



UNIVERSIDAD DE MURCIA

ESCUELA INTERNACIONAL DE DOCTORADO

**Creating Political Identities and Reflecting Social Values:
Strategic Style-Shifting in Political Discourse in the USA and
the UK**

**La Creación de Identidades Políticas y el Reflejo de Valores
Sociales: Variación Estilística Estratégica en el Discurso
Político en Estados Unidos y Reino Unido**

D^a Belén Zapata Barrero

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University of Murcia

Belén Zapata Barrero

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*La creación de identidades políticas y el reflejo de valores
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político en Estados Unidos y Reino Unido*

Doctoral Thesis

Supervisors: Dr. Juan Manuel Hernández-Campoy
Dr. Juan Antonio Cutillas Espinosa

Department of English Studies

Faculty of Arts

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To my parents and my sister

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Abstract

The investigation of the relationships between language and society by correlating extralinguistic factors (socio-demographic and/or context variables) and linguistic constituents is allowing Sociolinguistics to account for variation in language (Labov 1972a: 237). The intersectional points of *sociolinguistic variation* within the existing symmetry between *social variation* and *linguistic variation* describe the logics of variability in the orderly heterogeneity of linguistic systems. In this respect, sociolinguistic research has evidenced the existence of three key elements in (socio)linguistic variation: the social as well as biological characteristics of speakers, the situational context in which variations occur, and the linguistic environment that characterises the variable being studied (Labov 1994, 2001a, 2010). Precisely, Rickford and Eckert (2001: 1) emphasised the pivotal position that the construct of style enjoys in speakers' sociolinguistic behaviour, which motivated Bell's (1984: 145) differentiation between *interspeaker* (or social) and *intraspeaker* (or stylistic) variation, and therefore, the emergence of different theoretical models attempting to explain stylistic variation (see Eckert & Rickford 2001; Hernández-Campoy 2016).

Yet, the social meaning of sociolinguistic variation has been approached from different perspectives in the form of three different generations or waves of theoretical assumptions and analytic practices (Eckert 2012). Particularly, and from a socio-constructionist perspective, current third wave assumptions constitute the most up-to-date studies on language variation and change in Sociolinguistics. These practices are focusing on the sociolinguistic behaviour of the individual, moving away from collective approaches within stylistic variation research, emphasising in this sense the central role of speaker agency in the proactive usage of language. Precisely, individuals operate as active agents that engage in stylistic practices when it comes to the transmission of meaning through language. These practices take the form of persona management strategies as well as social positioning and stance-taking movements under the motivation or influence of identity and ideological aspects, being the indexical

mutability of linguistic features of outmost importance for such meaning transmission (Eckert 2008, 2012; Schilling 2013; Soukup 2018; Coupland 2007).

The present study aims to contribute to the understanding of style-shifting phenomena in public political contexts from a multidimensional and third-wave approach to the study of the social meaning of stylistic variation in Sociolinguistics. In fact, the main objective is to account for potential differences in terms of persona management strategies that may arise from comparing British and American politicians operating in similar public political contexts (i.e.: a political statement, a political interview, a political rally in a Northern region and a political rally in a Southern region). In order to do so, mass media sources were employed as instruments for the obtention of the informants' speech style, which were approached within a Speaker Design and third-wave framework. Then, qualitative and quantitative methods were applied, as both approaches have proven to be crucial in the provision of valuable information about style-shifting phenomena.

Results suggest that individuals engage in self-construction process under the motivation or influence of identity and ideological aspects, being style-shifting practices continuous bricolage processes in which British and American politicians engage in order to position themselves in society through language use. Precisely, stylistic practices have proven to be subject to change due to the different meanings that a given linguistic variable may convey. Further aspects may condition such strategic choices, such as the geographical region of provenance, gender or socioeconomic status of the individual, as well as the societal system within which he or she operates, as it has been evidenced that differences between British and American social systems are mirrored to a noticeable extent in language use and style-shifting patterns. Consequently, identities and ideologies are enacted in social interaction, being the understanding of identity and ideological foundations of style-shifting crucial for a proper account of how speakers strategically design their speech style in order to position themselves in communicative contexts.

Keywords: social meaning, style-shifting, social positioning, social agency, persona management, stance-taking, indexical mutability, identity, ideology, public political contexts.

Introduction

The investigation of the relationships between language and society by correlating extralinguistic factors (socio-demographic and/or context variables) and linguistic constituents is allowing Sociolinguistics to account for variation in language (Labov 1972a: 237). The intersectional points of *sociolinguistic variation* within the existing symmetry between *social variation* and *linguistic variation* describe the logics of variability in the orderly heterogeneity of linguistic systems. In this respect, sociolinguistic research has evidenced the existence of three key elements in (socio)linguistic variation: the social as well as biological characteristics of speakers, the situational context in which variations occur, and the linguistic environment that characterises the variable being studied (Labov 1994, 2001a, 2010). In this respect, Rickford and Eckert (2001: 1) emphasised the pivotal position that the construct of style enjoys in speakers' sociolinguistic behaviour, which motivated Bell's (1984: 145) differentiation between *interspeaker* (or social) and *intraspeaker* (or stylistic) variation, and therefore, the emergence of different theoretical models attempting to explain stylistic variation (see Eckert & Rickford 2001; Hernández-Campoy 2016).

In this respect, since the origins of Sociolinguistics as a field of research in the 1960s, the social meaning of sociolinguistic variation has been approached from different perspectives in the form of three different generations or waves of theoretical assumptions

and analytic practices (Eckert 2012). Over the years, each wave has refined certain theoretical tenets and/or methodological aspects of previous approaches (Eckert 2018: xi), involving the paradigm of Sociolinguistics in a continuous evolutionary process, which implies the reformulation and redefinition of theoretical concepts that parallels epistemological developments in terms of renovations of research methods, techniques of data collection and statistical analysis –as far as quantitative approaches are concerned (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 185; see also Hernández-Campoy 2014, 2018).

Thus, first-wave approaches aimed to correlate sociodemographic categories with patterns of linguistic variation in order to evidence the existence of predictable sociolinguistic universals or patterns through mathematical methods (see Labov 1963, 1966/2006, 1972a), being social agency rather unaddressed by these types of studies. On the other hand, second-wave assumptions opted for the employment of an ethnographic methodology in order to analyse how variation operates at a local level by means of correlating the social dynamics that originate local categories with the use of linguistic variables (Eckert 2012: 87), assuming that individuals' speech and stylistic repertoire were determined by social configurations that characterise speakers' dense/multiplex networks (Milroy 1980; Milroy 1992; Eckert 2012; Tagliamonte 2012). This implied a step forward in the study of speakers' social agency, being it regarded as a means to express local and class identity aspects. Lastly, third-wave approaches represent the most up-to-date studies on language variation and change in Sociolinguistics. Unlike first and second waves, these practices are placing emphasis on stylistic variation by means of addressing speakers as individual stylistic agents that are engaged in continuous self-construction and differentiation processes in which social-semiotic moves are made by means of the interpretation, combination and recombination of variables in order to produce a distinctive style and present a particular self or *persona* (Eckert 2012; Schilling 2013; Soukup 2018; Coupland 2007). Thus, variation is now regarded as a key linguistic resource employed by individuals so as to situate themselves in the social sphere by means of stylistic practices (Eckert 2012; Soukup 2018; Coupland 2007). Precisely, third-wave approaches to social meaning proceed from the assumption that the meaning of variables is gained and shaped by contexts of style, being ideological aspects of outmost importance in *persona* management processes (Eckert 2012; Jaffe 2009b; Coupland 2007; Silverstein 2003). In this respect, and from a socio-constructionist perspective, third wave approaches have evidenced the relevant role played by ideological aspects in the construction and projection

of social meaning, which is now regarded as a continuous bricolage process (Eckert 2008, 2012, 2018; Soukoup 2018).

However, not every individual will evaluate, manage and engage in a stylistic move in a similar fashion, as different evaluations, distinctions and attributions of meaning are prone to emerge when individuals belonging to different speech communities participate in communicative interactions (Eckert 2008: 455), since the societal system in which speech communities are imbued ultimately conditions language ideological aspects.

Thus, the present study has aimed to contribute to the understanding of style-shifting phenomena in public political contexts from a multidimensional and third-wave approach to the study of the social meaning of stylistic variation in Sociolinguistics. In order to do so, the sociolinguistic behaviour of four British and four American politicians exhibited across different public political contexts was examined (i.e.: a political statement, a political interview, a political rally in a Northern region and a political rally in a Southern region). In addition, data yielded from the observation of the speech style of the informants selected was qualitatively and quantitatively approached, as both types of analyses have proven to be of prominent importance in order to account for the mechanisms and motivations of style-shifting practices, *persona* management and identity construction and projection (Milroy & Gordon 2003; Greene, Caracelli & Graham 1989; Beaufort 2000; Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003; Litosseliti 2003; Harrington, Litosseliti, Sauntson, & Sunderland 2008; Angouri 2010; Litosseliti 2010). In this respect, *RStudio* has been a crucial statistical tool in the generation of valuable quantitative information, which has been used to complement qualitative data. Precisely, Flick (2009: 12) states that empirical studies are not enough to address social relations, being qualitative approaches crucial in such task. In a similar vein, Coupland (2001a: 186) emphasises the need to combine qualitative and quantitative methodologies so as to approach language as a carrier of social meaning, since social practices involve both symbolic aspects and measurable elements (see also Levon 2010; Holmes 2007: 5; Lazaraton 2005: 219; Ortí 1999: 88), which correlates with Trudgill's (1983b) claims on the multidisciplinary origins of Sociolinguistics as well as on its interdisciplinary nature.

Thus, the speech style of British and American informants has been analysed paying attention to their treatment of several phonological variables as well as to the potential effect that some extralinguistic factors might have had on their speech style (i.e.: the societal system within which the informants operate, their geographical region of provenance, educational

background, socio-economic status, gender, occupation and the socio-contextual features surrounding the speech events analysed). Particularly, this study consists of five main chapters:

Chapter 1 (*Theoretical background*) provides an account of the three different generations or waves of analytic practices regarding the treatment of stylistic variation in Sociolinguistics. In addition, the social meaning of style is addressed, being identity, ideological and social psychological foundations explored in order to approach stylistic variation from a third-wave and socio-constructionist perspective.

With this in light, chapter 2 (*Objectives*) presents an overview of previous studies on stylistic variation that have been crucial in the design of the present study. Moreover, this chapter also addresses potential extra-linguistic as well as intra-linguistic elements that may condition the informants' speech style, which take the form of socio-cultural, dialectological and sociolinguistic patterns.

Chapter 3 (*Methodology*) provides a description of the procedures followed in the realisation of this study. It begins with an account of the potential American and British English varieties that may be used by the informants selected, as well as with brief information of each informant in terms of biographical, dialectal and sociolectal aspects. Moreover, the dependent and independent variables employed in the present study are also explained, together with the data collection procedure and the instruments employed for data analysis.

Results and interpretations of data are presented in Chapter 4 (*Results and analysis*). First, the results obtained from the observation of the speech of British politicians across the different public political contexts selected and the corresponding interpretations are provided, followed by the results and interpretations of the observation of American politicians' sociolinguistic behaviour. Then, a last sub-section consisting in an overall comparative between the sociolinguistic behaviour of British versus American politicians is presented. Precisely, attention was paid to the speech style of British and American informants in terms of their treatment of the phonological variables selected for the present study as well as of the potential effect that some extralinguistic factors might have on their speech style (i.e.: the societal system within which the informants operate, their geographical region of provenance, educational background, socio-economic status, gender, occupation and the socio-contextual features surrounding the speech events analysed). In addition,

qualitative as well as quantitative analyses are applied in this stage in the form of Chi-square tests and Logistic Regressions with *RStudio*.

Lastly, the main theoretical and methodological conclusions drawn from the aforementioned analyses are provided in Chapter 5 (*Conclusion*). Thus, this section aims to summarise the main ideas addressed in the present analysis as well as the main conclusions obtained.

Chapter 1

Theoretical Background

I.1. Language and society: Sociolinguistics

Sociolinguistics is an interdisciplinary science that addresses the study of language as a social and cultural phenomenon (Trudgill 1978b, 1983a, 2000). Its main aim is to analyse the nature and functioning of human language through the study of language in its social context, as well as the relationship and interaction between *language* and *society* (see Coulmas 1997; Mesthrie 2001a, 2011; Chambers, Trudgill & Schilling-Estes 2002; Milroy & Gordon 2003; Ammon, Dittmar, Mattheier, & Trudgill 2004, 2005, 2006; Meyerhoff 2006; Bayley & Lucas 2007; Llamas, Mullany, & Stockwell 2007; Chambers & Schilling 2013; and Bell 2014, among others). According to Hernández-Campoy and Almeida (2005: 1), several defining and inherent characteristics to this discipline can be identified: (i) it is a science; (ii) it is a branch of Linguistics; (iii) language is regarded as a social and cultural phenomenon; (iv) language is studied in its social context and in everyday situations by means of empiric approaches; and (v) it has close connections with the social sciences, mainly with the fields of Anthropology, Sociology, Social Psychology and Human geography (see also Trudgill 1978b, 1983a, 2000; Milroy 1992).

I.1.1. Localising Sociolinguistics within Linguistics: origins and directions

I.1.1.a. Origins of Sociolinguistics: Motivations for an interdisciplinary science

Providing a detailed review of the origins of Sociolinguistics at this point may be redundant given the little novel character that, fortunately, this discipline is beginning to have

(Hernández-Campoy 1999). Nevertheless, it must be taken into account that historical periods or schools of thought directly originate from previous phases –normally in the form of reactive approaches– and therefore, they cannot be regarded as separated objects that have a uniform nature and that are clearly delimited from each other. Consequently, the emergence of Sociolinguistics was inevitably influenced by several factors.

On the one hand, the advent of the quantitative revolution led to a confrontation between quantitative and qualitative conceptions of scientific research, leading to the emergence of an empirical and anti-idealistic neopositivist current that would advocate for the use of mathematical techniques and logic in order to accurately express the results of any scientific research (Hernández-Campoy & Almeida 2005: 10). As a result, intuitive and introspective approaches would be rejected, being this type of knowledge regarded as inferior or less objective (Hernández-Campoy & Almeida 2005: 11).

On the other hand, and under the influence of industrial and urban innovations, Western societies underwent a process of global modernisation in the 1950s and 1960s, which negatively affected rural areas. This urbanisation process led to a growing interest among linguists in Sociology, Anthropology, and Ethnography, as evidenced by the researches carried out by Wolfram (1969), Trudgill (1974), Giles (1971a, 1971b), Fishman (1971, 1972a, 1972b, 1972c, 1976), Lakoff (1973), Trudgill (1975), Vetterling-Bruggin (1981), Ryan and Giles (1982), Cooper (1982, 1989), Mackey (1983), Williams (1988, 1991, 1994), Tollefson (1991) and Gunnemark (1991), among others.

Another relevant factor that led to the emergence of Sociolinguistics as a new paradigm was the dissatisfaction among many linguists in the 1960s with Saussurean and Chomskyan paradigms. In this respect, the Saussurean dichotomy between *langue* (“the supra-individual socially instituted grammatical system”) and *parole* (“situated context bound speech”) (Labov 1972a; Figueroa 1994), and the latter Chomskyan re-emphasis on *competence* (“the knowledge that an individual has of language and language use”) and *performance* (“language use”) (Labov 1972a; Figueroa 1994) would approach language as an homogeneous system and from a structuralist perspective, focusing on the *competence* of the ideal speaker and purposely ignoring the heterogeneity of *parole*, its versatility and the speaker's *performance* (Labov 1972a; Hernández-Campoy & Almeida 2005).

In addition, sociolinguists also reacted against Bloomfield's notion of *free variation*, as this line of thought would be unable to explain possible causal relations between social

structure and variation phenomena (Mesthrie 2001b: 377; Chambers & Trudgill 2004: 127). In this respect, sociolinguistic research has allowed to verify language variability throughout the description of the existing symmetry between *social variation* and *linguistic variation* in terms of *sociolinguistic variation* (Labov 1972a: 237; Trudgill 1974, 1978b), which means that there is no “free variation” as such, but rather socially and/or contextually conditioned variation (Chambers 2013: 12; Trudgill 1974, 2000; Labov 1963, 1966/2016, 1972a; Tagliamonte 2012).

Lastly, the redefinition and reformulation of Traditional Dialectology led to the incorporation of a social dimension to its linguistic descriptions, paving the way for a technical epistemological impulse in the study of language variation that would lay the foundations for modern Sociolinguistics, since not only was linguistic diversity recognised, but also a methodology was developed in order to approach this phenomenon (Trudgill 1974: 2), being North American dialectologist William Labov with its Labovian or Secular Linguistics a prominent precursor in terms of theoretical and methodological aspects (see Labov 1966/2006, 1972a). This implied a shift in the theoretical tasks of Traditional Dialectology: from the study and description of rural dialects as discrete and homogeneous entities to the study of dialects and their nature in urban contexts (Chambers & Trudgill 2004; see also Milroy & Gordon 2003).

1.1.1.b. Directions in Sociolinguistic research

In order to locate the present study within the wide array of research trends within Sociolinguistics, this section will briefly describe the main directions within the field. In this respect, the taxonomy proposed by Trudgill (1978b, 1983a, 2000) emphasises the multiple interpretations that can be drawn from studies related to the *language* and *society* paradigm, as the limits between *Language* and *Society* and *Sociolinguistics* have been understood and drawn at different points by different authors, giving rise to a wide range of theoretical orientations:

[t]his multiplicity of interpretations is probably due to the fact that, while everybody would agree that sociolinguistics has *something* to do with language and society, it is clearly also not concerned with *everything* that could be considered ‘language and society’. The problem, therefore, lies in the drawing of the line between *language and society* and *sociolinguistics*. Obviously, different scholars draw the line in different places. (Trudgill 1978b: 1)

Trudgill (Trudgill 1978b, 1983a, 2000) justifies this conception by drawing on the plurality of interests and the diversity of objectives that investigators may have when operating in this field, which may considerably vary despite having used the same data and even the same methodology. In this sense, Trudgill (Trudgill 1978b, 1983a, 2000) differentiates those studies that are sociolinguistic by nature (in which sociological data is used for linguistic purposes, or both) from those that clearly are not sociolinguistic (in which linguistic data is used only for sociological purposes). Thus, given that Sociolinguistics is a field in which linguists and social scientists may converge, Trudgill (Trudgill 1978b, 1983a, 2000) proposed a classification of its different orientations according to the objectives pursued by researchers in their approaches to *language* and *society*, namely (Figure 1.1): (i) sociological objectives, (ii) sociological and linguistic objectives, and (iii) purely linguistic objectives.

On the one hand, investigators with social scientist or sociological objectives may operate with linguistic data so as to properly understand the functioning of human societies and certain aspects related to social structure and social change (Trudgill 1978b, 1983a, 2000)). Particularly, Trudgill (Trudgill 1978b, 1983a) considers Ethnomethodology as a discipline with sociological objectives, since even though it is related with certain sociolinguistic directions such as Conversational Analysis or Discourse Analysis (in the sense that they make use of recorded conversational material), Ethnomethodologists place their focus of study on the content of the conversation rather than on the conversational language (Trudgill 1978b, 1983a; Bainbridge 2001). On the other hand, Trudgill (1978b, 1983a, 2000) conceives The Sociology of Language, The Social Psychology of Language, Discourse Analysis, Ethnography of Communication and Anthropological Linguistics, as research areas aiming at obtaining a deeper understanding in terms of human language, societies and the existing relationships between them. Lastly, researchers may hold purely linguistic objectives oriented towards the investigation of human language, linguistic structure and linguistic change, operating within the areas of Traditional Dialectology, Secular Linguistics and Geolinguistics (Trudgill 1978b, 2000).



Figure I.1. Directions in Sociolinguistics. Adapted from Hernández-Campoy and Almeida (2005: 3).

According to Bolton (1992: 13), Trudgill's (1978b) classification of the different research areas according to their objectives within the *language* and *society* paradigm is flexible enough to encompass other areas that may arise in the future. This is the case of disciplines such as Language and Gender –which could be included in the category of both linguistic and sociological objectives– and Historical Sociolinguistics –which could be located in the category of linguistic objectives (Trudgill & Hernández-Campoy 2007: 299).

As it can be observed, the aforementioned directions share an interdisciplinary nature that mirrors a motivation for cooperation, integration and synthesis of studies from different research areas. In this respect, Trudgill (1983a: 6) acknowledges the importance of interdisciplinary approaches to the study of *language* and *society*, and advocated for a unified sociolinguistic theory of language. Thus, Sociolinguistics must not be isolated from other disciplines, but rather interrelated with them so that the relationships between *language* and *society* can be deeply addressed.

1.1.2. The evolution of Sociolinguistics: Redefinitions and Reformulations through the three waves

Over the years, the social meaning of sociolinguistic variation has been addressed from different perspectives in the form of three different generations or waves of analytic practices (Eckert 2012). Nevertheless, it must be taken into account that each wave does not supersede the preceding one; instead, it refines certain aspects of previous approaches, being central ideas of each wave always addressed in previous ones (Eckert 2018: xi). Consequently, Sociolinguistics as a paradigm is involved in a continuous evolutionary process, which implies the reformulation and redefinition of theoretical aspects that parallels epistemological developments in terms of renovations of research methods, techniques of data collection and statistical analysis –as far as quantitative approaches are concerned (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 185; see also Hernández-Campoy 2014, 2018).

1.1.2.a. First wave assumptions

During the 1960s, the first wave of variation addressed how linguistic variables correlated with the macrosocial categories of class, gender, ethnicity and age, which were regarded as conditioning factors of individuals' speech and stylistic repertoire. According to Eckert (2012: 88), this first wave began with Labov's (1966/2006) contribution of the *Social Stratification*

of English in New York, which was replicated by other authors in the form of urban studies in other geographical areas (see also Wolfram 1969; Trudgill 1974; or Macaulay 1977; among many others). As a result, regular patterns of stratification organised in the form of a socioeconomic hierarchy were found, being it possible to locate non-stigmatised, and therefore, mainstream varieties at the top of the socioeconomic hierarchy, while stigmatised and non-mainstream varieties were found down the social ladder, being the most regionally and ethnically marked varieties located at the bottom. Regarding methodological aspects, first wave studies carried out innovative quantitative empiricist approaches to recorded interviews, conceiving speakers as a collection of demographic features (Eckert 2012: 88; Eckert 2018; Tagliamonte 2016). These practices aimed to correlate sociodemographic categories with patterns of linguistic variation in order to evidence the existence of predictable sociolinguistic universals or patterns through mathematical methods (see Labov 1963, 1966/2006, 1972a). In this respect, *class* was regarded as a key construct when it came to placing individuals within the hierarchical structure, being the position in which they would be passively placed rather determinant in terms of access and exposure to mainstream language and language change.

Of special relevance for first wave studies was the notion of *vernacular*, which was understood as the language variety first acquired by speakers, and therefore, the most automatically and systematically produced one, which, in turn, would require minimum attention to its monitoring (Labov 1972a: 208). With this in light, scholars established the profile of the authentic speaker as a non-mobile, old, rural and male individual (also referred to as NORM), who would automatically produce language without being affected by correction pressures exerted by social conventions. In this respect, the role of the speaker as a social agent was rather constricted, since social agency was understood as a self-correction exercise made by individuals as a result of their awareness towards the class status associated with different varieties; which means that the socioeconomic pattern that characterises speech communities was embedded in the sociolinguistic repertoire of individuals (Eckert 2012: 89). In other words, the different styles exhibited by speakers were regarded as the outcome of different degrees of attention paid to their own speech. Hence, the socioeconomic hierarchy was conceived as a linguistic change continuum in which different speech styles were associated with different socioeconomic segments. This association was explained drawing on the assumption that individuals tend to look at how

higher socioeconomic classes employ mainstream conventions, which results in the accommodation of low-class individuals to mainstream forms in formal interactions, reinforcing the connection between “old and new, formal and informal, better and worse, correct and incorrect” (Eckert 2018: 89). This was exemplified in Labov’s (1966/2006) New York study, in which the use of /th/ pronunciation with consonant [t] was analysed in three speech styles –casual interview, formal interview and reading passage. Thus, it could be observed that vernacular forms would be avoided by speakers and replaced by mainstream forms as the situation turned more formal, being variation regarded as the outcome of self-monitoring processes rather than a choice between two socially meaningful variants made amid a cognitive process.

Linguistic changes in progress were also attested with the implementation of first wave studies and were explained by means of the significant role played by the socio-economic hierarchy, which would not only structure the use of linguistic forms but also establish the route for sound changes. In this respect, it was assumed that changes tended to originate at the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy due to the mixture of different local origins, leading to the emergence of regional and ethnic differences in individuals’ speech –being these the most vernacular varieties. On the contrary, the higher end of the hierarchy was disconnected from regional influences and characterised by a prominent use of mainstream forms, indexing in this way class position (Eckert 2012: 89). Another pattern of stratification that was found in first waves studies was that of gender, as it could be observed that women’s speech tended to be more mainstream than that of men within the socioeconomic hierarchy (Wolfram 1969; Trudgill 1974; Macaulay 1977). Precisely, it was stated that women are prone to employ mainstream and prestigious forms to a greater extent than men, as the former are more aware of upward mobility, and therefore, they are more subject to be influenced by mainstream conventions pressures than men (Trudgill 1972, Labov 2001a). Precisely, this association of women’s speech patterns with class position evidences the relevant role played by class in variation phenomena (Eckert 2012: 90). Thus, linguistic changes were regarded as the outcome of certain pressures exerted on those individuals that are more subject to be influenced by such pressures; that is, individuals located at the lower end of the socioeconomic hierarchy with a lesser access and exposure to mainstream language. Specifically, upper working- and lower middle-class are the socioeconomic groups that are subject to be more influenced by the linguistic system,

and therefore, more prone to lead the way in sound changes. This reveals the precarious situation of both classes within the socioeconomic hierarchy, as both of them are constrained in terms of gaining acceptability within the working class and being accepted by the middle-class (Eckert 2018: 42). In addition, those variables that were not part of a change in progress were stratified, being this the result of different processes such as dialect contact and resistance to mainstream conventions (Eckert 2012: 90). Consequently, variables were conceived as markers of individuals' socioeconomic status, being gender and style two constructs by which socioeconomic aspects could be expressed. Thus, first wave studies assumed that social meaning in sociolinguistic variation was determined by the socioeconomic hierarchy. That is, the general understanding of several categories that play a crucial role when it comes to locating individuals within a stratum was conceived as the basis of the social significance of variation (Eckert 2012: 90).

1.1.2.b. Second wave assumptions

Second wave approaches in the 1980s opted for the employment of an ethnographic methodology in order to analyse how variation operates at a local level by means of correlating the social dynamics that originate local categories with the use of linguistic variables (Eckert 2012: 87). That is, it was assumed that instead of being conditioned by global categories, individuals' speech and stylistic repertoire were determined by social configurations that characterise speakers' dense/multiplex networks (Milroy 1980/1987; Milroy 1992; Eckert 2012; Tagliamonte 2012). In fact, it could also be attested that mobility across different social networks favours individual's exposure to different speech styles, and therefore, the spread of linguistic change, as social versatility is manifested in stylistic versatility in language (Eckert 2018: 32). This means that those individuals that frequently interact with a wide variety of social groups and with other individuals belonging to different socioeconomic classes tend to exhibit a wide range of sociolinguistic variation, as linguistic change originates in everyday interactions within communities of practices (Eckert 2018: 32; see also Sankoff 1974, 1980; Milroy 1992). Consequently, while change is diffused between and within different communities by means of social networks, the functionality of these networks in the transmission of sound changes decreases with a reduced social mobility, which means that different patterns of social contact lead to relevant implications when it comes to the influence of linguistic changes (Milroy 1980/1987; Tagliamonte 2012). Thus, as

stated by Schilling (2013: 339): “social categories and the potential social meanings of linguistic variables are no longer grounded in predetermined global categories and meanings (e.g. socioeconomic class, standard vs. nonstandard) but rather discovered from below, via ethnographic study of locally important social and linguistic meanings”.

Another major difference between first and second wave approaches is that social agency was rather constrained in the former, as it was conceived as the outcome of self-monitoring processes. However, second wave studies such as those carried out by Milroy (1980/1987), Cheshire (1982), Milroy and Milroy (1985), Holmquist (1985), Rickford (1986), and Eckert (2000) linked speakers’ use of vernacular and mainstream forms to social agency, conceiving vernacular forms as a means to express local and class identity aspects. In this respect, Gal and Irvine (2000) have stated that languages and the speech communities to which they are associated are ideological constructs. Precisely, individuals construct languages and speech communities out of social and linguistic information by means of three semiotic processes (i.e.: recursivity, erasure and iconisation), which are crucial for a proper understanding of the functioning of speech communities’ social order; that is, how the social order of a speech community produces and reproduces the wider sociogeography within which it is located (Eckert 2018: 74). Firstly, individuals tend to delimit dialects, languages and categories by means of giving more visibility to certain features and minimising others, being this process known as *erasure*. Then, this opposition can be reinforced through the process of *recursivity*, which consists in linking these features to certain categories (Eckert 2018: 75). Lastly, meaning is assigned to the aforementioned categories by means of *iconisation*. That is, in order to link people and the linguistic variety that they speak, social stereotypes tend to be attributed to linguistic practices: “the repeated combination of stylistic complexes with socially located individuals and their activities and social moves establishes what seems a natural connection, leading to iconization” (Eckert 2012: 92). This evidences the fact that second wave studies regarded variation as a component of a broader stylistic complex, being patterns of variation understood as resources employed in identity construction processes rather than something established in childhood (Soukup 2018). In this respect, Eckert (2012: 92) states that class correlations indicate the functioning of local dynamics which are materialised in practices as well as in ideologies, which shape and are shaped by class.

Hence, ethnographic methods carried out by second wave studies provided first wave approaches with a local perspective, linking macrosocial categories with local ones and conceiving variation as a component of a broader stylistic complex (Eckert 2012: 93). However, first and second waves addressed rather static categories of speakers and understood individuals' identity as their affiliation to a given category, rather than approaching social categories as the outcome of social practice (Eckert 2018: 127; Soukup 2018). Thus, both waves regarded variation as marking social categories, which contrasts with third wave studies' approach to variation as a force in social change (Eckert 2012; Soukup 2018).

1.1.2.c. Third wave assumptions

Building on the findings of first and second waves, the third wave is currently addressing variation as a social semiotic system that has the potential of expressing a wide range of social concerns within a specific community. Thus, variation is now regarded as a key linguistic resource employed by individuals so as to situate themselves in the social sphere by means of stylistic practices. This evidences the focus on authentic speakers as individual and active agents that engage in linguistic performance by means of creating and projecting social meaning, which contrasts with previous foci on collectivities and speakers as rather stable and passive agents (Eckert 2012: 94; Schilling 2013: 339; Soukup 2018). For this reason, third wave approaches to social meaning proceed from the assumption that the meaning of variables is gained and shaped by contexts of style, rather than something specific and predetermined that is associated with a given variable (Eckert 2012: 87). In fact, it has been evidenced that social meaning is not directly and exclusively related to demographic categories; instead, linguistic variables have the functionality of indexing demographic categories indirectly through their association with qualities and stances that are part of these categories (Eckert 2018: 145). In this respect, Eckert (2018: xi) states that Labov's (1963) analysis of the speech Martha's Vineyard island could be considered the first third wave study.

Hence, while first and second wave studies conceived the meaning of variation as incidental, third wave studies understand variation as a social semiotic system that is able to reflect social identities and local categories of a given community. Thus, given that these social identities and local categories are subject to change on a continuous basis, third wave

approaches assign not only individual variables but also phonological processes the characteristic of indexical mutability, which is materialised in stylistic practices (Eckert 2012, 2018). In addition, and from a constructionist perspective, speakers are now conceived as agents that actively engage in continuous bricolage processes in which social-semiotic moves are made by means of the interpretation, combination and recombination of variables in order to produce a distinctive style and present a particular self or *persona* (Eckert 2012: 94; Eckert 2018: 118; see also Coupland 2007). This means that linguistic variation is the result of speakers' agency, and that variation not only reflects but also constructs social meaning, being local communities of practice the breeding ground in which social meaning is created. Consequently, by means of correlating linguistic and extralinguistic variables, third wave studies are characterised by the predominance of qualitative analysis in order to analyse the individual over quantitative methods –which become useful when it comes to addressing collectivities and groups (Eckert 2012; Schilling 2013: 340). Overall, variations in style are regarded by third-wave studies as distinctive characteristics of individuals.

Silverstein's (2003) notion of indexical order becomes crucial when it comes to the mutable characteristic of variables, which are regarded as indexical signs (Eckert 2012: 165). In this respect, a community may become salient at an initial phase, inevitably fostering the saliency of a particular linguistic feature commonly employed by this community. Once that a linguistic feature has attracted enough attention in order to be easily recognised, it can index membership to that community by its own, being it disassociated from its linguistic environment. Then, ideological moves may be performed on the basis of the indexical potential of a linguistic feature in order to claim membership to a community or to elicit features or stances associated with it. This results in the creation of stereotypes, which can be used by outsiders in a positive or negative fashion –i.e. to recognise or admire the qualities associated with the community or to pejorate them– and also by members within a given community in order to establish in-group differentiations –as in the case of Labov's (1963) study on Martha's Vineyard speech. Thus, through the repetition of these indexical acts, indexical signs become conventionalised, being this a continuous process in which linguistic features are assigned different meanings, which evidences the fact that this is not an incidental phenomenon. Consequently, the indexical order of a linguistic feature is neither permanently established nor originated in a linear direction; instead, it is non-specific

and subject to change and progress in different directions (Eckert 2012: 94). In this respect, the different meanings of a linguistic feature are regarded as elements operating within an indexical field, which is defined by Eckert (2012: 94) as “a constellation of ideologically linked meanings, any region of which can be invoked in context”. Hence, third wave studies focus on the connection between language use and the different types of social moves that foster the creation of new categories and social meanings (Eckert 2012: 95), being meaning-making processes manifested in interactional situations by means of stance-taking moves that put terms of differentiation to the forefront, as exemplified in the studies carried out by Kiesling (1998, 2001, 2005, 2009), Du Bois (2002), Rauniomaa (2003), Bucholtz and Hall (2005), Zhang (2005, 2008), and Moore and Podesva (2009), among others.

In addition, and from a third-wave perspective, Eckert (2012: 96) claims that variation involves *enregisterment*, as registers can be regarded as the ground on which stylistic resources are employed or even as the aim of such bricolage processes. With this in light, Johnstone (2011) argues that different meanings may be indexed by individuals resulting from existing differences in their interpretive repertoires, being this of outmost relevance when it comes to the indexical mutability of linguistic variables. This can be exemplified by the fact that individuals from different geographic areas speaking different regional varieties tend to manifest different relations to those varieties (Eckert 2018: 14). Several scholars have approached this feature of stylistic variation, such as Bucholtz (1998), Benor (2001), Podesva, Roberts and Campbell-Kibler (2002), Podesva (2007), Johnstone, Andrus and Danielson (2006), Johnstone and Kiesling (2008), Johnstone (2009, 2011), being sound symbolism and the process of iconisation crucial for affective displays, as affect emerges in social stylistic practices. Further third-wave studies comprise those carried out by Ohala (1994), Mendoza-Denton (1996) and Campbell-Kibler (2007) among others.

Hence, it can be observed how the relationship between language and society has been approached by different generational waves from different perspectives. Particularly, an emphasis on stylistic practices has been made by third wave studies, which address speakers as stylistic agents that are engaged in continuous self-construction and differentiation processes rather than passive and stable actors that make use of different dialects. This contrasts with the traditional treatment of variation in style, which was conceived as different ways of saying the same thing (Labov 1966/2006, 1972a, 1972b). Thus, while first and second waves placed their focus on the denotational meaning of

variation in style –being variation regarded as a marker of social categories and style understood as an incidental artifice–, the third wave has evidenced the fact that style has an ideological foundation, and that different stylistic forms act as carriers of social meaning (Eckert 2012: 98). In fact, third wave studies have placed ideological aspects of stylistic variation at the centre of stylistic practices, as they play a key role in the construction and projection of social meaning, which takes the form of a continuous bricolage process.

Thus, as it can be observed in Figure 1.2, different generational waves have approached meaning in variation since the origins of Sociolinguistics in the 1960s, leading to a continuous process of reformulation and redefinition of theoretical aspects, which parallels epistemological developments (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 185; see also Hernández-Campoy 2014, 2018). On the one hand, first wave studies were characterised by a deterministic and mechanistic approach, being individuals' speech and stylistic repertoire conditioned by macrosocial categories (or demographic factors). Thus, from a structuralist perspective, first wave studies assumed that social structures constrained linguistic behaviour (Tagliamonte 2016: 137). Then, second wave studies opted for the implementation of ethnographic methods, conceiving individuals' speech and stylistic repertoire as conditioned by social network and mobility factors (or social configurations). Lastly, current third wave studies are characterised by a socio-constructionist perspective, being individuals' speech and stylistic repertoire determined by stance-taking moves employed by speakers. This evidences the ability of speech acts –which operate as acts of identity– to create and project social meanings (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985; see also Mesthrie & Tabouret-Keller 2001: 167). Nevertheless, it must be taken into account that acts of identity do not consist in claiming membership to a specific group or category, although this does not mean that they are completely disconnected from the larger social order (Eckert 2018: 153). Precisely, identity acts are related to macrosociological categories, and they act as components of those practices that produce and reproduce them (Eckert 2018: 153). Hence, third wave studies aim to analyse of how individual and macrosociological categories interact in the form of social practices in order to evidence the way in which individuals actively employ different speech styles across different situations and contexts.

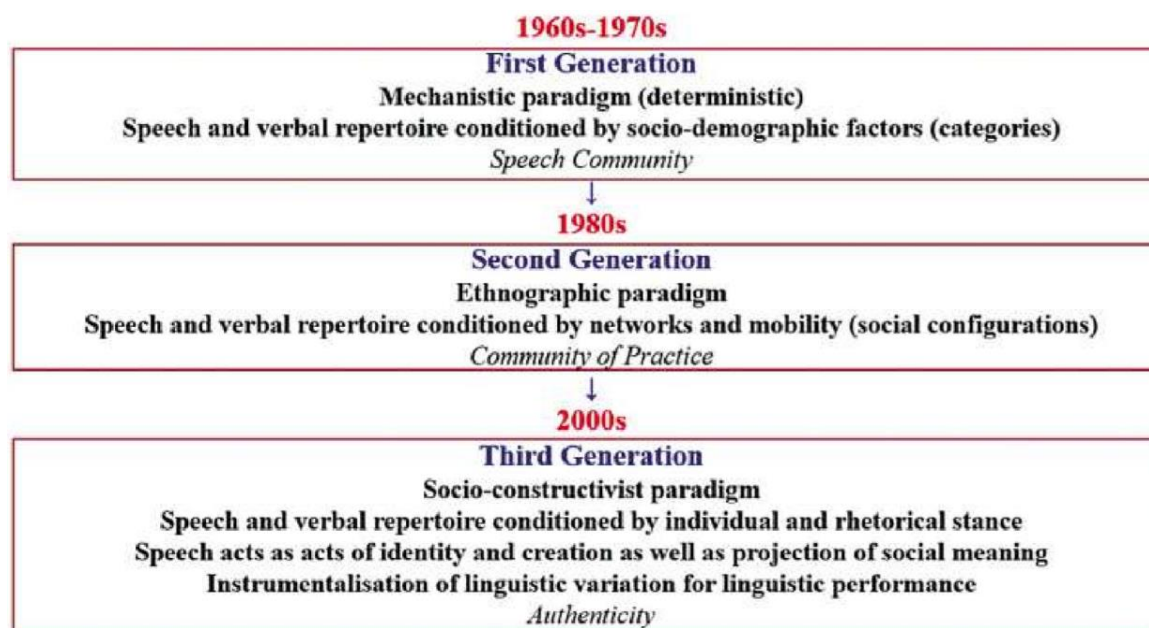


Figure 1.2. Generations or waves in Sociolinguistics according to Eckert (2012). Source: Hernández-Campoy (2018: 53).

Consequently, third wave approaches conceive linguistic variation as a device employed by speakers in linguistic performance and a key component in social change processes, which constitutes, in turn, a rather broad-spectrum within a broader semiotic system (Eckert 2012: 97). As a result, variables are conceived as a heterogeneous aggregate, which are organised across a continuum from the public or the exterior to the personal or the interior self (Eckert 2018: 190). Thus, it has been evidenced that there has been a shift from deterministic and system-oriented analyses to more social constructionist and speaker-oriented ones in the study of the social meaning of variation in Sociolinguistics. In this respect, third wave studies have placed the focus on the sociolinguistic behaviour of the individual, moving away from collective approaches within variation research, emphasising in this sense the central role of speaker's agency in the proactive usage of language (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 186; Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2012b: 7; Hernández-Campoy 2018: 54).

1.2. Style in Sociolinguistics: The social meaning of Style-shifting

Speaking in the social world implies constant analytical and interpretive processes of different categories, groups, types, and personae and of the different ways in which they talk (Eckert 2008: 455). Particularly, and in social cognition terms, these processes involve the development of schemata (Piaget 1954), which constitute the outcomes of speakers'

perceptions of differences, evaluations, distinctions and attribution of meaning to those differences (Eckert 2008: 455). That is, speakers are able to build a social panorama through the segmentation of the social dimension to subsequently build a linguistic panorama through the segmentation of the linguistic practices that take place in the social dimension (Eckert 2008: 455). Consequently, as stated by Eckert (2008: 455), style can be regarded as “the level of social practice that corresponds to distinctions in the terrain in which we study variation”.

As already indicated, since the origins of this field of research in the 1960s, the investigation of the relationships between language and society by means of the correlation of extralinguistic factors (socio-demographic and/or context variables) with intra-linguistic elements has allowed Sociolinguistics to explain variability in language (Chambers 2003: 17; Tagliamonte 2012: 7; Labov 1972a). That is, Sociolinguistic studies have allowed to verify language variability by means of the description of the existing symmetry between *social variation* and *linguistic variation* in terms of *sociolinguistic variation* (Figure 1.3). Precisely, Sociolinguistic research has evidenced the existence of three key elements in (socio)linguistic variation: the social as well as biological characteristics of speakers, the situational context in which variations occur and the linguistic environment that characterises the variable being studied (Labov 1994, 2001a, 2001b, 2010). In this respect, Rickford and Eckert (2001: 1) have emphasised the pivotal position that the construct of style enjoys in sociolinguistic variation, being stylistic variability of special relevance when it comes to detecting and understanding certain phenomena such as linguistic change in progress (see also Labov 1966/2006).

However, despite the centrality of style in sociolinguistic variation, early approaches to stylistic aspect focused on the relation between “variation and speaker’s place in the world”, remaining unaddressed the strategies employed by a speaker in order to position himself or herself in the world (Rickford & Eckert 2001: 1). Therefore, style was conceived as an independent and quantifiable parameter within variation in Sociolinguistics, being the stylistic dimension relegated to peripheral positions (Bell 1984). Thus, traditional approaches to stylistic variation were rather constricted and unbalanced, being *context* and *topic* addressed to a greater extent than the *speaker* or *listener*. As a result, and from a Labovian perspective (Labov 1966/2006), early sociolinguistic studies addressed style as the production of language varieties in different situational contexts across a formal-informal

liner scale, which would lead to the differentiation of “careful” and “casual” speech styles (Coupland 2007).

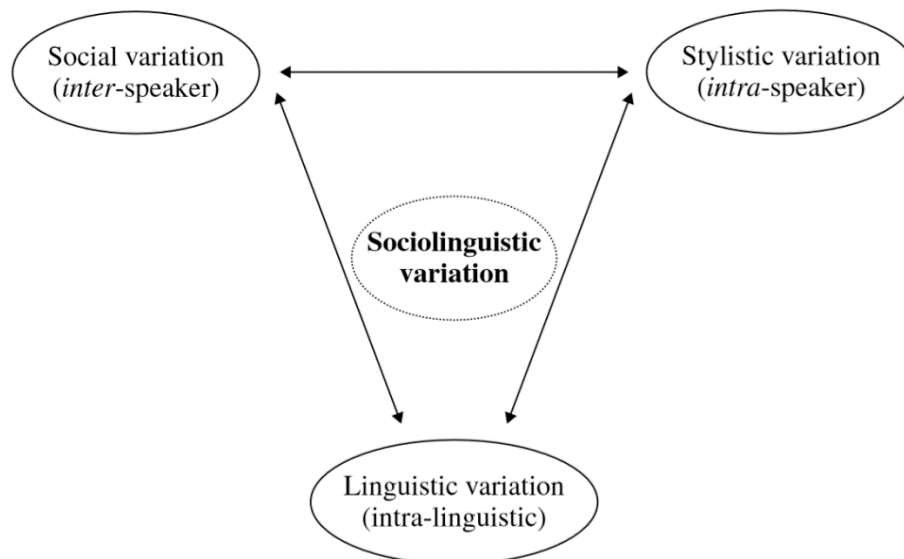


Figure I.3. Sociolinguistic relationship between *stylistic* (or intra-speaker) variation with *linguistic* variation and *social* (or inter-speaker) variation. Source: Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012b: 2, Figure 1).

On the other hand, and as it can be observed in Figure I.4, the identification of a social and a stylistic parameter operating in Sociolinguistic variation has allowed the differentiation between *interspeaker* (or social) and *intraspeaker* (or stylistic) variation. According to Bell (1984: 145), both types of speaker variation are related to the “social” and the “stylistic” axes of variation in language, since “[t]he social dimension denotes differences between the speech of different speakers, and the stylistic denotes differences within the speech of a single speaker” (Bell 1984: 145). Particularly, Bell (2007a: 90) conceives *inter-speaker* variation as “[t]he range of variation for particular sociolinguistic variables across the different speakers”, alluding to those social aspects that serve to differentiate groups of speakers. Hence, inter-speaker variation occurs within the “social” axis, which has been addressed in numerous empirical investigations, being it possible to evidence the existence of sociolinguistic patterns in speech behaviour by means of the correlation of linguistic variation with socio-demographic and biological factors in speaker’s interaction –such as class, sex, age, social networks, mobility, ethnicity, race, and social ambition, among others (Bell 1984: 145). On the other hand, *intra-speaker* variation refers to “[t]he range of variation for particular sociolinguistic variables produced by individual speakers within their own speech” (Bell 2007a: 90), which encompass those stylistic differences that can emerge

in the speech of a single speaker. Thus, intra-speaker variation occurs within the “social” axis, which has not been subjected to such considerable examinations (Bell 1984: 146).

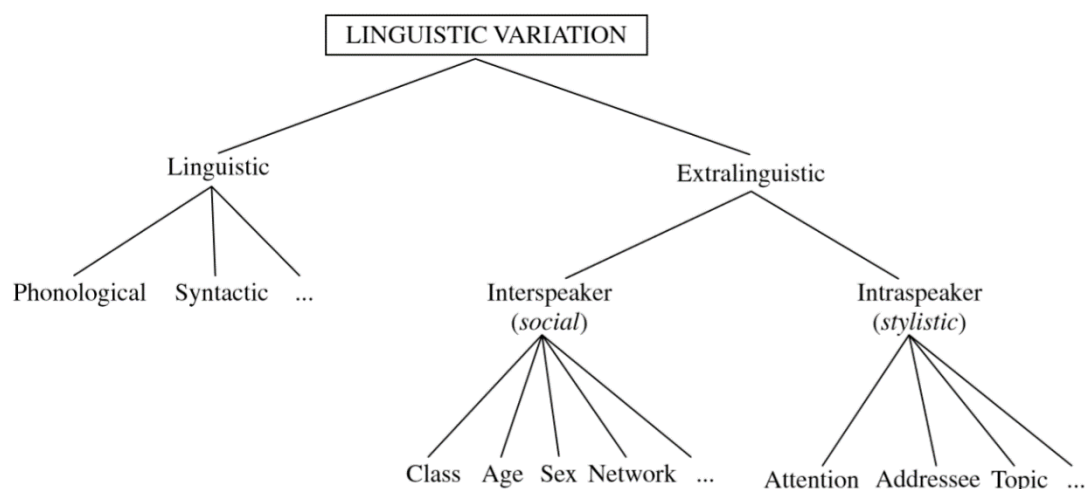


Figure 1.4. Linguistic variation in Sociolinguistics. Source: Bell (1984: 146; Figure 1).

With the development of social theories of variation and with the object of study place on the “social” axis, stylistic variation began to be considered as another linguistic practice with which speakers convey meaning, moving away from Labov’s approach (Rickford & Eckert 2001: 1; Coupland 2011: 140; Auer 2007a: 11). As a consequence, and under the assumption that language is a social and cultural phenomenon that is studied in its social context (Trudgill 1978b, 1983a, 2000), present studies on stylistic variation are concerned with the explanation of the nature of style as well as on the stylistic mechanisms employed by speakers and the motivations that may foster their use from a semiotic and performative perspective. This new conception correlates with Bell’s (2014) distinction between micro and macro approaches to style in Sociolinguistics. On the one hand, Bell (2014: 294-297) defines the *micro* approach to style-shifting as minimalist, being style conceived as a component of linguistic variation. This approach operates with micro linguistic variables whose variants occur in an alternative way under the influence of specific environments, being these variants unequally distributed across a stylistic continuum ranging from less formal to more formal. On the other hand, Bell (2014: 294-297) characterises the macro approach to stylistic variation as more maximalist, both at a linguistic and social level. This approach conceives style as a set of proactive choices made by speakers among a linguistic range including from common micro-variables of

pronunciation to discursive and generic patterns, also encompassing a wide variety of socio-situational components. In this respect, recent developments within the study of style in Sociolinguistics have fostered a crossover of both approaches, as acknowledged by Bell (2014: 297):

...in the past decade or more there has been an increasing and fruitful crossover between the two. Variationist analysis has been extended to a wide range of stylistic material, and richer social concepts have been applied to all kinds of language. When I began research on style in the 1970s, I could justifiably label it “the neglected dimension”. Now style is at the centre of sociolinguistic theorization and method...

Even though the treatment of style in sociolinguistic studies has changed over the years, Coupland (2011: 141) acknowledges that “concepts linked to style have in fact been of fundamental concern to understanding language in society throughout the history of the discipline”. In fact, one of the main principles in Sociolinguistics approach to language and society is that language is not simply regarded as a means of communication of oral and written information, but it is also a crucial element in the establishment and maintenance of social relationships as well as a key device in the expression of social information about the speaker (Trudgill 2000; Silverman 2000). Precisely, language conveys social meaning by means of sociolinguistic variation, since speakers can engage in strategic linguistic choices under the influence of social motivations. For this reason, the linguistic meaning of style appears to be strongly determined by its social meaning, which implies that geographical, socio-demographic, or stylistic variation index certain types of social meaning, which is, in turn, based on identity, attitudinal, and/or ideological foundations (see Figure I.5).

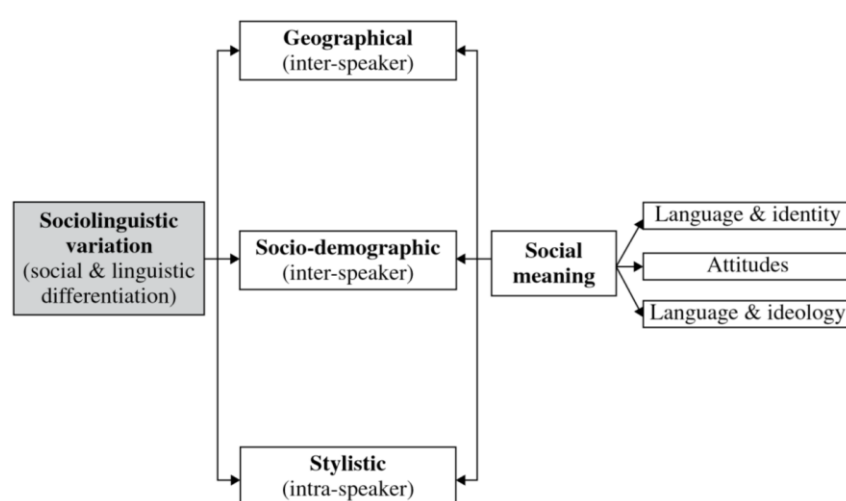


Figure I.5. Sociolinguistic variation. Source: Hernández-Campoy (2016: 52).

In this sense, (Eckert 2001: 123) defines style as a collection of linguistic resources to which social meaning is assigned, being the set of choices made by speakers socially “meaningful”, since they denote social and/or stylistic meaning (Podesva 2012: 325; see also Eckert 2008, 2012). For this reason, linguistic choices made by speakers result in *stylistic practices*, which should be regarded as bricolage processes in which linguistic variables are interpreted and combined with other devices in order to build a complex and meaningful entity, being the role played by speakers of outmost importance, as they operate as *stylistic agents* (Eckert 2008: 457).

Hence, “style is not just the product of the construction of social meaning, or even the locus of the construction of social meaning; it is what makes the negotiation of such meaning possible” (Eckert 2001: 126). Instead, style in its social dimension must be conceived as a holistic and multilevel phenomenon which is socially interpreted (Auer 2007a: 11-13), being linguistic variability a resource in the construction of socially interpretable styles (Eckert 2004: 43).

1.2.1. Style and Identity

Among the many symbolic devices that can be employed in the construction of identity, language is the most elastic and common one (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 369). According to Omoniyi (2006: 11), the roots of the interest in the association between language and identity in the field of the Social Sciences date back to the 1980s (Joseph 2004), as evidenced by the studies carried out in the research areas of Applied Linguistics (Ivanič 1998), Sociology of language (Fishman 1999, Omoniyi 2000) and the Social Psychology of Language (Giles & Bourhis 1976) among others. Particularly, Labov’s (1966/2006) investigation influenced forthcoming studies about language and identity aspects in the field of Sociolinguistics, such as those carried out by Wolfram (1969), Le Page (1978), Hymes (1981), Gumperz (1982), Trudgill (1983b), Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), Kroskrity (1993), Calhoun (1994), Hooson (1994), Rampton (1995), Auer (1998a), Bell (1999), Bucholtz (1999), Johnstone (1999), Talbot (1999), and more recently, those of Eckert (2000), Coupland (2001b), Ostermann (2003), Podesva, Roberts and Campbell-Kibler (2002), Schilling-Estes (2004) and Zilles and King (2005), among others.

In fact, language plays a relevant role in the transmission of social meaning, and therefore in the creation and maintenance of collective consciousness and solidarity,

emphasising peer-group identity and loyalty (Trudgill 2000: 127; Silverman 2000). In this respect Edwards (2009: 25) indicates that once “us and them” boundaries, and subsequently, social categorisation has been created, group membership becomes crucial in social interaction, fostering the appearance of in-group allegiance, which may result in *in-group favouritism* –i.e.: members of a social group tend to favour other members with whom they are associated or aligned (see also Bucholtz & Hall 2004; Tajfel 1978). As a result, the sense of belonging to a social group may also lead to the formation of stereotypes (further explained in section I. 4. 3), which are “blunt characterisations that can be either positive or negative, depending upon which group you are describing” (Edwards 2009: 26). In this way, Chambers (1995: 250) emphasises the relevant role played by identity in communicative interaction, since “the underlying cause of sociolinguistic differences, largely beneath consciousness, is the human instinct to establish and maintain social identity”. For this reason, the language spoken by an individual and his or her identity as a speaker of that language are inseparable (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985; Tabouret-Keller 1998). Similarly, Chambers (1995: 250) points out the inherent characteristic that we –as speakers– have of showing that we belong somewhere, which may result in the need of defining ourselves (to a greater or lesser extent). In this respect, we can “mark ourselves as belonging to the territory, and one of the most convincing markers is by speaking like the people who live there” (Chambers 1995: 250). With this in light, Edwards (2009: 20) states that identity aspects must be addressed when approaching the study and analysis of language; indeed, since language is central to the human condition, and since many have argued that it is the most salient distinguishing characteristic of our species, it seems likely that any study of identity must surely include some consideration of it”.

According to Mendoza-Denton (2002) and Omoniyi (2006), there has been change in terms of conceptualisation within the variationist study of identity, shifting from essentialist to socio-constructionist approaches. Thus, traditional reductionist studies would conceive identity categories as binary sets, and would address the “essence” of what it means, for instance, to be female, or Black, or Asian, etc., without considering the fact that individuals operate at different societal levels under the influence of several social constructs (Bucholtz & Hall 2004). In contrast, current socio-constructionist approaches maintain that identity aspects can neither be addressed by reducing or simplifying individuals to a single dimension, nor be regarded as attributes of individuals or groups without taking into

account the situational context either (Mendoza-Denton 2002: 476; Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 376). In fact, as stated by Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 376), “identity inheres in actions, not in people”. Consequently, identities are now being approached regarded as dynamic phenomena that result from a particular social action (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 376).

Regardless of the approach, sociolinguistic research has mainly focused on the association between language and social identities –which are characterised by the social groups or categories to which speakers belong or with the ones they identify or are identified–, rather than on individual identities, which refer to those socially relevant aspects that physically and psychologically characterise an individual (Krauss & Pardo 2006: 8; Edwards 2009: 19). Yet, Tabouret-Keller (1998) indicates that both types of identities are mediated by language and linked by linguistic features.

On the other hand, the relationship between language and identity has been strongly related with the notion of prestige in Sociolinguistics (Labov 1963, 1966/2006; Trudgill 1972; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985; Edwards 1985, 2009; Tabouret-Keller 1998; Auer 1998a, 2007b; Kroskrity 2000; Haslam 2001/2004; Milroy 2001; Mendoza-Denton 2002; Heller 2005; De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg 2006; Llamas & Watt 2010), being the work of Labov (1963, 1966/2006) a pioneer approach in this respect. Precisely, from his pioneer analysis of the speech community of Martha’s Vineyard, Labov (1963) would conclude that social parameters –such as age, gender, social class, region, nation, religion, and ethnicity, among others– should not only be conceived as socio-demographic constructs employed in sociological descriptions, but also as identity categories that have the potential to influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of a speaker. Specifically, Labov (1963) could observe that the social meaning of the phonetic variants studied was used as a linguistic device by Vineyarders in order to project and emphasise their identity, and could assert that “only when social meaning is assigned to such variations will they be imitated and begin to play a role in the language” (Labov 1972a: 23). In fact, this new conception would emphasise the relevant role played by identity aspects in distribution patterns of sociolinguistic variation as well as in linguistic change phenomena taking place within a speech community (Labov 1972a: 29).

Moreover, ethnicity and identity aspects in relation to language use have also been addressed in Sociolinguistics, since as stated by Haarmann (1999: 63), “[l]anguage is always involved in ethnic relations as the most refined vehicle of interacting according to local

behavioral traditions, of expressing attitudes and values, and of stereotyping culture". Thus, differences in the speech of several ethnic groups coexisting in the same community may be manifested in language use, being language and identity strongly linked. For instance, a different language from the mainstream one may be used by speakers belonging to an ethnic community, being language in this case a defining characteristic in terms of membership to an ethnic group. In addition, the usage of linguistic features shared by speakers of the mainstream language or variety may also be employed by members of an ethnic group in order to convey identity through language use, since the different frequency of use of a given linguistic feature can also index ethnic identity aspects, being language in this case an identifying characteristic of a given ethnic community (Trudgill 2000: 44-45; Tagliamonte 2012: 38; Fought 2002: 446; Tabouret-Keller 1998). Several scholars have addressed the correlation of language with ethnic identity, such as Wolfram (1971), Gumperz and Hymes (1972), Alladina and Edwards (1990, 1991), Sebba (1993), Rampton (1995), Bell and Johnson (1997), Bell (1999, 2001a), Bucholtz (1999), Cutler (1999), Benor (2001, 2009, 2011), Mendoza-Denton (2002), Bucholtz and López (2011), and Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr, & Lewis (2012) among others.

Other cases of identity formation have been addressed in Sociolinguistics, since affiliation to certain socio-demographic categories can also be claimed through language. For instance, Trudgill (1972), Milroy (1980/1987), Cameron (1997), Cheshire (1998), Foulkes and Docherty (1999), Williams and Kerswill (1999), Eckert (2000), Coates (2004), Holmes (2006) and Mendoza-Denton (2008), among others, have addressed the correlation of language with gender identity. On the other hand, Labov (1966/2006) and Trudgill (1974), among others, have addressed the correlation of language with social class identity.

Consequently, as stated by Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985: 181), "the individual creates for himself the patterns of his linguistic behaviour so as to resemble those of the group or groups with which from time to time he wishes to be identified, or so as to be unlike those from whom he wishes to be distinguished". Thus, stylistic variation can be regarded as a set of socio-stylistic choices made by speakers in order to align themselves with the behaviour of those particular social groups to which they wish to be identified (Auer 2007a: 4). In this respect, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) conceived language acts as *acts of identity* that are used by speakers in order to express their personal identity and their proximity to certain social roles, being identity and language rather fluid constructs

(Mesthrie & Tabouret-Keller 2001: 167). Precisely, with their projection model, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) would address speakers' linguistic behaviour from a socio-constructionist approach, being speakers as social actors the focus of such model (see also Omoniyi 2006).

In addition, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) regarded speech acts as *acts of projection* in which speakers project an image of themselves aiming at strengthening in-group linguistic connections through the usage of certain linguistic features (being involved grammatical, vocabulary and/or accentual aspects) or through the particular choice of a language, as in multilingual settings (Mesthrie & Tabouret-Keller 2001: 167; Edwards 2009: 27). Nevertheless, in order to be fruitful, speakers' projections need to be shared with other speakers; that is, other speakers must recognise the language produced "as an accurate symbolisation of the world", and must also share their attitudes towards it (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985: 181; Mesthrie & Tabouret-Keller 2001: 167). As a result, the feedback that speakers will receive from other speakers involved in the communicative interaction will either reinforce their projection or provoke certain modifications (Mesthrie & Tabouret-Keller 2001: 167). That is, a positive feedback will foster certain regularity in speakers' linguistic behaviour in those contexts in which their projections are reinforced; while a negative one will foster certain variability that will result in stylistic modifications in the form of accommodation moves in those contexts in which their linguistic behaviour is not shared or reinforced (Mesthrie & Tabouret-Keller 2001: 167). In this respect, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985) acknowledge the overlap between their own theoretical approach and Giles's (1973, 1980, 2009) accommodation theory, although they differ in the sense that the former focuses on "mid-term to long-term shifts in community speech norms", while the latter "has been mainly interested in the more local contexts and consequences of interpersonal and intergroup accommodation" (Coupland 2007: 109-110).

Consequently, Le Page and Tabouret-Keller's (1985) approach conceives speech accommodations as identity adjustments made by speakers in order to strengthen group status and favourability (Edwards 2009: 32), meaning that individuals can strategically create for themselves patterns of linguistic behaviour in order to resemble those of the group or groups with which they wish to be identified depending on the context in which the communicative interaction takes place (see Speaker Design Model in section 1.3.3). In this regard, Le Page (1978) highlighted four conditions that must be met so that an individual can

behave in line with the behavioural patterns that characterise the group (or groups) to which he or she wishes to be identified (Mesthrie & Tabouret-Keller 2001: 167):

- (a) that one can identify the groups;
- (b) that one has adequate access to the groups and the ability to analyze their behavioral patterns;
- (c) that the motivation for joining the group must be sufficiently powerful and is either reinforced or lessened by feedback from the group;
- (d) that one has the ability to modify one's behavior

1.2.1.a. Agency and identity projection instruments: Persona management, stance-taking and social positioning.

Tabouret-Keller (1998) states that an individual's identity, at any particular time, is a heterogeneous collection of identities taken up by him or her, which correlates with third-wave approaches to the study of stylistic variation in Sociolinguistics (Eckert 2008, 2012). In fact, throughout an individual's life, identity will be continuously involved in creation and recreation processes depending on certain social constraints (such as historical, institutional, economic, etc.) and the social interactions and encounters in which the individual participates, among other aspects. This means that each individual can foreground different types of identities, being some of those identities more subject to change and be replaced, while others will be more permanent (Tabouret-Keller 1998). In a similar vein, Omoniyi (2006: 12) states that given that all social actions are separated moments, individuals will make use of competing and complementary identities in those different moments, creating in this way "identity repertoires" (Blommaert 2005: 207); meaning that multiple identities mirror the multiple roles that individuals take up in different moments in order to express social meaning (Joseph 2004: 8).

Omoniyi (2006: 13) explains individuals' management of their different identities drawing on his Hierarchy of Identity model, claiming that the various identity options of an individual are present in all the communicative interactions in which he or she operates; however, the different identity options will not be equally salient, as they will be arranged on a hierarchy according to the saliency degree that a particular communicative interaction—or moment of identification—requires. That is, identity categories are organised in a particular identity hierarchy which may change from one moment to another due to the

interaction of several social factors as well as the response of speakers to these factors (Omoniyi 2006: 30). This results in continuous alterations and reorganisations within the hierarchy, which leads to different choices regarding the identities to be projected; that is: “the identity category that is perceived from, or projected through, language behaviour is the consequence of moment-by-moment factor-driven decisions about appropriateness and position of that category in a hierarchy of identities” (see also Jaffe 2009a). Consequently, the saliency degree of the different identity options will vary from one moment to another, meaning that: “the location of an identity option on the hierarchy fluctuates as the amount of salience associated with it fluctuates between moments” (Omoniyi 2006: 19). Therefore, each communicative interaction can be characterised, in Davies and Harre’s (1990) words, and from a third-wave approach, by multiple “positioning” acts, or “stance-taking movements (Jaffe 2009a), in which a cluster of identities varying in saliency will operate. Thus, it will be the most salient identity in a particular moment of performance within an interactional context the one that will be located at the top of the hierarchy of identities and subsequently foregrounded in the individual’s speech (Omoniyi 2006: 20).

This perspective correlates with Edwards’ (2009: 27) notion of speech *mobility*, which refers to the ability of speakers to make specific stylistic choices from their repertoire depending on their perceptions about situational constraints and their demands. Edwards (2009: 27) emphasises that even though this strategy may seem obvious among bilingual or multilingual speakers, all individuals that possess a range of speaking styles are able to use them for strategic purposes. For instance, individuals that speak different dialects or accents can also style-shift and consequently decide which identity aspect from their repertoire is going to be more salient, reflecting in this way how they engage with a particular social context. In fact, Edwards (2009: 30) specifies that “if context can determine linguistic choice, then, equally, language (or dialect, accent, or style) choice can affect the social-psychological situation”. Thus, each language variety and dialect may be strategically used from a stylistic perspective so as to create and project identities, and therefore, to transmit social meaning. That is, not only mainstream varieties which may enjoy social prestige are the ones which can create an identity on their speakers, but also any variety can play a crucial role when it comes to identity creation and projection processes (Edwards 2009).

Thus, given the multiple nature of identity, identity projection processes through language use evidence the individual’s ability to present or position him- or herself

depending on the communicative interaction in which he or she is operating, revealing in this way different degrees of saliency, and being these multiple positionings or stances made according to a set of social images or characteristics that are evaluated within a social group in terms of norms and conventions (Omoniyi 2006; see also Goffman 1959; Davies & Harre 1990). Consequently, speakers engage in dynamic presentations of their different selves (Rickford & Eckert 2001; Coupland 2007, 2011), being acts of identity and the speaker's personality closely related. In this respect, several scholars have addressed how speakers strategically make use of linguistic variants in order to index different social identity categories, such as Ostermann (2003), Podesva, Roberts and Campbell-Kibler (2002), Schilling-Estes (2004), Zilles and King (2005) and Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr and Lewis (2012), among others.

Thus, identities are not "innate organic predispositions of persons", but rather constantly created and renewed by individuals through negotiation processes of intersubjective meanings of social practices (Kiesling 2013: 449). This correlates with Eckert's (2000, 2008, 2012) perspective towards speakers' agency and the meaningfulness of variants in identity creation and projection processes, which leads to the assumption that "identity is something that people do, rather than something that is done to them" (Kiesling 2013: 456). Nevertheless, Eckert's (2000, 2008, 2012) perspective does not imply that speakers always choose linguistic features consciously; instead, drawing on Bourdieu's (1977a, 1977b) notion of *habitus*, Eckert (2000, 2008, 2012) states that speakers tend to operate within a set of habits or predispositions. These predispositions would be originated at some point by conscious choices, being style perceived by the speaker –who operates as a stylistic agent– by means of the selection of certain linguistic features to be evaluated. According to Eckert (2008: 457), this selection process consists in the isolation of a given feature and the ascription of meaning to it, being these processes based on previous experiences of style and features. Thus, if a stylistic agent is accustomed to certain types of differences, he or she will associate them with past stylistic experiences and will or will not include them in his or her repertoire. Then, the repetition of particular linguistic choices over time will eventually transform them into automatic ones: "since the ways people habitually relate to others is part of the *habitus*, the *habitus* thus makes up identity" (Kiesling 2013: 456). However, the occurrence of that linguistic feature or resource in a new and different style will imply a change in its meaning and in the original style, leading to changes in the speakers' semiotical

panorama (Eckert 2008: 457). Consequently, even though identity creation processes may seem “automatic”, Eckert’s (2000, 2008, 2012) notion of habitus still emphasises speakers’ agency in such bricolage processes.

On the other hand, sharing the conception of the multiple nature of identity (Tabouret-Keller 1985; Omoniyi 2006; Coupland 2007, 2011, Edwards 2009), authors such as Krauss and Pardo (2006) have approached the association of language with identity aspects from a social psychological perspective, emphasising the need for a focus on the additional information that can be conveyed in speech, particularly on the speaker’s internal state and his/her situated identity. Drawing on the speaker’s ability to perform in a different fashion depending on the context and the different identity categories that a speaker comprises, Krauss and Pardo (2006: 7) state that sources of variability can provide information about identity aspects of a speaker, since certain identities will be made more salient according to the different contexts in which a speaker operates (Tabouret-Keller 1985; Omoniyi 2006; Coupland 2007, 2011, Edwards 2009). In this sense, Krauss and Pardo (2006: 9) relate speakers’ projection of identity with register variation, since “the register a speaker employs directly reflects his or her definition of the situation, the social role he or she is playing in the situation, or the identity that is active in the speaking situation”. Consequently, due to the fact that registers are determined by different situations, the register used by a speaker will mirror his or her approach to that situation and the social role played, and therefore, will determine the specific identity category to be made more salient in that context (Krauss & Pardo 2006: 9). As a consequence, several authors claim limitations in terms of context should be addressed so as to identify the reasons why one facet of the individual’s identity repertoire is more salient than another in certain situations (Taylor & Spencer 2004; Edwards 2009; Omoniyi 2006).

On the other hand, in his approach to the study of how social identities are constructed and managed by speakers in interactions and how speakers identify themselves with a specific social persona, Peter Auer (2007a: 5) points out certain shortcomings of the model proposed by Le Page (1978) and Le Page and Tabouret-Keller (1985), just as the fact that there might exist more limitations when it comes to speaker’s agency in the projection of identities, or that linguistic choices may not be used by speakers in order to seek for affiliation with a particular reference social group. Hence, linguistic choices might also be used in crossing, mocking, styling/stylising or parodying scenarios, which challenges the pre-

determined association between linguistic variants and social reference groups (Auer 2007a: 6). This perspective is shared by other authors, such as Gumperz and Cook-Gumperz (1982), Antaki and Widdicombe (1998a), Zimmerman (1998) and Kiesling (2013: 449), who claim that individuals cannot just construct any identity at any time since certain restrictions may condition the way in which identities are recognised and interpreted by others.

In this respect, and drawing on the assumption that identity relationships are embedded in different types of social contexts, Kiesling (2013: 452) highlights the importance of approach the correlation between language and identity from different dimensions. Particularly, he suggests that “place” –whether a neighborhood, village, city, region or country– may determine one’s speech, leading to the creation of difference-sameness evaluations towards the individuals’ speech in terms of their “locality” and “authenticity”. In addition, Kiesling (2013: 453) proposes to address those stances or positionings taken up by individuals in communicative interactions as identity projections used to create basic relationships with people, such as being friendly, confrontational, authoritative or weak (Goffman 1981; Jaffe 2009a; Kiesling 2009).

1.2.1.b. Agency and identity projection processes: Practice, indexicality, ideology and performance

In a similar fashion, and from an anthropological perspective, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) focus on the concept of *markedness* so as to address identity in language, making reference to the process by which certain social categories achieve a salient or default status and become easily identifiable, which contrasts with the unmarked identities of other groups (just as whiteness, masculinity, middle-class status and Christianity in the United States), being this a limitless and variable process of identity creation across cultures. Marked and unmarked identities are ideologically associated with marked or unmarked language, which is, in turn, supported by certain ideologies shared by the community at issue, resulting in the positive or negative evaluation of linguistic structures and their adherence or divergence from the norm (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 372). Particularly, Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 377), identify four interrelated and overlapping processes in the approach of language and identity from an anthropological perspective, namely: *practice, indexicality, ideology, and performance*.

