly rhotic. Other speakers very rarely dropped non-prevocalic <r>, and only one speaker seemed to consistently drop <r> both in casual and careful speech. Figure 5.7 gives the individual percentage scores in casual speech.
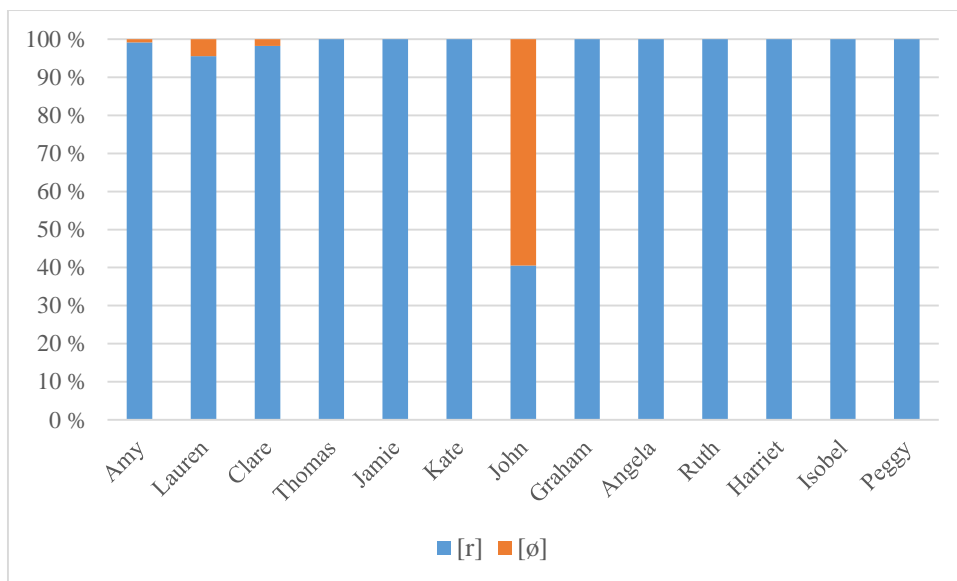
Figure 5.7: R-Dropping: Individual percentage scores in casual speech

As is evident from Figure 5.7 Amy, Lauren and Clare very rarely drop non-prevocalic <r>. The other speakers remain firmly rhotic and never display any signs of R-Dropping at all. The exception is John who is consistently prone to R-Dropping, and in 59% of relevant the contexts has Ø realisation. The same results are mirrored in careful speech found in Figure 5.8 below.
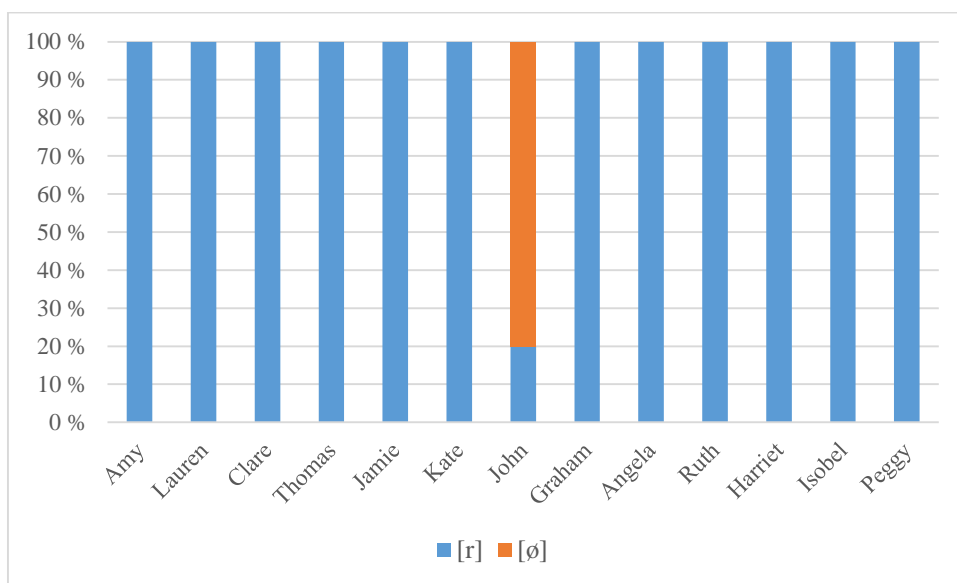
Figure 5.8: R-Dropping: Individual percentage scores in careful speech

In careful speech Amy, Lauren and Clare have no occurrences of R-Dropping, similar to all the other speakers. John, on the other hand, still drops non-prevocalic <r>, and to an even larger degree than he does in casual speech. In the reading tasks, John has 80 % Ø realisation and thus only realises 20 %.

Table 5.8: R-Dropping: total scores according to gender

Gender	[r]	%	[ø]	%
Female	1168	99	8	1
Male	424	100	0	0

Table 5.8 gives the scores for gender-related variation, and John's results have been excluded. The males have 100% realisation of <r>, as none of the three remaining informants are R-Droppers. The scores for the females are slightly higher, but overall very low. There is very little R-Dropping among the female informants and thus 99% of the time non-prevocalic <r> is realised. Figure 5.9 gives the group scores according to age.
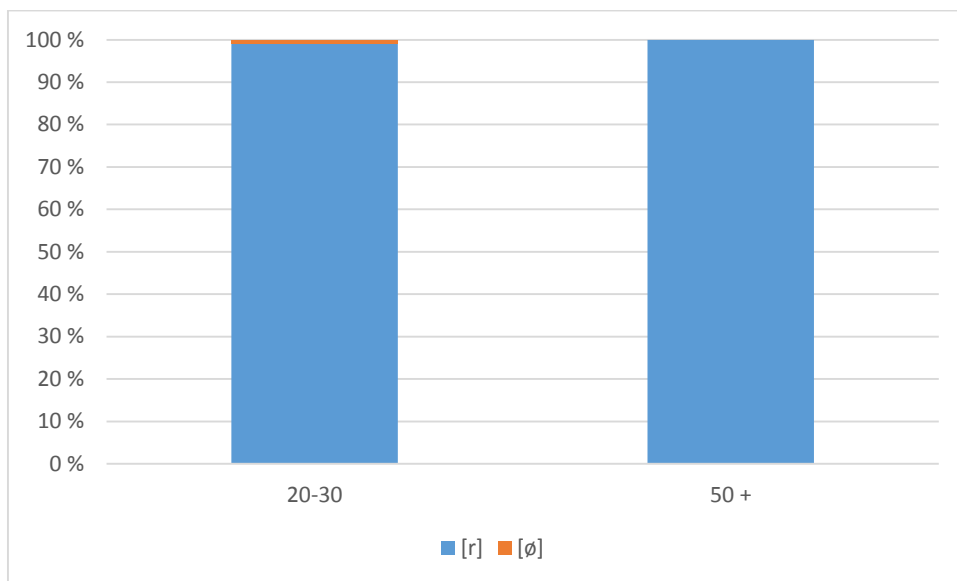
Figure 5.9: R-Dropping: group scores according to age

There is very little R-Dropping among the informants. The young speakers only drop in 1% of the cases, and thus has 99% realisation of <r>. The older speakers, John excluded, never drop at all. Therefore it may be concluded that there is very little R-Dropping among the informants that took part in this study.

Had John's data been included in this section it would have been confusing as he is the only speaker who consistently has Ø realisation throughout both the sociolinguistic interview and the reading tasks. It is difficult to understand why John should be the only speaker who does this, but it is perhaps connected to the fact that when he does realise it, he rarely uses the traditional Scottish English variants and rather realises a labiodental approximant [*v*]. This could be a form of speech impediment, and if he has been struggling with this his whole life, he may have been taught or advised to avoid the variant altogether.

In addition to the main data, it was considered relevant to look into whether R-Dropping is more frequent in short grammatical words and weak forms. Table 5.9 gives the total scores for R-Dropping in what has been labelled "grammatical words."

Table 5.9: R-Dropping: total scores in grammatical words

Variant	N	%
[r]	1302	93
[ø]	97	7
Total	1399	100

It is evident that even in grammatical words there is little R-Dropping among the informants. The results are, in fact, very similar to the ones found for R-Dropping in lexical words where 93% of the time non-prevocalic <r> is realised, and the remaining 7% of the time, it is not. The biggest difference between the two results is that more people drop <r> in grammatical contexts. The individual percentage scores for R-Dropping in grammatical words are given in Figure 5.10 below.

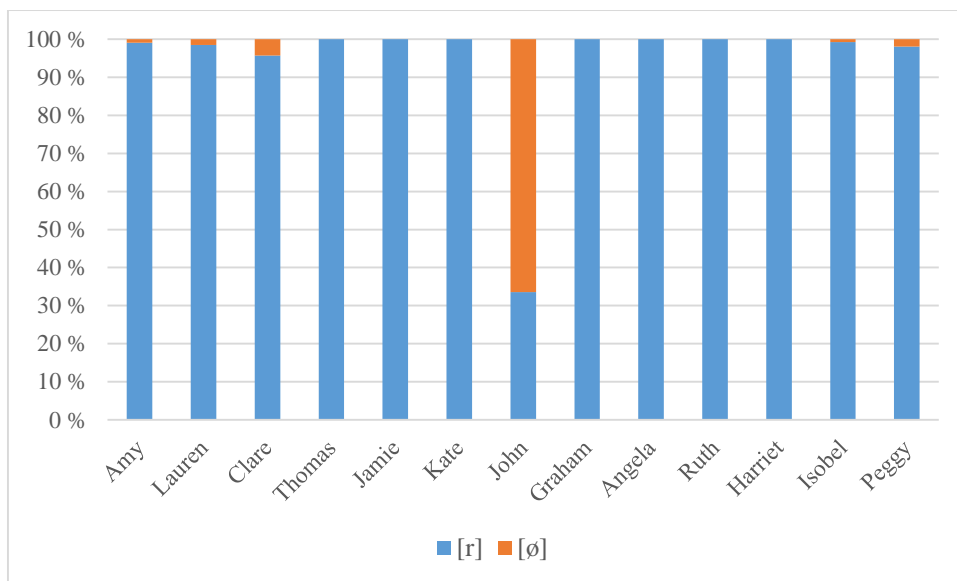Figure 5.10: R-Dropping in grammatical words: Individual percentage scores in casual and careful speech

John is still the main dropper while Thomas, Jamie, Graham, Angela, Ruth and Harriet still do not drop at all. Amy, Lauren and Clare continue to drop <r> occasionally, while Isobel and Peggy, who both never drop in lexical words, sometimes have Ø realisation in grammatical contexts. Table 5.10 shows the results for R-

Dropping in both lexical and grammatical words according to age. John's results are not included.

