

Examination Number: 0045647

**Identities, attitudes and their effects on the variation of T-glottalling
and glottalization in Hartlepool English**

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Declaration

I have read and understood The University of Edinburgh guidelines on Plagiarism and declare that this written dissertation is all my own work except where I indicate otherwise by proper use of quotes and references.

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1. Introduction

Variation in language can be said to be motivated by speakers' desires to express a particular identity. Le Page & Tabouret-Keller (1985) put forward their view of linguistic behaviour as a series of "Acts of Identity", which enable the speaker to use language as a means of displaying their credibility as a member of a group, and of differentiating themselves from other groups.

The present study addresses the issue of to what extent a speaker's sense of community identity and attitude towards their locality direct linguistic variation within a town, in comparison with the effects that other social constructs do; in this case age and gender. This issue is investigated through a quantitative study of a particular speech phenomenon: the use of glottal variants as realisations of /t/ in certain linguistic environments, detailed further in the next section. Using a qualitative method of analysis, the discussion of the quantitative results is then informed by speakers' comments about their attitudes towards the dialect of their town and life in the town. It is hypothesised that the more closely and strongly a speaker can be seen as feeling attached to their locality, the more their dialect will diverge from other localities outside the boundaries of theirs.

The setting for the investigation, Hartlepool in north east England, can be considered an interesting place to explore how social factors interact with speech where glottal consonants are concerned. Firstly, differing patterns of "T-glottalling" (as the replacement of /t/ with [ʔ] is referred to by Wells, 1982) and glottalization of /t/ (transcribed here as [ʔt]) have been shown to be present in Middlesbrough (Llamas 2007) and Newcastle upon Tyne (Milroy et al 1994; Docherty & Foulkes 1999a; Watt & Allen 2003). Geographically, Hartlepool lies between these two urban centres and so it cannot be predicted based on the behaviour of speakers in Middlesbrough and Newcastle what patterns might exist in Hartlepool regarding T-glottalling and glottalization. Secondly, although Hartlepool appears to share more non-linguistic ties with the towns to the extreme south of the North East than with Newcastle, the region's main urban centre, it still has a peripheral nature. As it is somewhat out of the way of its neighbouring towns, it may be the case that local identity is

especially strong amongst the Hartlepool inhabitants which, going by the Acts of Identity model (cited above) may affect language use and therefore the use of glottal consonants. Thirdly, a complicated background concerning county boundaries is a factor which has been reported to have influenced variation in glottal consonants in Middlesbrough (Llamas 2007:602), based on correlations between linguistic behaviour and a changeable community identity. Such a changeable identity is also potentially existent in Hartlepool, as in the recent past the town has been within four different boundary areas.

Section two of this study provides further detail about Hartlepool's background and about how identity, gender and age variation are pertinent issues in sociolinguistics, but first outlines the background of the linguistic features being analysed.

2. Theoretical, local and linguistic background

2.1 Glottal replacement and glottal reinforcement in British English

The two non-standard variants of /t/ that occur most frequently in the data of the present study are [ʔ] and [ʔt]. The first is often referred to as T-glottalling or the glottal replacement of /t/ (Wells, 1982) and occurs characteristically between vocalic sounds or pre-pausally. T-glottalling is referred to in the main references sources for British English dialects as being a typical feature of London English (Trudgill 1990:77, Wells 1982: 323). However, it's currently regarded as being a rapidly spreading phenomenon and its spread throughout the UK both geographically and across social categories has been well documented.

The existence of T-glottalling in Newcastle, Derby, Sheffield, West Midlands, Milton Keynes, Reading, Hull, Norwich, South London, Cardiff, Edinburgh, Glasgow and (London)Derry is reported across the collection of studies that comprise Docherty and Foulkes (1999a). Such widespread urban use is thought by Wells to stem from the London origin of the feature (1982:323). However, it is thought that the feature might have originated from the dual epicentres of urban central Scotland and London. Furthermore, Trudgill (1999:136) claims that T-glottalling might have spread to London from Norwich.

Accompanying most descriptions of T-glottalling is a discussion of the stigma associated with its use. It is described by Milroy et al. (1994:328) as possibly being “[...]one of the two most stereotypically stigmatizes features of British English pronunciation”, the other feature being 'H-dropping'. The fact that it is now increasing in use though, including in more formal styles and among people of higher social classes than it apparently used to be restricted to, can be seen as evidence that it is not considered as stigmatized now as it used to be (Milroy et al. 1994:329) and the stigma is argued by Fabricius (2002) to be disappearing.

The second non-standard variant of /t/ mentioned above is transcribed in the present

study as [ʔt], following Llamas (2007), but due to the nature of the articulation as being complex to define, it has been transcribed in other ways by other researchers, including as [t] (Wells, 1982) and [d] (Watt & Allen, 2003). This variant is referred to here as glottalization of /t/ but has also been called glottal reinforcement of /t/. The feature is described by Wells (1982:374) as “glottal masking of the oral plosive burst” and Docherty and Foulkes (1999b) have written about the difficulties in defining its exact articulatory nature.

What is agreed and attested by Docherty and Foulkes (199a, 199b); Milroy et al. (1994); Wells 1982); Watt and Allen (2003) and Llamas (2007) is that glottalization of /t/ is present in the North East of England and it is considered one of the defining features of Tyneside English. Glottalization of /t/ /p/ and /k/ in word-internal contexts (such as in the words “water”, “paper” and “locker”) is reported as frequent in Durham and Tyneside English “and is therefore taken as a localized feature of the North East of England” (Llamas 2007:587). However, Llamas' work has shown that from Newcastle to Middlesbrough, in other words from one side of the North East to the other, patterns in the use of glottalization and T-glottalling differ. In light of this, the patterns of their use in Hartlepool are of particular interest. Llamas' main findings from her (2007) study of glottalization in Middlesbrough showed divergence from Tyneside English in regard to the glottalization of /t/, in that there were not such significant gender differences in the use of [ʔt] in Middlesbrough English as in Tyneside English. As in the present study, attitudinal and identity factors were taken into account in the discussion of this divergence and were concluded to be attributive factors to glottalization patterns, as young speakers in Middlesbrough were found to be following the UK-wide patterns of glottal use (Llamas, 2007:602).

In the present study, [ʔ] and [ʔt] are referred to as T-glottalling and glottalization respectively, and collectively as glottal variants of /t/. Only tokens wherein there is the potential for T-glottalling or glottalization to occur and be audibly apparent are analysed in the linguistic investigation, so only /t/ in the following phonological contexts is analysed: adjacent to vowels or vowel-like consonants (/w/, /ɹ/, /j/, /l/) in pre-pausal position, word-internally and at word boundaries. This can be shortened to 'in inter-sonorant

contexts'. Apart from [t] and the glottal variants, there are other possible variants of /t/ in such contexts, which are also present in the results of the linguistic investigation but occur much less frequently than [ʔ] and [ʔt]. These are the tap or flap [ɾ]; the “T-to-R” phenomenon as it is referred to by Wells (1982:370), transcribed as [ɹ]; and a notable absence of /t/ referred to here as (zero). The (zero) variant is however restricted to only the pre-pausal environment.

2.2 Identity and language

Joseph (2006) summarises the history of how the relationship between language and identity has come to be highly significant in sociolinguistics. His interpretation of Bourdieu's (1991:221) discussion of regional and ethnic identities results in the point of view that “identity is ultimately inseparable from language” (Joseph, 2006:486). Indeed much research on linguistic variation has found that a speaker's sense of identity, whether that be at the level of the individual, a community or a nation, can strongly influence variation. Labov's (1963) study of the island of Martha's Vineyard is an early example of this being the case. Labov found that local people who felt strong community ties to the island expressed these ties - and therefore their identities as belonging to a group, namely locals - by using the vowel variants [əy] and [əw] in words such as *right* and *house* in their speech. These variants were distinct from the [ay] and [aw] pronunciations used by summer visitors to the island, thus differentiating these two types of people by language. More recently, Beal (2009) analysed the use of features typical of the dialect of Sheffield in the UK, such as the pronunciation of *right* as [rɛɪʔ] and a local word 'mardy' meaning 'easily upset', in performances by a popular band native to Sheffield. Beal's interpretation was that when performing in his local dialect instead of a generic American voice as is the norm in most British pop music, the singer of the band is “projecting a local identity” (2009:223).