As for *practice*, and in line with Eckert’s (2000, 2008, 2012) notion of identity creation processes and Bourdieu’s (1977a, 1977b) notion of habitus and practice theory, Bucholtz

and Hall (2004) indicate that linguistic practice should be equated to other types of everyday practices taking place in social contexts. Thus, *habitus* might be created by means of speaker's repetition of certain linguistic forms together with other social practices, shaping in this way the speaker's social behaviour (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 377). Nevertheless, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) highlight the fact that those social practices in which individuals operate are different for each person and conditioned by different dimensions of life experience, such as gender, social class and age among others. In this respect, the approach proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2004) is closely related with that of Eckert (2000, 2008, 2012) and De Fina (2007), since identity creation may result from social agency as speakers may choose when and how to engage in certain social activities and with certain "communities of practices" in order to "enact, project and negotiate identities of different kinds and at different levels (collective or individual)" (De Fina 2007: 63), being this socialisation process a recurrent phenomenon that will happen throughout an individual's life (Ochs & Schieffelin 2008; Kulick & Schieffelin 2004).

Another semiotic process related to identity is that of *indexicality*, which consists in obtaining meaning from interrelated events or entities, since "linguistic structures become associated with social categories not directly but indirectly, through a chain of semiotic associations" (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 378; see also Silverstein 1985; Ochs 1992). In fact, the combination of social meanings by means of repeated occurrence with the denotational meaning of linguistic structures leads to the creation of social stereotypes based on language (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 379). In this respect, *ideology* has been placed at the center of linguistic anthropological studies in order to account for those semiotic processes through which language becomes a crucial element in power relations (Kroskrity 2004); that is, how cultural beliefs and practices are organised as well as the power relations that result from them (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 379). Particularly relevant here is the process of *iconisation* proposed by Irvine and Gal (2000), which can be regarded as an essentialist process since it refers to the ideological representation of certain linguistic features or varieties as consistent characteristics of a particular group to which they are related. Thus,

[i]conization and indexicality are converse processes of identity formation: indexicality produces ideology through practice, while iconization represents practice through ideology. In the first instance, ideologies of culturally intelligible identities emerge from social actors' habitual practice; in the second instance, actual practice may be far removed from the imagined practices that ideology constructs on the basis of perceived and literalized metaphorical resemblance between language and social

organization. In both situations, however, ideology remains in the shadows. In fact, these processes cannot operate successfully if their ideological foundation is exposed. (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 380)

The last semiotic process proposed by Bucholtz and Hall (2004: 380) so as to properly address identity aspects in language is that of *performance*, which refers to the rather deliberate and conscious act that may take place in everyday interactional situations, in contrast to practice –which sometimes might be unintentional. From this perspective, performances are regarded as marked speech events that consist on the display of certain aesthetic aspects that might be evaluated by an audience (Hymes 1975; Bauman 1977, 1986). In addition, the notion of performance often involves *stylisation*, which refers to the “highlighting and exaggeration of ideological associations” (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 381). Thus, since ideology plays a crucial role in the process of identity production throughout recognition and legitimation processes, it can be subsequently acknowledged that performance is a resource that may be used by individuals so as to emphasise identities by means of *stylisation*, usually in subversive or resistant ways (Bauman & Briggs 1990; Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 381).

On the whole, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) claim that *practice*, *indexicality*, *ideology* and *performance* do not operate as independent process in the creation of identity, although they must be differently conceptualised:

[i]deology is the level at which practice enters the field of representation. Indexicality mediates between ideology and practice, producing the former through the latter. Performance is the highlighting of ideology through the foregrounding of practice. (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 381)

Consequently, it can be acknowledged that identity should be regarded as a cultural effect, being language a key element in the production of culture, and therefore, a crucial resource in the production of identity. In this respect, it is noteworthy to mention that it is not only relevant to address how identities are formed, but it is also crucial to analyse why they are formed. However, and within the framework of third-wave approaches, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) recognise that even though several models of identity have been proposed by different researchers from different study areas (see Giles & Smith 1979; Bell 1984; or Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985, among others), limited research has been carried out in this respect. Thus, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) emphasise that key elements such as culture, power, or agency must be considered when accounting for identity creation processes.

1.2.1.c. Agency and identity projection: Some final remarks

Consequently, conceptualisation changes from traditional essentialist approaches to socio-constructionist, interactionist and interpretivist perspectives have allowed the identification and functioning of the multiple nature of identity. Thus, it can be stated that identities are the product of language variation and social meaning, since acts of identity are enacted in communicative interaction:

[i]dentity is understood as a set of practices and representations regarding social categories which are produced and reproduced in social interaction in everyday life. Since interaction is at the heart of the process, language becomes important as a window to the actual ways in which we construct relations of social difference [...] (Heller 2005: 1584)

Hence, identity is a heterogeneous phenomenon subject to change rather than as a static or homogenous concept; hence, as Kiesling (2013: 449) asserts: “identities are not just constructed but in fact are continually renewed”. Therefore, changing conceptions and contexts will require speakers to perform different roles and identities by making use of distinct linguistic aspects in order to construct and reconstruct their persona (Romaine 2005: 1700). On the whole, and as Omoniyi and White (2006b: 2) state, it has been possible to assert that:

1. identity is not fixed;
2. identity is constructed within established contexts and may vary from one context to another;
3. these contexts are moderated and defined by intervening social variables and expressed through language(s);
4. identity is a salient factor in every communicative context whether given prominence or not;
5. identity informs social relationships and therefore also informs the communicative exchanges that characterize them;
6. more than one identity may be articulated in a given context in which case there will be a dynamic of identities management.

Thus, as it has been evidenced, language acts as a key instrument when it comes to identity creation and projection processes, which imply individuals’ positioning, stance-taking or construction movements across different socio-cultural contexts, taking into account those variables that operate as identity markers for a given society (Omoniyi & White 2006b: 1). Particularly, Finegan and Biber (2001: 240) affirm that specific characteristics of social dialects –regarded as salient indicators– may also act as markers of

social identity, functioning as key components of the different linguistic levels of speakers. In fact, as Romaine states (2005: 1700), “the choice of language is part of a speaker’s presentation of self”, which is why the role played by language in identity creation and projection processes has been one of the main focus in Sociolinguistics since its emergence as a research field (Bell 2007b: 99). Consequently, taking into account that identities can be communicated through acts of speaking (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), speaking styles can therefore be approached as representations of those identities and as crucial phenomena when it comes to individuals’ self-presentation (Gumperz & Cook-Gumperz 2007: 478).

In addition, as claimed by Coupland (2007), approaching the speaker’s style as an act of identity may provides new insights about the participants’ perceptions of the style being used, since stylised utterances also project personas, being this choice foregrounded on a wide identity repertoire. Thus, since stylistic choices might be made on the part of the speaker in order to manage and project a particular identity, meaning that both identity and style can be socially interpreted (Auer 2007a). Thus, identity and style must be approached as two dimensions that are subject to different change processes rather than as static meanings that are inherent to social groups or linguistic forms (Bailey 2007). Similarly, De Fina (2007) emphasises the existing relationship between style management, language choice and social identity, as stylisation and personal style are regarded as techniques used by individuals so as to build and project certain identities. Hence, given that stylistic variation must be understood as a “dynamic presentation of the self” (Rickford & Eckert 2001: 4; see also Couplad 2007), and that variability becomes a crucial aspect when it comes to the expression of the social affiliations of a speaker (Rickford & Eckert 2001: 5), if the emphasis is placed on speakers’ agency in terms of stylistic variation, it could be presumed that variation may act as a key component in the process of identity and social meaning construction (Bucholtz 1996; Eckert 2000). Consequently, style is of crucial importance in identity creation processes in interactional contexts, since it has been possible to prove that the way in which speakers manage their style is a reflection of their affiliation with or rejection towards certain identities (De Fina 2007: 79; Edwards 2009: 16).

Consequently, language choice becomes of outmost relevance when it comes to maintaining and creating identities (Omoniyi & White 2006b), being our command of styles

and indicator of our ability to take up different social positions (Bell 2007b: 95), since stylistic practices entail stance-taking moves (Kiesling 1998, 2001, 2005, 2009).

1.2.2. Style and Ideology

Sociolinguistic research has evidenced speakers's agentivity when it comes to language use, rejecting in this way those perspectives on style-shifting that maintain that speakers may vary their speech depending on certain aspects which are defined by the boundaries that characterise their speech communities (Labov 1966/2006; Bell 1984 Coupland 2007). In fact, even if speakers perform within the boundaries of a determined repertoire, they tend to enjoy a certain extent of creative freedom when it comes to using and expressing social meanings, since they can make a creative use of the different linguistic resources available in order to make new meanings from old ones (Coupland 2007: 84).

As claimed by Rickford & Eckert (2001: 1), linguistic forms or varieties have inherent social meanings, which, together with their corresponding language varieties, are inherited by individuals by means of social arrangements. For this reason, in order to properly analyse the sociolinguistic behavior of a speaker, it is paramount to conceive social meaning as a collection of dialectal relationships between individuals, the communicative practices in which they engage and the language varieties or features employed un such interactions (Coupland 2007: 104). These social meanings are conditioned by social, political, cultural and economic aspects, which foster the emergence of ideological, identity and attitudinal implications (Milroy 2004).

Therefore, as introduced by Bourdieu (1991), being style a multidimensional phenomenon, sociolinguists must address it taking into account those ideologies that might be expressed throughout stylistic choices. This is highly related to Coupland's process of stylisation (Coupland 2007: 154), which emphasises that different ways of speaking can be motivated by language ideologies that link social identity with verbal conduct (Irvine 2001: 34; see also Matheson 2005: 6). Hence, since the way speakers use language is highly determined by their social relations and certain processes that shape language variation, it can be stated that "language is a material form of ideology, and language is invested by ideology" (Fairclough 1995a: 73; see also Joseph 2004: 13; Guy 2011: 169; Coupland 2007).

An ideology is a system of ideas, beliefs, values, practices and representations that are crucial in the conception and interpretation of the world, and that are characteristic of identifiable social classes or cultural groups (Luke 2001: 559; Kroskrity 2004: 498; see also Bakhtin 1981; Voloshinov 1973). Precisely, in their pioneer approach to the study of language and ideology, Bakhtin (1981) and Voloshinov (1973) claimed that language and semiosis should be conceived as phenomena that operate in “concrete social reality”, which, in turn, should be regarded as an “ideological environment ... [of] realized, materialized, externally expressed social consciousness” (Bakhtin & Medvedev 1985: 1617), setting the directions for forthcoming social and linguistic approaches to the study of “how ideology constructs and positions the human subject through language, and how that subject uses language as a material means” (Luke 2001: 560). Similarly, in his also pioneer research, Silverstein (1979, 1981a, 1981b) emphasised the central role played by linguistic ideology as a crucial element of language and criticised the tendency of traditional approaches of avoiding language ideological aspects, ignoring in this sense meaningful signs that are inherently ideological (Kroskrity 2004: 498; see also Voloshinov 1973). As a result, speakers would neither be regarded as part of language, nor as active agents of linguistic change, being conceived as purely “hosts for language” (Kroskrity 2004: 499).

Yet, research on ideology has moved from conceiving ideologies as “dominant and distorting systems of ideas” to regarding this phenomenon as material practices expressed in discourse that shape and are shaped by social and economic aspects, being speakers conceived as active agents in the processes of language production and language choice (Luke 2001: 561). In fact, in bridging the gap between macrosocial theories and microlinguistic analyses, Voloshinov (1973) stated that language functions as the ground on which class-based related struggles are expressed, which goes in line with Fairclough’s (1989: 3) recognition that “ideology is pervasively present in language”, being ideology a dialogic element that is crucial in the production of social relations between individuals (see also Luke 2001: 562). Hence, ideology cannot be conceived as a mere set of “illusions and abstract ideas residing in consciousness”, as its existence is socially materialised in language, text and discourse (Luke 2001: 560). Thus, as it can be observed in Figure I.6, language and social structures are connected by means of ideology, which cannot be removed from this interrelationship (Silverstein 1979; Lippi-Green 2012), being these three nodes bound together.

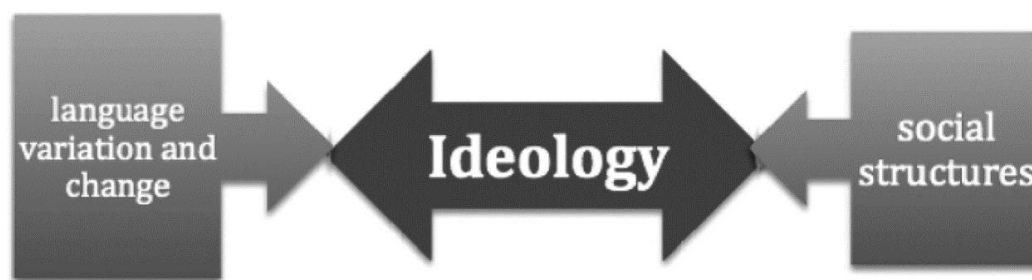


Figure 1.6. Ideology as the bridge between microlinguistic analyses and macrosocial theories. Source: Lippi-Green (2012: 71).

According to Auer (2007a: 2), nations, ethnic groups, social groups and other kinds of collectivities must be regarded as social and ideological constructs which rely on language, which functions as a symbolic representation of an external reality, being language and ideology inseparable (Schroder 2001: 248; Joseph 2004). In this respect, scholars from different research areas have addressed ideological phenomena in language, just as Silverstein (1979), Kress and Hodge (1979), Gal (1979), Hill (1985), Woolard (1985, 1989, 1992), Irvine (1989, 2001), Fairclough (1989), Kress (1989), Giles and Coupland (1991), Kroskrity, Schieffelin and Woolard (1992), Woolard and Schieffelin (1994), Lippi-Green (2012), Schieffelin, Woolard and Kroskrity (1998), Blommaert (1999), Milroy and Preston (1999), Dubois and Horvath (2000), Kroskrity (2000), Gal and Woolard (2001), Milroy (2004), Coupland and Bishop (2007) and Hill (2008), among others, being interdisciplinary approaches to the study of ideology and language rather common and productive.

Research on language ideologies is based on the premise that individuals' beliefs about the value of sociolinguistic features, styles and practices originate from people's everyday understanding across the different socio-cultural contexts in which they operate (Coupland & Bishop 2007: 74). That is, it addresses how languages and linguistic styles –or features– are ascribed social and ideological meanings (Coupland 2007), since acts of speaking are “embodied rituals of everydayness” that are performed by individuals in order to produce and sustain belief (Butler 1997: 152). This is related to Bourdieu's (1991) notion of *habitus*, and it implies that ideological aspects cannot be separated from individuals' ways of speaking, since ideologies are the outcome of gradual socialisation processes characterised by the presence of a set of shared and acquired norms related to specific social groups in terms of acceptable ways of speaking (Coupland 2007: 90). Thus, people's speech is determined by social experiences that are socially constrained and socially constraining (Coupland 2007: 90), being language and ideology inseparable constructs, as

language has an ideational function (Eckert 2008, 2012, 2018). Therefore, taking into account that all social acts are influenced by an ideologised system of representations, it seems evident that acts of speaking will also be characterised by the latent presence of certain ideologies.

According to Kroskrity (2004: 496), language ideologies are a crucial element in the exploration of variation in values, beliefs, and communicative practices. Just as with identity, ideological aspects are signaled to a certain extent each time that speakers realise any verbal expression. Therefore, given that speakers are active agents in language use, and, by extension, in identity creation and projection processes (Bucholtz & Hall 2004: 376; Eckert 2000, 2008), it can be stated that speakers also operate as active agents in the portrayal of ideological aspects by means of linguistic choices (Kroskrity 2004), being ideologies resources available for speakers to be displayed in communicative interactions (Philips 2015: 557). Hence, as claimed by Hill (2008: 33), “linguistic ideologies shape and constrain discourse, and thus shape and constrain the reproduction of other kinds of ideologies, such as ideologies of gender, race, and class”; that is, individuals’ perceptions about language correlate with how they use it in social interactions.

In this regard, Silverstein (1979: 193) conceived linguistic ideologies as “sets of beliefs about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure and use”, and emphasised that the role played by speakers’ linguistic awareness is a prerequisite in the speakers’ rationalisation and influence of a linguistic structure (Kroskrity 2004: 497). On the other hand, Irvine (1989: 255) states that language ideologies refer to “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests”, which emphasises the sociocultural dimension and the multiple nature of ideologies, which stem from certain political and economic aspects that ultimately condition cultural aspects associated with language (Kroskrity 2004: 497). Even though both definitions slightly differ in their approach, they are mutually consistent, since both Silverstein (1979) and Irvine (1989) conceive language ideologies as a means for understanding the social meaning of language (Milroy 2004). In addition, both authors acknowledge the relevant role played by language ideologies when it comes to defining and delimiting social groups (Milroy 2004: 166). On the other hand, Kroskrity (2004: 498) states that language ideologies must be regarded as “beliefs, or feelings, about languages as used in their social worlds”; similarly, Philips (2015: 557) indicates that

language ideologies are constituted by individuals' perceptions about language and speech. Lastly, Milroy (2004: 162) appears to agglutinate previous approaches to the study of language ideologies by stating that they might be defined as "thoroughly naturalized sets of beliefs about language intersubjectively held by members of speech communities". Regardless of their slightly differing assumptions about language ideologies, several approaches have evidenced not only the relevant role played by ideology in language use, but also in language change phenomena, since variation takes place in everyday life interactions, which inevitable leads to continuous processes of reinterpretation and repositioning. Consequently, language ideology must be regarded as a central feature within sociolinguistic research (Milroy 2004: 166), since as stated by Eckert (2008: 454): "variation constitutes an indexical system that embeds ideology in language and is in turn part and parcel of the construction of ideology" (Eckert 2008: 454). As a result, ideology in language may lead to the formation of stances on mainstream and prescriptivist conventions, language attitudes and linguistic descriptions (Eckert 2000, 2008; Coupland 2007; Coupland & Bishop 2007).

1.2.2.a. Indexing ideology through language

One of the most relevant and influential approaches to the study of language ideologies is that of Silverstein (1979, 1981a, 198b), who addressed linguistic change as the result of the influence of speakers' language ideologies or perceptions about language and its structure (Philips 2015: 559). Silverstein (2003) acknowledges that when it comes to linguistic forms and social meanings, several relationships may arise and even remain stable at various levels of abstraction. In this respect, Silverstein (2003) suggested that instead of assigning fixed meanings to variables, they should be regarded as elements within a field of potential meanings which operate according to an "indexical order", linking in this way micro- and macro-social frames of analysis of any sociolinguistic phenomena (Lippi-green 2012: 32; Silverstein 2003: 193). That is, macro-sociological cultural categories of identity are micro-sociologically manifested as indexical categories (i.e.: in context), which are arranged in ordinal degrees (e.g.: first-order indexicality, second-order indexicality, etc.) that correspond to the schematisation that is associated with a given variable occurring in any context as a result of speakers' ideological evaluations (Silverstein 2003: 193-194). Particularly, the term "indexical" refers to those linguistic features that once used by individuals may elicit certain

associations with a sociodemographic identity (such as region, class, ethnicity, etc.) or with a semantic or pragmatic function (Johnstone 2010: 393). Hence, Silverstein (2003: 227) states that this indexical analysis allows a proper account of the sociocultural reality embedded in discursive interactions, as it considers the dual nature of language use, both its pragmatic and metapragmatic meaning.

In addition, Silverstein (1993) would latter emphasise that referentialist pragmatics are also relevant when it comes to allowing speaker's consciousness, being language use regarded as a means to transfer information, and words, the containers designed to express that meaning (Hodges 2015: 50). As a result, it has been possible to account for "appropriateness" notions on the speakers' sociolinguistic behaviour associated with particular variables and contexts, which fosters individuals' ability to identify appropriate and inappropriate aspects of language use: "the more conscious and aware a speaker was of a property of language, the more easily that property could be controlled and manipulated by the speaker" (Philips 2015: 559).

Following Silverstein's (1979, 1981a, 1981b, 2003) indexical analysis, Johnstone (see Johnstone & Baumgardt 2004; Johnstone, Andrus & Danielson 2006; Johnstone, Bhasin, & Wittkofski 2002) approached the correlation between dialect leveling and dialect awareness along with potential influences on the part of language ideologies. Drawing on the fact that the same language form can index different social meanings (Silverstein 2003), Johnstone (2010) asserts that due to changes in context and co-text, different meanings might be perceived by speakers, experiencing in this way the linguistic and sociolinguistic environment differently, and consequently, interpreting linguistic forms in a different fashion under the influence of different ideological schemes. For instance, the form *yinz* /*yinz*/, which is used in Pittsburg (Pennsylvania), can elicit different social meanings: it can be used to refer to the second-person plural pronoun; it can be associated with the speech of careless, uneducated and low-class individuals; or it can sound as a characteristic feature from Pittsburgh, indexing in this way the individual local identity (Johnstone 2010: 393).

This emphasises the role of speakers as active agents in the portrayal of language ideologies, which contrasts with determinist and positivist approaches that regarded speakers as passive elements when operating in communicative interactions. Hence, from a constructionist perspective, individuals may deliberately use certain features perceived as being associated with certain social classes so as to seek for sympathy with a specific speech

community, eliciting at the same time rejective evaluations from other groups (Kroskrity 2004; Johnstone 2010).

On the other hand, Irvine (2001: 22) emphasised the relevant role played by ideologies in language by means of their interrelation with stylistic aspects, since “the relationships among styles are ideologically mediated”. That is, individuals’ acts of speaking are ideologically mediated due to the fact that each time that speakers produce any verbal expression their understandings or evaluations of salient social groups, activities and practices are expressed (Irvine 2001: 22-24; see also Ervin-Tripp 2001). These understandings, beliefs or perceptions together with other aspects conform the ideational scheme of each individual. Consequently, Irvine (2001: 32) claims that the focus of research should be placed on the functioning of language ideologies when it comes to the organisation and rationalisation of sociolinguistic distinctiveness (as already mentioned in section I. 2. 2). In order to do so, and as introduced in section I. 1. 2. b, she approaches ideology in language through three semiotic processes, namely: iconisation, recursivity, and erasure (Irvine 2001: 33). The semiotic process of *iconisation* “transforms the sign relationship between linguistic features and the social images to which they are linked” (Irvine 2001: 33), which means that linguistic features also represent the social contrasts that are ascribed to groups or to situations (Ervin-Tripp 2001: 44). On the other hand, *recursivity* implies the extension of the process of iconisation to other different language contrast categories in the same community, linking in this way precise distinctions with larger contrasts and oppositions (Ervin-Tripp 2001: 45; Irvine 2001: 33); that is, “it is the process by which meaningful distinctions (between groups, or between linguistic varieties, etc.) are reproduced within each side of a dichotomy or partition, creating subcategories and subvarieties; or, conversely, by which intra-group oppositions may be projected outward onto inter-group relations, creating supercategories that include both sides but oppose them to something else” (Irvine 2001: 33). Lastly, *erasure* involves the oversimplification of the conception of contrasting categories or dimensions (Ervin-Tripp 2001: 45), which means that while one dimension of distinctiveness is approached, the other is ignored (Irvine 2001: 33-34). As a case in point, the social class dimension tends to be frequently erased when it comes to addressing immigrant or ethnic minorities in the United States, being ethnicity and race factors more salient than class aspects.

On the other hand, Kroskrity (2004: 501) conceptualises language ideology as a cluster that comprises several converging or partially overlapping dimensions, which can also be analytically differentiated. In this respect, Kroskrity (2004: 501) focuses on five layers of significance: (i) group or individual interests, (ii) the multiplicity of ideologies, (iii) the awareness of speakers, (iv) mediating functions of ideologies, and (v) the role of language ideology in identity construction.

The first layer refers to the fact that “language ideologies represent the perception of language and discourse that is constructed in the interest of a specific social or cultural group” (Kroskrity 2004: 501), since individuals belonging to a specific community will share certain ideas and beliefs resulting from a shared set of ideologies in terms of personhood and social organisation values (Kiesling 2015: 628). That is, an individual’s conception of what is “true”, “morally good”, or “aesthetically pleasing” in linguistic and discursive terms stems from social experience and is usually influenced by political-economic interests, often leading to the emergence of standardisation processes. With the second layer of ideological meaning, Kroskrity (2004: 503) emphasises that “language ideologies are profitably conceived as multiple”. That is, they originate from social experience, and consequently, indexical fields will vary from speaker to speaker (Eckert 2008). On the other hand, Kroskrity’s (2004: 507) third layer indicates that “members may display varying degrees of awareness of local language ideologies” (Kroskrity 2004: 505), which emphasises that speakers’ awareness must be regarded as an ideological dimension. Regarding the fourth layer, Kroskrity (2004: 507) states that “members’ language ideologies mediate between social structures and forms of talk”. That is, speakers’ language ideologies bond their sociocultural experience with their linguistic and discursive resources by means of indexical associations (Irvine & Gal 2000). Lastly, Kroskrity (2004: 509) states that “language ideologies are productively used in the creation and representation of various social and cultural identities (e.g. nationality, ethnicity)”, which refers to the fifth layer of ideological meaning. In this respect, Bucholtz and Hall (2004) conclude that language has traditionally been employed as a means in the identification of boundaries between social groups, which leads to social as well as linguistic stratification, and ultimately, to the subordination of certain languages or varieties of languages (Lippi-Green 2012: 67).

Yet, Eckert (2008) criticises that certain variationist studies have conceived variables as mere reflections of the social categories to which a speaker belongs, which implies the

assumption that variables have static meanings (see section I. 2. 3). On the other hand, other approaches have associated variables with stances and features that characterise certain categories –rather than with the categories themselves–, meaning that variables have general meanings that become more salient in stylistic contexts. However, in her approach to the study of social meaning in variation, and drawing on linguistic-anthropological theories of indexicality, and particularly on Silverstein’s (2003) notion of indexical order, Eckert (2008: 453) argues that variables should not be conceived as constructs with precise or fixed meanings, but rather as elements within a field of potential meanings. In this way, variables are placed in an indexical field or constellation of ideological meanings, being those meanings subject to be activated depending on the different uses of a given variable (Eckert 2008: 453). In addition, this indexical field is rather fluid, since each new meaning activation may result in changes in the field through the construction of new ideological connections (Eckert 2008: 453). Hence, variation constitutes an indexical system in which ideology is embedded in language, being this system crucial in ideology construction. As a result, the fact that variables have indexical fields rather than fixed meanings implies that “speakers use variables not just simply to reflect or reassert their particular pre-ordained place on the social map but to make ideological moves” (Eckert 2008: 464; see also Campbell-Kibler 2007). Thus, the meanings in the indexical field that the hearer will associate with a particular utterance cannot be predicted, and will depend on the speaker’s perspective, previous experiences and the pre-associated style to a given utterance (Eckert 2008: 466; see also Campbell-Kibler 2007). Consequently, the meaning associated with one particular linguistic form is not uniform across the different speech communities, since a given variable can be used by different individuals to make different stylistic choices that will be materialised in ideological moves, in different situations and for different purposes (Eckert 2008: 466-467; Johnstone & Kiesling 2008). That is, language ideologies originate from social experience; and consequently, indexical fields will vary from speaker to speaker (Eckert 2008).

Consequently, Eckert (2008: 454) suggests that meaning should be conceived as “a point of departure rather than the sound changes or structural issues that have generally governed what variables we study and how we study them”. Thus, following Labov’s (1963) conclusions on Martha’s Vineyard study (that variation can be used as a device in the construction of meaning and that it is a crucial element in social change), Eckert (2008: 455)

states that: “the very fact that the same variables may stratify regularly with multiple categories –e.g. gender, ethnicity, and class– indicates that their meanings are not directly related to these categories but to something that is related to all of them”. That is, demographic categories are indirectly indexed by variables through their association with certain features and stances that characterise those categories. Consequently, ideology enjoys a central position when it comes to stylistic practices, since every stylistic choice made by a speaker stems from his or her interpretations of the social world and of the meanings of elements within it, together with his or her positioning as a stylister towards that social world:

[w]hether the speaker is a teenage girl adapting a Valley girl feature to position herself as cooler than her interlocutors or a fisherman on Martha’s Vineyard (Labov 1963) centralizing the nucleus of /ay/ to position himself as an opponent to the incursion of the mainland economy on the island, stylistic moves are ideological. (Eckert 2008: 456)

Hence, stylistic variation does not just imply a change in the phonological variants used by speakers, it also implies lexical change (Eckert 2008: 464). That is, the denotational meaning of a word can also integrate a connotational meaning by means of the creation of associations with aspects of the social context in which that word is used, and ultimately, foster stance-taking processes on the speaker (Eckert 2008: 464). In fact, using one over another variant of a linguistic variable may result in mainstream-based and or non-mainstream-based practices, which constitute a means for ideological transmission.

1.2.2.b. Ideological motivated practices: Standardisation and prescriptivism

Following the approaches of Woolard (1992, 1998), Woolard and Schieffeling (1994), Silverstein (1979, 1992, 1995, 1999) and Gal and Irvine (2000), which conceive ideologies as socially meaningful semiotic processes, Milroy (2004: 166) emphasised the importance of carrying out a systematic account of the concept of *standard* in order to approach language attitudes and ideologies. Particularly, Milroy (2004: 167) states that while Silverstein’s (1992, 1995) first-order of indexicality refers to the direct association between linguistic forms and social categories, it is in the second-order of indexicality where ideologies emerge, since it refers to the “metapragmatic concept”, which is involved in “describing the noticing, discussion, and rationalization of first-order indexicality”. However, as pointed out by Eckert (2008), language ideologies originate from social experience, and therefore, language

varieties will be differently noticed, rationalised and evaluated across the different communities and nations. That is, indexical fields will vary from speaker to speaker, and therefore, individuals belonging to different communities will foreground different varieties as a result of their different language ideologies. For this reason, Milroy (2004: 167) claims that “local histories and local social, political, and economic conditions” must be taken into account when approaching particular ideologies, since speakers’ evaluations towards language are influenced by political and economic interests as well as by domination-subordination relations (Philips 1998).

Consequently, by relying on Silverstein’s (1992, 1995) notion of indexicality, Milroy’s (2004) second-order indexicality gives relevance to cultural models of certain social groups, while first-order indexes become rationalised in different ways (Milroy 2004: 167). For instance, this approach allows to observe how race and ethnicity are salient factors in American English –being American language ideologies mostly determined by national histories and social and political ideologies (Milroy & Milroy 1999: 159)– as well as British speakers’ language ideology, which is mainly focused on class factors (Ervin-Tripp 2001: 45; Milroy & Milroy 1999: x). In this respect, Milroy (2004) emphasises the strong correlation between socio-cultural models and mainstream- and non-mainstream-based practices:

since ideologies purport to explain and rationalize the source and significance of linguistic differences, they restructure and distort relationships between the index (i.e., the linguistic form) and the social group indexed, locating linguistic forms ‘as part of, and as evidence for, what they believe to be systematic behavioral, aesthetic, affective and moral contrasts among the social groups indexed’ (Irvine and Gal 2000:37). Hence the pervasiveness of strongly held but palpably counterfactual beliefs about (for example) the superiority of the standard, the impoverished character of working class or ethnically distinctive dialects, the superiority of English or French over other languages, of Colombian and Argentinian varieties of Spanish over other New World varieties, and so forth. (Milroy 2004: 167)

Hence, changes that are ideologically motivated must be explained in relation to local images of language variation, as these vary from community to community (Milroy 2004; Eckert 2000), which will result in certain social groups and their language forms being regarded as more salient while others will be backgrounded.

On the other hand, it has been proved that ideologically motivated changes constitute the basis of *standardisation processes* and the subsequent long-term maintenance of stigmatised forms (Milroy 2000: 170), since as stated by Coupland (2010a: 132), “the terms ‘standard’ and ‘non-standard’ are themselves ideological value-attributions

(see also Lippi-Green 2012: 61). These standardisation processes are often motivated by class-based interests (Lippi-Green 2012), or in Milroy and Milroy's (1999) terms, by *standard language ideologies*, which refer to "a bias toward an abstracted, idealized, homogenous spoken language which is imposed and maintained by dominant bloc institutions and which names as its model the written language, but which is drawn primarily from the speech of the upper, middle class" (Lippi-Green 2012: 67). In other words, the notion of "standardness" only implies ideological and inaccurate assumptions (Coupland 2007: 4). In this respect, Lippi-Green (2012: 67) draws on socio-cultural aspects that influence language ideologies and emphasises the social discrimination that results from standardisation processes. Similarly, Milroy (2007: 134-135) emphasises the interrelation between class-based interests and "standard" language ideologies, which are rather restrictive, judgmental and discriminatory practices that operate in "standard language cultures":

[i]n standard-language cultures, virtually everyone subscribes to the idea of correctness. Some forms are believed to be right and others wrong, and this is generally taken for granted as common sense. Although rules of correctness are actually superimposed upon the language from outside, they are considered by speakers to be rules inherent in the language itself.

Consequently, "standard" language ideologies are based on beliefs regarding the superiority/inferiority of specific languages or varieties of languages (Kroskrity 2004), which advocate for the usage of a perfect, hypothetical, idealised and homogeneous language aiming at the creation of "state-endorsed hegemonic cultures" (Kroskrity 2004: 503). This results in language subordination processes, which involve the promotion of one language or language variety to the status of "standard" –along with the speech community that uses it– by authoritarian institutions on the one hand, and the subsequent devaluation of non-standard forms and the speech communities that employ them on the other (Lippi-Green 2012: 67). By extension, "standard" and class-based prescriptivist practices arise, which imply the arrangement of speakers and linguistic forms in a rank hierarchy and induce native speakers to evaluate their non-mainstream dialectal speech as incorrect (Kroskrity 2004: 504; see also Milroy & Milroy 1985). Consequently, the "standard", and therefore, the prestigious variety tends to be perceived by speakers as "correct", "adequate", and "aesthetic", while the "non-standard" variety tends to be regarded as "incorrect", "inadequate", and even "unaesthetic" (Bartsch 1987; Trudgill 2000, 2001, 2008; Coupland 2007).

For instance, the superiority of “Standard English” in England results from the association of this variety with the political-economic influence exerted by high and privileged social classes, rather than from this variety’s structural properties or communicative efficiency (Lippi-Green 2012). This class-based practice has its origins in the sixteenth century, when teachers and literary critics began to equate the (yet embryonic) London mainstream variety with correct speech, being regarded other dialects as “incorrect” and associated with the speech of “uneducated” individuals (Trudgill 2008; Bartsch 1987). Thus, London speech rapidly acquired a prestige value, which fostered the loss of some of its local characteristics (Trudgill 2008: 4). As a result, speakers began to substitute those linguistic features that would reveal their regional origins by other features that would signal their socio-economic position; that is, *dialects* were substituted by *sociolects*.

As a consequence, “standardisation” processes may lead to prescriptivism in language, since prescriptivist practices stem from language ideologies by which speakers’ language use is evaluated in terms of what is “appropriate” or “inappropriate” (Milroy & Milroy 1999: 1), being the “appropriate” variety imposed by the dominant section of the society (Fairclough 1992b: 48; Coupland 2007: 87). In addition, prescriptivism in language may lead to speakers’ awareness towards “appropriateness” and “correctness” (Fairclough 1992a, 1992b, 1995a), which involves speakers being aware of the implications of their stylistic variation in certain social contexts, meaning that they are able to associate an “appropriate” way of speech with those situational contexts in which their interactions take place (Coupland 2007: 87; see also Schrøder 2001; Agha 2003; Fabricius 2002a; Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández Campoy 2006, 2007).

Thus, the strategic ways in which speakers convey social meaning through language are of special relevance in sociolinguistic research, since they evidence speakers’ agency when it comes to language use and social meaning expression. In fact, individuals are characterised by the choices they make among different styles (Hymes 1974: 434-435), which are motivated by language ideologies that link social identity with verbal conduct (Irvine 2001: 34). Consequently, given that style is a multidimensional phenomenon, those ideological as well as identity aspects that might be expressed throughout stylistic choices must also be taken into account when addressing individuals’ speech style (Bourdieu 1991). Hence, as stated by Matheson (2005: 6), “it is thus important to think of ideologically loaded

language not just as words spoken by dominant groups but as words we all use if we want to get on in society”.

1.3. Sociolinguistic models of Style-shifting

With the obtainment of regular patterns of sociolinguistic variation –or sociolinguistic universals– different empirical studies have demonstrated that there is not such a thing as Bloomfield’s free variation, since linguistic variation is not free at all, but constrained by social and/or situational factors (Tagliamonte 2012; Labov 1963, 1972a, 1972b). In fact, as stated by Labov (1972a: 208), one of the main tenets in sociolinguistic investigation is that it has been demonstrated that there are no speakers who make use of only one style, since all users of a language reveal some type of variation as a result of certain socio-contextual conditions that surround them. Therefore, socio-demographic traits that are characteristic of the speaker (such as his or her social class, age, sex, social networks, or ethnicity), the relationships with the interlocutor or the audience (of power or sympathy, among others), the social context or domain (at school, work, home, neighbourhood...) and the issue that is being dealt with in the communicative interaction constitute certain conditions that may influence an individual’s speech style. In this respect, different models with distinct perspectives have approached the phenomenon of style-shifting, as either reactive (responsive) or proactive (initiative) motivations in speakers’ agency, just as Attention to Speech, Audience Design, Speaker Design and Script Design.

1.3.1. The Attention to Speech Model

The Attention to Speech Model (AS) was first employed by Labov (1966/2006) in his pioneer variationist investigation of English in New York City, which constituted an open reaction against previous paradigms: Saussure’s *langue* and Chomsky’s *competence*. Given its apparently unmanageable nature, the heterogeneity of speaker’s *parole* and *performance* had been ignored by previous paradigms, which focused on the homogeneity of *langue* and *competence* of an ideal speaker (Labov 1972a: 185). Contrarily, and from a deterministic perspective, Labov’s (1966/2006) approach to style-shifting phenomena in language aligns with the conception of societal systems being regarded as organic models of social structure, in which individuals’ behaviour is predictable and influenced by social, biological, cultural and environmental aspects. This conception is based on essentialist perspectives that

assume that “the attributes and behaviour of socially defined groups can be determined and explained by reference to cultural and/or biological characteristics believed to be inherent to the group” (Bucholtz 2003: 400). Thus, individuals are regarded as predictable agents when it comes to their sociolinguistic behaviour, which can be accounted by means of mathematical probability, resulting in turn, in the search for empirical regularities in aggregate data by means of the implementation of mechanistic patterns, leading to the conception of sociolinguistic universals.

In addition, Labov’s (1966/2006) deterministic, empiricist and realist approach evidenced that apart from existing differences in terms of pronunciation between social or biological groups, pronunciations can also differ among individuals belonging to the same group and even within an individual’s own speech under the influence of formality and/or situational context factors. Thus, the Attention to Speech Model holds the assumption that stylistic choices vary according to the situation and the speaker’s social characteristics, since from a deterministic point of view, individual’s behaviour is entirely influenced by the social contexts in which they operate (Labov 1972a). Particularly, the basic principles on which Labov’s (1966/2006) Attention to Speech Model is based are related to Sociolinguistics’ theoretical foundations (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 82):

- i) *The Principle of Graded Style-shifting*: no single speaker is mono-stylistic, though some have a wider verbal repertoire than others;
- ii) *The Principle of Range of Variability*: the variation that any individual shows in their speech is never greater than the differences between the social groups that their style-shifting is derived from;
- iii) *The Principle of Socio-stylistic Differentiation*: the linguistic features involved in stylistic variation are mostly the same as those marking social variation; i.e. those features typically found at the high end of the social scale are equally high on the stylistic scale, and vice versa;
- iv) *The Principle of Sociolinguistic Stratification*: variation originates in a hierarchy of evaluative judgments, where indicators denote social stratification only and markers show both social stratification and style-shifting;
- v) *The Principle of Stylistic Variation*: different styles constitute different ways of saying the same thing;
- vi) *The Principle of Attention*: styles can be classified uni-dimensionally according to the degree of attention paid to speech;

- vii) *The Vernacular Principle*: the vernacular is the most natural, spontaneous and requires the least attention to the way of speaking;
- viii) *The Principle of Formality* (The Observer's Paradox): any systematic observation of the vernacular must minimize its effects on the informant's language production in order to guarantee the capture of the genuinely most natural and spontaneous speech.

On the one hand, Labov's (1966/2006) main research aim was to obtain and identify data that would represent speakers' most "casual" or "natural" or "vernacular" speech. In order to do so, he designed a sociolinguistic interview that would cover different speech styles, ranging from most casual or "informal" (the interviewee speaks in a "natural" way) to most careful or "formal" (the interviewee is aware of his or her own speech, and therefore, speaks in a non-natural language) (Schilling-Estes 2002: 378). Thus, formal speech productions were conceived as the result of a high degree of attention paid to an individual's own speech, while casual productions were regarded as the outcome of no attention paid to one's speech. Consequently, Labov's (1966/2006) variationist model approaches style as a reflection of the speakers' attention to their own speech in the context of an interview, and regards the interlocutor and/or the topic and/or the audience and/or the context of conversation as external factors that may condition the linguistic variety or variants ("mainstream" versus "non-mainstream") to be employed in a given situation (formal or informal). Hence, with his sociolinguistic interview, Labov (1966/2006) would account for the degree of awareness of a speaker's own style across a notional scale ranging from less formal (lesser degree of awareness) to more formal situations (greater degree of awareness), being stylistic variation regarded as "a response to different amounts of attention paid by a speaker to his or her speech" (Coupland 2007: 54). As a result, the Labovian approach addresses dialect style variation from a socio-cognitive perspective, assuming that great awareness towards one's speech fosters convergent moves with regards to mainstream conventions (Coupland 2007: 100; Coupland 2011: 145), which emphasises Labov's conception of style-shifting as a responsive phenomenon.

In order to identify the degree of speakers' self-monitoring to their own speech in the context of an interview in his pioneer study, Labov (1966/2006) attempted to control the context of the communicative interaction and define the speech styles that could occur within each segment (Labov 1972a: 79). In this respect, and as it can be observed in Figure 1.7, he approached stylistic variation as a stylistic continuum according to five different speaking styles that would emerge in the context of the sociolinguistic interview, ranging from least to most formal, namely: Casual Style, Formal Style, Passage Reading Style, World List Style and Minimal Pair Style (Labov 1972a: 79, 108):

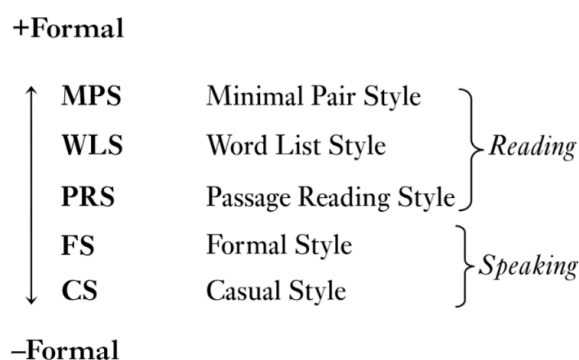


Figure 1.7. Labovian stylistic continuum. Source: Hernández-Campoy (2016: 77).

For instance, in his New York City study, Labov (1966/2006) observed that postvocalic /r/ pronunciation seemed incidental in WLS, but when isolating homophonous pairs in MPS –as exemplified below (Labov 1966/2006: 416-417)– it could be observed that informants paid the highest attention degree to the pronunciation of this variable.

<i>dock-dark</i>	<i>Mary-merry</i>	<i>sure-shore</i>
<i>pin-pen</i>	<i>guard-god</i>	<i>since-sense</i>
<i>which-witch</i>	<i>"I can!"-"tin can"</i>	<i>do-dew</i>
<i>beer-bear</i>	<i>voice-verse</i>	<i>source-sauce</i>
<i>ten-tin</i>	<i>poor-pour</i>	<i>mirror-nearer</i>
	<i>finger-singer</i>	

Thus, as it can be observed in Figure 1.8, the degree of informants' awareness to their own speech for postvocalic /r/ in Labov's (1966/2006) New York English study is not static; instead, it is subject to change if formality aspects are altered. This evidences the fact that regardless of their social class, informants tend to alter their pronunciation patterns in a similar fashion, since the percentage of prestigious and mainstream rhotic forms –which are characteristic of General American English (Trudgill & Hannah 2008)– increases in individuals' speech as the stylistic context moves from casual to more careful, and vice versa. With this in light, Labov (1966/2006) concluded that the speech style of New York City informants was conditioned by the attention they paid to their own speech, which would depend on the factors above described. In addition, the use of the sociolinguistic variable studied –postvocalic /r/– evidenced a socio-economic stratification in the speech community of New York, being the sociolinguistic behaviour of speakers correlated with their position within the socio-economic hierarchy. Thus, rhotic pronunciations were placed at the top of the hierarchy, and therefore, associated with a formal and careful speech that would be characteristic of individuals belonging to a high social status. On the contrary, non-rhotic

pronunciations were placed at the bottom of the hierarchy, being these realisations rather stigmatised and associated with the casual and unmonitored speech of individuals belonging to lower classes (Rickford & Eckert 2001). As a result, Labov (1966/2006) evidenced the link between speakers' stylistic practices and their place in the socioeconomic hierarchy.

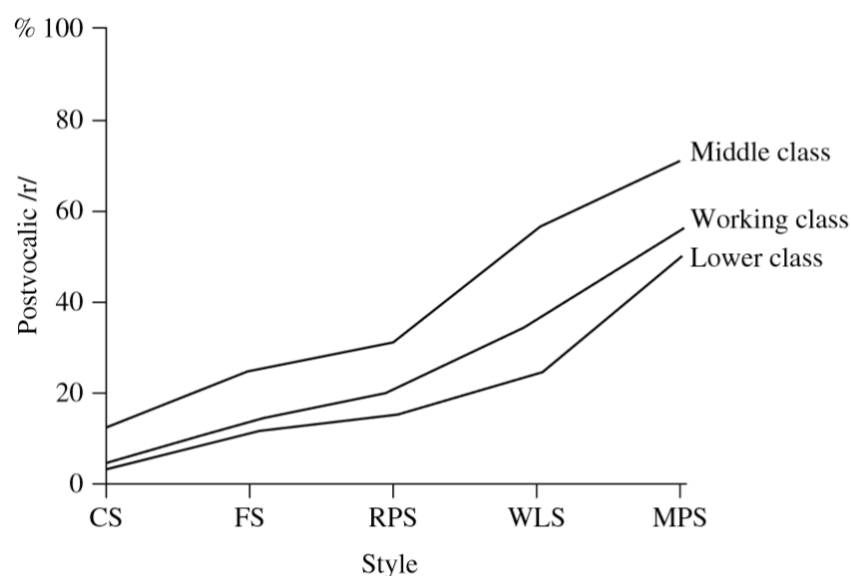


Figure 1.8. Results for postvocalic /r/ in the New York City correlating with social class and styles (CS: casual style; FS: formal style; RPS: reading passage style; WLS: word list style; and MPS: minimal pairs style; adapted from Labov 1966/2006: 141, Figure 7.1). Source: Hernández-Campoy (2016: 85).

In addition, under the assumption that the topic covered in the communicative interaction can determine the style employed by the informant –whether careful or casual–, and that the attention of the informant directed to his or her own speech can be altered by changing the topic (Labov 2001b; Rickford & Eckert 2001: 9), Labov (1984) employed the mechanism of the style “decision tree” in his Project of Linguistic Change and Variation in Philadelphia in order to separate casual and careful speech within the sociolinguistic interview. This algorithm would consist of eight contextual criteria arranged in terms of decreasing objectivity that would allow the distinction between casual and careful speech, namely: Response, Narrative, Language, Group, Soapbox, Kids, Tangents, and Residual (Labov 2001b: 89; Rickford & Eckert 2001: 9). Moreover, Labov (1984) structured his sociolinguistic interview according to different sets of questions that were grouped in terms of pre-determined topics –or modules–, which were used as conversational devices in order to elicit different speech styles (Labov 1984). In this respect, Trudgill (1974: 46) stated that structured interviews are crucial in sociolinguistic fieldwork, since they ensure that

“information concerning different contextual styles of speech is obtained, and that all informants are placed in a series of contexts which are, relatively speaking, the same for each of them”.

Consequently, the Attention to Speech Model approaches intra-speaker variation as a responsive phenomenon that takes place in a range of particular communicative interactions, which are determined by a stylistic continuum of formality (Labov 1972a: 108). That is, style-shifting mirrors speakers’ awareness and attention to their own speech, which is constrained by some external factors (such as the topic of the conversation) that determine the linguistic variety to be employed. Several scholars have approached style-shifting phenomena following Labov’s Attention to Speech Model, such as Trudgill (1974) in his study of the English spoken in Norwich and Wolfram (1969) in his study of African American English in Detroit, among others.

1.3.2. The Audience Design Model

Assuming that speech style is generally constrained by social context, Bell (1984) proposed the Audience Design Model (AD) in order to explain the underlying causes of style-shifting by placing emphasis on the audience and on reciprocity and relationality aspects, as well as by drawing upon social psychological approaches to language carried out in the form of accommodation theories and Bakhtin’s cooperative dialogic processes between speakers and listeners (Coupland 2011: 146). These lines of thought were alike to the perspectives of Labov, Hymes and Trudgill, being their approach to the study of language a reaction to Saussurean (*langue–parole*) and Chomskyan (*competence–performance*) paradigms (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 110, see also Bell 1991b). Thus, AD constitutes an attempt to provide an explanation for stylistic variation in reaction to previous paradigms, since as Bell (1991b: 104) states, “I believe the essence of style is that speakers are responding to their audience”.

On the one hand, Bell’s Audience Design is partly rooted in the Speech Accommodation Theory, which was developed by Giles (1973) and Giles and Powesland (1975) from a social psychological perspective. This theory presents the assumption that speakers tend to make adjustments of their own speech –whether in the form of convergence or, less frequently, divergence movements– in terms of speech rate, content, pausing, and “accent” towards the speech style of their addressees in order to win their

approval (Bell 2001a; Schilling-Estes 2002: 383). With this in light, Bell extended Gile's (1973) accommodation theory by applying its theoretical foundations in order to account for the patterns exhibited by linguistic variables and by considering the effects of other audience members –apart from the direct addressee– on the speaker's linguistic behaviour (Schilling-Estes 2002: 383).

In addition, Bell (2007a: 99) places emphasis on three concepts that were addressed by Bakhtin (1935/1981) and which have been essential in his own approach to style-shifting phenomenon, namely; (i) centripetal and centrifugal forces, which respectively take the form of the centralisation, unification, standardisation, normalisation, regularisation, and prescription that characterise homogenisation processes in language, on the one hand, and the decentralisation, disunification, diversification, divergence, individuality, and creativity that characterise heterogenisation processes in language, on the other (see Figure I.9); (ii) heteroglossia and multiple voicing, which result from centrifugal movements and emphasise the heterogeneous nature of language (Bell 2007a: 103); and (iii) addressivity –which refers to the fact that the addressee is as important as the speaker in communicative interactions– and responsiveness –which means that response is as active and essential as an initiative move in communicative interactions (Coupland 2011: 146-148; Hernández-Campoy 2016: 109).

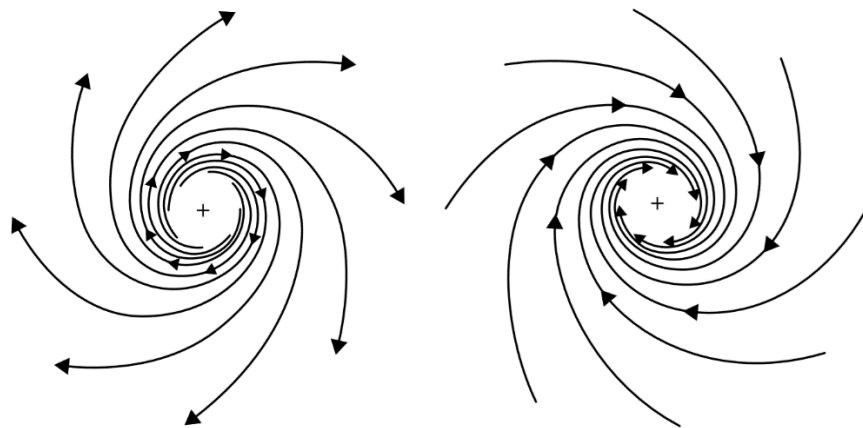


Figure I.9. Centrifugal (from inside outwards) and centripetal (from outside inwards) motions. Source: Hernández-Campoy (2016: 106).

Consequently, AD emerged as a reaction to Labov's deterministic approach to style-shifting, since new approaches began to address the audience as a key factor in stylistic variation, turning their focus on aspects such as "responsiveness", "audienceship", "addressivity" and "speaker agency" (Bell 2001a: 139; see also Meyerhoff 2006: 42).

The main assumption of AD is that people modify their speech engaging in style shifting normally in response to audience members rather than to shifts in amount of attention paid to speech (Schilling-Estes 2002: 383); thus, speakers may accommodate (or not) to a present or absent audience. Particularly, Bell (2001a: 149) indicates that AD originated as an attempt to provide an account for the style-shifts produced by newsreaders that worked for different radio stations in Auckland, New Zealand (further explained in section II.1.1). Bell (1991a) stated that the only possible explanation for the occurrence of such style shift was that the newsreaders were designing their speech in an attempt to suit the audience affiliated to each radio station, concluding, at the same time, that the news genre should be approached from a responsive dimension within the model of audience design (Bell 1991a, 1991b). Thus, drawing on this model, he would conclude that the sociolinguistic behavior of individual speakers working in different radio stations was a clear case of Audience Design, since those already identified factors by sociolinguistic and ethnography research just as topic, setting and attention to speech were not enough to explain informants' variation in their speech. Consequently, the newsreaders sociolinguistic behavior was marked by a responsive facet and characterised by a careful particular design of and adjustment to the speech style of each radio station, which was ultimately conditioned by the audience (Bell 1991a, 1991b). These conclusions were extended to Bell's (1985, 1988) study of printed newspapers (see also Bell 1991b), being it possible to determine that AD applies to spoken and printed media. Similar conclusions were obtained from other studies, such as those carried out by Selting (1983, 1985) in Germany, Coupland (1980) in Cardiff, and Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2007: 129) in Spain.

Thus, Bell's AD emphasises the active role of the speaker as a co-participant in the construction and negotiation processes that characterise speech events as social phenomena, being stylistic choices the outcome of the speaker's response to his or her audience (Bell 2001a: 109). This perspective contrasts with Labov's Attention to Speech Model and its conception of speakers as egocentric agents conditioned by non-linguistic aspects. In this respect, Bell characterises style as follows (*italicised text is direct quotation from Bell 2001a: 141–48*):

1. *Style is what an individual speaker does with a language in relation to other people.*

This constitutes the main principle of AD, since Bell (2001a: 142) conceives style as a social thing: “style is oriented to people rather than to mechanisms or functions” (Bell 2001a: 141), which clearly contrasts with Labov’s mechanistic approach to stylistic variation.

2. *Style derives its meaning from the association of linguistic features with particular social groups.*

Thus, Bell (1984, 2001a) considers that inter-group socially meaningful linguistic variation is primary, being stylistic variation the result of that variation (Coupland 2011: 147). Yet, stylistic variation also has group social meanings: “evaluation is always associated with style-shift, and style-shift with evaluation” (Bell 2001a: 142)

3. *Speakers design their style primarily for and in response to their audience.*

Bell (1984, 2001a) regards style as the outcome of a speaker’s response to his or her audience, which means that AD will be manifested every time a speaker actively shifts his or her style in order to accommodate or “converge” to the speaking style of the addressee (Bell 2001a: 143; Coupland 2011: 147). Thus, style-shifts are reactive –rather than passive or mechanistic– phenomena that occur in dialogic interactions in which both hearers and speakers play an essential role, being AD an integral component of dialogic processes: “[d]iscourse ... is oriented toward an understanding that is ‘responsive’ ... Responsive understanding is a fundamental force ... and it is moreover an active understanding” (Bakhtin 1981: 280 cited in Bell 2001a: 144).

In this respect, one of the main research aims of Bell was to account for the potential effects of audience members addressed by the speaker in terms of convergence or divergence accent movements within the responsive dimension. In order to do so, Bell (1984) assigned different rank roles to hearers that may be involved in communicative interactions according to the extent to which they are known, ratified or addressed by the speaker, namely: addressees, auditors, overhearers and eavesdroppers. Thus, the potential impact of audience members on the speaker’s style-shifting practices is determined by the degree to which the speaker recognises and ratifies them.

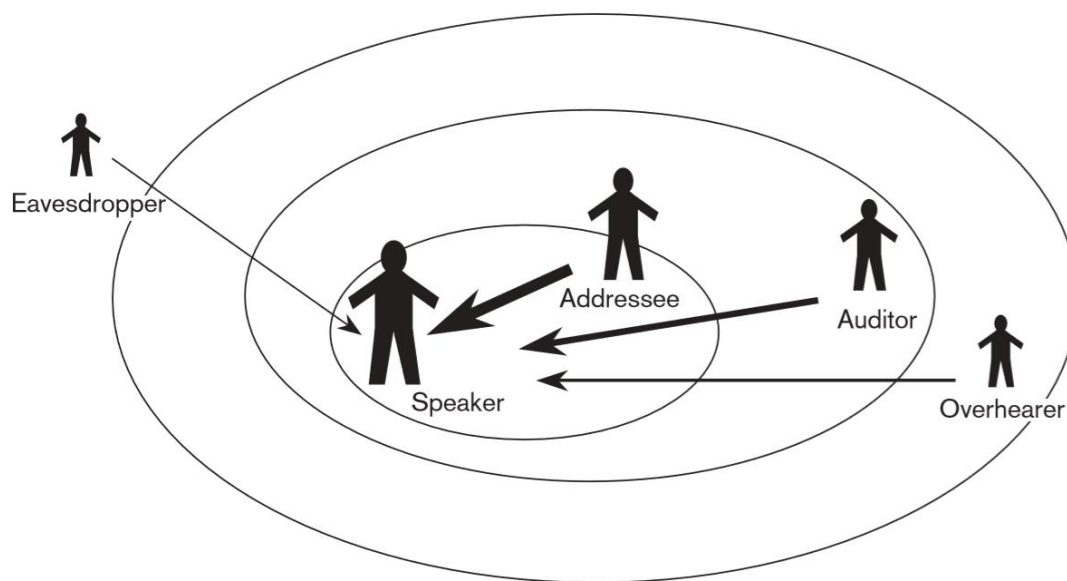


Figure 1.10. The strength of the effect of audience members. Source: Meyerhoff (2006: 43).

As it can be observed in Figure 1.10, the influence degree of audience members progressively decreases as the distance between them and the speaker increases (Bell 1991b). Hence, the main participant in a communicative interaction is the *speaker* (first person), which is situated at the top of the hierarchical organisation proposed by Bell (1991b: 91). Then, the main party of the audience is the *addressee* (second person), who is known, ratified and directly addressed by the speaker (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 119). In addition, there may also be third persons involved in the communicative interaction that are not directly addressed by the speaker, also known as *auditors*, but which are known and ratified. Lastly, peripheral participants or *overhearers* can also act as third persons that are involved to a certain extent in the communicative interaction; however, they are neither known nor ratified by the speaker. In this respect, and in order to quantitatively address the potential effects of audience members on the speaker's style-shifting processes, Bell (1984: 160-161) hypothesises that: "[t]he effect on linguistic variation of each role is less than the effect of the role next closest to the speaker [...] The amount of variation decreases as we move out from first person, to second person, to the remoter third persons".

Consequently, audience roles are arranged according to an implicational order, meaning that the speaker will perform more attunements in his or her speech with regards to addressees than to auditors (Bell 1991b). Subsequently, less style-shifts will be performed

with regards to overhearers and eavesdroppers, since as stated by Meyerhoff (2006: 43), “the speaker’s relationship with them is more attenuated, and consequently the speaker has less clear relational goals. The speaker may also have much less detailed ideas about what kinds of people their auditors and overhearers might be, and this in turn means that the speaker will have less specific ideas about how they might attune their speech”.

4. Audience design applies to all codes and levels of a language repertoire, monolingual, and multilingual.

Even though Bell’s main research aim was to account for socio-phonetic variation, AD can also apply to other levels of linguistic variation (Bell 2001a: 144-145). Thus, personal pronouns or address terms, politeness strategies, pragmatic aspects or switches from one language to another may be strategically used by speakers when engaging in communicative interactions (Bell 2001a: 144).

5. Variation on the style dimension within the speech of a single speaker derives from and echoes the variation which exists between speakers on the “social” dimension.

This claim encapsulates Bell’s (1984) Style Axiom, which operates both at a diachronic and a synchronic level, as it refers to the historical origins of styles as well as to the ongoing basis on which they carry social meaning (Bell 2001a: 145). Precisely, it refers to the relationship between intra-speaker (stylistic) and inter-speaker (social) variation, being intra-speaker variability a derivation from inter-speaker variability (Figure 1.11). This means that the speech variation exhibited by just one individual will never be greater than the social groups’ differences that originally led to the creation of the individual’s linguistic behaviour in terms of style-shifting (Meyerhoff 2006: 44). Thus, if a variable is not subject to social evaluation and subsequently to inter-speaker variation, it will not have intra-speaker variation either: “[t]he style axiom implies that there must be variation between speakers in a community for a variable to be subject to style shift in the speech of one speaker” (Bell 1984: 157). Nevertheless, Bell (1984: 154) indicates that style-shifts may exceed social differentiations resulting in *hypercorrections* (Labov 1966/2006) which constitutes an exception for this pattern (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 122).

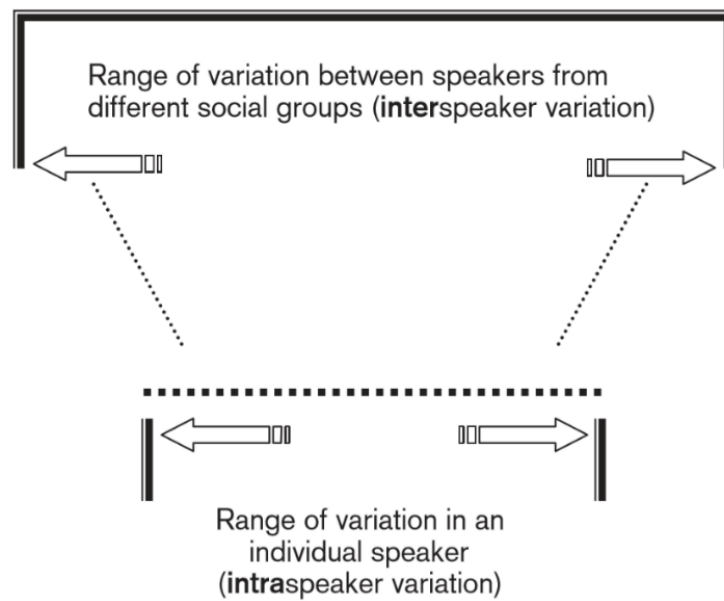


Figure 1.11. Bell's predicted inter-speaker and intra-speaker relation. Source: Meyerhoff (2006: 45).

Moreover, the Style Axiom encapsulates the fact that the same linguistic variables can simultaneously operate at a social and stylistic level, indicating in this way the cause-and-effect relationship between social and stylistic dimensions, which are linked by social evaluations (Bell 2001a: 145). This intersection of both dimensions is also exemplified in Trudgill's (1974) Norwich study.

6. *Speakers have a fine-grained ability to design their style for a range of different addressees, as well as for other audience members.*

Bell's (1984) conception of style-shifting being a speaker's response to his or her audience is partly rooted in Giles' accommodation theory, as speakers tend to accommodate their speaking style when addressing an audience in order to win approval (convergence) or to establish social distance or show disapproval (divergence) (Bell 2001: 146a; Giles & Powesland 1975). Thus, individuals' competence in communicative interactions will be determined by their ability to use and identify accommodation moves (Coupland 2007: 1).

7. *Style-shifting according to topic or setting derives its meaning and direction of shift from the underlying association of topics or settings with typical audience members.*

Bell (2001a: 146) suggested that “shifts according to topic echo shifts according to audience”, which emphasises the discursive function of the audience of a given communicative interaction in stylistic variation. Thus, variation in terms of topic, setting, channel, etc. –or non-audience– aspects may also lead to variation in terms of addressee –or audience aspects–, since speakers tend to associate types of topics with types of individuals; which means that stylistic practices may also take the form of changes in topics, channels or settings (Bell 1984: 181).

8. *As well as the “responsive” dimension of style, there is the “initiative” dimension, where the style shift itself initiates a change in the situation rather than resulting from such a change.*

Even though AD emphasises the “responsive” dimension of style, Bell (1984) also accounts for an “initiative” dimension of style-shifting, which is conceived as a dynamic force that changes and redefines the communicative interaction, rather than as a stylistic behaviour resulting from such a change (Bell 2001a: 146-147; Coupland 2011: 147; Bell 1991b: 126). For instance, speakers may switch into local dialects in order to turn their style more informal or intimate in communicative interactions so as to “provide anecdotal colour” (Bell 1984: 182) maintain that speakers are able to switch into local dialects in order to turn their style more informal or intimate in communicative interactions so as to “provide anecdotal colour” (Bell 1984: 182), being divergence in this case regarded as an initiative phenomenon, while convergence would be conceived as a reactive one. Thus, language is now approached as an independent variable that has the potential of modelling and remodelling the situation and which operates across a responsive–initiative continuum (Bell 2007b). However, Bell (1984) states that the responsive–initiative differentiation must be regarded as a continuum rather than as dichotomy, being responsive and initiative styles “different but concurrent dimensions of language usage” (Bell 2001b: 110).

9. *Initiative style shifts are in essence “referee design”, by which the linguistic features associated with a reference group can be used to express identification with that group.*

As stated by Bell (1991b), the basic dimension which speakers make use the most has been proven to be the responsive one, since they are usually responding to their audiences.

However, speakers may also take an initiative stance and make use of salient linguistic features associated with a specific group so as to express affiliation with that group in the form of “performative accent convergence” (Bell 2001a: 98). In this respect, Bell (1984) suggested the possibility of speakers addressing an absent audience within an initiative dimension, which would be explained by means of a particular type of intraspeaker variation called “referee design”. Thus, speakers may diverge away from the style that would be used to address their addressees towards that of an absent or reference group, redefining in this way their identity in relation to their audience (Bell 1991b: 127; Bell 2001a: 147). This absent group is termed by Bell (1991b: 127) as “referee”, which encompasses “third persons not physically present at an interaction but possessing such salience for a speaker that they influence language choice even in their absence”. Particularly, Bell (1991b: 127) regards referee design as a rhetorical strategy employed by speakers which will be determined by their creativity in the usage of their linguistic repertoire of styles or languages (Bell 1991b: 126).

In addition, Bell (1991b) distinguishes two fundamental types of referee design. On the one hand, *ingroup* referee design implies the realisation of style-shifts on the part of the speaker towards the style of a referee group to which he or she wishes to be identified, being the reference group alien to the addressee. Thus, a speaker that belongs to group A addresses the audience –which belongs to group B– as if it were also part of group A, rejecting in this way a linguistic identification with the immediate addressee (Bell 1991b: 129). This type of style-shift is short in time and has a rather confrontational motivation, since the speaker’s aim is not to demonstrate a challenging attitude towards the addressee’s style or language use (Bell 1991b: 129):

Ingroup Referee Design: A → B (A)

On the other hand, *outgroup* referee design implies the realisation of style-shifts by the speakers towards the style of a referee group that is alien to both the speaker and the addressee (Bell 1991b: 130). This rhetorical strategy is rather similar to the previous one, as both of them imply identity claim moves; however, in this case, a speaker that belongs to group A addresses a member of his or her own group (A) as if both of them belonged to group B. Hence, the speaker diverges from the language code of his/her own ingroup

wishing to be identified with an outgroup. This initiative style-shift is usually motivated by the belief that the outgroup's speech style and identity have more prestige and success than the features that characterise the speaker's own group (Bell 1991b).

Outgroup Referee Design: A → A (B)

Nevertheless, in order to accurately employ this type of style-shift both the speaker and the immediate audience (which also belongs to the speaker's ingroup) must agree on the prestige of the outgroup language to be used in certain contexts (Bell 1991b: 130). As a result, the immediate audience will expect the divergent sociolinguistic behaviour of the speaker. On the other hand, this type of referee design can be short-term, long-term and even institutionalised (Bell 1991b: 130). For instance, Bell's (1982a) investigation of the sociolinguistic behaviour of New Zealand radio broadcasters revealed that the speech style of the broadcasters was subject to change depending on the social characteristics of the audience of the radio station in which they were working. Thus, an audienceship belonging to a high socio-economic position would foster high levels of use of standardised linguistic features on the part of the broadcasters being this a long-term and even institutionalised practice associated with the speech style of each radio station. As previously stated, this conclusion was extrapolated to Bell's (1991b) study about article deletion practices in the British press.

In addition, Bell (1991b) emphasises that referee design may be used within a continuum of media genres, although certain genres may be more suitable for a speaker to employ responsive communicative strategies while others may favour the presence of initiative ones. Also, the use of referee design in media language may have cultural implications, since speech communities tend to acknowledge the status of an external, referee group, and subsequently to identify prestige with the external and denigration with the local (Bell 1991b). Lastly, Bell (1991b: 134) claims that the fact of not receiving feedback from the referee absent group may have decisive implications in situations of outgroup referee practices, since the speaker will not have access to the outgroup. On the contrary, lacking feedback may not be as decisive in ingroup referee practices, since the speaker will know the language and the members belonging to the ingroup. Yet, as a consequence of the impossibility of receiving feedback from the media audience, the communicator will have no

choice but to design his or her talk aiming at a stereotyped audience in the form of an initiative act (Bell 1991b).

10. Style research requires its own designs and methodology.

Lastly, Bell (2001a: 165) states that the AD provides Sociolinguistics with a new framework to the approach of intra-speaker variation in Sociolinguistics, which is regarded as a response to the speaker's audience. Particularly, the Audience Design strongly relies on Tajfel's (1978) theory of the polyhedric image and multifaceted behaviour, which emphasises the active nature of speakers and contrasts with Labov's static conception of style. In addition, Bell (2001a: 165) concludes that the referee design must be regarded as a new framework deriving from AD, and which is able to account for speakers' creative and dynamic stylistic choices in identity representation processes through language.

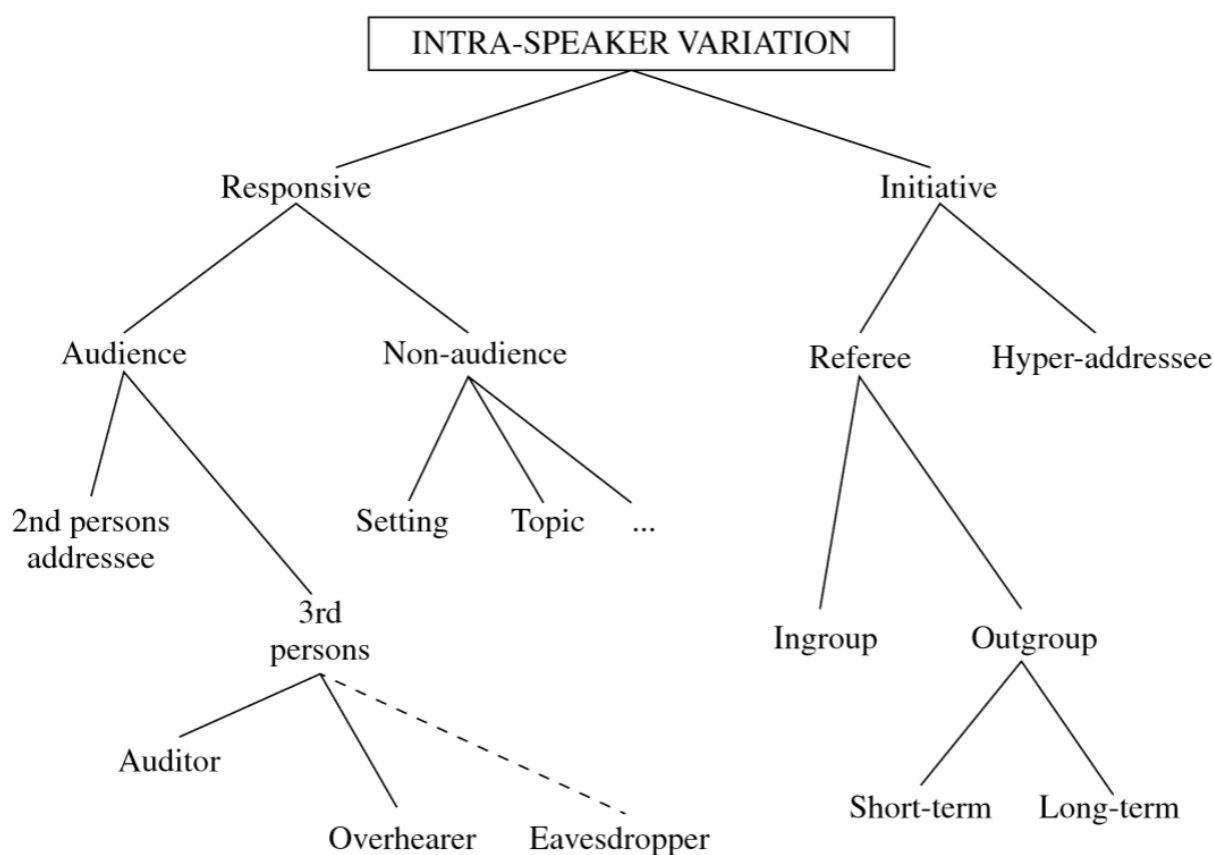


Figure 1.12. Bell's approach to intra-speaker variation (Audience Design): responsive and initiative axes of style. Source: Bell (1984: 196, Figure 13).