Table 5.10: R-Dropping in lexical vs. grammatical contexts according to age

Age group		[r]	%	[ø]	%
50+	Lex	726	100	0	0
	Gramm	576	99	3	< 1
20-30	Lex	866	99	8	1
	Gramm	682	99	7	1

It may be observed that there is not much difference between R-Dropping in lexical contexts and in grammatical contexts. The overall results show very little R-Dropping among the informants. The main difference is that the older group are more likely to drop <r> in grammatical contexts than in lexical contexts. However, they still remain rhotic 99% of the time. The younger group shows no difference between R-Dropping in lexical words and R-Dropping in grammatical words and are rhotic 99% of the time in both cases.

The results of the present thesis suggest that non-prevocalic <r> has a firm place in the accent of the Inverness MC. The few occurrences of R-Dropping among the young speakers, cannot be said to signal change, but are more likely due to speech fluctuation. This, then, mirrors Schützler's (2010: 17) results, and his claim that "we are not looking at change in progress, but in fact rhoticity is maintained in Scottish middle-class speech." This is also backed up by the results of Stuart-Smith et al. (2007) and Reiersen (2013). Similarly to Schützler, however, the present thesis shows internal variation among the speakers, and as seen above John frequently drops <r>, while the other speakers do not.

5.6 L-Vocalisation

L-Vocalisation refers to the replacement of postvocalic dark [ɫ] with a vocalised variant [ʊ]. As it has been mentioned previously that SSE and other Scottish English accents have dark [ɫ] in all positions and that Highlanders tend to have very clear [l]s (cf.

chapter 3), part of this thesis is dedicated to the attempt at discovering which types of /l/ are most common in InvEng in postvocalic position; clear [l] or dark [ɫ]. Table 5.11 gives the total scores for the three variants of /l/.

Table 5.11: L-Vocalisation: total scores

Variant	N	%
[l]	459	34
[ɫ]	890	65
[ʊ]	4	1
Total	1349	100

There are very few vocalised variants of /l/, only four in total, and all appeared in casual speech. When it comes to clear [l] and dark [ɫ] the results are surprising. According to several sources the clear [l] should be the dominant one in the Highlands, but it seems that in InvEng, at least, it is the dark [ɫ] that appears most often. The two variants are subject to great inter-speaker variation, thus some speakers seem to prefer the clear variant, while others mainly use the dark variant. Figure 5.11 gives the individual percentage scores in casual speech.
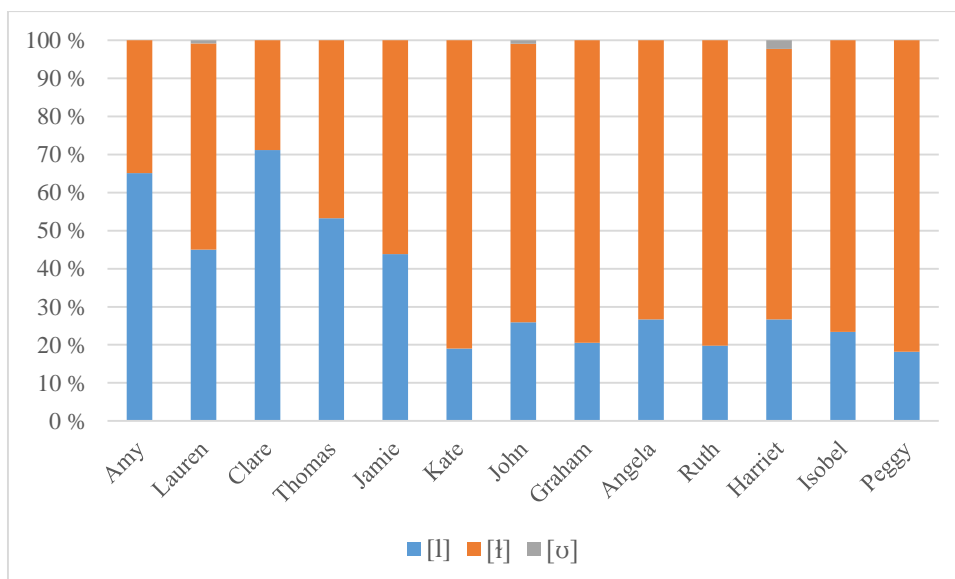

Figure 5.11: L-Vocalisation: Individual percentage scores in casual speech

As is evident from Figure 5.11, Amy, Clare and Thomas have the highest scores for clear [l], and none of these three use the vocalised variant. Lauren uses slightly fewer clear [l]s than dark [ɫ]s, in addition she uses the vocalised variant once. The people in the older group have the highest scores for dark [ɫ] in casual speech. Sometimes these dark [ɫ]s were so dark that they almost appeared to be vocalised. Angela, for instance, has very dark [ɫ]s in words like *children* and *people*. All of the speakers seem to have clear [l]s in the word *well*. Kate, while belonging to the young group, has similar scores to the older group when it comes to dark [ɫ]. This could be due to the fact that she is not from Inverness, but from the Black Isle, and that the young people from the same place pronounce their /l/s differently. This, however, is mere speculation, and cannot be known for certain without further investigation of the accents of the Black Isle. John and Harriet both use the vocalised variant, but very rarely. John only uses it once, and Harriet twice, therefore it can be assumed that all the occurrences of the vocalised variant in the Inverness data were coincidental.
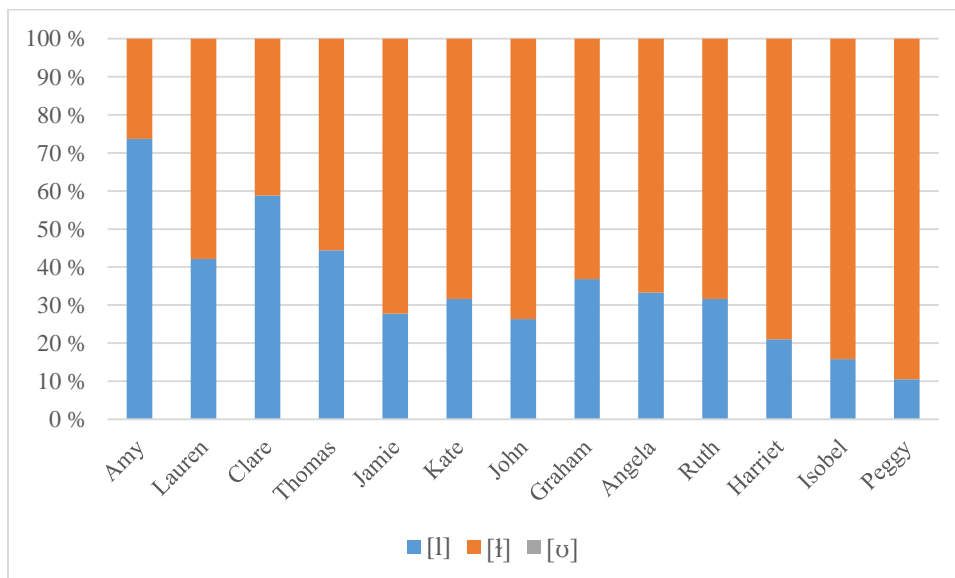
Figure 5.12: L-Vocalisation: Individual percentage scores in careful speech

When it comes to careful speech, the results are very similar to the ones found in casual speech. The speakers who have high scores for clear [l] in conversation, also have high scores for this variant in the reading tasks. Amy, Thomas and Clare still have the highest scores for clear [l] whereas the other speakers have high scores for the dark [ł] in reading. There are no occurrences of the vocalised variant in formal speech. Table 5.12 gives the total scores for clear [l] and dark [ł] according to gender. Since there are so few occurrences of the vocalised variant in the data, it has, along with John's results, been excluded from the gender and age-related differences.

Table 5.12: Clear [l] vs dark [ł]: total scores according to gender

Gender	[l]	%	[ł]	%
Female	390	39	606	61
Male	122	34	237	66

There are not great differences between the male and female speakers when it comes to their usage of the two variants. The female speakers use clear [l] in 39% of the cases and dark [ł] in 61% of the cases. The male speakers use the clear variant in 34% of the cases and have a higher score of 66% usage for the dark variant.

Figure 5.13: Clear [l] vs dark [ł]: group scores according to age

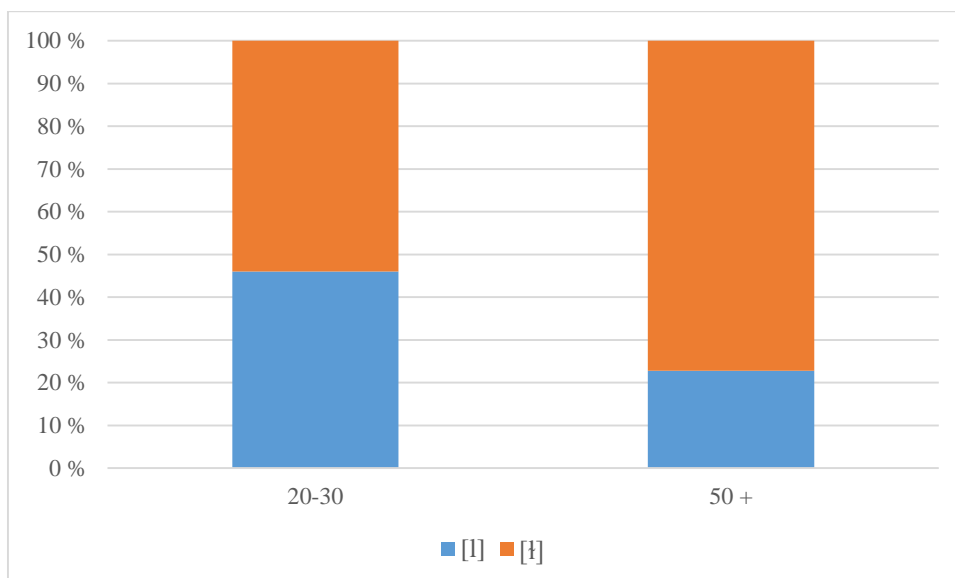When it comes to age-related variation the differences are much greater. As previously stated, the younger speakers have much higher scores for the clear variant than the people in the older group. While the 20-30 group has an almost equal distribution of the two variables (with 46% usage of clear [l] and 54% usage of dark [ɫ]), the 50 + group has much fewer occurrences of clear [l] (only 23%) than dark [ɫ] (77%).