The above examples demonstrate that in some cases, language is used as a vehicle for individuals to express their validity as a member of a particular group but as well as being used only to express identities, speakers have been shown to use language also to construct identities. Stuart-Smith (2006:85) concluded that adolescents in Glasgow, Scotland do just that by conserving the use of non-standard L-vocalisation in the

phonological contexts where it has traditionally been used in Scots while at the same time using an 'innovative' form of L-vocalisation, in contexts similar to those in which it is used in non-local varieties. Stuart-Smith emphasises the importance of taking into account the local social context in interpreting such linguistic behaviour; in Glasgow, both types of L-vocalisation are seen as being used by working class adolescents as a medium of differentiation from middle class adults. Thus the use of both together increases the “linguistic repertoire for marking and constructing an identity distinct from that of the acceptable educated standard[...]” (Stuart-Smith 2006:85).

Chambers (2003) proposes that it is in fact the instinctive establishment and maintenance of social identity that is the basis of all sociolinguistic variation, and offers an explanation of why language is so important in helping people to construct and assert identities:

“[...] numerous [...] cases show the profound need for people to show they belong somewhere, and to define themselves, sometimes narrowly and sometimes generally. It is not enough to mark our territory as belonging to us by name tags, mailboxes, fences, hedges, and walls. We must also mark ourselves as belonging to the territory, and one of the most convincing markers is by speaking like the people who live there.” (2003:274)

The above quote echoes the central idea behind Social Identity Theory (Tajfel, 1978; Tajfel & Turner, 1986) which Llamas (2007:582) claims is “the idea that an individual is motivated to maintain a distinct and positive social identity.” Tajfel's (1978:63) definition of social identity is “that part of an individual's self-concept which derives from his knowledge of his membership of a social group (or groups) together with the value and emotional significance attached to that membership.” Crucial here is the idea that social identity is a matter of how the individual perceives themselves. If a person does not perceive themselves as being part of a certain group and does not strive to be a member of that group, then in that case perhaps their speech will not reflect the group's linguistic norms.

Social groups, whether identified by a shared dialect or some other reason, are often labelled by way of categorisation and differentiation from other groups. In the case of Labov's Martha's Vineyard study, the group of people who shared local dialect features

were referred to as “Vinyarders” (1963:307). The convenience of a using label to categorise social groups suggests the reliance on language in conceptualising identities as well as expressing them. The existence of such clear categorising also foregrounds the questions of whether the bestowing of an identity on an individual might influence their perception of their own social identity and therefore their language. The relevance of group labels to the present study lies in the fact that several different labels are commonly used to refer to various groups in North East England. 'Geordie', the term used by people within the region and outside of it, refers not only to the people who inhabit Tyneside, but to their dialect too and the term 'Pitmatic' is sometimes used locally to refer to the accent of people from County Durham (Wells, 1982:350). Llamas (2007), when asking her informants from Middlesbrough how they would feel about being referred to as a Geordie, found that such a misidentification can in fact cause offence: “Responses to this question range from feelings of mild dissatisfaction with being identified as Geordie to pronounced anger and irritation.” (2007:598). This and other factors contribute to some Middlesbrough speakers' linguistic divergence from the Geordie accent (2007:601). The present study seeks to find out whether Hartlepool speakers are likely to also react negatively to being misidentified by somebody from outside of their locality.

2.3 Gender and language

Gender long been considered one of the central attributing factors to variation and change in language and therefore has been theorised about extensively, to the point where quite bold generalisations, or principles have been created as attempts to explain the system behind differences in linguistic behaviour between women and men (detailed in Labov 1990, 2001). The ideas put forward in the form of these principles are that:

- women use the standard variant of a stable variable more than men.
- women will use an innovative variant more than men if it is viewed positively by the speech community; in other words where speakers are consciously aware of the existence of a change in progress, women will use the variable that is more standard.
- where a change is occurring below the level of consciousness, so speakers are not shown to use an innovative variant depending on the style of their speech, women lead men in using more of the innovative, non-standard variant.

It has been noted in much research that these principles represent something of a paradox. Such principles have been viewed as problematic due to their reliance on the categorising of speakers by a single physical factor, their sex, or viewing gender a complex social contract. This view emphasises the importance of considering the behaviour of individuals in sociolinguistic research, as the present study does attempt to do.

Differences between men and women's language have been pointed out in the research on glottal variation in British English. Milroy et al (1994), for instance, find that in Tyneside English, it is males who show a preference for the use of glottalization of /t/ in the phonological environments where women more often use a glottal stop to replace /t/. In light of this, the authors attest that "Female patterns of use may thus be seen as instrumental in bringing about a reversal of the traditional low evaluation of the glottal stop." (1994:351). As such patterns have been demonstrated in the language of a locality in the same region as Hartlepool, gender patterns of variation are taken into account in the present study.

2.4 Language across apparent time.

Age is also taken into account as a variable in the present study, due to the fact it has been demonstrated by Llamas (2007) to have been significant in the patterns of glottalization and T-glottalling in Middlesbrough speakers, and Middlesbrough is, like Newcastle a geographically close locality to Hartlepool and, as noted in the Introduction, above, and elaborated on below in section 2.5, the two localities have more in common than simply their geographic position. Important to note is that Llamas' findings were explained through attitudinal analysis measuring individual informants' local affiliation, which is why the same method of analysis is used here.

Age variation in language is investigated in the case of Llamas (2007) and in the present study through looking at variation across apparent time; that is the taking the behaviour of speakers in different age groups in one speech community at a single point in time as being representational of change over time, rather than conducting a longitudinal study. This method of investigation can reveal changes that occur from one generation to the next,

exemplified when the use of a linguistic feature is shown to increase or decrease steadily across different age groups.

2.5 Local background

Hartlepool is a town in North East England with recent population estimate of approximately 91,000 (Hartlepool Borough Council, 2010). It is a coastal town, bordered by the County Durham countryside to the north and west, with Tyne and Wear lying further north beyond that. Stockton-on-Tees, the River Tees and Middlesbrough lie to the south. This location puts Hartlepool between urban and rural areas, with the bustling cities of Newcastle upon Tyne, Sunderland and Middlesbrough close by to the north and south, but more immediately the North Sea coast and the countryside and ex-coal mining villages of County Durham to the east and west. In terms of a wider location, Hartlepool and four other localities make up the Tees Valley conurbation within the North East region of England; the other localities being Stockton-on-Tees (referred to from here on as Stockton), Middlesbrough, Redcar and Cleveland (referred to from here on as Redcar) and Darlington (Hartlepool Borough Council, 2010).

These five main urban centres and their numerous outlying villages surround the mouth of the River Tees, which historically was a natural boundary between County Durham and Yorkshire, and the towns have in recent years been subject to the redrawing of the boundaries of those two counties. Historically, Hartlepool and Darlington were within the borders of County Durham and Middlesbrough and Redcar were part of North Yorkshire, while Stockton straddled both counties. A new county, Cleveland, was created in 1974 (shown in Figure 1), which brought together Middlesbrough, Hartlepool, Stockton and Redcar, while Darlington remained part of County Durham. Twenty-two years later in 1996, Cleveland was abolished and Hartlepool, Stockton, Middlesbrough, Redcar and Darlington all became unitary authorities¹ (shown in Figure 2).