Consequently, Bell (1984, 1991a, 1991b) leaves aside the peripheral treatment to which stylistic variation has been approached, addressing intra-speaker variation as a phenomenon occurring in two different but complementary and coexistent stylistic dimensions: responsive or reactive (in the form of audience design) and initiative or proactive (in the form of referee design) (see Figure I.12). Both dimensions operate together in communicative interactions, as speakers are prone to design their talk according to their audience as well as to other referee groups.

1.3.3. Speaker Design Model

The Speaker Design Model (SD) developed by Coupland (1985) is rather innovative, as it constitutes a social constructionist-based approach that suggests that people make stylistic choices deliberately for identity building and to project a particular image. Taking into account the fact that style-shifting is used in communicative interactions, constructionist approaches have demonstrated that strategic, personal and even unexpected stylistic choices are made by speakers in order to achieve different goals (Coupland 2007). This assumption is a clear reaction against traditional determinist and positivist approaches to sociolinguistic variation, which would maintain that those general social categories that characterise speakers and/or the formality of the context are determinant factors in the conditioning of patterns of language use, being language use structurally determined. In this respect, SD gives individuals more agency and autonomy when it comes to designing their speech production, and acknowledges the deliberate stylistic choices that individuals make for strategic purposes in identity creation and projection processes (Coupland 2007). Consequently, previous essentialist approaches to identity aspects are left aside in SD, being it assumed that individuals have at their disposal multiple social identities that will be differently foregrounded depending on the communicative interaction in which they engage, which means that identity is now regarded as an “hybrid” construct rather than as something static (Coupland 2011: 151). Hence, the usage of different styles mirrors speakers’ ability to take up different social positions (Bell 2007b: 95), being style-shifting a crucial element when it comes to linguistic performance, stance-taking movements identity creation and the projection of the self (Coupland 2001b, 2007, 2011; Eckert 2012; Jaffe 2009a).

Hence, SD emerges as a multidimensional model that addresses style-shifting as a proactive (initiative) rather than as a responsive (reactive) phenomenon, being speakers' agency and identity dynamism of outmost importance in the creation and projection of one's persona. Thus, SD evidences a shift from regarding style-shifting as a response to one's audience to "identity management" strategic moves used by speakers (Giles 2001b: 214). Thus, from a socio-constructionist perspective, speakers are conceived as creative agents – or *stylistic agents*, in Eckert's (2012) words– in their speech performances, being able to shape and re-shape interactional norms and social structures through language use, which contrasts with the mere accommodative role emphasised by traditional approaches. In fact, as Coupland (2007) states, speakers do *identity work* as they are able to display multiple identities regardless of social categories and other "conditioning" factors, meaning that researchers must now focus on how individuals position themselves in society by means of language use, which emphasises the unpredictability of speakers' language variation and performance (Bell 2007a: 92). Hence, SD evidences the need of new multidisciplinary approaches in the analysis of style-shifting in order to account for person-oriented stylistic moves.

According to Coupland (2007), two of the most common settings where SD may be strategically employed are political discourses and media interaction, in which style-shifting is used to obtain and maintain supporters in politics and to create identity and social positioning in the media. A case in point of SD in politics is that of the different pronunciation of the second vowel of *Iraq(i)* by politicians in the U.S. Congress, which was examined by Hall-Lew, Starr and Coppock (2012) (further explained in section II.1.8.). The pronunciation of the second vowel of the loanword *Iraq(i)* varies between two realisations that are influenced by attitudinal factors: (i) /æ/, which is the current norm; and (ii) /a:/, which tends to be associated with "'foreign'-sounding" and reveals sympathy toward the Iraqi people, being this realisation considered by U.S. English speakers as the prestigious pronunciation, also associated with a correct, sophisticated and educated speech (Hall-Lew, Starr & Coppock 2012: 46). These authors observed that Republicans were more prone to use the nativised variant /æ/ over course of speech, reducing in this way style-shift instances. Consequently, Hall-Lew, Starr and Coppock (2012: 60) concluded that the two possible realisations of the second vowel in *Iraq(i)* –/æ/ versus /a:/– can be strategically

used by politicians as a stance resource in social meaning negotiation processes in order to construct a particular political identity.

Further examples of SD in political contexts were accounted by Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr and Lewis (2012) in their research on former U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice's speech, and by Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2010) study of a former female President of Murcia (María Antonia Martínez). On the other hand, examples of SD and speaker agency in mass media were accounted by Coupland (1985) in his study about the stylistic behaviour of a radio-presenter in Cardiff (II.1.2) and by Strand (2012) in her study on dialect use in Norwegian media. These studies proved that previous research had not paid attention to the possibility of speakers being autonomous in the deliberate choice of their speech performance so as to modify their projected image as a communicative strategy, being their stylistic choices unpredictable (Podesva 2012).

Therefore, according to Coupland (2007), it becomes clear that rather than generic unidimensional traditional models, new flexible multidimensional (interdisciplinary) ones are needed to approach the notion of style-shifting, always taking into account reactive and proactive motivations. As previously stated, language acts are acts of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), being identity a multi-layered dimension. In addition, social and personal identities are connected by means of acts of styling (Jaffe 2009a), or, as proposed by Coupland (2007), by means of "stylisation" processes. In this respect, and under the influence of Bakhtin (1981, 1986), Coupland (2007) suggested that stylisation plays a crucial role in the multidimensional model of SD, since it emphasises speakers' agency when it comes to strategically constructing and evoking personae in dialogic interactions (see section I.2.1). Thus, stylisation processes are materialised in identity projections that result from sociolinguistic variation (Jaffe 2009a: 14), as it is exemplified in Coupland's (1985) study. In light of the above, Coupland (2007: 154) established several criteria for stylisation:

- Stylised utterances project personas, identities and genres other than those that are presumedly current in the speech event; projected personas and genres derive from well-known identity repertoires, even though they may not be represented in full.
- Stylisation is therefore fundamentally metaphorical. It brings into play stereotyped semiotic and ideological values associated with other groups, situations or times. It dislocates a speaker and utterances from the immediate speaking context.

- It is reflexive, mannered and knowing. It is a metacommunicative mode that attends and invites attention to its own modality, and radically mediates understanding of the ideational, identificational and relational meanings of its own utterances.
- It requires an acculturated audience able to read and predisposed to judge the semiotic value of a projected persona or genre. It is therefore especially tightly linked to the normative interpretations of speech and non-verbal styles entertained by specific discourse communities.
- It instigates, in and with listeners, processes of social comparison and re-evaluation (aesthetic and moral), focused on the real and metaphorical identities of speakers, their strategies and goals, but spilling over into re-evaluation of listeners' identities, orientations and values.
- It interrupts a current situational frame, embedding another layer of social context within it, introducing new and dissonant identities and values. In doing this, its ambiguity invites re-evaluation of pertaining situational norms.
- It is creative and performed, and therefore requires aptitude and learning. Some speakers and groups will be more adept at stylisation than others and will find particular values in stylisation.
- Since the performer needs to cue frame-shift and emphasise dissonant social meanings, stylised utterances will often be emphatic and hyperbolic realisations of their targeted styles and genres.
- Stylisation can be analysed as strategic inauthenticity, with complex implications for personal and cultural authenticity in general.

Thus, with the introduction of the concept of stylisation, a unique agentive emphasis is placed on speakers' creation and re-creation of identity by means of deliberate and strategic stylistic choices strategies, which, at the same time, make the context and define the situation of the interaction (Coupland 2007; Jaffe 2009a). As a result, intra-speaker variation is now regarded as a dynamic presentation of the self. In this respect, Coupland's studies together with those of De Fina, Schiffrin, and Bamberg (2006), Duranti, Ochs, and Schieffelin (2012) and Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012b, 2012c) shed light on the fact that identities are shaped and re-shaped in social interactions, which evidenced the active role played by speakers as stylistic agents in style-shifting phenomena (see section 1.2.1). Consequently, Coupland (2003: 426) concludes that "the heightened reflexivity associated with late-modernity social arrangements precludes innocent sociolinguistic behaviour: in a social world where we are inundated with identity options and models, and with information about their consequences and implications, sociolinguistic choices are necessarily more knowing and strategic". Hence, stylistic variation must be regarded as an initiative

phenomenon in which speakers engage as active agents in the creation and projection of identities.

1.3.4. Script Design Model

The Script Design Model was proposed by Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2006, 2007) in order to address stylistic variation in the context of mass media communication, and it complements Bell's theory by highlighting speakers' use of a professional voice strictly adhering to a pre-determined linguistic policy. Motivated by the fact that new multidimensional perspectives in stylistic variation have suggested that traditional unidimensional models are not able to cover all stylistic choices –such as Labov's (1966/2006) Attention to Speech Model–, Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy's (2006, 2007) model approached style-shifting from a socio-constructionist perspective in order to discover how sociolinguistic variation interfaces with other dimensions of meaning-making in discourse. As previously stated, this implies a displacement from deterministic and system-oriented to more social constructivist and speaker-oriented approaches to stylistic variation for linguistic performance, rhetorical stance and identity projection, with a focus on proactive facets and individual speakers in contrast to traditional views. Particularly, Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2007) acknowledge Bell's (1984) ground-breaking approach to style-shifting phenomenon –Audience Design Model– and Coupland's (1985) Speaker Design Model, since the former regards stylistic variation as an adaptation to those linguistic features that characterise the linguistic behaviour of a present or absent audience, and the latter conceives stylistic variation as an identity building process. In this respect, Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2007) tried to rely on the theoretical tenets of both models so as to provide an accurate description for their study, but none of them could offer a completely satisfactory explanation for the results obtained (Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy 2007: 127).

In order to analyse how style-shifts operate in mass media, Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2006, 2007) carried out a comparative analysis about the speech performance of a presenter from the local radio station *MQM* (Más Que Música) in Santomera (Murcia, Spain) and the speech production of his audience, which employed a non-mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour. Quantitative and qualitative analyses on phone calls received during the program and a private interview with the presenter were carried

out in order to compare his speech performance “on-air” and “off-air”. As a result, Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2006, 2007) observed that the sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited by the presenter during the private interview differed to a considerable extent from his performance during the radio program, since his usage of non-mainstream variants sharply increased to a 70% in the former, which clearly contrasts with the nearly total mainstream behaviour of the latter (Figure I.13). Consequently, Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2007: 136) concluded that the sociolinguistic behaviour of the presenter was caused by the broadcasting context in which he operated, and therefore, that the speech style employed by the presenter in his “work” context was not extensive to his everyday use of language.

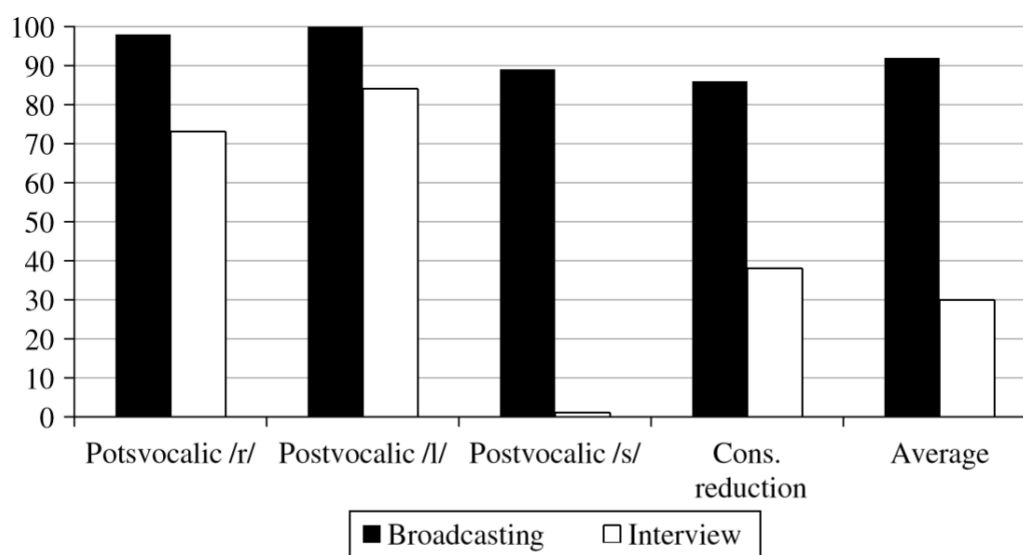


Figure I.13. Frequency of use of mainstream forms by radio presenter in broadcasting and in the interview (adapted from Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy 2007: 138, Figure 2).

According to AD and its responsive dimension, the radio-presenter should have used non-mainstream local variants in order to address his non-mainstream audience, since one of the main assumptions of this model is that the sociolinguistic behaviour of the audience strongly conditions that of the speaker, being intra-speaker variation a response of inter-speaker variation (Bell 1984: 158). However, this assumption does not apply to the results obtained by Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2007), since the radio presenter does not seem interested in expressing a “shared identity” with the audience by linguistic means (Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy 2007: 140). In a similar vein, the initiative dimension

of the AD –whether in the form of an *ingroup referee design* or an *outgroup referee design*– could neither be applied to his particular situation.

On the other hand, and in line with SD and its socio-constructionist approach, the sociolinguistic behaviour of the radio presenter could have been regarded as an active process of identity building through the use of his language. However, the radio presenter admitted in the personal interview having received clear guidelines in terms of speech style from the MGM managers, since they asked him to speak in a “refined” way and to employ a “correct” and “intelligible” pronunciation (Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy 2007: 144). Consequently, it could be stated that the radio presenter was using a professional voice in the form of a script imposed by radio-station managers, which means that the usage of his professional was not the outcome of a “completely free choice” (Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy 2007: 144). Under these circumstances, the authors deduced that the radio-presenter was not free at all to build a persona and to project his particular identity, and that AD and SD predictions about the sociolinguistic behaviour of the presenter in communicative interactions were inaccurate.

Consequently, Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2006, 2007) concluded that none of the models presented above could provide a precise explanation for their results, and stated that in order to account for the radio-presenter’s linguistic behaviour, the research focus should have to be placed on the *script* rather than just on the speaker’s performance (Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy 2007: 144). In doing so, they were able to account for the individual creativity of the radio presenter, which was conditioned by rules or structural constraints, and concluded that the linguistic policy of the radio station at issue acted as a main factor in the restriction of the presenter’s freedom when it came to making use of his natural speech style, fostering in this way an “imposed” style-shift towards the mainstream variety.

In this regard, the usage of mainstream and non-mainstream variants in professional-audience communicative interaction is not required to be exactly the same (convergent); in fact, since the appealing of a shared identity may be achieved through other strategies apart from the linguistic ones, divergent (non-accommodative) moves can also be expected by the audience (Schrøder 2001: 247). This sociolinguistic behaviour favours the emergence of a prescriptive influence as a result of the creation and promotion of mental scripts in which the “standard” is the expected variety to be used “non-standard” varieties are regarded as

inappropriate and “wrong” versions that must be avoided in certain contexts. These prescriptive norms lead companies, institutions and organisations dealing with the public to consider the fact that in order the speech production of communicators to be regarded as “correct” by the audience, mainstream varieties must be used. Thus, linguistic policies may design and impose a professional voice on the communicators, which may or may not be the same as their linguistic preferences (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 61), being these practices ideologically-based. Thus, Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2006, 2007) emphasise that while Murcian Spanish dialect is openly used by the presenter in the private interview – revealing in this way that there is nothing intrinsically wrong about this variety–, broadcasting to the public is identified by the presenter as a context in which a professional voice must be used, being the non-mainstream variety considered as ideologically unappropriated. As stated by Hernández-Campoy (2016: 61), this conception tends to be quite rooted in the sociolinguistic behaviour of speech communities, and therefore, the audience expects presenters to be linguistically divergent towards the use of mainstream forms, which is interpreted as a sign of respect, rather than rejection, distance or lack of solidarity.

Hence, the Script Design Model aims to account for the extent to which the linguistic behaviour of speakers that operate in public occupations is conditioned by structural constraints, just as certain factors related to a specific community and its linguistic norm together with the degree of correctness and appropriacy of stylistic variation (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 59). The professional voice of a communicator operating in public occupations takes the form of a script, which is understood as a linguistic policy or set of instructions to be complied by the speaker, and which encapsulates specific sociolinguistic norms, attitudes and beliefs about appropriacy and correctness as well as a subsequent adherence to mainstream conventions (Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy 2007: 145; Hernández-Campoy 2016: 60). Consequently, the model proposed by Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2007) avoids generic theoretical explanations to style-shifting in mass media communication, since this phenomenon is rather complex and multidimensional. Thus, the Script Design Model constitutes a flexible multidimensional approach to speaker agency that takes into account reactive (responsive) as well as proactive (initiative) motivations for style-shifting (Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy 2007: 148).

1.3.5. Future directions for the study of Stylistic Variation

As it can be observed, different models with distinct perspectives have approached the phenomenon of style-shifting, as either reactive (responsive) or proactive (initiative) motivations in speakers' agency, which correlate with the different generations or waves of analytic practices that have approached the social meaning of sociolinguistic variation (Eckert 2012). In this respect, several limitations may be found in some of the aforementioned models, since recent research is posing certain inconveniences in the approach of style-shifting phenomenon in the form of unidimensional and theoretical models (see Macaulay 1977; Romaine 1978; Milroy 1980/1987; Johnston 1983; Bell 1984, 2014; Eckert 2000, 2002; Baugh 2001; Cutillas-Espinosa 2001; Mesthrie 2001b; Schilling-Estes 2002; Coupland 2001b, 2007, 2011; Milroy & Gordon 2003; Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy 2006, 2007; Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2010; Schilling 2013; Hernández-Campoy 2016, among others).

Yet, it is a fact that the emphasis placed in how style operates has allowed variationist studies to acknowledge that (Schilling-Estes 2002): (i) speakers do not change their style primarily as a reaction to certain elements of the speech situations, instead, they are rather active and creative in the choice of stylistic resources; and (ii) speakers freely engage in style-shifting so as to shape and re-shape the speech context, their interpersonal relationships and their own identity.

Traditionally, variationist approaches would address the phenomenon of style-shifting from its responsive nature, focusing on phonological and morphological features that would result from style shifts across different speech situations, localising them along a vernacular-mainstream continuum and assuming that style shifts would be conditioned by formality aspects (Labov 1972a) and the composition of the audience (Bell 1984). Nevertheless, traditional models have proven to be inaccurate in the task of accounting for all stylistic choices, fostering the emergence of new directions of analysis and new inquiries, such as: an interest in a wider range of factors that might influence intra-speaker variation; the use of ethnographic approaches to analyse locally salient ways of categorising language; more features to take into account resulting from style shifts such as lexical, pragmatic/interactional, paralinguistic (e.g. intonation) or non-linguistic (e.g. use of space, body language...); a consideration of a wider range of style shifts such as registers, dialects or

genres; and the inclusion of more quantitative rather than qualitative studies (Schilling-Estes 2002: 376). Taking into account that style-shifting phenomenon occurs in a common area in which the individual and the communal operate, further challenges arise, just as how intra-speaker variation patterns can be better understood. That is, how speakers internalise large-scale patterns in stylistic variation, and how they shape these patterns through their individualised use in local interaction (Schilling-Estes 2002: 394).

In this respect, the usage of social constructionist approaches within a third-wave framework appear to be necessary to address style-shifting phenomena, as language is a form of social interaction, and therefore, it should not be merely conceived as a resource for speakers to express themselves, as language use has practical consequences for both the speakers and the audience. For this reason, social interaction and language are placed at the centre stage of the latest variationist studies.

Thus, in recent years, several researches have introduced the notion of the speaker as a creative individual that is able to make use of certain strategies so as to project a particular identity and shape and re-shape his or her relationship with the audience. As previously stated, these perspectives directly correlate with socio-constructionist approaches, in which language acts are regarded as acts that have the potential to express an identity, being language variation an interactive process in which speaker's agency plays a crucial role at the same time that provides social meaning. Nevertheless, Cutillas-Espinosa and Hernández-Campoy (2007) state that performance should not be the only aspect to be considered in the analysis of style-shifting phenomenon, but also the script (i.e.: rules or structural constraints) should be regarded as another factor that may condition the linguistic behaviour of the speaker.

Hence, given that style is a multidimensional phenomenon, it cannot be accounted under a single unidimensional theory, and therefore, as Eckert and Rickford (2001) claimed, those boundaries between the three main elements of sociolinguistic variation (style –intra-speaker variation–, langue –intra-linguistic variation– and society –inter-speaker variation–) must be addressed from a more permeable perspective.

In this respect, and as it can be appreciated in Figure 1.14, a shift has taken place regarding the approaches employed in the analysis of stylistic variation for linguistic performance, rhetorical stance and identity projection, since deterministic and system-oriented approaches have evolved into to more social constructionist and speaker-oriented

ones (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 187; Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2012b: 7). This new current in stylistic analyses corresponds to Eckert's (2012) third wave of analytic practices, which emphasise speaker's agency in stylistic practices, which take the form of identity projections, stance-taking movements and performative tasks, paying attention to the settings and local interactions that are characteristic of and take place in the local community of the speaker. In addition, third-wave approaches emphasise the importance of addressing style-shifting phenomena from a qualitative perspective so as to properly understand why stylistic resources carry a specific meaning in society and how speakers might make use of them, which contrasts with quantitative studies carried out in previous waves (Schilling 2013: 343; Eckert 2008, 2012, 2018; Coupland 2001b, 2007; Podesva 2012). As a result, third wave researchers are taking into account both speaker production and listener perception (Schilling 2013: 328), being their focus of research also directed towards speakers' agency and creativity rather than structural constraints and norms (Johnstone 2000, 2001). In this respect, Hernández-Campoy (2016: 187) asserts that:

[v]ariation is therefore now understood not simply as reflecting, but also as constructing social meaning, the focus shifting from speaker categories and configurations to the construction of *personae*: not only does variation reflect the multifaceted shaping of human relationships for the transmission of social meaning, but it is also a resource for identity construction and representation, even social positioning in public, where accents, dialects, and their styling are markers of this intended social meaning [...].

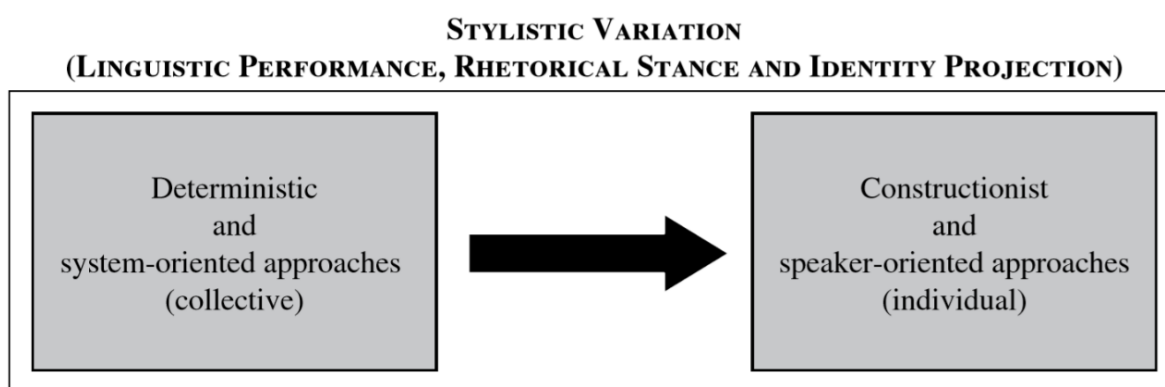


Figure I.14. Representation of the shift from deterministic and system-oriented to social constructionist and speaker-oriented approaches to stylistic variation for linguistic performance, rhetorical stance, and identity projection. Source: Hernández-Campoy (2016: 187).

Consequently, the proactive nature of the speaker as well as his/her individuality are of paramount importance in order to account for style-shifting phenomena, being speakers regarded as creative and active agents that engage in identity projection processes through which sociolinguistic meaning is transmitted (Johnstone 2000: 417). Thus, identity is regarded as a dynamic feature that can be projected throughout linguistic performance, subsequently allowing individuals' stance-taking and positioning movements in society (Schilling-Estes 2002: 388-389).

On the whole, recent research has posed the inconveniences of explaining style variations by making use of generic, unidimensional and theoretical models, which reveals that stylistic studies have to progress in order to properly account how sociolinguistic variation may combine with other dimensions in the creation of meaning in communicative interactions (Rickford & Eckert 2001: 2; Coupland 2007: ix). In fact, the phenomenon of style-shifting should be understood as a crucial element in the creation of meaning through social interaction, which means that the speaker must be regarded as a creative stylistic agent that manages his/her persona through the manipulation of those conventions about the social meanings of dialect varieties (Coupland 2001a: 197; Eckert 2012). In this respect, Schilling-Estes (2002: 376) acknowledges that:

after all, intra-speaker variation is pervasive, perhaps even universal, and we cannot hope to achieve a full understanding of the patterning of variation in language, or of language in general, if we do not understand its patterning within individuals' speech as well as across groups of speakers. Further, since intra-speaker variation lies at the intersection of the individual and the communal, a better understanding of its patterns will lend valuable insight into how the two spheres interrelate – that is, how individuals internalize broad-based community language patterns and how these patterns are shaped and re-shaped by individuals in everyday conversational interaction.

As a consequence, third-wave multidimensional and multifaceted approaches are enriching the field of Sociolinguistics when it comes to their approach to social meaning of stylistic variation, considering both reactive (responsive) and proactive (initiative) motivations for style-shifting, being of outmost importance the individual as well as the specific set of strategies used to project an identity (Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández-Campoy 2007; Coupland 2001a).

I.4. The Social Psychology of Language

When it comes to the analysis of identities, and therefore, of the linguistic behaviour of speakers, the Social Psychology of Language becomes of great relevance. This field of research is classified as a sub-discipline in the study of language and communication sciences, with a crucial activity within Sociolinguistics (Giles & Fortman 2004: 99). In fact, Robinson and Locke (2011: 48) emphasise the multidisciplinary that social psychological approaches can provide to the study of language behaviour and language use in society within Sociolinguistic research:

the social psychological perspective has to be articulated with and juxtaposed by contributions from anthropology, sociology, and other sociocultural disciplines on one side, those from linguistics on a second side, and perhaps personality and general psychology on a third – with language and its utilization as the uniting focus of the triad.

According to Trudgill's (1978b) division of objectives within language and society research, the Social Psychology of Language is a field whose aims are partly sociological and partly linguistic, just as the disciplines of the Sociology of Language, Discourse Analysis, Ethnography of Communication and Anthropological Linguistics. In addition, considering the developed interdisciplinary approaches of the Social Psychology of Language, it becomes evident that its boundaries are considerably blurred and permeable, which results from the merging of Social Psycholinguistics and Sociolinguistics on the one hand, and Social Psycholinguistics and Conversation Analysis on the other (Bainbridge 2001; Meyerhoff 2006).

Particularly, the Social Psychology of Language aims to identify socio-psychological aspects that condition language use in communicative interaction; hence, language behaviours are regarded as an influenced characteristic in terms of how speakers and listeners construe themselves, and how they mutually negotiate their perception of the circumstances they believe they are in (Giles & Fortman 2004). Hence, this field of research is crucial in order to understand human attitudes, motivations, identities, and intentions, which are the outcome of individuals' acquisition, usage and reaction to language (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 96; Bainbridge 2001; Giles & Fortman 2004):

the Social Psychology of Language is an area of the study of the relationship between language and society which examines language attitudes and looks at sociopsychological aspects of language use in face-to face interaction, such as the extent to which speakers are able to manipulate situations by code-switching. (Trudgill 2004: 5)

This intersection between language, sociology and psychology started in the 1960s by means of functional and descriptive empirical studies about speakers' attitudes to language varieties and the communication techniques that are employed by speakers in order to manage and strengthen interpersonal relationships (Giles & Fortman 2004: 100). However, recent social psychological studies have adopted a cognitive approach towards the study of language and have placed the focus of research on specific linguistic details, addressing in this way a larger scope of perceived and actual language behaviours together with the dependence relationship between speakers and hearers (Giles & Fortman 2004: 99-100). In this respect, emphasis has been placed on the importance of social identities as well as on the saliency of group membership and personal identity, which are conceived as social actors (Giles & Fortman 2004: 100).

1.4.1. Behaviourist foundations within the Social Psychology of Language

The Social Psychology of Language is largely based on the nature, meaning, and sources of speakers' linguistic behaviour, since as stated by Sellars (1963: 22), the main aim of psychological research is to provide evidence of the actions and reactions of organisms, or "psychological events", according to "behavioral criteria", which means that the Social Psychology of language is deeply influenced by behaviourist tenets.

In this respect, it must be pointed out that Behaviourism is a scientific theory that was developed in order to supply psychology with an objective and empirical evidence, being behaviour regarded as an external phenomenon that is materialised by means of stimuli, responses and reinforcements, among other means, rather than as an internal phenomenon (Sellars 1963; Skinner 1984). That is, instead of relying on hypothetical inner states or organisms as causes of behavioural processes, behaviourists divert away from internal, mental, and subjective experiences as the underlying explanation for such phenomenon.

Hence, from a behaviourist perspective, Social Psychology analyses the way in which individuals' actions, feelings, thoughts, beliefs, intentions, and goals are created, being of relevance the conditions under which they occur and as well as their potential impact (Trudgill 1978b, 1983a); that is, how language behaviour influences social behaviour and vice versa.

In this respect, Giles (1979) interactive and dynamic study on to the psychological state of individuals was a pioneer approach, as it evidenced that cognitive processes play a crucial role when it comes to codifying and decodifying verbal language behaviour, which at the same time may be influenced by the social context: “[f]or any social encounter, the sociocultural context of situation along with the cumulative experience, habits, competence, and immediate goals of the interactants will set the opening non-verbal and verbal markers of relevant personal and/or social identities, and adjustments to these will arise out of the progress or otherwise of the talk toward the desired goals of the participants” (Robinson & Locke 2011: 61).

Hence, the Social Psychology of Language aims to account for the way in which individuals create their own sociopsychological reality by means of language use (Giles & Fortman 2004), being of outmost relevance the concepts of “attitudes”, “social identity”, and “accommodation”.

1.4.2. Attitudes and prestige

Individuals form impressions of their social contacts, as they interpret what they observe and draw conclusions about other individuals’ personalities based on what they say and how they say it (Padilla 1999: 112). From a social psychological perspective, this process consists in *attributing* behaviours to people, being these attributions the basis of individuals’ attitudes towards other people, which, in turn, determine how individuals behave towards other members belonging to their same social group or to a different one (Padilla 1999: 112).

It is understood that every single individual owns a wide range of attitudes than can be displayed almost instantaneously and that are crucial when it comes to determining an individual’s behaviour in relation to an object (Bainbridge 2001: 82). For this reason, the term *attitude* becomes crucial in order to explain human behaviour (Lasagabaster 2004). Ajzen (2005: 3) defines this term as “a disposition to respond favourably or unfavourably to an object, person, institution, or event” (see also Rosenberg & Hovland 1960; Vandermeeren 2005), which means that attitude is not *behaviour*, but rather “a preparation for behaviour, a predisposition to respond in a particular way to the attitude object” (Oskamp & Schultz 2005: 8). Thus, attitudes and behaviours are closely linked, since attitudes are materialised in the form of “predispositions” or behaviours in social contexts (Rosenberg & Hovland 1960;

Lasagabaster 2004), which leads to the assumption that attitudes can be indirectly addressed by analysing how individuals react or behave to certain stimuli (Rosenberg & Hovland 1960: 1). Moreover, as stated by Billig (1991: 143):

every attitude *in favour* of a position is also, implicitly but more often explicitly, also a stance *against* the counter position. Because attitudes are stances on matters of controversy, we can expect attitude holders to justify their position and to criticise the counter position.

This tenet is related to symbolic interactionist perspectives, which emphasise individuals' ability to position themselves in society (Bainbridge 2001: 84). Particularly, symbolic interactionism heavily relies on the concept of "reference group", which constitutes an aggregate of individuals to whom one wishes to identify with, and therefore, to which prestige is associated (Apte 2001). As a result, speakers will orient their behaviour towards the prestigious reference group aiming at obtaining its approval; contrarily, an individual might identify a negative –non-prestigious– reference group wishing to disassociate from it (Bainbridge 2001: 84).

Hence, considering that attitudes may operate both at an individual and societal level, and that language is the main means by which individuals communicate and interact, Lasagabaster (2004: 402) concludes that "language attitudes have the potential to influence such interaction to a great degree", which means that language and attitude are closely linked in social interaction. Thus, given the close link between attitudes, prestige and language behaviour, reactions to a given language or language variety can be regarded as indicators of the attitude that an individual holds towards its use, and therefore to the prestige associated with it (Vandermeeren 2005: 1319). In this respect, Ryan, Giles and Hewstone (1988: 1068) claimed that attitudes are crucial information resources in regards to how language varieties are treated in the public sphere. In this sense, Vandermeeren (2005: 1319) specifies that attitudes towards language are emotionally charged ideas about language behaviour which result in certain predispositions that are materialised in the use of a particular type of language behaviour in particular types of language situations. As a result, language varieties tend to be associated with emotional and ideological responses, just as "thoughts, feelings, stereotypes, and prejudices about people, about social, ethnic and religious groups, and about political entities" (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 97). Yet, it must be taken into account that individuals' emotional responses and perceptions of different

languages and language varieties appear to be strongly determined by cultural, social, political, economic and historical aspects, together with other circumstances that characterise speech communities (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 97). In this respect, Vandermeeren (2005: 1321) claims that social norms are determinant in the creation and shaping of language attitudes, since “social norms are determined by the person’s perception of the expectations of others and his/her motivation to comply with these expectations”. That is, an individual’s language attitudes tend to emulate certain norms of the group in which he/she is embedded, especially when those attitudes and their corresponding behaviours act as group identity markers, which indicates that language behaviour is determined by social meaning, and which, eventually, leads to certain type social categorisation (Vandermeeren 2005: 1321).

Consequently, an important aspect of the complex social psychology of speech communities is the intellectual and emotional response of the members of the society to the languages and varieties in their social environment (Trudgill 2000). For this reason, in Sociolinguistics, the Social Psychology of Language aims to analyse individuals’ linguistic behaviour taking into account their complex social psychology as well as those patterns of language use that characterise the social group to which they belong in order to understand the dynamics that operate within speech communities, together with the subjectivity that surrounds the usage of language varieties. Moreover, sociolinguistic approaches to individuals’ attitudinal evaluations of a given linguistic variety or linguistic form are of great relevance, since as indicated by Labov (1972a), these attitudinal evaluations occur at the third stage of the sociolinguistic model of linguistic change (constraints, embedding, *evaluation*, transition, and actuation). Henceforth, research in the field of sociolinguistic has been directed towards the study of attitudes and to which extent such perceptions determine interactions within and across the boundaries of a speech community (Lasagabaster 2004: 402; see also Baker 1992). Several studies on language attitudes that are of paramount importance due to their pioneer approach, are those carried out by Giles and Trudgill in the 1970s, Baker (1992), Coupland and Bishop (2007), Garrett (2005), and Garrett, Coupland and Williams (2003).

Regarding the operationalisation of attitudes, it has been possible to assert that attitudes are composed of several elements that are correlated among them, but not necessarily linked (Vandermeeren 2005: 1321). Thus, attitudes have cognitive meaning (in

the sense that certain knowledge about the attitude object is involved), they have affective/evaluative meaning (since their display might be marked by positive or negative perceptions) and they have conative meaning (due to the fact that behavioural dispositions are also involved) (Vandermeeren 2005: 1321; see also Rosenberg & Hovland 1960). Gallois, Watson and Brabant (2007: 596) exemplify the correlation of the aforementioned attitudinal components with the following case:

...my attitude to a minority group in my community may involve the belief that their language style contains many grammatical faults (cognitive component), a tendency to correct their purported mistakes (conative component), and a negative evaluation of their 'faulty' style (affective component).

In addition, Gallois, Watson and Brabant (2007: 596) emphasise that analysing these three components might be of crucial importance so as to understand changes in individuals' attitudes. For example,

...we may have negative feelings about people who have a particular accent (for example, RP in English) and we may believe that such people are untrustworthy and to this end reduce contact with them. If we have extensive contact with a particular RP speaker, we may develop positive feelings towards this person, but this may not change our negative affect towards the attitude object (speakers of RP as a group)– the enduring nature of the attitude is maintained. (Gallois, Watson and Brabant 2007: 596)

In this respect, and under the assumption that speakers and dialects are usually judged according to the extent to which certain set of standards are met or not (Bainbridge 2001: 82), Giles (1971a, 1971b, 1971c) addressed speakers' attitudes to different British English varieties taking into account that regionally marked accents could be a "potential stimulus for socially prejudiced reactions towards the speaker" (Giles 1971c: 11). Giles (1971a, 1971b, 1971c) could observe that British individuals speaking with the RP accent were perceived as more competent, intelligent, reliable and educated than individuals that spoke with a regionally marked accent. However, RP speakers were regarded as less socially attractive, less sincere and less kind-heartedness (less friendly and sociable) than regionally accented speakers. In addition, changes in speakers' style to another dialect or language resulted in different evaluations on the part of the respondents, since local accents elicited negative evaluations in the form of less intelligent or educated as well as positive opinions resulting from the association of such accents with a friendly personality. Conversely, the

same speaker would receive opposite evaluations when using RP accent, being evaluated as more intelligent and educated, but less friendly (Giles 1971c: 11).

In this sense, Trudgill (2000: 195) emphasises the relevant role played by stereotypes in the creation and shaping of attitudes towards an individual's accent:

[t]his illustrates the way in which we rely on stereotypes when we first meet and interact with people [...] and use the way they speak to build up a picture of what sort of person we think they are. RP-speakers may be perceived, as soon as they start speaking, as haughty and unfriendly by non-RP-speakers unless and until they are able to demonstrate the contrary. They are, as it were, guilty until proved innocent.

Consequently, it has been evidenced that aesthetic judgements and prestige associations associated with language varieties are subjective and have no basis in objective linguistic facts, since there is no inherent "ugliness" or "attractiveness" in any dialect or accent. As a result, Trudgill and Giles (1978) concluded that aesthetic evaluations of different accents mirror social judgments based on their social connotations, as they are the outcome of an aggregate of social, cultural, regional, political and personal associations and prejudices (Trudgill 1983a: 224):

[i]f we do dislike an accent, it is because of a complex of factors that have to do with our own social, political, and regional biases rather than with anything aesthetic. We like and dislike accents because of what they stand for, not for what they are. (Trudgill 1975: 37–38)

1.4.3. Stereotypes

With this in light, attitudes toward languages and their varieties appear to be linked with attitudes towards social groups (Preston 2013: 157). Consequently, psychological and qualitative judgements are prone to emerge in the form of stereotypes, prejudices and discrimination when speakers engage in inter-group interactions (Bourhis & Maass 2005: 1587):

[s]ome groups are believed to be decent, hard-working, and intelligent (and so is their language or variety); some groups are believed to be laid-back, romantic, and devil-may-care (and so is their language or variety); some groups are believed to be lazy, insolent, and procrastinating (and so is their language or variety); some groups are believed to be hard-nosed, aloof, and unsympathetic (and so is their language or variety), and so on (Preston 2013: 157).

Thus, the socially-conditioned aesthetic judgements made by individuals of other speakers' language, dialect or accent lead to the formation of stereotypes, which are crucial elements in the analysis of the social reality of any aggregate of human population culturally

bounded, and therefore, of the social identities that speakers infer and respond to (Apte 2001: 608).

Stereotypes are based on categorisation processes that allow people to divide the world so as to establish a structure that is emotionally meaningful and cognitively economical (Bourhis & Maass 2005: 1587). Lippmann (1922) defined stereotypes as mental pictures –partially determined by cultural aspects– that are codified by individuals in order to describe their environment, and that may take part in the formation of positive or negative attitudes. In addition, social stereotypes or attributes of a group can be transferred to linguistic features associated with them (Irvine 2001), meaning that the occurrence of those linguistic features may directly trigger those stereotypes without having consciously identified the group at issue, being this process also known as “iconisation” (Preston 2013: 159; Irvine 2001). Thus, the language, dialect and even the accent of an individual may evoke certain stereotypes and prejudices in listeners about the speaker’s status, competence, friendliness and trustworthiness, among other traits (Bourhis & Maass 2005: 1590):

New York City (NYC) is an interesting site for fieldwork because historically it is a dialect pocket on the eastern coast of the United States; that is, it is surrounded by other varieties of US English from which it differs quite perceptibly. Generally speaking, the NYC accent is highly stereotyped in the United States; that is, residents and non-residents find the distinctive characteristics of the NYC accent highly salient and they are readily stereotyped ... Historically, one of the more salient features that sets NYC speech apart from varieties spoken nearby (e.g., in New Jersey), and from the more general variety of Standard American, is that NYC has been r-less. This means that unless an orthographic ‘r’ occurs before a vowel, it is not pronounced as a constricted ‘r’ – in this respect NYC speech differs from most northern and western varieties of North America. Like British English, the post-colonial Englishes of the Pacific and southern Atlantic and some varieties of Caribbean English, words like car, port, garden, and surprise (i.e., words where the ‘r’ is in what phonologists call the coda of a syllable) do not get pronounced with a constricted, consonant [r.] This feature of the New York accent is widely stereotyped and is one that New Yorkers themselves may have quite negative feelings about – some of them say they dislike it even if they, their families and friends are all r-less speakers. (Meyerhoff 2006: 29)

Thus, stereotypes play a crucial role in the analysis of the social reality of a community (Apte 2005: 608), being the role played by language attitudes and stereotypes of outmost importance when it comes to identifying the group membership of a speaker (Milroy & McClenaghan 1977: 8-9):

[i]t has been widely assumed that an accent acts as a cue identifying a speaker’s group membership. Perhaps this identification takes place below the level of conscious awareness. ... Presumably by hearing similar accents very frequently [one] has learnt to associate them with their reference groups. In other words, accents with which people are familiar may *directly* [italics in original] evoke

stereotyped responses without the listener first consciously assigning the speaker to a particular reference group.

In this respect, Haarmann (1999: 63) emphasises the importance of language when it comes to ethnic relations, “language is always involved in ethnic relations as the most refined vehicle of interacting according to local behavioral traditions, of expressing attitudes and values, and of stereotyping culture”. That is, language behaviour acts as a crucial ethnic group identity marker, and therefore, becomes of special relevant in the creation of stereotypes (Giles & Johnson (1987):

members of a subordinate ethnic group who value their language as an important symbol of their identity and who identify very strongly with their group are inclined to maintain their distinctive language features. In contrast, others for whom the ingroup language is not an important symbol of their identity and who identify only moderately or weakly with the ingroup are less likely to maintain their distinctive language features. (Vandermeeren 2005: 1319)

A case in point of studies addressing individuals’ perceptions of and attitudes to different varieties of a language is that of Preston (1998, 1999). In his study, Preston (1999) asked respondents to characterise U.S. regions on scales of language “correctness”, “pleasantness” and “degree of difference”. As it can be observed in Figures I.15 and I.16, while Southern speech was labelled as “unpleasant”, “incorrect”, “casual” and “friendly”, Northern speech was labelled in an opposite fashion (Preston 1999). In this respect, and in line with Roberts and Street’s (1998: 121) perspective, it has been possible to assert that “studies on language attitudes, speech evaluation, and social markers of speech have repeatedly shown that standard variety speakers are judged as more competent and cleverer than the same speakers using a nonstandard variety”.

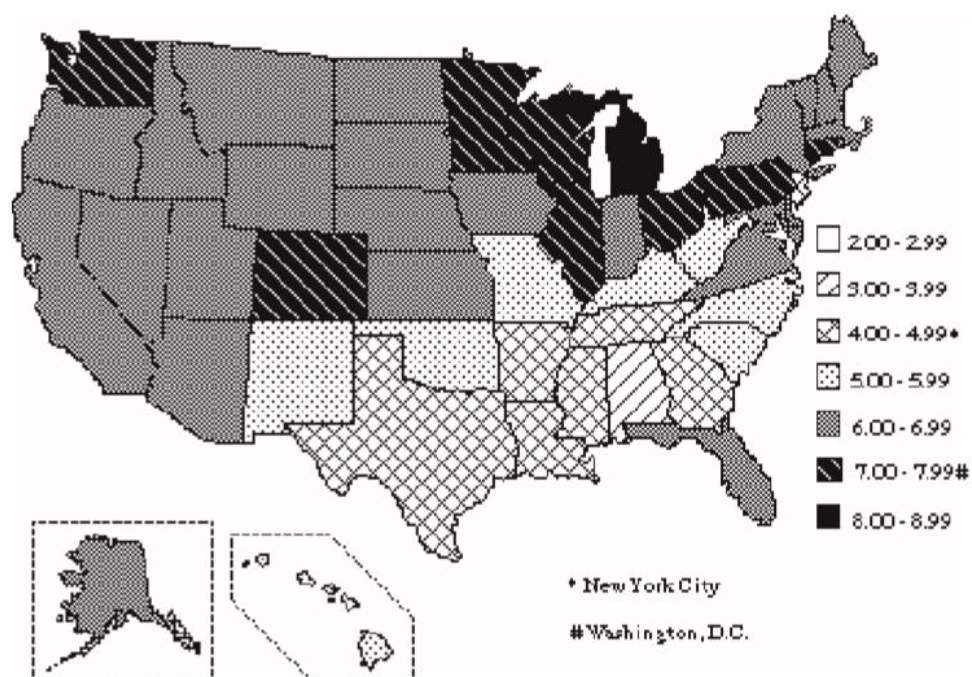


Figure I.15. Means of ratings for language “correctness” by Michigan respondents for U.S. English (on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 = least and 10 = most correct). Source: Preston (1999: 365).

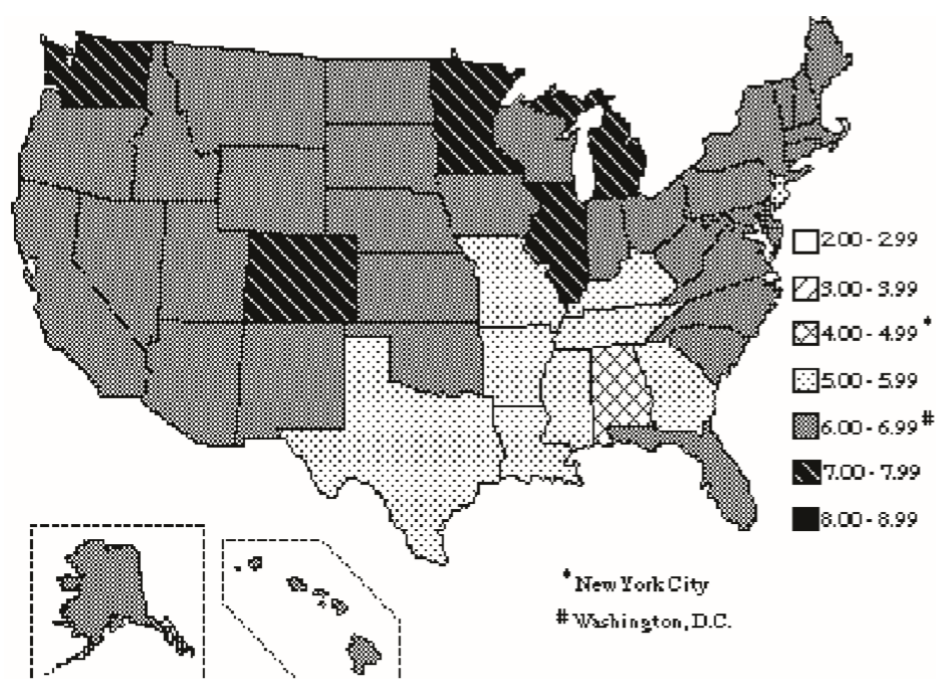


Figure I.16. Means scores for “pleasant” English by Michigan respondents for U.S. English (on a scale of 1 to 10, where 1 = least and 10 = most correct). Source: Preston (1999: 367).

1.4.4. Social Psychological Theories

Consequently, attitudes and stereotypes are determinant concepts when it comes to the analysis of language behaviour as well as of speakers' identity, as it has been evidenced that speakers' attitudes towards their addressees may influence the way they speak (Meyerhoff 2006: 70). In this respect, different theories addressing language attitudes and stereotypes have been developed over the years, such as Giles' (1973, 1980, 2009) Speech/Communication Accommodation Theory or the Social Identity Theory, which considerably influenced the foundations of Bell's (1984) AD, as this model assumes that speakers modify their speech style in order to be identified and associated with the speech of a particular group, meaning that individuals are regarded as representatives of their groups (Meyerhoff 2006: 70). Another social psychological theory that has been developed in order to account for the influence of social psychological aspects on individuals' speech is that of the Linguistic Marketplace (Bourdieu 1991; Sankoff & Laberge 1978).

1.4.4.a. Social Identity Theory (SIT)

The Social Identity Theory (SIT) was developed during the 1970s and 1980s by social psychologists Henri Tajfel and John Turner in order to assess the dynamics of individuals' interpersonal and intergroup relations as well as how they operate in society, being language regarded as one of the symbols that individuals can use strategically in order to challenge or maintain boundaries between groups (Meyerhoff 2006: 70). Thus, SIT conceives language as a valuable resource when it comes to expressing social identities, since language acts are acts of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). That is, language is a potent signal of group consciousness, identity, and solidarity that can be used strategically by individuals. In this respect, SIT emphasises the multiple nature of the concept of identity, which is related to the existence of different feelings that individuals may have about a particular social group and the subsequent attitudes towards it that might be elicited (Meyerhoff 2006: 71). As stated by Tajfel (1978), the multiple nature of identity results from the multiple social networks in which individuals are embedded, which allows them to create a "polyhedric image" and a multifaceted behaviour. Hence even though all individuals identify with several personas at different times and places and in different contexts, a particular personal or group identity will be perceived as the most salient at a particular moment in a

communicative interaction (Meyerhoff 2006: 71); which means that social behaviour fluctuates along an interpersonal-intergroup behavioural continuum.

In addition, SIT assumes that individuals have different feelings about and attitudes to different social groups (Meyerhoff 2006: 72). In this respect, Tajfel (1978) distinguished between two types of identities: those that are personal and those that are mainly associated with a group (Meyerhoff 2006: 71). Both types of identities operate in a different fashion: while personal identities are idiosyncratic but subject to experience more variation –since individuals are versatile and can move in and out of groups–, identities related to specific groups enhance group uniformity and the differences that set them apart, being therefore less subject to vary (Meyerhoff 2006: 71). That is, while interpersonal behaviour is determined by the characteristics and idiosyncratic aspects of the individual's personality, mood, or the immediate context, intergroup behaviour is entirely based on individual's membership to social categories. Precisely, the fact that the sense of belonging to a particular group accentuates differences between groups in terms of competition may foster the lack of variation that characterises group identities. As already stated, this psychological behaviour is manifested in the creation of “us and them” boundaries fostering the appearance of in-group allegiance, which may result in *in-group favouritism* –members of a social group tend to favour other members with whom they are associated or aligned– as well as outgroup discrimination (Edwards 2009: 25-16; see also Tajfel 1978).

1.4.4.b. Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT)

Giles' (1973, 1980, 2009) Communication Accommodation Theory (CAT) addresses the way in which interpersonal and/or intergroup relations influence individuals' linguistic behaviour in terms of accommodative movements when operating in communicative –face-to-face– interactions (Giles 2001a: 193; see also Giles & Smith 1979). This approach is highly related to Social Identity Theory tenets, since accommodation can be regarded as another strategy used by individuals in order to adjust one's speech so as to create, challenge or reinforce relationships by means of communicative interactions (Meyerhoff 2006: 72), being these adjustments or attunements expressed in a divergent or convergent fashion (Meyerhoff 2006: 72).

Thus, this framework conceives stylistic variation as the outcome of speakers' attunements or accommodations to very immediate factors (Meyerhoff 2006: 73). That is,

speakers attune their speech depending on the situation in which they find themselves and on the people they are talking to, being their adjustments of a divergent or convergent nature (Giles 2001a). Thus, the linguistic choices made by an individual will have relevant social implications, as they will signal his or her disassociation from a given group, or their solidarity with the social group to which they think they belong or with the one with which they wish to be associated (Giles & Coupland 1991: 60-61; Giles 2001a: 193). Giles and Coupland (1991: 60-61) define these sociolinguistic choices as:

a multiply-organized and contextually complex set of alternatives, regularly available to communicators in face-to-face talk. It can function to index and achieve solidarity with or dissociation from a conversational partner, reciprocally and dynamically.

Thus, as already advanced, the two main alternative or strategies that can be used by speakers in attunement or accommodation linguistic processes are those of convergence and divergence, which might occur at different levels: from the choice of language and other linguistically marked aspects to the usage of less crucial features such as pitch and speech rate (Meyerhoff 2006: 73). On the one hand, speakers may attune their speech by means of *convergent* movements so as to align with the linguistic norms of their interlocutor, and therefore, to seek social approval, integration and identification with the interlocutor, reducing in this way any kind of dissimilarity (Giles 2001a: 194): “if the sender in a dyadic situation wishes to gain the receiver’s social approval, then he may adapt his accent-patterns towards that of this person, i.e. reduce pronunciation dissimilarities” (Giles 1973: 90). From a psychological perspective, this strategy occurs in a climate of interpersonal and/or intergroup association. Particularly, Giles (2001a: 194) indicates that convergence processes foster an increase in “speakers’ perceived (a) attractiveness; (b) predictability and supportiveness; (c) level of interpersonal involvement; (d) intelligibility and comprehensibility; and (e) speakers’ ability to gain their listeners’ compliance”. However, it may be the case that listeners evaluate convergence movements negatively, especially if such movement is “(a) nonetheless a movement away from valued social norms (e.g., converging to a nonstandard interviewer but in a formal job interview); (b) attributed with suspicious intent (e.g., to machiavellianism); (c) attributed by eavesdroppers as a betrayal of ingroup identity when the recipient is an ‘outgroup’ member (e.g., children in class seen by their peers to adopt the teacher’s language style when talking to him or her); and (d) at a

magnitude and/or rate beyond which recipients feel are sociolinguistic optima" (Giles 2001a: 194).

On the contrary, speakers may attune their speech by means of *divergent* movements, revealing in this way speakers' motivation for social distancing from the interlocutor's language. This process is characterised by a speakers' desire to strengthen dissimilarities so as to signal their own identity and therefore, to dissociate from or show disapproval of others: "if the sender wishes to dissociate himself from the receiver (maybe because of unfavourable characteristics, attitudes or beliefs), then there may exist tendencies opposed to the receiver, i.e. emphasize pronunciation dissimilarities" (Giles 1973: 90). This strategy often occurs in intergroup situations where participants from different social backgrounds are involved, and, as stated by Giles (2001a: 195), it is "a tactic of intergroup distinctiveness of individuals in search of a positive social identity". Thus, from a psychological perspective, divergent attunements result in interpersonal and/or intergroup disassociation, where, for instance, members of an ingroup employ accent divergence so as to signal their differences from an outgroup, which can be regarded by the audience as a rude and hostile practice (Giles 2001a: 195).

Hence, while convergence behaviours may facilitate comprehension between speakers, divergence strategies may act as a wall (Meyerhoff 2006). In addition, even though speakers may consciously engage in these strategies, it may be the case that accommodation occurs below the speaker's level of conscious awareness, meaning that convergence and divergence adjustments are not always consciously controlled in communicative interactions (Meyerhoff 2006: 73). Also, depending on the different strategies used by speakers, convergence and divergence attunements can take on different manifestations, such as *upward* or *downward*, "depending on the relative sociolinguistic status of the converge", *full*, *partial* or *cross-over*, and *symmetrical* or *asymmetrical*, "whether both speakers are, or only one participant is, converging" (Giles 2001a: 194-195).

This perspective on style-shifting clearly contrasts with Labov's (1966/2006) Attention to Speech Model, in which stylistic variation is regarded as the outcome of an individual's attention to his or her own speech, being the potential effect of the participants of the communicative interaction not considered. Contrarily, the accommodation theory regards listeners as equally important as speakers in communicative interaction, and conceives communicative behaviours as elements operating in a dynamic system (Meyerhoff

2006: 73). In addition, Gile's approach not only regards communicative interaction as a ground where identity aspects come into play, but it also takes into account the effect that affective factors may have on such interactions: "[a]n important aspect of this alternative view of the way speakers shift between styles is that it foregrounds the importance of the speaker's and addressee's relationship and their attitudes towards one another" (Meyerhoff 2006: 41). That is, ideological structures are conceived as influential factors when it comes to speech attunement acts, which allows accommodation theory to address: "(a) social consequences (attitudinal, attributional, behavioral, and communicative), (b) macrosocietal factors, (c) intergroup as well as interpersonal variables and processes, (d) discursive practices in naturalistic settings, and (e) individual lifespan language shifts and communitywide language change" (Giles 2001a: 197).

Therefore, accommodation theory places emphasis on speakers' attitudes towards their addressees, which lead to dynamic interactions where both speakers and addressees are crucial participants (Meyerhoff 2006: 80). Thus, speakers and listeners engage in "the adoption of adjustments that pervade their total communicative performance", projecting in this way their personal and social identities and positioning themselves in the societal system (Robinson & Locke 2011: 63).

Chapter 2

Objectives

II. OBJECTIVES

II.1. Precedents

As previously stated, the relationship between language and society by means of the correlation of extralinguistic factors with intralinguistic elements has allowed sociolinguists to explain variability in language. Particularly, stylistic aspects are central in this correlation, where *stylistic* variation operates as a key element together with *linguistic* and *social* variation, (Rickford & Eckert 2001: 1). In addition, sociolinguistic research has evidenced the agentivity of speakers when it comes to language use, as speakers are characterised by the choices they make among different styles (Hymes 1974: 434-435), carrying these choices an intrinsic social meaning. Precisely, current socio-constructionist approaches have evidenced the active role of speakers, who actively engage in continuous bricolage processes in which social-semiotic moves are made by means of the interpretation, combination and recombination of variables in order to produce a distinctive style and present a particular self or *persona* (Eckert 2012, 2018; see also Coupland 2001a, 2001b, 2007, 2010a). In fact, despite operating within the boundaries of a determined repertoire, speakers often enjoy a certain extent of creative freedom when it comes to using and expressing social meanings, since they have at their disposal a wide range of linguistic resources to be used in creative ways, which facilitates the making of new meanings from old ones (Coupland 2007: 84).

Hence, linguistic variation turns out to be the result of speakers' agency, being variation not only a reflection but also a means to construct social meaning.

On the other hand, social meanings, along with their corresponding language varieties, are enacted in communicative interactions, and therefore, in order to properly analyse the sociolinguistic behavior of a speaker, social meanings must be regarded as "a set of dialectical relationships between people, practices and language varieties or features" (Coupland 2007: 104), being local communities of practice the breeding ground where social meaning is created. For this reason, several factors that may condition social meanings must be taken into account, just as social, political, cultural and economic aspects, which foster the emergence of ideological, identity and attitudinal implications in language use (Milroy 2004).

Thus, the strategic ways in which speakers convey social meaning through language are of special relevance in sociolinguistic research, as they evidence speakers' agency when it comes to language use and social meaning expression. Consequently, given that style is a multidimensional phenomenon, those ideological as well as identity aspects that might be expressed throughout stylistic choices must also be considered when addressing individuals' style (Bourdieu 1991). In this respect, different models with distinct perspectives have approached over the years the phenomenon of style-shifting as either reactive (responsive) or proactive (initiative) motivations in speakers' agency. From an overall perspective, the different approaches to the study of variation in Sociolinguistics have taken the form of three different generations or waves of analytic practices (Eckert 2012): while first and second waves placed their focus on the denotational meaning of variation in style –being variation regarded as a marker of social categories and style understood as an incidental artifice–, the third wave has evidenced the fact that style has an ideological foundation, and that different stylistic forms act as carriers of social meaning (Eckert 2012: 98).

II.1.1. The Language of Radio Newscasters in New Zealand

Influenced by emerging theories that would place the focus on the audience as a determinant factor for stylistic variation, and preceded by accommodation theories of the Social Psychology of Language as well as the cooperative dialogic processes among listeners and speakers proposed by Bakhtin, Bell (1982a) carried out a stylistic analysis of news

language in New Zealand by means of the study of recorded news from five different radio stations. Especial emphasis was placed on the individual sociolinguistic behavior of four newsreaders working for two radio stations in Auckland, which belonged to the same New Zealand public broadcasting service. This means that the four individuals would have to alternate from one station to another throughout the day, and that the same news could be read by the same newsreader on different radio stations and to different audiences (Bell 1991b). This particularity facilitated a comparative approach of the different styles that individual newsreaders would employ depending on the station in which the broadcast was taking place.

It is noteworthy to mention that remarkable differences could be spotted between the two radio stations where the four newsreaders worked –YA Station, the New Zealand’s National Radio, and the local community radio station, ZB Station– in terms of programme content and audience membership (see Table II.1). Thus, YA Station was regarded as the prestigious station of public radio aimed at an audience composed of older people and individuals belonging to higher educated and professional spheres, and it was characterised by playing classical music and the broadcasting of news, current affairs programmes, interviews and talk programmes. On the other hand, ZB station was characterised by playing popular music and the broadcasting of advertising, informing and attracting a wider range of listeners, especially those belonging to middle class and middle age groups (Bell 1982a).

Table II.1. Characteristics of YA and ZB radio stations. Source: Bell (1991b: 111).

Radio Station	Ownership	Audience	Community involvement	Programming	Music	Advertising	Announcer style	News ‘station’
1YA carries National Radio network from Wellington	New Zealand (public corporation)	Older, with higher education, professionals	—	Highly scheduled: news, current affairs, concerts, drama	‘Light’ Often from 1940s and 1950s	—	Detached, measured: Prestige radio, prestige speech	YA: National Radio news, live from Wellington YAR: Regional news from 1YA Auckland BBC: Overseas Service relayed live from London
1ZB local Community Network station	Radio NZ	Age 30-50, family, mid status	Very high. Main local service and information station. Local sponsorships, interviews, advertising	Community information, sport, horse racing news, shopping tips, house-hold advice, local news	Popular, ‘middle of the road’, established hits	A lot of advertising, much read in chatty fashion by announcer	Homely, familiar: Programme ‘hosts’(especially breakfast session) are local notables	ZB: Community Network news relayed live from Wellington ZBR: Regional news from Auckland

Among other phonological and syntactic variables, Bell (1982a) studied the frequency of occurrence of T-Voicing, which refers to the voiced flap [ɾ] pronunciation of consonant /t/ in intervocalic contexts. This phonological process is rather common in North American English and New Zealand English, and results in the creation of homophone minimal pairs such as *better-bedder* ([ˈbɛtə]-[ˈbɛdə]) or *writer-ridder* ([ˈraɪtə]-[ˈraɪdə]). As a consequence, two realisations are possible: words like *city* or *latter* might be pronounced with the voiceless or voiced stop [d]/[t] (the mainstream and conservative realisation) or with the alveolar voiced flap (the non-mainstream innovation tendency). This phonological phenomenon is a change in progress in New Zealand, and it was originated in the working classes, becoming a distinctive feature of the speech of young working-class individuals to finally enter into the middle classes (Coupland 2007: 75). In addition, T-Voicing has both positive and negative connotations. On the one hand, this feature is acquiring prestige in New Zealand speech since it is a sign of Americanness, reflecting positive attitudes towards the American influence; however, it also has connotations of informal and carelessly speech (Coupland 2007: 75; see also Bell 1982a, 1991b).

As it can be observed in Figure II.1, the speech of the four newscasters considerably varied depending on the radio station from where they were broadcasting. That is, systematic style-shifts by means of the usage of T-Voicing would be produced by the newscasters, exhibiting in this way a salient and constant ability to adjust to the audience of the two different stations. Hence, even though both stations belonged to the same broadcast system, differences in the speech of the newscasters could be identified when reading bulletins for YA –in which the mainstream realisation would be used– or ZB –where a higher use of the non-mainstream innovative form was employed–, being the frequency of use of T-Voicing a 20% higher in ZB than in YA radio station (Bell 1984: 171). Consequently, Bell (1991b: 114) argued that the aforementioned salient differences that characterised the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of the newsreaders were conditioned by the different audience of each station and their related values. That is, the four newsreaders were deliberately designing their sociolinguistic behaviour by means of converging towards a specific speech style in order to suit the different audience membership of each radio station (Bell 1982a, 1984, 1991b). In fact, Bell (1991b: 114), emphasised the importance of this responsive strategy in mass media –and particularly, in news genre–, since “membership in a

station's audience evinces general approval of that medium, its content and its communicators' style".

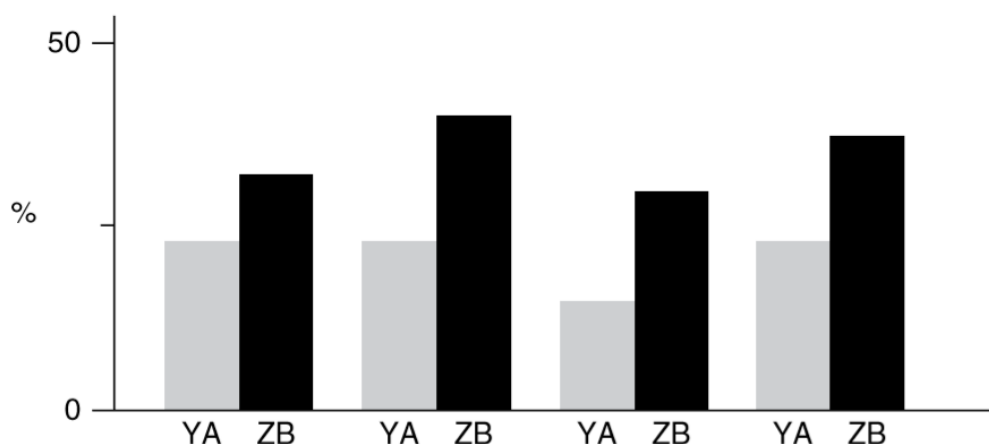


Figure II.1. Percentage scores of T-Voicing in intervocalic contexts by four newsreaders on two New Zealand radio stations: YA and ZB. (Bell 1984: 171; 1982a: 162). Source: Bell 2014: 298, Figure 11.2.

Thus, the sociolinguistic behavior of the four newsreaders working in different radio stations was diagnosed by Bell (1982a) as a clear case of Audience Design, since those already identified factors by sociolinguistic and ethnography research just as topic, setting and attention to speech were not enough to explain the stylistic variation of the four individuals under study. Therefore, their sociolinguistic behavior was marked by a responsive facet, characterised by a careful particular design of and adjustment to the speech style of each radio station, which was ultimately conditioned by the audience (Bell 1982a, 1984, 1991b).

II.1.2. The Language of a Radio Presenter in Cardiff

Since prior contributions to the description of stylistic variation such as the investigations carried out by Reid (1978), Douglas-Cowie (1978), Coupland (1980) and Cheshire (1982) did not address the issue of speakers' motivations straightforwardly and did not take into account the contribution of individual participants and considered communicators as mere automata, Coupland (1985, 1996, 2001b) approached the phenomenon of style-shifting in speech from a motivational and less deterministic perspective so as to explain personal and group identity creation processes of as well as to predict phonological style-shifts by means of analysing dialect stylisation in radio broadcasting.

Particularly, Coupland (1985) analysed the pronunciation of the broad-accented Cardiff English speaker and radio broadcaster Frank Hennessey, relating the role of radio speakers with identity-building processes, and therefore, being social psychological theories crucial in the explanation of linguistic choices and specially, of phonological style-shifts. It is noteworthy to mention that Hennessey was a remarkable character, since apart from being a radio presenter, he was also an entertainer, song-writer, folk-singer, social commentator and humorist (Coupland 1985: 157-158). His image is characterised by a clear affiliation and promotion of the local culture of Cardiff, which is evidenced to a great extent in his prominent use of the non-mainstream Cardiff dialect. Thus, his radio show can be considered as a platform to celebrate in-group solidarity through the content broadcasted and the dialect used, reflecting local instead of national values and concerns. Even though the show was positively evaluated by part of the audience, negative opinions also arose towards Hennessey's dialect, since it was generally thought that the Cardiff dialect should not be exposed on the media due to its connotations of ugliness, harshness and uneducatedness. In fact, these rather common negative attitudes towards Cardiff dialect could explain why Hennessey's radio programme was the only space at that time in which Cardiff English received regular exposure in the public sphere, since contrarily to other varieties, it was stigmatised and judged by negative evaluations (Coupland 1985: 158).

The pronunciation of Hennessey was examined over a corpus of texts, which were obtained from the recorded speech of the broadcaster during three hours as part of his Cardiff local radio show "*Hark, Hark, the Lark*". Within the variables employed in this analysis –(ng), (h), (C cluster), (t), (r), (ou), (ai), (au) and (a:)- the one that received the highest degree of attention was the variable (a:), equivalent to RP /a:/, which may be realised as fronted raised [æ:] in words such as *dark* and *park* in Cardiff English. In fact, this is such a distinctive feature of Cardiff English dialect and also a symbolic expression of solidarity and shared attitudes, which reveals the potential social cohesion of such phonological behavior (Coupland 1985: 158).

Particularly, Coupland (1985) would observe a predominant use of non-mainstream local forms in Hennessey's speech, which clearly contrasts with normative radio broadcasting conventions. In fact, Hennessey would make use of those phrases that would provide phono-opportunities for [æ:]. Hence, while mainstream speech would be expected to be heard in radio stations, the newscaster employed to a relevant extent non-mainstream

forms associated with Cardiff speech, resulting in a “non-normative [style] for public consumption in the media” (Coupland 1985: 160). However, the radio presenter would make use of some instances of mainstream non-local features in certain micro contexts. For example, Cardiff pronunciation would be used when addressing Cardiff people and events, while more mainstream realisations would permeate when structuring and publicising his show, and even for mimicking purposes in the case of General American English and South-West English dialect.

Hence, it can be observed how Hennessey would deviate from the rather mainstream and normative speech established for radio broadcasting, being his speech considered as non-normative for public consumption in the media (Coupland 1985). In fact, Hennessey would emphasise the local Cardiff identity, solidarity and affiliation through his speech by means of employing certain phonological features, which would reveal his systematic identity work in order to create and recreate a particular identity, since as stated by Coupland (1985: 162), “phonological selection can mark many different dimensions of identity”. Nevertheless, his in-group solidarity marking strategy would be temporarily attenuated in certain micro-contexts, where phonological shifts towards mainstream normative conventions would be employed.

Thus, Coupland (1985, 1996, 2001b) concluded that Frank Hennessey was purposely building an image of “Welshness” by means of his Cardiff English dialect, performing the roles and stereotypes of Cardiff speakers. In addition, given that speakers are the ones that make the context and define the situation and relationship with the audience, and that intra-speaker variation is conceived as a dynamic resource in the projection of identities, Coupland (1985: 164; 1996: 329) stated that the sociolinguistic creativity of Hennessey would turn him into an “orchestrator of contexts”, as he could strategically adjust his speech style to different micro-contexts and therefore dramatically change “from a genial ‘conversationalist’ to a public announcer”, exhibiting a high degree of competence and expertise in the management of style shifts. Thus, Coupland (1985: 168) concluded that given that status and solidarity markers mix in individuals’ speech, social psychological processes must be relied on in order to describe stylistic variation in speech; lastly, group and individual identity creation processes must be approached as dynamic elements that determine socio-phonological micro-contexts, and therefore, linguistic selection.