The vocalised variant of /l/ has clearly not made it into the speech of the Inverness MC, and thus there is not much difference between the two age groups. There is however great variability between the speakers in their usage of clear [l] and dark [ɫ]. The younger speakers seem to vary greatly between the two variables, while the older speakers use the dark [ɫ] much more frequently than the clear variant. This is unexpected as the accents of the Highlands have frequently been reported to have high usage of the clear [l] (cf. chapter 2). After observing this, I considered including a study of the phonetic contexts of /l/ in order to see if the preceding vowel has an effect on what type of /l/ is used. There was, however, not enough time to complete this smaller scale study, but some observations were made. These observations have not been quantified, and are therefore highly tentative. The speakers who have higher percentage scores for clear [l] vary their usage of this variant and it appears in several phonetic environments. When it comes to the speakers who have higher usage of the dark [ɫ], these speakers seem to use the clear variant after [e] such as in words like *well* and *bell*. The dark [ɫ] seems to appear in other phonetic environments especially after [ɪ] in *hill* and *milk*, and when the /l/ is syllabic (*people*). If time had permitted it, this would have been quantified, but I suggest more research into the contexts of /l/ in 6.3 (Further research).

Recent British trends have shown an increase in the usage of the vocalised variant of /l/, especially in England. This variable has, however, not been found to any large degree in the data from Inverness. The dark [ɫ] on the other hand seems to be the leading variable and is used by the informants in 65% of the cases. As mentioned in chapter 2, accents of the Lowlands do not distinguish between clear [l] and dark [ɫ], and Upton (2004: 1073) writes that the "dark [ɫ] is a feature of Scottish English." Shuken (1984: 160) found clear variants of /l/ in Lewis and more velarized variants in Skye, the latter she attributed to mainland influence. Her Highland speakers had neutral (not very clear or not very velarized) variants of /l/. The dark [ɫ] is the most dominant variant in

this study, and this could be due to influence from the Lowlands, which in turn, could be the same that has influenced the /l/ in Skye. Since Shuken's study was published in 1984, it could be assumed that the dark [ɫ] has been the leading variable for a long time. This is also reasonable, considering that it is the oldest speakers in the sample who use the dark [ɫ] most often. Interestingly, the younger speakers seem to be holding on to the (claimed) traditional Highland variant, the clear [l], to a much larger degree than the older speakers. This could indicate change towards a clearer variant in post-vocalic environments, and could also help explain why there are so few vocalised variants in the Inverness data (as the dark [ɫ] is most phonetically similar to the vocalic allophone, and [ʊ] is therefore more likely to be adopted by speakers who frequently use dark [ɫ]).

5.7 FACE diphthongisation

FACE diphthongisation refers to the movement from the traditional Scottish English monophthong [e] to the diphthongised variant [eɪ], often associated with accents of southern England. Studies into variation and change in Scottish English have suggested that this change is happening in Scotland, and the objective of this study is to discover whether the informants from Inverness hold onto the traditional variant or whether they use the diphthongised variant. Table 5.13 gives the total scores for FACE diphthongisation.

Table 5.13: FACE diphthongisation: total scores

Variant	N	%
[e]	730	69
[eɪ]	331	31
Total	1061	100

Out of the total number of 1061 tokens of (e), 331 are diphthongised and 730 remain monophthongal. Although the majority of the tokens were realised as the

traditional variant, 31 % of the tokens were diphthongised. Additionally, some of the tokens were realised with a slight glide towards [ɪ], but these have been classified as [e], due to strict token classification. It is evident, however, that a large amount of the tokens are realised as a diphthong. Figure 5.14 shows the individual percentage scores in casual speech.
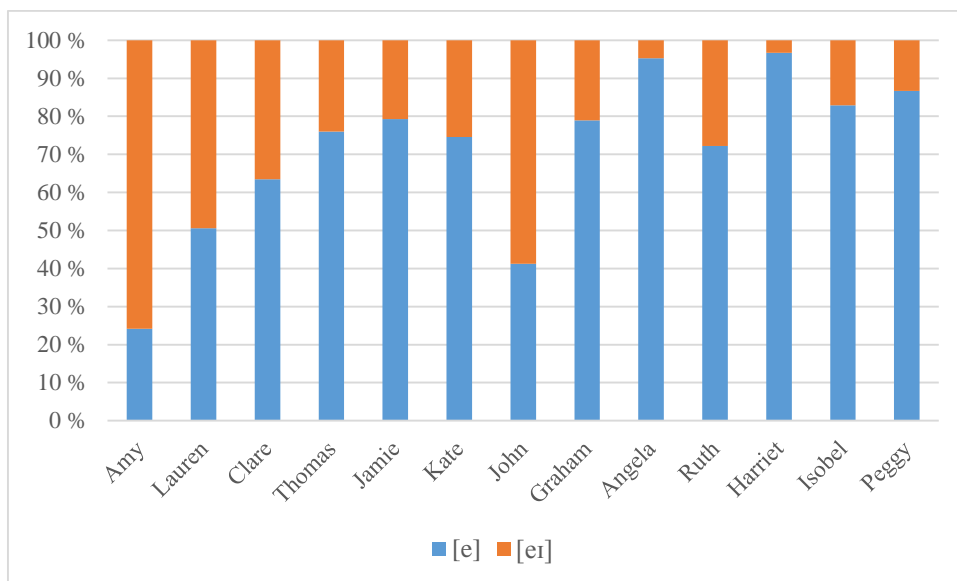
Figure 5.14: FACE: Individual percentage scores in casual speech

Figure 5.14 shows that the youngest speaker, Amy, has the most occurrences of the diphthongised variant with 76% of her relevant tokens being realised as [eɪ], and only 24% being realised as [e]. She uses [eɪ] in words like *great, train* and *plane* especially, and as she tells a long story about her travels (both by train and plane) many of her diphthongised variants are elicited from her "Scared to death" story. Lauren also has high scores for [eɪ] with 49% of her tokens realised as the diphthongised variant. Out of the 50 + group, John has the highest scores for [eɪ] with 59% of his tokens being diphthongal, words like *great, play* and *place* are most often diphthongal. Once again, John stands out from the rest of the people in his group by much greater use of the untraditional variant. Angela, Harriet and Peggy use the diphthongised variant less than any of the informants in casual speech.
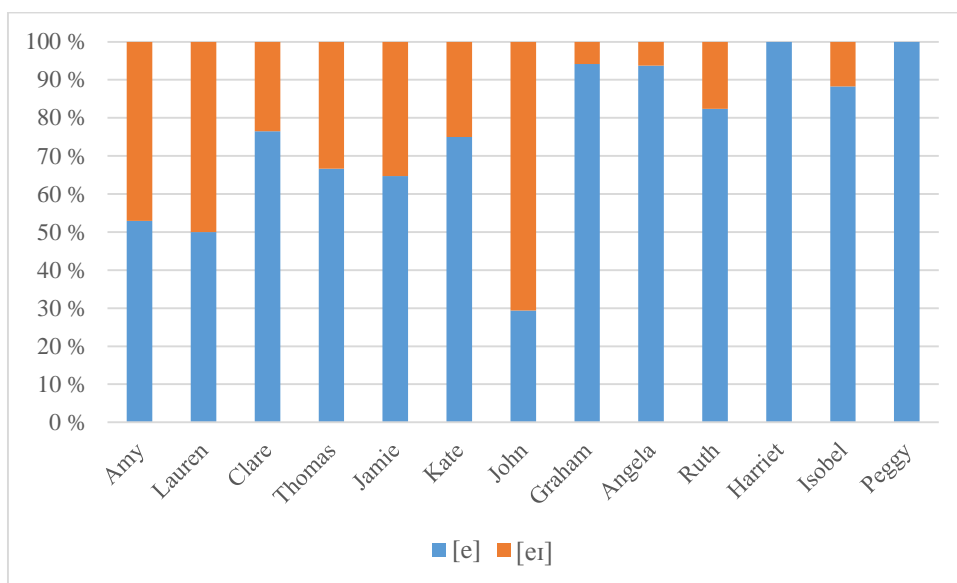
Figure 5.15: FACE: Individual percentage scores in careful speech

Figure 5.15 gives the individual percentage scores in careful speech, and it can be seen that many speakers reduce their use of the diphthongal variant when reading. The exception is John, who seems to be increasing his usage. Harriet and Peggy go from having very few occurrences of [eɪ] in casual speech to having none at all in careful speech. However, these results may be misleading. Much fewer relevant tokens were elicited per person in the reading tasks than in casual speech and this may alter the balance of the results. Table 5.14 gives the total scores according to gender variation, excluding John's results.