Hartlepool then has had three different town identities within the last forty years, changing from a town in County Durham to a town in Cleveland to a unitary authority. At present, it is

¹ Personal Communication, email and discussion with K. Jordan, August 16, Hartlepool Library 2010.

not uncommon for people who live in and around Hartlepool to refer to it as being in



FIGURE 1: Map of the North East England administrative boundaries between 1974 and 1996. Hartlepool is within Cleveland, the shaded area.

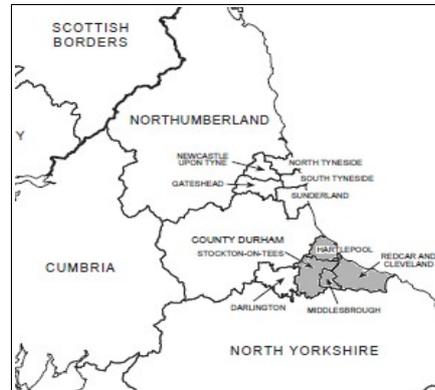


FIGURE 2: Map of the North East England administrative boundaries in 2010. The area that was formerly Cleveland has been split into unitary authorities (shaded areas).

Teesside or the Tees Valley, but some of its inhabitants regard it as belonging to County Durham or as a town separate from everywhere else. During the writing of the present study, the BBC news website published an article discussing Hartlepool inhabitant's confusion over to what wider locality the town belongs and a second article in the same month quoting a Stockton MP as saying that Teesside needs to “decide on it's identity once and for all” in order for the region to prosper (“Hartlepool: Is it in Teesside or County Durham?”, 2010; “MP claims strong identity will help Teesside prosper”, 2010).

The inspiration for the present study was in fact the changing status of Hartlepool and the idea that the inhabitants may make certain linguistic choices, whether consciously or not, depending on to what locality they identify with the most. This idea was in turn inspired by the findings of Llamas (2007). From her data from native Middlesbrough English speakers, Llamas was able to hypothesize that a person's sense of to what community they belong can have a bearing on the linguistic trends that they follow (2007:601).

As well as the changes in county status, a brief summary of some of the ways in which Hartlepool is split between different wider areas suggests reason enough for the inhabitants to be unsure of exactly where the town fits into the North East. Connections with the other unitary authorities that were also part of Cleveland remain: through the

shared fire and police services, Cleveland Police and Cleveland Fire Brigade; Hartlepool's local newspaper covers "Teesside local news" first and foremost (Hartlepool Mail, 2010); the Cleveland College of Art and Design has two main sites, in Hartlepool and Middlesbrough; Hartlepool shares the TS (Teesside) postcode with the other former Cleveland localities. However, despite the shared postcode, Stockton, Middlesbrough, Redcar and their outlying smaller towns and villages also share a telephone dialling code whereas Hartlepool has its own. On top of this, Hartlepool is still officially within the ceremonial County Durham. It appears then that for day to day living, Hartlepool is associated more with "Teesside" than with County Durham, but officially it is either a unitary authority or part of County Durham, and is geographically and historically separate from the other Tees Valley towns owing to its position north of the River Tees.

Unfortunately at the present time, the whole North East England region is statistically an area of high unemployment and deprivation, in comparison with most of the UK, but because of its coastal position and natural harbour, Hartlepool was in the past an area of rich industry. It began as a fishing village, prospered to be a place of great significance in the ship building industry and by the beginning of the 1900's was one of the UK's major ports. In these industrial respects, even when it was part of County Durham Hartlepool was detached culturally from its neighbouring localities by the fact that the main industry of the majority of County Durham was coal mining whereas Hartlepool's were the ship building and shipping industries. Despite fast growth in population and industry in the last century of the whole Tees Valley conurbation and of the increasing closeness between the towns therein, there exists among at least some of Hartlepool's inhabitants a strong local identity and sense of independence from the rest of the conurbation. This is demonstrated in some of the informants' comments later in the present study.

Linguistically, there have been no studies to date that concentrate solely on the dialect of Hartlepool, and the town is rarely mentioned in descriptive accounts of the different varieties of British English. For example in discussing North Eastern varieties, Wells (1982) goes into much detail regarding Tyneside English, as the variety spoken there (commonly referred to as "Geordie") is recognised as one of the UK's most unique, but does not illustrate other North Eastern varieties in such detail and certainly does not cover variation

within smaller sections of the North East region, such as the Tees Valley. Trudgill (1990) also groups the various dialects of the North East together, justifying this by explaining that to an outsider, a speaker from the Tees Valley area may be identified as having a Geordie accent.

There are more recent studies, however, that do focus on micro-regional variation in the North East of England and such studies do demonstrate that the region is in fact rich in variety. Llamas (2007:601) reports that although Middlesbrough English is in some respects converging with that of Tyneside, it is in other respects diverging and becoming an increasingly independent variety. Burbano-Elizondo (2006:125) reports that the phenomenon of “dropping” initial /h/ from stressed syllables exists in the speech of some Sunderland speakers, though not as many as would be expected given the stereotyping of Sunderland as a city where such h-dropping is prevalent. Nevertheless, the occurrence of the phenomena highlights a contrast between Sunderland English and Newcastle English, as Newcastle speakers characteristically retain initial /h/ (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt, 2005:66).

Pearce’s (2009) perceptual dialectology work in the North East is key in demonstrating that people from a number of both large urban and smaller localities throughout the North East England are aware of, and willing to share opinions about, dialectal differences within the region. Informants of Pearce’s study were asked to score localities other than their own according to how similar they considered the dialect of that locality to theirs. Fifty-four of the informants named Hartlepool as their hometown and only one other locality, Billingham, approximately eight miles south of Hartlepool, was shown to have any dialectal similarity with Hartlepool in the minds of those informants. This connection was not reciprocated by any of the informants from Billingham, nor was awareness of any level of similarities between the dialects of Hartlepool and any other locality expressed by informants from other places (2009:172).

Pearce’s findings correlate to some extent with the tentative findings of a pilot investigation for the present study, which aimed to document Hartlepool and Middlesbrough speakers’ perceptions of their own dialects in relation to each other and the dialects of other towns in

the Tees Valley area. As a perceptual dialectological study, an obstacle was of course that the informants were hard pushed to explain exactly how and what linguistic features differ, but some of their comments suggest that a merger between the NURSE and SQUARE vowels is more salient in Hartlepool than in its neighbouring towns (noted as being present in Teesside by Trudgill 1990:70), and most of the informants, from both Hartlepool and Middlesbrough, expressed their thoughts that Hartlepool has its own accent. This view is considered and explored in the present study.

This section has contextualised the investigation of the use of glottal replacement and reinforcement of /t/ in Hartlepool, in terms of roles that individual and social identities play in linguistic variation and spread. Next, the design of the study is detailed, followed by the results and analysis of informal speech data and attitudinal data from Hartlepool informants.

3. Methodology

3.1 Informant Sample

Fifteen informants were recruited to take part in the study, three of whom were known to the investigator. These initial three encouraged people in their own networks to volunteer to take part; a snowball sampling technique. The extralinguistic variables investigated in the present study, besides speaker identity, are age and gender, thus the informants were split into three age groups and gender sub-groups. Although the social class of individuals has been shown to be of great significance in some studies of linguistic variation, it was not used as a variable here, as the population of Hartlepool can be considered as being predominantly of low socio-economic status². The informants were still asked to give some demographic information to verify that the group was homogeneous in this respect, and they were evaluated as being of upper working to lower middle class status based on their occupations, housing and educational qualifications. Each informant was born in or close to Hartlepool, grew up in the town and currently lives there. As the study incorporates an analysis of attitudinal information gathered through answers to questionnaires, the groups into which informants were divided were kept quite small to allow each individual's comments to be analysed in some depth. Table 1 shows the sample groups:

Age group	Old (55+)		Middle (30-50)		Young (18-25)	
Gender	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
No. of informants	4	1	3	2	3	2

TABLE 1: Informant sample

3.2 Data elicitation

2 Hartlepool Borough Council (http://www.hartlepool.gov.uk/downloads/file/5855/hartlepool_factfile_2009) shows the percentages of local people working in typically low-status occupations in 2009 to be higher than the national average, while the percentages of those working in professional and managerial roles are much lower.