II.1.3. The Language of María Antonia Martínez in Spain

Motivated by the already established constructivist approaches to style-shifting, their traditional responsive-based and unidimensional conceptualisations and their subsequent insufficiency to explain all stylistic choices, Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012c) analysed quantitatively and qualitatively the linguistic performance of María Antonia Martínez –a former president of the regional government of Murcia (Southern Spain)– from Coupland’s (1985) Speaker Design perspective. It could be observed how the former president shifted her style across different public and private speaking contexts, being her speech characterised by a predominant use of non-mainstream features in formal, public and political contexts, which contrasted with the speech of other politicians and non-professional non-politicians.

The sociolinguistic context of María Antonia Martínez was rather complex, as she used to employ vernacular forms in formal contexts, arising negative opinions in the audience due to the stigmatised nature of the Murcian dialect; which, at the same time, acts as a marker of local identity among its speakers, revealing covert prestige. This dialect is associated with the vernacularity that characterises Murcian farmers, being stereotyped as “the orchard pronunciation”, and it has connotations of ruralness and “bad speech”, even for Murcians themselves (Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2012c: 23). As a result, Murcian speakers tend to accommodate in situations of contact with the mainstream Castilian variety and in formal settings, being the usage of Murcian dialect considered to be inappropriate in the aforementioned situations. In addition, the usage of this dialect by people in leadership positions and by those individuals that belong to a high socio-economic status is also negatively evaluated. Nevertheless, Murcian also arises positive attitudes as it is associated with several values that characterise Murcian people, just as hardworkingness, directness and earthiness. As a consequence, Murcians evaluations towards their own dialect are marked by a love-hate relationship, which results in a noticeable linguistic insecurity (Jiménez-Cano 2001, see also Labov 1966/2006).

Regarding the quantitative approach carried out by Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012c), eight variables of special saliency within the Murcian dialect were taken into account, namely: word-final postvocalic /s/ deletion, word-final postvocalic /r/ deletion, word-final postvocalic /l/ deletion, intervocalic /d/ deletion, intervocalic /r/ deletion, word-internal postvocalic /s/ assimilation, other word-internal consonant regressive assimilations

of consonant clusters (such as *-ds-*, *-bs-*, *-st-*, *-rl-* and *-rn-*, among others) and consonant permutation. Then, the linguistic production of María Antonia Martínez was compared to that of 32 informants, which were arranged according to four different groups: female Murcian politicians, male Murcian politicians, male Murcian non-politicians and male non-Murcian politicians from the north of Spain (where mainstream linguistic forms tend to be employed). In addition, the speech of the former president was addressed considering several situational contexts, ranging from less formal (such as a radio interview) to quite formal (as her investiture speech). In order to obtain linguistic data, recordings from the archives of a well-known and relevant Murcian radio station (Radio Murcia, Cadena Ser) were analysed. Particularly, local news and interview programs made between 1993 and 1996 were selected for the study. Additionally, six samples of María Antonia's speech as senator (from 1995 to 2007) obtained from the National Senate House website were examined, along with two samples of a private interview of the former president with the researchers.

As for the qualitative approach, Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012c) conducted an interview of 84 minutes with the former president (who had stepped down from politics at that time), taking into account the eight variables indicated above. The interview was divided into two sections: one informal section of 12 minutes in which general issues and shared experiences were discussed aiming at the obtention of casual speech, followed by a second formal section in which a questionnaire was devised so as to obtain Maria Antonia's formal speech as well as more information about her language attitudes towards Murcian and mainstream dialects, and towards her own and others' linguistic usages (Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2012c: 26).

Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012c) observed an unexpected use of local dialect features by María Antonia, as well as a considerable controversy generated among the audience about her linguistic behaviour, which would deviate from gender, style, social class and occupation expectations that characterise the speech of Western societies (Labov 2001a). From a socio-demographic perspective, and as it can be appreciated in Figure II.2, the scores obtained by the former president for mainstream Castilian variety (49.4%) are the lowest ones if compared with the percentages of use obtained by the remaining groups. Particularly, considering that male speakers tend to subconsciously use non-mainstream low-status speech forms to a greater extent than female speakers –being male

speakers more concerned with the acquisition of covert prestige than with obtaining social status— (Trudgill 2000: 77), it becomes of relevance the fact that even Murcian male non-politicians would make use of more mainstream and prestigious features than the former president (62.3%).

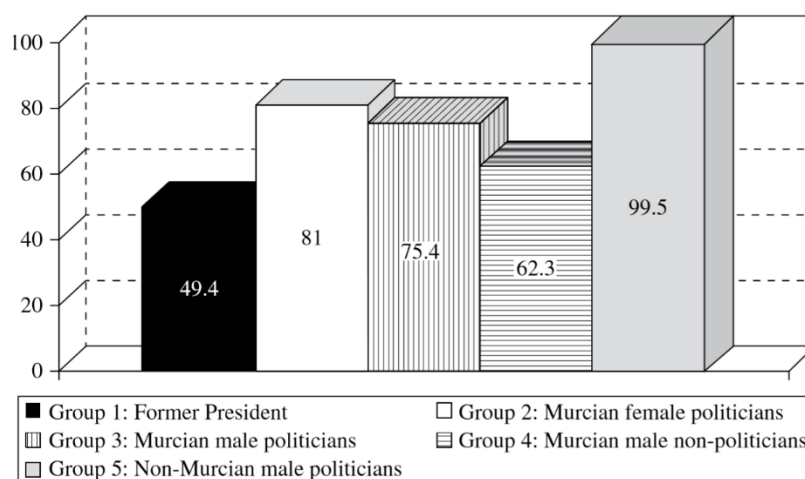


Figure II.2. Inter-speaker variation: total usage levels for Mainstream Castilian variants by speaker group (based on data from Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2010: 303, Table 3). Source: Hernández-Campoy (2016: 169).

In addition, from a stylistic perspective, Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012c) observed that the context in which Maria Antonia made use of a higher percentage of Murcian dialect features corresponded to her investiture speech (which could be regarded as the most formal context of a politician's career), employing only a 42.2% of mainstream features (Figure II.3).

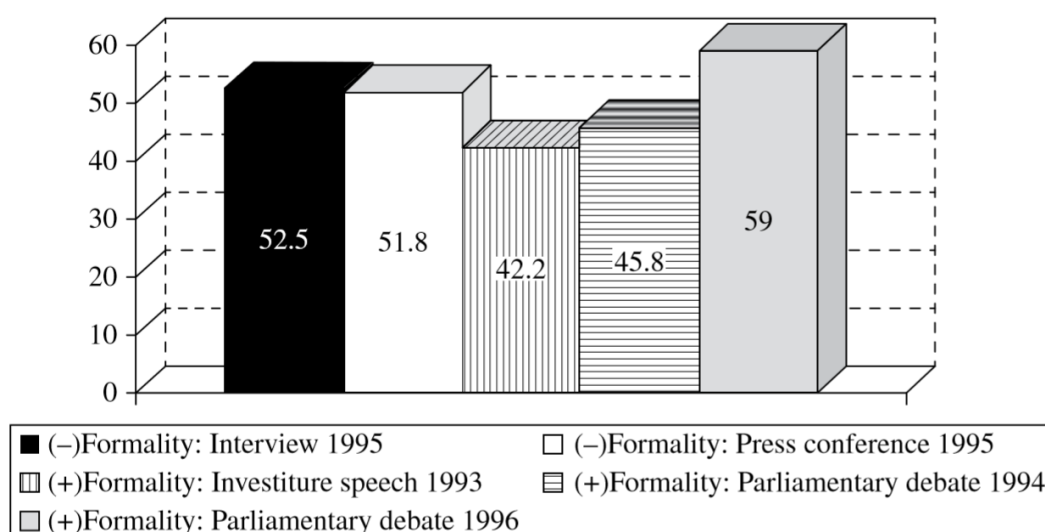


Figure II.3. Intra-speaker variation: President's scores for Mainstream Castilian variants in different contexts of formality (based on data from Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2010: 304, Table 4). Source: Hernández-Campoy (2016: 169).

Given that the lower frequency of use of mainstream Castilian features on the part of María Antonia would not be explained by a lack of access to the mainstream dialect –as she had had university education, had worked as a labour relations lawyer and had regularly interacted with mainstream Castilian speakers due to her political occupation–, Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012c) concluded that the hyper-vernacular speech of the former president was being purposely designed drawing on the covert prestige of the Murcian dialect so as to align herself with those identity values associated with Murcian local identity. Therefore, María Antonia Martínez was a rather active agent in the phenomenon of stylistic variation, using non-mainstream features in formal public speech proactively as a strategy in the creation and projection of her Murcian identity as well as her socialist ideals, rather than just shifting her speech towards mainstream or non-mainstream forms as a reaction of context formality or dialect contact situations. In this respect, Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2012c) claimed that additional structural constraints that may condition the linguistic behaviour of a speaker must be addressed from the socio-constructivist approach to style-shifting proposed by the Speaker Design perspective (Coupland 1985).

II.1.4. The Language of George W. Bush and Barak Obama in the U.S.

It is assumed that speeches play a crucial role in political contexts since they are used by politicians as weapons in the presentation of convincing arguments, being the ability of a politician in the delivery of powerful speeches and his or her ability to address the audience directly related (Kočnerová & Kasanová 2013). A case in point is that of American Presidents, since due to their unique status, their speeches, public appearances and rhetoric have been always scrutinised –although it must be taken into account that they are always backed up by a team of experts in communication. In light of this, Kočnerová and Kasanová (2013) addressed the speechmaking skills of U.S. former Presidents George Walter Bush Jr. and Barack Obama –who has been regarded as a better speaker. According to Kočnerová and Kasanová (2013), a politician's idiolect is characterised by his or her communication policies and strategies, repetitive mechanisms and metaphors among other aspects. Therefore, different communicative strategies will characterise the speeches of Bush and Obama, although both politicians share a final aim when it comes to their political communications,

which is not only to inform but also to gain the support of the public (Kočnerová & Kasanová 2013: 62).

In their comparative analysis, Kočnerová and Kasanová (2013), assorted speeches of Bush term in office as President of the United States were examined. During his first term in Office, Bush limited the number of press conferences that would imply addressing issues with no prior preparation (Kočnerová & Kasanová 2013: 63); for example, he mainly focused on internal affairs, paying little attention to foreign policy issues and revealing in this way his lack of knowledge about foreign affairs aspects. His ignorance on certain issues, together with his sloppy pronunciation and verbal disfigurements –such as his usage of wrong names for nations' citizens, like “Grecians” for Greeks and “Kosovians” for Kosovars– contributed to the evaluation of Bush political persona as the average intellectual and “a puppet in the hands of his advisers” (Kočnerová & Kasanová 2013: 64). However, 9/11 profoundly impact Bush politics and forced the president to put foreign affairs at the forefront. In fact, this switch was reflected in Bush foreign-politics rhetoric: he made use of the “War on Terror” rhetoric strategy in his political discourses, and centred his style on the following points: (i) “upholding human rights, liberating people from tyrannical regimes” and (ii) “delivering democracy” (Kočnerová & Kasanová 2013: 65). To do so, and in order to gain the audience's support, Bush created the image of the enemy, using expressions such as “democracy”, “free”, “liberty”, “freedom” and “ours” to refer to the American society, while words such as “terrorist” and “theirs” would be used to refer to America's “enemies”. He would also constantly use the word “evil” in his speeches, being of particular relevance his metaphor about the “axis of evil” –making reference to North Korea, Iran and Iraq (Kočnerová & Kasanová 2013: 64). In addition, terminology glorifying the moral nature of war and Western values would also be frequently used in his communications so as to state what would be understood as morally justified, appropriate and correct. Hence, a wide range of discursive strategies were identified in Bush discourse, such as metaphors, negative emotion charged language or empty language, repetition and personification, which were employed by the former president in order to generate a public opinion that would align with his decisions and policies (Kočnerová & Kasanová 2013: 65).

To proceed with the comparison, Obama speechmaking skills were also addressed. Contrarily to his predecessor, Obama's aim was to increase citizens' participation in politics, being “hope” the central aspect of his rhetoric, which would be associated with the

metaphor of him being the one that would bring hope and change to the United States (Kočnerová & Kasanová 2013). His opposition to the Iraq war together with his aim of promoting world peace values would also be aspects that would determine his speeches. One of his most remarkable strategies was that of stating his closeness to the Muslim world, along with his ability to shift between mainstream American English and African American English –which was crucial in the creation of his presidential identity. As stated before, Obama's discursive skills are far more valued than those of Bush. Particularly, the efficiency of Obama's speeches is rooted in the following additional rhetoric strategies: (i) "power of heritage and patriotic groupings", (ii) "rhetorical resonance of parallel constructions", (iii) "structural ambiguity and double awareness of terms" and (iv) "his ability to present himself as a character in a story about competition" (Kočnerová & Kasanová 2013: 69-70). Just like Bush, Obama would also make use of the pronoun "we" to make reference to all American citizens, as well as expressions such as "our war" versus "their war", in an attempt to distance American from other nations' conflicts. In addition, the adjective "new" and the phrase "our nation" would be considerably used in his speeches in an attempt to distance Obama's Administration from the criticised politics of his predecessors (Kočnerová & Kasanová 2013: 70).

As a result, Kočnerová and Kasanová (2013) would confirm that the communicative strategies of Bush and Obama differed to a great extent. While Bush emphasised American values and ideals, individualism and patriotism in order to globally promote them and prioritised war on terror, Obama would emphasise the coexistence of an international community and embrace the virtues of democracy, and also would distance himself from the practice of imposing American values on other nations using the force. Also, Bush rhetoric consisted on a constant presentation of two opposing worlds: democratic nations like American versus non-democratic nations seen as enemies, tyrannies and terrorists, and therefore, a threat for American values; contrarily, Obama opted for the promotion of mutual respect aiming at achieving stability in the Middle East (Kočnerová & Kasanová, 2013: 70). In addition, Bush discourses were characterised by the image of a pessimistic view of the world that needed him in order to protect America, which would contrast to Obama's optimistic perspective with his rhetoric of "hope". Consequently, it could be observed how the different discursive strategies used by both politicians played a crucial role in the definition of not only their politics, but also their identity as presidents of the United States.

Thus, the different idiolect of both presidents would shape their projected public persona and would therefore be judged by the electorate, being Bush's manners of expression negatively evaluated by the audience as "Bushisms", while Obama was regarded as a media star from the outset due to his brilliant communicative strategies (Kočnerová & Kasanová, 2013: 72).

II.1.5. The Language of Condoleezza Rice in the U.S.

Motivated by the relevant role played by language in identity creation processes and the multifaceted nature of identity, which implies the existence of different identity dimensions that can be made more or less salient depending on certain factors, Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr and Lewis (2012) investigated how former U.S. Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice managed her multifaceted identity aiming at analysing speaker's agency and the role that linguistic variants may play in the construction of sociolinguistic identity.

Particularly, Podesva *et al.* (2012) selected Condoleezza Rice as the ideal informant for their study in order to account for the management of multiple identities within a single individual. In this respect, Rice simultaneously identifies with several groups, making her speech of sociolinguistic interest: she is an African-American woman who grew up in the South of the United States (Birmingham, Alabama) and has spent considerable time in the West (Colorado and California); also, Rice is a conservative politician who served as foreign policy advisor to George W. Bush during his presidential campaign to then become his national security advisor; and she also served as the U.S. Secretary of State from 2005 to 2009. Thus, it can be hypothesised that the identity of Rice as speaker is composed by a sub-set of identities related with ethnicity, geographical and occupational aspects.

In order to investigate Rice's speech, Podesva *et al.* (2012) analysed audio recordings of a Rice speaking engagement of over 60 minutes with the Commonwealth Club, a public affairs forum which organises events and discussions on political, cultural and economic aspects (it is noteworthy to mention that at the time in which the study was carried out, Rice was serving as U.S. Secretary of State). Particularly, her speech performance was divided into two parts: a first section in which she delivered a prepared speech followed by a question and answer (Q&A) session with the audience. Particularly, Podesva *et al.* (2012) aimed at accounting for the set of phonetic features that characterised Rice's speaking style, as well as identifying variation patterns in Rice's speech by means of comparing her

performance in the contexts of speech and Q&A, assuming that regional and non-mainstream phonetic realisations would emerge to a greater extent in the Q&A than in the speech session due to the carefulness that would characterise the first speech style. In addition, certain linguistic variables that are characteristic of those speech varieties that correspond to the different identity dimensions to which Rice identifies were selected for the speech analysis of the informant, as it can be observed in Table II.2.

Table II.2. Phonetic and phonological features investigated. Source: Podesva *et al.* (2012: 68).

Dimension of Identity	Features
Southerner	Southern shifted vowels; PIN-PEN merger; glottalized /-d/; vocalized /-r/
Westerner	Western shifted vowels; BOT-BOUGHT merger
African American	glottalized /-d/; vocalized /-r/; PIN-PEN merger
Conservative	lr[æ]q
Careful	released /-p, -t, -k/; high pairwise variability index

Podesva *et al.* (2012) observed that the public speech of Condoleezza Rice would not exhibit a considerable realisation of regionally marked features that were characteristic of the geographical areas in which she had lived. Instead, features related to mainstream and careful speech as well as African-American speech would permeate in her public engagement. Hence, throughout her sociolinguistic behaviour, Rice would de-emphasise regionally marked features and would project an identity associated with her political beliefs and her high degree of education and social status as well as with her African-American ethnicity. Podesva *et al.* (2012) concluded that sociophonetic choices enabled the former U.S. Secretary of State to construct a public persona that would align to several selected identities and would manifest a relevant adherence to mainstream conventions, being her sociolinguistic behavior characterised as that of a conservative, professional and African-American woman.

II.1.6. The Language of Donald Trump in the U.S.

Recent research approaches to Sociocultural Linguistics on language and identity aspects have addressed individual and group identity construction processes by means of a deep analysis of “stance,” “position,” and “style” constructs so as to establish a connection between linguistic strategies and aspects of social engagement and social structures (Ochs

1992, 1993; Eckert & Rickford 2001; Bucholtz & Hall 2005; De Fina, Schiffrin, & Bamberg 2006; Englebretson 2007; Jaffe 2009b). This, together with the polarised reactions among the U.S. electorate on Donald Trump's language reflected in the mainstream media during the 2016 U.S. Presidential elections motivated Sclafani's (2018) discursive approach towards the language of Donald Trump in his presidential campaign. Under the premise that language socialisation and identity construction processes are interrelated, Sclafani (2018) carried out a qualitative sociolinguistic study of style, metadiscourse and political identity, based on the discourse structure model developed by Schiffrin (1987) and Maschler and Schiffrin (2015). Particularly, Sclafani's (2018) main aims was to explain "social interactional aspects, formal cohesive properties of discourse structure, and considerations of the cognitive states of participants in the construction of conversational coherence" (Sclafani 2018: 11), taking into account five levels of discourse structure: "exchange structure", "act structure", "ideational structure", "information state", and "participation framework". In addition, even though a focus was also placed on how social constructs –such as ethnicity, gender, race and sexuality– are manifested in discursive interactions (Sclafani 2018: 14), Sclafani's study also addressed language and identity aspects operating in the institutional contexts of politics and the media, which offer a wide range of devices for political identity construction –although certain constrictions may also be encountered (Sclafani 2018: 14).

It is noteworthy to mention that Trump's oratory has been defined as incoherent, with an absence of substance, stylistic decorum and linguistic complexity (Sclafani 2018); in fact, it has even been equated to the oratory skills of fourth grade reading levels (Viser 2015). Yet, through his speeches, interviews, conversations and tweets, the president has managed to construct a particular political identity that has provoked a great amount of controversy among the electorate. Hence, Sclafani's (2018) analysis on Trump's language is focused on how the president strategically draws on the underlying shared knowledge and expectations about the functioning of language that are linked to individual's understanding of people as particular social types (Sclafani 2018: 10-11), aiming at creating himself a political identity that would be ideally considered by voters to be the most suitable one to lead the Republican Party and the nation.

Hence, in her case study of social identity construction, Sclafani (2018) aims to analyse how Trump uses language to actively construct a presidential identity in discursive interaction; particularly, she aims to answer the question: "How is one individual's political

identity constructed linguistically in the media, and how is this language taken up and interpreted by various audiences?” (Sclafani 2018:15). In order to do so, a qualitative approach based on a descriptive analysis of Trump’s linguistic style in different speaking contexts –e.g. debates, social media and speeches, among others– was carried out. Data was obtained from Trump’s primary campaign: from his official announcement of candidacy on June 16, 2015 to his official acceptance of the party’s nomination at the Republican National Convention on July 21, 2016. In addition, a comparison in terms of linguistic styles with the Republican candidates against whom he was competing for the party’s nomination was carried out. Also, emphasis was placed on the following linguistic patterns of articulation of Trump’s speeches: discourse, grammar, prosody and co-speech gestures (Sclafani 2018: 18). Moreover, attention was paid to social characteristics related to discourse-level elements of his conversational style, although certain remarks were also made on how certain phonological features associated with Trump’s New York accent would have played a relevant role in the construction of his social identity (Sclafani 2018: 18). Consequently, Sclafani (2018: 19) aimed at analysing consistent and variationist patterns in Trump’s speech by means of focusing on the president’s use of certain discourse strategies across different contexts.

As a result, it could be observed how Trump relied on the strategic repetition of a range of linguistic expressions such as “believe me” (Sclafani 2018: 86). In addition, Trump’s use of his personal narrative, constructed dialogue and interruptive behaviour could be regarded as a part of a set of discursive strategies, which have been perceived by the electorate, resulting in the production of several TV programs in which Trump’s style is mocked. Thus, taking into account that styles play a crucial role when it comes to the contextualisation of the talk content due to their association with specific social positions, Sclafani’s (2018) study on social identity construction would conclude that discursive strategies across different contexts were used by Trump in the construction of his political identity in the 2016 U.S. Presidential campaign. Lastly, Sclafani (2018) acknowledged that more detailed and qualitative analyses of political discourses are needed so as to properly address the “co-constructed nature of political identity”, since “we cannot simply rely on the linguistic commentary found in the mainstream media to get a full sense of how style works to a politician’s advantage or detriment and how it works to construct a political identity” (Sclafani 2018: 87).

II.1.7. The Language of Austrians in mass media discussions

Following recent approaches that consider language variation as a socially based, symbolic and interactive resource that speakers can strategically use in order to create or recreate social meaning, Soukup (2012) carried out an interaction-oriented study in which Coupland's (1985) Speaker Design model was tested in the context of an Austrian TV political programme so as to address negative evaluations towards dialect use in Austria and subsequently focus on the speaker's dynamism and his or her communicative goals (Soukup 2012: 82). Particularly, Soukup (2012) addressed the agency and pro-active role of the programme participants throughout their use of certain speech varieties for the creation of specific communicative effects, deviating from the conceptions of (i) individuals being automata and rather passive in their speech production, and (ii) social and situational factors being the only conditioning aspects of such speech production.

The sociolinguistic context in Austria is rather particular, as it is characterised by the presence of the mainstream variety, the Austrian German "Hochsprache", and the Austrian (or Bavarian-Austrian) dialect. Due to the fact that both linguistic forms are considerably used, it is usually conceived that Austrian native speakers have some degree of competence in Austrian German and Bavarian-Austrian, which makes it possible for Austrian speakers to shift between both varieties without any risk in terms of lack of comprehension (Soukup 2012: 87). Nevertheless, the use of the mainstream or the dialectal variety by a speaker may arise different attitudes in the audience: while Austrian German is expected to be used by highly educated individuals and is associated to a considerable degree of sophistication and intelligence, Bavarian-Austrian dialect is considered to be used by individuals without any access to education, being its use inappropriate and unexpected in certain contexts (Soukup 2012: 87). However, those speakers that use Bavarian-Austrian dialect are stereotyped as being more natural, emotive and honest than the ones who make use of Austrian German (Soukup 2012: 87-88). Consequently, the existence of the aforementioned social meanings and stereotypes towards both varieties may act as a motivation for speakers to use one variety or the other depending on the communicative purpose.

In order to carry out the analysis, data was obtained from one-hour episode of an Austrian TV political discussion show called *Offen gesagt*, which used to be broadcasted from 2002 to 2007. The show was characterised by its high degree of performativity as a result of the continuous presentations of convincing arguments on the part of the

participants, and would consist on the intervention of changing groups of four to six invited individuals together with the programme journalist in the context of an hour-long discussion of public-interest topics just as election campaigns, international politics or pollution, among others (Soukup 2012: 88). Particularly, the main topic covered in the show analysed by Soukup (2012) was the Austrian presidential race at that time. For the discussion, five guests with opposing political views were invited: a journalist, a local politician, an actor, a historian and a comedian, being all of them Austrian native speakers.

Soukup (2012) observed that participants would systematically switch from the mainstream to the dialectal variety. Particularly, these moves would take place at specific moments of the interaction, as in quotations and short-turn interjections, creating specific rhetorical meta-messages. Thus, Soukup (2012) acknowledged that participants' shifts from mainstream Austrian into Bavarian-Austrian dialect that took place in the interaction when negotiating local relationships could be regarded as "contextualization cues" that would determine the index of social meaning (Soukup 2012: 83). In other words, the participants' patterns of style-shifting could be regarded as a strategy for a Speaker Design in the interactional context at issue, rather than just automatic responses on the part of the speakers (Soukup 2012). Consequently, Soukup (2012) evidenced the agentive, deliberate and strategic nature of speakers when it comes to managing linguistic styles by means of mainstream-dialect shifts in interactional public contexts aiming at achieving specific conversational outcomes, being speakers rather proactive and not just responsive to conditioning social factors.

II.1.8. The Vowel of 'Iraq(i)' in the U.S. Congress in a context of War

Taking into account the fact that political speeches are a particular genre that is characterised by a rather constrained stylistic context which occurs in public (Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2012c), and the particular pressure that politicians experience in order to align with the identity and beliefs of both their constituents and the political party to which they serve, research has evidenced that instances of style-shifts are rather frequent in political speech and are often easily perceived by the audience (Hall-Lew, Starr & Coppock 2012: 45). In this respect, with the aim of analysing style-shifts in the context of political speeches as a resource in the creation and projection of specific political identities, Hall-Lew,

Starr and Coppock (2012) focused on how members of the U.S. House of Representatives would pronounce the second vowel of the word *Iraq(i)*.

It is noteworthy to mention that the pronunciation of the second vowel of the loanword *Iraq(i)* varies between two realisations, which are influenced by attitudinal factors: (i) /æ/, which is the current norm; and (ii) /a:/, which tends to be associated with “‘foreign’-sounding”, being this realisation considered by U.S. English speakers as the prestigious pronunciation, also associated with a correct, sophisticated and educated speech style (Hall-Lew, Starr & Coppock 2012: 46). Hence, given that Democrats and Republicans differ in terms of attitudinal, ideological and societal aspects, it is fair to predict that differences in terms of stylistic aspects will also arise in political speeches. In this respect, it has been argued that Democrats tend to considerably value education as well as foreign perspectives, which contrasts with Republicans’ beliefs (Branton 2003; Rockey 2010, cited in Hall-Lew, Starr & Coppock 2012). In fact, Democrats hold a liberal position regarding immigration issues, which again contrasts with Republicans’ viewpoint, as they tend to be more conservative and restrictive on this matter.

Consequently, Hall-Lew, Starr and Coppock (2012: 45) hypothesise that even though /æ/ pronunciation is the current norm, Democrats might show greater pronunciation variation when it comes to /æ/ versus /a:/ realisations, resulting in a greater use of foreign-sounding /a:/ in their speech than in that of the Republicans. In fact, considering the aforementioned differences between both political parties, Hall-Lew, Starr and Coppock (2012) argue that variation in terms of foreign (a) pronunciation may act as a marker for U.S. congress members’ political stance in public political speeches, particularly in the context of politically charged loanwords such as *Iraq(i)*. Therefore, the combination of ideological associations with the different possible realisations of foreign (a) may result in intraspeaker style-shifting instances.

In order to account for intraspeaker variation performed by members of the U.S. House of Representatives, Hall-Lew, Starr and Coppock (2012) analysed the speeches made by 259 U.S. congress members in February 2007, who uttered the word *Iraq* at least three times. The speeches were part of a discussion of whether the number of combat troops in Iraq should be increased or not, dividing the House of Representatives into two main positions: anti-surge or pro-surge. Thus, U.S. congress members would express their opinions for or against this issue through their interventions, which were made in the form

of formal speeches. Hall-Lew, Starr and Coppock (2012: 48) observed that of the 259 speakers (152 Democrats, 107 Republicans; 161 anti-surge, 98 pro-surge), an 86% would consistently use /a:/ or /æ/, while the remaining 14% would exhibit certain degree of variation between both pronunciations, even in the course of a three-minute speech. Particularly, the focus of the research was placed on the 14% of the speakers that exhibited certain degree of intraspeaker stylistic variation.

Hall-Lew, Starr and Coppock (2012: 51) could observe that within the speech community of the U.S. House of Representatives, “intraspeaker variation of the second vowel in *Iraq(i)* is no more likely among members of one political party than another”. Nevertheless, differences between Democrats and Republicans could be observed regarding the direction of style-shifts over the time course, which was identified by means of assigning a quarter to each style-shift according to its order of appearance (see Figure II.4).

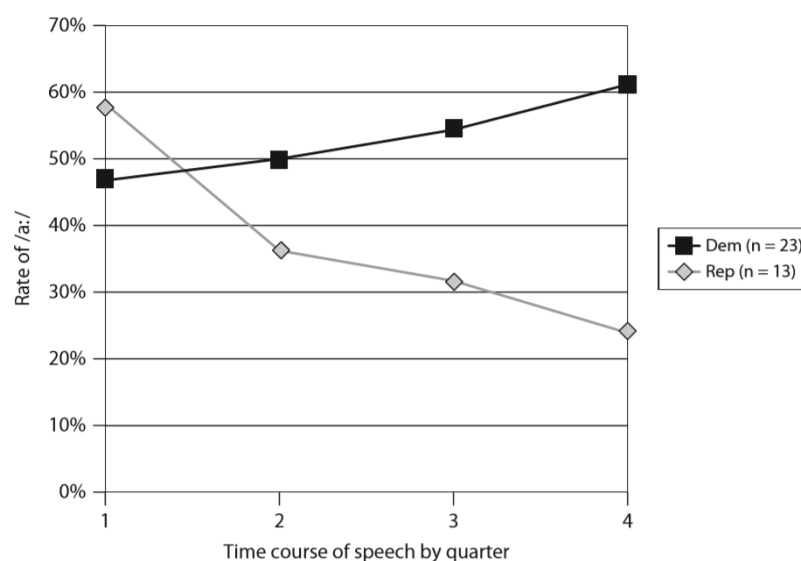


Figure II.4. Rate of /a:/ for *Iraq(i)* over course of speech; Democrats vs. Republicans. Source: Hall-Lew, Starr & Coppock (2012: 53).

Hall-Lew, Starr and Coppock (2012: 53) explained this difference drawing on the existence of congressional and local identities in the speech community of the U.S. House of Representatives, and the subsequent attitudes and evaluations towards these identities on the part of the electorate and other fellow politicians. Particularly, a prominent use of /a:/ would elicit a strong adherence to congressional identity, which may be negatively evaluated by the electorate since it carries the connotation of the politician at issue being considered a “Washington insider”, which contrasts with the better evaluated political outsider that

emerges from a geographical area aiming at promoting his or her own regional interests, excluding in this way national concerns (Hall-Lew, Starr & Coppock 2012: 60).

This duality would have considerably influenced the speech of Congress members, as all speakers employed /æ/ to a greater extent, perhaps in an attempt to avoid being classified as an elitist insider. In addition, due to the Republican stance on immigration issue, Republicans would tend to be more forced to project a local identity. As a result, Republicans were more prone to use the nativised variant /æ/ over course of speech than Democrats, reducing in this way style-shift instances. Consequently, Hall-Lew, Starr and Coppock (2012: 60) concluded that the two possible realisations of the second vowel in *Iraq(i)* –/æ/ versus /a:/– can be strategically used by politicians as a stance resource in social meaning negotiation processes in order to construct a particular political identity.

II.2. Objectives of the Present Study

The investigation of the relationships between language and society by means of the correlation of extralinguistic factors (socio-demographic and/or context variables) with intra-linguistic elements has allowed Sociolinguistics to explain variability in language (Labov 1972a). That is, sociolinguistic studies have allowed to verify language variability by means of the description of the existing symmetry between *social variation* and *linguistic variation* in terms of *sociolinguistic variation*. Precisely, sociolinguistic research has evidenced the existence of three key elements in (socio)linguistic variation: the social as well as biological characteristics of speakers, the situational context in which variations occur, and the linguistic environment that characterises the variable being studied (Labov 1994, 2001a, 2010). In this regard, Rickford and Eckert (2001: 1) have emphasised the pivotal position that the construct of style enjoys in sociolinguistic variation, being stylistic variability of special relevance when it comes to detecting and understanding certain phenomena such as linguistic change in progress (see also Labov 1966/2006). In fact, the identification of a social and a stylistic parameter operating in sociolinguistic variation has allowed the differentiation between *interspeaker* (or social) and *intraspeaker* (or stylistic) variation (Bell 1984: 145). However, despite the centrality of style in sociolinguistic variation, early approaches to style-shifting phenomena focused on the relationship between “variation and speaker’s place in the world”, remaining unaddressed the strategies employed by a speaker in order to position himself or herself in the world (Rickford & Eckert 2001: 1).

In this respect, different approaches to the study of social meaning of sociolinguistic variation have followed one another since the origins of this field of research in the 1960s, taking the form of three different generations or waves of analytic practices and being each wave a refinement rather than a replacement of previous perspectives (Eckert 2008, 2012, 2018; Soukoup 2018). This succession of waves has enhanced the understanding of how stylistic moves operate and become effective in communicative contexts, evidencing the involvement of Sociolinguistics in a continuous evolutionary process, and fostering the reformulation and redefinition of theoretical aspects that parallel epistemological developments in terms of renovations of research methods, techniques of data collection and statistical analysis –as far as quantitative approaches are concerned (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 185; see also Hernández-Campoy 2014, 2018).

Particularly, and unlike first and second waves, current third wave studies are placing emphasis on stylistic practices by means of addressing speakers as stylistic agents that are engaged in continuous self-construction and differentiation processes rather than passive and stable elements that make use of different dialects. In fact, and from a socio-constructionist perspective, third wave approaches have evidenced the relevant role played by ideological aspects in the construction and projection of social meaning, which is now regarded as a continuous bricolage process (Eckert 2008, 2012, 2018; Soukoup 2018). This further corroborates the fact that style has an ideological foundation, and that different stylistic forms act as carriers of social meaning (Eckert 2012: 98).

Hence, there has been a shift from deterministic and system-oriented analyses to more social constructionist and speaker-oriented ones. That is, third wave studies have placed the focus on the sociolinguistic behaviour of the individual, moving away from collective approaches within stylistic variation research, emphasising in this sense the central role of speaker agency in the proactive usage of language. Consequently, and from a quantitative and qualitative perspective, the present study aims to:

1. Account for identity creation processes on the part of politicians operating in public contexts and to examine the different identity dimensions that tend to be more or less salient in their speeches.

2. Examine potential strategies of persona presentation and stance taking in the speech of politicians through their social agency and their subsequent proactive use of phonological sociolinguistic variables across different political contexts.
3. Observe the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of the informant in micro contexts from a multidimensional perspective of intra-speaker variation (Speaker Design) within the framework of a third-wave approach in order to uncover social motivations in style-shifting phenomena, and therefore, to identify potential acts of identity and stylistic moves so as to extrapolate them to a macro level.
4. Observe the indexical meaning of phonological sociolinguistic variables and how these are used in meaning-making practices in public political speech events.
5. Investigate if the sociolinguistic behaviour of the informants selected is influenced by some extra-linguistic factors such as the societal systems within which they operate, their geographic region of provenance, educational background, socio-economic status, gender, occupation and the socio-contextual features surrounding the speech events analysed.
6. Observe which of the four public political speech events selected favours the usage of mainstream forms by British and American informants (i.e.: a political statement, a political interview, a political rally in a Northern region and a political rally in a Southern region).
7. Check if British and American societal systems influence to a different extent the sociolinguistic behaviour of British and American politicians towards their use of mainstream and non-mainstream linguistic features.

II.2.1. Socio-cultural Patterns

As already indicated, langue can be regarded as a form of social behaviour, being social factors as relevant as geographical aspects in the phenomenon of linguistic variation. Consequently, informants can be classified according to sociological parameters with the

aim of finding correlations between their speech and their social background, i.e. their social class position (Labov 1966/2006; Trudgill 1974).

In this respect, Trudgill (1974) was one of the pioneers in considering sociological aspects for sociolinguistic research in his Norwich study. Even though Trudgill's Sociolinguistics was based on Labov's *Secular Linguistics*, the alignment with Labovian Sociolinguistics did not preclude Trudgill from making certain methodological modifications. Considering that the nature of human association is characterised by the existence of differences in terms of rank organisations between individuals and groups (Mayer 1967; Bottero 2005), Trudgill's methodological adjustments were influenced by the differences between American and British societal systems and contexts. Hence, the way in which rank differences influence individuals' engagement in society becomes of relevance in order to properly understand the nature of these engagements.

Precisely, at least in the industrialised Western world, society members tend to be classified according to several aspects that will differentiate them from others, such as sex, age, and other inherited traits, together with several acquired social distinctions (Hess 2001; Burrage 2008; Lambert & Griffiths 2018). Particularly, social distinctions are considered to be the basis of ranking process that organise individuals into specific social positions within a socially graded hierarchy, which greatly influences individuals' functioning within a group as well as their daily patterns. Those societies that arrange their individuals in this fashion are *stratified*, and therefore, allow the differentiation of superior, equal or inferior occupants along the different hierarchical ranks, which means that those individuals occupying a similar rank will belong to the same social strata (Mayer 1967; Hess 2001). In addition, differences between individuals belonging to different classes favours the creation of *status groups*, which take the form of informal social evaluations.

Several variations may exist when it comes to socially stratified systems, being *caste*, *estate* and *class* the most general ones, although mixtures of these types may also occur in certain societies (Mayer 1967). On the one hand, *caste systems* are characterised by a social stratum of closed social groups that are organised according to a rather fixed order of superiority and inferiority (Mayer 1967; Waters & Waters 2015). Individuals that form part of these systems are born into a specific caste in which they will remain for life: "people's caste membership is fixed at birth and the opportunities and responsibilities open to them are rigidly determined by their caste" (Saunders 1990: 11). Thus, social mobility –whether

upward or downward— is not possible within caste systems, which are the most rigid ones in terms of social stratification. In a rather similar way, *estate systems* arrange social strata in a rigid hierarchy in which social positions are clearly differentiated and usually inherited (Hess 2001; Burrage 2008). Nevertheless, and under certain circumstances, individuals could be able to change their estates, being the option of social mobility rather difficult and limited – though possible. Thirdly, *class systems* –which are characteristic of modern Western societies– consist of a social hierarchy that is determined by monetary wealth and income, being social classes rather fluid and permeable. This facilitates the movement of individuals from one class to another, whether upwards or downwards, although the former is more common than the latter (Saunders 1990).

As previously stated, even though the importance given to rank differentiations depends on the society and period at issue, a well-structured and evident rank order may be identified in most modern Western societies. Nevertheless, certain dimensions within stratified systems may be distinctly understood by different societies, as it is the case of American and British social systems, which differ to a certain extent. Hence, given that rank differences between individuals and groups constitute one of the crucial aspects for the description of human societies, it is paramount to reflect on how rank differences shape societal individuals' interactions (Mayer 1967; Lambert & Griffiths 2018).

II.2.1.a. Socio-cultural Patterns: United Kingdom

Regarding the socio-cultural patterns that characterise the United Kingdom, it is noteworthy to mention that the invention of the steam engine and the machines for the manufacturing of cotton in late eighteenth fostered the consolidation of British working and middle classes (Engels 1845: 31; Burrage 2008: 11). As a result, the British classification system experienced considerable modifications over the years to come (Saunders 1990), as the relatively static order that used to characterise pre-industrial societies would be eliminated by the Industrial Revolution (Dahrendorf 1959: 6; Burrage 2008: 216). Precisely, class would play a relevant role in the social hierarchy of England (Dahrendorf 1959).

According to Goldthorpe and Lockwood (1963: 133), the discussion about the class structure change that took place in the British society from the mid-nineteenth century onwards has revolved around three main aspects until very recently: “(i) shifts in the occupational distribution of the population, (ii) the reduction of extreme economic

inequalities and (iii) the amount and rate of intergenerational social mobility”, which contributed to the creation of a rather gradated and less rigid stratified system.

On the one hand, technological advances and economic growth contributed to bridging the gap between manual workers and major property-owning groups; which led to a reduction of the range of differentiation between classes in basic economic terms, as income and wealth national distribution became less skewed (Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963). In addition, educational opportunities became less unequal, which resulted in an increased intergenerational social mobility and a diminished stability of the social strata (Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963: 133).

It has been suggested that another consequence of this steady economic progress was the emergence of the “working class affluence” and its subsequent embourgeoisement (Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963: 133; Hess 2001: 13), as it has been discussed that traditional barriers between working and middle classes began to blur with the advent of the Industrial Revolution. This would have led to a process of identity loss of the social stratum experienced by individuals belonging to prosperous sections of the working class, being the task of socially distinguishing these individuals rather difficult, as manual workers achieved economic parity with many members belonging to middle class lower strata. As a result, many working-class individuals would identify themselves with higher social stratum rather than with other members that belonged to their same working-class position (Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963). However, it has been discussed that changed social values, attitudes and behavioural norms on the part of specific working-class groups would not be conclusive enough to state that class differentiations between working- and middle-class individuals were weakened to a relevant extent (Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963). Similarly, Saunders (1990: 106) claims that “in strict sociological terms, the fact that the working class has become more affluent and now owns a range of goods which was out of its reach just a short time ago does nothing to alter its class situation”, as social divisions are determined by how individuals get their incomes rather than by how they spend them. In fact, relevant differences would still be evident between manual and non-manual occupations (Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963: 146). For instance, when it comes to intergenerational mobility, manual workers have a more reduced chance to move upwards the social scale than non-manual workers in modern industry, as certain factors such as “technological progress, increasing specialisations and the growing importance of education in occupational

placement” are determinant when it comes to “working up from the bottom” (Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963: 137). Consequently, the evident influence of these factors would foster a still relevant status segregation and exclusiveness that would be suffered by working- and middle-class individuals, which leads to the rejection of an embourgeoisement progress experienced by working-class members in the British society (Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963).

Thus, the British society would still be regarded as an unequal society (Saunders 1990: 39), which leads to the assumption that rather than an evolution towards “middle-classness”, the effects of the Industrial Revolution on working-class individuals could be regarded as “an adaptation and development of the traditional working-class way of life under greatly altered economic and physical conditions” (Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963: 142).

For instance, an equal access to the educational system could not be granted to all citizens, being the access to specific privileged schools out of the reach of working-class individuals. In this respect, Burrage (2008) emphasises the key role of States when it comes to unmaking or dissolving classes, and particularly, the importance of entering specific educational institutions in Britain:

- (1) [e]ducational institutions controlled by the state have been an especially powerful instrument in both respects, class-forming and class-dissolving, since schools not only influence the aspirations, relationships and manners of their pupils, but also determine, to a considerable degree, how, when, and at what level, they enter the labour market and their fate within it. State-supported educational institutions are most likely to be class-forming when they are selective at an early age, and offer distinctive curricula and careers for those selected. They are likely to be class-inhibiting or class-dissolving when they are open to the entire population, and have abundant entry and re-entry points (Burrage 2008: 38).
- (2) the public schools provided a peculiarly advantageous starting-point for entry to the ruling class, rather than an entry credential, or initial socialization for it.
- (3) [i]n 1959, Lupton and Wilson reported that a high proportion of 422 leading figures in the City had attended elite public schools, [...] and that, if they attended a university at all, it was almost always either Oxford or Cambridge. (Burrage 2008: 221-222)

Consequently, authors such as Dahrendorf (1959: 58) or Burrage (2008: 38) have claimed that taking into account that there remains several obstacles and barriers when it comes to a complete equality of educational opportunities, upward mobility in countries with rather stable classes such as Britain seems non-viable –although possible– for those individuals belonging to lower classes.

However, even though certain differences still remain between classes, it can be affirmed that the British system has become more open and fluid. Yet, it seems that upward opportunities of mobility are also shared by members of different social classes:

the working class now has greater opportunities for upward mobility than it used to, but so too do the classes above it. Increased mobility has not favoured the working class to any greater extent than other classes. (Saunders 1990: 80)

Consequently, even though working-class affluence altered the material conditions of the British working-class, these changes were not enough so as to foster its disappearance (Saunders 1990: 111-112). Hence, as stated by Goldthorpe, Lockwood, Bechhofer, and Platt (1969: 83), it seems that the thesis of the embourgeoisement of the British working-class could be rejected: “so far at least as the world of work is concerned, the thesis of working-class embourgeoisement can have little relevance to present day British society”. Thus, even though social mobility –whether upwards or downwards– is rather common across the full range of the British class system (Saunders 1990: 130), “no significant reduction in class inequalities has in fact been achieved” (Goldthorpe 1980: 252; see also Burrage 2008: 309; Newman 2008: 42).

II.2.1.b. Socio-cultural Patterns: United States

Influenced by different historical events, noticeable differences can be identified between British and European systems of social stratification on the one hand, and the American class structure on the other (Manley 2008; Mayer 1967). Thus, even though class systems have overridden estate systems in the majority of modern Western societies, evidences of traditional estate stratification systems are still perceived in the United Kingdom and most European countries, as it is exemplified by Mayer (1967: 29):

England, with its hereditary nobility, its system of dual education, and the marked social distance between “gentlemen” and “the lower orders” (though the situation is changing today), provides a good example of the blending of older estate features with a modern class structure.

On the contrary, the historical development of the American societal system was marked by the lack of a hereditary aristocracy, and therefore, of a feudal past, which contributed to the establishment of essential differences in terms of social stratification aspects between American and British societies (Hess 2001: 32-33; Mayer 1967). As a result,

and once the British rule was overcome, the United States experienced over the centuries an influx of immigrants seeking to escape from the pervading traditional social inequalities that would characterise the societal systems of their countries of origin, as America would be regarded as a country that would provide them with freedom and equal opportunities.

In contrast to the British societal system, American society is based on a deeply rooted equalitarian ideology, in which the ideals of freedom and equal opportunity for all its citizens are promoted. Particularly, this equalitarian ideology together with several social changes and a considerable economic development were the ingredients that paved the way for a less rigid and more dynamic class structure in the United States (Manley 2008: 176; Mayer 1967). As a consequence, class differences are usually denied and even unrecognisable by Americans, being success purely attributed to one's efforts and merits:

[t]he American dream of equal opportunity, the well-publicized rags-to-riches stories all depreciate the importance of rank differences. Our cultural clichés assert that “there are no classes in the United States”, or “all Americans are middle-class”, or “I’m just as good as anybody else”. (Mayer 1967: 1)

However, the fact that Americans are not aware of the social class to which they belong does not mean that “‘there are no classes’ or that ‘in America everybody is middle class’” (Hess 2001: 94; Mills 1963: 317). In fact, the American equalitarian ideology is rather different in practice since equal access to opportunities is not granted for each individual within the American society, being certain aspects quite determinant, just as skin color, religion or nationality. Precisely, the uniqueness of the American class system lies in the paradoxical coexistence of an absence of estate-like features and the presence of elements that are characteristic of racial caste systems (Hess 2001: 135; Bottero 2005: 94). In addition, life chances of members belonging to the American society are also determined by their inherited social position, wealth income, and education, among other traits that are not related to an individual's qualities and achievements (Burrage 2008: 37-38; Mayer 1967).

For instance, educational opportunities are not equally available in the United States, as the chances that an individual has to go to college will be determined by the occupational and economic status of his or her parents (Mayer 1967: 36):

- (1) class distinction might have emerged between the private schools supported by those who could afford to pay for their children's tuition, and publicly-supported schools, reserved for the children of those who could not. (Burrage 2008: 146)

- (2) elite educational institutions had contributed to the formation of an American upper class, and sought to demonstrate it by showing that a small, though undisclosed, proportion of wealthy American parents sent their children to expensive private schools. (Burrage 2008: 196)

Thus, the existence of inequalities in the American society forms the basis for rank evaluations, being ethnicity, race and religion, quite determinant within the American status system. In fact, evidence shows that inequalities might affect African-Americans to a greater extent being these disparities sometimes more evident in Southern than in Northern American states (Saunders 1990: 13). Consequently, the scarce occupational and educational opportunities available for the inferior status to which certain groups just as African-Americans are relegated in the United States strongly opposes to the American equalitarian ideology.

Thus, in the same way that class systems promote inequality in Western societies (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 109), and given the pervading patterns of discrimination and segregation that characterise the United States, race and ethnicity aspects constitute another social division in the American society, which disproportionately affects African American individuals (Hess 2001: 119).

On the other hand, due to the dynamic fluidity of the American system and the possibility of moving upwards or downwards this hierarchy, boundaries between classes appear to blur if compared to the functioning of the British society, where upper-, middle- and working-classes can clearly distinguish (Barruge 2008: 305). In fact, even though Americans may be aware of the sharp differences that exist between classes, there is a strong tendency which is characterised by the belief that economic differences are the result of the individual's abilities rather than class differences, being the state of poverty the individual's own responsibility (Hess 2001: 107). As a result, feelings of class loyalty and solidarity are rather unlikely to be developed by individuals belonging to the same social class in the American society (Manley 2008: 174-175).

In addition, even though the major division between classes in the United States is located between the middle and the lower or working class –as in other modern Western societies–, the contrast is more difficult to appreciate in the American society, since a considerable portion of working-class individuals share the “white collar” life style, identifying themselves with values and beliefs that are characteristic of middle-class members (Hess 2001: 158). Nevertheless, it must be remarked that from a sociological

perspective, the phenomenon of working-class affluence does not imply a direct change in an individual's class situation, as "social class has to do with how people get their incomes, not how they spend them" (Saunders 1990: 106).

Consequently, as already stated, certain dimensions within stratified systems may be distinctly understood by different societies, as it is the case of American and British social systems, which differ to a certain extent: "some of the most important contrasts between American and European systems of stratification are the evident lack of corporate or militant class consciousness in America (Mayer 1967), on the one hand, and the lack of 'embourgeoisement' of the British working class (Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963), on the other" (Hernández-Campoy 1993: 153).

II.2.2. Dialectological Patterns

Languages are dynamic, changeable and heterogeneous entities, being linguistic communities of practice also heterogeneous to a greater or lesser extent from a social as well as a linguistic perspective (Kachru 2001). In this respect, Trudgill (2000: 27) highlights the presence of stylistic and social differentiation across different human communities:

[i]t turns out that the 'pure' homogeneous dialect is also largely a mythical concept: all language is subject to stylistic and social differentiation, because all human communities are functionally differentiated and heterogeneous to varying degrees. All language varieties are also subject to change. There is, therefore an element of differentiation even in the most isolated conservative rural dialect. (Trudgill 2000: 27)

In addition, given that languages adapt to the nature and lifestyle of the different communities, it has been evidenced that linguistic diversity subsequently mirrors the social and cultural diversity that exists within a given community. In this respect, language communities are a breeding ground for variation and change, the acquisition and loss of linguistic forms, and linguistic divergence and stylistic accommodation processes (Eckert 2000, 2001, 2008, 2012).

Moreover, due to the fact that both extralinguistic and intralinguistic factors play a determinant role in linguistic change processes, different manifestations of the same linguistic change may occur in different geographic areas. Hence, while a linguistic change may originate in a specific region to then spread to other surrounding areas, other linguistic changes may reach further areas and even countries (Trudgill 1990) (see Figure II. 5). As a

result, variability can be found across different geographic areas when it comes to English accents, since different accentual features can be heard in the English spoken in and beyond the British Isles (United States, Canada, Northern and Southern Ireland, Scotland, England, Wales, South Africa, Australia or New Zealand) and which would normally characterise speakers dialectologically (see section III.1).

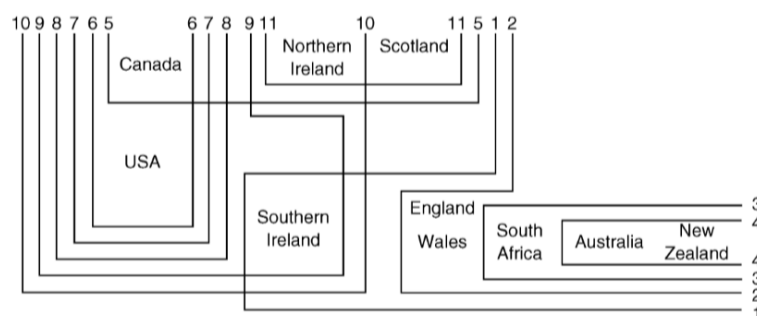


Fig. 1.1.

Key

1. /ɑ:/ rather than /æ/ in *path* etc.
2. absence of non-prevocalic /r/
3. close vowels for /æ/ and /ɛ/, monophthongization of /ai/ and /au/
4. front [a:] for /ɑ:/ in *part* etc.
5. absence of contrast of /ɒ/ and /ɔ:/ as in *cot* and *caught*
6. /æ/ rather than /ɑ:/ in *can't* etc.
7. absence of contrast of /ɒ/ and /ɑ:/ as in *bother* and *father*
8. consistent voicing of intervocalic /t/
9. unrounded [ɑ] in *pot*
10. syllabic /r/ in *bird*
11. absence of contrast of /ʊ/ and /u:/ as in *pull* and *pool*

Figure II.5. World English varieties. Source: Trudgill and Hannah (2008: 10).

As a result, dialectal differences arise or become more salient between those areas in which innovative forms are at use, and those in which conservative forms are still present, leading to a relevant linguistic diversity across regions. Accordingly, Trudgill (1990: 6) highlights British dialectal differences:

[i]f you travel from one part of the country to another, you will most often find that the dialects change gradually as you go. The further you travel, the more different the dialects will become from the one in the place you started, but the different dialects will seem to merge into one another, without any abrupt transitions. (Trudgill 1990: 6)

In this respect, dialectal patterns of linguistic variation have extensively been addressed in the English-speaking world, both at accentual (Hughes & Trudgill 1979; Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Trudgill & Chambers 1991; Cheshire 1991; Milroy & Milroy 1993; Foulkes & Docherty 1999; Schneider, Burridge, Kortmann, Mesthrie & Upton 2004;

Kortmann, Burridge, Mesthrie, Schneider & Upton 2004; Kachru, Kachru & Nelson 2006; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Kirkpatrick 2010; or Britain 2007a, 2010, among others) and grammatical levels (Wakelin 1972; Hughes & Trudgill 1979; O'Donnell & Todd 1980; Edwards, Trudgill & Weltens 1984; Trudgill 1990, Trudgill & Chambers 1991; Cheshire 1991; Milroy & Milroy 1993; Kortmann, Burridge, Mesthrie, Schneider & Upton 2004; Kachru, Kachru & Nelson 2006; Kirkpatrick 2010; or Britain 2007a, 2010, among others).

Yet, as will be further explained in section II.2.3., regional variation is not the only factor that may foster variation in language. In fact, the existing relationship between language and society by means of the correlation of extralinguistic factors with linguistic elements has proven to be just as important as regional variation, since every individual's speech is shaped by his or her social background as well as his or her geographic area of provenance. Consequently, speakers tend to identify themselves not only as inhabitants of a particular region, but also as members belonging to specific social groups in terms of age, social class, ethnicity, gender and other social traits, which leads to linguistic as well as social variability (Labov 1966/2006; Chambers & Trudgill 2004).

II.2.3. Sociolinguistic Patterns: Status, Attitudes and Prestige

As explained in section I. 1. 1. b., urbanisation and industrialisation processes fostered the modification of the model that used to characterise Western societies, which underwent a subsequent process of global modernisation that resulted in the emergence of cities as centres of industrial development and subsequently affected rural areas in a negative way (Dahrendorf 1959; Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963). Similarly, given that linguistic variation results from the interaction of geographic and non-geographic factors, it became clear that limiting dialect studies to rural areas was meaningless or at least not representative, since the vast majority of the population was located in urban areas, where social differentiation and variety were predominant (Trudgill 2000). Hence, social differentiation led to linguistic differentiation, fostering the emergence of non-mainstream urban varieties that are sociolinguistically differentiated and stratified in terms of social class, sex, age, ethnicity, race and religion, among other social aspects. Consequently, apart from regional dialects and geographic dialectal continuums, social dialects or "sociolects" and social dialectal continuums can also be observed in speech communities, being social dialects gradual and variable rather than discrete entities: "[i]t seems that many forms of societal differentiation

are potentially relatable to linguistic differentiation, and that the geographical differentiation initially studied by dialectologists is only one form of this” (Chambers & Trudgill 2004: 63).

In addition, with the obtainment of regular patterns of sociolinguistic variation –or sociolinguistic universals– different empirical studies have demonstrated that there is not such a thing as Bloomfield’s free variation, since linguistic variation is not free at all, but constrained by social and/or situational factors (Trudgill 2000). In fact, as stated by Labov (1972a), one of the main tenets in sociolinguistic investigation is that it has been demonstrated that there are no speakers who make use of only one style, since all users of a language reveal some type of variation as a result of certain socio-contextual conditions that surround them. In this respect, Labov (1963, 1966/2006, 1972a) carried out a pioneer approach, being the studies of Trudgill (1972, 1974) rather innovative as well. Precisely, Labov (1972a) was the first to observe and detect sociolinguistic patterns in speech behaviour, and stated that the socio-demographic traits that are characteristic of the speaker (such as his or her social class, age, sex, social networks, or ethnicity) have the potential to influence his or her speech style. As specified by Tagliamonte (2012), patterns in language can be observed by means of finding socially and linguistically significant factors that have the potential to influence variation and correlating them with general social aspects. These patterns are of special relevance, as they function as starting points for Variationist approaches in Sociolinguistics:

[t]he fact that linguistic differentiation in communities has been consistent for different linguistic features and that these patterns repeat themselves across different situations in time and space have given rise to a series of “classic” sociolinguistic patterns from which Variationist Sociolinguistic inquiry has sprung. (Tagliamonte 2012: 7)

II.2.3.a. Social class

On the one hand, linguistic variants may be related to social class, leading to the construct of “sociolect” (Trudgill 2000: 23). This correlation becomes of outmost importance when it comes to variation in language, since it has been evidenced that social contexts may act as conditioning factors of individuals’ speech style. As previously indicated in section I.2.1.b., this was accounted by Labov (1966/2006) in his study in New York department stores about the presence of postvocalic /r/ in the speech of salespeople, which is regarded as a

prestigious form and reveals social stratification in New York City. The results obtained would show a gradation in use (see Figure II.6): salespeople working in the store corresponding with the highest social status –Saks Fifth Avenue– showed the highest frequency of use of prestigious postvocalic /r/; on the contrary, salespeople working in the store corresponding with the lowest social status –S. Klein– showed the lowest frequency of use of the prestigious variant; lastly, salespeople working in the middle-ranked store –Macy’s– showed intermediate levels of usage for the linguistic feature studied.

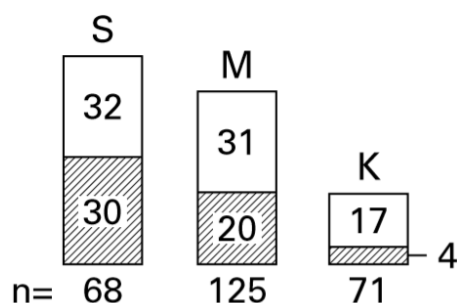


Figure II.6. Overall stratification of (r) by store (S=Saks, M=Macy's, K=S.Klein. Shaded area= % all (r-1); unshaded area= % some (r-1)). Source: Labov (1966/2006: 47, Figure 3.1).

Another well-known example of social class correlation with linguistic variables is that of the RP accent in the U.K., which reveals the social class background rather than the regional origin of a speaker. RP pronunciation enjoys overt prestige among English speakers, as it is associated with the speech of individuals belonging to higher social classes wealthy enough to be educated at prestigious institutions, where RP pronunciation is thought (Trudgill 2001). As will be further explained in section III.1.2.a, this stratification pattern characterises the sociolinguistic situation of the U.K.: RP is spoken by just a 3% or 5% of the British population, which accounts for those individuals belonging to a high socio-economic status, being the regionally marked accents more frequently used by individuals belonging to lower classes (Trudgill 2001).

Taking into account this sociolinguistic situation, Trudgill (1974) addressed social differentiations in the speech community of Norwich. He analysed variables (ng) –as in *singing*–, (t) –as in *butter*– and (h) –as in *hammer*–, which respectively have [ŋ], [t] and [h] variants in RP accent, while [n], [ʔ] and ∅ occur in local accents. The results obtained from his analysis are shown in Table II.3 and Figure II.7, and reveal that individuals belonging to higher social classes tend to exhibit a predominant use of prestigious and mainstream

variants (η , t , h), while individuals belonging to lower social classes, tend to employ non-prestigious forms (n , η , \emptyset).

Table II.3. Results obtained from Trudgill's (1974) analysis of the social differentiation of English in Norwich: Linguistic variables and social class (usage of non-mainstream variants). Source: Trudgill (1974).

INDEPENDENT VARIABLE	Social Classes	DEPENDENT VARIABLES		
		Linguistic Variables		
		(ng)	(t)	(h)
	MMC	003	083	006
	LMC	015	123	014
	UWC	074	178	040
	MWC	088	184	060
	LWC	098	187	060

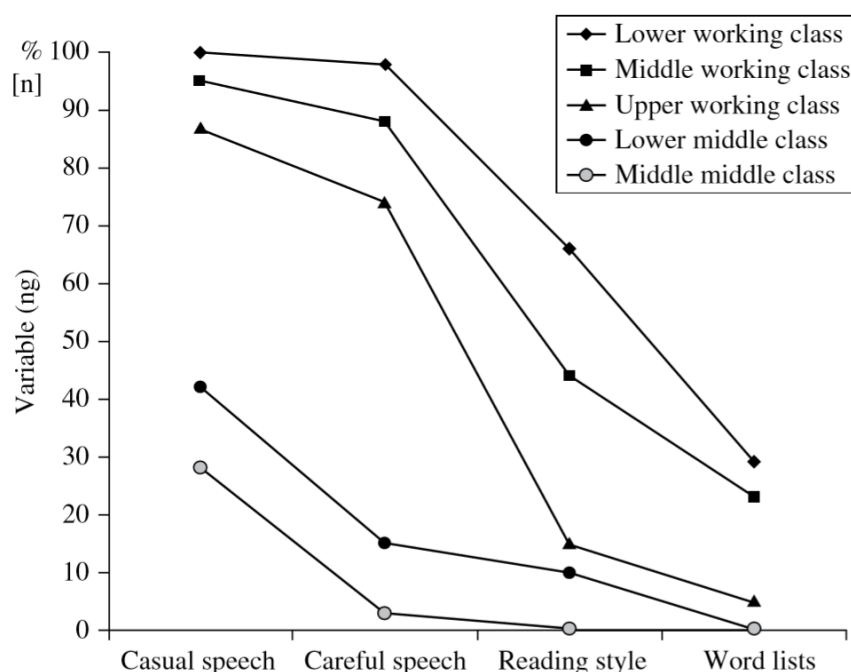


Figure II.7. Trudgill's (1974) analysis of the social differentiation of English in Norwich: social stratification of (ng) (percentages for the non-mainstream variant [n]); represented by Labov (1966/2006: 260, Figure 10.8). Source: Hernández-Campoy (2016: 71).

These results shed light on the correlation between linguistic variants and socially stratified aspects, and evidenced the fact that if a linguistic variable reveals social class stratification, certain forms will be frequently used by higher social-class individuals, less frequently used by middle-class individuals and even less used by lower-class speakers, and vice versa (Labov 1972a; Trudgill 1974).

II.2.3.b. Sex

The sex of the speaker is another social parameter that significantly influences language variation, leading to the construct of “genderlect” (Klann-Delius 2005: 178; see also Swan, Deumert, Lillis, & Mesthrie 2004). In this respect, Trudgill’s (1974) study of the (ng) variable in Norwich would show that the non-prestigious variant [n] –which does not occur in the RP phonological system– was more frequently used by working-class males than females (see Table II.4).

Table II.4. Results obtained from Trudgill’s (1974) analysis of the social differentiation of English in Norwich: (ng) index by class, style and gender (usage of non-mainstream variants). Source: Trudgill (1974: 94).

Class	Gender	Styles			
		WLS	PRS	FS	CS
MMC	Male	000	000	004	031
	Female	000	000	000	000
LMC	Male	000	020	027	017
	Female	000	000	003	067
UWC	Male	000	018	081	095
	Female	011	013	068	077
MWC	Male	024	043	091	097
	Female	020	046	081	088
LWC	Male	066	100	100	100
	Female	017	054	097	100

Thus, it was possible to conclude that males –especially from working classes– used a higher percentage of [n] forms than females. Trudgill (1974: 93-94) states that this correlation between non-mainstream linguistic features and working-class male speakers can be explained according to two factors: (i) women are more status-conscious than men in industrialised Western societies, which leads to a greater awareness of the social significance associated with linguistic variables; and (ii) just like many other aspects of working-class culture, working-class speech has connotations of masculinity, since it is frequently associated with the rough and tough working class life. These associations clearly contrast with “desirable feminine characteristics”, being women’s speech often regarded as refined and sophisticated (Trudgill 1974: 95). Several scholars have carried out similar analyses using different variables, such Romaine (1978), Milroy (1980/1987) and Cheshire (1982), among others, been it possible to verify that “other things being equal, women tend on average to use more higher status variants than men do” (Chambers & Trudgill 2004: 61).

II.2.3.c. Age

Age may also act as a social conditioning factor of sociolinguistic differentiation, leading to the construct of “chronolect” (Wales 2001: 233). As indicated in section I.2.1.b., Labov’s (1966/2006) study of postvocalic /r/ in New York City detected an age gradation in the adoption of this prestigious linguistic feature. Posterior studies have evidenced this fact in the form of a curvilinear pattern (V-model), in which the youngest and oldest speakers reveal a prominent use of non-mainstream and non-prestigious variants, which contrasts with the sociolinguistic behaviour of middle-aged speakers. As a case in point, the analysis carried out by Trudgill (1974) in the speech community of Norwich about the usage that informants would make of variable (ng) and its variants (prestigious RP [ŋ] versus non-prestigious local [n]) would reveal similar results. As it can be observed in Figure II.8, while the youngest and oldest speakers of this speech community made a greater use of local variant [n], those middle-aged speakers tended to use this local variant to a lesser extent. Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 79) explained this pattern by drawing on sociological theories on life course, or cycles, and life modes:

[w]e can probably account for this by supposing that for younger speakers the most important social pressures come from the peer group, and that linguistically they are more strongly influenced by their friends than by anybody else. Influence from the standard language is relatively weak. Then, as speakers get older and begin working, they move into wider and less cohesive social networks [...], and are more influenced by mainstream societal values and, perhaps, by the need to impress, succeed and make social and economic progress. They are also, consequently, more influenced linguistically by the standard language. For older, retired people, on the other hand, social pressures are again less, success has already been achieved (or not, as the case may be), and social networks may again be narrower.

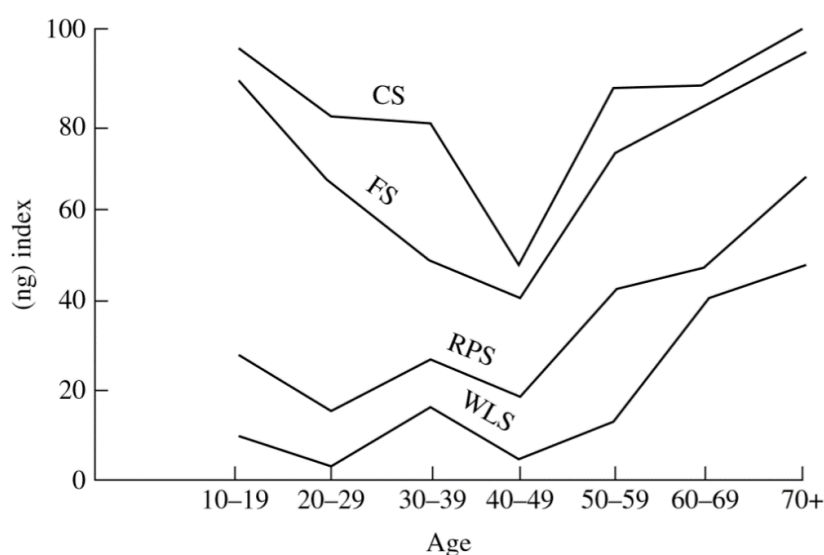


Figure II.8. Trudgill’s (1974) analysis of the social differentiation of English in Norwich: (ng) by age and style. Source: Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 78).

II.2.3.d. Ethnicity

In addition, language may also index membership to an ethnic group (Trudgill 2000), leading to the construct of “ethnolect” (Swan, Deumert, Lillis, & Mesthrie 2004: 178). Ethnolects emerge when individuals from different cultural backgrounds coexist, and who may not be native speakers of the dominant language of a given country (Tagliamonte 2012). In these situations, language has the potential to act as a means to express ethnic identity through the usage of certain linguistic features that are specific of an ethnic community (Tagliamonte 2012: 38). Moreover, ethnicity may also be indexed by employing certain linguistic features that are also employed by the mainstream community, but with a different frequency of use (Fought 2002; Tagliamonte 2012).

This sociolinguistic situation can be easily observed in the U.S., where different ethnic groups speak different English varieties, as it is the case of Black and White individuals. In this respect, African American Vernacular English (AAVE) refers to the non-mainstream English variety spoken by lower-class Black Americans in urban areas of the U.S. (Edwards 2004: 383), and it differs from the English variety spoken by White Americans on a number of aspects, such as the deletion of copula *be* in certain grammatical contexts:

	Full form	Contracted form	Deleted form
<i>Is</i>	<i>She is nice</i>	<i>She's nice</i>	<i>She nice</i>
<i>Are</i>	<i>We are going</i>	<i>We're going</i>	<i>We going</i>

Wolfram (1971) addressed the different usage levels that Black and White speakers make of copula *be* (whether a full, contracted or deleted use) in the geographical area of the Mississippi Delta in the U.S., and could observe that even though both ethnic groups would employ the aforementioned three grammatical possibilities, their frequency of use was different: Black speakers tend to delete *be* to a greater extent than White speakers (see Table II.5).

Table II.5. Results obtained from Wolfram's (1971) analysis of *be* in the speech of black and white Americans in the Mississippi Delta region. Source: Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 64).

(be)	<i>is</i>		<i>are</i>	
	Black	White	Black	White
Full Form	054	038	017	034
Contracted Form	018	060	006	045
Deleted Form	028	002	077	021
Total	100	100	100	100

II.2.3.e. Social networks

Social networks constitute another conditioning factor within the social parameter that may condition individuals' sociolinguistic behaviour. Precisely, individuals with which close-knit relations are established tend to influence our linguistic behaviour to a greater extent than other people with which we merely interact (Milroy & Milroy 1978; Milroy 2002). This sociolinguistic pattern has been accounted by several scholars, just as Labov (1973), Wolfram (1974) or Cheshire (1978).

Similarly, Milroy (1980/1987) addressed the different social networks in which speakers operate together with their degree of participation, and could observe that these aspects may determine speakers' linguistic behaviour. Particularly, she related social network with sex and age, assuming that if male and female members of specific communities of different ages operate in different network types, different patterns will also arise regarding their sociolinguistic behaviour. In her study, Milroy (1980/1987) analysed the communities of Ballymacarrett, –a Protestant area in East Belfast–, The Hammer –a Protestant area in West Belfast– and Clonard –a Catholic area in West Belfast– by means of the treatment that speakers would make of variable (æ) –as in *bag*, *hat* or *man*– and considering social networks, age and sex as social parameters. It is noteworthy to mention that variable (æ) has two possible realisations in Belfast English: variant [a] –which is frequently employed by middle-class individuals– and a backed, raised and rounded version of variant [a] –which is commonly used in working-class speech (Milroy & Milroy 1978).

The degree of backing of /æ/ in the communities of Ballymacarrett, Clonard and The Hammer can be observed in Figure II.9, with high scores indicating strong tendencies to /æ/ backing. As a result, Milroy (1980/1987) would conclude that differences among these communities in terms of social networks, age and sex were evident, being the degree of adherence to particular social networks highly determinant in individuals' speech structure. Thus, Ballymacarrett was a rather socially stable area (with its fully preserved network ties) where there was a clear and regular stylistic and gender differentiation, and in which young females employed more mainstream and prestigious features. On the other hand, The Hammer had less dense social networks than Ballymacarrett did, being variation in terms of sex less significant. However, in Clonard, women constituted a rather homogeneous network, being young females more prone to employ less prestigious features, which clearly contrasts with the sociolinguistic situation of Ballymacarrett.