Table 5.14: FACE diphthongisation: total scores according to gender

Gender	[e]	%	[eɪ]	%
Female	507	70	219	30
Male	185	78	53	22

Once again, the percentage scores are relatively similar between the two genders. The females use the traditional variant [e] in 70% of the cases, and the males

use it in 78% of the cases. The diphthongised variant is thus used in 30% of the cases by the females and in 22% of the cases by the males. Once again John's results would have confounded the results. He has more diphthongised tokens than all the other male speakers combined. When it comes to the female speakers the results are more reliable due to the fact that there are more female speakers in the sample. It seems, however, that the frequency of Scottish English [e] is more or less the same with the two genders.
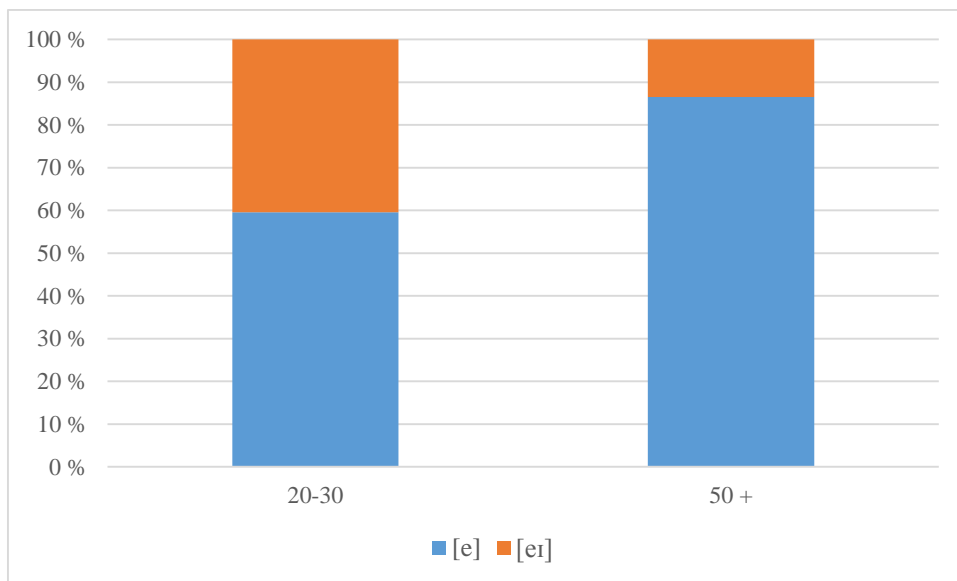
Figure 5.16: FACE: group percentage scores according to age

As is evident from Figure 5.16 the young group use the diphthongised variant to a much larger degree than the older group. While the 20-30 year-olds use the incoming variant in 40% of the cases, the over-50s only use it in 14% of the cases.

Shuken's (1984: 161) data suggests that FACE should be monophthongal, although she does mention that [e] may be diphthongised. In the Inverness data, FACE is often diphthongised by young and older speakers. It may be misleading to group InvEng and Island accents together in this case since Shuken finds mainly monophthongal FACE words, and the present thesis shows great inter-speaker variation and a relatively high distribution of the diphthongal variant.

The results for FACE suggest a notable presence of diphthongisation; however, the traditional monophthong is still strongly rooted in InvEng. The results are similar to

results found in other Scottish cities, where the diphthongised variant has become more frequent. This then, does not indicate change towards SSE, where FACE words are monophthongal, instead it mirrors recent change in Scotland and northern cities of England.

5.8 GOAT diphthongisation

GOAT diphthongisation is the replacement of the traditional Scottish variant [o] with the southern English variant [oʊ] in words like *boat, coat,* and *bowl* (cf. chapter 2). Studies into Scottish English have shown that in some Scottish cities the monophthong [o] has started to be realised as the diphthong [oʊ]. Table 5.15 gives an overview of the total scores for GOAT diphthongisation in InvEng.

Table 5.15: GOAT diphthongisation: total scores

Variant	N	%
[o]	755	99
[oʊ]	7	1
Total	762	100

It is clear that there is very little diphthongisation of the vowel in GOAT words in InvEng. 99 % of the time the vowel is realised as a monophthong, and most of the speakers never use the diphthongised variant at all. The ones who do use it, only use it very rarely, and as there are less than ten tokens found for each person when it comes to this variant, it may be assumed that the results are subject to random fluctuation. Figure 5.17 shows the individual percentage scores in casual speech. Angela has been excluded as she did not produce enough relevant tokens.
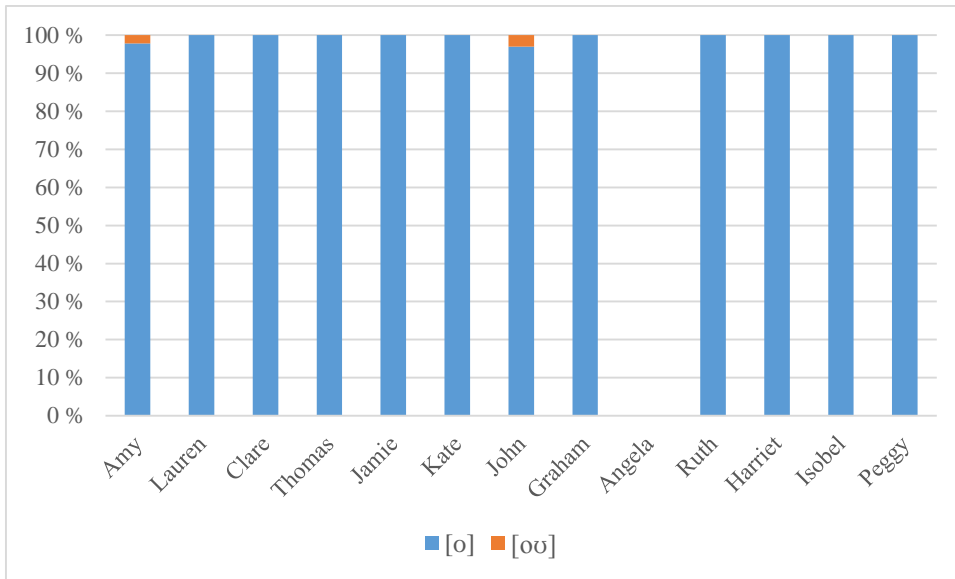
Figure 5.17: GOAT: Individual percentage scores in casual speech

As can be seen from Figure 5.17, Amy and John are the only speakers who produce [oʊ] in casual speech. However, they both produce it very rarely (only two times each), and it is therefore possible that their production of the diphthongised variant was coincidental. The result from the reading tasks are presented in Figure 5.18 below.
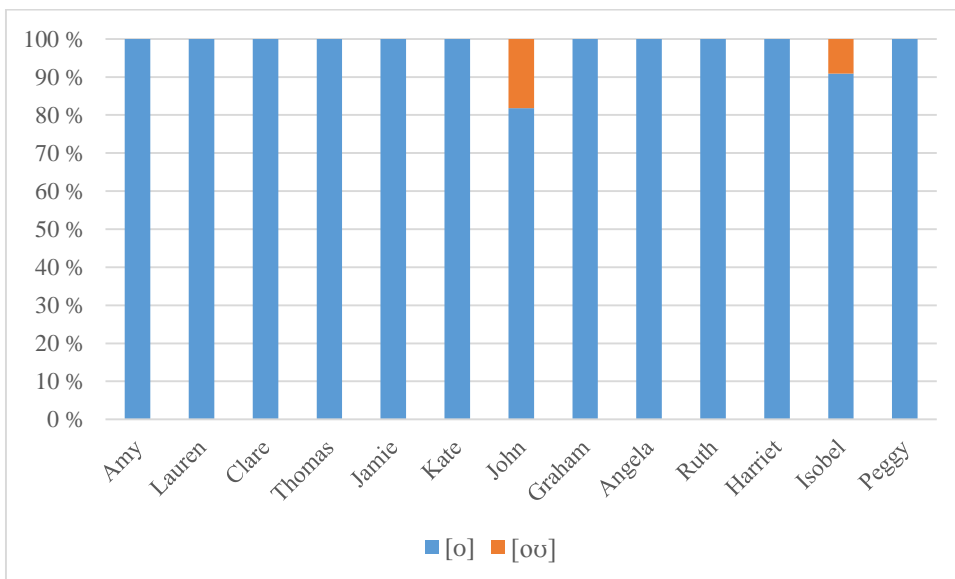
Figure 5.18: GOAT: Individual percentage scores in careful speech

In the reading task Amy does not have a single occurrence of [oʊ], which supports the previous suggestion that her production of the diphthong in casual speech was coincidental. John on the other hand, still uses the diphthong in careful speech, although the variant only occurs twice here as well. Out of the 11 possible environments for GOAT diphthongisation, Isobel uses the diphthongised variant once in careful speech. This suggests little change in InvEng, and the accent seems to be sticking to the traditional SSE pattern.

As such a small amount of the tokens were realised as the diphthongal variant, and since these were all most likely coincidental, it hardly seems relevant to divide the results into gender, and age-related variation. Such results would show that there is little variation between the two genders and age groups, and very few occurrences of [oʊ] altogether.

When it comes to diphthongisation, GOAT words clearly display a more traditional Scottish English pattern than FACE words, and it might be difficult to understand why this should be. In Schützler's (2011) study into vowel spaces with MC Edinburgh speakers, he states:

> My explanation of this phenomenon is that in this particular variety of English, /o/, especially when beginning on a more or less cardinal quality [o], will have to employ lip rounding rather than tongue movement to achieve a secondary quality […]. Sometimes very different trajectory shapes of /e/ and /o/ are explained by the fact that lip rounding plays virtually no role in the front vowels (Schützler 2011: 40).

This then, suggests that the greater articulatory effort of lip rounding is needed in order for [o] to become [oʊ]. In FACE words, however, no lip rounding is needed, only tongue movement which requires much less articulatory effort.

Shuken (1984: 161) states that GOAT is mainly monophthongal in the (Highlands and) Islands, but might show slight diphthongisation. The results of the present thesis does, as seen above, not suggest a change towards diphthongisation, thus the InvEng and Island accents may reasonably be grouped together when it comes to this variable.

5.9 Other phonetic observations

In addition to the linguistic variables chosen for this thesis, some observations were made about the InvEng accent that have not been focused on. This section includes some of these observations.