Data was elicited through use of a fieldworker-administered attitude and identity questionnaire, (henceforth IdQ), adapted from the one designed by Llamas (1999:104, 2007:586) to be used in the Survey of Regional English (SuRE) project (Llamas 1999:95). The main advantage of the IdQ is that it contains enough questions for the spoken answers to form a sufficient speech sample for linguistic analysis, while at the same time the questions are designed, and can be adapted, to measure attitudes towards the local area and dialect, through questions relating to language, such as “What accent would you say you had and do you like it?” and the local area, for example “If you were watching a regional news programme, what places would you expect to hear news from?” (1999:105).

The extended version of Llamas' IdQ, which was designed to include questions relating specifically to the administrative boundary changes that Middlesbrough has undergone, was adapted so that locality-specific questions related to Hartlepool. For example, the question: “Do you remember when the county of Teesside was formed and Middlesbrough was no longer in Yorkshire? Do you think the change made a difference?” (Llamas 1999:116) was changed to apply to Hartlepool's boundary changes. In the interest of analysing the attitudinal and identity-related data elicited through the questionnaire, the present analysis splits the questions into three sets; one of them encompassing all of the questions that encourage answers relating to the informants' attitudes towards the town, one encompassing questions which encourage answers that help to define the perceived limits of the Hartlepool dialect and locality, and a single question relating directly to perceptions of age variation in the Hartlepool dialect. Most of the questions in the IdQ are open-ended, but where informants gave only a yes or no answer, or another very short answer, they were encouraged to elaborate on these in order to build up a larger sample of their speech. The full adapted questionnaire as used in the present study can be seen in Appendix 1. Although the informants were instructed to answer all of the questions in the IdQ in order to elicit as much speech as possible for the quantitative analysis of linguistic behaviour, only the most relevant questions to the present study were used as part of the qualitative attitude and identity analysis. Llamas' questionnaire includes an “Identification Score Index ” section (Llamas 1999:107), whereby the questions each have three optional answers that are scored from 1 to 3; a score of 1 being assigned to the answer which

reflects a low level of identification with the locality and a score of 3 to the answer which reflects a strong local identity. Each informant was asked these questions and the scores are used as a supplement to the qualitative analysis in the present study.

Several steps were taken during the data collection stage to overcome the 'observer's paradox', in other words to ensure as much as possible that informants felt comfortable enough while being recorded to speak naturally. The interviews took place in the informants' homes and in all cases other family members or friends were present. Informants were given a copy of the interview questionnaire prior to being questioned so that they could look at the questions, think about them before answering and refer to them during the interview. This also had the benefit of reducing the potential anxiety of not knowing what was going to be asked of them during the interview. Although the setting of the informants' homes was not ideal in some cases due to the occasional background sounds from other family members, pets and so on, it was decided that the benefits of the familiarity of the setting to the informants outweighed the occasional disturbances.

3.3 Method of analysis

The interviews were recorded using a dictaphone and then transcribed. From each transcription, every instance of /t/ occurring in an unstressed syllable final position was noted, as were all of the different variants of /t/ that occurred, identified by auditory impression. Six variants were identified: fully released [t]; a glottal stop [ʔ]; glottal reinforcement of /t/ [ʔt]; [r]; [ɹ] and the absence of /t/ (zero), in inter-sonorant word-boundary, word-internal and pre-pausal environments.

In classifying tokens within the data elicited, a choice had to be made between using an auditory or an acoustic analysis. Both have been used in past studies of glottal consonants, but different researchers have different views of the benefits and drawbacks of each method in relation to the nature of their investigations. Docherty and Foulkes (1999a:54) claim that they use acoustic analysis in their study of Derby and Newcastle to “fill the gap” in variationist sociophonetic literature, since they see consonants as having been neglected where acoustic analysis is concerned. They do defend auditory analysis (:53): “it is usually possible to make robust *auditory* [italics in original] discriminations of the variants which

typically crop up in consonantal variable studies. The use of the glottal stop for /t/ in English is a case in point: the auditory difference between [t] and [ʔ] is sufficiently stark that any use of instrumental techniques to discriminate between them would appear to be analytical overkill". However, their aim is to look at glottal consonants in much more detail than is possible by auditory analysis and they therefore choose to use an instrumental technique. This proves advantageous in their study as it unveils variation within glottally reinforced consonants that were unidentifiable by auditory analysis alone.

In Docherty et al. (1997:279), the matter of reliability is brought up. The authors claim that an analyst's auditory impression "may not be a completely faithful representation of what the speaker actually says" but they note that this problem can arise with acoustic analysis too. Milroy & Gordon (2003:149) also raise the issue of problems that may arise with acoustic analysis, pointing out that physiological differences between speakers may hide sociolinguistic differences. An advantage they give for auditory analysis is that the same input is available to the researcher as is available to listeners in the speech community (2003:151).

Tight time constraints on an investigation, an issue which applies in the present study, can also determine which method should be used. Milroy & Gordon mention this (2003:151), and similarly, Fabricius (2000:80) states that "[acoustic] techniques effectively restrict the scope of the study to examining items in isolation or in short texts read aloud, as in a more traditional phonetic type of study, and therefore also restricts the number of items which can be analysed", bringing to attention ways in which an investigation can suffer when not enough time is given for the analysis.

Another point raised by Fabricius (2000:80) is that acoustic analysis is more suited to the study of vowel variation, claiming that "Vowels are often analysed acoustically [...] since plotted charts based on formant positions are a well-established acoustic counterpart to auditory analysis using the vowel quadrilateral." It seems fair to note that this is most likely not the only reason for the acoustic analysis of vowels, but nonetheless there is no such counterpart of the vowel quadrilateral where consonants are concerned, reducing this manner of convenience in consonantal analysis. The view that acoustic analysis is not

essential in the study of consonants as of vowels is also expressed by Mees (1983: 98-99) who writes that “the discrete nature of consonantal variables makes it relatively easy to hear the difference between the variants, and inaccurate observations are less likely to occur than is the case with vocalic variables.

Considering the nature and aim of the present study and bearing in mind all of the points detailed above regarding the advantages and disadvantages of each type of analysis, it was decided that an auditory method of analysis would be sufficient for the present study. The aim of the present study is not to search for fine details regarding the articulatory nature of glottalled and glottally reinforced sounds, but to find out what speakers do socially with the two auditorily distinct sounds [ʔ] and [ʔt].

Of course auditory analysis brings with it the risk of reduced reliability. Steps were taken to lessen that risk. The data were analysed on three separate occasions with a one week interval between each analysis, and any tokens that were analysed differently on different occasions were left out of the final results, as were any tokens that were on any occasion difficult to identify as one of the relevant variants in the relevant linguistic context. Also discounted were tokens which occurred during any instance of an informant's 'putting on' an accent, for example to demonstrate how speakers from a different town might pronounce something. Although of interest in terms of where speakers draw dialect boundaries, such tokens do not represent a speaker's own dialect and therefore can not be included in a quantitative account of their natural speech.

Data sheets were compiled for each informant, listing every occurrence of one of the relevant /t/ variants, categorised by the three environments of word-boundary, word-internal and pre-pausal positions. The raw data were turned into percentages for each individual's use of the variants and this data can be seen in the table in Appendix (2). For the purposes of the quantitative analysis, the data were combined for age and gender groups so that speech patterns constrained by these factors could be more easily identified. Chi-square tests of association were conducted where there were noticeable differences in variant frequencies between groups to test significance.

Findings from the linguistic analysis are presented in the next section, after which the discussion focuses on interpreting these findings qualitatively based on the comments given by the informants as answers to the IdQ.