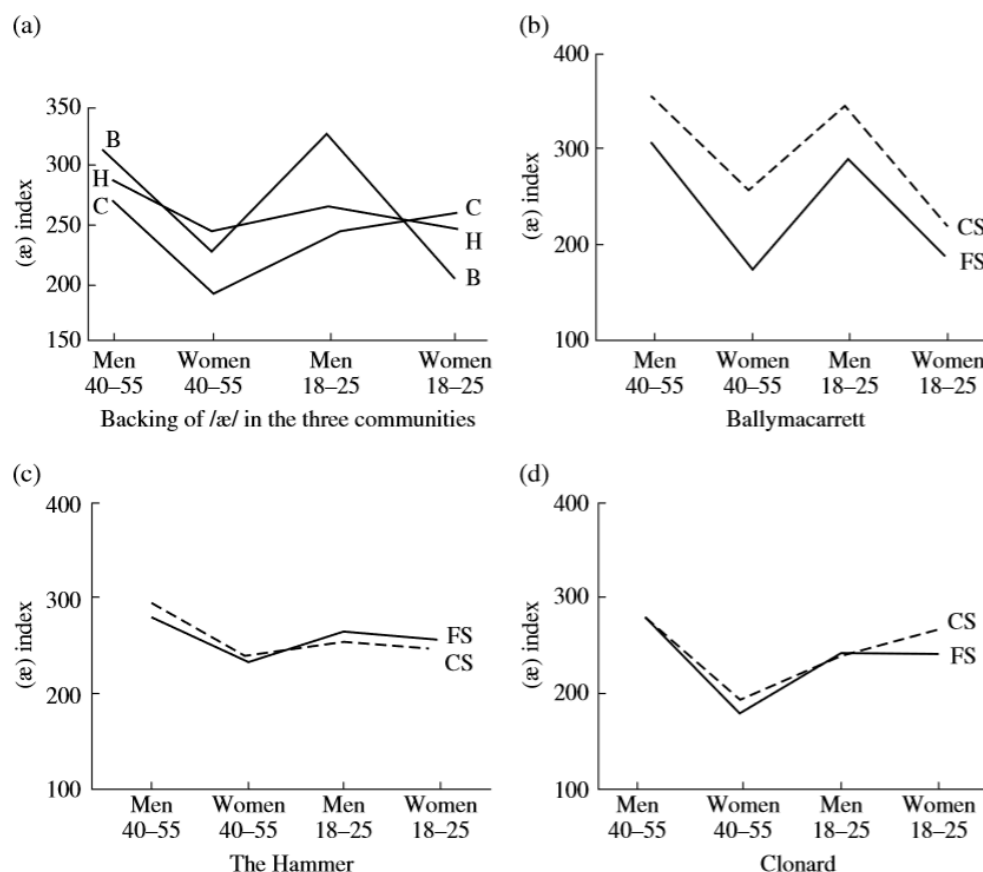


Figure 11.9. Milroy's (1980/1987) study on Ballymacarrett, The Hammer and Clonard, in Belfast, about the interrelationship between social networks, age and sex as social parameters with linguistic differentiation; behaviour of variable (æ). Source: Hernández-Campoy (2016: 76), adapted from Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 67). FS = formal speech; CS = Casual speech).

This sociolinguistic pattern becomes of great relevance when it comes to language change processes, as it evidences the likelihood of the adoption –and subsequent diffusion– or rejection of an innovation (Milroy & Milroy 1985). In fact, it has been evidenced that close-knit social networks facilitate the maintenance and enforcement of local conventions, which contrasts with the functioning of loose-knit social networks (Milroy 2002). Thus, weaker social networks plus great contact with speakers of other different varieties favour the spread of innovative linguistic features. Conversely, stronger social networks plus a lesser contact with speakers of other different varieties foster the maintenance of conservative features (Milroy & Milroy 1993; Milroy 1980/1987, 2002).

11.2.3.f. Style

Apart from the aforementioned social traits associated with individuals, stylistic aspects –or social aspects related with the contexts in which speakers operate– may also condition language variability (see section I. 2). In this respect, Labov (1966/2006) and Trudgill (1974)

assert that an individual may employ different linguistic varieties in different situations – whether formal or informal– motivated by different objectives. This implies that stylistic changes in terms of vocabulary or even pronunciation can be purposely made by speakers in order to adjust to the formality or informality of the context. In fact, as stated by Hughes, Trudgill & Watt (2013: 8), the formality of a context tends to correlate with a greater use of careful speech:

[i]n what speakers see as a very formal situation they will tend to articulate more slowly and carefully. Individual sounds will be given, as it were, their ‘full’ value; fewer will be omitted [...]. In a very formal situation, on the other hand, speakers will be more likely to speak quickly and less carefully, and some sounds will either have their values changed or be elided together.

In his analysis of Norwich English, Trudgill (1974) correlated the social context (stylistic variables) with social class and variable (ng). To do so, he divided the style continuum into four styles ranging from less formal to more formal (casual speech, formal speech, reading-passage style and word-list style) and considered the following social classes: middle middle-class (MMC), lower middle-class (LMC), upper working-class (UWC), middle working-class (MWC) and lower working-class (LWC). As it can be observed in Table II.6 and Figure II.10, the results obtained would reveal that even though the different social class groups operate at different levels regarding their usage of (ng), speakers tend to modify their pronunciation towards the same direction as they tend to increase their usage of RP prestigious [ŋ] as the formality degree increases (Trudgill 1974). In addition, it could also be observed that the scores obtained by LWC for the most formal speech style were rather similar to the scores obtained by MMC for the least formal speech style. Moreover, these results also evidenced a relevant degree of variability in the speech of UWC individuals for (ng), which may be motivated by a linguistic insecurity resulting from the border situation within the social strata that characterises this social class.

Table II.6. Results obtained from Trudgill’s (1974) analysis of the social differentiation of English in Norwich: (ng) indexes by social class and style in Norwich (usage of non-mainstream variants). Source: Trudgill (1974: 92, Table 7.1).

Social Class	Style			
	WLS	PRS	FS	CS
MMC	000	000	003	028
LMC	000	010	015	042
UWC	005	015	074	087
MWC	023	044	088	095
LWC	029	066	098	100

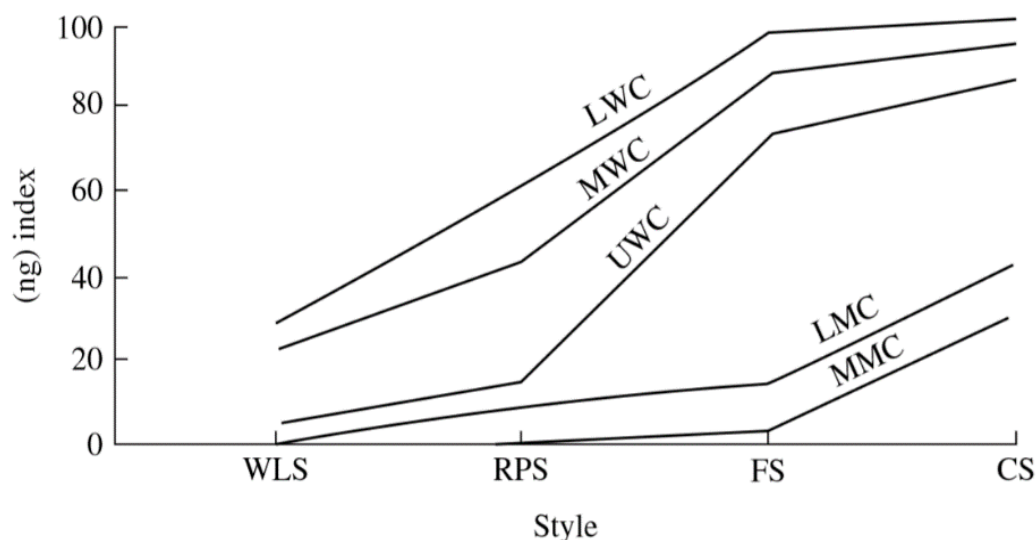


Figure II.10. Trudgill's (1974) analysis of the social differentiation of English in Norwich: (ng) by social class and style (CS: casual style; FS: formal style; RPS: reading passage style; and WLS: word list style; from Trudgill 1974: 92). Source: Hernández-Campoy 2016: 86).

Similarly, in his study about the social stratification of English in New York City, Labov also observed that individuals belonging to LMC tended to exaggerate certain features of their speech and even surpass the speech of individuals belonging to higher classes when making use of postvocalic /r/ in certain situations (Figure II.11). Labov identified this mechanism as systematic *hypercorrection*, which results from a considerable amount of attention paid to ones' speech (Labov 1966/2006: 152). Drawing on the linguistic insecurity experienced by LMC speakers due to their border situation within the social stratification system, Labov (1966/2006) explained that individuals belonging to the LMC group are not as socially secure as those belonging to the UMC group, as LMC individuals are not sufficiently distant from the working class, and therefore, they are more prone to be identified with working class groups than UMC individuals. Consequently, LMC systematic hypercorrections can be conceived as strong attempts made by LMC individuals in order to emphasise their social status by means of employing prestigious linguistic features associated with the speech of individuals belonging to higher social classes under the influence of linguistic insecurity aspects.

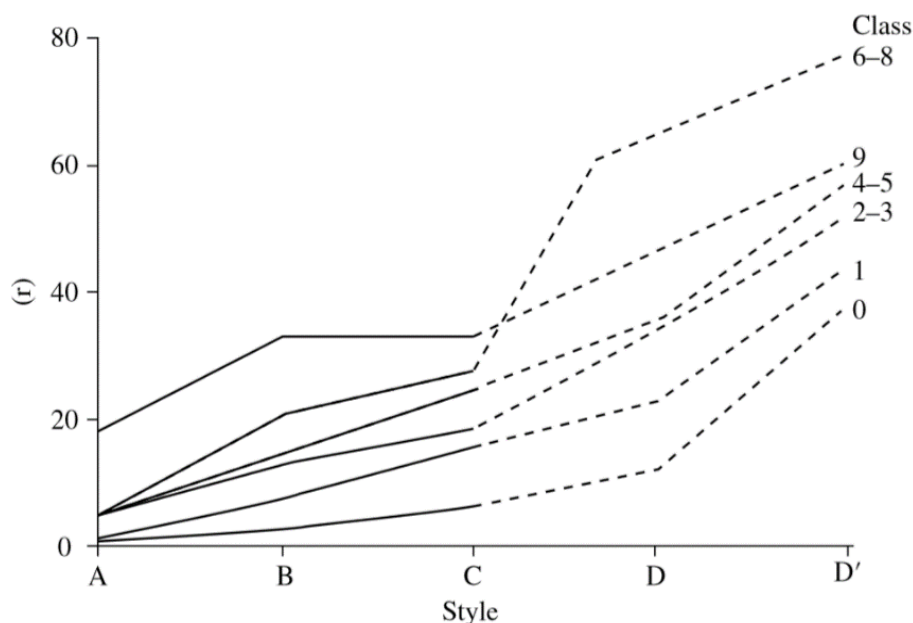


Figure II.11. Hypercorrection observed by Labov in New York City. Source: Labov (1966/2006: 152, Figure 7.11).

Nevertheless, not all linguistic variables follow the same model as Norwich (ng) in terms of social and stylistic variation. That is, not all the variables that are subject to differentiation by social class must exhibit stylistic variation. For instance, as it can be observed in Figure II.12, when correlated with social class and style, Trudgill (1974) observed that variable (a:) underwent little or no stylistic variation.

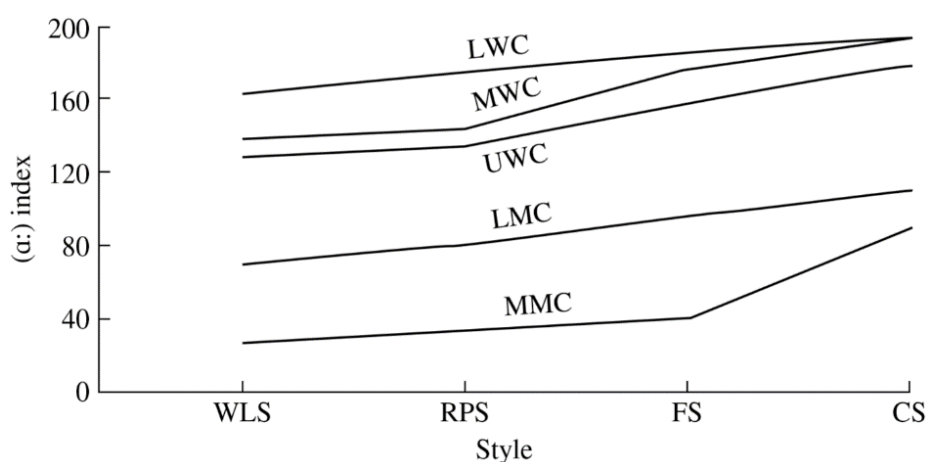


Figure II.12. Trudgill's (1974) analysis of the social differentiation of English in Norwich: (a:) by social class and style: usual pattern of indicators when being correlated with class and style by Source: Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 83, Figure 6.2).

Consequently, sociolinguistic research has evidenced that while certain variables exhibit a wide degree of social differentiation but a rather low or no stylistic variation at all, other variables show little difference between classes but a relevant degree of stylistic

variation, since has stated by Trudgill (1974: 103): “stylistic variation takes place in the case of variables subject to class differentiation only when social consciousness is directed towards these variables”. In fact, this difference between variables can be determined by the following factors (Trudgill 1974): (i) a linguistic change being underwent by the variable at issue; (ii) the influence of manifest corrective pressures; (iii) the involvement of the variable at issue in surface phonological contrasts; and (iv) the relevant difference between the variable studied and its prestigious equivalent. In this respect, those elements involved in linguistic variability can be classified according to the type of social evaluation to which they are subjected.

Hence, variables like (ng) are classified as *markers*, as they act as linguistic norms that define speech communities to which members react in a uniform way and are subject to stylistic as well as social variation (Labov 1972a; Tagliamonte 2012). Thus, this concept encompasses those variants that have social significance and that are subsequently used by speakers –whether consciously or unconsciously– in different contexts (Labov 1972a, 1966/2006). Particularly, according to Chambers and Trudgill (2004), the influence of manifest corrective pressures or negative evaluations towards a variable within a particular speech community indicates the marker nature of a variable. That is, those variables that are subject to overt stigmatisation are markers, as it is the case of (h), (t) and (ng) in the Norwich speech community. In addition, the fact that a variable is undergoing a linguistic change also indicates its marker nature within a speech community. On the contrary, variables that are indicators –such as Norwich (a:)- are rather stable. This correlates with the social significance that characterises markers, as individuals tend to be more aware of the social signification associated with linguistic features that are participating in a linguistic change (Chambers & Trudgill 2004). Moreover, the involvement of a variable in surface phonological contrasts also indicates its nature as a marker, as is the case of variable (yu), which has two variants in the speech community of Norwich: [ju:], as in RP and other mainstream varieties of English, and [u:]. This means that certain pairs of words such as Hugh – who, cute – coot or mute – moot are homophonous in many Norwich English varieties (Trudgill 1974).

On the other hand, variables such as Norwich (a:) are *indicators*, since even though social group differentiation can occur in terms of class or age, they are not subject to stylistic variation (Labov 1972a; Tagliamonte 2012). Hence, it could be said that those variables that are classified as indicators in a specific speech community play a less relevant role when it

comes to setting class differences than those variables that are classified as markers, which means that speakers are more influenced by the social implications associated with the usage of certain variables than of others (Chambers & Trudgill 2004).

Yet, speakers' awareness towards the social significance of a variable is not static, which means that it may operate within different varying degrees or change with the passage of time, being possible for an indicator to become a marker, and vice versa (Labov 1972a). A case in point is that of the glottalised pronunciation of /t/ in British English, which originally was a social class indicator. However, a prominent increase in the usage of glottalised forms led to an increase in speakers' awareness towards this type of pronunciation, turning this indicator into a marker.

In addition, individuals' awareness regarding the usage of certain linguistic variants may become even higher. In these situations, social and regional connotations associated with certain variants tend to become widely known by all the members of a speech community, meaning that all speakers are able to identify and substitute a given variant, and therefore, to create *stereotypes* related to it (Tagliamonte 2012). As a case in point, British English (h) is approaching this stage. In addition, and according to Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 76), those variants that become strongly stigmatised will finally disappear, as it is happening with New York [əɪ].

Consequently, and as previously stated, apart from regional dialects and geographical dialectal continuums, social dialects or "sociolects" and social dialectal continuums as well as stylistic continuums can also be observed in speech communities, being social dialects gradual and variable rather than discrete entities. Thus, variability does not only operate at a linguistic dimension, it can also be social. Hence, given that all users of a language reveal some type of variation as a result of certain socio-contextual conditions that surround them, contextual (or stylistic) as well as socio-demographic traits that are characteristic of the speaker (such as his or her social class, age, sex, social networks, or ethnicity) must be taken into account in order to analyse their speech style. In fact, given the existing relationship between language and society by means of the correlation of extralinguistic factors with linguistic elements, social variation in language has proven to be just as important as regional variation, since every individual's speech is shaped by his or her social background as well as his or her geographical location.

Chapter 3

Methodology

III. METHODOLOGY

From a historical point of view, the application of sociological techniques to linguistic material represented a significant advance in the scientific study of language, since not only was linguistic diversity recognised but also a methodology was developed in order to properly approach linguistic data (Trudgill 1974: 2). Thus, with the incorporation of a social dimension, urban dialectologists paved the way for a technical epistemological impulse in the study of language variation that would lay the foundations for modern Sociolinguistics; being William Labov (1966/2006, 1972a) a prominent precursor in terms of theoretical and methodological aspects. Thus, assuming that the vast majority of speech communities –if not all– are somehow linguistically and socially heterogeneous and that linguistic variation is socially conditioned, Labov (196/2006) applied a sociological methodology to a heterogeneous linguistic community and obtained results of great significance for Linguistics. This new approach to language, also known as “secular Linguistics” or Sociolinguistics, would be based on the empirical study of everyday and real language as it is used in its socio-cultural context.

As indicated in section I.2., over the years, the social meaning of stylistic variation in Sociolinguistics has been addressed from different perspectives in the form of three different generations or waves of analytic practices (Eckert 2012): while first and second waves placed their focus on the denotational meaning of variation in style –being variation regarded as a marker of social categories and style understood as an incidental artifice–, the third wave has

evidenced the fact that style has an ideological foundation, and that different stylistic forms act as carriers of social meaning (Eckert 2012: 98). In this respect, it must be taken into account that each wave does not supersede the preceding one; instead, it refines certain aspects of previous approaches, being central ideas of each wave always addressed in previous ones (Eckert 2018: xi). Consequently, Sociolinguistics as a paradigm is involved in a continuous evolutionary process, which implies the reformulation and redefinition of theoretical aspects that parallels epistemological developments in terms of renovations of research methods, techniques of data collection and statistical analysis –as far as quantitative approaches are concerned (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 185; see also Hernández-Campoy 2014, 2018).

The scientific method constitutes a basic, abstract and general reference that integrates several alternatives of investigative actions (Bauer 1992; Flick 2009). That is, alternative research methodologies always operate within the scientific framework aiming at solving scientific problems and ultimately contributing to knowledge development, regardless of their epistemological conceptions and their methodological procedures (Bauer 1992). Thus, quantitative –such as experimental, correlational or descriptive methods–, qualitative –such as interpretive methods–, or critical methodology –such as action-research methods– are just different specifications of the scientific method that are adhered to different research paradigms (Hernández-Campoy & Almeida 2005). Particularly, quantitative –or positivist– and qualitative –or interpretive– methodologies have been in conflict for decades in the field of Social Sciences (Milroy & Gordon 2003; Angouri 2010), being the existing discrepancies between these two methodologies rather determinant, as they affect most of the procedures involved in an analysis, such as sampling, data collection, data analysis and interpretation, among other aspects.

In this respect, Linguists tend to employ either quantitative or qualitative research methods, although many studies often fall somewhere in a continuum between these two methodological alternatives (Angouri 2010). In addition, many authors have rejected an exclusive perspective of these methodologies and insist on their complementarity, since as stated by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 61), “valuable qualitative data that can complement quantitative analyses”. In this respect, Flick (2009) states that empirical studies are not enough to address social relations, being qualitative approaches crucial in such task. In a similar vein, Coupland (2001a) emphasises the need to combine qualitative and quantitative methodologies so as to approach language as a carrier of social meaning, since social practices

involve both symbolic aspects and measurable elements (see also Levon 2010). Hence, it can be stated that the mutual complementarity that characterises qualitative and quantitative approaches originates in the deficiency of each method to address certain aspects that are outside their objectives and limitations (Ortí 1999). In fact, given that no method is intrinsically superior to the other, their application will depend on the type of research question that is intended to be tackled (Flick 2009; Rasinger 2010). In this sense, Trudgill (1978b, 1983a, 2000) draws on the multidisciplinary origins of Sociolinguistics as well as on its interdisciplinary nature in order to explain the long-standing tradition of the implementation of both quantitative and qualitative methods in this field of research. Particularly, it is paramount to remark that the realisation of field work to obtain data through the observation of informants conveys the implementation of secular neopositivist Linguistics, which was advocated by Labov and developed in the street, and which contrasts with the introspective nature of *armchair* Linguistics (Labov 1966/2006, 1972a). Thus, from a Labovian perspective, sociolinguistic events are regarded as linguistic acts resulting from the relationship between social and linguistic structure, being the sum of their individual manifestations of relevance for the investigator. Consequently, quantitative as well as qualitative information is valuable in Sociolinguistic research (Greene, Caracelli & Graham 1989; Beaufort 2000; Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003; Litosseliti 2003; Harrington, Litosseliti, Sauntson, & Sunderland 2008; Angouri 2010; Litosseliti 2010)

Considering these methodological assumptions, the present study consists of an analysis of the speech style of four British and four American politicians operating in different public political contexts. After the identification and description of the variables under study, a speech observation was carried out, followed by the codification of the results obtained. Then, data were numerically as well as graphically represented, and were subsequently analysed by means of the implementations of quantitative –statistical tests– and qualitative methods. Particularly, the results analysis was carried out from a descriptive –since detailed explanation of the data observed was provided– and an interpretive perspective, taking into account social class, occupation, educational background, gender and geographic aspects, mainstream and non-mainstream conventions, the prestige associated with certain variants, and therefore, their appropriate or inappropriate use in the contexts studied by the informants selected. Lastly, as will be further explained in section III.2, the design of the present study favours the exclusion of the researcher's influence.

III.1. Areas of Study: Dialectal and Sociolectal Variation

III.1.1. American Varieties of English

The United States of America (USA or US) consists of fifty states, plus the District of Columbia. In addition, forty-eight states are contiguously located in North America (Alabama, Arizona, Arkansas, California, Colorado, Connecticut, Delaware, Florida, Georgia, Idaho, Illinois, Indiana, Iowa, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Michigan, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, Nevada, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New Mexico, New York, North Carolina, North Dakota, Ohio, Oklahoma, Oregon, Pennsylvania, Rhode Island, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Texas, Utah, Vermont, Virginia, Washington, West Virginia, Wisconsin and Wyoming), while Alaska and Hawaii are respectively located in North-western North America and in the mid-Pacific.

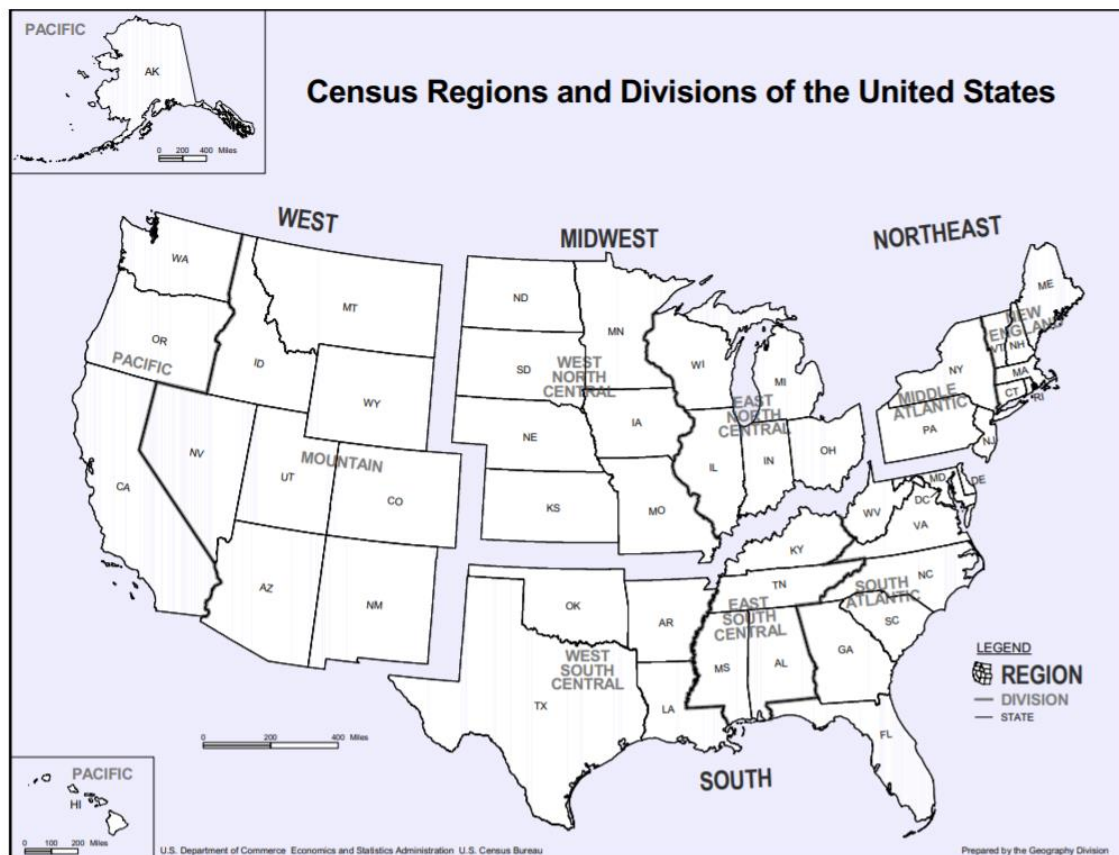


Figure III.1. Census Regions and Divisions of the United States. Source: United States Census Bureau (2010) (<https://www.census.gov/>).

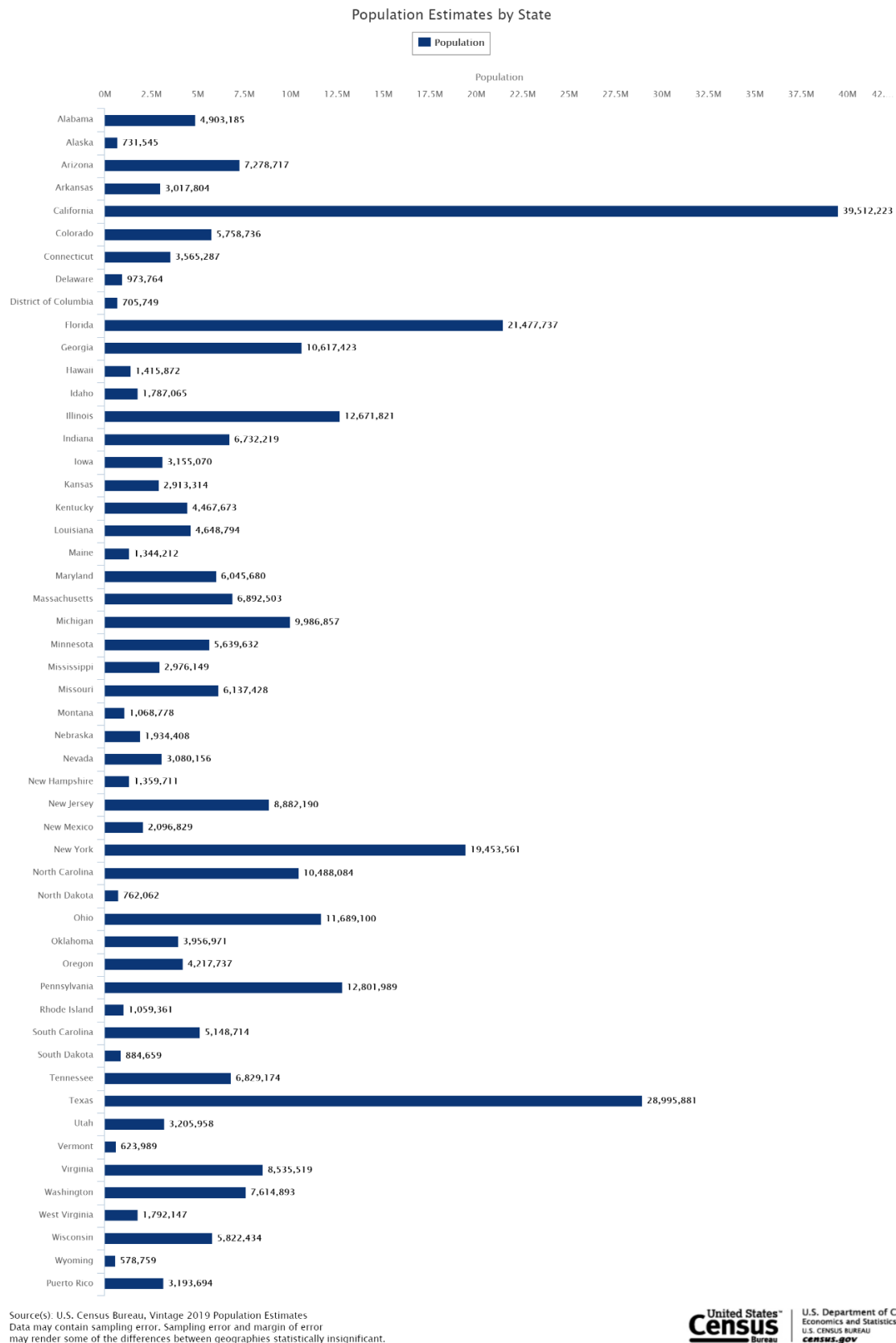


Figure III.2. Population estimates by State. Source: United States Census Bureau, Vintage 2019 Population Estimates (2019) (<https://www.census.gov/>).

Politically, and as it can be observed in Figure III.1, the aforementioned states are organised according to several census regions, namely: Northeast (which as two divisions: New England and Middle Atlantic), Midwest (which has two divisions: East North Central and West North Central), South (which has three divisions: South Atlantic, East South Central and West South Central) and West (which has two divisions: Mountain and Pacific). In addition, this nation has a population of 328,239,523 inhabitants (United States Census Bureau 2019). However, as it can be observed in Figure III.2, the population in the U.S. is not evenly spread across the different states and cities, being California, Texas, Florida, New York, Pennsylvania, Illinois and Ohio the most populated states; and New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Houston, Phoenix and Philadelphia the largest cities in the U.S.

Historically, the English language has experienced considerable modifications since it began to be articulated more than a millennium ago (Baugh & Cable 2002). Particularly, in the case of the United States of America, certain factors such as the occurrence of several historical events and the specific social and educational background of each state have contributed to the creation of a wide range of dialectal variation across different states, being the North-South division one of the most remarkable dialect boundaries. As a result, U.S. regional variation reveals certain phonological differences, having to do most of them with vowels (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Especially, it is along the Atlantic coast of North America where the sharpest regional and social disparities in speech can be found (Wells 1982), being the speech of other geographical areas also different, but to a lesser extent. As previously stated, the distinctive nature of American speech results from the continent's settlement history, being the different accents and dialects the outcome of unique combinations of settlers coming from different geographical areas –mainly from the British Isles– and their language varieties (Schneider 2006). As a result, several similarities as well as differences can be observed in vocabulary, syntactic, grammatical and phonological patterns when comparing American with British English.

According to Baugh and Cable (2002), the most relevant historical event that influenced the dialectal patterns that characterise the different varieties of North American English was the settlement of English colonies in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. These English-speakers settled the North American Atlantic coast and brought with them the language spoken in England at that time (i.e.: the language of Shakespeare), being the inland areas of the mid-west and the far west settled from the east. The first wave of

settlers came mainly from Southern England, which explains why the accents of New England and Southern areas of U.S. resemble the speech of this British region. On the other hand, succeeding waves of immigrants coming from Northern and Western England, Scotland and Ireland would settle mid-Atlantic coastal areas, being the working-class speech of these individuals the basis of colonial mid-Atlantic American speech (Schneider 2006). In addition, during the eighteenth century other non-English European groups began to settle South-eastern regions, bringing with them their speech characteristics, such as French Huguenots, Welsh, Highland Scots, Germans, Swiss and Jews, being the group of Ulster Scots (Scotch-Irish) one of the most prominent.

At this colonial stage, Western Pennsylvania would constitute the most Western region of North-eastern states (Gordon 2004a). Nevertheless, in the 1780s, this frontier would expand to other North-western territories such as Ohio, Indiana and Illinois. In addition, the Louisiana purchase in 1803 would foster the settlement of other Western states, becoming the population of the newly settled areas considerably mixed in terms of origin. For instance, states like Minnesota, North Dakota and South Dakota would attract individuals from New England and Western New York, while other states like Iowa and Missouri would be settled by Midlanders (Gordon 2004a). In addition, due to the gold rush of 1848, streams of individuals from other states moved to California and relocated mainly in San Francisco, turning this area into a cosmopolitan urban city. Yet, even though a considerable number of settlements were carried out by English-speaking emigrants from Eastern regions of the United States, the lands into which they moved were already populated by speakers of different origins, just as Native Americans, Spaniards, Germans and Scandinavians, which undoubtedly conditioned the English spoken on those areas.

Resulting from the historical events already described, different pronunciations would be heard in every eastern colony in the early settlement stages. This fact, together with the arrival of new settlers from other countries in the eighteenth century fostered the desire of establishing English as a common language (Kretzschmar 2004: 258); being the newly American English rather different from the emerging British English. Particularly, Northern regions began to be more committed to public education –contrarily to Southern areas–, fostering the creation of “common schools” in order to provide basic knowledge in reading and writing. In addition, due to the expansion of the colonies from Eastern to Western areas during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, it was the Eastern colonial speech the one

that started to influence other inland and Western areas (Kretzschmar 2004). Hence, the historical settlements carried out by English and European groups that brought their language with them along with the languages of Native Americans –of which some features are still present in North American English, just as place names– contributed to the creation of a new English variety.

Consequently, according to Trudgill & Hannah (2008), the sociolinguistic situation of the United States is characterised by a high degree of regional variation in terms of pronunciation, which contrasts with other English-speaking varieties just as Australian New Zealand English or South African English. In addition, even though several scholars indicate the presence of a mainstream accent called “General American” (Wells 1982; Trudgill & Hannah 2008) or “Standard American English” (Kretzschmar 2004), both terms refer to “the level of quality (here of pronunciation) that is employed by educated speakers in formal settings” (Kretzschmar 2004: 257). In fact, General American English differs across regions and between individuals, since as stated by (Kretzschmar 2004: 257): “speakers from different circumstances in and different parts of the United States commonly employ regional and social features to some extent even in formal situations”. This sociolinguistic situation contrasts with that of England, where accents are regionally and socially marked. This implies that regional linguistic features tend to be deleted from the speech of British individuals belonging to a high social status, while regional origins are revealed as we go down the social-class ladder. Contrarily, there is not such an equivalent supra-regional accent in the U.S., where individuals belonging to high social status tend to exhibit accentual features associated with their geographical areas of provenance. Hence, as will be further explained, mainstream linguistic conventions in the U.S. are associated with geographical areas, rather than with socio-economic positions.

From a dialectologist perspective, several scholars have provided different divisions of the dialectal areas of the U.S. For instance, as observed in Figure III.3, Kurath (1949, cited in Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006) distinguished eighteen speech areas in the Atlantic Coast –basing this division mainly on vocabulary aspects, although it is claimed that this division also accounts for morphological, syntactic and pronunciation aspects as well–, which were organised according to three main groups: “Northern”, “Midland”, and “Southern”. According to Wells (1982: 467):

[t]he north comprises New England and New York State; it extends from Maine through the Yankee heartland down to northern New Jersey. It includes New York City and Boston, Massachusetts. The midland area extends inland from the Middle Atlantic states of New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and includes Philadelphia. The south extends southwards from about Washington, DC, and includes Virginia and the Carolinas, with the cities of Richmond, Norfolk, and Charleston.

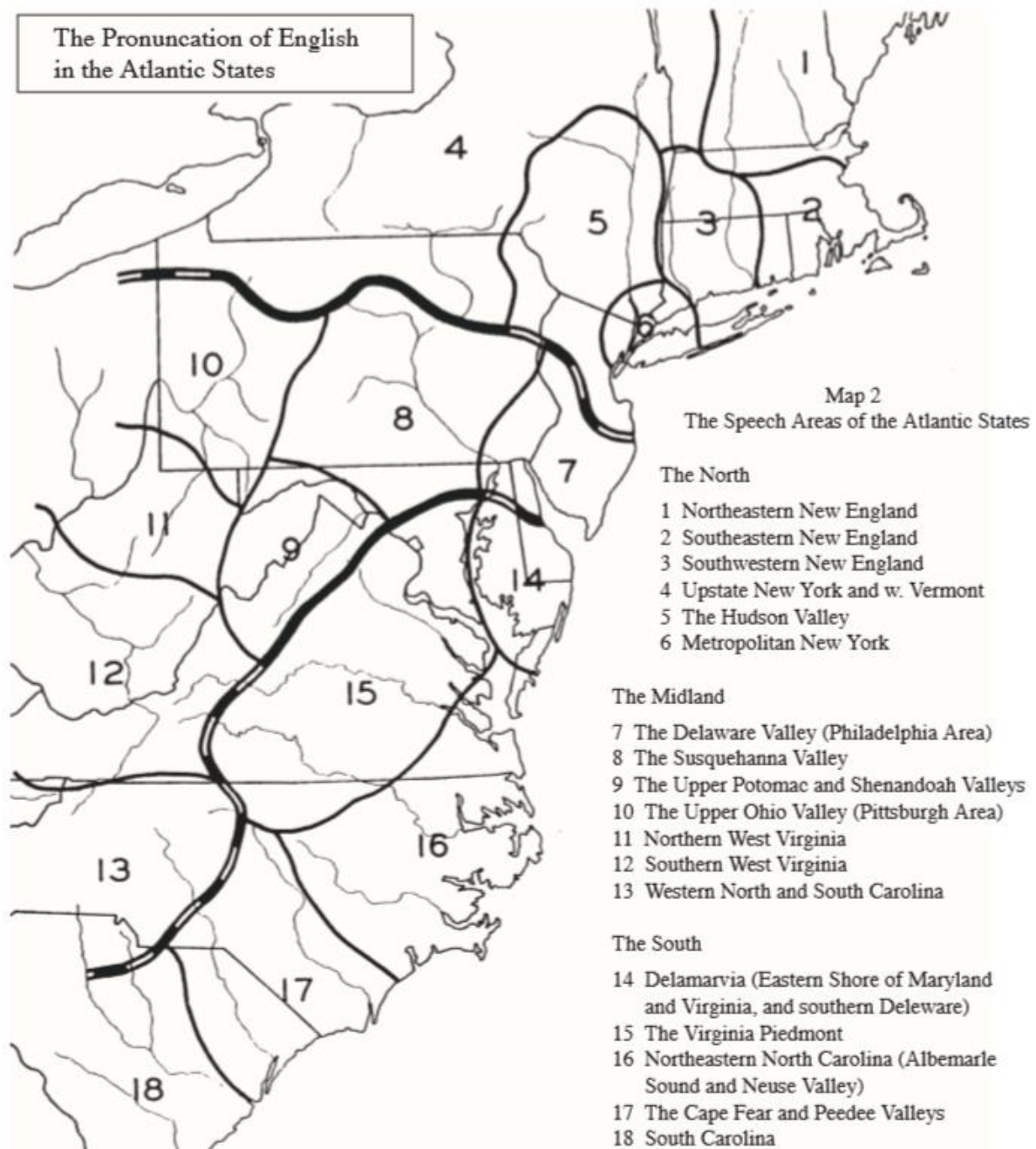


Figure III.3. Kurath's (1949: 91) map of the speech areas of the Eastern states. Source: Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006: 5).

Other dialectologists have emphasised the North-South division, such as Carver (1987), who proposed the designation of “Upper South” and “Lower North” instead of “South Midland” and “North Midland”, respectively. On the other hand, as observed in Figure III.4, Thomas (1958) proposed ten major dialectal areas, namely: “Eastern New England”, “New York City”, “Middle Atlantic”, “Southern”, “Western Pennsylvania”, “Southern Mountain”, “Central Midland”, “Northwest”, “Southwest” and “North-Central”. However, further division for Southern accents have been proposed (Bailey 1969). Yet, for methodological purposes, the present study follows the division proposed by Trudgill and Hannah (2008), which consists in the identification of three main accent regions (as it can be observed in Figure III.5): the South, the General American area and the North-east. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that dialect boundaries are “abstractions of linguists, artifices that are built on empirical observations but that depend on the diagnostic features chosen” (Baugh & Cable 2002: 356-357), and therefore, they cannot be regarded as clearly demarcated state and county boundaries.

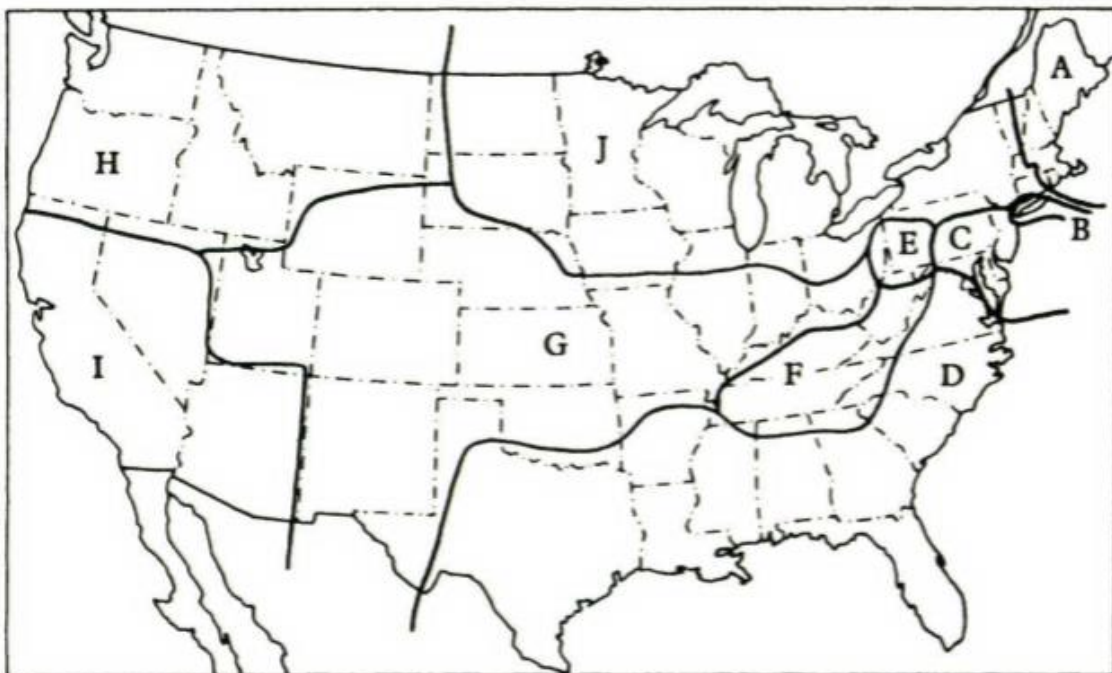


Figure III.4. Thomas's map of the speech areas of the U.S. Source: Wells (1982: 472).

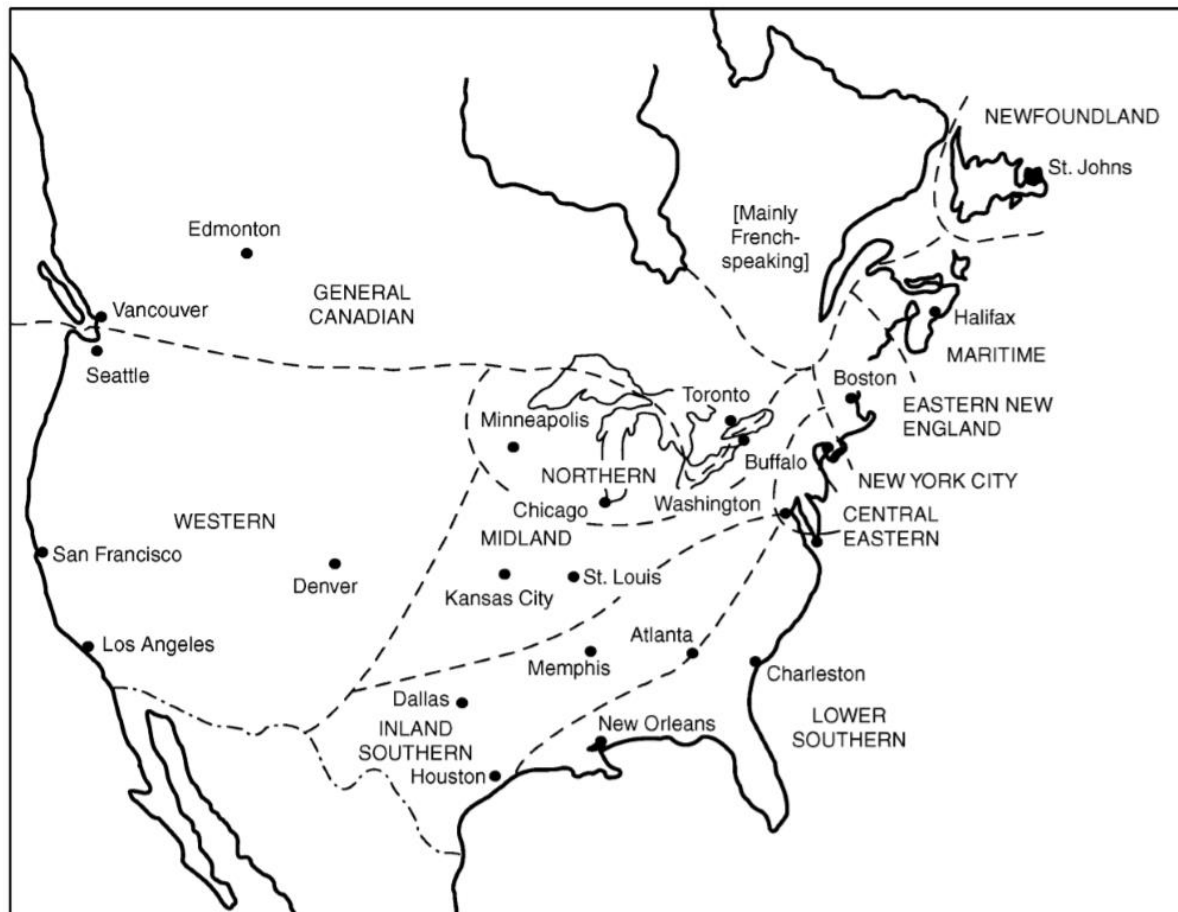


Figure III.5. Trudgill and Hannah's accent areas division of the U.S. Source: Trudgill and Hannah (2008: 46).

III.1.1.a. The South

It is noteworthy to mention that social conditions in the South have been considerably different from those in Northern and Midland areas (Wells 1982). For instance, the South used to base its economy on plantation fields, where African American slave labour was implemented to supplement and even replace white labour (Thomas 2004). In fact, as stated by Labov (2012), before the eighteenth century, those areas of the U.S. that were characterised by a predominant population of African American individuals were located in Southeastern regions, particularly in rice-growing plantations of the Sea Islands. This fact contributed to a significant growth of the African American population in Southern areas, which is evident at current times if compared with the African American or Black population of other U.S. regions. According to the United States Census Bureau (2011), and as it can be observed in Table III.1, the population of Blacks or African Americans in 2010 in the region of the South almost tripled that of the Midwest and Northeast, being the West the region with the lowest population of Blacks or African Americans.

Table III.1. Black or African American Population in the Regions of the United States in 2010. Source: United States Census Bureau (<https://www.census.gov/>).

Region	Population in 2010
West	3,422,800
Midwest	6,950,869
Northeast	6,550,217
South	22,005,433

Thus, as it can be appreciated in Figure III.6, the majority of the African American individuals in the U.S. are based on Southern regions.

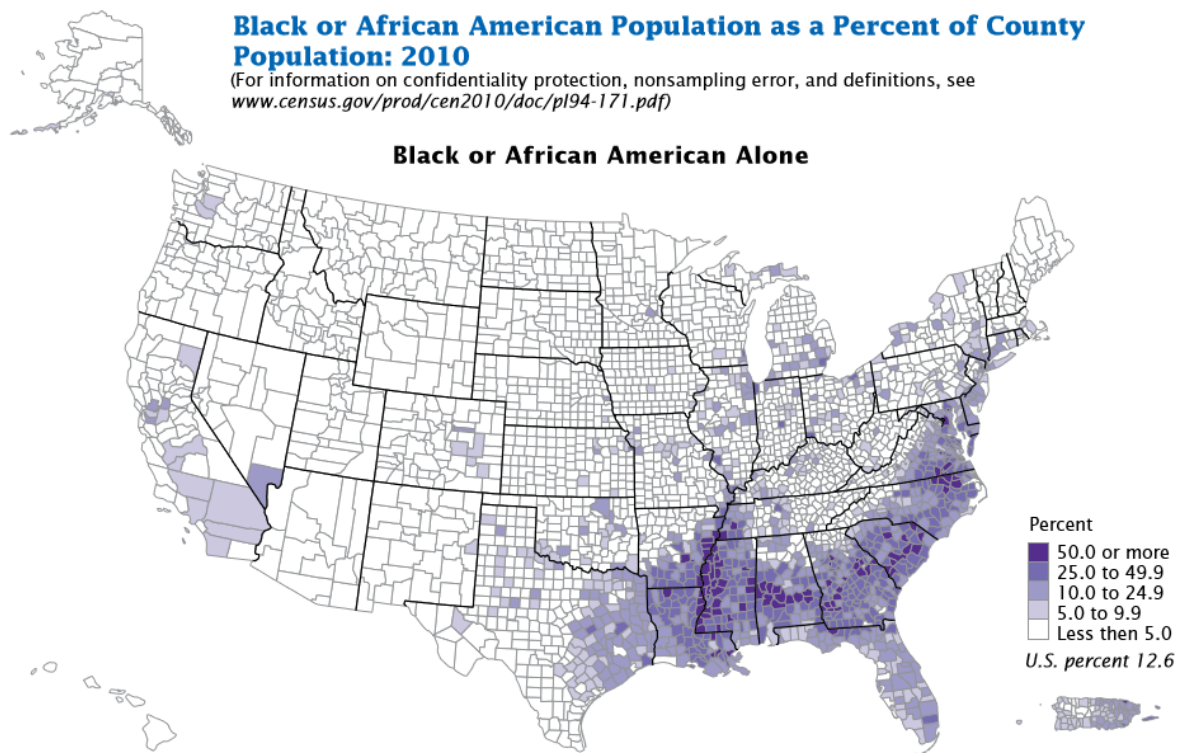


Figure III.6. Distribution of Black or African American population in the U.S. in 2010. Source: United States Census Bureau (2011) (<https://www.census.gov/>).

In addition, since strong associations with England would be maintained by the gentry of the South, those individuals belonging to a high social and economic status would send their sons to England so as to receive an exceptional education (Thomas 2004). As a result, social stratification would be more rigidly established in Southern than in Northern states. Also, even though the eighteenth century brought a considerable economic growth to Southern areas, this region experienced an impoverishment after the Civil War (1861-1865). Thus, until World War II, this area was characterised by migration movements of Black and White Southerners to Northern and Western regions in search of new opportunities, as well

as by several events that negatively affected Southern states, just as the boll weevil pest and the Great Depression (Baugh & Cable 2002; Thomas 2004). However, after World War II, Southern states began to attract a large number of migrants from other parts of the United States that would settle in urban Southern centres, remaining rural areas rather impoverished and less influenced by newcomers (Thomas 2004; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Kretzschmar 2004),

Consequently, the historical events already mentioned shaped the dialect of Southern regions, which is by no means homogeneous. Moreover, due to the fact that the South followed a slower process of industrialisation and education than that of the North, different attitudes arise when it comes to comparing Northern and Southern accents. Hence, the generally rural lifestyle and the scarce presence of schoolteachers are factors that have contributed to the creation of the stereotype of Southern speakers, being considered by Northerners as curious and even comical (Wells 1982: 528). As a result, Southerners' reactions towards their stereotyped accent range from loyalty to their origins to a determination of erasing every Southern hint from their speech due to the unfavourable opinions that it might generate in Northern speakers. White (1980: 153, cited in Wells 1982: 530) provides an example of this sociolinguistic situation:

[n]o state has been more satirized than Texas, and Texans, accordingly, have become wary of outsiders. Even their own accent roubles them. [...] In some contexts Texans think of their accent as the way people should talk; it is the sound of sociability and sincerity. But they also know it is considered comical, substandard. Many educated Texans speak like Yankees at work and like Southerners at home with friends.

According to Trudgill and Hannah's (2008) classification, the broad geographical area of the South can be sub-divided into two main dialectal sub-regions: the Lower South and the Inland South.

III.1.1.a.i. Lower Southern

Lower Southern accents are found in eastern Virginia, eastern North Carolina, eastern South Carolina, northern Florida, southern Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana and south-eastern Texas. Several urban centres stand out, such New Orleans (Louisiana), with a population of 390,144 inhabitants (United States Census Bureau 2019), and Charleston (South Carolina), with a population of 137,566 inhabitants (United States Census Bureau 2019).

Linguistically, even though considerable variation in accentual terms can be observed across this area, the major features of Lower Southern accents comprise the following ones (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008):

1. Regarding rhoticity, Lower Southern accents are generally non-rhotic, meaning that consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car*, *cart*, *bark* or *four*) while it is realised in prevocalic position (as in *raw*, *rude*, *carry*, *mirror* or *library*). In fact, the degree of non-rhoticity is so salient in several coastal Lower Southern accents that apart from lacking postvocalic /r/ they also lack linking and intrusive /r/ (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 47). This characteristic non-rhoticity of Southern accents would have been brought by English speakers to major Eastern coast ports such as Charleston, to be then spread to surrounding areas in the post-settlement period (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 47). Particularly, non-rhoticity tends to be associated with the speech of upper-class Whites and Blacks, while rhotic realisations tend to be associated with the speech of lower-class Whites (Wells 1982: 542).
2. Lax front vowels /ɪ, ɛ, æ/ tend to experience a schwa offglide in several stressed monosyllables, creating at their most extreme realisations a specific kind of diphthong that consists of a monophthong to which a schwa is added. This centring diphthongisation process originates pronunciations just as *lip* [lɪəp], and *bid* [bɪjəd], *bed* [bejəd], *bad* [bæijəd] (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 47).
3. The vowel /aɪ/ as in *price* is often produced with monophthongal [a:], giving pronunciations such as *high* [ha:]. In certain parts of the South monophthongal [a:] tends to be pronounced in all phonetic environments, originating pronunciations like ['nattam] for *night time*. However, other Southern areas may employ higher prestige accents by pronouncing the /aɪ/ allophone when it is followed by a voiceless consonant, thus, *night time* would be pronounced as ['naittam] (Wells 1982: 537).
4. Diphthongs /eɪ/ and /ou/ often have rather more open starting points than other North American varieties, being this pronunciation quite similar to that of Southern England (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 47).

5. The opposition between /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ is neutralised before a nasal consonant, resulting in the same pronunciation of words such as *pin* and *pen*, *hymn* and *hem* or *mint* and *meant*. Most speakers pronounce the resulting merged vowel as closer to [ɪ], being the option of a realisation closer to [ɛ] also used by some individuals.
6. Consonant /t/ tends to be deleted in /nt/ clusters. Thus, words like *winter* and *winner* are pronounced similarly in Southern accents. For example, /'wɪntə/ would be realised as [wɪnə].
7. Certain variability may occur in the treatment that Southerners make of consonant /j/. This consonant is generally lost after alveolars in the speech of Southern urbanites, being words like *do* and *due* homophones. However, like some Easterners, consonant /j/ may also occur in Southern speech in certain words in the form of /ju/ or /ɪu/. Nevertheless, a tendency towards a complete deletion of /j/ appears to be undergoing in Southern regions.
8. The difference between /t/ and /d/ in intervocalic position tends to be neutralised, being words like *ladder* and *latter* similarly realised with /d/.
9. Lastly, *isn't* and *wasn't* verb forms tend to be pronounced with /d/ instead of /z/.

III.1.1.a.ii. Inland Southern

Accents characteristic of the Inland South are present in West Virginia, Kentucky, Tennessee, western Virginia, western North Carolina, western South Carolina, northern Georgia, northern Alabama, Arkansas, south-western Missouri, Oklahoma, and most of Texas. Appalachian and Ozark mountain varieties are also encompassed by this accent area. Several urban centres stand out, such as Houston (Texas), with a population of 2,320,268 people (United States Census Bureau 2019), Dallas (Texas), with a population of 1,343,573 people (United States Census Bureau 2019), or Memphis (Tennessee), with a population of 651,073 people (United

States Census Bureau 2019), being Dallas and Houston among the most populated cities in the U.S., and Texas, one of the most populated states.

Linguistically, Inland Southern accents share the majority of the features previously mentioned for Lower Southern accents, being the most relevant difference the treatment that both accent areas make of post-vocalic /r/. Hence, even though certain variation may be observed, Inland Southern speech is generally rhotic. As indicated by Trudgill and Hannah (2008: 47), the reason of the existence of this salient difference between both Southern accents may lie in the fact that Inland Southern areas are located further away from the ports of the coastal East, and therefore, would have been less influenced by the speech of settlers from Southern England that would have arrived at coastal ports.

III.1.1.a.iii. Black Varieties

Given the prevalence of Blacks or African Americans in Southern states, it is paramount to address this variety in order to provide an accurate picture of the dialectal patterns found in Southern regions, and therefore, to analyse the speech of the informants selected for the present study. Yet, it must be remarked that this variety may not be necessarily linked only to the geographical area of the South. Several terms have been used to refer to this ethnic variety, such as “African American Vernacular English”, “African American English”, “Black English” or “Ebonics” among others. However, it must be pointed out that African American Vernacular English (AAVE) is not a fixed variety, being several linguistic features subject to change depending on the geographical area where a particular individual is based, his or her social class, or the situational context in which he or she is operating, among other factors. Indeed, as stated by Lippi-Green (2012: 188): “the language of African Americans living in the rural South is different from that of the Latino- and Anglo Americans who live alongside them, but it is also different from the AAVE spoken in urban centres in the South”. Particularly, AAVE is mostly spoken by working-class African Americans based on urban areas (Edwards 2004), being the majority of middle-class African Americans bi-dialectal in AAVE and General American English (Lippi-Green 2012). As previously stated, due to the historical events associated with the African American community in the U.S., AAVE has been traditionally stigmatised, resulting in negative evaluations on the part of non-AAVE speakers and even of African Americans themselves, who believe that in order to success, AAVE should not be used

in certain contexts (Lippi-Green 2012). At the same time, negative evaluations may also arise in African Americans towards those counterparts that do not speak AAVE (Lippi-Green 2012).

Linguistically, it can be noticed how the accent of many African Americans shares some features with those of White speakers from the Lower South while strongly differing from General American and North-eastern varieties. Trudgill and Hannah (2008) explain that this resemblance would be the result of the mixture of White and African Americans being based in the plantation and slave-owning regions of the South until the abolition of slavery. In addition, when relocating to Northern and Western areas of the U.S. in the framework of the “Great Migration” in the early twentieth century, African Americans would informally diffuse across different geographic regions, bringing their speech style with them, and creating new African American –speech– communities in urban centers (Edwards 2004; Burrage 2008). Conditioned by racial segregation, the isolation of this ethnic community would have resulted in a rather low contact between African Americans and Whites in Northern and Western areas, fostering the preservation of AAVE (Edwards 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008). This historical fact could explain the noticeable speech homogeneity among AAVE individuals from different areas, just as Chicago, Cleveland or Philadelphia. In addition, the low contact between African American and Whites in Northern and Western areas may also explain why African American speakers are not participating in certain Northern innovative processes, such as the Northern Cities Chain Shift (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Consequently, AAVE tends to be more conservative than other North American varieties, as traditional features tend to be preserved in AAVE while disappearing in other accents (Labov 2012).

Regarding the differences with other American English varieties, AAVE exhibits grammatical, morphological and phonological characteristics that are unique to this variety, even though some phonetic realisations are similar to those of Southern accents. Thus, several linguistic features that characterise AAVE are as follows (Edwards 2004):

1. As in Southern accents, the opposition between /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ is neutralised before a nasal consonant, resulting in the same pronunciation of words such as *pin* and *pen*, *hymn* and *hem* or *mint* and *meant*.

2. Vowel /æ/ is raised and fronted towards /ɛ/, especially before words with following nasals. Thus, words like *Ann* and *bang* are pronounced as [ɛn] and [bɛn] respectively in AAVE.
3. Vowel /e/ is lax and lowered towards /ɛ/ when followed by a nasal consonant or a heterosyllabic vowel. Thus, words like *same* or *saying* are pronounced as [sɛm] and [sɛɪn] respectively in AAVE.
4. Just like Southern accents, vowel /aɪ/ as in *price* is often produced with monophthongal [a:], especially before nasals, pauses and voiced obstruents. Hence, words like *mine*, *hi*, *slide* are pronounced as [ma:n], [ha:] and [sla:d] respectively in AAVE.
5. Consonants /t/ and /d/ as in *not* or *bad* are sometimes realised as glottal stops. In addition, /d/ is frequently devoiced to /t/ or deleted in this environment. Thus, *not* would be pronounced as [nɔʔ], *bad* would be pronounced as [bæt] or [bæʔ], *bid* would be pronounced as [bɪt] or [bɪ], and *good* would be pronounced as [gɔt] or [gɔʔ].
6. Similar to Southern accents, /z/ and /v/ are fronted and stopped before nasals. Thus, words like *isn't*, *business* or *seven* are pronounced as [ɪdnt], [bɪdnɪs] and [sebn] respectively in AAVE.
7. /θ/ and ð/ as in *thing* and *those* are often realised as stops /t/ and /d/, respectively, in word-initial and word-final positions. In addition, the voiceless interdental fricative is sometimes realised as /f/, while the voiced segment can be realised as /v/ in word-internal and word-final position. Thus, words like *thing*, *those*, *with*, *tenth*, *bath*, *faith* and *mother* would be pronounced as [tɪn], [doz], [wɪt], [tɛnt], [bæf], [feɪf] and [mʌvə] respectively in AAVE.
8. Similar to certain Southern accents, AAVE speech is non-rhotic, being this one of the most salient features of this ethnic variety. Particularly, /r/ is often vocalised

or deleted in post-vocalic, pre-consonantal and word final positions. The deletion or vocalisation tends to occur after non-central vowels in unstressed positions, and least often after central vowels in stressed positions. For instance, *floor* would be pronounced as [floə] or [flo], and *record* as ['rekəd]. In addition, even though the extent to which African Americans treat this linguistic feature may vary, they exhibit a considerably lower use of consonant /r/ in post-vocalic position than other American English speakers (Labov 2012: 41).

9. Consonant /l/ is often vocalised or deleted in post-vocalic, pre-consonantal and word-final environments. Particularly, when the sound is not realised as [l], it tends to be vocalised to a greater extent than deleted. In addition, /l/ is most frequently deleted before the mid front vowels. Also, vocalisation of [l] as [w] occurs most frequently after back vowels, and deletion rarely occurs before high front vowels. Thus, words like *help*, *bell*, *roll*, *school*, *feel* or *football* are pronounced as [hɛp], [bɛw], [rɒ], [skuw], [fiw] and [fʊbɔw] respectively.
10. Contrarily to Southern accents and similar to Northern ones, consonant /j/ is sometimes deleted when preceded by [u], as in *computer* [kəm'putə] or *beautiful* [bʊtɪfɪ].
11. /n/ and other nasals may be deleted in syllable final position, being the nasality transferred to the preceding vowel. Thus, words like *bang* would be pronounced as [bæ̃] in AAVE.
12. The second consonant in a cluster tends to be deleted in AAVE when the two consonants share the same voicing feature. This deletion most frequently takes place when the cluster is located at the end of a monomorphemic word. It also occurs most frequently when the monomorphemic word is followed by a word that begins with an obstruent consonant. However, it rarely occurs when a cluster ends a bimorphemic word and is followed by a word that begins with a vowel (Edwards 2004: 389). Thus, words like *and*, *left* and *desk* would be pronounced as [æn], [lɛf] and [dɛs] respectively.

13. /s/+ stop as in *ask* and *grasp* is often realised as [æks] *grasp* [græps].

Apart from the aforementioned phonetic features, AAVE exhibits certain differences regarding stress, pitch and intonation. For example, African-American speakers tend to place the stress on the first syllable of a word, which contrasts with the General American tendency of stressing other syllables (Edwards 2004).

III.1.1.b. General American

The term “General American” encompasses those American accents which do not show regionally marked linguistic features that are characteristic of Eastern or Southern accents. In addition, General American is regarded as a rather prestigious accent, as educated speakers tend to use this variety in formal settings. However, in contrast to RP, this prestigious accent is linked to certain geographical regions. As a result, far from being a unified accent, differences can be observed within the extensive area in which General American is spoken.

According to Trudgill and Hannah’s (2008) classification, the vast geographical area under the umbrella of General American can be sub-divided into four accent areas, namely: Central Eastern, Western, Midland and Northern.

III.1.1.b.i. Central Eastern

Central Eastern accents can be found in the areas of south-eastern New York State, most of New Jersey away from New York City, eastern Pennsylvania, Delaware and Maryland (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 48). Several urban centres stand out, such as Philadelphia (Pennsylvania), with a population of 1,584,064 inhabitants (United States Census Bureau 2019), Baltimore (Maryland), with a population of 593,490 inhabitants (United States Census Bureau 2019), and Wilmington (Delaware), with a population of 70,166 inhabitants (United States Census Bureau 2019).

Linguistically, those features that characterise Central Eastern speech include the following ones (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008):

1. The *Northern Cities Chain Shift* phenomenon (described in III.1.1.b.iv.) is affecting vowels /ɜ/, /æ/ and /ɑ/ in this accent area.

2. Vowel /eɪ/ as in *bay* is becoming a rather close diphthong. This change contrasts with the pronunciation of Southern accents, which are characterised by a rather wide pronunciation of this diphthong.
3. The first element of /aɪ/, tends to be raised in the direction of /ə/ before voiceless consonants. As a result, pronunciations like [næt taɪm] for *night time* can be found in Central Eastern accents.
4. Vowel /u/ in words like *boot* tends to be fronted from [u:] towards [ʊ:].
5. The first element in /ou/ as in *boat* tends to be fronted. Nevertheless, this change is not as advanced as the [əʊ] realisation that is found in RP accents.
6. Even though glottalised forms are not predominantly used in Central Eastern speech, they might appear before /n/ as in button ['bʌŋ̚n]. Nevertheless, final /t/ tends to be unreleased, especially in the environment of a following consonant, as in *that man*.
7. Consonant /l/ is often realised as dark /l/ in all positions, being the RP allophonic differentiation of [l] versus [ɫ] absent in Central Eastern speech.
10. The opposition between /t/ and /d/ tends to be neutralised when /t/ occurs in intervocalic position, being words like *ladder* and *latter* realised with /d/.
8. Central Eastern speech is rhotic, meaning that consonant /r/ is pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car, cart, bark* or *four*) as well as in prevocalic position (as in *raw, rude, carry, mirror* or *library*).
9. There is a trend among many North American speakers to reduce /lj/ to /j/ in words like *million* /mɪjən/, being this tendency rather similar to that of Australian English.
10. Consonant /j/ tends to be deleted in the pronunciations of words like *due* or *new*.

11. In contrast to Southern accents, consonant /t/ tends to be preserved in /nt/ clusters. Thus, words like *winter* and *winner* are pronounced differently in Central Eastern speech.

III.1.1.b.ii. Western

This accent area comprises the western states of Washington, Oregon, California, Nevada, Idaho, Utah, Arizona, Montana, Wyoming, Colorado, North Dakota and South Dakota. Certain urban centres stand out, such as Los Angeles (California), with a population of 3,979,576 people (United States Census Bureau 2019), San Francisco (California), with a population of 881,549 people (United States Census Bureau 2019), Seattle (Washington), with a population of 753,675 people (United States Census Bureau 2019), and Denver (Colorado), with a population of 727,211 people (United States Census Bureau 2019).

Given the extension of this dialect area, the encompassed accents may exhibit certain degree of variation across regions. For instance, Western urban speech and Western rural speech are usually easy to differentiate, being the former more innovative than the latter. Particularly, those innovations already mentioned for Central Eastern speech (section III.1.1.b.i.) can also be found in Western states, being these linguistic features mostly employed by younger speakers in cities like San Francisco, Los Angeles, Seattle and Denver; which contrasts with the speech of older individuals based in rural regions of Wyoming or Montana. Nevertheless, even though this accent area shares several similarities with Central Eastern speech, certain aspects differentiate both varieties, since the phenomenon of the *Northern Cities Chain Shift* (described in section III.1.1.b.iv.) is not present in Western regions. Other linguistic features that characterise Western speech are the following ones (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008):

1. A change is currently in progress in the Western area. Particularly, the vowel /ɔ/ in words like *caught* is increasingly merging with vowel /ɑ/ as in *cot*, and therefore, it is gradually disappearing. As a result, pairs of words like *taught* – *tot*, and *sought* – *sot* have the same pronunciation. This change in progress is more salient in the speech of younger speakers.

2. Vowel /æ/ as in *bad* is merged with /ɛ/ before intrasyllabic /r/. Hence, words like *marry* and *merry* are identical ([mɛrɪ]), while others like *carry* and *cherry* perfectly rhyme. It is noteworthy to mention that this pattern applies to the majority of General American accents (except for Eastern accent), where the merging of other vowels in the environment of intrasyllabic /r/ is rather common, such as /i:/ and /ɪ/, /ɛ/ and /ei/, and /ʌ/ and /ə/. In addition, vowel /ɑ/ may be replaced by /ɔ/ or /ou/, being this not a total merger.
3. Additionally, a lack of /j/ in words like *new*, *nude*, *tune*, *student*, *duke* and *due* can be observed in Western speech. Thus, *tune* is pronounced as [tu:n] rather than [tju:n], and *duke* is pronounced as [du:k] rather than [dju:k].

III.1.1.b.iii. Midland

This accent area comprises the states of Nebraska, Kansas, western Iowa, most of Missouri, southern Illinois, southern Indiana, southern Ohio and southwestern Pennsylvania. Several urban centres stand out, such St. Luis (Missouri), with a population of 300,576 inhabitants (United States Census Bureau 2019), and Kansas City (Kansas), with a population of 152,960 inhabitants (United States Census Bureau 2019).

Linguistically, in broad terms, the phonology of Midland speech is the same as the one described for the Western accent area, except for the fact that the *cot-caught* merger has already been completed in south-western Pennsylvania and eastern Ohio. In addition, Midland educated speakers may employ dialectal features from old rural areas, being specially salient the treatment that they make of vowels /ɪ/, /ɛ/, /æ/, /ʊ/, /ʌ/, /ɑ/ and /ɔ/ before fricatives /f/ and /ʒ/. Thus, words like *fish* are pronounced with /i/ ([fi]); words like *push* are pronounced with /u/ ([pu]); words like *special* are pronounced with diphthongal [ei] (/speɪfəl/); words like *mash* are pronounced with [æɪ] ([mæɪ]); words like *hush* are pronounced with [əɪ] ([həɪ]) and words like *wash* are pronounced with /ɔr/ ([wɔr]) (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 50).

III.1.1.b.iv. Northern

Northern accents can be found in the major northern cities of Chicago (Illinois), with a population of 2,693,976 people (United States Census Bureau 2019), Detroit (Michigan), with a population of 670,031 people (United States Census Bureau 2019), Minneapolis (Minnesota), with a population of 429,606 people (United States Census Bureau 2019), Cleveland (Ohio), with a population of 381,009 people (United States Census Bureau 2019), and Buffalo (New York), with a population of 255,284 people (United States Census Bureau 2019), as well as in the states of Minnesota, Wisconsin, northern Illinois, northern Indiana, northern Ohio, northern Pennsylvania, north-western New York and west Vermont.