The retroflex approximant [ɻ] seems to be the most common realisation of <r> among the informants of this study. This is in accordance with Hughes et al. (2012: 66), who claim that the most common realisation of <r> in the Highlands is [ɻ], as opposed to the rest of Scotland where the alveolar tap [ɾ] is the most frequent realisation. Lauren often used the alveolar trill [r], and Jamie also had some occurrences of this realisation, although he mainly stuck to using the retroflex approximant. As mentioned in chapter 2, Shuken states that <r> quality in the Highlands and Islands is a "retroflex approximant or fricative word initially; a tap intervocalically; a fricative, or an affricated tap (a tap followed by a fricative) word-finally, where it also is voiceless" (1984: 160). Since the main objective in this study is to investigate R-Dropping, and charting the quality and usage of <r> has been given less attention, it is difficult to know whether the Inverness data follows the same pattern as mentioned by Shuken. It seems, however, that inter-vocalic <r> is realised as [ɻ] and not, as claimed by Shuken, as a tap [ɾ], as there are, in fact, few occurrences of the alveolar tap in the Inverness data altogether.

One of the common features of Scottish English accents is the vowel in KIT, which may be more open and/or more retracted than in RP (cf. chapter 2). In InvEng the vowel in KIT seems mostly to be realised as [ɪ], but sometimes it is realised as [ɛ]. Angela for instance pronounces *fiction* as [fɛkʃən], and Lauren pronounces *whiskey* as [wɛski]. These occurrences of [ɛ] in KIT are, however, relatively uncommon in the interviews and the dominant variant among the informants in this study is [ɪ].

A feature that was not expected was found with many of the Inverness speakers; the occurrence of [ɻʃ] in words with orthographic <rs> such as *first, nurse, person* and *university*. The feature was mainly found with the over-50 group of speakers, and Graham, Angela, Isobel and Peggy all uttered it to varying degrees. Kate also had occurrences of [ɻʃ], but was the only speaker in the young group to use it. After the interview with Isobel, I asked about this feature as I had so far noted it in quite a few speakers. Isobel seemed unaware that she herself used it, but did state that the feature

might be connected to Gaelic where, she claimed, words with <rs> are pronounced with [ʃ].

Two instances of [t] for [θ] were found in the interviews. The use of the alveolar stop for [θ], is as seen in chapter 2, normally associated with vernaculars in the Republic of Ireland (TH-Stopping) (cf. Corrigan 2010: 41). Peggy and Angela produced [t] for [θ] in casual speech, but as Angela's interview was very short and she only produced three tokens in total in casual speech (two of which were [θ], and one [t]), it is difficult to know whether it was just a coincidence that she produced this sound. She did not, however, produce the [t] for [θ] in careful speech. Peggy's interview on the other hand was much longer, and she only produced [t] once, whereas in all other cases she produced [θ]; therefore it is relatively certain that her production of [t] was coincidental.

5.10 The results in relation to accent levelling

As stated in chapter 2, accent levelling is a process by which regional differences between accents are reduced, distinctive features disappear and new features are adopted by speakers over a wide geographical area (Foulkes and Docherty 1999: 13). The present section looks at the results in light of accent levelling, however, the suggestions presented here are highly tentative as it is difficult to say for certain what has brought on the changes found in InvEng.

According to the inhabitants, the city of Inverness has grown immensely in the past 20-30 years. Inverness has only recently been awarded city status (BBC 2000) and is still described, according to one of the informants, as "a city with a town feel." The huge amount of newcomers who have moved into the city have brought with them their own tongues and accents and InvEng may have been influenced by this influx. Milroy and Gordon (2003: 132) state that if a close-knit community structure loosens, simplification processes and accent levelling follow naturally. It can be assumed that Inverness was more close-knit before the huge influx of speakers from Scotland and the rest of Britain, and that therefore the community structure has loosened. This means that InvEng speakers might have been influenced by the speech of the newcomers.

The results for TH-Fronting show that there are no instances of [f] for [θ] in InvEng, and therefore it can be assumed that the accent has not been influenced by the

newcomers (who may use [f]). Additionally, it is unlikely that InvEng has been subject to levelling from Lowland cities (especially Glasgow), or other British cities. In the case of this variable, then, it is fairly certain that MC speakers of InvEng have not been influenced by the process of accent levelling. The standard variant remains strongly rooted in the speech of the InvEng informants.

The results suggest that there has been an increase in glottal replacement of non-initial [t] in Inverness. This is in accordance with the results from other Scottish cities and Britain in general. However, the older speakers do quite frequently use [ʔ] especially in casual speech, which suggests that glottaling of non-initial [t] has been part of InvEng for a while. The increase might be natural and expected as glottal replacement has become more accepted in recent years (cf. Section 2.1.4). It is difficult to determine whether, in InvEng, the increase in the use of [ʔ] is a natural development of an already existing feature, or whether the increase is due to accent levelling from Lowland Scottish cities. This is also hard to determine due to the fact that there are, to my knowledge, no other studies from Inverness, and there are thus no other results to compare the present ones to. The overall picture, however, suggests that the change in InvEng mirrors the change happening all over Britain where [ʔ] is becoming more common in casual contexts with younger people.

Recent change suggests that younger people rarely use the traditional Scottish variant [ʍ] in *wh*-words anymore, and instead use [w]. Older speakers, on the other hand, tend to retain the difference between the two variants (cf. Schützler 2010). The results from the present thesis support this claim when it comes to the younger speakers, although, surprisingly, many of the older speakers also seemed to merge [ʍ] and [w]. The young speakers use [w] in 91% of the cases, whereas the older speakers use it in 72% of the cases, and thus the numbers for the incoming variant are very high. It is possible that the young InvEng speakers have been influenced by the English-English standard, and/or are subject to levelling from the Lowland cities where the use of [ʍ] has decreased in recent years. The young speakers may also have been influenced by the older speakers of InvEng since they also have low scores for [ʍ]. Why the older speakers have low scores for [ʍ] is harder to understand. They may have been influenced by the many newcomers who moved to the city 20-30 years ago, or there

might have been low scores for [ʍ] in InvEng for a long time. The lack of previous research into InvEng makes this difficult to determine.

The scores for R-Dropping in the present thesis are very low, almost non-existent (with the exception of John, of course). R-Dropping in the Scottish Lowlands has been noted, but not to a very large degree. Loss of non-prevocalic <r> does not seem to be catching on in Scotland, and certainly not in Inverness if the rest of the population follow the same pattern as the majority of the speakers in the present thesis. As R-Dropping is not common in the Lowlands (but still, reportedly, more common than in InvEng), it is unlikely that the process of levelling has influenced the accent of Inverness when it comes to this variable.

L-Vocalisation has been reported to be on the increase in England (cf. chapter 2), but the feature appears to be virtually non-existent among the informants who took part in this study. Accent levelling from Lowland cities (where the vocalised variant is more common) or Britain in general, is therefore unlikely when it comes to [ʊ]. The results for clear [l] and dark [ɫ] are relatively different from the descriptions of Highland accents. The older informants generally used the dark [ɫ], and while the younger speakers had higher scores for clear [l] than the older speakers, the most frequent variant among the younger speakers was also [ɫ]. Highland accents are claimed to have very clear variants of /l/, and accents of the Lowlands only use dark variants of /l/. InvEng might therefore have been influenced by the dark [ɫ] used in the Scottish Lowlands, possibly directly from the many newcomers (from other parts of Scotland) who have moved into the area. Interestingly, the younger informants have higher scores than the older informants for clear [l], which indicates a change away from the dark variant. It is hard to understand why this should be, and a proper explanation as to why the younger speakers use clear variants of /l/ more is not found. Shuken (1984: 160) writes that speakers from Skye tend to use dark [ɫ] due to mainland influence, but that speakers from Lewis have very clear variants of /l/. It seems unlikely that the Inverness accent has been influenced by the Lewis accents. The question then becomes; is some Highland accent, with high usage of clear [l], influencing the younger speakers? If so, which one(s)? The lack of research in the Highland area makes this an impossible question to answer. It is possible that the higher scores for clear [l] among the younger

speakers can be traced back to their family, friends or teachers, but as there is no way of knowing what may have influenced the young speakers, this is mere speculation.

The diphthongisation of FACE is common in most accents of Southern English, whereas Scottish English accents traditionally have a monophthong [e], instead of the diphthong [eɪ] in these types of words. While the older speakers realised 14% of their relevant tokens as a diphthong, the number was much higher for the younger speakers with 40% realised as [eɪ]. Reiersen (2013) found varying results for FACE diphthongisation in Edinburgh, but the scores for [eɪ] were generally low, and much lower than the scores for young people in the present thesis. It is difficult to understand why this should be, but one possibility is that the huge amount of newcomers to Inverness in recent years have influenced the accent in some way. As Isobel stated in her interview; she never seemed to hear a Highland accent anymore: "they're all either English or central belt." Naturally, there are many newcomers in Edinburgh as well, but as this is a larger city it might be harder to notice, and there are more Edinburghians to blend in amongst in the first place. As Inverness was only a small town when the newcomers stared arriving, it is more likely that the InvEng accent has been influenced by the scores of people moving into the area (in this case, it seems likely that they have been influenced by speakers from England rather than Scottish speakers). The Invernessians have, perhaps, as Ruth neatly put it, "been diluted."

When it comes to GOAT diphthongisation the scores are very low for both younger and older speakers. The diphthongisation of [o] into [oʊ] does not seem to have caught on to the same extent as [eɪ], with less than 1% usage by both age groups. Nevertheless, the fact that some instances of diphthongisation are found at all, may suggest that InvEng is in the first stages of change. GOAT diphthongisation has been reported in the Scottish Lowlands, but not to a large degree (cf. Reiersen 2013 for instance), and, as previously noted, it does not seem to have taken hold in InvEng either. It is therefore unlikely that InvEng has been influenced by the process of accent levelling when it comes to this variable. Future research, however, may yield very different results in relation to GOAT diphthongisation in InvEng.

5.11 Summary of the results

In the present chapter the results from the investigation of accent variation and change in Inverness have been presented. TH-Fronting and L-Vocalisation have increased in accents of England and are typical of recent change in Britain. Four variables are non-standard in SSE; the Wine-whine merger, R-Dropping, FACE diphthongisation and GOAT diphthongisation, and change in these could indicate a change away from the Scottish standard and towards a more southern English pronunciation. The glottal stop is known to be typical of the London Cockney accent and of non-standard Scottish English. It has been known to spread from London to other accents of southern and northern England, and it has increased in cities like Edinburgh and Glasgow. Since very little is known about the accents of the Scottish Highlands, it was hypothesised that the analysis of these seven variables would show age- and gender-related change in InvEng. There was great variability among the informants, especially with regard to age. The results for the 'incoming' variants according to age group percentage scores are given in Table 5.16 below.