3.4 Limitations on design and data collection

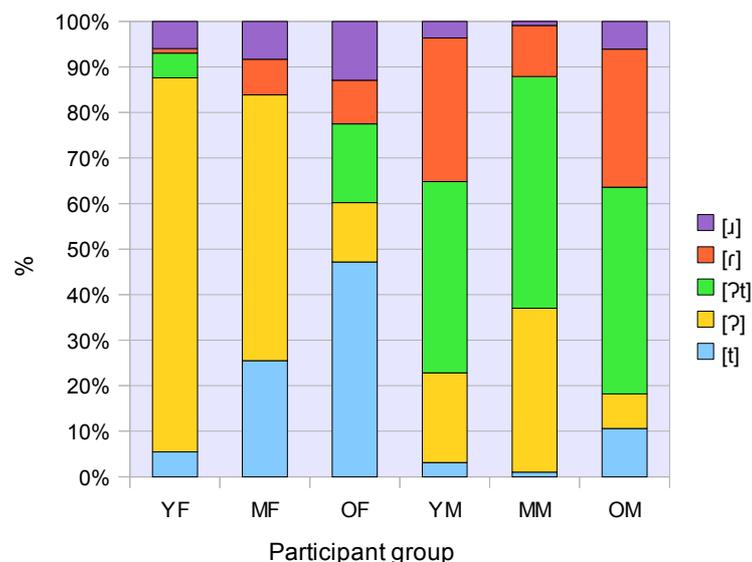
Although every care was taken to elicit as natural data as possible in adequate quantities for a quantitative analysis, constraints on the study meant that there were some limitations. The informant sample is quite small and although a satisfactory amount of data can be gathered from a small group for qualitative analysis, the reliability of the quantitative linguistic analysis is reduced somewhat. In addition to this, some of the informants were not as talkative as others and did not produce large amounts of data. Regarding the observers paradox issue, even though the data collection stage was described to informants as an 'informal interview', the interview element of this nevertheless implied some level of formality which may have had some effect on speaker style.

4. Linguistic findings

Figures 3, 4 and 5 below show the percentages of the use of each variant of /t/ in the three different environments detailed earlier in section 2.2. The results are presented by age group and gender.

4.1 Age and gender variation in /t/ variants in word boundary position

FIGURE 3: Graph showing distribution of (t) variants in word boundary position, by age group and gender.



Examples of /t/ variants in this environment from the data are: [t] “sort of” [sɔ:t əv]; [ʔ] “what accent” [wɒʔ aksɛnt]; [ʔt] “straight away” [stʃe:ʔt əwe:]; [r] “it is” [ɪr ɪz]; [ɹ] “get on” [gɛɹ ɒn].

Correlations that can be seen in this environment are a decrease in the use of [t] from the older to younger females. This appears to be attributable to an increase in the use of [ʔ] by younger and middle aged females. For males, the middle group has the highest use of [ʔ]. A Chi-square test result for association of the frequencies of [ʔ] and [t] in old and young females' speech suggests the difference is extremely significant ($p < 0.0001$). The variant [ʔt]

can be seen as being stable across age in the speech of males. The female middle age group stands out as being different from the older and younger females as they do not have any glottalization in this environment whereas the older and younger females have, albeit it in small amounts. [r] is used more frequently by males than females. The male middle age group shows something interesting: an increased use of T-glottalling which does not appear to be at the expense of glottalization, emphasising the stability of glottalization in male speech. All of the groups show some level of 'T → R' use, although mainly this seems to be restricted to females and older males.

In summary, the distribution of /t/ variants in word boundary position show that age variation is more apparent in the speech of females and that there are clearly different overall patterns between genders. Comparing the genders of each age group for the use of [ʔ] and [ʔt], it is found that differences in frequency of use for these variants between genders is extremely significant for the young and middle age groups ($p < 0.0001$) and very significant for the older groups ($p < 0.0035$). Males use [ʔt] more frequently than any other variant and females use [ʔ] up until the older age group when the most frequently used variant becomes [t].

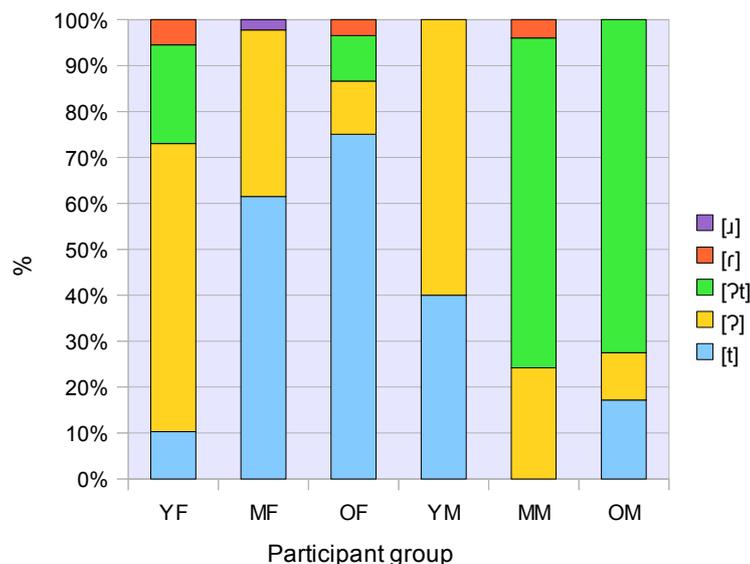
4.2 Age and gender variation in /t/ variants in word-internal position

Examples from the data of /t/ variants used in word-internal position are: [t] “ability” [əbɪləti:]; [ʔ] “bottom” [bɒʔəm]; [ʔt] “letters” [lɛʔtəz]; [r] “matter” [mæə]; [ɹ] “matter” [mæə].

What is striking about this data is the clear age grading of [ʔ] across both male and female groups, showing an increase in use from old to young. The percentages of the use of [ʔ] are remarkably close for males and females with ever so slightly higher levels of use in female speech: in the young group, [ʔ] accounts for 62.7% of the distribution for females and 60% for males; in the middle group, 29% for females and 24.2 for males; in the older group, 11.7% for females and 10.35% for males. Another noticeable point is the complete lack of [ʔt] use by young males, considering the stability of this variant in word boundary position. Older and middle aged males show a high frequency of [ʔt] here and as in the previous

environment it is also present in the speech of old and young females. In this environment there is higher use of [t] by young males than young females. In fact, where /t/ is concerned, young males and females differ in their use, as the use of /t/ drops sharply from middle to younger females while in male speech this is the other way around.

FIGURE 4: Graph showing distribution of (t) variants in word internal position, by age group and gender.



To summarise the distribution of /t/ variants in word-internal position, the young age group differ in that both young male and female speakers use [ʔ] more than any other variant. The most frequently used variant by the rest of the females is [t] and by males [ʔt]. It is unexpected that [ʔt] is not used by young males in word-internal position since this variant is stable across the male age groups in word boundary position.

4.3 Age and gender variation in /t/ variants in pre-pausal position.

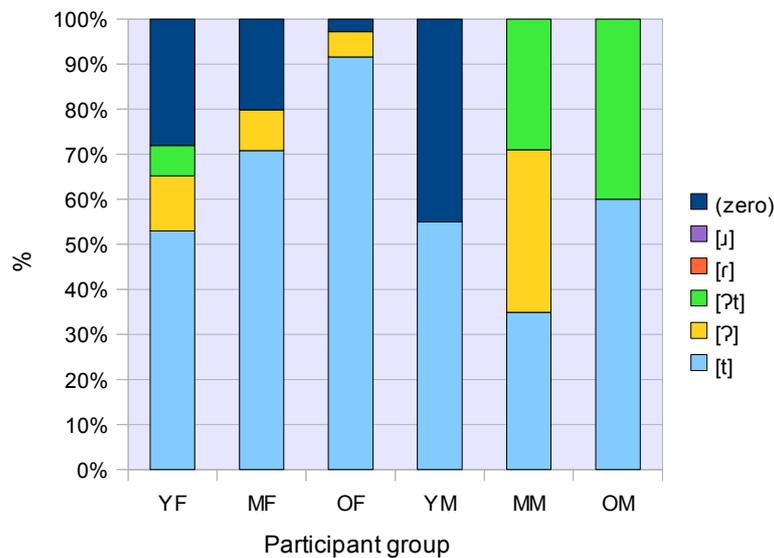
Examples from the data of /t/ variants in this position are: [t] “night” [naɪt]; [ʔ] “visit” [vɪzɪʔ]; [ʔt] “right” [ɹaɪʔt]; (zero) “that” [ðə].