Linguistically, in broad terms, Northern speech shares a wide number of similarities with the speech of Western regions; however, certain differences can also be observed between both accent areas. For instance, a series of innovative processes involving vowels /ɛ/, /æ/ and /ɑ/ are currently taking place in the Northern accent area. This linguistic phenomenon is known as the *Northern Cities Chain Shift*, and as it can be observed in Figure III.7, it involves the following innovations (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: 121; Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 50-51):

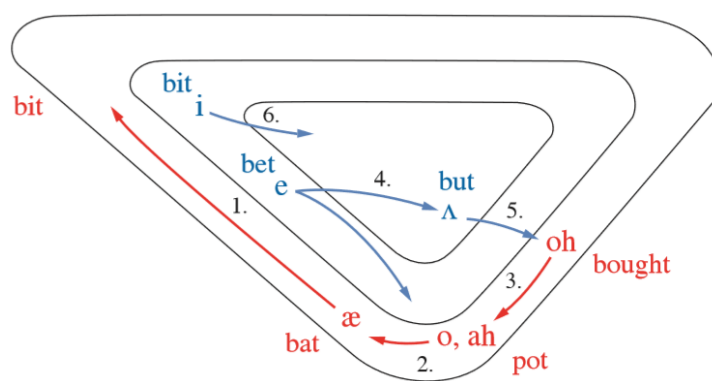


Figure III.7. Northern Cities Chain Shift. Source: Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006: 121).

1. The chain shift is triggered by the general rising of vowel /ɑ/ in order to take up a fronted position, which would be closer to the initial position of vowel /æ/. As a result, speakers from other accent regions may not find differences in sets of words like *John* and *Jan* (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 51).

2. Influenced by /ɑ/ rising, vowel /æ/ experiences a lengthening process, moving upwards through [ɛ:] to [e:], and even diphthongising to [eə] or [ɪə]; as a result, words like *Ann* and *Ian* might sound rather similar. It must be taken into account that the raising and diphthongising degree of this vowel may vary depending on the geographical area at issue, the word environment and the phonological environment, being the following consonant the most determinant factor. Hence, *man* may be pronounced as [mɪən], while *mat* may be pronounced [mɛət]. Particularly, the city of Buffalo (New York State) has been noted to be the area in which this change is at its most advanced stage (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 51).
3. As a consequence of the raising movement of /æ/, vowel /ɛ/ moves out, going back and therefore taking a central position (closer to vowel /ʌ/). Thus, *best* may sound quite similar to *bust* (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 51).

III.1.1.c. Northeastern

According to Trudgill and Hannah's (2008) classification, the Northeastern accent area of the U.S. can be divided into two major sub-regions: Eastern New England and New York City.

III.1.1.c.i. Eastern New England

Usually, the accent of this area is easily to recognise for other Americans, and it encompasses the city of Boston (Massachusetts), with a population of 692,600 inhabitants (United States Census Bureau 2019), and the states of Maine, New Hampshire, Rhode Island, eastern Vermont, eastern Connecticut and eastern and central Massachusetts.

Due to the historical background of these areas, North-eastern accent resembles the accents of England the most. This resemblance could be explained by the historical settlement that took place in these geographical regions, which was carried out by English-speaking individuals from Scotland, Ireland, and Eastern and Southern England, among other areas, being Boston the focal point from which settlements spread to other New England areas.

Linguistically, Eastern New England speech shares several features with Central Eastern accents; nevertheless, certain differences can also be observed between both varieties.

Hence, several features that are characteristic of eastern New England comprise the following ones (Trudgill & Hannah 2008):

1. Eastern New England speech is non-rhotic, meaning that consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car*, *cart*, *bark* or *four*). In addition, linking and intrusive /r/ pronunciations also occur in Eastern New England speech. Just as in British English, vowels /ɪə/ as in *peer*, /εə/ as in *pair*, /ʊə/ as in *poor* and /ɜ:/ as in *bird* are characteristic of the vowel system of this accent area. However, the speech of those regions further away from Boston may have /r/ after /ə/ as in *bird* or *butter*. Nevertheless, it is paramount to point out that under the influence of mainstream American linguistic conventions, young speakers are increasingly making use of non-prevocalic /r/.
2. As in England, Eastern new England accents have the additional vowel /ɑ:/ in words like *bard*, *calm*, *father*, *dance* or *path*, being phonetically produced as fronted [a:]. However, as well as non-rhotic pronunciations, this feature is receding in Eastern New England speech as a result of younger speakers being influenced by mainstream American linguistic conventions.
3. Rounded vowel /ɒ/ occurs in words like *pot* and *horrid*, which contrasts with the unrounded pronunciation of /ɑ/ in other North American regions.
4. The *cot-caught* merger has been completed in this accent area, being /ɒ/ pronounced in both items. In addition, due to the characteristic non-rhoticity of Eastern New England speech and the absence of vowel /ɔ/, words like *port*, *sot*, *sought* and *sort* are all equally pronounced with /ɒ/, which contrasts with British English pronunciations.
5. Lastly, the phenomenon of the Northern Cities Chain Shift is being undergone in Boston and other urban regions, particularly in the speech of younger individuals.

III.1.1.c.ii. New York City

With an estimated population of 8,336,817 inhabitants (United States Census Bureau 2019), New York is by far the largest city in the United States. Settled from English colonies, New York City played a crucial role in the early settlement period, as from its earliest days, the city started to attract individuals from other areas and countries, such as Britain, Italy and Germany. In addition, towards the nineteenth century, streams of immigrants from southern and eastern Europe would also move to New York City, creating ethnically segregated neighbourhoods like New York's Little Italy. Furthermore, the arrival of African Americans from the South, Puerto Ricans and other Caribbeans in the twentieth century would contribute to the preservation of the ethnic diversity that characterises this accent area.

Linguistically, New York City accent is easily identifiable by other Americans, being it also found in neighbouring areas of Connecticut and New Jersey. Particularly, New York accent tends to be negatively evaluated by outsiders, being this variety often regarded as tough and non-educated. These attitudes towards New York City speech have led to the emergence of a socially stratified accent in this accent area, as upper social class individuals tend to delete local features, being them more salient in the speech of those individuals belonging to lower classes. Due to this sociolinguistic situation, New York City has intrigued a wide number of scholars in terms of dialectological aspects, being the seminal work of Labov in 1966 one of the most relevant studies about this area.

Several features that are characteristic of New York City accent include the following ones (Trudgill & Hannah 2008):

1. Similar to Boston, New York City speech is non-rhotic, meaning that consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car*, *cart*, *bark* or *four*). In addition, linking and intrusive /r/ pronunciations are rather frequent in this accent area. As a result, vowels /ɪə/ as in *peer*, /ɛə/ as in *pair*, /ʊə/ as in *poor*, and /ɜ:/ as in *bird* are frequently used by New York City speakers, just as in RP and other non-rhotic accents. Nevertheless, the speech of younger speakers –particularly of those belonging to higher social class groups– is gradually becoming more rhotic under the influence of mainstream linguistic conventions, as it happens in the accent area of Boston.

2. Similar to Boston speech, an additional vowel equivalent to RP /ɑ:/ is found in New York City speech in words like *bard*, *calm* and *father*, that are pronounced with /ɑə/. However, contrarily to the speech of Boston, /ɑ:/ does not occur in words like *dance* or *path*, that are pronounced with /æ/ instead.
3. When occurring before a consonant in the same word -as in *bird* or *girl*-, vowel /ɜ:/ has a typical New York City pronunciation, which is realised in the form of a diphthong of the [ɜɪ] type ([bɜɪd]). Even though this pronunciation was originally employed by all speakers in New York City, it is beginning to disappear from the speech of younger individuals and those speakers belonging to higher social classes, being this feature more usual in the speech of lower-class individuals. Nevertheless, when located in word final position in words like *her*, [ɜ:] is produced.
4. The usual American unrounded vowel /ɑ/ occurs in words like *pot* or *horrid*, in contrast with Eastern New England accent.
5. Vowel /ɔ/ occurs in New York City speech, in contrast to Eastern New England accent. As a result, different pronunciations can be heard in words like *cot* and *caught*, and *sot*, *sought* and *sort*. However, this vowel has a rather distinctive pronunciation in New York City, since it usually has a closer realisation, often becoming a diphthongised vowel of the [oə] or [ʊə] type, as in *off* [ʊəf].
6. The first element of the characteristic New York pronunciation of vowel /aɪ/ in words like *buy*, *night* or *ride* is realised from a rather back position.
7. Pronunciations of /θ/ and /ð/ are often realised as dental stops [t] and [d] in the speech of many New Yorkers. Particularly, /ð/ may merge with /d/, producing homophones like *then* and *den*. However, this feature does not commonly occur in the speech of educated individuals.
8. Certain variability may occur in the treatment that New Yorkers make of consonant /j/. This consonant is generally lost after alveolars, being words like *do* and *due*

homophones. However, just like in Southern regions, consonant /j/ may also occur in certain words in the form of /ju/ or /ɪu/.

9. New York City speech is involved in the innovative process of the Northern Cities Chain Shift.

III.1.2. British Varieties of English

According to Kortmann and Upton (2004: 25), the term “British Isles” makes reference to “the two large islands that contain the mainlands of Scotland, Northern Ireland, the Irish Republic, Wales, and England, together with a large number of other, smaller islands that are part of the territories of these countries”. On the other hand, “The United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland” (or the UK) includes “Scotland, Wales, England, Man, and the Channel Islands, together with the northernmost part of the island of Ireland” (Kortmann & Upton 2004: 25). And, the term “Great Britain” is used to refer to “Scotland, Wales, England, Man and the Channel Islands” (Kortmann & Upton 2004: 25). As will be further explained, due to the close relationship between dialects and accents on the one hand, and the social and regional background of each region on the other, these geographical areas present a rather peculiar situation, in which accents are regionally –just as the Scouse in Liverpool, Geordie in Tyneside, Brummy in Birmingham, or Cockney in London– and socially marked (like Received Pronunciation). For methodological purposes, those regionally marked accents that are going to be dealt with in the present study are those spoken across England.

The UK has a population of 66,796,800 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), although it is unevenly spread, “with the population density ranging from 5,700 people per square kilometre across London to fewer than 50 people per square kilometre in the most rural local authorities of the UK” (Park 2020: 2). Precisely, of the four countries that constitute the UK, England is the most densely populated one, with a population of 56,286,961 people in 2019 (27,827,831 males and 28,459,130 females), being its most populated city that of London (8,961,989 inhabitants) (Office for National Statistics n.d.). As it can be observed in Figure III.8, England is politically and administratively divided into eight regions: North East, North West, Yorkshire and Humberside, West Midlands, East Midlands, East Anglia, South West and South East. It is also divided into seven major metropolitan areas, namely: Greater

London, Greater Manchester, Merseyside, South Yorkshire, West Yorkshire, Tyne and Wear and West Midlands.



Figure III.8. UK: Regions of England in 2018. Source: Office for National Statistics (2019) (<https://www.ons.gov.uk/>).

Historically, the English language has experienced considerable modifications since it began to be articulated more than a millennium ago (Baugh & Cable 2002). In fact, many centuries of development are still reflected in current English, having been this language affected by political as well as social events:

[t]he Roman Christianizing of Britain in 597 brought England into contact with Latin civilization and made significant additions to our vocabulary. The Scandinavian invasions resulted in a considerable mixture of the two peoples and their languages. The Norman Conquest made English for two centuries the language mainly of the lower classes while the nobles and those associated with them used French on almost all occasions. And when English once more regained supremacy as the language of all elements

of the population, it was an English greatly changed in both form and vocabulary from what it had been in 1066. In a similar way the Hundred Years' War, the rise of an important middle class, the Renaissance, the development of England as a maritime power, the expansion of the British Empire, and the growth of commerce and industry, of science and literature, have, each in their way, contributed to the development of the language. (Baugh & Cable 2002: 1-2)

Hence, English was mainly born from a fusion of West Germanic dialects that were brought from mainland Europe to the British Isles around the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Throughout history, this language would experience more fusions with Celtic, Norse and French languages as well as with other varieties, due to the island's history in terms of trade and conquest (Kortmann & Upton 2004). In addition, accents across different geographical areas have been shaped by the different ethnic and political background that characterise each British region in which they are spoken. For instance, while Celtic influenced Northern and Western England regions to a relevant extent, Norse predominantly influenced Ireland, Northern Scotland and the Orkney and Shetland Isles as well as North-western and Eastern regions of England (Kortmann & Upton 2004). Also, the economic and political dominance that characterised London and South-eastern regions of England contributed to the emergence of Received Pronunciation accents. As a result, grammatical and phonological reminiscences can be heard across different British regional varieties, which clearly contrast with the rather recent Received Pronunciation accents. Consequently, due to the historical background of the British Isles, a wide regional variation can be found across different geographical areas.

As previously stated, the British Isles' rich dialectal variety has led to the distinction of different geographical areas. According to Trudgill's (1990) classification, two main English varieties may be identified in the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, which differ in accentual, grammatical, lexical and syntactic aspects, namely: Traditional Dialects and Modern Dialects. Regarding the former, they are rather conservative varieties mainly localised in isolated and peripheral rural areas, and which are spoken by a reduced minority of individuals –particularly speakers belonging to older generations. These dialects considerably differ from mainstream varieties and from each other. On the other hand, Modern Dialects refer to the speech of younger English generations that belong to middle/upper social classes and which are localised in urban areas (Trudgill 1990). These types of dialects include modern Mainstream and non-Mainstream English dialects, which differ much less from each other – being the existing differences mainly related to pronunciation rather than to grammatical

aspects. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy to mention that modern Mainstream English has its origins in the older Traditional Dialects spoken in South-eastern regions of England, which became predominantly used because “this was the area in which London, Oxford and Cambridge were situated, and which contained the Royal Court and the Government” (Trudgill 1990: 13).

Thus, traditional and modern accents, as well as mainstream and non-mainstream varieties can be identified across different regions in England, although from a dialectologist perspective, the major dialect boundary that can be is the imaginary line that separates Northern from the Southern areas (Trudgill 1990; Altendorf & Watt 2004). For methodological purposes, those dialects that will be considered for the present study fall into the category of Modern Mainstream and non-Mainstream English Dialects. Also, the focus will be placed on pronunciation aspects rather than on grammatical, lexical or syntactic issues. Thus, as observed in Figure III.9, the regional division proposed by Trudgill (1990: 65) will be considered in order to account for the different Modern Dialects spoken in England.

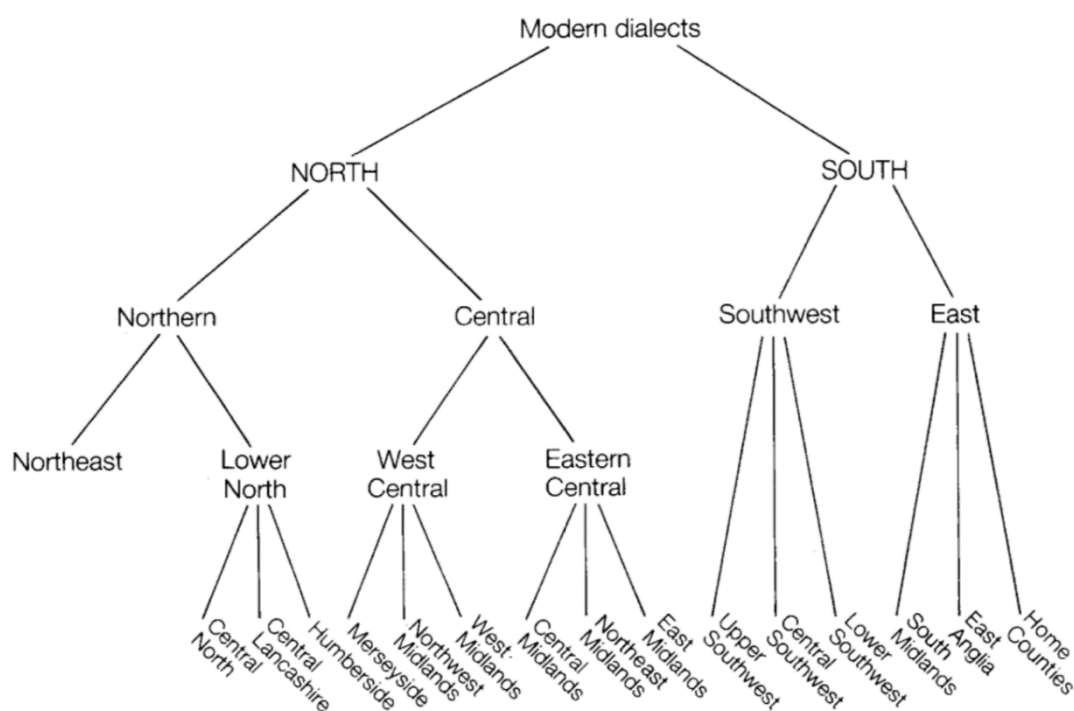


Figure III.9. Trudgill’s (1990) Regional division of Modern Dialects in England. Source: Trudgill (1990: 65, Figure 3.1).

III.1.2.a. RP English

British RP or RP English are terms that are used to refer to the well-known accent of *Received Pronunciation*, which has been traditionally regarded as the most appropriate variety to be used in dictionaries, language-teaching, radio and broadcast (Upton 2004). *BBC English* is another well-known designation for RP, since from the early stages of this broadcasting company (1920s and 1930s) announcers would be requested to use this accent as they were considered exemplary speakers, being this fact highly determinant in the stereotyping process of this variety –in fact, RP was the only accent that would be heard in the BBC until World War II (Agha 2003). Other designations for RP include those of *Public School Pronunciation*, as it was the pronunciation that would be used to teach in prestigious and privileged schools aimed at educating individuals belonging to higher social classes; *the Queen’s English*, since the Queen is a recognised speaker of this accent; or *Oxford English*, as RP was historically associated with certain phonological characteristics of the Southeast of England or the Home Counties (Gimson 1984; Trudgill 1990; Upton 2004). In this respect, Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 3) emphasise the association of a particular educational and social background with RP accent:

[i]t [RP] has traditionally been the accent of those educated at public schools, which in the UK are private (i.e. selective and fee-paying) and beyond the financial means of most parents, and it is largely through these schools, and state schools aspiring to emulate them, that the accent has been perpetuated.

Hence, it could be stated that limited access to education and certain social classes would imply a limited access to RP, being this accent related to Public and Boarding schools. In other words, middle-upper and upper classes would control mainstream and prestigious varieties to a greater extent than working-classes (Reyes-Rodríguez 2008). In this respect, Blommaert (2005: 13) claims that “children from privileged backgrounds would typically control the ‘elaborate’ codes... and the education system would systematically tend to attribute higher value to the elaborate codes”. In fact, according to Wells (1982: 280-297), individuals such as “dowager duchesses, certain army officers, Noel Coward-type sophisticates, and popular images of elderly Oxbridge dons jolly-hockey-stick schoolmistresses” would fall within the description of RP speakers. Thus, even though RP was originally closely influenced by the speech of South-eastern areas of England due to the considerable influence exerted by relevant urban centres like London, Oxford and Cambridge

—where the Royal Court and the Government were placed— in terms of social awareness, economic and educational aspects (Trudgill 1990), RP is now solely conditioned by certain social factors. In fact, RP is a supra-regional accent, meaning that it is a regionally neutral accent.

Consequently, contrarily to the rest of the varieties in the United Kingdom, RP is a social accent, rather than a regional one (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). In fact, due to the particular social and cultural backgrounds associated with RP accents and the subsequent overt prestige that RP began to experience from its emergence in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, individuals would try to acquire this accent in order to be associated with a higher social status, increasing in this way the social awareness of the social value of RP (Agha 2003). Nevertheless, this prestigious accent is natively used by a small minority, as it is estimated that only about 3-5% of the population in England speaks this variety, being Mainstream English used by a 12% of its population (Trudgill 1974; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). This sociolinguistic situation marked by a strong relationship between class and accent is depicted in Figure III.10, in which it can be appreciated how those speakers belonging to higher socio-economic status tend to eliminate not only phonological, but also lexical and grammatical regional features from their speech, while more regional information may arise from the speech of individuals belonging to lower socio-economic status. That is, those linguistic features that may reveal the speaker's geographical origin tend to be deleted as we move up the social scale, while the speech of individuals belonging to lower classes tends to reveal their regional origin. It is noteworthy to mention that this sociolinguistic situation is rather unique, as similar patterns cannot be found in other western countries such as Spain, the United States or Germany, where prestigious accents are usually associated with certain geographical areas rather than with certain social sectors, being regional origins possible to be inferred from the pronunciation of those speakers belonging to upper classes (Trudgill 2000; Trudgill & Hannah 2008).

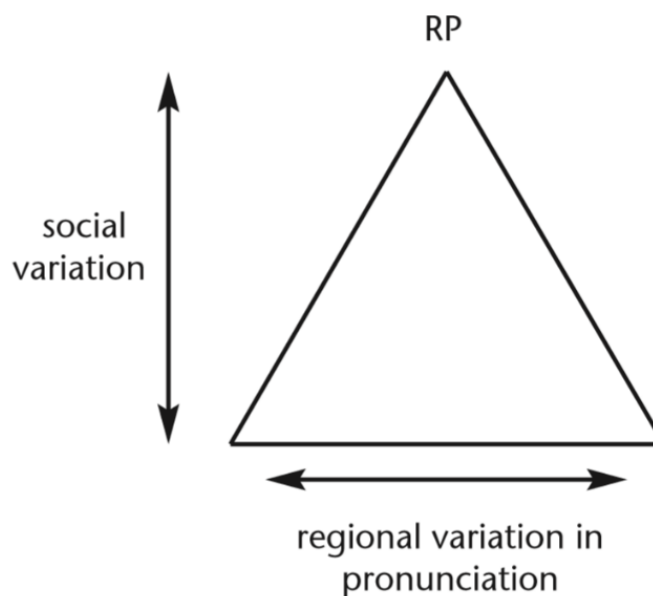


Figure III.10. Sociolinguistic situation in the United Kingdom: representation of the triangle model of the relationship between “accent” and “status”. Source: Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 10).

In addition, even though RP is associated with the speech of individuals belonging to a higher social status, negative as well as positive attitudes may be encountered towards this variety given the judgemental nature of Britons towards accents. Thus, RP tends to be regarded as a purer, nicer, more correct and more pleasant variety in terms of sounding, and its speakers are usually evaluated as more educated, confident, competent, ambitious and more suitable for prestige job positions (Giles 1970; Mompeán-González & Hernández-Campoy 2000; Trudgill 2001, 2008). However, RP speakers tend to be regarded as snob, arrogant and less sincere, friendly, trustworthy, generous or kind than regional accent speakers, being this variety often evaluated as “affected” (Giles 1970; Mompeán-González & Hernández-Campoy 2000; Trudgill 2001, 2008; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). As a result, it seems that this socially recognised British accent no longer holds the same prestige and exclusive status as it used to have one century ago, since as indicated by Trudgill (2008: 3), “non-RP accents are now found in public situations from which they would have been excluded only a few decades ago”.

Far from being a rigid variety, certain variability may be found within the exclusive, and normative accent of RP; in fact, different classifications have been provided by several scholars. For instance, Wells (1982) distinguishes five RP types: *U-RP* -or *upper-crust RP*-, which would be the most refined type and would be spoken by upper-class individuals; a less

marked and more frequently used variant, named *Mainstream RP*; *Adoptive RP*, which would be used by adults that did not learn RP as children; *Near-RP*, which makes reference to those accents that even though they are not defined as RP, they are spoken by educated individuals belonging to a rather wealthy social class; and *Quasi-RP*, which would refer to a rather “trained” RP accent. Furthermore, Ramsaran (1990a: 179, cited in Upton 2004: 219) distinguishes a *Traditional RP* variety, while Cruttenden (1994, cited in Upton 2004: 219) proposes another variety named *Refined RP* -typically heard in old movies. On the other hand, Gimson (1980, cited in Wells 1982) distinguishes between *Conservative RP*, which would be used by older speakers, certain professionals and specific social groups; *General RP*, which makes reference to the pronunciation used by early BBC announcers; and *Advanced RP*, which would be used by younger generations belonging to exclusive social groups. Nevertheless, and for methodological purposes, the present study regards RP as a general term encompassing the main RP types; in addition, references will be made to the main and most well-known RP phonological features.

Thus, general vocalic and consonantal features that are characteristic of RP accents include the following ones (Wells 1982; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Trudgill 1990; Upton 2004; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. There is a neutralisation process of the /i:/ - /ɪ/ contrast. Both /i:/ and /ɪ/ can appear in stressed syllables (as “strong” vowels), whereas the neutralised [i] is restricted to word final position and word-internal pre-vocalic position.
2. There is also /æ/ - /ɑ:/ differentiation, in which /æ/ is pronounced in items as *bad*, *fact*, *pat*, *sad* or *back*, while /ɑ:/ is realised in *car*, *calm*, *dance*, *path*, *half*, *heart* or *aunt*.
3. Short vowel /e/ occurs in words like *bed*, *many*, *dead*, *head* or *breath*.
4. The set of words *cot-caught* is pronounced differently ([kɒt] and [kɔ:t] respectively), and therefore, /ɒ/ can be heard in items like *pot*, *dog*, *was*, *what*, *watch*, *holiday*, *cough* or *because*, while long vowel /ɔ:/ is heard in words like *port*, *talk*, *born*, *daughter*, *salt*, *four* or *door*. However, Trudgill and Hannah (2008) remark that before

voiceless fricatives (/f/, /θ/, /z/, /s/), orthographic /o/ is pronounced as /ɔ:/ by speakers with traditional RP pronunciations (/ɔ:f/, /frɔ:θ/, /lɔ:st/). Nevertheless, this trend is dying out, as it is being replaced by vowel /ɒ/ in the pronunciation of younger speakers.

5. There is /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ Split, which means that words like *put, full, wolf, book, good, wood, could* or *should* are pronounced with /ʊ/; while other items like *cut, putt, must, hurry, dull, London, blood* or *does* are pronounced with /ʌ/. This vowel does not occur in Northern accents, which replace it with /u:/, being this pronunciation used in words like *boot, food, moon, spoon, move, lose, soup, blue* or *juice*.
6. Long central /ɜ:/ is found in words like *bird, girl, turn, church, world* or *journey*, while short central /ə/ occurs in items such as *about, butter, woman* or *order*.
7. As for RP diphthongs, /ɪə/ is pronounced in *here, dear, weird, idea* or *lan*; /eɪ/ occurs in *late, make, day, eight, great, break, rain, waste* or *lady* –which contrasts with traditional form /e:/ still employed in other British varieties–; /aɪ/ is pronounced in *time, write, light, high, fight, die* or *lie*; /ɔɪ/ is realised in *boy, noise, voice*, or *join*; and items like *house, moth, mouse, sound, out, cow, town* or *allow* are pronounced with /aʊ/. In addition, /eə/ occurs in *air, fair, pair, chair, care* or *bear*, although there is a trend in RP accents to replace this diphthong with the long monophthong [ɛ:]. Thus, words like *chair* may also be pronounced as [tʃɛ:]. This trend also applies to diphthong /ʊə/, which appears in *poor, moor, pure, cure, sure* or *curious* and is now most often pronounced as the monophthong [ɔ:], as in *pure* [pjɔ:]. On the other hand, words like *old, both, road, soap, know, home, so, soul, though* or *shoulder* are pronounced with diphthong /əʊ/, although there is an RP variant of this diphthong before a dark, velarized [ɰ], which results in the pronunciation of /əʊ/ as [ɞʊ]. Lastly, other items as *house, moth, mouse, sound, out, cow, town* or *allow* are pronounced with /aʊ/.
8. Regarding RP triphthongs, /aɪə/ occurs in *fire, hire, higher, liar, society* or *reliable*; /eɪə/ is pronounced in *player, layer, prayer* or *conveyor*; /ɔɪə/ appears in *employer* or *enjoyable*; /əʊə/ occurs in *slower* or *lower*; and words like *our, shower, flower* or

cowards are pronounced with /aʊə/. These triphthongs may also be affected by the common RP process of *smoothing*, which may yield pronunciations like [faə] and even [fa:] for *faire*, and [aə] and even [ɑ:], for *our*. Thus, *our house* may be pronounced as [ɑ: 'haʊs].

9. As for RP consonants, voiceless plosive /p/ appears in words like *pin*, *upper* or *leap*, but it is not released in words like *cupboard*, *receipt*, *psalm* or *pneumonia*. Voiced plosive /b/ is pronounced in *bill*, *rubber* or *obtain*, but it is not released in *limb*, *comb*, *thumb*, *climb*, *debt*, *doubt* or *subtle*. In addition, stop alveolar /t/ is pronounced in *tip*, *sometimes* or *cotton*, but it is absent in *castle* or *Christmas*. Voiced plosive /d/ occurs in words such as *dog*, *bag* or *sudden*.
10. Stop velar /k/ is present in *kind*, *cake*, or *incur*, but it is absent in words like *muscle*, *knew* or *knit*. On the other hand, /g/ occurs in *go*, *ago* or *dog*, but it is silent in items like *sign*, *reign*, *diaphragm*, *gnat* or *gnaw*.
11. One of the most relatively recent phenomena in RP English that is mainly used by younger RP speakers is that of the glottalisation of /t/. This linguistic feature has been traditionally stigmatised and associated with the lower-class speech of London and/or Glasgow and/or east Anglia (Trudgill 2008: 9), being this pronunciation often regarded as a Cockneyism (Wells 1982: 261). Particularly, as described by Trudgill (1999: 136), the incursion of this linguistic feature into RP has been “one of the most dramatic, widespread and rapid changes to have occurred in British English in recent times”. However, certain variation within RP speakers can be observed when it comes to their usage of this recent linguistic feature, although Fabricius (2002b: 119) indicates that this variation could be expected, as this phenomenon “remains an as-yet-incomplete change in progress”. Hence, while /ʔ/ occurs in intervocalic positions in the Cockney accent as in ['bʌʔə], RP accents ban this type of pronunciation. Yet, RP allows /ʔ/ in coda position as a replacement of /t/ as in *Gatwick* ([ˈgæʔwɪk]) or *that good* ([ˈðæʔ ˈgʊd]) (Trudgill & Hannah 2008).

12. Labial fricative /f/ appears in *feet, father, laugh* or *tougher*, while its voiced equivalent /v/ occurs in *voice, silver, give* or *move*. In addition, dental fricative /θ/ appears in *thanks, three, author* or *path*, while its voiced equivalent /ð/ occurs in *these, although, either* or *father*.
13. Alveolar fricative /s/ occurs in words like *sample, cease*, or *famous*, and consonant /z/ appears in *roses, zero, lazy, husband* or *ears*.
14. Since RP is a non-rhotic accent, consonant /r/ will be pronounced in prevocalic position in words like *raw, rude, mirror* or *library*, while it will be absent in postvocalic position, as in *car, bark* or *four*. Thus, non-rhotic accents pronounce sets of words like *far – farm* as /fɑ:/-/fɑ:m/ respectively, while the pronunciation of rhotic accents for these words would be: /fɑ:r/-/fɑ:rm/. This non-rhoticity contrasts with most of South-Western England regions and some areas in Lancashire in the North-West, which are characterised by their rhoticity. Nevertheless, non-rhotic speakers may pronounce /r/ in a specific context: when orthographic *r* is placed word-finally and it is followed by another word that begins with a vowel. Thus, words such as *far* have two pronunciations that are conditioned by the following vowel. As a result, /r/ would be pronounced in *far away*, but not in *far* or *far behind*. This pronounced /r/ in non-rhotic accents is called *linking /r/*.
15. Postalveolar fricative /ʃ/ occurs in *shoe, sheep, schedule, sure, assure, nation, mission, ocean, machine* or *dish*, while its voiced equivalent /ʒ/ appears in *genre, pleasure, leisure, prestige* or *vision*.
16. Glottal fricative /h/ is pronounced in items like *how, hat, heat, hate, ahead, behave, anyhow, behind* or *perhaps*. This contrasts with other British varieties, which do not pronounce initial /h/.
17. Postalveolar affricate /tʃ/ appears in *chalk, orchard, feature, inch* or *nature*, while its voiced equivalent /dʒ/ occurs in *gin, joke, urgent, large, manage, edge, judge, age* or *change*.

18. Alveolar approximant /l/ is pronounced as ‘clear’, alveolar [l] in syllable initial position, as in *leap*, *level*, or *slow*, but it is silent in *calm*, *palm*, *balm*, *salmon*, *could*, *would* or *should*. On the other hand, syllable-final /l/ (as in *feel*, *ball*, *milk* or *roll*) and syllabic /l/ (as in *table* or *bottle*) have a dark or velarised pronunciation ([ɫ]). In addition, dark [ɫ] sound may be subject to a process of l-vocalization, whereby [ɫ] is replaced by a vowel. Hence:

		dark-l	l-vocalisation
<i>milk</i>	[ˈmɪlk]	[ˈmɪɫk]	[ˈmɪʊk]
<i>table</i>	[ˈteɪbɪ]	[ˈteɪbɫ]	[ˈtæɪbʊ]
<i>well</i>	[wel]	[weɫ]	[weʊ]

19. Voiced bilabial nasal /m/ occurs in *meal*, *lemon*, *simple*, *game* or *seem*; voiced alveolar nasal /n/ appears in *now*, *know*, *pen*, *many* or *snake*; and voiced alveolar nasal /ŋ/ is present in items such as *singer*, *think*, *sink*, *tongue*, *anxiety* or *wrong*.
20. Voiced labio-velar approximant /w/ (or glide) occurs in words like *west*, *which*, *wet*, *wood*, *one*, *word*, *twin* or *square*.
21. Voiced palatal approximant /j/ is present in items like, *new*, *nude*, *due* or *tune*, contrarily to other varieties in which this sound is not pronounced.

III.1.2.b. North

Regarding Northern English and according to Beal (2004), it is noteworthy to mention that the varieties spoken in this area have been influenced by several historical events, such as the first settlements of northern Germanic tribes in the fifth century –which took place in the latter designated Anglo-Saxon kingdom of Northumbria (previously settled by the Romans)– or the landing of Viking invaders. Already in the nineteenth century, written records would reveal early differences between Northern and Southern dialects (Beal 2004), which would also be present in the Middle English period. In fact, several evidences from the fourteenth century, such as the translation of the Higden’s Polychronicon by John of Trevisa in 1380, would confirm the stigmatisation of Northern dialects on the part of Southern speakers. Thus,

Northern English was defined as harsh and unintelligible to Southerners, while Southern varieties would also arise negative opinions among Northerners, as those employing a Southern accent would be regarded as condescending and not trustworthy (Beal 2004). Northern speech strong stigmatisation would continue until the nineteenth century, when large industrial towns and cities began to emerge in Northern areas, leading to the emergence of regional pride and working-class consciousness (Beal 2004). In fact, negative opinions towards Northern accents are still present in the British society, which perpetuates the stigmatisation of Northern accents, although to a much lesser extent.

According to Trudgill's (1990) classification, the broad geographical area of the North can be sub-divided into two main dialectal areas Northern (comprising Northeast and Lower North) and Central (including West Central and Eastern Central).

III.1.2.b.i. Northern

III.1.2.b.i.i. Northeast

This dialect area represents approximately half of the political-administrative region of the North, and it encompasses most of Northumberland County and Tyne and Wear County, with the urban areas of Newcastle-upon-Tyne –with a population of 302,820 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.)– and Sunderland –with a population of 277,705 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.)–, being these urban centres the most populated ones of the Northeast. In addition, certain areas of North Yorkshire County –including Middlesbrough –with a population of 140,980 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.)– are also encompassed by this dialect area, as well as the North-eastern region of Durham County, which is one of the least populated counties in England (Trudgill 1990). The accent of these regions is known as “Geordie accent” or Tyneside English, and it has certain features that sound rather peculiar and even difficult to understand for Southern speakers. In addition, due to the proximity of this geographical area to Scotland, several features are shared by both Northeast and Scottish speakers.

Northeast accents are characterised by the following features (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. Like all accents of the North, there is not /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction, which contrasts with RP and Southern accents. Thus, words like *put*, *full*, *wolf*, *book*, *wood*, *could* and *should* are pronounced with /ʊ/ as in other accents, but those words that are pronounced with /ʌ/ as *putt*, *cut*, *must*, *hurry*, *dull*, *London*, *blood* or *does* in other areas, are also realised with /ʊ/ in the Northeast.
2. Due to the lack of stability in the differentiation between vowel /æ/ (as in *cat*, *fact*, *par*, *sad* or *back*) and vowel /ɑ:/ (as in *car*, *calm*, *dance*, *path*, *half*, *heart* or *aunt*), words such as *path*, *dance* or *past* are mostly pronounced with /æ/ in North-eastern accents instead as with /ɑ:/, which is mainly used by Southern speakers.
3. While diphthongs /eɪ/ (as in *make*) and /əʊ/ (as in *boat*) are pronounced as rather closed diphthongs or as monophthongs [e:] and [o:] and even [u:] respectively in Southern areas, their pronunciation in the dialectal area of the Northeast is that of [e:] and [o:], or as rather open diphthongs ([ɪe] and [uo]).
4. RP long vowel /ɔ:/ as in *port*, *talk*, *born*, *daughter*, *salt*, *four* or *door* has two possible realisations in the accent of Tyneside depending on orthographic aspects: words containing <al> (such as *walk*, *talk*, *call* or *all*) are pronounced with [a:], while those that do not contain this graphemic sequence (like *port*, *mourning*, *daughter* or *four*) are pronounced with [ɔ:].
5. Long central vowel /ɜ:/ is pronounced in RP accents in words like *bird*, *girl*, *turn*, *church*, *world* or *journey*, however, it is pronounced as [ɔ:] in North-eastern accents. Thus, items like *first* – *forced* or *shirt* – *short* are homonyms.
6. Diphthong /aɪ/ in words like *time*, *light*, *write*, *ride* or *lie* is pronounced as [ɛɪ].
7. Word endings such as -er or -or as in *worker*, *tanner* or *governor* are realised as [e], rather than [ə] or [ər].
8. Centralised diphthong /ɪə/ as in *here*, *dear*, *weird*, *idea* or *Ian*, is pronounced as [ie].

9. Similarly, centralised diphthong /ʊə/ as in *poor, moor, pure, cure, sure, during, security* or *curious*, is pronounced as [ue].
10. Diphthong /aʊ/ as in *house, mouth, mouse, sound, out, cow, town* or *allow*, might be pronounced as [u:].
11. Similar to RP and other accents in the British Isles, vowel /ɪ/ might experience a tensing process (known as *Happy-Tensing*), resulting in the realisation of [i] in unstressed vowels in syllable-final position, such as *very, many* or *happy*.
12. Due to the fact that Northeast accents are non-rhotic, consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car, bark* or *four*), but it is realised in prevocalic position (as in *raw, rude, carry, mirror* or *library*).
13. Consonant /j/ is not suppressed after other consonants in words such as *music, tune* or *suit*.
14. Alveolar approximant /l/ is clearly pronounced in every environment. Thus, there is not l-vocalisation in postvocalic (as in *feel, ball, milk, or roll*) or syllabic position (as in *table*).
15. Like those accents of East Anglia and Scotland, speakers from the North-east always pronounce glottal fricative /h/.
16. As in RP accents, glottal stop /ʔ/ may be realised together with –but not suppressing– /p, t, k/ in intervocalic position, as in *happy* ['hapʔi:], *Britain* or *better*.
17. *-ing* sound tends to be pronounced as /ɪn/ rather than as voiced velar nasal /ɪŋ/.

III.1.2.b.i.ii. Lower North: Central North, Central Lancashire and Humberside

This dialectal area comprises the accents of Humberside, Central Lancashire and Central North. As for *Central North*, accents spoken in the counties of Cumbria, South-West Durham, most of Yorkshire and parts of Lancashire are included in this dialect area, where some urban centres stand out, just as Carlisle (Cumbria County), with a population of 108,678 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), Lancaster (Lancashire County), with a population of 146,038 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), Leeds (West Yorkshire County), with a population of 793,139 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), Bradford (West Yorkshire County), with a population of 539,776 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), York (North Yorkshire County), with a population of 210,618 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), or Sheffield (South Yorkshire County), with a population of 584,853 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.). Different population density can be observed across these regions, being Cumbria and Lancashire some of the least populated counties in England, while York, Sheffield, Bradford and Leeds are some of the most populated cities in England.

Several features that characterise Central North accents are include the following ones (Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. Like all accents of the north, there is not /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction in Central North accents, which contrasts with RP and Southern accents. Thus, words like *put*, *full*, *wolf*, *book*, *wood*, *could* and *should* are pronounced with /ʊ/ as in other accents, but those words that are pronounced with /ʌ/ as *putt*, *cut*, *must*, *hurry*, *dull*, *London*, *blood* or *does* in other areas, are also realised with /ʊ/ in the dialect area of Central North.
2. Given the instability in the differentiation between /æ/ (as in *cat*, *fact*, *pat*, *sad* or *back*) and /ɑ:/ (as in *car*, *calm*, *dance*, *path*, *half*, *heart* or *aunt*), short vowel /æ/ tends to be used in Central North accents in items like *path*, *dance* or *past* instead of /ɑ:/, which contrasts with the Southern trend. Particularly, Yorkshire speakers tend to slightly differentiate both vowels by means of pronouncing /æ/ and /ɑ:/ as [a] and [a:], respectively.
3. Diphthongs /eɪ/ (as in *make*) and /əʊ/ (as in *boat*) are pronounced as rather closed diphthongs or as monophthong [e:] and [o:] and even [u:], respectively. Nevertheless,

those words that contain the graphemic sequence of <ei> (as in *eight* or *weight*), <ou> or <ow> (as in *know*) are pronounced as /eɪ/ and /əʊ/, respectively. Thus, like East Anglia accents, words such as *nose* and *knows* are not homophones. However, Hughes and Trudgill (1996: 89) point out that younger generations of speakers tend to realise these words as their Southern counterparts.

4. Diphthong /aɪ/ as in *time*, *light*, *write*, *ride* or *lie* is pronounced as [aɛ], as in those accents of Humberside and Central Lancashire.
5. Sets of words that are homophones in RP accents such as *pore-paw* sound differently, and are pronounced with /ɔə/ and /ɔ:/ respectively. More precisely, words with graphemic <r> are pronounced with [ɔɐ̯], while words without graphemic <r> are pronounced with [ɔ:]
6. Unlike RP and other accents in the British Isles, /ɪ/ is not tensed towards [i] in word-final position in words like *very*, *city* or *happy*.
7. Short vowel /e/ as in *pet*, *bed*, *many*, *dead*, *head* or *breath* is rather more open ([ɛ]), in contrast to Southern accents.
8. Voiced consonants /b, d, g/ become voiceless /p, t, k/ when followed by a voiceless consonant, particularly in the Yorkshire area. Thus, words like *Bradford* are pronounced as ['brætfəd] instead of ['brædfəd]; *could swing* would be realised as [kʊt swɪŋ] instead of [kʊd swɪŋ]; *red pen* would be pronounced as [rɛt pɛn] instead of [rɛd pɛn]; or *would come* would be pronounced as [wʊt kʊm] instead of [wʊd kʊm].
9. Since Central North speech is also non-rhotic, consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car*, *bark* or *four*), but it is realised in prevocalic position (as in *raw*, *rude*, *carry*, *mirror* or *library*). Similar to Merseyside accent, /r/ pronunciation in prevocalic position can also be realised as [r].

10. Consonant /j/ is not deleted after other consonants in words such as *music*, *tune* or *suit*.
11. Consonant /l/ is clearly pronounced in every environment. Thus, there is not l-vocalisation in postvocalic (as in *feel*, *ball*, *milk* or *roll*) or syllabic position (as in *table*).
12. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
13. Glottal stop /ʔ/ may be realised in word final position to replace /t/ as in *that*.
14. *-ing* sound tends to be pronounced as alveolar nasal /ɪŋ/ rather than as voiced velar nasal /ɪŋ/, similar to Northeast accents.

Regarding *Central Lancashire*, several urban areas localised in Lancashire County stand out, such as Blackburn, Blackpool –with a population of 139,446 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.)–, Burnley –with a population of 88,920 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.)–, Accrington, and Preston –with a population of 143,135 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.). The accents of this region share a wide range of features with Central North accents, but they also present certain differences (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. Like other Northern accents, there is no /ʊ/-/ʌ/ distinction in Central Lancashire accents. Thus, words like *put*, *full*, *wolf*, *book*, *wood*, *could* and *should* are pronounced with /ʊ/ as in other accents, but those words that are pronounced with /ʌ/ as *putt*, *cut*, *must*, *hurry*, *dull*, *London*, *blood* or *does* in other regions are also realised with /ʊ/ in this dialect area.
2. Given the instability in the differentiation between /æ/ (as in *cat*, *fact*, *pat*, *sad* or *back*) and /ɑ:/ (as in *car*, *calm*, *dance*, *path*, *half*, *heart* or *aunt*), short vowel /æ/ tends to be used in Central Lancashire accents in items like *path*, *dance* or *past* instead of /ɑ:/, which contrasts with the Southern trend.

3. Diphthong /eɪ/ (as in *make*) is realised as [e:], and diphthong /əʊ/ (as in *boat*) is pronounced as [o:] or [u:].
4. Diphthong /aɪ/ as in *time, light, write, ride* or *lie* is pronounced as [aɛ], as in those accents of Humberside and Central Lancashire.
5. In addition, monophthong /ʊ/ tends to be realised as /u:/ in words with the graphemic sequence of <oo> as in *book* or *cook*, which contrasts with RP pronunciations.
6. A fusion occurs involving vowel /ɜ:/ (as in *bird, girl, turn, church, world* or *journey*) and centralised diphthong /eə/ (as in *air, fair, pair, chair, care* or *bear*), resulting in pronunciations like [ɛ:] or [ɜ:]. Thus, words like *bird* and *bear* are similarly pronounced.
7. In contrast with RP and Southern accents, monophthong /ɪ/ is not tensed towards [i] in word-final position in words like *very, city* or *happy*.
8. Consonant /j/ is not deleted after other consonants in words like *music, tune* or *suit*.
9. Given that Central Lancashire speech is rhotic, consonant /r/ is pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car, bark, or four*) apart from being pronounced in prevocalic position (as in *raw, rude, carry, mirror* or *library*).
10. Consonant /l/ is clearly pronounced in every environment. Thus, there is not l-vocalisation in postvocalic (as in *feel, ball, milk* or *roll*) or syllabic position (as in *table*).
11. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
12. Lastly, *-ing* is realised as voiced velar nasal /ɪŋ/, rather than as alveolar nasal /ɪn/.

The *Humberside* dialect region encompasses the urban centres of Hull (East Riding of Yorkshire County), with a population of 259,778 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), Scunthorpe (Lincolnshire County), Grimsby (Lincolnshire County), and their neighbouring areas. These accents also share several features with Central North and Central Lancashire accents, but Humberside accents also differ in several aspects (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. Like other Northern accents, there is not /ʊ/-/ʌ/ distinction in Humberside accents. Thus, words like *put*, *full*, *wolf*, *book*, *wood*, *could* and *should* are pronounced with /ʊ/ as in other accents, but those words that are pronounced with /ʌ/ as *putt*, *cut*, *must*, *hurry*, *dull*, *London*, *blood* or *does* in other areas, are also realised with /ʊ/ in this dialect area.
2. Given the instability in the differentiation between /æ/ (as in *cat*, *fact*, *pat*, *sad* or *back*) and /ɑ:/ (as in *car*, *calm*, *dance*, *path*, *half*, *heart* or *aunt*), short vowel /æ/ tends to be used in Humberside accents –as in other Northern accents– in items like *path*, *dance* or *past* instead of /ɑ:/, which contrasts with the Southern trend.
3. Diphthong /eɪ/ (as in *make*) is realised as [e:], and diphthong /əʊ/ (as in *go*) is pronounced as [o:] or [u:].
4. Diphthong /aɪ/ as in *time*, *light*, *write*, *ride* or *lie* is pronounced as [aɛ], as in those accents of Central Lancashire and Central North.
5. A fusion occurs involving vowel /ɜ:/ (as in *bird*, *girl*, *turn*, *church*, *world* or *journey*) and centralised diphthong /eə/ (as in *air*, *fair*, *pair*, *chair*, *care* or *bear*), resulting in pronunciations like [ɛ:] or [ɜ:]. Thus, words like *bird* and *bear* are similarly pronounced.
6. Similar to RP and other southern accents, monophthong /ɪ/ experiences a tensing towards [i] sound in unaccented word-final position, as in *very*, *city* or *happy*.

7. Consonant /j/ is not deleted after other consonants in words such as *music*, *tune* or *suit*.
8. Glottal /ʔ/ is scarcely used as a replacement of consonant /t/ in intervocalic position, as in *Britain* or *better*.
9. Like Central North, Humberside accents are non-rhotic, meaning that consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car*, *bark* or *four*); but it is realised in prevocalic position (as in *raw*, *rude*, *carry*, *mirror* or *library*).
10. Consonant /l/ is clearly pronounced in every environment. Thus, there is not l-vocalisation in postvocalic (as in *feel*, *ball*, *milk* or *roll*) or syllabic position (as in *table*).
11. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
12. Lastly, *-ing* tends to be realised as alveolar nasal /ɪŋ/ rather than as voiced velar nasal /ɪŋ̃/.

III.1.2.b.ii. Central

III.1.2.b.ii.i. West Central: Merseyside, Northwest Midlands and West Midlands

This dialect area comprises the accents of Merseyside, Northwest Midlands and West Midlands. Regarding *Merseyside*, this dialect area encompasses the political-administrative region of Merseyside, in which urban areas such as Liverpool, with a population of 498,042 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), St. Helens, with a population of 180,585 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), or Birkenhead are localised. The speech of this geographical area is strongly associated with that of Liverpool, which is also referred to as “Scouse accent”, being it one of the most well-known accents in England. As stated by Trudgill (1990), this accent results from the confluence of accent features from neighbouring areas, as it shares several aspects not only with Central Lancashire and Northwest Midlands accents, but also with Southern varieties and the English that is spoken in Dublin (due to the stream of

Irish immigrants that Liverpool received over the nineteenth century). Nevertheless, even though the speech of older speakers from neighbouring areas of Liverpool is influenced by the accents of Central Lancashire, Northwest Midlands of Wales, younger generations of speakers are contributing to the spread of Merseyside accents. Certain features that characterise the speech of Merseyside comprise the following ones (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. Like all accents of the north, there is not /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction in Merseyside accents, in contrasts with RP and Southern accents. Thus, words like *put*, *full*, *wolf*, *book*, *wood*, *could* and *should* are pronounced with /ʊ/ as in other accents, but those words that are pronounced with /ʌ/ as *putt*, *cut*, *must*, *hurry*, *dull*, *London*, *blood* or *does* in other areas, are also realised with /ʊ/ in the dialect area of Merseyside.
2. Given the instability in the differentiation between /æ/ (as in *cat*, *fact*, *pat*, *sad* or *back*) and /ɑ:/ (as in *car*, *calm*, *dance*, *path*, *half*, *heart* or *aunt*), short vowel /æ/ tends to be used in Merseyside accents –as in other Northern accents– in items like *path*, *dance* or *past* instead of /ɑ:/, which contrasts with the Southern trend.
3. Since this geographical area has completed the process of Long-Mid-Diphthonging, diphthong /eɪ/ occurs in words like *late*, *make*, *day*, *eight*, *great*, *break*, *rain*, *waste* or *lady*; equally, diphthong /əʊ/ occurs in *go*, *boat*, *road*, *soap*, *home*, *soul* or *thought*, being the rather closed pronunciation of both diphthongs one of the salient features of Merseyside speech.
4. Monophthong /ʊ/ tends to be pronounced as long closed vowel /u:/ in words like *book* or *cook*, which contrasts with RP accents.
5. A fusion occurs between /ɜ:/ sound (as in *bird*, *girl*, *turn*, *church*, *world* or *journey*) and centralised diphthong /eə/ (as in *air*, *fair*, *pair*, *chair*, *care* or *bear*), resulting in pronunciations like [ɛ:] or [ɜ:]. Thus, words like *bird* and *bear* are similarly pronounced.

6. As in RP and other Southern accents, /ɪ/ is tensed towards [i] in word-final position, as in *very*, *happy* or *city*.
7. Consonant /j/ is not suppressed after other consonants in words such as *music*, *tune* or *suit*.
8. Similar to the London accent (also known as Cockney accent), consonants /p, t, k/ are realised with greater aspiration in word-initial position than in RP accents; thus, words like *tea* may be pronounced as [tsi:]. In addition, affricate pronunciations may also occur, being words like *can't* or *back* pronounced as [kxɑ:nt] and [bakx] respectively.
9. In addition, consonants /p, t, k/ are realised with an affricate pronunciation in word-final position ([ɸ, s, x]).
10. Glottal /ʔ/ is scarcely used as a replacement of consonant /t/ in intervocalic position, as in *Britain* or *better*. Instead, /t/ tends to be realised as [r] in this environment.
11. Since Merseyside speech is also non-rhotic, consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car*, *bark* or *four*). Like other non-rhotic accents, this consonant is realised in prevocalic position (as in *raw*, *rude*, *carry*, *mirror* or *library*), which tends to be pronounced as [r] in the dialect area of Merseyside.
12. There is not l-vocalisation neither in postvocalic (as in *feel*, *ball*, *milk* or *roll*) nor in syllabic position (as in *table*). However, a rather distinctive feature of the Merseyside accent is that consonant /l/ is velarised.
13. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
14. As in the Cockney accent, consonant /d/ and even a total omission of the /ð/ sound may be produced in word-initial position. Thus, words like *there* might be pronounced as [də:].

15. *-ing* tends to be realised as alveolar nasal /ɪn/, rather than as voiced velar nasal /ɪŋ/. However, if it occurs before a vowel as in *singer* or *thing* it will be pronounced as [ŋg].

The dialect area of *Northwest Midlands* encompasses cities that belong to different political and administrative regions, such as Derby (Derbyshire County), with a population of 257,302 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.), Stoke-on-Trent (Staffordshire County), with a population of 256,375 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.), Chester (Cheshire County), Manchester (Greater Manchester County), with a population of 552,858 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.), and other surrounding areas. The accents of these regions also present several similarities with other accents of the North, but several differences can also be identified (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. Like all accents of the North, there is not /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction, in contrast to RP and Southern accents. Thus, words like *put*, *full*, *wolf*, *book*, *wood*, *could* and *should* are pronounced with /ʊ/ as in other accents, but those words that are pronounced with /ʌ/ as *putt*, *cut*, *must*, *hurry*, *dull*, *London*, *blood* or *does* in other regions, are also realised with /ʊ/ in the dialect area of Northwest Midlands.
2. The instability in the differentiation between /æ/ (as in *cat*, *fact*, *pat*, *sad* or *back*) and /ɑ:/ (as in *car*, *calm*, *dance*, *path*, *half*, *heart* or *aunt*) in Northwest Midlands accents is similar to that of Northern accents. Thus, short vowel /æ/ tends to be used in this dialect area in items like *path*, *dance* or *past* instead of /ɑ:/, which contrasts with the Southern trend.
3. In contrast to RP and other accents, monophthong /ɪ/ is not tensed towards [i] in word-final position, as in *very*, *happy* or *city*.
4. The pronunciation of diphthongs /eɪ/ (as in *make*) and /əʊ/ (as in *coat*) varies across this dialect area. Particularly, a more open realisation ([æɪ] and [æʊ]) can be heard in areas closer to Southern regions, especially to that of West Midlands.

5. Consonant /j/ is not suppressed after other consonants in words such as *music*, *tune* or *suit*.
6. Since the speech of Northwest Midlands is also non-rhotic, consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car*, *bark* or *four*); but, like other non-rhotic accents, this consonant is realised in prevocalic position (as in *raw*, *rude*, *carry*, *mirror* or *library*).
7. There is not l-vocalisation neither in postvocalic (as in *feel*, *ball*, *milk* or *roll*) nor in syllabic position (as in *table*).
8. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
9. *-ing* tends to be realised as voiced velar nasal /ɪŋ/.

On the other hand, certain homogeneity can be appreciated across the different cities that are encompassed by the dialect area of *West Midlands*, as all of them belong to the political region of West Midlands, being this one of the most populated metropolitan counties in England. Several urban centres stand out, being Birmingham with its characteristic “Brummie accent” and with a population of 1,141,816 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.) a rather strong influence on the speech of the dialect area of West Midlands. Other relevant cities are Walsall, with a population of 285,478 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), Wolverhampton, with a population of 263,357 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), or Coventry, with a population of 371,521 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.). On the other hand, since this dialect area is the most southerly one among Northern regions, characteristic features of Northern and Southern accents may be heard across this region (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Clark 2004; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. Like all accents of the North, there is not /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction, in contrast to RP and Southern accents. Thus, words like *put*, *full*, *wolf*, *book*, *wood*, *could* and *should* are

pronounced with /ʊ/ as in other accents, but those words that are pronounced with /ʌ/ as *putt, cut, must, hurry, dull, London, blood* or *does* in other regions are also realised with /ʊ/ in the dialect area of West Midlands.

2. The instability in the differentiation between /æ/ (as in *cat, fact, pat, sad* or *back*) and /ɑ:/ (as in *car, calm, dance, path, half, heart* or *aunt*) in West Midlands accents is similar to that of Northern accents. Thus, short vowel /æ/ tends to be used in this dialect area in items like *path, dance* or *past* instead of /ɑ:/, which contrasts with the Southern trend.
3. Diphthongs /eɪ/ (as in *make*) and /əʊ/ (as in *coat*) have a rather open realisation: [æɪ] and [ʌʊ] respectively.
4. Long vowel /i:/ as in *bee, sheep, tree, piece* or *these* is diphthongised and pronounced as [ɜi].
5. Long vowel /u:/ as in *boot, food, moon, spoon, move, lose, soup, blue* or *juice* is also diphthongised and pronounced as [ɛu].
6. Diphthong /aɪ/ as in *time, write, light, high, five, die, lie* or *either* is realised as [ɔɪ].
7. A fusion occurs between /ɜ:/ (as in *bird, girl, turn, church, world* or *journey*) and /eə/ (as in *air, fair, pair, chair, care* or *bear*), resulting in pronunciations like [œ:], meaning that words like *bird* and *bear* sound rather similar. However, Hughes and Trudgill (1996: 85) state that this is not a generalised phenomenon in the dialect area of West Midlands.
8. As in RP and Southern accents, monophthong /ɪ/ is tensed towards [i] in unaccented, word-final position (as in *very, happy* or *city*). However, this vowel usually has rather close realisations in West Midlands accents.

9. Consonant /j/ is not suppressed after other consonants in words such as *music*, *tune* or *suit*.
10. Since the speech of West Midlands is also non-rhotic, consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car*, *bark* or *four*); but, as in other non-rhotic accents, this consonant is realised in prevocalic position (as in *raw*, *rude*, *carry*, *mirror* or *library*).
11. There is not l-vocalisation neither in postvocalic (as in *feel*, *ball*, *milk* or *roll*) nor in syllabic position (as in *table*).
12. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
13. Glottal /ʔ/ is scarcely used as a replacement of consonant /t/ in intervocalic position, as in *Britain* or *better*.
14. Even though *-ing* tends to be pronounced as a voiced velar nasal /ɪŋ/, certain variability may be perceived in West Midland accents since realisations as alveolar nasal /ɪn/ can also be heard.

III.1.2.b.ii.ii. Eastern Central: Central Midlands, Northeast Midlands and East Midlands.

This dialect area comprises the accents of Central Midlands, Northeast Midlands and East Midlands. The geographical area of *Central Midlands* encompasses the region comprised between Northern Nottinghamshire and Leicester, being some of the most relevant urban centres those of Nottingham (Nottinghamshire County), with a population of 332,900 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.), or Leicester (Leicestershire County), with a population of 354,224 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.). Linguistically, Northern as well as Southern features may be heard in Central Midlands' speech, being this accent area rather similar to that of East Midlands (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. Like all accents of the North, there is not /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction, in contrast to RP and Southern accents. Thus, words like *put*, *full*, *wolf*, *book*, *wood*, *could* and *should* are pronounced with /ʊ/ as in other accents, but those words that are pronounced with /ʌ/ as *putt*, *cut*, *must*, *hurry*, *dull*, *London*, *blood* or *does* in other regions, are also realised with /ʊ/ in this dialect area.
2. There is certain instability in the differentiation between /æ/ (as in *cat*, *fact*, *pat*, *sad* or *back*) and /ɑ:/ (as in *car*, *calm*, *dance*, *path*, *half*, *heart* or *aunt*). In fact, while speakers in Northern areas employ vowel /æ/ in items like *path*, *dance* or *past*, which contrasts with the predominant use of /ɑ:/ in the South, Central Midlands speakers use /ɑ:/ in *dance* but /æ/ in *past*.
3. Even though Southern diphthongs /eɪ/ (as in *make*) and /əʊ/ (as in *coat*) are present in this accent area, their pronunciation is not clear and homogeneous since the realisation of these diphthongs tends to be rather open.
4. Unlike RP and other accents, /ɪ/ is not tensed towards [i] in unaccented word-final position, as in *very*, *happy* or *city*.
5. Consonant /j/ is not suppressed after other consonants in words such as *music*, *tune* or *suit*.
6. Since Central Midlands speech is non-rhotic, consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car*, *bark* or *four*), but it is realised in prevocalic position (as in *raw*, *rude*, *carry*, *mirror* or *library*).
7. There is not l-vocalisation neither in postvocalic (as in *feel*, *ball*, *milk* or *roll*) nor in syllabic position (as in *table*).
8. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.

9. *-ing* tends to be pronounced as an alveolar nasal /ɪŋ/ instead of as a voiced velar nasal /ŋ/.

Regarding *Northeast Midlands*, this accent area is rather rural and limited in size. Several urban centres stand out, just as Lincoln (Lincolnshire County), with a population of 99,299 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), and Louth (Lincolnshire County). Linguistically, several accent features of East Midlands are present in Northeast Midlands speech, being it characterised by the presence of both Northern and Southern accent features. Nevertheless, Northeast Midlands accents also present certain differences from the accents already described (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. Like all accents of the North, there is not /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction, in contrast to RP and Southern accents. Thus, words like *put*, *full*, *wolf*, *book*, *wood*, *could* and *should* are pronounced with /ʊ/ as in other accents, but those words that are pronounced with /ʌ/ as *putt*, *cut*, *must*, *hurry*, *dull*, *London*, *blood* or *does* in other regions, are also realised with /ʊ/ in this dialect area.
2. There is certain instability in the differentiation between /æ/ (as in *cat*, *fact*, *pat*, *sad* or *back*) and /ɑ:/ (as in *car*, *calm*, *dance*, *path*, *half*, *heart* or *aunt*). In fact, while speakers in Northern areas employ vowel /æ/ in items like *path*, *dance* or *past*, which contrasts with the predominant use of /ɑ:/ in the South, Northeast Midlands speakers use /ɑ:/ in *dance* but /æ/ in *past*.
3. Diphthong /eɪ/ is pronounced as RP [eɪ] in items like *late*, *make*, *day*, *eight*, *great*, *break*, *rain*, *waste* or *lady*.
4. As in RP and Southern accents, monophthong /ɪ/ is tensed towards [i] in unaccented, word-final position, as in *very*, *happy* or *city*.
5. Consonant /j/ is not suppressed after other consonants in words such as *music*, *tune* or *suit*.

6. Since Northeast Midlands speech is non-rhotic, consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car*, *bark* or *four*), but it is realised in prevocalic position (as in *raw*, *rude*, *carry*, *mirror* or *library*).
7. There is not l-vocalisation neither in postvocalic (as in *feel*, *ball*, *milk* or *roll*) nor in syllabic position (as in *table*).
8. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
9. *-ing* tends to be pronounced as an alveolar nasal /ɪŋ/ instead of as a voiced velar nasal /ɪŋ/.

The dialectal area of *East Midlands* encompasses certain regions of Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire, Leicestershire, Northamptonshire and Cambridgeshire, standing out the urban areas of Peterborough (East Anglia, Cambridgeshire County), with a population of 202,259 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.), and Grantham (Lincolnshire County). Due to the border localisation of this dialect area, several features of North East Midlands and Central Midlands can be found in East Midlands speech, as well as some Northern and Southern features. Nevertheless, certain features differentiate this accent from the ones already described (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. Like all accents of the north, there is not /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction, in contrast to RP and southern accents. However, since this is a rather transitional area in linguistic terms, certain variability may occur in the usage of both vowels; in addition, realisations as [ɤ] may also occur.
2. Similarly, the border localisation of this accent area results in the presence of certain instability in the differentiation between /æ/ (as in *cat*, *fact*, *pat*, *sad* or *back*) and /ɑ:/ (as in *car*, *calm*, *dance*, *path*, *half*, *heart* or *aunt*). In fact, while speakers in Northern

areas employ vowel /æ/ in items like *path*, *dance* or *past*, which contrasts with the predominant use of /ɑ:/ in the South, East Midlands speakers use /ɑ:/ in *dance* but /æ/ in *past*.

3. Diphthong /eɪ/ is pronounced as RP [eɪ] in items like *late*, *make*, *day*, *eight*, *great*, *break*, *rain*, *waste* or *lady*.
4. Unlike RP and Southern accents, monophthong /ɪ/ is not tensed towards [i] in unaccented, word-final position, as in *very*, *happy* or *city*.
5. Similar to other regions such as East Anglia and South Midlands, consonant /j/ is deleted after other consonants in words such as *music*, *tune* or *suit*.
6. Since East Midlands speech is non-rhotic, consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car*, *bark* or *four*), but it is realised in prevocalic position (as in *raw*, *rude*, *carry*, *mirror* or *library*).
7. There is not l-vocalisation neither in postvocalic (as in *feel*, *ball*, *milk* or *roll*) nor in syllabic position (as in *table*).
8. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
9. *-ing* tends to be pronounced as an alveolar nasal /ɪŋ/ instead of as a voiced velar nasal /ŋ/.

III.1.2.c. South

As previously stated, the major dialect boundary that can be observed at current times in England is the imaginary line that separates Northern from the Southern areas (Trudgill 1990; Altendorf & Watt 2004), being this an informal way to distinguish Southerners from Northerners (Trudgill 1990: 80). Like Northern regions, the speech of this geographical area

was influenced by Roman and Germanic settlements, but due to the fact that the social, educative and economic focal points of England were located in Southern regions of England, the dialects spoken in this geographic area were regarded as more suitable for certain contexts. In fact, Southern speakers have traditionally considered their speech as more educated than that of their Northern counterparts (Beal 2004). Even though these conceptions and stigmatisations are beginning to change at current times, they are deeply rooted in British society, as they date back to the fourteenth century (Beal 2004).

According to Trudgill's (1990) classification, the broad geographical area of the South can be sub-divided into two main dialect areas Southwest (comprising Upper Southwest, Central Southwest and Lower Southwest) and East (including South East, East Anglia and South Midlands).

III.1.2.c.i. Southwest

This dialectal area comprises the accents of Upper Southwest, Central Southwest and Lower Southwest.

III.1.2.c.i.i. Upper Southwest

This dialectal area encompasses several urban centres that belong to different metropolitan counties, such as Gloucester (Gloucestershire County), with a population of 129,128 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), Worcester (Worcestershire County), with a population of 101,222 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), Hereford (Herefordshire County), and other neighbouring regions. In addition, due to its geographic location, Upper Southwest accents share several similarities with those of Wales, West Midlands, North West Midlands and Central Southwest. Some of the linguistic features that characterise Upper Southwest speech are as follows (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. In contrast to Northern accents, there is /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction. Thus, words like *put*, *full*, *wolf*, *book*, *wood*, *could* and *should* are pronounced with /ʊ/, while items such as *putt*, *cut*, *must*, *hurry*, *dull*, *London*, *blood* or *does* are pronounced with /ʌ/.

2. Diphthong /eɪ/ as in *make, late, day, eight, great, break, rain, waste* or *lady* is clearly pronounced.
3. Monophthong /ɪ/ is tensed towards [i] in unaccented word-final position, as in *very, happy* or *city*.
4. Just like RP and other British Isles accents, consonant /j/ is not suppressed after other consonants, and therefore, it is pronounced in words such as *music, yes, yard, union, young, Europe, huge, peculiar, tune* or *suit*.
5. Since this is a rhotic accent, consonant /r/ is pronounced both in postvocalic (as in *car, bark* or *four*) and prevocalic position (as in *raw, rude, carry, mirror* or *library*).
6. There is not l-vocalisation neither in postvocalic (as in *feel, ball, milk* or *roll*) nor in syllabic position (as in *table*).
7. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
8. *-ing* tends to be pronounced as an alveolar nasal /ɪŋ/ instead of as a voiced velar nasal /ɪŋ/.

III.1.2.c.i.ii. Central Southwest

Several urban centres stand out from this dialect area, such as Bristol –with a population of 463,377 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.)–, Salisbury (Wiltshire County), Bournemouth (Dorset County) and Oxford (Oxfordshire County) –with a population of 152,457 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.). As with the Lower Southwest, both dialect areas are characterised by a relatively old population. Linguistically, Central Southwest speech is similar to that of Lower Southwest. In addition, certain influence from South East speech may also be perceived in Central Southwest accents due to the proximity of this dialect area to the western counties of Oxfordshire and Berkshire. Nevertheless, one distinctive aspect of Central Southwest accents is the duration of their short vowels, which is longer than in other

accents and results in a relatively marked pronunciation. Other characteristic features include (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. Just like other Southern accents, there is /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction in Central Southwest speech. However, /ʌ/ tends to be realised as /ə/, which results in phonemes /ʌ/ and /ə/ being rather similar in this dialect area (Hughes & Trudgill 1996: 77).
2. No distinction can be observed between /æ/ (as in *cat, fact, pat, sad, or back*) and /ɑ:/ (as in *car, calm, dance, path, half, heart or aunt*). In fact, items with vowel /æ/ are pronounced with [a].
3. Instead of using RP diphthongs /ɪə/ (as in *here*), /eə/ (as in *air*) and /ʊə/ (as in *sure*), Central Southwest accents use /ɪr/, /er/ and /ur/.
4. In addition, RP diphthongs /eɪ/ (as in *gate*) and /əʊ/ (as in *road*) tend to have a rather open realisation, particularly as [ɛɪ] and [ɔʊ], respectively.
5. Monophthong /ɪ/ is tensed towards [i] in unaccented word-final position, as in *very, happy or city*.
6. Similar to RP and other British Isles accents, consonant /j/ is not deleted after other consonants, and therefore, it is pronounced in words such as *due, nude, tune or suit*.
7. Since this is a rhotic accent, consonant /r/ is pronounced both in postvocalic (as in *car, bark or four*) and prevocalic position (as in *raw, rude, carry, mirror or library*).
8. Consonant /l/ is extremely vocalised, being realised as *dark-l* (/ɫ/) in postvocalic position (as in *feel, ball, milk or roll*) and also in syllabic position (as in *table*). In addition, this consonant tends to be pronounced as a vowel, originating pronunciations such as [miʊk] instead of [mɪlk] for *milk*, or [tæɪbʊ] instead of [teɪbəl] for *table*. Specifically, the area of Bristol has a rather distinctive pronunciation of this consonant, also known as *Bristol-l*, which consists in the pronunciation of a lateral

alveolar sound in word-final position in words that do not have this grapheme (similarly to l-intrusive phenomenon). Thus, sets of words such as *area/areal*, *idea/ideal* or *rumba/rumble* are homophones.

9. Similarly to the Cockney accent, there is not a distinction between /f, v/ and /θ, ð/, being, /f, v/ the realisations that occur in Central Southwest accents. Thus, words such as *thin* (/θɪn/), *Cathy* (/ˈkæθi:/), *both* (/bəʊθ/), *together* (/təˈgeðə/) or *bathe* (/beɪð/), are pronounced as /fɪn/, /ˈkæfi:/, /bəʊf/, /təˈgevə/ and /beɪv/ respectively.
10. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
11. Glottal /ʔ/ may occur as a replacement of intervocalic /t/ in intervocalic position (as in *Britain* or *better*) and in pre-pausal environments (as in *Peter is*).

III.1.2.c.i.iii. Lower Southwest

This dialect area encompasses the counties of Cornwall and Devon, with certain urban centres standing out just like Penzance and Truro in Cornwall, and Exeter –with a population of 131,405 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.)– and Plymouth in Devon. As with the Central Southwest, both dialect areas are characterised by a relatively old population. Linguistically, due to its geographic location, Lower Southwest speech –which has been traditionally associated with the speech of Devon– is rather similar to the speech of Bristol – i.e., to the speech of Central Southwest. However, as stated by Trudgill (1990: 73), there is not a uniform accent in this dialect area: “Devon in particular, is rather different from Cornwall, and within Cornwall the east is rather different from the west, where the Cornish language itself was spoken until the seventeenth or eighteenth centuries”. Several characteristics of Lower Southwest speech include the following ones (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. Diphthongs /eɪ/ (as in *make*) and /əʊ/ (as in *go*) are pronounced as [e:] and [o:] or [u:] respectively.