Table 5.16: Percentage scores of the proposed incoming variants in InvEng according to age

Variable	Variant	Older informants	Younger informants
TH-Front	[f]	0%	0%
R-Drop	[ø]	0%	< 1%
L-Voc	[ʊ]	< 1%	< 1%
GOAT	[oʊ]	< 1%	< 1%
FACE	[eɪ]	14%	40%
T-Glot	[ʔ]	35%	72%
WH	[w]	72%	91%

As is evident from Table 5.16 the hypothesis of age variation is not verified for all the variables. The results for TH-Fronting, L-Vocalisation and GOAT diphthongisation are the same for both age groups. There are no occurrences of TH-Fronting among the informants who took part in this study, and L-Vocalisation and

GOAT diphthongisation have scores lower than 1 % among both the younger and the older informants. The results indicate that the two features that have become common of recent change in Britain (TH-Fronting and L-Vocalisation) have not, yet, had an impact on the accent of Inverness. GOAT diphthongisation has recently been noted in accents of the Scottish Lowlands, but it seems that it has not been adopted in Inverness yet. This is highly speculative, since the informants are not necessarily representative, and only belong to one social class. The greatest differences among the two age groups are the scores for T-Glottaling and the Wine-whine merger. The results for T-Glottaling suggest that the variant has increased in usage in casual and careful speech among the young speakers. The older speakers also have relatively high scores for glottaling in casual speech, but they reduce their usage massively in careful speech. The results mirror change happening all over Britain; the glottal stop is becoming more common, especially in casual speech. The traditional Scottish variant [ʍ] is almost non-existent among the young informants, and they use the merged variant in 91% of the cases. The older speakers, however, seem to be holding on to the traditional variant to a larger degree, but they still have higher scores for the merged variant. The young speakers also have high scores for FACE diphthongisation, while the older speakers use the traditional Scottish English monophthong most of the time. With the Wine-whine merger and FACE diphthongisation, then, the change seems to be towards the English-English pronunciation. The results for R-Dropping are less than 1% for the young speakers and 0% for the older speakers. There seems, then, to be no indication that InvEng is changing towards an English-English pronunciation when it comes to this variable.

The gender differences are difficult to generalise about as there were much fewer male speakers in the sample, the following comments are, thus, highly tentative. When it comes to TH-Fronting, L-Vocalisation, R-Dropping and GOAT diphthongisation there are none or few occurrences, thus gender-related variation is not relevant. The three remaining variables may give an indication as to who are the leaders of the change. The usage of the Wine-whine merger is higher among the males than among the females. The male speakers use the incoming variant in 90% of the cases, while the female speakers use it in 79% of the cases. The male speakers are also the leaders when it comes to T-Glottaling (72% for the males and 55% for the females). The

female speakers are the leaders when it comes to FACE diphthongisation (30% for the females and 22% for the males). These differences are difficult to generalise about as there are few male speakers in the study.

Finally, the differences between the Inverness and Island accents must be mentioned. When it comes to TH-Fronting, R-Dropping, L-Vocalisation and GOAT diphthongisation there is not much difference between the results of this study and the features mentioned by Shuken (1984). The results for T-Glottaling, the Wine-whine merger and FACE diphthongisation, however, differ greatly from Shuken's results, and seem to be much more present in InvEng than in the accents of the Islands. The results for clear [l] and dark [ł] show that the dark [ł] is most common among the Inverness informants, although it has been stated by Shuken that the clear [l] is most common in the Isle of Lewis. In Skye, on the other hand, /l/ is more velarized which is attributed to mainland influence (1984: 160). All in all, differences between Invernessian and Island accents are discovered, and it is thus considered debatable whether it is appropriate to group the InvEng and Island accents together (more on this in chapter 6).

6. CONCLUSION

6.1 Concluding remarks

The results of this study are not one-sided when it comes to variation and change. Some of the variables seem to be changing while others appear to remain stable. This chapter sums up the results of the present thesis and attempts to answer the research questions asked in chapter 1. Additionally, this chapter comments on the hypotheses, and discusses whether they are supported or should be rejected. The final three sections include the shortcomings of the present thesis, suggestions of further research, and it concludes with a section on the contributions made by this thesis.

6.1.1 The results in relation to the research questions

In chapter 1, one overall research question was asked and the results suggest that the investigation of the chosen phonological variables tells us that there is accent variation, and possible ongoing change in Inverness English. Some of the variables seem to remain relatively stable, while others differ greatly, especially in reference to the age groups. Three more specific research questions were also asked, and the answers are presented below.

1. The first question was concerned with whether there were any differences between the two age groups and between the two genders included in the thesis. In most cases there were differences between the two age groups; in some cases notable. When it comes to TH-Fronting, GOAT diphthongisation and L-Vocalisation, the occurrences were so few that there were no differences between the young group and the older group. T-Glottaling, the Wine-whine merger, FACE diphthongisation, R-Dropping and clear [l] vs. dark [ɫ], all showed differences between the two age groups. Gender-related change is much more difficult to generalise about, as there were much fewer male than female informants. Generally, the differences were small between the two genders.

2. Question 2 was concerned with whether the InvEng data strengthened the claim that Highland and Island accents are similar, or whether there are notable differences between InvEng and previous descriptions of Islands accents. The results suggest that there are notable differences between InvEng and Island accents. It must, however, be kept in mind that Shuken's study is from 1984 and changes may have happened in the Islands since then. When it comes to TH-Fronting, R-Dropping, L-Vocalisation and GOAT diphthongisation there are no notable differences between InvEng and Island accents. There seems to be more T-Glottaling, merging of Wine-whine and FACE diphthongisation in InvEng than in the Islands. Clear [l] is common among the young informants and is also the most common variable in Lewis. Dark [ɫ] is more common among the older speakers and is mainly found in Skye. We may conclude that there are similarities and differences between InvEng and Island accents.

3. Question 3 asked whether InvEng resembles Lowland accents more than Island accents, and whether it is likely that the accent has been subject to levelling and influenced by general British trends. When InvEng is compared to the accents of the Lowlands they seem to have many features in common; the increase in T-Glottaling, the Wine-whine merger, and FACE diphthongisation in InvEng is similar to results found in Lowland cities. Additionally, the low scores for GOAT diphthongisation are similar to the ones found in Edinburgh by Reiersen (2013). There are also relatively low scores for R-Dropping in Lowland cities, similar to the results of this thesis. The main differences between InvEng and the Lowlands is in reference to L-Vocalisation, which has been claimed to exist in Lowland cities. In addition, the dark [ɫ] is the only possible realisation of post-vocalic /l/ in the Lowlands, while the Highlanders may possibly also use clear [l] (which many of the young informants in this study do). It is realistic to assume that the accent has been subject to levelling from Lowland cities.

6.1.2 The results in relation to the hypotheses

1. The hypothesis that there would be age- and gender-related variation is to some extent confirmed. There were a lot of differences between the two age groups, which could in turn indicate change in progress. The differences between the two genders, on the other hand, seemed marginal and are not conclusive as there are fewer male than female informants (and, in general, the number of informants is low).

2. The null-hypothesis adopted in chapter 1 suggests that there are no notable differences between InvEng and Island accents. The data from the present thesis rejects the null-hypothesis, as several differences between InvEng and Island accents are found. Some of the phonological variables do not differ from the descriptions of Island accents, while others are clearly different.

3. Hypothesis 3 seems to be supported, as InvEng differs from Island accents, and in turn has many features in common with accents of the Lowlands. InvEng is likely to have been influenced by accent levelling from urban Lowland accents, and/or general British trends where these coincide (it is hard to say anything about where the influence comes from).

6.2 Shortcomings

In relation to methodology there are several things that could have been done differently or did not go according to plan, and these are addressed in the present section.

Relying mainly on auditory analysis also means relying on the ability of the researcher to discern between different variants, and this may yield results that are imprecise. While some variants were easily discerned from each other ([t] and [ʔ]), others presented more of a challenge ([e] and [eɪ]). Electronic devices may have yielded more precise results than auditory analysis, but the use of such devices was not a possible option for the present thesis. Therefore, it must be kept in mind that the results presented in the previous chapter are subject to human error.

When it comes to age it would perhaps have been better to get a sample of younger informants to participate in the study (i.e. people between 18-20 years of age). This would have created a greater age gap between the two groups that were interviewed and might have revealed bigger differences. However, it is difficult to speculate on the possible results of a study with younger informants.

The participating informants' backgrounds can also be problematic. It has already been mentioned that Kate is from the Black Isle and not Inverness, and that she is also slightly older than the intended age group. Another problem may be that Graham, Ruth, Isobel and Peggy have all lived abroad and this may have influenced their accents. Ruth lived in Italy, which is a non-English speaking country, and therefore spent some time of her life not speaking English at all. Since she moved to Italy when she was in her twenties, and spent some years not speaking English, the way she speaks now might reflect the way English was spoken in Inverness when she left, especially in regard to vocabulary. However, we cannot know this for sure. Isobel, Graham and Peggy all spent their years abroad in other English speaking countries (Australia and Canada respectively). As they all moved after having reached adulthood, it can be assumed that their accents have not been greatly influenced by their stays abroad (and in the recordings they do not sound different from the other speakers). Isobel herself mentioned that she did not believe her accent had changed much, but conceded that she uses a different vocabulary than other Invernessians (for instance saying "I reckon" which, according to her, is not a typical Scottish utterance).

It is in relation to gender distribution that the biggest problems arise. It has been mentioned that there were only four male participants in the study, and this is not enough to generalise about variation and change in male speech in InvEng (especially as John's results had to be excluded from the gender data). However, these informants give us a look into the way three individual male participants vary their speech, and the results of their variation could be used as a starting point for researchers who want to look further into variation and change in InvEng. When it comes to the female participants, it is easier to generalise about variation and change here, but it must also be kept in mind that nine participants is not enough for a comprehensive study into InvEng. It is, on the other hand enough to make some tentative suggestions about the Invernessian accent, and how it might vary and change.