This is the only environment where the (zero) variant is used. It increases in use from old to young in females, but of the male groups it is only present in the young, where it is more

frequently used than by females of any age. [ʔ] use also increases in use from old to young across the female age groups. In males it is used only by the middle aged group, reflecting its more frequent use by middle aged males than old and young males also in word boundary position. As in the other two environments, [ʔt] is present in the young female group and absent from the middle female group. It is also absent from older female speech in this context, in contrast to the word boundary and word-internal contexts.

To summarise the distribution of /t/ variants in pre-pausal position, the most frequently used variant overall is [t] which accounts for more than half of the tokens in all groups except for the middle age male group where it is in approximately even distribution with the two glottal variants. The (zero) variant is used only in this environment, most often by young males but not at all by males older than 25 years. For females, there is a pattern of increased use of (zero) and [ʔ] across age and decreased use of [t].

FIGURE 5: Graph showing distribution of (t) variants in pre-pausal position, by age group and gender.



5. Attitudinal analysis and discussion

This section discusses the above linguistic findings in Hartlepool English in light of the findings from the answers given by informants to the aforementioned IdQ. The questionnaire is designed so that the answers should reflect the informants' attitudes about Hartlepool and the local dialect and indicate how strongly they feel an affiliation with the town. The informants' views and their influences on variation in Hartlepool are compared closely with those reported in Llamas' Middlesbrough study (2007), enabling consideration of the relationship between geographical and conceptual closeness and linguistic behaviour between the two towns.

The following quote which comes from the field of social psychology demonstrates that using attitude as a variable in empirical research is not straightforward:

“An attitude cannot be measured directly, because it's a *hypothetical construct* [italics in original]. Consequently, it's necessary to find adequate attitude indicators, and most methods of attitude measurements are based on the assumption that they can be measured by people's beliefs or opinions about the attitude object.” (Stahlberg & Frey 1988, cited in Gross 2005:407)

Bearing this in mind, the informants' answers to the IdQs have been analysed as systematically as possible. Firstly, the questions have been considered as forming three different sets according to what they measure: one set applying broadly to identity, the second broadly to attitudes and the third specifically relating to perceptions of age variation. The answers to the questions shown below in Figure 6 are considered to encourage direct opinions about various aspects of the town and dialect. They offer informants chances to air explicitly positive or negative views. In addition to the answers to these questions, any positive or negative comments made in answer to any of the other IdQ questions are also taken into account in regard to the overall picture of the informants' attitudes towards the town and dialect.

The second set of questions focus on: defining the Hartlepool dialect in terms of what the informants refer to it as; finding out if people recognise the dialect as being unique to Hartlepool; finding out what knowledge people have of the official boundaries of the town and wider area; defining to what area the town belongs and how people view themselves in terms of a group that can be given a label. The questions shown below in Figure 7 constitute this group.

- 1(b). Do you like your accent?
4. Have you ever been in a situation where you've deliberately changed the way you talk? If so, why?
11. What image or description of Hartlepool would you give to someone who didn't know it?
16. What do you consider the best and worst things about growing up and living in Hartlepool?
18. If an outsider was complaining about Hartlepool, would you defend it even if you agreed with what s/he was saying? Why/why not?

FIGURE 6: Opinion question set.

- 1(a). What accent would you say you had?
2. Can you recognise the accent?
5. Where, geographically, would you say people stop talking the same as you and start sounding different?
6. What would you think if your accent was referred to as Geordie or Yorkshire?
7. How would you feel if someone referred to you as a monkey hanger?
9. Are you aware of what county Hartlepool is in? Do you remember it being in any other county?
10. Do you consider Hartlepool to be part of Teesside?

FIGURE 7: Identity question set.

Question 3, “Do you think older and younger people talk the same here (pronounce things the same and use the same words)?”, relates specifically to the informants' perceptions of age variation in the Hartlepool dialect and the answers to this question are analysed separately to the others.

5.1 Attitudes towards the town and dialect of Hartlepool

An overwhelmingly negative overall view about the town is given by the youngest informant who is an eighteen year old female. She does not like the Hartlepool accent and makes no remarks that can be interpreted as positive reflections about any aspect of life in the town. Nor does she give any defensive remarks about the town and claims that if she heard an outsider complaining about it she would agree that “it's awful”. This can be seen in terms of constructing a social identity as an attempt at excluding oneself from a social group, in this case speakers of the Hartlepool accent, if we consider again the idea in Social Identity Theory that: “an individual is motivated to maintain a distinct and positive social identity.” Tajfel's (1978:63).

None of the other informants convey such negative opinions but a small number of them do give views that overall convey indifference towards the town. These informants are a mixed age group, two of them being under twenty five (one male and one female) and one female from the middle age group. Their views are characterised by being contrastive to the negative view of the youngest informant in that they all claim that they would defend the town were an outsider complaining about it. This can be seen as an expression of positivity towards the town but also characteristic of their views is the tendency to list negative aspects of life in Hartlepool without then mentioning positive things. These informants' opinions also differ from decisively positive or negative ones in that they do not in any way attack or praise the Hartlepool dialect but instead state that they have never thought about whether they like it or not. Such a view, swaying neither way, is exemplified by one of the informants' answers to Question 11 above, referring to how they would describe the town to an outsider: “As an old fishing town” (young male). In contrast to the answers to

Question 11 given by all of the informants who generally show more positive feelings towards the town, this answer gives only factual information.

The female in the middle group who demonstrates this view of indifference uses, along with the other female who has the same type of view and the youngest informant with the negative view, the highest frequency of use of [ʔ], the variant that is pan-British rather than considered more of a North Eastern variant, in word-internal position. The male informant who has the indifferent type of view uses the standard variant [t] 80% of the time in word-internal position, while the other male informant who claims to “love” the Hartlepool accent, uses the local North East variant [ʔ] 100% of the time in the same environment. These points suggest that in word-internal position, where non-standard variants of /t/ are highly salient, speakers who have a low or neutral attitude towards the town express this by using standard or non-local non-standard variants. The lack of division of opinion across age and gender groups, however, demonstrates that this is one aspect at least where age does not account for the use of certain linguistic variants.

The remaining majority of the informants convey generally positive attitudes towards the town and dialect. All of them claim that they like the Hartlepool accent, but some of them nevertheless describe it in derogative ways. A quote from one informant in the young age group demonstrates this point: “I've got a Hartlepool accent. And yeah, I do like it [...] [Question 4 follows: Have you ever deliberately changed the way you talk? If so, why?] For job interviews. I don't want to sound common and stupid.” (young female). A male from the middle group appears to do the same sort of thing: “[the Hartlepool accent] just seems a bit lazy. But at the end of the day it's a good, friendly accent I think.” These expressions of fondness for the local dialect yet combined with the willingness to admit they don't consider the accent to be particularly attractive appears to demonstrate a sense of pride in the dialect and thus in one of the most marked elements of the local identity.