2. Vowel /u:/ is realised as [y:] in words like *soup*, *move* or *improve*.
3. As in many Southern accents, there is /æ/ - /ɑ:/ differentiation. Thus, words like *cat*, *fact*, *pat*, *sad* or *back* are pronounced with /æ/ in Lower Southwest speech, while items like *car*, *calm*, *dance*, *path*, *half*, *heart* or *aunt* are pronounced with /ɑ:/.
4. Similarly to other Southern accents, there is /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction in Lower Southwest speech. Thus, /ʊ/ occurs in *put*, *full*, *wolf*, *book*, *good*, *wood*, *could* or *should*, while words like *cut*, *putt*, *must*, *hurry*, *dull*, *London*, *blood* or *does* are pronounced with /ʌ/.
5. Monophthong /ɪ/ is tensed towards [i] in unaccented word-final position as in *very*, *happy* or *city*.
6. Consonants /f, θ, s, ʃ/ experience a voicing process in Lower Southwest speech, meaning that these consonants tend to be pronounced as /v, ð, z, ʒ/.
7. Similar to RP and other British Isles accents, consonant /j/ is not deleted after other consonants, and therefore, it is pronounced in words such as *music*, *yes*, *yard*, *union*, *young*, *Europe*, *huge*, *peculiar*, *tune* or *suit*.
8. Since this is a rhotic accent, consonant /r/ is pronounced both in postvocalic (as in *car*, *bark* or *four*) and prevocalic position (as in *raw*, *rude*, *carry*, *mirror* or *library*).
9. Even though l-vocalisation occurs in Lower Southwest speech –being this consonant realised as *dark-l* (/ɫ/), this consonant does not entirely transform into a vowel neither in postvocalic (as in *feel*, *ball*, *milk* or *roll*) nor in syllabic position (as in *table*).
10. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
11. *-ing* tends to be pronounced as an alveolar nasal /ɪŋ/ instead of as a voiced velar nasal /ŋ/.

III.1.2.c.ii. East

This dialect area comprises the accents of South Midlands, East Anglia and South East.

III.1.2.c.ii.i. South Midlands

This dialect area encompasses most of Northamptonshire, Bedfordshire and Cambridgeshire, being Northampton –with a population of 224,610 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.)–, Bedford –with a population of 173,292 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.)– or Cambridge –with a population of 124,798 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.)– some of the most relevant urban centres. From a linguistic perspective, South Midlands speech shares a wide range of features with RP and other England Southern accents. However, it is noteworthy to remark that this dialect area is closely located to innovative areas from the North, South, East and West of the British Isles, which inevitably affects its speech. Several features that characterise South Midlands speech include the following ones (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. There is /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction, meaning that words like *put*, *full*, *wolf*, *book*, *wood*, *could* and *should* are pronounced with /ʊ/, while /ʌ/ occurs in *putt*, *cut*, *must*, *hurry*, *dull*, *London*, *blood* or *does*.
2. Similarly, there is /æ/ - /ɑ:/ differentiation. As a result, words like *cat*, *fact*, *pat*, *sad*, or *back* are realised with /æ/, while *car*, *clam*, *dance*, *path*, *half*, *heart* or *aunt* are pronounced with /ɑ:/.
3. Diphthong /eɪ/ occurs in words like *late*, *make*, *day*, *eight*, *great*, *break*, *rain*, *waste* or *lady*, in contrast with other varieties in which conservative /e:/ is still used.
4. As in RP and other Southern accents, /ɪ/ is tensed towards [i] in word-final position, as in *very*, *happy* or *city*.
5. Similar to the accents in East Anglia and East Midlands, consonant /j/ is suppressed after other consonants in words such as *music*, *tune* or *suit*.

6. Since South Midlands speech is non-rhotic, consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car, bark* or *four*), but it is realised in prevocalic position (as in *raw, rude, carry, mirror* or *library*).
7. As in RP, Glottal /ʔ/ may be used as a replacement of intervocalic /t/, as in *Britain* or *better*.
8. Similar to RP, consonant /l/ is usually velarised and therefore pronounced as *dark-l* (/ɫ/). It may even become a vowel in postvocalic position (as in *feel, ball, milk* or *roll*) or in syllabic position (as in *table*).
9. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
10. *-ing* tends to be pronounced as an alveolar nasal /ɪŋ/ instead of as a voiced velar nasal /ɪŋ/.

III.1.2.c.ii.iii. East Anglia

According to Trudgill (2001), this dialect area encompasses North-eastern Essex and the counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, with relevant urban cities standing out just as Norwich (Norfolk County), with a population of 140,573 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.), and Ipswich (Suffolk County), with a population of 136,913 people (Office for National Statistics n.d.). Particularly, Western Norfolk and North-western Suffolk Fenland areas would be excluded from East Anglia accent region. East Anglia also encompasses neighbouring transition zones, like “the Norfolk and Suffolk Fens”, eastern Cambridgeshire, central Essex, and a small area of North-eastern Hertfordshire (Trudgill 2004: 164).

From a historical perspective, this area constituted the Anglo-Saxon kingdom of East Anglia. For this reason, the speech of this region has always played a crucial role in the development of the English language, since as many scholars state, if it is accepted that English language was originated as a result from the arrival of West Germanic groups that first settled Britain in this region, then East Anglia would have been the first place where English would have been spoken (Trudgill 2004). As a result, East Anglian English considerably influenced and

shaped the formation of Mainstream English, as this region was one of the most populated areas in England for many centuries (Trudgill 2004). Thus, due to its proximity to London and the considerable stream of migration of individuals from East Anglia area to London, several features that ended up being “mainstream” would have had their origins in this geographical region. In addition, the dialect features of East Anglia also determined the development of the English language spoken in the English colonies that settled America, especially the area of New England. However, Northern areas of East Anglia are now rather isolated, being the English variety spoken in this region regarded as rather conservative at current times (Trudgill 2004).

Linguistically, East Anglia speech shares several characteristics with RP and other Southern England accents. Some distinctive features of this accent area are as follows (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990, 2004; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. There is differentiation between vowel /u:/ and diphthong /əʊ/ in certain words.
2. There is no differentiation between diphthongs /ɪə/ and /eə/ in items like *beer* or *bear*, which are equally pronounced as /bɛ:/.
3. Diphthong /eɪ/ occurs in *late, make, day, eight, great, break, rain, waste* or *lady*.
4. Short vowel /ʊ/ occurs in certain words like *home* (which is pronounced in RP accents with diphthong /əʊ/). In addition, short vowel /ʊ/ may be realised instead of /u:/ in words like *moon, boot, food, room, broom* or *spoon*.
5. There is /æ/ - /ɑ:/ differentiation. As a result, words like *cat, fact, pat, sad*, or *back* are realised with /æ/, while *car, clam, dance, path, half, heart* or *aunt* are pronounced with /ɑ:/.
6. Similarly, there is /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction, meaning that words like *put, full, wolf, book, wood, could* and *should* are pronounced with /ʊ/, while /ʌ/ occurs in *putt, cut, must, hurry, dull, London, blood* or *does*.

7. As in RP and other Southern accents, /ɪ/ is tensed towards [i] in word-final position, as in *very*, *happy* or *city*.
8. Preposition *off* tends to have a rather conservative pronunciation (/ɔ:f/), which contrasts with innovative /ɒf/.
9. In addition, accented vowels are tensed, while unaccented vowels are shortened in East Anglia accents, being this feature the reason why accents of this region have a particular rhythm.
10. Similar to the accents of East Midlands and South Midlands, consonant /j/ is deleted in the speech of East Anglia after other consonants in words such as *music*, *tune* or *suit*.
11. Since East Anglia speech is non-rhotic, consonant /r/ is not pronounced in postvocalic position (as in *car*, *bark* or *four*), but it is realised in prevocalic position (as in *raw*, *rude*, *carry*, *mirror* or *library*).
12. As in RP, Glottal /ʔ/ may be used as a replacement of intervocalic /t/, as in *Britain* or *better*.
13. Consonant /l/ is usually vocalised and therefore produced as *dark-l* (/ɫ/). However, it does not become a proper vowel in postvocalic position (as in *feel*, *ball*, *milk* or *roll*) or in syllabic position (as in *table*).
14. Like those accents of the North-east and Scotland, speakers from East Anglia always pronounce glottal fricative /h/.
15. *-ing* tends to be realised as an alveolar nasal together with a centralised vowel /ən/, instead of as a voiced velar nasal together with a short vowel /ɪŋ/.

III.1.2.c.ii.iii. South East

This dialect area has also been designated by several authors with the term *Home Counties*, and it covers the adjacent London counties of Essex, Kent, East Sussex, West Sussex, Surrey, Hertfordshire and some parts of Buckinghamshire, Berkshire, Hampshire and Bedfordshire (Altendorf & Watt 2004). Several urban centres stand out, such as London, with a population of 8,961,989 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.), Brighton (West Sussex County), Dover (Kent County), with a population of 118,131 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.), Colchester (Essex County), with a population of 194,706 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.), Southampton (Hampshire County), with a population of 252,520 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.), or Portsmouth (Hampshire County), with a population of 214,905 inhabitants (Office for National Statistics n.d.).

It is noteworthy to mention that the speech of these areas has experienced a process of levelling in recent decades influenced by the geographical mobility of individuals from London to surrounding areas, which took place in the second half of the twentieth century. In addition, the closeness of these regions to London has also been determinant in the shaping process of South East speech, favouring in this way the transmission of innovative features from London to surrounding areas. In fact, London has traditionally been a source of linguistic innovation for those accents of neighbouring areas as well as for RP. For instance, stigmatised linguistic features associated with the speech of working-class individuals from London –also known as Cockney accent– such as T-Glottalling have spread not only geographically to other areas, but also socially to upper and middle-class individuals that are speakers of RP. Particularly, Cockney refers to the speech of working-class individuals from Eastern London (London's East End), where the neighbourhoods of Aldgate, Whitechapel, Bethnal Green, Stepney, Mile End, Hackney, Shoreditch, Poplar or Bow are located. Given the relevant influence of London, and particularly that of Cockney accent on the speech of the dialect area of South East, those features that characterise London accent (or Cockney) include the following ones (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990; Hernández-Campoy 1999; Altendorf & Watt 2004; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013):

1. There is /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ distinction in words like *put* or *putt*, respectively.

2. Similarly, there is /æ/ - /ɑ:/ differentiation in words like *pat* and *path*. However, vowel /æ/ tends to be realised as [ɛ], and even as diphthong [ɛi].
3. Long vowel /ɔ:/ has three different realisations in Cockney: as [ɔ:] in word-final position as in *pore*; as [o:] as in *daughter*; and as [ɔə] in certain environments, such as the plural (as in *paws*), the third singular person (as in *draws*), the -ed past termination of regular verbs (as in *bored*) and the Saxon genitive.
4. Monophthong /ɪ/ of *happy*, *very* or *city* tends to be realised as close [i].
5. In addition, certain diphthongs have pronunciations that are rather different to those of RP accents, such as /eɪ/ (as in *make*) that is pronounced as [æɪ]; /əʊ/ (as in *soap*) that is pronounced as [æʊ]; /aɪ/ (as in *inside*) that is pronounced as [ɑɪ]; and /aʊ/ (as in *mouse*), which can be realised as [æə].
6. Glottal /ʔ/ is widely used in this accent area, acting as an allophone of consonant /t/ in mid-word and word-final position. As previously stated, this constitutes one of the most remarkable linguistic features of Cockney accent, which eventually has spread to other regional and social accents.
7. Glottal fricative /h/ is only pronounced in accented positions, as in *husband*, or *happened*.
8. As in RP, consonant /l/ is usually vocalised and realised as *dark-l* (/ɫ/). It may even become a vowel in postvocalic position (as in *feel*, *ball*, *milk* or *roll*) or in syllabic position (as in *table*). In addition, this vowel may also alter other preceding vowels, neutralising as a result certain minimal pairs such as *peal/pill*, *doll/dole* or *pool/pull*.
9. There is not a distinction between /f, v/ and /θ, ð/, being these consonants realised as /f, v/. Thus, words such as *thin* (/θɪn/), *Cathy* (/ˈkæθi:/), *both* (/bəʊθ/), *together* (/təˈgeðə/) or *bathe* (/beɪð/), are pronounced as /fɪn/, /ˈkæfi:/, /bəʊf/, /təˈgevə/ and /beɪv/ respectively. In addition, consonant /d/ and even a complete omission of sound /ð/ may be realised. As a result, items like *the* or *they* may be pronounced as [də] and [eɪ], respectively.
10. Consonants /p, t, k/ in word-initial position are produced with greater aspiration than in RP accents, meaning that words like *tea* may be pronounced as [tsi:].

11. *-ing* is produced as alveolar nasal /ɪn/, rather than as a voiced velar nasal /ɪŋ/.

III.2. Data gathering procedures

III.2.1. Informants

As previously stated, sociolinguistic studies have allowed to detect, locate, describe, and explain the existing symmetry between social variation and linguistic variation in terms of sociolinguistic variation (Labov 1972a). In fact, as stated by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 23), “one of the defining characteristics of sociolinguistic research is its commitment to the examination of language that is actually produced by speakers”, which leads to the examination of the intrinsic variability of language (Tagliamonte 2012). Thus, taking into account that it has been the discipline of Sociolinguistics –and particularly the Labovian approach– the one which has evidenced the fact that in general terms, the phenomenon of linguistic variation is not free at all but constrained by social and/or linguistic factors, it can be affirmed that speakers tend to vary the extent to which they use certain linguistic features, resulting in different linguistic behaviours motivated by the situational context, among other factors (Milroy & Gordon 2003; Labov 1963). From this evidence, the structured heterogeneity of the speech communities has been one of the fundamental principles on which sociolinguists have based their research, being the linguistic variable their main work tool due to its analytical precision (Milroy & Gordon 2003; Chambers & Trudgill 2004).

As indicated by Milroy and Gordon (2003), those social scientific investigations that draw conclusions about a sizable group from the observation of selected components of that group must adhere to representativeness aspects. In fact, the validity of the conclusions drawn from these types of analyses depends on the accuracy with which the selected sample represents the broad population. In this respect, three main steps were followed in the informant selection process for the present study (Milroy & Gordon 2003):

- (i) definition of the sampling universe by delimiting the group or community under study;
- (ii) evaluation of the most relevant variation dimensions within the selected speech community by considering the potential incidence that factors such as the situational

context and the speaker's ethnicity, gender, geographic region of provenance, educational background, occupation and social class may have on the type of language used; and

(iii) delimitation of the sampling size.

In this respect, even though certain conventions may exist regarding the appropriateness of the sample size, no consensus has been reached on this matter (Milroy & Gordon 2003). In fact, the number of informants selected will vary depending on the socio-demographic aspects addressed and the nature of the study itself (Hernández-Campoy & Almeida 2005). For instance, the study of New York speech carried out by Labov in 1966 included 88 informants, while Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1968) made a total of 702 interviews to 254 families in their speech analysis of Detroit. On the other hand, Trudgill (1974) purposively selected 60 informants for his speech analysis of the city of Norwich in order to observe the speech of individuals from Northern, Central, Southern, Eastern and Western areas of the city and therefore, to account for social, geographical and housing features of the total population. Also, certain factors outside the interests of the researchers may condition the number of informants selected, as it was the case of the study carried out by Hernández-Campoy and Jiménez-Cano (2003) and Jiménez-Cano and Hernández-Campoy (2004) on the evolution of Murcian speech from samples taken from radio archives as a corpus (Hernández-Campoy & Almeida 2005: 61).

In order to achieve representativeness, the present study has implemented a *quota sampling* approach –also known as *judgment sampling*– in order to properly account for style-shifting strategies in political discourse both in the United States and the United Kingdom. Thus, a pre-determined selection of the informants was made in the form of prototypes that would have to adhere to the socio-demographic (sub)group's profile (Milroy 1980/1987; Milroy & Gordon 2003). Precisely, this is the most common procedure employed in sampling selection, as it is more representative of the analysed community than merely randomised methods. Several researchers have applied this procedure, such as Alvar-López (1972) in the speech analysis of Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Romaine (1978) and Reid (1978) in their analyses of the language of Edinburgh children, or Moya-Corral and García-Wiedemann (1995), among others. Nevertheless, there is not an absolute sampling procedure, since the different objectives of each investigation will determine to a relevant extent the sample

method to be used. In fact, combinations of different sampling procedures and even adaptations according to certain aspects often occur in Sociolinguistic research, since as indicated by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 47-48):

[t]he range of sampling methods used in recent work suggests that researchers are now more relaxed than they once were about methodological issues such as whether or not their account should be technically representative or whether strict random sampling procedures should be used. This shift in attitude has come with the maturing of sociolinguistics as a field of research, and it enables researchers to select more freely from a range of methods those which, within a defensible theoretical framework, will best enable them to achieve their goals.

As claimed by Reyes-Rodríguez (2008), political speech has traditionally been approached from a qualitative perspective, as evidenced by the studies carried out by Wodak (2002), Chilton, (2004), van Dijk (2005) or Blackledge (2005), among others. Nevertheless, a recent interest on quantitative approaches towards the study of political speech has emerged, as it can be observed in the studies carried out by Cutillas-Espinosa (2001), Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy and Schilling-Estes (2010), Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2010), Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr and Lewis (2012), Hall-Lew, Starr and Coppock (2012), Lei and Liu (2016), and Sclafani (2018), among others. Particularly, new approaches have focused on the stylistic behaviour of informants operating in certain contexts. Thus, in line with recent quantitative approaches to the study of style-shifting phenomenon, four British politicians and four North American politicians were selected so as to account for potential stylistic variations in their linguistic behaviour across the different political contexts in which they operate. Hence, two sampling universes were delimited for the present study: (i) American politicians –from which four speakers were selected–; and (ii) British politicians – from which four speakers were also selected.

The selection of politicians as informants for the present study was motivated by the fact that individuals belonging to such socio-economic positions and who work in that kind of environment tend to exhibit a rather mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour, and therefore, a firm command of elaborated codes (Bernstein 1971, cited in Reyes-Rodríguez 2008). In this respect, Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy and Schilling-Estes (2010: 44) state that politicians tend to be aware to a relevant extent about the social significance of linguistic variables, meaning that they often exhibit a greater control of mainstream forms. Also, the constant evaluation to which politicians are subjected by voters, opponents and news reporters becomes of relevance, as it may increase their awareness when publicly speaking in

order to adhere to or deviate from mainstream linguistic conventions (Duranti 2006). Consequently, the selection of politicians as informants may shed light on the sociolinguistic behaviour of informants operating in political contexts in terms of potential stylistic strategies. Particularly, it has been stated that a relevant control of the mainstream variety on the part of a politician tends to provide him or her with legitimacy, power and authority (Milroy & Milroy 1985) in the presentation of personal goals and public services (Reyes-Rodríguez 2008: 227). In fact, according to Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy and Schilling-Estes (2010: 44), persuasive goals are often best accomplished if a “correct” and “educated” speech is employed. Thus, the informants selected for the present study should be conceived as a speech community that will be analysed in terms of intraspeaker stylistic variation as a strategic resource for political identity construction processes in the public sphere.

In order to avoid potential bias in the informant selection process in terms of gender aspects, the same number of male and female politicians was selected for both sampling universes. Thus, two female American politicians and two male American politicians were selected for the USA speech community, and two female British politicians and two male British politicians were selected for the UK speech community. Moreover, with the aim of eliminating as much bias as possible, male and female politicians from different political parties were selected for the present analysis, since each time that a speaker produces any verbal expression, he or she displays certain ideological traits. In fact, the choice of one variant over the other of a phonological variable may act as a vehicle in the expression and transmission of the speaker’s ideological stance on certain aspects, such as mainstream and prescriptivist conventions, language attitudes, and linguistic descriptions (Eckert 2000, 2001, 2008; Podesva, Roberts & Campbell-Kibler 2002; Ostermann 2003; Schilling-Estes 2004; Zilles & Kendall 2005; Podesva 2012; Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr and Lewis 2012; Kiesling 2013). Thus, the same number of informants were selected from the two dominant parties in USA and UK: the Republican Party and the Democratic Party on the one hand, and the Conservative Party and the Labour Party on the other. Hence, as it can be observed in Table III.2., the informants selected for the present study are: Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama, Donald Trump, Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson.

Table III.2. Informants selected for the present study.

Informants							
USA				UK			
Democratic Party		Republican Party		Labour Party		Conservative Party	
Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male
Hillary Clinton	Barack Obama	Sarah Palin	Donald Trump	Emma Lewell-Buck	Jeremy Corbyn	Theresa May	Boris Johnson

It must be remarked that contemporary politicians with a relatively high degree of current public repercussion were sought for this analysis, and therefore, those politicians from rather distant periods were not considered. On the one hand, given their extensive public repercussion, Democrat and former U.S. President Barack Obama and Republican and former U.S. President Donald Trump were selected as male American politicians. However, the fact that no female politicians have occupied the position of “President of the United States of America” presented a hazard in the selection of female American politician equivalents for Barack Obama and Donald Trump. Thus, Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin were the selected female American politicians, as both politicians have had a relevant public repercussion: Clinton has served as the First Lady of the U.S., as the U.S. Senator from New York, as the U.S. Secretary of State, and she was the Democratic Party nominee for the 2016 U.S. Presidential elections; Palin has served as Governor of Alaska and was the Republican Party nominee for the Vice Presidency of the 2008 U.S. Presidential elections. As a matter of fact, other female American politicians that could have been potentially selected for the present analysis were discarded for having lesser public repercussion or having had political occupations long time ago. For instance, former United States Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice was discarded since this Republican politician held relevant political positions long time ago and did not have the same public repercussion as Clinton or Palin. This can be observed in the number of rallies in which the three female politicians have participated as well as their media coverage, being Condoleezza Rice the one with fewest appearances. This situation also applies to Democrat Nancy Pelosi. On the other hand, other current female politicians could have been potentially selected, such as Democrats Elizabeth Warren, Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, Kamala Harris or Republicans Elise Stefanik, Jaime Herrera Beutler or Michele Bachmann; however, Clinton and Palin proved to have had far more public repercussion.

On the other hand, Conservative and current Prime Minister Boris Johnson and Conservative and former Prime Minister Theresa May were the selected British informants for the Conservative Party. In addition, given the relevant political role that the “Leader of the Opposition” often plays in the political sphere of the United Kingdom and the public repercussion associated with this figure (Ilie 2006), former Leader of the Labour Opposition Jeremy Corbyn was also selected for the present study. However, the fact that no female Labour politicians have ever served as Prime Minister or have hold the occupation of Leader of the Opposition for a relevant period of time posed a substantial hazard for the selection of a Labour female informant, who was selected among female Members of Parliament for Labour Party. Thus, Emma-Lewell Buck was the selected informant for Labour Party as she has one of the largest speaking records in Parliament, which contrasts with the rather scarce public and political repercussion of other female MPs for Labour Party. Other current female Labourist politicians could have been potentially selected, just as Jess Philips, Rebecca Long-Bailey or Lisa Nandy. However, the public and political repercussion of these three politicians does not exceed to a relevant extent that of Lewell-Buck. In addition, Long-Bailey and Nandy have not played a relevant role in the Labour Party until very recently, when they came to the forefront for the 2020 Labour Party leadership election.

Consequently, just like it is advisable to make use of prior dialectological and/or sociolinguistic studies as guidelines in the identification and selection of relevant linguistic variables of the speakers’ sociolinguistic behaviour (Hernández-Campoy & Almeida 2005: 57), it is also convenient to collect information regarding the social, demographic, historic, geographic, cultural, ethnographic and economic nature of the speech community under study in order to properly understand the area and the informants under study, and therefore, to ensure their representativeness (Feagin 2002: 22). For this reason, apart from providing a description about the dialectal profiles of the informants selected, biographic information regarding their socio-economic and educational background as well as their political and public repercussion is needed in order to properly analyse their sociolinguistic behaviour and account for potential style-shifts strategies. In fact, as claimed by Milroy (2004: 167): “local histories and local social, political, and economic conditions” must be taken into account when analysing speakers’ linguistic behaviour (see also Philips 2015). In this respect, valuable information in terms of biographical data was mainly obtained from the following webpages: Britannica (<https://www.britannica.com/>), Biography (<https://www.biography.com/>), the

official webpage of Emma Lewell-Buck as Member of Parliament for the Labour Party (<https://www.emma-lewell-buck.net/>), the official webpage of Hillary Clinton (<https://www.hillaryclinton.com/>) and the official webpage of Barack and Michel Obama (<https://barackobama.com/>).

III.2.1.a. American Informants: Biographical, Dialectal and Sociolectal Profiles

III.2.1.a.i. Hillary Clinton

Hillary Clinton was born on October 26, 1947, in Chicago, Illinois. She grew up in a middle-class Chicago suburb, and then spent several years in Massachusetts, where she enrolled at Wellesley College –a prestigious and private liberal arts college for women. It was during this period when she joined the Democratic Party. After graduating from Wellesley in 1969, Hillary moved to Connecticut to enter Yale Law School. A year later, she helped in the Watergate investigation, and after Nixon's resignation, she moved to Arkansas to teach at the University of Arkansas School of Law. She married Bill Clinton in 1975, and shortly after she joined the Rose Law Firm in Little Rock (Arkansas).



Figure III.11. Hillary Clinton. Source: Watson (2013): <https://www.forbes.com/sites/tomwatson/2013/11/20/full-equality-for-women-hillary-clintons-crusade-continues/?sh=78ec26a85701>

As for her political career, Clinton served as First Lady from 1993 to 2001, Senator of New York from 2001 to 2009, and she also ran for the nomination of the Democratic Party in the framework of the 2008 U.S. Presidential elections. She was defeated by Obama, but would eventually serve as Secretary of State from 2009 until 2013 under the Obama administration. In 2015 Hillary Clinton ran for the presidency again, immediately becoming the favourite candidate to win the Democratic nomination and finally becoming the opponent of Donald

Trump. Even though she was defeated, she has continued with her political career, creating the political action organisation “Onward Together”, appearing in events and giving speeches. Despite her great achievements in politics just as being the first First Lady to win a seat as a senator or becoming the first woman to be nominated for the U.S. presidency by a major political party, Americans have polarised opinions about her.

III.2.1.a.ii. Sarah Palin

Sarah Palin was born on February 11, 1964, in Sandpoint, Idaho. Shortly after her birth, her family moved to Skagway (Alaska), then to Eagle River and finally settled in the small town of Wasilla in 1972, where she grew up.

As for her political career, she served as mayor of Wasilla from 1996 to 2002. Then, she campaigned for the Republican nomination for the office of Governor of Alaska, and even though she was defeated, Palin’s campaign boosted her public and political repercussion. She then shortly worked for the Alaska Oil and Gas Conservation Commission until her resignation. Then, she served as Governor of Alaska from 2006 to 2009, becoming the first woman to hold such position in Alaska as well as the youngest governor in Alaska’s history.



Figure III.12. Sarah Palin. Source: Forbes (n.d.): <https://www.forbes.com/profile/sarah-palin/?sh=3e1e629016a4>

In addition, she was elected by Senator John McCain as his vice-presidential running mate in the framework of the 2008 U.S. presidential elections, being the first woman to appear

on a Republican presidential ticket. Palin became quite popular, but she also generated a wide amount of criticism among the electorate due to her lack of knowledge on certain political and foreign affairs issues. After McCain's defeat against Barack Obama, Palin continued to be active within national Republican Party politics. She also gained special attention due to her adherence to the populist Tea Party movement, which is characterised by its conservative point of view. In addition, she was a vocal supporter of Donald Trump during his campaign for the 2016 U.S. Presidential elections. Apart from her career in politics, Palin has also appeared on television as commentator for several programs –just as Fox News Channel–, and also in the reality television series *Sarah Palin's Alaska*.

III.2.1.a.iii. Barack Obama

Barack Obama was born on August 4, 1961 in Honolulu, Hawaii, where he attended an elitist preparatory academy. He then attended Occidental College in Los Angeles for two years, and then was transferred to Columbia University in New York City, where he received a bachelor's degree in political science. Then, he worked as a writer and editor for a consulting research company in Manhattan, and as a community organiser in a rather impoverished area in Chicago. Later, Obama returned to university and graduated in 1991 from Harvard University's Law school. He then moved to Chicago and became politically active within the Democratic Party. During this period, he gave lectures at the Law School of the University of Chicago and worked as an attorney.



Figure III.13. Barack Obama. Source: The White House, President Barack Obama (n.d.): <https://obamawhitehouse.archives.gov/administration/president-obama>

Before becoming the 44th President of the United States and the first African American politician in holding this occupation, Obama also served as member of the Illinois State Senate from 1997 to 2004, and also as U. S. Senator from Illinois from 2005 to 2008. In his tenure as president (from 2009 to 2017), Obama made a great effort in improving the United States' image abroad and promoting peace among several countries, which led him to win the 2009 Nobel Peace Prize. In addition, he addressed health care insurance aspects, legalised same-sex marriage throughout the country and got involved in the creation of plans in order to tackle climate change, just as the 2015 Paris Agreement. Due to this, the opinion of Americans towards Obama is rather positive, since a wide range of the electorate feels identified with the former president, who is praised for his freshness. After his presidency, Obama has continued to be rather active in politics.

III.2.1.a.iv. Donald Trump

Donald Trump was born on June 14, 1946, in New York. Thanks to his father's business, the wealth of Trump's family increased significantly. Trump attended the elitist school of New York Military Academy (from 1959 to 1964) and Fordham University (from 1964 to 1966). He also attended the Wharton School of Finance and Commerce of the University of Pennsylvania, where he graduated in economics. Then, he started to work for his father's business to finally become president of the Trump Organisation. Throughout the years, he turned his father's business into a more luxurious one, making a considerable fortune from it.



Figure III.14. Donald Trump. Source: The White House (2017): <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/white-house-releases-official-portraits-president-donald-j-trump-vice-president-mike-pence/>

Regarding politics, even though he became rather active in the presidential race of 2012, little experience can be recorded on his political career. It was in 2015 when Trump announced that he would run for the U.S. 2016 presidency, promising to repeal Obama's Affordable Care Act, disengage the United States from the 2015 Paris Agreement on climate change, ban Muslim immigration and build a wall along the U.S.-Mexico border so as to tackle illegal immigration, among other aspects. He finally defeated Democrat opponent Hillary Clinton and became the 45th president of the United States in 2017. Two years later he became the third president to be impeached in the U.S. history by the U.S. house of representatives.

His political perspectives, his opinions on certain matters and some remarks that he has made –which have been regarded as racist and sexist– have been a subject of public debate. As a consequence, different opinions have emerged among the electorate: some Americans fear his extreme ideas, others do not take him seriously and regard the president as an extravagant public persona, and others feel that his extreme measures towards immigration will benefit Americans. Apart from his political career, he has also produced and hosted the television reality of *The Apprentice* from 2003 to 2015.

III.2.1.b. British Informants: Biographical, Dialectal and Sociolectal Profiles

III.2.1.b.i. Emma Lewell-Buck

Emma Lewell-Buck was born on November 8, 1978 in South Shields, England. Her socioeconomic background is quite modest, as her family has traditionally worked in the shipyard industry. She studied politics and media studies at Northumbria University and gained a Master's degree from Durham University in social work. Then, she began to work as a social worker in 2007, specialising her career in child protection,

As for her parliamentary career, she became Member of Parliament in 2013 for the Labour Party to represent the constituency of South Shields, and in 2016 she was elected as shadow minister for Jeremy Corbyn's cabinet. Even though she is well-known and appreciated in her constituency (as she was born and raised there), Emma Lewell-Buck is not as popular as Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson.



Figure III.15. Emma Lewell-Buck. Source: UK Parliament (2020): <https://members.parliament.uk/member/4277/portrait>

III.2.1.b.ii. Theresa May

Theresa May was born on October 1, 1956, in Eastbourne (Sussex), England. She attended public as well as private schools in Oxfordshire, where she grew up. She then enrolled at the University of Oxford to study Geography, and after graduating, she worked for 20 years for the financial sector, where she held the occupation of head of the European Affairs Unit and senior adviser on international affairs.



Figure III.16. Theresa May. Source: Honeycombe-Foster (2018): <https://www.politicshome.com/news/article/downing-street-blasts-vitriol-aimed-at-theresa-may-amid-furious-tory-row-over-violent-language>

May's political career is rather extensive, in fact she has served as Member of Parliament for the Conservative Party to represent the constituency of Maidenhead, shadow secretary for education and employment, shadow secretary of state for transport, local government, and the regions, shadow secretary of state for the family, shadow secretary of state for culture, media, and sport, and shadow leader of the House of Commons (from 2005 to 2009).

In light of the results of the 2016 Referendum, and after former Prime Minister David Cameron's resignation, Theresa May became Prime Minister in July 2016. During her tenure as Prime Minister, May faced strong disagreements about Brexit issues with other members of parliament, and even with members of her own party. This fact, together with a majority loss of the Conservative Party, the resignation of several conservative members and her inability of designing a Brexit deal that would be approved by MPs, led her to resign from office in 2019. Due to the controversy of her Brexit approaches, UK citizens have a rather negative opinion toward her.

III.2.1.b.iii. Jeremy Corbyn

Jeremy Corbyn was born on May 26, 1949, in Chippenham (Wiltshire), England. Jeremy spent his childhood in Shropshire, where he attended Adams' Grammar School.

Regarding his political career, Corbyn has been serving as Member of Parliament for the working-class area of Islington North since 1983, and in 2015, he became the leader of the Labour Party. Despite of being critic with the European Union, he voted to remain in the 2016 Referendum. In this respect, he has received a wide amount of criticism, as the electorate believes that he has not fully defended the "Remain" position. Apart from Brexit, Jeremy Corbyn has addressed other issues in his tenure as the leader of the opposition, just as more economic support for the National Health Services or the elimination of tuition in higher education.

For the elections of December 12, 2019, Corbyn sought the approval of the electorate to celebrate another referendum so as to ask again whether citizens would like to leave or remain in the EU. However, he was finally defeated by Conservative leader Boris Johnson. Nevertheless, Corbyn proved to be such a popular politician, gaining fans and supporters across England that would admire him. On the other hand, polarised opinions to this politician

can also be found among the electorate and fellow Labour members, as some criticise that he has taken the party too much to the left.



Figure III.17. Jeremy Corbyn. Source: UK Parliament (2020): <https://members.parliament.uk/member/185/portrait>

III.2.1.b.iv. Boris Johnson

Boris Johnson was born on June 19, 1964, in New York City in a wealthy family. Due to his parents' careers and employments, Boris Johnson lived in several locations, just as New York City, London, Washington, D.C., Connecticut and Brussels. During his childhood, Boris Johnson would attend Winsford Village School (Nethercote) and Primrose Hill Primary School, the European School in Brussels and the preparatory boarding school of Ashdown House (East Sussex). He also won a scholarship to study at Eton College, and would later attend Balliol College (Oxford). Johnson began his career in journalism After graduating from University, he worked for The Times –from which was dismissed due to inventing a quotation–, The Daily Telegraph and the Spectator.

Boris Johnson entered politics in 1997, when he was selected as the Conservative candidate to represent the constituency of Clwyd South in the House of Commons, although he didn't win the seat. Then, he began to appear on several television shows, which led him to gain popularity among the electorate due to his eccentric personality and his controversial remarks. He would finally be elected to represent Henley-on-Thames in 2001, to be then re-

elected in 2005. He served as the mayor of London from 2008 to 2012 –a period in which he stepped down from his seat at the House of Commons– and from 2012 to 2016 –when he returned to parliament. He was also selected by Theresa May to serve as Secretary of State for foreign affairs from 2016 to 2018.

After May's resignation and amid an intense campaign of the candidates of the Conservative party for the prime ministership, Boris Johnson was officially named Prime Minister on July 2019. During his campaign, he promised to leave the European Union without a deal, being this ideology in line with his “leaver” perspective since the 2016 Referendum. Due to the inability of Conservative MPs to put forward a Brexit agreement that would please all the opposition parties, Johnson requested the Parliament dissolution in August 2019 so as to call for elections, which results would give the Conservative Party the victory on December 12. As for the electorate's opinion towards Johnson, while some Britons feel distanced from his “Leave” perspective towards Brexit, adepts to this viewpoint have been gained due to his nimbleness in supporting both conservative and liberal causes; in fact, his eccentric personality has made him a rather popular politician.



Figure III.18. Boris Johnson. Source GOV.UK (n.d.): <https://www.gov.uk/government/organisations/prime-ministers-office-10-downing-street>

III.2.2. Variables: Dialectal & Sociolinguistic Salience

As previously stated, it has been the discipline of Sociolinguistics –and particularly the Labovian approach– the one which has evidenced the fact that in general terms, the phenomenon of linguistic variation is not free at all but constrained by social and/or context factors (Labov 2001a; Milroy & Gordon 2003;). Thus, as Labov (1972a) emphasises, there are

no speakers who are only users of a single style, as all of them show certain degree of variation influenced by the most immediate socio-contextual conditions in which they operate. In this respect, sociolinguistic studies have allowed to detect, locate, describe, and explain the existing symmetry between *social variation* and *linguistic variation* in terms of *sociolinguistic variation* (Trudgill 1974, 1978b; Tagliamonte 2012), focusing not only on the fact that variation occurs, but also on the frequency with which it occurs (Chambers & Trudgill 2004). Particularly, current approaches in Sociolinguistics conceive variation as a social semiotic system that is able to reflect social identities and local categories of a given community (Eckert 2012).

In addition, sociolinguistic research has confirmed the existence of three main ingredients of (socio)linguistic variation, namely: “i) the social (and biological) characteristics of the speaker, ii) the situation of use, and iii) the linguistic environment of the variable under study” (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 29). The correlation of these elements leads to the assumption that while differences between the speech of different speakers occur in the social dimension, differences within the speech of a single speaker occur in the stylistic dimension, allowing the distinction between inter-speaker (social) and intra-speaker (stylistic) variation (Bell 1984). Thus, while inter-speaker variation implies the existence of social differences reflected in the speech of distinct groups of speakers, that is, “the range of variation for particular sociolinguistic variables across the different speakers” (Bell 2007a: 90); intra-speaker variation refers to those stylistic differences that are reflected in the speech of a single speaker, or “the range of variation for particular sociolinguistic variables produced by individual speakers within their own speech” (Bell 2007a: 90). From this evidence, the structured heterogeneity of the speech communities has been one of the fundamental principles on which sociolinguists have based their research, being the linguistic variable their main work tool due to its analytical precision (Milroy & Gordon 2003; Chambers & Trudgill 2004).

III.2.2.a. Dependent variables: identification and description of linguistic variables

According to Hernández-Campoy (1999), the term *variable* is highly used in scientific investigation and it is closely linked to that of *construct*. Hence, those linguistic features whose variants are associated with social and/or stylistic meaning can be defined as sociolinguistic variables (Labov 1972a; Tagliamonte 2012). Yet, both linguistic and sociolinguistic variables

constitute alternative ways of making reference to the same aspect, although a sociolinguistic variable would imply a higher degree of social significance (Chambers & Trudgill 2004).

According to Eckert (2008: 453), the sociolinguistic variable must be subject to adopting different values, since: “the meanings of variables are not precise or fixed but rather constitute a field of potential meanings”. In this respect, Silverstein (2003) and Eckert (2008, 2012), among other authors, indicate that different social meanings can be indexed by linguistic features at different levels, having these features different degrees of saliency depending on the contexts in which they are uttered. That is, the meaning of variables is gained and shaped by contexts of style, rather than something specific and predetermined that is associated with a given variable (Eckert 2012). In fact, current third-wave approaches assign not only individual variables but also phonological processes the characteristic of indexical mutability, which is materialised in stylistic practices (Eckert 2012, 2018).

As previously indicated, one of the main aims in sociolinguistic research is to establish a correlation between the data obtained and certain pre-determined features –i.e. linguistic variables– with socio-demographic criteria (like age, sex, social class and occupation, ethnicity, or religious affiliation, among other aspects) aiming at establishing sociolinguistic variables and patterns of sociolinguistic behaviour as sociolinguistic universals (Labov 1966/2006, Labov 1972a, 1972b, 1994, 2001a, 2010; Romaine 1994/2000; Tagliamonte 2012), as well as to account for identity creation processes, potential strategies of persona presentation and stance taking moves in the speech of individuals through their social agency and their subsequent proactive use of linguistic variables. This means that linguistic variation is the result of speakers’ agency, and that variation not only reflects but also constructs social meaning, being ideology a central aspect in stylistic practices (Eckert 2012, 2018, Tagliamonte 2016).

Depending on the nature of the selected linguistic feature, variables can be identified as phonological, morphological, syntactic, lexical or discursive (Milroy & Gordon 2003). In this respect, given that speech constitutes an activity of a fundamental and necessarily social nature –being language acts regarded as acts of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985)–, and due to the nature of the present study, phonological variables were employed in the speech analyses of the British and American informants selected. This type of linguistic variable is frequently used in sociolinguistic analyses, since these indicators are the most accurate ones in the study to sociolinguistic variation as well as the easiest ones when it comes

to measurement and quantification tasks. In fact, vocalic variation has received a greater amount of attention than consonantal variation, at least from investigators on North American English (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 138). Precisely, phonological variables were used in the pioneer studies of Labov (1966/2006), who employed five phonological variables: three consonantal features –(θ), (ð) and (r)– and two vocalic features –(æ) and (a)–; and Trudgill (1974), who employed 16 phonological variables: three consonantal features –(h), (ng) and (t)– and thirteen vocalic features –(a), (ā), (a:), (e), (er), (εr), (i), (ir), (o), (ou), (ō), (u), and (yu). In addition, a wide range of scholars have employed phonological variables in their language speech analyses, such as Shuy, Wolfram and Riley (1968), Knowles (1978), Macaulay (1978), Romaine (1978), Lesley Milroy (1980/1987), Van de Velde, Gerritsen & van Hout (1996), Van de Velde, van Hout & Gerritsen (1997), Williams and Kerswill (1999), Tollfree (1999), Docherty and Foulkes (1999), Cutillas-Espinosa (2001), Hernández-Campoy (2003a, 2003b), Hernández-Campoy and Jiménez-Cano 2003, and Jiménez-Cano and Hernández Campoy (2004), among many others

Apart from being the easiest ones when it comes to measurement and quantification tasks, phonological variables are the most accurate indicators of linguistic variation (Labov 1966/2006; Milroy & Gordon 2003;). Particularly, several reasons have motivated the choice of phonological variables for this study, such as the attested accent heterogeneity that can be found across the different regions of the United Kingdom and the United States, as well as mainstream and prestigious conventions associated with both English varieties, which provide a wide range of stylistic resources when it comes to the conveyance of social as well as regional significance in communicative interaction (Trudgill 1978b, 1983a, 1983b; Baugh & Cable 2002; Schneider 2006). In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that phonological studies allow researchers to account for the regularly heterogeneous speech and the particular performance of speakers within the macro-linguistic level, which is one of the main objectives pursued by sociolinguists.

In addition, it is noteworthy to remark that each time that a speaker produces any verbal expression he or she displays certain ideological traits. Thus, the choice of one variant over the other of a phonological variable will act as a vehicle in the expression and transmission of the speaker's ideological stance on certain aspects such as mainstream and prescriptivist conventions, language attitudes, and linguistic descriptions (Eckert 2000, 2001, 2008; Podesva, Roberts & Campbell-Kibler 2002; Ostermann 2003; Schilling-Estes 2004; Zilles

& King 2005; Podesva 2012; Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr & Lewis 2012; Kiesling 2013, among others). Consequently, the adherence to mainstream or non-mainstream conventions can be regarded not only as a mere verbal practice, but as an ideological and dynamic presentation of one's persona (Coupland 1980). In this respect, Coupland and Bishop (2007: 74) state that "in particular socio-cultural environments, certain beliefs about the value of sociolinguistic features, styles and practices are structured into people's everyday understanding" (see also Lippi-Green 2012; Milroy 2004; Schieffelin, Woolard, & Kroskrity 1998). Consequently, the multifaceted nature of linguistic variables when it comes to indexing meanings facilitates the creation and projection of the individual as well as social identity of a speaker in communicative interactions (Schilling-Estes 2004).

Thus, the identification and selection process of phonological variables selected for the present study is supported by the social significance degree evidenced in the pronunciation of the segment (or segments) involved and the extent of their phonetic differentiation (Trudgill 1974). Precisely, three criteria were followed in order to identify and select the most suitable phonological variables for the present analysis (Labov 1972a; Tagliamonte 2012):

- (i) Frequency of occurrence, so that enough samples of a given variable can be obtained in order to carry out statistical analyses;
- (ii) Structural nature, meaning that the selected variable has to be an integral component of a larger system;
- (iii) Certain degree of social distribution

Also, when it comes to the speech analysis of a community whose language is widely known, previous dialectological and/or sociolinguistic studies can be used as a guide mark in the identification and selection of variables with greater sociolinguistic connotations and significance in order to accurately reflect both the possible sociolinguistic distribution and the variability conditions of its different variants (Hernández-Campoy & Almeida 2005: 46). In this respect, previous studies were relied on in the process of variable identification and selection for the present study. Regarding the speech community of the United Kingdom, those studies carried out by Trudgill (1974, 1990, 2001, 2008), Coupland (1985), Hughes, Trudgill and Watt

(2013), Foulkes and Docherty (2006), Hernández-Campoy (1999), Roach (2009), Llamas (2000), Fabricius (2002a, 2002b) and Altendorf (2003), among others, were considered. As for the speech community of the United States, several previous studies were also employed as a starting point in the process of variable identification and selection, such as those carried out by Labov (1966/2006), Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006), Koops, Gentry and Pantos (2008) and Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr and Lewis (2012), among others. Nevertheless, investigators might also rely on their own observations about potentially useful variables, since as indicated by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 140), “it is not uncommon to find features that have not previously been described or associated with the community under investigation”, as it was the case of the studies carried out by Gordon (2000) or Watt and Tillotson’s (2002). Lastly, given that variables’ patterns differ across the different speech communities, the identification and selection of variables cannot be done in an automatic way, being this task of crucial importance in the analysis of the fluctuation of a given variable (Milroy & Gordon 2003).

In addition, in order to provide a thorough description of the phonological variables that were selected for the present study, prior descriptions were considered, such as those of Wells (1982), Trudgill (1990), Hernández-Campoy (1999), Beal (2004), Clark (2004), Trudgill (2004), Altendorf and Watt (2004), Upton (2004) and Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013) about British English phonological features. Similarly, descriptions about American English phonological features were also considered, such as those of Wells (1982), Kretzschmar (2004), Gordon (2004a, 2004b), Thomas (2004), Tillery and Bailey (2004), Edwards (2004), Gramley and Pätzold (2004), Schneider (2006), Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006), Trudgill and Hannah (2008), Lippi-Green (2012), Labov (2012), and Collins and Mees (2013).

Taking into account these methodological aspects, twelve variables organised into two different sets of six variables were selected for the present analysis, each set corresponding to the two sampling universes under study: the United Kingdom and the United States. On the one hand, six variables were employed in the analysis of British informants’ speech: four vocalic features (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split) and two consonantal features (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping). Similarly, six variables were selected for the speech analysis of the American informants: two vocalic features (PRICE vowel and Pin/Pen merger) and four consonantal features (Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping). The majority of these linguistic features present

regular variability, being their innovative variants the ones that are frequently used in the United Kingdom and the United States. Surely, different phonological variables could have been selected for the present study, possibly offering different results, as it could have happened in the speech analyses carried out by Labov (1966) in New York, Trudgill (1974) in Norwich, Milroy and Milroy (1978) in Belfast, Macaulay (1977, 1978) in Glasgow, Cheshire (1978, 1982) in Reading, and Horvath (1985) in Sidney, among many others.

Moreover, it is paramount to emphasise that not all the selected variables for the present study are identical, as they may have different nature. Thus, some of the variables involve an alternation between two options, as it is the case of H-Dropping, which can be realised as either [h] or [∅], being the speaker's choice in the usage of this linguistic feature of a binary nature. However, other variables have a more continuous nature, as their variants seem to fluctuate between two positions along a phonetic dimension. For instance, this continuous nature applies to FACE vowel, as this linguistic feature is often realised as /eɪ/, sometimes as /e:/, and often as something in between these two points, such as /æɪ/ (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Nevertheless, as indicated by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 139), "continuous variables may be treated as having discrete variants for measurement purposes". For this reason, two main variants have been established in the present study for those variables that may reveal certain continuity:

- (i) Variant 1, which refers to the mainstream realisation, as [eɪ] as in the case of FACE vowel; and
- (ii) Variant 2, which encompasses other non-mainstream realisations.

Thus, as indicated in Table III.3, FACE vowel variable provides us with two possible realisations, mainstream and innovative diphthong [eɪ] and other non-mainstream and conservative pronunciations. GOAT vowel provides us with two similar realisations, mainstream and innovative diphthong [əʊ] and other non-mainstream and conservative pronunciations. Likewise, two possible realisations are considered in the case of MOUTH vowel, modern diphthong [aʊ] and other non-mainstream and conservative realisations. In addition, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split has two possible realisations, innovative monophthong /ʌ/ and conservative /ʊ/. As for Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, two possible realisations are considered,

namely non-glottalised and glottalised pronunciations. Lastly, H-Dropping presents two possible realisations, conservative and mainstream /h/ and the innovative and non-mainstream omission of this sound.

Regarding the variables selected for the analysis of the American informants' speech, PRICE vowel provides us with two possible realisations, mainstream /aɪ/ and non-mainstream monophthong [a:]. On the other hand, Pin/Pen merger has two possible realisations: innovative unmerged forms and conservative merged realisations. Progressive consonant assimilation also has two possible realisations, mainstream and innovative /n/ and non-mainstream /nt/. Similarly, R-Dropping provides as with two possible realisations, the innovative pronunciation of /r/ and the conservative omission of this sound. T-Voicing has two possible realisations, mainstream /d/ and non-mainstream /t/ pronunciations. Lastly, Yod-Dropping also has two possible realisations, mainstream [u:] and non-mainstream [ju:].

Table III.3. Linguistic variables and their variants selected for the present study.

Linguistic Variables (dependent)			
United Kingdom		United States	
FACE vowel	Variant #1: [eɪ] Variant #2: Other	PRICE vowel	Variant #1: /aɪ/ Variant #2: [a:]
GOAT vowel	Variant #1: [əʊ] Variant #2: Other	Pin/Pen merger	Variant #1: No merging Variant #2: Merging
MOUTH vowel	Variant #1: [aʊ] Variant #2: Other	Progressive consonant assimilation	Variant #1: (nt) = /n/ Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Variant #1: (u) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/ Variant #2: (u) = /ʊ/	R-Dropping	Variant #1: (r) = /r/ Variant #2: (r) = /∅/
Glottalisation of /p, t, k/	Variant #1: No Variant #2: Yes	T-Voicing	Variant #1: (t) = /d/ Variant #2: (t) = /t/
H-Dropping	Variant #1: (h) = /h/ Variant #2: (h) = /∅/	Yod-Dropping	Variant #1: (j) = [u:] Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]

Moreover, it is paramount to point out that in order to analyse the environments in which the variables selected apply, a specific syllabification model had to be selected. Particularly, two different syllabification systems were contemplated: the syllabification system described in the Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (2008) and proposed by Wells (1990), and the principles established in the English Pronouncing Dictionary (Roach, Setter & Esling 2011).

On the one hand, the syllabification system proposed by Wells (1990) is based on a set of allophonic rules which mainly consist in considering the syllable boundary as part of the conditioning environment (Wells 1990). These allophonic rules are governed by two main principles, which may be determined by three conditions:

- (1) “Subject to certain conditions ..., consonants are syllabified with the more strongly stressed of two flanking syllables” (Wells 1990, online version).

That is, the driving force of a stress syllable will attract as many consonants as possible to its coda without violating English phonotactic conditions, and without creating codas that are not possible in English. In addition, the expression “more strongly stressed” refers to the syllable position within a five-point scale. That is, according to Wells (1990), syllables are graded attending to five stress levels:

- i. primary word stress;
- ii. pre-tonic secondary stress;
- iii. tertiary (post-tonic) stress;
- iv. unstressed but with full vowel;
- v. weak (reduced) vowel.

For instance, *packet* would be syllabified as ['pæk.ɪt] and *crisis* as ['kraɪs.ɪs], with /k/ and /s/ belonging to the first and stressed syllable respectively. In addition, Wells (1990) indicates that consonant syllabic affiliation changes when suffixes are dealt with. Thus, *noting* would be syllabified as ['nəʊt.ɪŋ] and *notation* as [nəʊ'teɪʃ.n].

- (2) “Where adjacent syllables are of equal grade, consonants are (again subject to stated conditions) syllabified with the leftward syllable” (Wells 1990, online version).

This is exemplified with /t/ allophones in *carpeting* ['kɑ:p.ɪt.ɪŋ], *covetous* ['kʌv.ɪt.əs] and *purity* ['pjʊər.ət.i].

- (3) “In polymorphemic words, consonants belong to the syllable appropriate to the morpheme of which they form a part. This applies only to synchronic, psychologically real morphemes” (Wells 1990, online version).

Thus, morpheme boundaries are taken into account in the Wells' (1990) syllabification system, and may condition the first principle. For instance, *highness* (real term of address) would be syllabified as ['haɪn. əs], while *highness* (quality of being high) would be syllabified as ['haɪ.nəs].

- (4) "Phonotactic constraints on syllable structure (as established with reference to monosyllables) are not violated" (Wells 1990, online version).

That is, the first principle does not apply to consonant clusters that are not possible in English. Hence, *timber* would be syllabified as ['tɪm.bə], as /mb/ is not a possible final cluster and therefore could not belong to the stressed syllable. However, *tender* is syllabified as ['tend.ə], since /nd/ is a permitted cluster in English.

In addition, short vowels /ɪ, e, æ, ʌ, ɒ, ʊ/ will not operate alone without their succeeding consonant. Consequently, *bottle* and *pity* would be syllabified as ['bɒt.lɪ] and ['pɪt.i] respectively.

- (5) "Affricates (i.e. /tr, dr, tʃ, dʒ/) are not split between syllables, but are treated as indivisible" (Wells 1990, online version).

The last condition stated by Wells (1990) refers to post-alveolar and palato-alveolar affricates. In this way, words such as *catching*, *teacher*, *allergic* and *courageous* would be syllabified as ['kætʃ.ɪŋ, 'ti:tʃ.ə, ə'lɜ:dʒ.ɪk, kə'reɪdʒ.əs], respectively. Similarly, *petrol*, *mattress*, *squadron* and *Audrey* would be syllabified as ['petr.əl, 'mætr.əs, 'skwɒdr.ən, 'ɔ:dr.ɪ], respectively.

On the other hand, even though the principles established in the English Pronouncing Dictionary (Roach, Setter & Esling 2011) are rather similar to those established in the Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (2008), both syllabification systems differ in three main aspects:

- (1) In contrast to Wells' (1990) syllabification system, stress levels are not taken into account when it comes to the syllabification process in the English Pronouncing Dictionary (Roach, Setter & Esling 2011).

- (2) Even though the phonotactic constraint is maintained in the syllabification system of the English Pronouncing Dictionary (Roach, Setter & Esling 2011) as ill-formed clusters, and short vowels operating alone without their corresponding code are not accepted, this system differs from that of the Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (2008) in the sense that the former does not consider the drawing force of stress. Thus, while the Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (2008) syllabifies *market* as ['mɑ:k.ɪt], the English Pronouncing Dictionary (Roach, Setter & Esling 2011) syllabifies this word as ['mɑ: .kɪt].
- (3) In addition, even though the morpheme boundary condition is maintained in the syllabification system of the English Pronouncing Dictionary (Roach, Setter & Esling 2011), this model only takes into account compound words, and therefore, does not consider derived words such as *windy*. Thus, this word would be syllabified as ['wɪnd.i] in the Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (2008) and as ['wɪn.di] in the English Pronouncing Dictionary (Roach, Setter & Esling 2011).

Taking into account the principles and conditions of both models, the syllabification system of the Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (2008) and proposed by Wells (1990) was selected for the purpose of this study, as this system best adjusts and explains the allophonic phenomena that are addressed in the present analysis.

Overall, in order to properly account for the informants' use of the variables selected, it is paramount to consider their socio-historic context as well as their geographic distribution in the United Kingdom and the United States, which are further addressed in sections III.2.2.a.i. (UK) and III.2.2.a.ii. (US).

III.2.2.a.i. United Kingdom: Dialectal and Sociolinguistic Salience

As already explained in section III.1.2, the sociolinguistic situation that characterises the United Kingdom is rather particular, as the social status of this speech community inversely correlates with the number of regional features that individuals employ in their speech. Hence, speakers belonging to a high social status –i.e. RP speakers– will have a speech style characterised by a complete absence of regional features; on the contrary, regional features will be highly used by working-class speakers, revealing their geographic area of provenance. As a result, instead of being related to a specific geographic area, accent prestige in the United

Kingdom is related to the social status occupied by the speaker at issue, being RP accents the most prestigious ones and “socially preferable” than other accents (Gimson & Cruttenden 2000: 78, cited in Trudgill 2008). Indeed, RP accents are regarded as prestigious as they are associated with the speech of individuals with a particular social and cultural background: wealthy individuals belonging to a high social status that attended Public and Boarding schools where RP was thought (Trudgill 2001, 2008; Mompeán-González & Hernández-Campoy 2000). Consequently, those deviations from RP accents are usually regarded as deviations from mainstream and prestigious conventions, as “Britons are indeed remarkably judgmental about all accents” (Upton 2004: 218). In fact, Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 12) indicate that RP accent “is still highly valued in the sense that it is equated with being ‘well-spoken’ or ‘articulate’, and is perceived widely as a signal of general intelligence and competence”; however, RP may also be negatively evaluated as a “posh” and “affected” accent (Mompeán-González & Hernández-Campoy 2000: 710).

Regarding regional variation, the major dialect boundary that can be observed in England is the imaginary line that separates Northern from the Southern areas (Trudgill 1990; Altendorf & Watt 2004), being this an informal way to distinguish Southerners from Northerners (Trudgill 1990). As previously explained in section III.1.2, relevant differences can be observed between Northern and Southern accents, which could have led to a stigmatisation of Northern dialects on the part of Southern speakers, being Northern speech negatively evaluated as “harsh” and “unintelligible” (Beal 2004: 116). This stigmatisation dates back to the fourteenth century, and would have been reinforced by the emergence of large industrial towns and cities in Northern areas in the nineteenth century, which subsequently led to an “awakening of working-class consciousness and regional pride” (Beal 2004: 119).

In light of this sociolinguistic situation, the variables examined in the present study are intended to be both linguistically and sociolinguistically representative of the different accent areas of England as well as of the social scale that characterises the societal system of this speech community. In this respect, the variable selection for the present analysis consists of four vocalic features (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split) and two consonantal features (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping). In addition, it is noteworthy to remark that several phonological developments have shaped over the centuries the English that is currently spoken in the United Kingdom, being some of these developments closely linked to the variables selected for this study. In fact, while some of the variables selected

experienced certain changes around 1750 –before the Great Divide took place–, others were affected by several phonological changes that occurred after the Great Divide (Hernández-Campoy 1999). Consequently, these changes did not affect or spread equally throughout all the dialectal areas of the United Kingdom, leading to the division of innovative and conservative accents depending on the degree of acceptance or resistance that they experienced towards innovative forms (Wells 1982; Trudgill 1990).

III.2.2.a.i.i. FACE vowel

According to Wells (1982: 210), this development occurred around 1800 and consisted in the diphthongisation of /e:/ to /eɪ/ in FACE words; being this a realisational change, as the system as such was not altered (Wells 1982). This diphthongisation process, also known as Long-Mid-Diphthonging, started in the South-east of England, specifically in London, from where it spread outwards to other regions (Trudgill 1990). As a result, the treatment that individuals make of this variable across the different dialect areas reveals an heterogeneous use: while most Southern and Midland regions have diphthongs that differ in their degree of broadness, other geographic areas that are further away from London –such as the North and far South-west– still retain monophthongal realisations as this phenomenon has not yet influenced these regions. The evolution of this phenomenon from Middle English period is depicted in the following table:

Table III.4. Long-Mid-Diphthonging of /e:/ to /eɪ/. Adapted from Hernández-Campoy (1999: 246).

	Middle English -1300	Great Vowel Shift 1450-1600	Long-Mid- mergers 1600-1700	XVIII c. Raising 1700-1800	Long-Mid- Diphthonging 1800
<i>pane</i>	/pɑ:n/	/pɛ:n/			
<i>pain</i>	/pɛin/ - /pæin/	-	/pɛ:n/	/pe:n/	/peɪn/

Thus, innovative /eɪ/ is present in most regions of England, while the conservative monophthongal realisation of /e:/ –regarded as old-fashioned (Beal 2004) – is still retained in the Lower South West, Central Lancashire, Humberside, Central North and North East, as well as in Scotland, Ireland and Wales. Consequently, diphthongs may vary across different geographical areas, from [æɪ] in London, through [ɛɪ] to /eɪ/ in other regions (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). For instance, while traditional dialects in Tyneside and Northumberland have

the centring diphthong /ɪə/ in FACE words, speakers from Merseyside, the Midlands and RP speakers employ mainstream variant /eɪ/ (Beal 2004). Regarding the North-east, it seems that a levelling process in the speech of younger and/or middle-class individuals is taking place towards the monophthongal pronunciation that characterises Northern regions, rather than towards RP closing diphthongs (Beal 2004). In fact, it seems that /ɪə/ realisations are restricted to the speech of older, working-class males, being monophthongal /e:/ frequently used among all other groups and /eɪ/ pronunciations scarcely used as a minority variant by young, middle-class males and females (Beal 2004). Consequently, this linguistic variable provides us with two possibilities for FACE words:

Variant #1: Mainstream realisation [eɪ]

Variant #2: Other non-mainstream realisations

III.2.2.a.i.ii. GOAT vowel

As with the previous variable, GOAT words underwent a diphthongisation process from /o:/ to /oʊ/, being this a realisational change, as the system as such was not altered (Wells 1982: 210). This diphthongisation process, also known as Long-Mid-Diphthonging, started in the South-east of England, specifically in London, from where it spread outwards to other regions (Trudgill 1990: 60). As a result, the treatment that individuals make of this variable across the different dialect areas parallels that of FACE vowel, and it reveals an heterogeneous use: while most Southern and Midland regions have diphthongs that differ in their degree of broadness, other geographical areas that are further away from London –such as the North and far South-west– still retain monophthongal realisations as this phenomenon has not yet influenced these regions.

Consequently, given that this phenomenon did neither spread nor affect the different geographical areas in the same way, diphthongs may vary across different regions, ranging from [ʌʊ] in London and several Southern regions, through [ɔʊ] to [ou] in the North (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 68). As with FACE vowel, diphthongal realisations are regarded as innovative, while monophthongal realisations tend to be considered as the conservative, old-fashioned alternative (Beal 2004: 123), commonly used by rural, working-class speakers (Wells 1982: 211). Particularly, traditional dialects of the North-east are characterised by having a centring diphthong /uə/, while most of the North has monophthongal /o:/ (Beal 2004: 124).

In addition, the starting point of GOAT vowel that is currently employed by RP speakers and in several areas of Southern England is not back, but central (Wells 1982: 237), and takes the form of /əʊ/ (Gimson 1980). However, older and Traditional RP speakers may use /oʊ/ variant instead (Upton 2004: 225).

Consequently, this linguistic variable provides us with two possibilities for GOAT words:

Variant #1: Mainstream realisation [əʊ]

Variant #2: Other non-mainstream realisations

III.2.2.a.i.iii. MOUTH vowel

MOUTH vowel takes the form of diphthongal /aʊ/ in mainstream British English, and it mainly derives from Middle English /u:/ by means of the Great Vowel Shift (Wells 1982: 152). This phenomenon took place around the fifteenth century, and consisted in the diphthongisation of long vowel /u:/ to /ou/ –among other changes–, to further develop into present-day /aʊ/ (Wells 1982: 184).

However, as with previous variables this development did not spread equally throughout the different dialect areas of England, resulting in varied realisations for MOUTH vowel. For instance, Middle English /u:/ remains monophthongal in traditional dialects of Northern areas, whereas diphthongal pronunciations are frequently used in Southern regions and by RP speakers (Upton 2004: 225). However, it seems that monophthongal /u:/ is receding (Wells 1982: 186), being this variant usually employed by older and/or working-class and/or male speakers in Tyneside and Northumberland. On the contrary most speakers from these areas tend to use diphthongal pronunciations mainly in the form of /ɛʊ/, being monophthongal /u:/ only used with words that are strongly associated with local Northern identity (Beal 2004: 124).

Consequently, this linguistic variable provides us with two possibilities for MOUTH words:

Variant #1: Mainstream realisation [aʊ]

Variant #2: Other non-mainstream realisations

III.2.2.a.i.iv. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split

This relatively recent phenomenon took place between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and consisted in the division of Middle English short vowel /ʊ/ into two phonemes: /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ (Wells 1982). However, as a result of certain developments after the Great Vowel Shift and several adjustments regarding vowel quality –i.e. Early and Later Shortening–, this split did not occur in Northern accents. Thus, while Southern speakers pronounce minimal pairs such as *put/putt* and *could/cud* with different vowels –using /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ respectively in each pair–, Northern speakers do not make this phonological distinction, pronouncing *put/putt* and *could/cud* as homophones, always using /ʊ/ (Wells 1982; Beal 2004).

From a historical point of view, the establishment of this innovative process by means of the phonological development of /ʌ/ arises from two sources of appearance in Middle English (Hernández-Campoy 1999: 248). The first one took place in London around the sixteenth century, and consisted in the distinction of /ʊ/ and /ʌ/. As indicated by Hernández-Campoy (1999: 248), several authors such as Wyld (1936: 232), Ekwall (1975: 51) and Chambers and Trudgill (2004: 106), claim that /ʌ/ pronunciations were first attested in 1580 in London, becoming these realisations a common trend by 1640. The different stages experienced by /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split are depicted in Table III.5:

Table III.5. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Adapted from Hernández-Campoy (1999: 248).

	Middle English	Great Vowel Shift	Early Shortening	/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Later Shortening	Result
<i>put</i>				/ʊ/	-	/ʊ/
<i>cut</i>	/u/	-	/ʊ/	/ʌ/	/ʌ/	/ʌ/

Moreover, Wyld (1936: 233), Brook (1958: 94), Ekwall (1975: 53) and Chambers and Trudgill (2004) stated that certain variation may occur when it comes to /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ realisations, as /ʊ/ tends to remain after bilabials /p, b, w/ –but not after nasal /m/– and labiodentals /f, v/ as well as before /j, l/, as in *push, bush, bull, full* or *wool*. However, these phonological environments are not universal in the prediction of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ realisations, since certain words diverge from this tendency despite adjusting to these phonological environments, as it is the case of *putt, butter* or *cousin*, that are pronounced with vowel /ʌ/.

The second source of appearance in the distinction of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ words has its origins in Middle English vowel /o:/, as in *mood, good* or *blood* (Baugh & Cable 2002). Even though this

fusion process began before that of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, both phenomena coincided, resulting in the emergence of three phonemic forms derived from Middle English /o:/ in Southern England: phoneme /ʊ/ –as in *look, good* and *took*–, phoneme /ʌ/ –as in *blood* and *flood*– and phoneme /u:/ –as in *mood, food* and *tooth*– (Barber, Beal & Shaw 2009: 205). This historical development was accurately visualised by Wells (1982: 198-199) in Table III.6 and Figure III.19:

Table III.6. Vowel realisation in areas affected by /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Adapted from Hernández-Campoy (1999: 248-249).

Processes	<i>mood</i>	<i>blood</i>	<i>good</i>	<i>cut</i>	<i>put</i>
Middle English	/o:/	/o:/	/o:/	/u/	/u/
Great Vowel Shift	/u:/	/u:/	/u:/	-	-
Early Shortening	-	/u/ > /ʊ/	-	/ʊ/	/ʊ/
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	-	/ʌ/	-	/ʌ/	/ʊ/
Later Shortening	-	/ʌ/	/ʊ/	/ʌ/	-
Result	/u:/	/ʌ/	/ʊ/	/ʌ/	/ʊ/

Middle English	/o:/	/o:/	/o:/	/u/	/u/
Great Vowel Shift	/u:/	/u:/	/u:/	-	-
Early Shortening	-	/u/ > /ʊ/	-	/ʊ/	/ʊ/
Later Shortening	-	-	/ʊ/	-	-
Result	/u:/	/ʊ/	/ʊ/	/ʊ/	/ʊ/

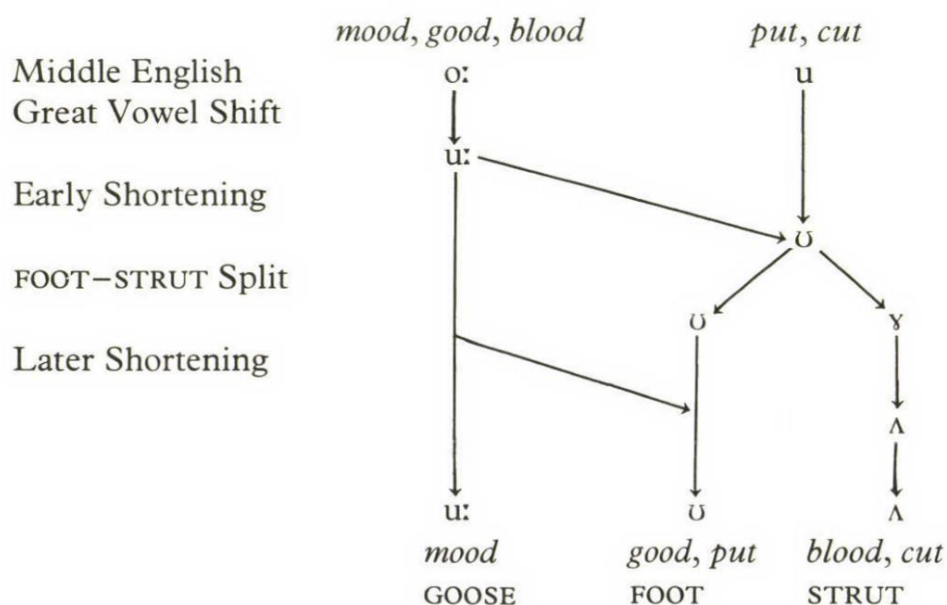


Figure III.19. Historical development of Middle English /o:/, u/. Source: Wells (1982: 198).

However, this phenomenon did not develop in an equally fashion across all dialectal areas, leading to a clear geographical division when it comes to the distribution of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split across England. Thus, conservative realisations with /ʊ/ as in *but* and *up* are rather frequent in Northern regions, being this one of the most salient markers of Northern speech

and “the only one which involves a difference between dialects of the North (and Midlands) and those of the South as far as their phonemic inventories are concerned” (Beal 2004: 121). According to Trudgill (1990: 51), /ʊ/ phoneme is found in the Northeast, Central North, Central Lancashire, Humberside, Merseyside, Northwest Midland, West Midland, Central Midlands, Northeast Midlands and East Midlands. In addition, many older Northern English speakers may pronounce words such as *look* and *book* as /lu:k/ and /bu:k/ respectively, instead of /lʊck/ and /bʊk/ (Wells 1982: 197). On the contrary /ʊ/-/ʌ/ distinction characterises Southern as well as RP accents (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 59-60).

As a result of the evident geographical distribution when it comes to the pronunciation of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ words, hypercorrections may occur in those regions where the phenomenon of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split has not reached mainstream speech yet or is still undergoing a gradual diffusion process (Wells 1982: 197; Hernández-Campoy 1999: 251). Thus, Northern speakers may pronounce words such as *sugar* as /ʃʌgə/ instead of /ʃʊgə/ in an attempt to acquire an RP-like accent (Wells 1982: 197; Upton 2004: 223).

Consequently, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ provides us with two possibilities:

Variant #1: Mainstream realisation: (u) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/

Variant #2: Non-mainstream realisation: (u) = /ʊ/

III.2.2.a.i.v. Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ is regarded as a cover term for the phenomena of Glottal Reinforcement and Glottaling in the present study. The first phenomenon, also known as Preglottalisation, is rather common both in Northern as well as Southern areas of England (Wells 1982), and it consists in the realisation of voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ and the affricate /tʃ/ as preceded by a glottal stop [ʔ] in certain syllable-final environments: “[ʔ] is inserted before the oral closure is effected, and thus, marks the approach phase of the oral plosive” (Wells 1982: 260). According to Wells (1982: 260), the precise conditions of those environments that favour such a recent phenomenon are rather complex and variable. Nevertheless, the following two conditions seem to apply (Wells 1982: 260):

- (i) it occurs only when /p, t, k, tʃ/ are in syllable-final position (including in certain syllable-final clusters);
- (ii) it occurs only when /p, t, k, tʃ/ are preceded by a vowel a liquid or a nasal.