Additionally, it must be kept in mind that there are only participants from one social class. Thus, the study does not look into differences between several social groups, which would be ideal, but instead focuses on discovering differences between people within the same social parameter.

Some of the aforementioned challenges make it difficult to say anything about variation and change in general in InvEng. In other words, the sample is not representative. However, this thesis functions as a starting point in looking into variation and change in one of the accents of the Scottish Highlands, and it is hoped that future research into InvEng may reveal changes that fall beyond the scope of this thesis.

6.3 Further research

Given the fact that this is a small scale study, and considering the limitations outlined above, I suggest that there is need for more extensive research into the Inverness accent. A study of a larger scale could include more people, and see if the patterns would be the same, or if the results would differ from the ones found in this study. Additionally, it could include data from working-class speakers in order to discover whether they follow the same patterns as middle-class speakers. It could also be relevant to include data from several different generations, especially younger speakers. Generally there is need for more research into the Highland accents so that they can be properly defined, rather than equated with other accents of the area.

The lack of research into the accents of the Highlands and Islands, creates a lot of possibilities when it comes to future research. Firstly, it seems necessary to look into more accents in the Highlands so that they may be defined in their own right, especially since InvEng may not be representative of the Highlands as a linguistic area. Secondly, Shuken (1984) is the most extensive work on Island accents to date, and as that study is over 30 years old, the time has perhaps come to once again look into the Island accents, in order to observe variation and change.

Further research could possibly look into the vowel of KIT in the Highlands. Although the observations from this study suggest that [ɪ] is most common among the Inverness informants, results from other Highland cities and towns may differ. Equally interesting would be the study of clear [l] and dark [ɫ] in the Highlands. It has been

previously noted that Highlanders use clear variants of /l/, while the informants in this study seemed to favour the dark variant. Extensive research could focus on this variable, and attempt to pinpoint which variant really is the most common in the Highlands. Research into /l/ could also incorporate the study of phonetic contexts, and attempt to discover whether the preceding vowel or syllabicity have any effect on which variant of /l/ is used.

6.4 Contributions made by the present thesis

In the present thesis the accent of the biggest city in the Scottish Highlands has been investigated. Although it is a small scale study, the thesis presents data from a hitherto little investigated accent, and thus contributes to fill a research gap. The results reveal that InvEng and Island accents may be considerably different when it comes to certain variables, and it may therefore be relevant to start investigating the accents of the different areas in their own right (rather than equating Highland and Island accents). The present thesis has also attempted to define and describe InvEng, both when it comes to stable variants, and with reference to possible ongoing change.

The results from the present thesis suggest that InvEng has higher usage of the dark [ɫ] than has previously been noted, as it is often suggested that the Highland accents use clear variants of /l/. The results suggest that the older speakers mainly use dark [ɫ], while the younger speakers have higher scores for clear [l], which might indicate a change towards higher usage of the clear variant. However, the dark [ɫ] seems to be the most dominant variant among the informants who took part in this study.

This thesis is, to my knowledge, the first which looks into the accent of Inverness and may, along with Shuken's (1984) "Highlands and Islands", serve as a starting point for future research on Inverness English.

APPENDIX A: READING TASKS

COMMA GETS A CURE

Well, here's a story for you: Sarah Perry was a veterinary nurse who had been working daily at an old zoo in a deserted district of the territory, so she was very happy to start a new job at a superb private practice in north square near the Duke Street Tower. That area was much nearer for her and more to her liking. Even so, on her first morning, she felt stressed. She ate a slice of bread with butter, checked herself in the mirror and washed her face in a hurry. Then she picked up her things and headed for work.

When she got there, there was a woman with a goose waiting for her. The woman gave Sarah an official letter from the vet. The letter implied that the animal could be suffering from a rare form of foot and mouth disease, which was surprising, because normally you would only expect to see it in a dog or a goat. Sarah was sentimental, so this made her feel sorry for the beautiful bird. Suddenly the goose began to strut around the office like a lunatic. The goose's owner, Mary Harrison, kept calling, "Comma, Comma," which Sarah thought was an odd choice for a name. Comma was strong and huge, so it would take some force to trap her, but Sarah had a different idea. First she tried gently stroking the goose's lower back with her palm, then singing a tune to her. Finally, she administered ether. Her efforts were not futile. In no time, the goose began to tire, so Sarah was able to hold onto Comma and give her a relaxing bath.

Once Sarah had managed to bathe the goose, she wiped her off with a cloth and laid her on her right side. Then Sarah confirmed the vet's diagnosis. Almost immediately, she remembered an effective treatment that required her to measure out a lot of medicine. Sarah warned that this course of treatment might be expensive either five or six times the cost of penicillin. I can't imagine paying so much, but Mrs. Harrison a millionaire lawyer thought it was a fair price for a cure.

SENTENCES

Do you think whales can talk under water?

Well done, mate.

Goats are one of the oldest domesticated animals

I got a letter from the vet today and my white cat is well.

What do you think about the new Facebook update?

Every morning I drink a glass of milk with my breakfast.

Can I borrow your bottle opener?

Have you heard the story about Alexander and his wild bird?

All of time and space and I've never met anyone who wasn't important.

Roger loves his brand new car.

The goalkeeper was tired after 90 minutes playtime.

John took all the butter so there was nothing left for me.

Running up the hill makes me short of breath.

APPENDIX B: INTERVIEW EXCERPTS

AMY

ESV: Right, do you have any other funny stories from your travels?

Amy: [laughs] no, ehm. I do, I do have a funny story when I was on the train
from, eh, Bergen to Oslo. Eh, the seven hour train. I went to get a cup of
tea, and you know I'm tryna do it in Norwegian which does not work
cause I don't speak Norwegian. Ehm, and you know the train's really
long and I, we were at the very, very end and I went to the restaurant cart
at the end so I'm carrying these two cups of tea tryna, yeah, like that.
With the train going like that, and I'm walking over and then I nearly
spill it on this guy, and I go "oo" and he goes [mimics Norwegian] and
I'm like [fake laughs] and then keep going. I don't even know what he
said, he could have said like "get away from me you horrible woman",
and I'm just like [fake laughs again] and just kept going, so that's another
funny story where I pretended to be Norwegian. I end up, I do that a lot.
Like, when I was in Amsterdam, there was these Italians and I was just
visiting, but I was standing in front of a canal boat, and they want, and I
got my picture taken with twenty Italians cause they thought I was Dutch,
but I didn't speak Italian, and they didn't speak English so I just went
along with it and pretended I was Dutch [laughs]. So there's gonna be me
in photo albums with a whole bunch of Italians cause I just didn't know
how to tell them that I wasn't Dutch.

JAMIE

ESV: Yeah, is there anywhere you would recommend for me to go while I'm
here?

Jamie: The west coast is stunning. If you get the chance since you're in
Inverness and Glasgow is like, if you get a chance to and sort of involve

yourself, because it is a very happening place, you know, there's a lot going on all the time, ehm, but s-if if you're in the Highlands, eh, you could take a bus out to Ullapool. If you, if you could drive at all? I don't know if you do?

ESV: I can, but not on the wrong side of the road.

Jamie: [laughs] oh, you do that in Norway as well? It's just us, isn't it? It is just us.

ESV: It is [laughs].

Jamie [laughs] but yes, if you get a chance take a hire car, we took a hire car out there, eh, and I saw some places I've never seen before and some absolutely stunning places. Really stunning places. So anywhere, if you're going out to Ullapool there are many, many little roads, ehm, if you get a chance, there's local buses as well, but you get, the, they're, they're tough. Eh, you know, they operate at certain times and there's no defined, eh, bus stop here and there, and you ask the driver where you wanna get off.

ESV: Yeah, ok.

Jamie: ehm, so yeah, the west coast is brilliant any time of the year.

GRAHAM

ESV: Yeah, is there anywhere you would, sort of, recommend for me to go while I'm here?

Graham: Oh, lots of different places. The, the west coast I think everybody talks about the west coast, you know, the, see Lochs or fjords as you would call it. Eh, the hills probably not quite as spectacular as Norway, but, eh, like Norway in miniature maybe.

ESV: Yeah [laughs].

Graham: We've got a lot of islands as well and, eh, lot, lots of things to see. I would recommend you go and hear some good quality piping as well, and also go see a game of shinty if you can, because it is unique in cultural terms, and hear some Gaelic spoken as well if you can. It's, it's Scotland's original language, you know, and there are fewer people speak it now than ever before, but, eh, all these things are unique markers for Scotland, but particularly the Highlands, but there are lots of other things, nice places elsewhere, I mean Edinburgh is a beautiful city as well. I love Edinburgh, you know. Yeah, it's well worth going, and it's a tremendous history there, you know, as well.

RUTH

ESV: Ehm, right. Have you ever been scared to death?

Ruth: Scared to death, ehm. In a nightmare.

ESV: Yeah?

Ruth: Yes, I had a nightmare that I remember vividly. There was a murderer in my house, he was going to murder me and my children. I woke up and I was up against the headboard in the bed, and I was going [breathes heavily] It was so real I was crying, even when I woke up I still was sure that the murderer was down in the corridor, it was so scary, it still freaks me out when I think about it now.

ESV: That is, yeah.

Ruth: Oh, I was shaking, really shaking it was so real [laughs]. So that was very scary.

ESV: Yeah, sounds very scary.

Ruth: That's the scariest time and when I'm hill walking I get scared of the cows, I don't like cows [laughs].

ESV: You're in the wrong place, maybe?

Ruth: I know, because, where my partner lives we have to go through a farm to get to the hill, and sometimes, depending on the time of year the cows can be in the field, so I have to jump the fence and go down the other side.

ESV: Is that the big sort of Scottish Highland…

Ruth: The big cows, the big black and white cows, yes, and my partner used to say "oh, it'll be fine, it's ok [dududu]" and I'm like "no, no way." He thought if he just kept, that eventually I would get used to it, but it's actually got worse [laughs]. But the good thing is I'm not scared of the sheep now [laughs]. I used to be scared of cows and sheep, but the sheep are so small compared to the cows [laughs]. Cows can kill people, they can squash you to death [laughs].