With the exception of one of the females in the middle age group who was mentioned above as conveying indifference, there appears to be a divide between the middle and old age groups in terms of to what ends they are aiming to meet with their comments. Both groups state numerous positive and negative points relating to life in Hartlepool, but they seem to have different goals in doing this. There is a tendency among the middle group informants

to state a problem that exists in the town and immediately follow it with a counteractive statement saying that the problem is not unique to Hartlepool. Examples of such statements are: “[...]there are bad parts but there are bad parts to everywhere.” (middle female); “You do get some proper awful people but I suppose you get awful people everywhere.” (middle female); “[...]most towns of our size have equal problems.” (middle male). In this way, almost every negative point is given a positive twist, with claims that any problems the town may have are no worse than they would be anywhere else. Such acts of 'making up' for the bad points can be seen as a form of defending the town against bad press and gives the impression that the informants are arguing for the town. Ultimately, such statements give an impression of feelings of positivity towards the town. This kind of 'arguing' is not shown by the informants who are considered as having negative or indifferent feelings towards the town, further suggesting that there appear to be inherently different attitudes towards the local area that correlate with use of local and non-local variants.

Returning to the apparent split between the middle and older age groups, the older informants also mention both positive and negative things about the town in abundance but do not do so in a way that claims Hartlepool has problems that every town has. They seem to want to give a full picture, mentioning problems that the town has but not immediately following them with claims about other towns sharing these problems. Instead it is as if they want to make issues known and make others aware that life in the town was once better than it is currently. Instead of putting a positive twist on negative comments as the middle age group do, the older group state the negatives but without dismissing them as problems common to every town. Rather, they explain what they perceive the causes of these things to be or suggest on how things could change for the better. Some examples of the kinds of comments that give this impression are: “[...]you see one or two shops in the town that's shut down and I think we need to bring a little bit more business into the town [...] we need a little bit of a stronger voice on the council.”(old female); “The worst thing I think is Church street where all the drinking and the fighting happens on a weekend and holiday time. It's when they've all had too much to drink and the pubs are open all night.” (old female). The older male, although in line with the tendency of the women in his age group to give the impression that they do like the town but want it to improve, expresses a

view that is generally more pessimistic, not making positive suggestions for things that could change but simply speaking seemingly with regret that things are not as good as they once were. Although those informants grouped together as showing more positive feelings towards the town do mention more good things about the town than the others do, what is crucial to consider is that it is not simply the quantity of negative versus positive remarks made by the informants that constitute an expression of their feelings towards the town, but rather how the remarks come together. Even though the older male informant does not put a positive light on some of the negative issues he brings up, it is the feeling of regret and sadness through discussing problems he perceives the town as having that give an overall impression that he cares strongly for the town and people within it.

These comments could be seen as demonstrating the middle age group's affinity with a wider area, urban Britain in general, rather than with Hartlepool as the older informants demonstrate. This can explain the relatively minimal use of the non-local variant [ʔ] in the speech of older informants. However, the indication in the data that the local North Eastern variant [ʔt] is stable for males suggests that the increased use by middle and young males of the non-local variant is not used as a means to differentiate themselves from the local identity. Furthermore, the use of the local glottalized variant by young female speakers suggests that where the middle aged females may be differentiating themselves from the local identity, the younger females are, as with Llamas' younger informants in Middlesbrough (2007:602) constructing an innovative identity for themselves; one that combines high use of a pan-British variant with some use of a North East variant.

5.2 Defining the Hartlepool dialect and identity.

All but one of the informants said in answer to Question 1(a), above, that they have a Hartlepool accent. One of the young females, one young male and a female from the middle age group refer to their accent as 'Hartlepudlian' while the rest use the term 'a Hartlepool accent'. The term 'a Hartlepool accent' suggests that of the informants define the accent geographical location. Llamas found Middlesbrough informants to give a similar impression, some of their responses suggesting that: "accent can be defined by geographical place regardless of whether it conforms to the speaker's perception

of the accent in question.” (Llamas 2007:596).

The one participant who does not say that she has a Hartlepool accent, a middle aged female, claims that her accent is simply 'North Eastern'. This female was found to be one of the indifferently opinionated participants in the analysis of attitudinal responses, above.

Knowledge of the wider area to which Hartlepool officially belongs is measured by the question of its current and past county status. There doesn't seem to be a pattern among age groups of how accurately the informants can recount the history of Hartlepool's administrative boundary status. The most accurate accounts, that the town used to be part of County Durham and later was part of Cleveland but is now a unitary authority, are given across the age groups. Three members of the older age group, two of the middle and one of the young give this account. Two of the informants, one young and one old, claim that they don't know the status of the town now but both are aware of its past status as Cleveland and County Durham. The view that Hartlepool is officially counted as part of County Durham today is held by four informants, again spanning the age groups. One of the younger informants and two in the middle age group believe that Hartlepool's official status now is Hartlepool, Teesside. This apparent confusion of views across age groups contrasts to Llamas' finding (2007:600) that memories of county boundary changes correspond to age. Among the Hartlepool informants, there appears to be no apparent relationship between the knowledge or memory of county boundary statuses and age, which combined with the fact that overall, the informants refer to their 'Hartlepool accent', suggests the overall perception of Hartlepool as a peripheral and independent locality.

On the other hand, more than half of the informants say that they do consider Hartlepool to be part of Teesside. Once again, this is a view held across the age groups. Of the other informants, three of them associate it more with County Durham than Teesside. These informants are all in the middle age group and are all female which is quite unusual since only one of them was even born before Hartlepool was brought out of County Durham. Four informants, two of whom are in the old age group, one in the middle and one in the young, hold the view that Hartlepool is not part of Teesside, the reason being that it is not situated by the side of the Tees. Again this equates identity with geographic location in the minds of

some informants and reflects the insignificance of age in such a view.

Responses to the question of how far outside of the town people start to speak differently to the informants differ. One informant offers “the outskirts of the town” (older male) and one of the middle age group males gave an answer amounting to the same view. Six out of the fifteen informants state that immediately outside of town's border people speak differently. These six informants are a mixed age group of males and females aged twenty two to seventy one. Other responses amount to two further views of how far outside of the town the dialect changes: the youngest female, two females in their thirties and one older female answered to the effect that as soon as one reaches an urban centre outside of the town, the dialect changes, while one male in his thirties and the remaining two older females gave the view that heading north, the dialect changes immediately outside of Hartlepool but to the south it does not change until the North Yorkshire border.

Regarding the question of how the informants would feel if referred to as Geordies, all of them attested that this is a common occurrence that they have experienced, and only a small number of informants expressed that it offends them (the youngest female and the two middle-aged males). What's more, during the interviews with the informants who gave that response, it was clearly in a joking manner. The most common response to this question is that being referred to as a Geordie would not bother them. However, categorically the informants are certain that they are not Geordies and furthermore, ten of them (two thirds of the sample) claim that they would always correct a person who misidentified them as such. These responses establish Geordies as an 'outgroup' to the Hartlepool informants, emphasising the perceived distance between Hartlepool and Tyneside identities.

While being referred to as a Geordie is something that would, in most of the informants' views, require correcting, the term 'Monkey Hanger', which has its origins in a story (widely regarded as a myth) told about fishermen in Hartlepool hanging a monkey hundreds of years ago, appears to be acceptable as a reference to Hartlepool inhabitants. None of the informants express displeasure at the suggestion of being referred to as a Monkey Hanger. The youngest informant is the only one who has not come across the term

before but the attitude toward this term for all of the other informants ranges from those along the lines of “It doesn't bother me. It shows people have knowledge of the area I'm from” (young female) and “I wouldn't mind, it's a bit of humour” (middle female) to “I like it. It's just a term of endearment really and in some respects it's a bit of local pride because there is a bit of history, a story in the town” (older male). This demonstrates a possible desire present in all age groups to be able to refer to their local group by a name as well as having a label, 'Hartlepool' or 'Hartlepudlian' for their accent.

All of the informants claimed that their accent being identified as Yorkshire would only cause them confusion as not one of them consider the Hartlepool accent to resemble that of Yorkshire, nor would any of them expect somebody from outside the region to consider the two similar. So considering some of the informants claim that the Hartlepool accent is similar to the accents of other towns in the Tees Valley combined with Hartlepool informants their shunning of a Geordie identity, this can be seen as evidence of the Tees Valley sharing a perceived identity separate from both Tyneside to the north and Yorkshire to the south, in the eyes of Hartlepool speakers.