ISOBEL

ESV: Ehm, let's see. Ok, have you ever been scared to death?

Isobel: Scared.

ESV: Really scared.

Isobel: Yes, but that's just because, for some reason I've developed this, sort of, eh, phobia of height, and, eh, I've, I try, ehm, to keep away from anything that's, you know, really high up, and we went on the gondola up, eh, Ben Nevis and on what was a windy day, and I went with my brother and some friends, and he goes skiing and hill climbing and all the rest of it, he'd, he's no problem at all, and I said, "well I'm not getting on it, and, cause I don't like heights" He says "no, it'll be fine" you know, "you won't feel, it's great" you know, [unclear] and at the last minute I thought "alright, this is silly. I want to go up there, so just don't think about." We got about half way up, and it stopped, and I thought, I really…s, and of course what was happening. The sun was shining through the, the, the window of the gondola, and it was quite warm, and

my brother got up to open a wee vent, and, and I said "no, sit down, sit down" because it was all, you know, like this, and I truly felt sick to the stomach I was so scared that that was going to suddenly drop, you know. So that, that was a scary moment. Ehm, anything to do with, with, height, eh, scared to death, ehm, perhaps not that so much. I remember in Australia, eh, when we were out a-at a wee local golf course, and there was a snake appeared from the side, and I knew it's, it was one of the brown snakes that, you know, were pretty dangerous, ehm, and I remember just standing there and thinking I didn't want to move left, right or centre, you know, but it didn't. I should have known, because they don't, they don't attack you unless you annoy them or you happen to stand on them by mistake, but just, just, occasions like that. No, there's nothing really I suppose I've, eh, I suppose I've led a fairly uneventful life in that sense as far as being scared to death, it's all of my own doing

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Aitken, A.J. 1981. "The Scottish Vowel Length Rule." In *So meny people, longages and tonges: Philological essays in Scots and mediaeval English presented to Angus McIntosh*, edited by M. & M. L Samuels Benskin. Edinburgh: Benskin & Samuels.

Aitken, A.J. 1984. "Scottish accents and dialects." In *Language in the British Isles*, edited by Peter Trudgill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

BBC, News. 2015. *Inverness awarded city status* 2000 [cited February 22nd 2015]. Available from http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/uk_news/scotland/1076125.stm.

Beal, Joan. 2010. *An Introduction to Regional Englishes: Dialect Variation in England*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press Ltd.

Bonness, Dania Jovanna. 2011. *Estuary English in Norfampton? Phonological Variation and Change in Northampton English*. Master Thesis, Department of Foreign Languages, University of Bergen, Bergen.

Brato, Thorsten. 2007. Accent variation in adolescents in Aberdeen: first results for (hw) and (th). Paper read at Proceedings of the 16th international congress of phonetic sciences, at Saarbeücken.

Brato, Thorsten. 2015. *T-glottaling in adolescents in Aberdeen* [Poster]. University of Giessen 2008 [cited February 18th 2015]. Available from http://www.meertens.knaw.nl/ss17/contributions/abstract.php?paperID=376.

Chirrey, Deborah. 1999. "Edinburgh: descriptive material." In *Urban Voices: Accent studies in the British Isles*, edited by Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty. London: Arnold.

Clement, R.D. 1980. "Highland English." *Scottish Literary Journal* no. 12.

Corrigan, Karen P. 2010. *Irish English - Northern Ireland*. Vol. 1. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Council, The Highland. 2014. Population change in the city of Inverness area. edited by Director of Planning and Development. Inverness: The Highland Council.

Cruttenden, Alan. 2013. *Gimson's Pronunciation of English*. 7th ed. New York: Routledge.

Douglas, Fiona. 2006. "English in Scotland." In *The Handbook of World Englishes*, edited by Braj. Kachru Kachru, Yamuna. Nelson, Cecil, L. . Malden: Blackwell Publishing Ltd.

Eckert, Penelope. 2000. *Linguistic variation as social practice: the linguistic consruction of social identity in Belten High*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Fatnes, Ingeborg. 2014. *Phonological Variation and Change in Sheffield English*. Master Thesis, Department of Foreign Languages, University of Bergen, Bergen

Feagin, Crawford. 2013. "Entering the community: Fieldwork." In *The handbook of language variation and change*, edited by J.K. Chambers and Natalie Schilling. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Foulkes, Paul, and Gerard Docherty, eds. 1999. *Urban Voices: Accent studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold A member of the Hodder Headline Group.

Garrett, Peter. 2010. *Attitudes to Language*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Giegerich, Heinz, J. 1992. *English phonology: an introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Grant, William. 1913. *The Pronunciation of English in Scotland*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Holmes, Janet. 1992. *An introduction to sociolinguistics*. London: Longman.

Hughes, Arthur, Peter Trudgill, and Dominic Watt. 2012. *English Accents & Dialects*. 5th ed. London: Routledge.

Jones, Charles, ed. 1997. *The Edinburgh history of the Scots language*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.

Labov, William. 1972. *Sociolinguistic Patterns*. Oxford: Blackwell.

Labov, William. 1972a. "The isolation of contextual styles." In *Sociolinguistic patterns*, edited by William Labov. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Labov, William. 1984. "Field methods in the project on linguistic change and variation." *Language in Use*.

Macafee, Caroline. 1983. *Varieties of English around the world: Glasgow*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

MacKinnon, Kenneth. 1984. "Scottish Gaelic and English in the Highlands." In *Language in the British Isles*, edited by Peter Trudgill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCafferty, Kevin. 1999. "(London)Derry: Between Ulster and local speech - class, ethnicity and language change." In *Urban Voices: Accent studies in the British Isles*, edited by Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty. London Arnold.

McClure, Derrick, J. 1994. "English in Scotland." In *The Cambridge history of the English language: Volume V English in Britain and overseas: Origins and development*, edited by Robert Burchfield. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

McCullough, J., and B. Somerville. 2000. Comma gets a Cure. http://www.dialectsarchive.com/comma-gets-a-cure.

Mees, Inger. M., and Beverly Collins. 1999. "Cardiff: a real-time study of glottalisation." In *Urban Voices: Accent studies in the British Isles*, edited by Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty. London: Arnold.

Melchers, Gunnel, and Philip Shaw. 2011. *World Englishes*. 2nd ed. Oxon: Hodder Education.

Meyerhoff, Miriam. 2011. *Introducing Sociolinguistics*. 2nd ed. Oxon: Routledge.

Milroy, Lesley, and Matthew J. Gordon. 2003. *Sociolinguistics : method and interpretation*, *Language in society*. Malden, MA: Blackwell Pub.

Milroy, Lesley, James Milroy, Gerry Docherty, Paul Foulkes, and David Walshaw. 1999. "Phonological variation and change in contemporary English: Evidence from Newcastle upon Tyne and Derby." *Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa* no. 8.

Milroy, Lesley, and Dominic Watt. 1999. "Patterns of variation and change in three Newcastle vowels: Is this dialect levelling?" In *Urban Voices: Accent studies in the British Isles*, edited by Paul & Docherty Foulkes, Gerard. London: Arnold A member of the Hodder Headline Group.

Nilsen, Thor Sigurd. 2010. *English pronunciation and intonation: British American and World Englishes*. 3rd ed. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget.

Reiersen, Øystein. 2013. *Edinburgh Jockney? A socio-phonological study of accent variation and change in Edinburgh English*. Master Thesis, Department of Foreign Languages, University of Bergen, Bergen.

Romaine, Suzanne. 1978. "Postvocalic /r/ in Scottish English: Sound change in progress?" In *Sociolinguistic patterns in British English*, edited by Peter Trudgill. London: Edward Arnold.

Schilling, Natalie. 2013. "Investigating stylistic variation." In *The handbook of language variation and change*, edited by J.K. Chambers and Natalie Schilling. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Schützler, Ole. 2010. "Variable Scottish English Consonants: The cases of /ʍ/ and non-prevocalic /r/." *Research in Languages* no. 8.

Schützler, Ole. 2011. "Charting vowel spaces in Edinburgh middle-class speech." *English world-wide* no. 32 (1).

Shuken, Cynthia. 1984. "Highland and Island English." In *Language in the British Isles*, edited by Peter Trudgill. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Smith, Jennifer , and Mercedes Durham. 2011. "A tipping point in dialect obsolescence? Change across the generations in Lerwick, Shetland." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* no. 15 (2):197-225.

Speitel, H. H. 1981. "The geographical position if the Scots dialect in relation to the Highlands of Scotland." In *So meny people, longages and tonges: Philological essays in Scots and mediaeval English presented to Angus McIntosh*, edited by Michael Benskin, M. L Samuels. Edinburgh: Benskin & Samuels.

Stoddart, Jana, Clive Upton, and J.D.A. Widdowson. 1999. "Sheffield dialect in the 1990s: revisiting the concept of NORMs." In *Urban Voices: Accent studies in the British Isles*, edited by Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty. London: Arnold.

Stuart-Smith, Jane. 1999. "Glasgow: accent and voice quality." In *Urban Voices: Accent studies in the British Isles*, edited by Paul Foulkes and Gerard Docherty. London: Arnold.

Stuart-Smith, Jane. 2014. E-mail regarding Highland English, September 5th.

Stuart-Smith, Jane , Claire Timmins, and Fiona Tweedie. 2007. "'Talkin' Jockney'? Variation and change in Glaswegian accent." *Journal of Sociolinguistics* no. 11 (2):221-260.

Tagliamonte, Sali A. 2012. *Variationist sociolinguistics: change, observation, interpretation*. Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Trudgill, Peter, ed. 1984. *Language in the British Isles*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Upton, Clive. 2004. "Synopsis: Phonological variation in the British Isles." In *A Handbook of Varieties of English*, edited by Edgar W. Schneider. Berlin: Mouton de Gryuter.

Upton, Clive, and J.D.A. Widdowson. 2006. *An atlas of English dialects*. Oxon: Routledge.

Wells, John, C. 1994. The Cockneyfication of R.P.? *Nonstandard varieties of language*.

Wells, John, C. . 1982. *Accents of English*. 3 vols. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.