6. Conclusions

The findings of this study suggest that in Hartlepool English, identity doesn't seem to be a conditioning factor on speech too much. The linguistic contexts and other social constraints of age and gender apparently only correlate minimally with speaker's attitudes towards the town and level of identification with Hartlepool. The only indication that sense of identity does play a part in speech is that the non-local variant [ʔ] is undergoing a change in apparent time and becoming increasingly a part of typical speech in Hartlepool but the local North Eastern variant [ʔ] is not diminishing in the speech of males and is also re-emerging in the speech of females. This reflects Llamas' (2007) findings that in Middlesbrough young people are creating their own, 'Middlesbrough' identity. In Hartlepool, it is not evident that any age group has ever felt anything other than a Hartlepool identity, but perhaps the young speakers are constructing their own version of it to differentiate from the older generations. The change over apparent time is more evident in the speech of females, suggesting that they are leading a change in the use of [ʔ] and supporting the idea that the widely regarded non-standard and stigmatized variant [ʔ] is becoming more acceptable as a linguistic feature.

Although it is considered here that incorporating the attitudinal comments of the sample in sociophonetic research is advisable in order to reduce generalisations about groups' linguistic behaviours and therefore to better inform the causes of linguistic findings, this study raises the question of whether it is worth sacrificing a large-scale quantitative analysis to look in detail at the views and perceptions of a small sample of people. Ideally, for such a study as this which takes into account attitudinal information, there would be more time, a team of researchers and more informants used, then a combination of analyses could still be used and yield more detailed results.

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Appendix 1:
Identity Questionnaire and Identification Score Index

Questionnaire

Your Language

1. What accent would you say you had, and do you like it?
2. Can you recognise the accent of Hartlepool (e.g. if heard on the radio or TV)? If so, how?
3. Do you think older and younger people talk the same here (pronounce things the same and use the same words)?
4. Have you ever been in a situation where you've deliberately changed the way you talk? If so, why?
5. Where, geographically, would you say people stop talking the same as you and start sounding different?
6. What would you think if your accent was referred to as Geordie? Has it ever been referred to as anything else?
7. How would you feel if someone referred to you as a 'Monkey Hanger'?

Your Area

8. If you were watching a *regional* news programme, what places would you expect to hear news from?
9. Are you aware of what county Hartlepool is in? Do you remember it being in any other county?
10. Do you consider Hartlepool to be part of Teesside?
11. What image or description of Hartlepool would you give to someone who didn't know it?
12. If you wanted a day out shopping, where would you go?
13. Do you think Hartlepool is a fashionable place to be?
14. What do you consider the local football derby to be?
15. Have you ever wished you had grown up somewhere else? Why/why not?
16. What do you consider the best and worst things are about growing up and living in Hartlepool?
17. Have you ever seen Hartlepool on a national T.V. programme (e.g. a documentary)?

If so, how was it portrayed?

18. If an outsider was complaining about Hartlepool, would you defend it even if you agreed with what s/he was saying? Why/why not?

19. How many friends, relations and work/school/college mates do you have in the neighbourhood (not more than about 5 mins. away) who you see regularly?

Identification Score Index

1. If you were on holiday and saw someone you had never seen before but thought they came from your home town (e.g. you overheard their accent and recognised it, they were wearing the local football shirt etc.), would you:

- a) feel compelled to go and ask where they were from and strike up a relationship (3)
- b) feel you had something in common but not do anything about it (2)
- c) not feel any differently than you would towards any other stranger (1)

2. Would you say you feel close to and feel you have something in common with people from your home town in general (that is people you don't know personally), or would you say you do not feel any closer to them than to people from somewhere else?

- a) feel closer to people from home town (3)
- b) don't feel any closer to people from home town than to other people (1)
- c) don't know, can't say (2)

3. If you were the manager of a company which was recruiting people and two equally qualified and experienced people applied for the position, but one had been born and educated in your home town and the other had been born and educated somewhere else, would you choose:

- a) the person from your home town (3)
- b) the person from somewhere else (1)
- c) don't know, wouldn't matter (2)

4. Would you prefer your child's school teacher to be:

- a) a local person with a local accent (3)
- b) a person who spoke 'standard' English with a 'standard' accent (1)
- c) it wouldn't matter what accent they had (2)

5. If you were voting in a local election, would the fact that a candidate was a local person persuade you to vote for them?

- a) yes it would (3)
- b) no it wouldn't (1)
- c) don't know (2)

6. If you wanted to leave something to a charitable organisation would you choose:

- a) a local one (3)
- b) a national / international one (1)
- c) don't know, depends on the cause (2)

7. If there was a programme on T.V. about your home town which clashed with your favourite programme and you couldn't record either would you:

- a) watch it and miss your favourite programme (3)
- b) watch your favourite programme and miss the other (but wish you hadn't) (2)

c) watch your favourite programme and miss the other (but not mind) (1)

Appendix 2:

Data: percentages of /t/ variant usage for individual informants

YF = Young Female YM = Young Male (age 18-25)
 MF = Middle Female MF = Middle Male (age 30-50)
 OF = Old Female OM = Old Male (age 55+)

Individual percentages of /t/ variant use for word boundary position:

	[t]	[ʔ]	[ʔt]	[r]	[ɹ]	TOTAL TOKENS
YF1	0	92.6	3.7	3.7	0	27
YF2	5.3	78.9	5.3	0	10.5	19
YF3	11.1	74.1	7.4	0	7.4	27
YM1	0	14.4	21.4	57.1	7.1	14
YM2	6.25	25	62.5	6.25	0	16
MF1	14	78	0	8	0	50
MF2	19.3	64.9	0	1.8	14	57
MF3	43.2	32.4	0	13.5	10.9	37
MM1	0.9	23.4	61.3	14.4	0	111
MM2	1	48.6	40.5	8.1	1.8	112
OF1	45.8	25.4	15.2	13.6	0	59
OF2	60	4.4	9	6.6	20	45
OF3	50	5.2	18.4	18.4	8	76
OF4	33.3	16.7	26.7	0	23.3	30
OM1	10.6	7.6	45.4	30.3	6.1	66

Individual percentages of /t/ variant use for word-internal position:

	[t]	[ʔ]	[ʔt]	[r]	[ɹ]	TOTAL TOKENS
YF1	14.3	71.4	14.3	0	0	7
YF2	0	100	0	0	0	1
YF3	16.7	16.7	49.9	16.7	0	6
YM1	0	0	100	0	0	6
YM2	80	0	20	0	0	5
MF1	46.2	53.8	0	0	0	13
MF2	61.1	33.3	0	0	5.6	18
MF3	40	60	0	0	0	5
MM1	0	12	80	8	0	25
MM2	0	36.4	63.6	0	0	22
OF1	61.9	9.5	14.3	14.3	0	21
OF2	80	20	0	0	0	15
OF3	82.4	17.6	0	0	0	17
OF4	75	0	25	0	0	8
OM1	17.2	10.3	72.5	0	0	29

Individual percentages of /t/ variant use for pre-pausal position:

	[t]	[ʔ]	[ʔt]	[r]	[ɹ]	(zero)	TOTAL TOKENS
YF1	33.3	16.7	0	0	0	50	6
YF2	85.7	0	0	0	0	14.3	7
YF3	40	20	20	0	0	20	5
YM1	60	0	0	0	0	40	5
YM2	50	0	0	0	0	50	2
MF1	67	27	0	0	0	6	15
MF2	45.5	0	0	0	0	54.5	11
MF3	100	0	0	0	0	0	1
MM1	28.6	42.8	28.6	0	0	0	7
MM2	41.2	29.4	29.4	0	0	0	17
OF1	90	10	0	0	0	0	10
OF2	87.5	12.5	0	0	0	0	8
OF3	88.9	0	0	0	0	11.1	9
OF4	100	0	0	0	0	0	8
OM1	60	0	40	0	0	0	5