Thus, as stated by Wells (1982: 260), the effect of Glottal Reinforcement or Preglottalisation can be formulated as: $\emptyset \rightarrow \text{ʔ} / \text{V (L or nasal)} __ [\text{Voiceless Plosive}]$.

It is noteworthy to mention that this phenomenon is subject to certain variation in RP accents, as some speakers do not employ this feature at all, while others use it partially. As indicated by Wells (1982: 260), “no social value appears to attach to Preglottalisation in the environments where it is very clearly audible”. Thus, no strong feelings are found in the sociolinguistic behaviour of English speakers when it comes to elegance aspects; in this way, both realisations of *hopeless* would be accepted: $[\text{'həʊpləs}] - [\text{'həʊʔpləs}]$.

On the other hand, Glottalling is a relatively recent phenomenon which might have emerged 150 years ago, and it consists in a complete replacement of $/\text{ʔ}/$. Although it also applies to $/\text{p}, \text{k}/$, it seems to be more frequently observed for $/\text{t}/$. Particularly, T-Glottalling has its origins in “lower sociolects of London and/or Glasgow and/or East Anglia” (Trudgill 2008: 9), being this feature also well-known as a Cockneyism (Wells 1982: 261). In addition, despite the traditional association of glottalised forms with the speech of Londoners and South-eastern speakers (Altendorf & Watt 2004), this linguistic feature is also frequently used in North-eastern regions (Wells 1982; Llamas 2007). Hence, it seems that this linguistic feature is subject to geographical variation

Moreover, it seems that glottalised realisations are also subject to social variation, since social status appears to influence the usage that English speakers make of this linguistic feature, as glottalised forms are heavily stigmatised and mainly associated with working-class speech (Trudgill 2008: 9). As a result, glottalised pronunciations tend to be avoided by Upper-middle-class speakers, while working-class speakers tend to use this linguistic feature to a greater extent (Altendorf & Watt 2004), being word-internal intervocalic position the most stigmatised phonological context (Altendorf & Watt 2004). In fact, regional accents tend to use the glottal stop to a greater extent than RP accents, particularly as an allophone of word-medial and word-final $/\text{t}/$ (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67). In addition, the formality associated with the context in which an individual may operate can also influence the extent with which glottalised forms could be used, as glottalised pronunciations tend to be avoided in careful speech while used to a greater extent in conversations (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt, 2012).

In spite of potential social, contextual and regional constraints, a relevant spread of this variable has been observed to almost all urban areas in Britain and certain social classes

(Beal 2004: 128). In this respect, Trudgill (1999: 136) claims that this has been “one of the most dramatic, widespread and rapid changes to have occurred in British English in recent times”. Thus, because of its geographical, social and stylistic spread, glottalised realisations can now be heard in RP accents –mostly associated with /t/– in words like *Gatwick* (Wells 1982: 261). In fact, Trudgill (2001: 9) indicates that:

the younger generations of those sections of the community one would expect to be RP speakers still are RP speakers. Pupils at Eton, and undergraduates at Cambridge University who are former pupils at the big Public Schools, are still for the most part RP speakers. Their RP has it is true, some new features, but these features are all, including /t/-glottaling, non-regional features and therefore must still be considered as being RP.

In addition, the fact that many younger RP speakers are adopting [ʔ] in certain environments may be motivated by the relevant use that prominent public figures just as the former Prime Minister Tony Blair and some younger members of the British royal family make of this linguistic feature (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67). As a consequence, Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2012: 44) suggest that the remaining negative attitudes towards this linguistic feature may disappear in a relatively near future: “it seems probable that in coming decades the stigmatisation of /t/ glottalling even in pre-vocalic contexts in the speech of younger RP speakers will recede to the point where its use is no longer remarked upon” (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 44), meaning that “the stigma of ugliness, inarticulacy and ‘sloppiness’” is beginning to recede (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67). Yet, Trudgill (2008: 10) claims that the incursion of this linguistic feature into RP is not something novel, as this has been happening with other linguistic features since the emergence of RP accent, since certain forms that were characteristic of local South-east England accents –particularly vernacular forms characteristic of London speech– have been acquired by RP varieties:

We can say that what is happening in RP today is simple what has always happened. Speakers are not abandoning RP for Cockney or other regional accents, it is rather that RP, as it always has done, is acquiring features *from* regional accents.

Similarly, Fabricius (2002b) has attested the recent disappearance of the stigmatised, vernacular and regional status of t-glottalling in Britain, as well as its incursion into RP accents. According to Fabricius (2002b: 116), one of the reasons for said incursion is the phenomenon of accent levelling that Southern British regional varieties are experiencing towards a pan-Southern non-mainstream form (see also Williams & Kerswill 1999), meaning that non-

mainstream varieties that where originally distinct are becoming similar in some consonantal features and in their vowel systems. Inevitably, RP varieties are being affected by this phenomenon, due to the elevated number of Southern British regional speakers and their increased social and personal mobility, which favours a considerable contact between Southern and RP speakers (Fabricius 2002b: 116-117). Precisely, Wells (1982: 104) predicted this sociolinguistic outcome: “mainstream RP is now the subject of imminent invasion by trends spreading from working-class urban speech, particularly that of London”. In addition, another triggering aspect for t-glottalling incursion into RP accents could be the recent negative attitudes on the part of British speakers towards RP varieties, whose speakers are often regarded as “posh”, “unfriendly”, “aloof” or “arrogant” (Fabricius 2002b: 117). Also, it has been stated that “correctness” notions towards the usage of certain varieties are changing, as younger speakers tend to be more open in terms of accent prejudice than speakers from previous generations (Cruttenden 1994: 81; Fabricius 2002b: 117). Nevertheless, certain variation within RP speakers can be observed when it comes to their usage of t-glottalised forms, although Fabricius (2002b: 119) indicates that this variation could be expected, as t-glottalling “remains an as-yet-incomplete change in progress”. For this reason, as pointed out by Fabricius (2002b: 119-120), not every instance of t-glottalling can be found in RP accents: while glottalling is accepted as an RP feature in word-internal syllable-final environments as in “*football*” or “*Gatwick*”, this linguistic feature remains stigmatised to certain extent and therefore is not considered as an RP characteristic when occurring in intervocalic (as in “*water*”) and pre-syllabic environments (as in “*bottle*”). On the whole, it could be tentatively stated that “while we know that historically, t-glottalling entered modern RP as a vernacular change (spreading from working-class accents in London), its vernacular status is now being somewhat obscured by the progress of the sound change through the community” (Fabricius 2002b: 133).

It is noteworthy to mention that for the purpose of this study, neither syllable-final clusters nor those environments involving affricate /tʃ/ will be examined, as only the voiceless plosives /p, t, k/ will be paid attention to. Thus, the two main conditions stated by Wells (1982) will be taken into account in order to delimit the phonological environment of this linguistic feature: (i) /p, t, k/ in syllable-final position, and (ii) /p, t, k/ preceded by a vowel a liquid or a nasal. As previously stated, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ is regarded in the present study as a cover term which encompasses the phenomena of Glottal Reinforcement and Glottalling, as both

developments may be regarded as part of a continuum which begins with Glottal Reinforcement and ends with a complete replacement of the glottal stop.

Consequently, the linguistic variable of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ provides us with two possibilities:

Variant #1: No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

Variant #2: Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

III.2.2.a.i.vi. H-Dropping

H-Dropping is another development that reveals the conservative nature of certain British accents towards innovative phonological trends that have shaped the English language in the British Isles with the passage of time. This development originated in the geographical area of the South-east of England, specifically in individuals belonging to London's working-class, and as indicated by Strang (1970: 81), explicit evidences of /h/ loss date back to the end of the eighteenth century and even to the sixteenth century (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). This linguistic change consisted in a gradual process towards a complete absence of the voiceless glottal fricative /h/ in certain regional and social accents in words such as *hill*, *hammer*, *hit* or *house*. Hence, minimal pairs like *hedge/edge*, *heat/eat*, or *hall/all* are now homophones in certain accents: /ɛdʒ/, /i:t/ and /ɔ:l/ (Trudgill 1990: 27).

In addition, this phenomenon has had relevant sociolinguistic consequences in the United Kingdom, since as concluded from the study carried out by Trudgill (1974) in Norwich, this variable also reveals social stratification aspects. Thus, variant /h/ tends to be employed by individuals belonging to higher social status –RP speakers–, while variant \emptyset is commonly used by speakers belonging to lower classes (Wells 1982: 253). Consequently, and as indicated by Milroy (1992: 137, cited in Hernández-Campoy 1999), English speakers might be classified into two speech communities: “one in which [h]-dropping is widespread and has social significance, and one in which it is so rare (if it happens at all) that it is socially irrelevant”.

According to Wells (1982: 253), there are two possible explanations for the synchronic phonological development of H-Dropping. On the one hand, the fact that there is no /h/ in the phoneme system and that its use is rather occasional might explain why minimal pairs such as *hedge/edge* have always been homophones. In fact, the absence of /h/ could have been motivated by the sound loss of voiceless glottal fricative /h/ in word-initial position as in *heat*,

hit, *hammer*, *hedge*, and so on. This contrasts with the pronunciation of phoneme /h/ in intervocalic position (though still syllable-initially) as in *behind*, *ahead* or *rehearse*. However, the second explanation opposes the previous one, as it would be supposed that since /h/ is another component of the phonological system, it can have the optional realisation of \emptyset , which would imply that minimal pairs such as *hedge/edge* are phonologically different. However, Wells (1982) considers that taking into account the sociolinguistic variability associated with this sound –which does not occur in RP accents–, the most realistic explanation would be a combination of both options:

[i]n the basic phonological system acquired in childhood there is no /h/. But social pressures from teachers and others, supported by the effects of literacy, lead to the partial and inconsistent addition of /h/ to the phoneme inventory, often with some uncertainty as to whether or not it is appropriate in some given word. (Wells 1982: 254)

For instance, in words such as *hour*, *honour*, *honest* or *heir* /h/ is not pronounced, despite of grapheme /h/ being preserved (Wells 1982: 255). For this reason, words of this type were not considered for the analysis of the present study. Similarly, common function words such as *he*, *him*, *her*, *his*, *who*, *has*, *have* or *had* were also excluded, since as they regularly lack /h/, considering these words could biased the data obtained from the observation of the informants' speech.

Thus, the historic instability of this linguistic feature, which affected its orthography and pronunciation, would have motivated its disappearance from the phonological inventory of certain accents in different geographical areas and at different times, always revealing social and stylistic variation: “whatever the linguistic origin of the phenomenon may be –in phonotactic constraints [...], in rapid speech processes, in language contact, or in a combination of these– variation in (h) has probably had social and stylistic *functions* in the language for centuries” (Milroy 1992: 143, cited in Hernández-Campoy 1999).

Hence, as previously stated, H-Dropping is subject to both geographical as well as social variation. Hence, those individuals belonging to higher status –i.e. RP speakers– and speakers from the North-east of England, and East Anglia do not pronounce initial /h/, while working-class individuals and speakers from the remaining geographical areas of England pronounce initial /h/. Nevertheless, it must be remarked that Cheshire, Fox, Kerswill and Torgersen (2008) found out that an unexpected trend leading by younger speakers towards the restoration of

/h/ in appropriate contexts is emerging in contemporary London speech and in certain South-eastern areas of England.

Consequently, the linguistic variable of H-Dropping provides us with two possibilities:

Variant #1: (h) = /h/

Variant #2: (h) = /∅/

III.2.2.a.ii. United States: Dialectal & Sociolinguistic Salience

As previously explained in section III.1.1, the sociolinguistic situation of the United States of America is rather different from that of the United Kingdom. Thus, even though certain linguistic features might be subject to social variation there is not an equivalent to RP accent as such in the U.S. Hence, the speech of individuals belonging to higher social and prestigious statuses actually reveals their regional origin. As a result, North American prestigious accents tend to be related to particular geographical areas rather than to specific social sectors:

[o]f course, accents go by social class as well, but the standard assumption for American English is that even educated speakers, from certain regions at least (most notably New England and the South), at times use regional pronunciation characteristics and thus speak “with an accent”; hence, despite the persistent belief in a homogeneous “General American” accent or notions like “network English” there is in fact no single American norm of pronunciation that corresponds to RP in England, being a non-regional class dialect (Schneider 2004: 252).

Thus, even though terms such as “General American”, “Standard American English” or “Mainstream American English” are used to make reference to a “perfect and exemplary state of American English” and to designate a careful speech that is normally employed by educated speakers in formal contexts (Kretzschmar 2004: 258), this mainstream pronunciation may differ across regions, as Americans tend to employ regional and social features to certain extent regardless of the contexts in which they operate.

Regarding regional variation, American English is a rather heterogeneous variety, revealing in this way the settlement history of the continent (Schneider 2006). Particularly, according to Schneider (2006: 62), even though several dialect areas can be identified in the geographical map of the U.S., “it seems clear that in terms of regional dialects American English shows two core areas, the North and the South, and a broad transition band in between”. Moreover, because of the different developments and historical events that took place in Northern and Southern regions, strong stereotypes are found when it comes to the division of Northern and Southern speakers. For instance, due to the fact that the South

followed a slower process of industrialisation and education than that of the North, different attitudes arise when it comes to comparing Northern and Southern accents. Hence, the generally rural lifestyle and the scarce presence of schoolteachers were factors that contributed to the creation of the stereotype of Southern speakers, being considered by Northerners as curious and even comical (Wells 1982). Thus, while Northerners are regarded as intelligent individuals with a high level of education, Southern intelligence is related to common sense and life experience, rather than with education (Lippi-Green 2012: 225). Thus, “it is primarily on the basis of intellect linked to education that Northerners try hardest to convince Southerners that their language is deficient” (Lippi-Green 2012: 225), which results in a considerable insecurity on the part of Southern individuals mixed with a strong regional identity (Schneider 2006; Lippi-Green 2012;).

Apart from regional variation, race and ethnicity aspects may also condition the varieties spoken in the U.S., as it is the case of African American Vernacular English (AAVE), a rather stigmatised variety. As previously stated in section II.2.1, race and ethnicity function as a social division in the U.S. In fact, AAVE speakers perceive that in order to be educated and have success in White America they should get rid of their African American dialect (Lippi-Green 2012). Hence, in contrast to other varieties in the U.S., instead of being linked with a particular regional area this variety is conditioned by ethnicity aspects –although AAVE shares several linguistic features with Southern accents. Yet, even though slight variations might be perceived in the speech of African American individuals belonging to different social classes and based in different regional areas, AAVE “shows remarkably little variation across the great cities where it is spoken” (Labov 2012: 39), and it has a wide range of linguistic features that characterise and differentiate its speech. As a matter of fact, if compared with other American varieties, AAVE is rather conservative, since African Americans tend to preserve traditional regional features that are receding in other varieties (Labov 2012)

In addition, even though British English strongly influenced American English as a result of the settlements carried out by British colonies in South Atlantic and mid-Atlantic regions, differences are evident regarding the articulatory set of both varieties (Schneider 2006). For this reason, different variables to those presented in the previous section were selected in order to analyse the speech of the four American informants. Moreover, taking into account the sociolinguistic situation that characterise the U.S., the variables selected for the present study are intended to be both linguistically and sociolinguistically representative of the

different varieties of the U.S. Hence, the variable selection for the present analysis consists of two vocalic features (PRICE vowel and Pin/Pen merger) and four consonantal features (Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping).

Furthermore, it is noteworthy to remark that several phonological developments have shaped over the centuries the English that is currently spoken in the United States, being some of these developments closely linked to the variables selected for this study, as it is the case of the Southern Shift phenomenon and PRICE vowel.

III.2.2.a.ii.i. PRICE vowel

This variable is one of the most relevant markers in the distinction of Southern accents from the remaining variants spoken in the U.S. since PRICE words are differently pronounced in Southern regions: while the majority of Southerners frequently use monophthong [a:], American speakers elsewhere tend to employ diphthong /aɪ/. Thus, words such as *high* or *time* are pronounced as [ha:] and [ta:m] in the South, while the diphthongal pronunciation is employed in the remaining dialect areas. Consequently, the monophthongisation of /aɪ/ to [a:] in PRICE words is one of the most salient and distinct markers of Southern varieties in the U.S and particularly linked with Southern culture and identity (Lippi-Green 2012). Particularly, this phenomenon, also known as glide weakening or glide deletion, has been taking place across Southern regions from the late nineteenth century.

As stated by Thomas (2004: 312), the different pronunciations of PRICE words are subject to both regional as well as social variation. On the one hand, monophthongal realisations are commonly restricted to Southern areas, particularly to Alabama, Arkansas, Oklahoma, Texas, the Piney Woods Belt and certain regions of North Carolina coastal plain. Contrarily, /aɪ/ forms are commonly used elsewhere, as monophthongal forms tend to decline around the margins of the South (Wells 1982; Gramley & Pätzold 2004). Nevertheless, [a:] pronunciations seem to be receding in largest cities of the urbanised South, as younger Southerners from Dallas, Houston and Atlanta are starting to employ diphthong /aɪ/ in certain word environments (Tillery & Bailey 2004: 332). Hence, monophthongal forms appear to be more frequently used by older speakers based in Southern rural areas (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: 253).

In addition, social aspects might also condition the way in which speakers pronounce PRICE words, as working-class speakers are more persistent in the usage of traditional

monophthongal [a:], which may foster its avoidance in the speech of upper-middle class individuals (Thomas 2004: 312). In this respect, Thomas (2004: 312) claims that “speakers with aspirations of upward white-collar mobility often avoid it, though such avoidance is not as prevalent in rural areas as in urban areas”. This correlates with the assumption that /aɪ/ forms are frequently used in General American speech, which enjoys overt prestige and is commonly used “on the national broadcasting networks” (Gramley & Pätzold 2004: 257).

Moreover, it seems that monophthongal [a:] pronunciation before voiceless consonants as in *nice*, *white* or *rice* is rather stigmatised in Southern regions, being working-class speakers the ones that commonly extend this pronunciation to this type of words. On the other hand, monophthongal [a:] pronunciation before voiced consonants seem to be less stigmatised, which may be the reason why a wide range of Southern speakers employ this pronunciation, regardless of their social status (Wells 1982: 537). This can be appreciated in Figure III.20, as it shows the percentage of use of monophthong [a:] before voiced consonants and in final position.

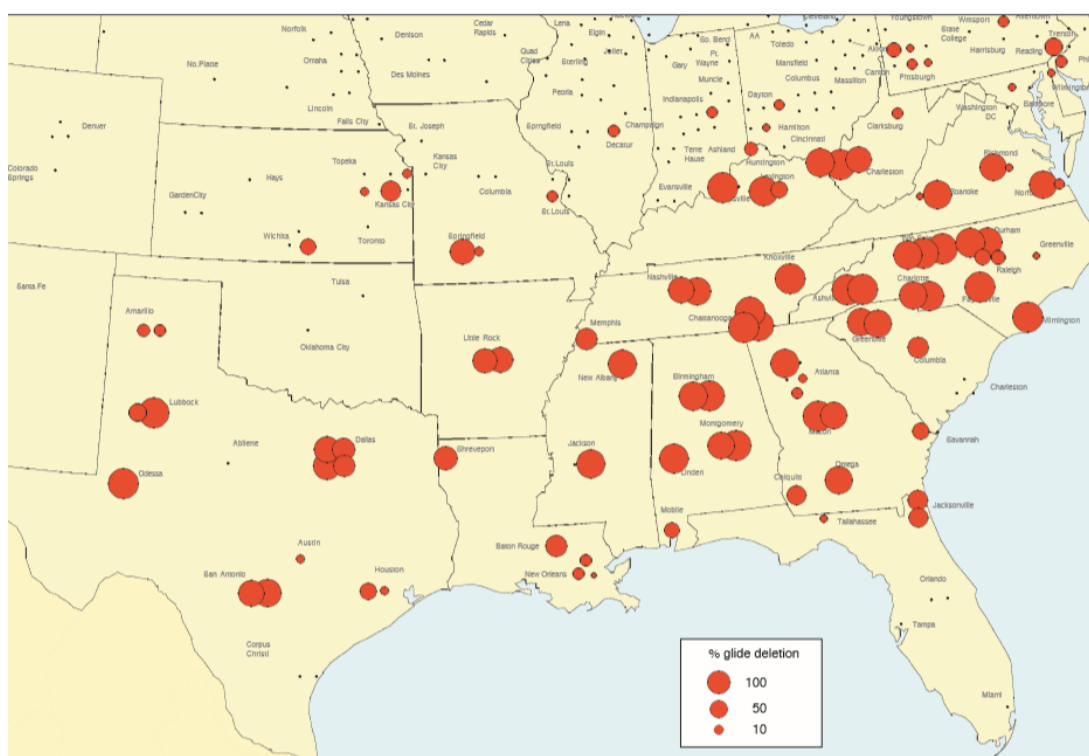


Figure III.20. Percentage of use of monophthong [a:] before voiced consonants and in final position. Source: Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006: 245).

This different realisation of PRICE words that characterises Southern accents and differentiates them from other American varieties results from the chain shift in progress known as Southern Shift, which consists in a series of interrelated shifts occurring at different stages (Thomas 2004: 307). As a result, “every vowel class shows distinctive variants in rural white Southern English” (Thomas 2004: 307). It is noteworthy to mention that the different stages that form this development have a nesting relationship, that is: “the third stage of the Southern Shift is nested within the second stage which is nested within the first stage” (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: 44). More precisely, the Southern Shift consists of the following changes:

PRIZE, and often PRICE as well, undergo glide weakening to [a:ɛ-a:] or, as in the Pamlico Sound region, become backed to [ɑ:ɛ-ɔ:e]. The tense/lax front vowel pairs switch places: the nuclei of FACE and FLEECE become non-peripheral and fall, while KIT and DRESS become peripheral and rise toward [i] and [e], respectively. The nucleus of GOAT may fall, and GOAT and GOOSE become fronted. Finally, THOUGHT is either diphthongized to something like [ɔo] or raised toward [o]. (Thomas 2004: 307)

Thus, the initiation process that triggers the Southern Shift is the monophthongisation of /aɪ/ in words such as *may*, *like*, *guy*, *wide*, etc., being words of this type pronounced with [a:] in Southern accents. The nesting relationships of the stages involved in this change in progress can be observed in Figure III.21.

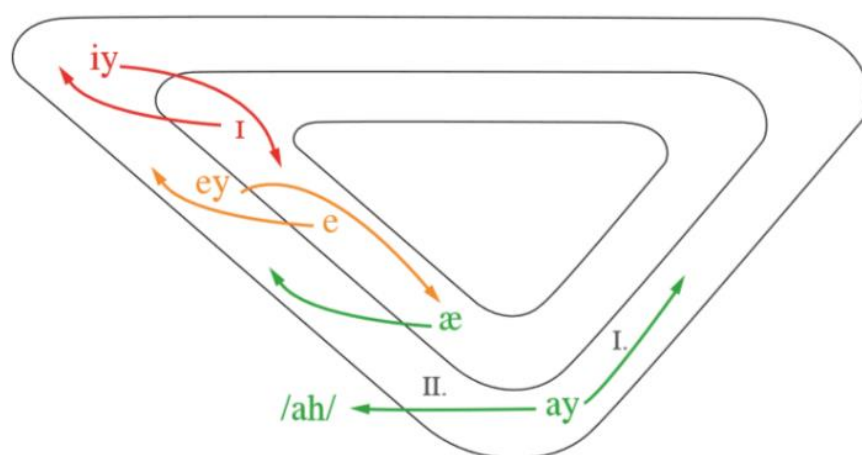


Figure III.21. The Southern Shift. Source: Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006: 244).

Nevertheless, it must be noted that these different chain shifts have not spread equally in time throughout Southern regions (Thomas 2004: 307). Yet, monophthongisation of /aɪ/ or stage I of the Southern Shift seems to have spread to almost all areas of the South, as it can be observed in Figure III.22, which exemplifies the frequency of use of monophthongal [a:] across Southern regions. It is noteworthy to mention that: (i) the red isogloss delimits the

South as a dialectal area; (ii) the red circles indicate the usage of monophthong [a:]; (iii) the light red circles show certain monophthongisation before resonants /l, m, n, r/ –as in *while*, *time*, *fine*, *fire*, etc.– but not finally or before voiced obstruents (whether stops or fricatives).

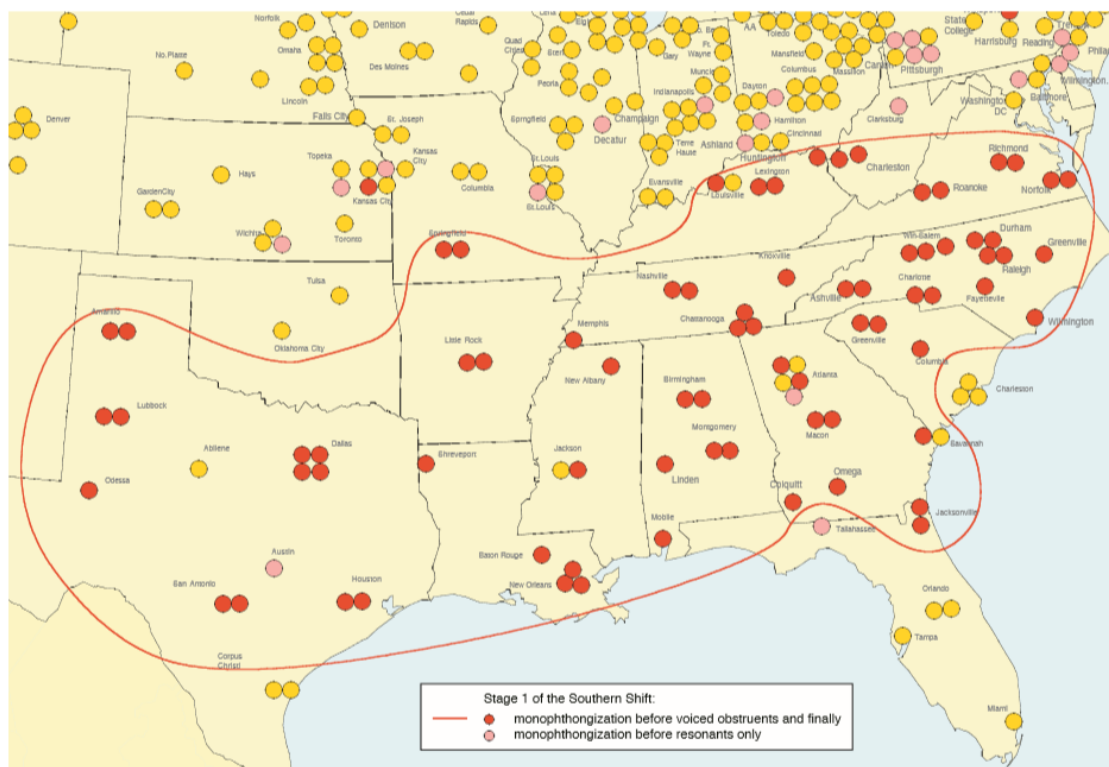


Figure III.22. Spread of stage I of the Southern shift: monophthongisation of /aɪ/. Source: Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006: 126).

In addition, monophthong [a:] is also frequently used by African American speakers (Lippi-Green 2012; Wells 1982), especially before nasals, pauses and voiced obstruents as in *mine* [ma:n], *hi* [ha:] or *slide* [sla:d]. Moreover, this habit has extended to the environment of voiceless obstruents, as in *white* [wa:t] (Edwards 2004: 386).

Consequently, the linguistic variable of PRICE vowel provides us with two possibilities:

Variant #1: /aɪ/

Variant #2: [a:]

III.2.2.a.ii.ii. PIN/PEN merger

This phenomenon consists in the rising of historical /ɛ/ to [ɪ] in the environment of a preceding nasal, resulting in the neutralisation of the opposition of /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ (Wells 1982: 540). As indicated by Thomas (2004: 316), this merger could have arisen from a sporadic feature

employed by a few speakers to then become a majority feature during the late nineteenth and continue its spread during the twentieth century. Although merged pronunciations are strongly associated with Southern accents and constitute one of the most salient and distinct markers of Southern speech (Lippi-Green 2012: 214), this variant also appears to be employed by whites in Southern regions of the Midwest and California (Thomas 2004: 315). In fact, several studies have revealed that merged pronunciations are scattered across Missouri, Kansas, Nebraska, Ohio and Illinois, being merged pronunciations also employed in Indiana (Gordon 2004a: 345). In addition, merged realisations are commonly used in African American Vernacular speech elsewhere (Thomas 2004; Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Edwards 2004: 386). In fact, Montgomery and Eble (2004) suggest that African American individuals have led in its development (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006), being African Americans more conservative than Whites when it comes to the usage of Pin/Pen merger (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006).

As a result, words such as *pin* and *pen* may be homophonous, as both items are pronounced as [pɪn] by most Southern speakers. Similarly, *many* would be pronounced as [ˈmɪni], *defendant* as [dəˈfɪndənt] and *Memphis* as [ˈmɪmfɪs]. Further examples of homophonous words include items like *hymn* and *hem*, *mint* and *meant* and *sinner* and *center*.

Figure III.23. shows the frequency of use of Pin/Pen merger across the different dialect areas of the United States. It must be noted that the largest part of the continent is characterised by a different perception and production when it comes to Pin/Pen words, which is indicated by blue symbols. Contrarily, a relevant concentration of red symbol can be observed in Southern regions, indicating the high frequency with which merged pronunciations are realised in this geographic area. In addition, it can be noticed how the oriented red isogloss outlines the region where the neutralisation of the opposition of /ɪ/ and /ɛ/ has taken place, which has considerably spread across South-eastern regions. If the incidence of this phenomenon is compared with that of monophthongisation of PRICE vowel before obstruents—which is delimited by a solid red isogloss—, it can be clearly observed how Pin/Pen merger has expanded beyond the boundary established by the monophthongal realisation of PRICE words (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: 68).

Particularly, the scattered merged instances that can be identified in certain Northern cities result from the speech of African American individuals that are based in those areas (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: 68), which correlates with the hypothesis that African American speakers would have played an initiating role in the usage of merged realisations, meaning

that they are more conservative in the usage of this variable than speakers from other regions (Montgomery & Eble 2004).

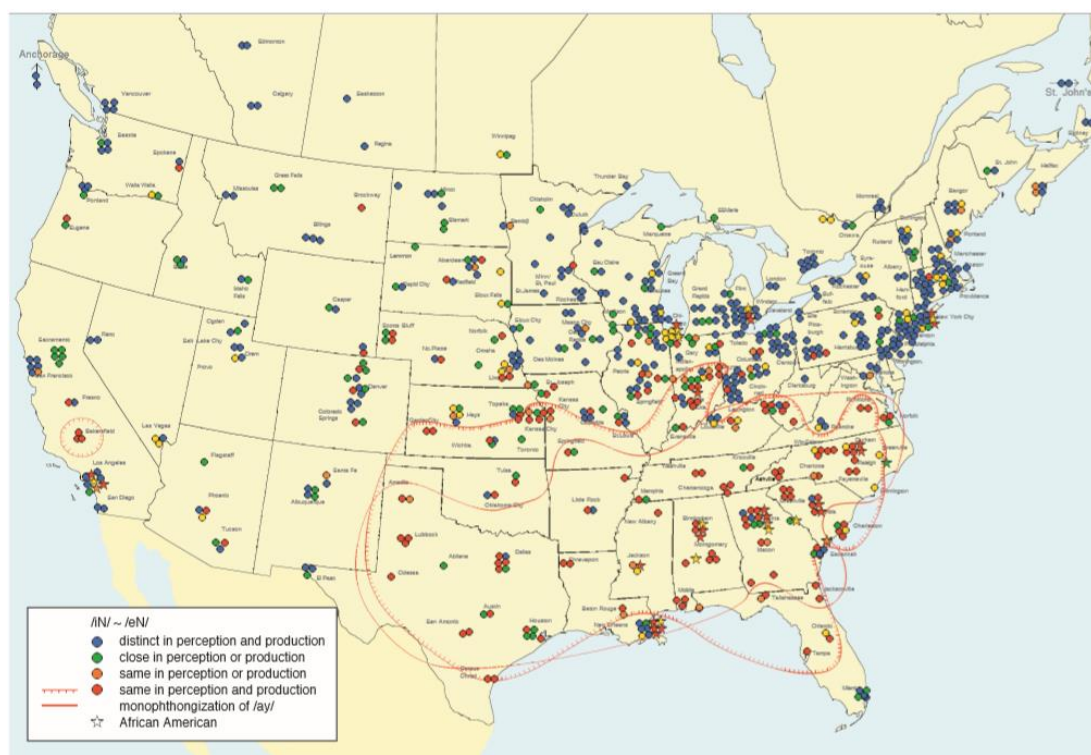


Figure III.23. The merger of /ɪ/ and /e/ before nasals. Source: Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006: 68).

On the other hand, different opinions towards the usage of merged and unmerged realisations arise when it comes to mainstream conventions. Thus, McMillan (1946, cited in Wells 1982) indicated that [ɛ] pronunciation before nasals is a non-mainstream feature, and stated that neutralised [ɪ] should be used in careful speech. In contrast, some speakers evaluate the pronunciation of [ɪ] before nasals /m, n/ as incorrect, resulting in the avoidance of this variant in cultivated speech and even incurring sometimes in hypercorrected pronunciations (Wells 1982: 541). In fact, as analysed by Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006: 67), education appears to inversely correlate with merged pronunciations; that is, individuals with higher education tend to exhibit a marked contrast between Pin/Pen words. In addition, Labov, Ash and Boberg (2006) indicate that it appears that merged realisations tend to be used to a higher extent by men than by women.

Nevertheless, as with monophthongal pronunciations of PRICE vowel, merged realisations seem to be receding in Southern regions, as some speakers have begun to differentiate Pin/Pen words under the influence of school prescriptions, among other factors

(Thomas 2004: 316). This receding behaviour of such a long-standing feature of Southern American English has been attested by Tillery and Bailey (2004: 331). Particularly, these authors indicate that while merged pronunciations are spreading to rural Southern areas, this linguistic feature is disappearing in large urbanised centres such as Dallas and Atlanta. According to Thomas (1997), the recessive process of merged realisations could have been triggered by the massive post-war migration of non-Southerners to metropolitan areas of the South and Southwest motivated by the economic growth of these regions, which would have led to a marked contrast between the speech of urbanised and rural areas.

Consequently, the linguistic variable of Pin/Pen merger provides us with two possibilities:

Variant #1: No merging

Variant #2: Merging

III.2.2.a.ii.iii. Progressive consonant assimilation

Regarding this variable, the usage that American speakers make of /nt/ as in *winter*, *enterprise*, *intercity* or *Atlanta* is subject to regional variation (Wells 1982: 252). On the contrary, social status aspects appear to be irrelevant in the usage of this linguistic feature.

On the one hand, Southerners tend to delete /t/ from /nt/ clusters between vowels – unless separated by a stress– (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). As a result, words like *winter/winner* are homonyms in Southern speech (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). This is summarised by Wells (1982: 252) as:

$$t \rightarrow \emptyset / {}^hVn_V$$

However, Northerners –particularly speakers from the East coast– usually pronounce /t/ in this environment (Wells 1982: 252), which implies that the distinction between words such as *winter* and *winner* is preserved in those geographic areas.

In addition, it seems that the usage that Southerners make of this variable correlates with mainstream conventions, as General American speakers also tend to delete /t/ from /nt/ cluster when followed by an unstressed vowel (Gramley & Pätzold 2004).

Consequently, the linguistic variable of Progressive consonant assimilation provides us with two possibilities:

Variant #1: (nt) = /n/

Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/

III.2.2.a.ii.iv. R-Dropping

As stated by Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 63), all English accents pronounce /r/ when followed by a vowel, as in *rat*, *trap* or *carry*; however, differences arise between the different English varieties when it comes to the pronunciation of /r/ when preceded by a vowel, as in *bar*, *bark*, *firm* or *butter*. As a result, /r/ pronunciation has become one of the most studied consonantal features, particularly in the United States.

R-Dropping consists of the deletion of historic /r/ when preceded by a vowel, followed by a consonant, or in word-final position; thus, this phenomenon does not operate neither in word-initial nor in intervocalic position (Wells 1982: 218). In addition, it is believed that this development appeared in England around the eighteenth century and was later diffused across certain American regions in post-settlement times from large ports of the East coast (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 47). However, since this development did not spread equally across all American regions, different /r/ pronunciations can be heard in American speech. Even though continuous gradation from totally rhotic to completely non-rhotic accents can be observed in the different North American varieties, these different pronunciations can be categorised into two main groups of accents: those that pronounce /r/ in the aforementioned contexts, or rhotic accents (also known as r-full accents), and those that do not pronounce /r/ when preceded by a vowel, followed by a consonant or in word-final position, also known as non-rhotic accents (or r-less accents) (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 63). Apart from regional variation, this variable is also subject to socioeconomic, ethnic, contextual and stylistic constraints (Thomas 2004: 317).

Regarding the geographical variation of this linguistic feature and as a result of the unequal spread of non-rhotic pronunciations, differences arise when it comes to /r/ realisations across the dialect areas of the U.S. Thus, certain regions are frequently characterised as rhotic (as in the case of Western, Midland and Northern areas of the U.S.), which correlates with the mainstream convention that characterises General American speech (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Contrarily, other areas are stereotyped as non-rhotic, as it happens with Southern regions and the areas of Eastern New England and New York City (Trudgill & Hannah 2008).

Particularly, Southern speech has generally been stereotyped as non-rhotic, being r-less accents strongly associated with the traditional plantation areas of this geographical area (Wells 1982). Nevertheless, certain differences emerge within Southern regions, as Inland South is firmly rhotic while Lower South tends to employ non-rhotic pronunciations to a greater extent (Wells 1982: 542). Thus, as explained by Thomas (2004: 318):

[n]on-rhoticity formerly predominated in Tidewater and Piedmont Virginia and adjacent parts of southwestern Maryland and northern North Carolina; in a band stretching from South Carolina across the Georgia Piedmont through central Alabama and central Mississippi; throughout the Mississippi River lowlands as far north as Kentucky, extending to include the western two thirds of Kentucky and western and north-central Tennessee, and thence west to include Gulf coastal plain sections of Texas; and in some coastal communities in Georgia and the Gulf states. Much of North Carolina and parts of central and even western Texas showed mixed patterns. The principal rhotic sections were the Delmarva Peninsula; the Pamlico Sound region of North Carolina; the southern Appalachians, extending to northern Alabama; the Ozarks, Oklahoma, and northern Texas; and the Piney Woods region of the southern parts of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi, northern Florida, western Louisiana, and eastern Texas. None of these areas was monolithic, however, and the Piney Woods region, especially, showed mixture.

As for socioeconomic aspects, McDavid (1948, cited in Wells 1982: 542) stated that non-rhotic accents in inland areas, particularly in South Carolina, used to be associated with the prestigious speech of the “old plantation caste and the political ascendancy of Charleston”, being rhotic accents commonly associated with Northern and “crackers” (poor whites). Nevertheless, it seems that from World War II onwards, non-rhoticity has been undergoing a steady process of recession in Southern areas, which might be motivated by a loss of prestige of r-less pronunciations and the associations of rhotic forms with a higher social status (Tillery & Bailey 2004: 334; Thomas 2004: 317-318).

A similar pattern can be observed when it comes to the speech of Eastern New England and New York city, which once resembled that of Southern England (Gordon 2004b). Even though both regions have long been characterised as non-rhotic, younger speakers – particularly those belonging to a higher social status– are starting to acquire rhotic pronunciations, perhaps under the influence of mainstream conventions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). This correlates with the hypothesis that “the younger the speaker, the more postvocalic r-full”, which at the same time correlates with the assumption that those individuals that have more formal education tend to employ rhotic forms to a greater extent than non-educated speakers (Lippi-Green 2012: 31).

Particularly, even though New York City has traditionally been stereotyped as non-rhotic, r-less pronunciations are now receding in this geographical area, as rhotic pronunciations are gaining ground (Gordon 2004b). In fact, as stated by Labov (1966/2006), the treatment that New Yorkers now make of this variable reveals social stratification factors.

In this respect, Labov (1966/2006) has evidenced that through the nineteenth century and the first half of the twentieth century non-rhoticity was a characteristic feature of New Yorkers' speech regardless of their social level (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006; Gordon 2004b). However, as the century progressed, r-less pronunciations became stigmatised and consequently /r/ became a strong class marker, being non-rhoticity associated with the speech of individuals belonging to lower and working classes (Gordon 2004b). As claimed by Labov (1966/2006), this change in pronunciation was led by middle class women and younger speakers, which also reveals the relevant adherence of women to the overt norm as well as a generational change in the regional speech of New York City.

In fact, rhotic and non-rhotic pronunciations still operate as class markers, although non-rhotic forms are being superseded by rhotic realisations (Mather 2011). As a result, certain degree of variability can be observed in New York speech when it comes to R-Dropping, which inevitably leads to a situation of linguistic insecurity within the New York speech community (Collins & Mees 2013: 189).

In addition, ethnicity aspects also appear to condition the usage that Americans make of R-Dropping, as African Americans frequently use r-less pronunciations regardless of the geographical area in which they are based (Edwards 2004; Wells 1982; Lippi-Green 2012). In fact, Edwards (2004) indicates that non-rhotic pronunciations are more frequent in the speech of African Americans than in that of Southern individuals, as it has been evidenced that while African American speakers based in Southern regions have kept r-less forms, Whites have adopted rhotic pronunciations (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006: 297). Thus, it can be said that African Americans are more conservative than Whites when it comes to R-Dropping (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006).

Particularly, /r/ is commonly vocalised or deleted in African American Vernacular speech in post-vocalic, pre-consonantal and word-final positions (Edwards 2004: 390). This deletion or vocalisations often occurs after non-central vowels in unstressed position, but it is less frequent when /r/ is preceded by central vowels in stressed positions (Edwards 2004: 390). In addition, non-rhotic pronunciations are also released in intervocalic environments.

When it comes to contextual and stylistic conditioning, it seems that American speakers tend to employ a greater use of rhotic forms as the situational context in which they operate becomes more formal (Thomas 2004: 317). However, it must be pointed out that this significant increase in the usage of rhotic realisations only applies to white Southerners, as African American speakers tend to remain non-rhotic (Thomas 2004: 317).

Consequently, the linguistic variable of R-Dropping provides us with two possibilities:

Variant #1: (r) = /r/

Variant #2: (r) = /∅/

III.2.2.a.ii.v. T-Voicing

This variable makes reference to the intervocalic tap realisation of /t/, which results in the neutralisation of the opposition between /t/ and /d/ (Wells 1982: 249). According to Gramley and Pätzold (2004: 274), the resulting pronunciation from the opposition between /t/ and /d/ is rather similar to RP flapped [ɾ] of RP *very*, but it is rather perceived as /d/. Thus, several pairs of words become homophonous when realising T-Voicing pronunciations, such as *atom* and *Adam* ['æɾəm], *bitter* and *bidder* ['bɪɾə], *waiting* and *wading* ['weɪɾɪŋ] and *parity* and *parody* ['pæɾəri] (Wells 1982: 249). However, this phenomenon does not apply if <t> is followed by a stressed syllable, as in *atomic* (Gramley & Pätzold 2004: 275).

As indicated by Kretzschmar (2004), Thomas (2004), Gramley and Pätzold (2004) and Wells (1982), this linguistic feature is commonly used by North American speakers regardless of their geographical origin. This predominant use correlates with mainstream conventions, as T-Voicing is frequently used by General American speakers. In addition, this variant also occurs in General American when /t/ is placed between a vowel and a syllabic lateral, as in *battle* (Wells 1982: 251). In fact, /t/ pronunciation in the aforementioned contexts is rather unusual in North American speech.

Consequently, the linguistic variable of T-Voicing provides us with two possibilities:

Variant #1: (t) = /d/

Variant #2: (t) = /t/

III.2.2.a.ii.vi. Yod-Dropping

This variable results from the process of Later Yod Dropping, which is an extension of Early Yod Dropping. Particularly, the phenomenon of Later Yod Dropping took place in many North American varieties, implying the loss of /j/ from /ju:/ when preceded by palatals, consonant /r/, and clusters with /l/, meaning that /j/ remains only after labials and velars, as in *cute* or *beauty* (Wells 1982: 247). Thus, as indicated by Wells (1982: 247),

The environments in which Later Yod Dropping has eliminated /j/ from historical /ju/ (or, where there is a following /r/, from /jʊ/) are: /t___/ *tune, student, attitude*; /d___/ *duke, reduce, during*; /n___/ *new, numerous, avenue*; /θ___/ *enthusiasm, Thule*; /s___/ *suit, assume, pseudonym*; /z___/ *presume, resume*; /l___/ *lewd, allude, solution*.

Consequently, General American speakers pronounce words like *tune, duke, new, nude, student* or *due* as [tu:n], [du:k], [nu:], [nu:d], ['stu:dənt] and [du:] instead of as [tju:n], [dju:k], [nju:], [nju:d], ['stju:dənt] and [dju:].

Certain regional variability can be observed when it comes to Yod-Dropping: while Northern, North Midland and Western accents lack /j/, Southerners and some Easterners may employ either /ju:/ or diphthong /iu/ (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982; Thomas 2004). Nevertheless, Tillery and Bailey (2004: 333) have stated that certain features associated with Southern speech, such as Later Yod Dropping, are receding. In this respect, Tillery and Bailey (2004: 333) indicate that since World War II, a constant movement towards /j/ loss in the South as occurred, being /j/ generally lost when preceded by alveolars in the speech of younger Southerners based in urbanised areas, which results in words like *do* and *due* being homophones.

In addition, even though mainstream conventions associated with General American speech seem to be rather uniform (Kretzschmar 2004) –as there is a clear preference in General American to delete /j/ from /ju:/– schoolteachers tend to prescribe /ju:/ pronunciations as correct (Wells 1982: 489).

Consequently, the linguistic variable of Yod-Dropping provides us with two possibilities:

Variant #1: (j) = [u:]

Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]

III.2.2.b. Independent variables: identification and description of extralinguistic variables

Even though dependent variables constitute the main linguistic objective of the present study, independent variables –non-linguistic correlates– are also crucial in the search of sociolinguistic correlation and significance, as they reveal a potential sociolinguistic distribution as well as variability conditions of their different variants (Hernández-Campoy & Almeida 2005).

As already indicated, sociolinguistic approaches are characterised by empirical procedures in which real scientific data are obtained, being its theory based on linguistic facts rather than on speculation or intuition (Milroy & Gordon 2003; Romaine 1994/2000). Thus, on the basis that language variation is socially conditioned, Sociolinguistics' main objective is to obtain a complete and representative description of the local speaking variety of the inhabitants of an urban community by means of randomly selecting informants, as well as to correlate the data obtained –*linguistic variables*– with socio-demographic parameters –*extralinguistic or independent variables*– such as sex, social class, educational background or ethnicity among others, in order to find *sociolinguistic variables* and sociolinguistic universals in the form of patterns of sociolinguistic behaviour (Labov 1966/2006, Romaine 1994/2000), as well as to account for identity creation processes, potential strategies of persona presentation and stance taking moves in the speech of individuals through their social agency and their subsequent proactive use of linguistic variables (Eckert 2012, 2018; Coupland 2001a, 2007, 2011).

Apart from addressing linguistic variation among individuals belonging to different ranks –inter-speaker variation–, Sociolinguistics also accounts for the stylistic variation of a single informant –intra-speaker variation–, which may be conditioned by the context in which he or she operates. Thus, it becomes relevant for variationists to analyse the informant's communicative competence and performance so as to account for his or her knowledge about the most "appropriate" kind of language to be used in the different social contexts in which he or she operates, as well as his or her ability when it comes to switching from one style to another, rather than just accounting for the informant's performance (Milroy & Gordon 2003; Eckert 2008, 2012).

III.2.2.b.i. Mass media observation

Consequently, from a methodological perspective, it is crucial for sociolinguists to obtain the informant's speech as natural as possible, overcoming in this sense Labov's (1972a: 209) *observer's paradox*. Hence, given that the observer's presence might influence the informant's language production and therefore, the results of the investigation, individuals' quotidian and real-life speech must be captured in the most unobtrusive way possible. In this respect, the present study follows a non-participant approach, particularly that of "complete observer", in order to eliminate or at least minimise the researcher's influence effects on the informant's language production (Labov 1972a; Milroy & Gordon 2003).

In order to implement this type of approach, data was obtained from the observation of spoken mass media, specially of public speech events performed by British and American politicians. Several studies have already followed this methodological procedure, evidencing in this respect the usefulness of mass media sources in the study of stylistic variation (Bell 1982a, 1982b, 1984, 1991b; Coupland 1985, 1996; Cutillas-Espinosa 2001; Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández Campoy 2006, 2007; Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Hall-Lew, Starr & Coppock 2012; Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2010; Hernández-Campoy & Jiménez-Cano 2004; Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr & Lewis 2012; Sclafani 2018; Soukup 2011, 2012; Strand 2012; Van de Velde, Gerritsen & Van Hout 1996; Van de Velde, Van Hout & Gerritsen 1997; Zhang 2012, among others).

Even though Labov (1972a) stated that the predominance of rather formal styles in this type of data source could be a disadvantage, the fact that speakers tend to pay little attention to their speech in this type of format due to the strong influence of the immediacy of events becomes of great relevance and a noticeable advantage for the present analysis. Precisely, spoken mass media can be a useful data source when it comes to accounting for stylistic variation. In this respect, Van de Velde, Van Hout and Gerritsen (1997: 362-363) indicate that four conditions must be taken into account in order to properly use a spoken mass media corpora, which were met in the implementation of such methodological decision in the present study:

- (i) from a technical point of view, preserved recordings must be available;
- (ii) from a practical point of view, the language used must be appropriate for the study of variation and change in mainstream and/or non-mainstream varieties;

- (iii) from a methodological perspective, Historical Linguistics and Sociolinguistics must be combined so as to properly account for change in progress; and
- (iv) from a procedural perspective, the results obtained must evidence if quantitative Labovian techniques are appropriate for the study of variation and change in linguistic varieties.

In addition, by relying on mass media sources in the data collection stage, several disadvantages were overcome:

- (i) limited access to the different sociolinguistic contexts;
- (ii) the need for the researcher's greater effort and concentration as well as greater risks of discomfort on the part of the informants due to the continuous and prolonged presence of the recorder;
- (iii) the uselessness of most of the registered material;
- (iv) the risk of generating attitudes in the researcher himself towards certain informants, which could condition their language production.

This methodological procedure contrasts with traditional sociolinguistic analyses that have relied on data observation. In this respect, researchers have predominantly focused on the obtention of spontaneous and vernacular speech in conversations, being the informant under study unaware of such investigation (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 49). However, given the growing interest on stylistic variation, data from a range of styles have begun to be examined. Even though data obtained from spontaneous, everyday conversations can be effective in the examination of certain sociolinguistic aspects, it cannot be assumed that the usage of this type of data will be the best methodological option in other studies. As stated by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 51),

[t]he procedures for collecting and analyzing such data are extremely labor and time intensive. Furthermore, free conversation may not provide all the relevant information; for example, conversational data typically pertain only to speech production and not to perception – a deficiency that is especially significant in the study of phonemic mergers.

Consequently, other types of data may be used in sociolinguistic research as a complement or even as an alternative to conversational data. This is the case of the present study, which makes use of mass media spoken records, particularly, of public political speeches in different political contexts.

On the other hand, according to Milroy and Gordon (2003), the way in which speakers employ certain linguistic features varies to a certain extent, resulting in the production of different speech styles under the influence of several factors. In fact, the frequency with which a particular variant is realised is constrained not only by its linguistic environment but also by social characteristics related to the speaker, just as gender, occupation, geographic area of provenance or status, among other aspects, as well as the social context in which the he or she is operating (Labov 1963; Milroy & Gordon 2003). Thus, it can be stated that language use patterns are subject to change when influenced by contextual factors, among other aspects. In this respect, Trudgill (1974: 45) specified that linguistic and sociological phenomena exhibit a co-variation that takes place along two main dimensions: “(a) the dimension of social differentiation, and the social class, age and sex of the individual; and (b) the dimension of social context, and the social situation in which the individual is involved in social interaction”. From this evidence, several studies have focused on the different language styles that take place in different social contexts, being the work of Crystal and Davy (1969) an example on stylistic variation aspects. Nevertheless, few studies have dealt with comparisons between individuals’ speech across different social contexts or with the specific social contexts in which certain linguistic features occur (Trudgill 1974). In this sense, Labov’s (1966) New York City and Trudgill’s (1974) Norwich investigation were pioneer studies in the task of accurately controlling social contexts and correlating them with linguistic features. In a similar vein, Coupland (1980) addressed the role played by the contextual situation in the language production of a speaker in his study on style-shifting in a Cardiff travel agency. Other studies have made use of several contexts in order to account for stylistic variation, are those of Cheshire (1978) and Reid (1978).

In addition, considering that sociolinguistic variables are indeterminate elements (Jaffe 2009a; Eckert 2008, 2012), it has been possible to assert that social meanings emerge across different interactional contexts, and therefore, that language ideologies, and ultimately, language behaviour, originate from social experience (Eckert 2008). That is, people’s speech is determined by social experiences that are socially constrained and socially constraining

(Coupland 2007), and therefore, the meanings in the indexical field that an informant will associate with a particular utterance cannot be predicted, and will depend on the informant's perspectives, previous experiences, the pre-associated style to a given utterance, and ultimately, on the social context in which he or she is operating (Eckert 2008: 466). Hence, given that indexical meanings are not fixed and predetermined, speakers can creatively rework meanings across their social interactions, being this phenomenon subject to qualitative analyses. Thus, as stated by Podesva (2012: 326), "approaches to variation that focus on the importance of speaker choice in particular contexts of use highlight the fact that speakers can exploit the elastic mapping between linguistic form and meaning".

Consequently, in line with Labov's (1966) methodology, variation must be understood as a social and linguistic phenomenon. Thus, considering that speech constitutes an activity of a fundamental and necessarily social nature and that language acts are inevitably regarded as acts of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), it becomes of relevance the usage that speakers make of certain variants in contexts where negative or positive social values are attached to them (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Therefore, in order to carry out a systematic study of the usage that informants make of certain linguistic features across different contexts, and consequently, to account for potential style-shifting strategies, the present analysis consists in mass media observation of four public political speech contexts in which the informants participated, namely: (i) Political Statement; (ii) Interview; (iii) Rally (North); and (iv) Rally (South).

In this respect, several methodological implications regarding the sources used and the data yielded from the present analysis must be highlighted:

(i) Public, official and online available mass media sources were employed as an instrument for the observation of the informants' speech style across different contexts, such as YouTube accounts, the official webpage of the UK Parliament, or official sites of online news entities –such as CNN and C-SPAN, among others (see section III.2.2.b.ii.).

(ii) All the speech events analysed in the present study have a video format –although some of them were also available in audio format.

(iii) The audio quality of the videos selected was adequate for the analysis of the informants' speech style.

(iv) The selected samples have an average duration of 12-19 minutes, although in certain cases this average duration was not reached or it was exceeded (see Table III.7 and III.8). This methodological implication was influenced by the nature of each speech event. For instance, those speech events in which Lewell-Buck participates tend to be shorter than those of May, Corbyn and Johnson due to the different political career and repercussion of these politicians. In addition, due to the different format of the speech events analysed, some contexts may require more minutes of analysis in order to properly obtain a representative sample of the speech style of the informant, as it happens with Interviews. In contrast, less minutes are generally needed when it comes to the analysis of those speech events under the label of "Rally", as this type of format tends to favour a greater number of utterances in the informants' speech. Also, not all the informants selected perform equally when engaging in public political speech events. For instance, Trump tends to speak slower than Clinton, Palin and Obama, and therefore, in order to obtain a similar number of tokens, more minutes were needed in order to properly analyse Trump's interventions

(v) Transcripts of the speech events were relied on in order to properly account for the informants' speech. These transcripts were obtained from YouTube, the official webpage of the UK Parliament and official sites of online news entities.

(vi) No specific softwares were employed for the auditory analysis of the present study. Instead, impressionistic coding techniques were employed.

(vii) Lastly, as it can be observed in Table III.9, 18698 tokens were yielded from the analysis of the aforementioned speech events.

Table III.7. Description of the speech events selected for the speech analysis of UK informants.

COUNTRY	INFORMANT	SPEECH EVENT	DISCOURSE GENRE IN PUBLIC CONTEXTS	DURATION
UK	EMMA LEWELL-BUCK	Commons Chamber (9 December 2009)	Political statement	8:24'
		Interview: <i>ITV News</i> (12 September 2019)	Interview	24:52'
		South Shields (Tyne and Wear County) (6 October 2019)	Rally (North)	4:05'
		London (2 February 2017)	Rally (South)	1:19'
	THERESA MAY	Commons Chamber (21 January 2019)	Political statement	13'
		Interview: <i>This morning</i> (3 December 2018)	Interview	16:17'
		Tynemouth (Tyne and Wear County) (1 June 2017)	Rally (North)	16'
		Slough (Berkshire County) (6 June 2017)	Rally (South)	12'
	JEREMY CORBYN	Commons Chamber (25 September 2019)	Political statement	13'
		Interview: <i>This Morning</i> (29 November 2018)	Interview	12:53'
		Middlesbrough (North Yorkshire County) (11 December 2019)	Rally (North)	14:11'
		Bedford (Bedfordshire County) (11 December 2019)	Rally (South)	12:17'
	BORIS JOHNSON	Commons Chamber (25 September 2019)	Political statement	19'
		Interview: <i>This Morning</i> (5 December 2019)	Interview	14:43'
		Stockton-on-Tees (Durham County) (20 November 2019)	Rally (North)	22'
		Rally: London (12 December 2019)	Rally (South)	14:03'

Table III.8. Description of the speech events selected for the speech analysis of U.S. informants.

COUNTRY	INFORMANT	SPEECH EVENT	DISCOURSE GENRE IN PUBLIC CONTEXTS	DURATION
USA	HILLARY CLINTON	New York City (New York) (7 November 2000)	Political statement	12:20'
		Interview: <i>20/20 ABC</i> (12 January 1996)	Interview	13:58'
		Cincinnati, Ohio (27 June 2016)	Rally (North)	19'
		Selma, Alabama (4 March 2007)	Rally (South)	18'
	SARAH PALIN	St. Paul, Minnesota (3 September 2008)	Political statement	17'
		Interview: <i>CBS</i> (31 October 2008)	Interview	16'
		Ames, Iowa (20 January 2016)	Rally (North)	16'
		Montgomery, Alabama (21 September 2017)	Rally (South)	10'
	BARACK OBAMA	U.S. Congress (21 January 2015)	Political statement	17:15'
		Interview: <i>CNN</i> (31 January 2014)	Interview	17:25'
		Chicago, Illinois (31 October 2010)	Rally (North)	17:23'
		Selma, Alabama (4 March 2007)	Rally (South)	17:31'
	DONALD TRUMP	U.S. Congress (31 January 2018)	Political statement	19'
		Interview: <i>CNBC</i> (22 January 2020)	Interview	17'
		Minneapolis, Minnesota (10 October 2019)	Rally (North)	17:25'
		Huntsville, Alabama (22 September 2017)	Rally (South)	17:15'

Table III.9. Tokens yielded from the present analysis.

Country	Informant	Tokens
UK	EMMA LEWELL-BUCK	2051
	THERESA MAY	2999
	JEREMY CORBYN	2522
	BORIS JOHNSON	3348
	HILLARY CLINTON	1889
USA	SARAH PALIN	1704
	BARACK OBAMA	2097
	DONALD TRUMP	2088
TOTAL		18698

III.2.2.b.ii. Public political contexts

The study of political speech in Linguistics has traditionally been approached from a qualitative perspective, as evidenced by the studies carried out by Wodak (2002), Chilton, (2004), van Dijk (2005), or Blackledge (2005), among others. Nevertheless, a recent interest on quantitative approaches to this type of speech has been observed in the studies carried out by Cutillas-Espinosa (2001), Reyes-Rodríguez (2008), Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy and Schilling-Estes (2010), Hernández-Campoy and Cutillas-Espinosa (2010), Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr and Lewis (2012), Hall-Lew, Starr and Coppock (2012), Lei and Liu (2016), and Sclafani (2018), among others, which have been relied on for methodological aspects in the present study.

Even though slight differences may emerge between the speech events taking place in the different contexts selected, all of them share certain characteristics that define the nature of political speech. Firstly, as stated by Dedaic (2006: 700), public political interventions are regarded as “relatively autonomous discourse produced orally by a politician in front of an audience, the purpose of which is merely persuasion rather than information or entertainment”. Secondly, as indicated by Reyes-Rodríguez (2008: 226), political speech is

usually regarded as a type of language that is placed between written and oral language; or, in other words, “a genre between a literary text and a casual conversation”, since even though political speeches tend to be read aloud from a previously studied written text or outline, the final message is orally transmitted (Reyes-Rodríguez 2008: 226). In this respect, Reyes-Rodríguez (2008: 226) indicates that political speech could be regarded as a “formal variety organized in a manner similar to written language”. On the other hand, public political speech differs from other oral forms, as it cannot be regarded as a typical face-to-face interaction (Dedaic 2006). In fact, Ochs (1979, cited in Reyes-Rodríguez 2008: 226) distinguished two forms of discourse: “planned” and “unplanned”, being political speech regarded as a form of discourse that is planned in advance and which depends on a written text. Thirdly, these speech events are associated with a high degree of formality. In addition, they usually have a national as well as an international scope. Lastly, the speech events associated with these contexts are audience-orientated, since they are enacted by politicians in front of a wide (present and/or virtual) audience that consists not only of fellow politicians, but also of members of the electorate, the general public and the media (Ilie 2006).

III.2.2.b.ii.i. Political statement

Regarding the context of political statement, different samples were selected for British and American politicians. On the one hand, one intervention made in the House of Commons was selected for each British informant: Emma Lewell-Buck’s intervention on “Funeral services” on 9 December 2009; Theresa May’s intervention on “Brexit Plan B” on 21 January 2019; Jeremy Corbyn’s intervention on “Prime Minister’s update” on 25 September 2019 and Boris Johnson’s intervention on “Prime Minister’s update” on 25 September 2019.

It is noteworthy to mention that the system of Westminster parliament –which applies to the UK parliament and the parliaments of Commonwealth countries (Ilie 2006: 189)– heavily relies on the relationship between government and opposition parties in parliament. This system is characterised by the prominent role of debates occurring in the plenary chamber, where frontstage parliamentary performance takes place (Ilie 2006: 194). As a result, interventions taking place in the House of Commons are characterised by an adversarial debate style in which rhetorical skills are displayed (Ilie 2006: 192). In addition, these proceedings are rather formal and have a national as well as international scope. As emphasised by Ilie (2006: 190), these types of interventions are characterised by a

“dialogically shaped institutional confrontation and by the awareness of acting in front and on behalf of a multi-level audience”. Several scholars from different disciplines have addressed the functioning and characteristics of parliamentary interventions, such as Chester and Browning (1962), Carbó (1992), Franklin and Norton (1993), Wodak and van Dijk (2000), Ilie (2000, 2003, 2004, 2010), Harris (2001), Wodak (2002), Bayley (2004), Bevitori (2004), Zima, Brône and Feyaerts (2010), Bull and Wells (2012), Lovenduski (2012), and Ihalainen, Ilie and Palonen (2016), among others. Nevertheless, sociolinguistic approaches to this context – particularly those variationist oriented– are rather scarce.

Regarding the data gathering of the informants’ speech style in the context of “Political Statement”, the parliament official webpage “parliamentlive.tv” (<https://www.parliamentlive.tv/Commons>) (Figure III.24). This webpage offers an archive of political interventions in the House of Commons and House of Lords; however, given the informants selected for the present study, the focus was placed on those interventions taking place in the House of Commons. In addition, as it can be observed in the examples provided for British informant Theresa May (Figure III.25 and Figure III.26), the “search” option enables the visitor to look for interventions made by specific informants on a specific date just by entering certain details related to the intervention at issue, such as the name of the Member of Parliament who made that intervention, the House in which this intervention took place, and the start date and the end date of the intervention, among other aspects. In addition, interventions in the House of Commons can also be viewed on the official UK Parliament YouTube account (<https://www.youtube.com/user/UKParliament>) and on several news YouTube accounts such as euronews (<https://www.youtube.com/user/Euronews>), BBC News (<https://www.youtube.com/user/bbcnews>) or Guardian News (<https://www.youtube.com/user/guardianwires>), among others. As previously stated, the obtainment of the transcriptions of these speech events was rather helpful in the analysis and interpretation of the data collected. In this respect, the parliament official webpage “Hansard” (<https://hansard.parliament.uk/>) was also used at this research stage. As it can be observed in Figure III.27, this webpage enables the visitor to find the transcriptions of the interventions made in the House of Commons and House of Lords. As previously stated, given the informants selected for the present study, the focus was placed on the transcripts of those interventions taking place in the House of Commons. Thus, as exemplified in Figure III.28, transcripts of interventions can be found just by looking for the oral contributions made by a

specific Member of Parliament (Figure III.29) and by selecting the specific date on which that intervention took place (Figure III.30).

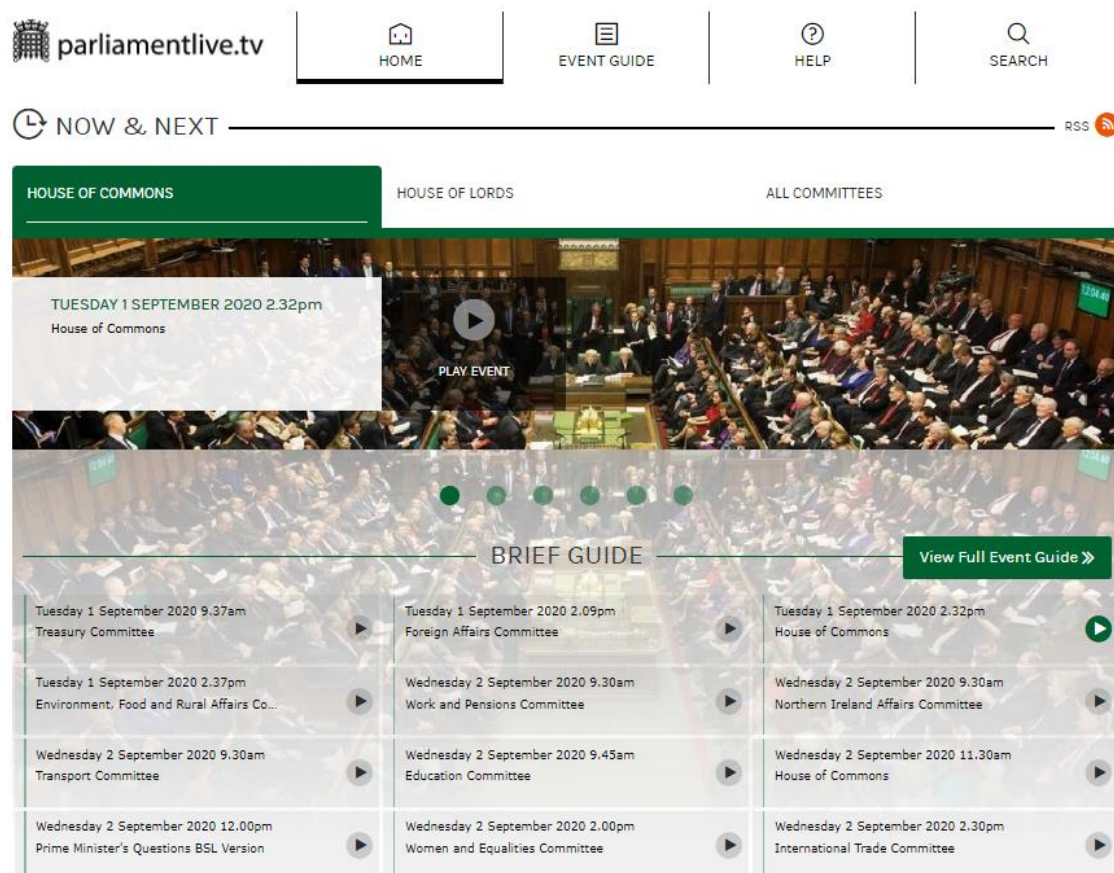


Figure III.24. parliamentlive.tv webpage. Source: parliamentlive.tv (<https://www.parliamentlive.tv/Commons>).

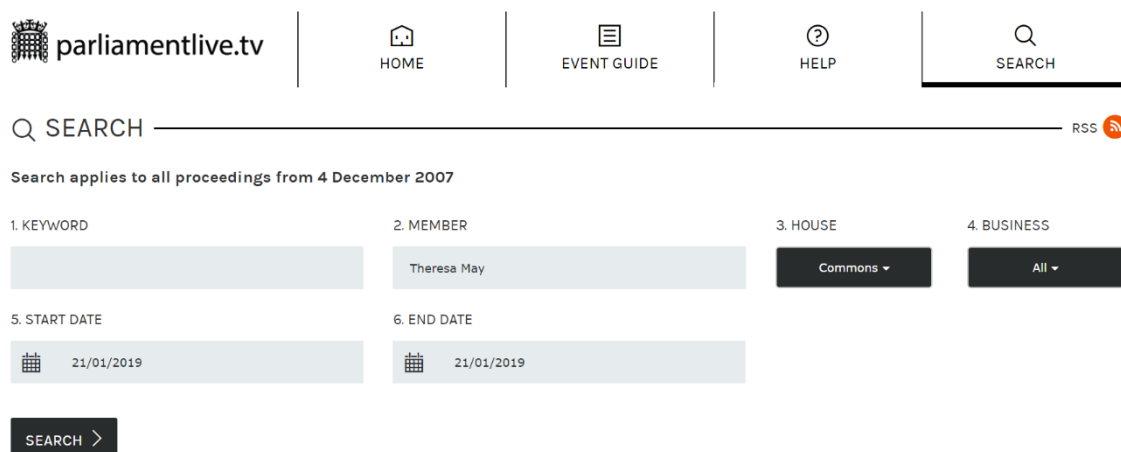
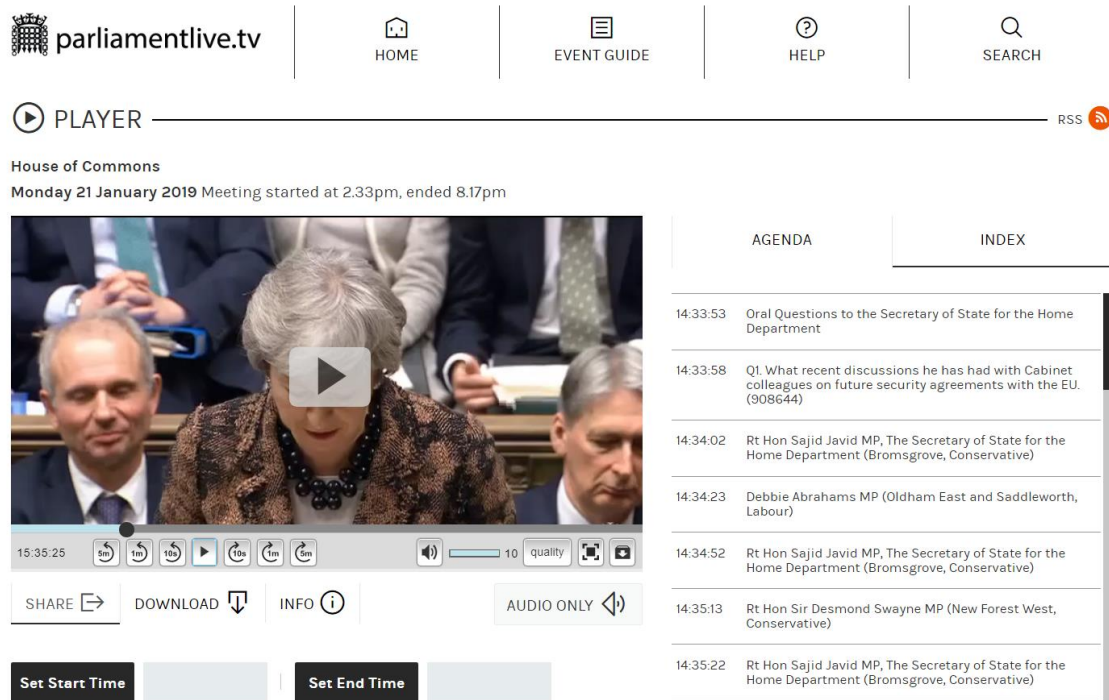


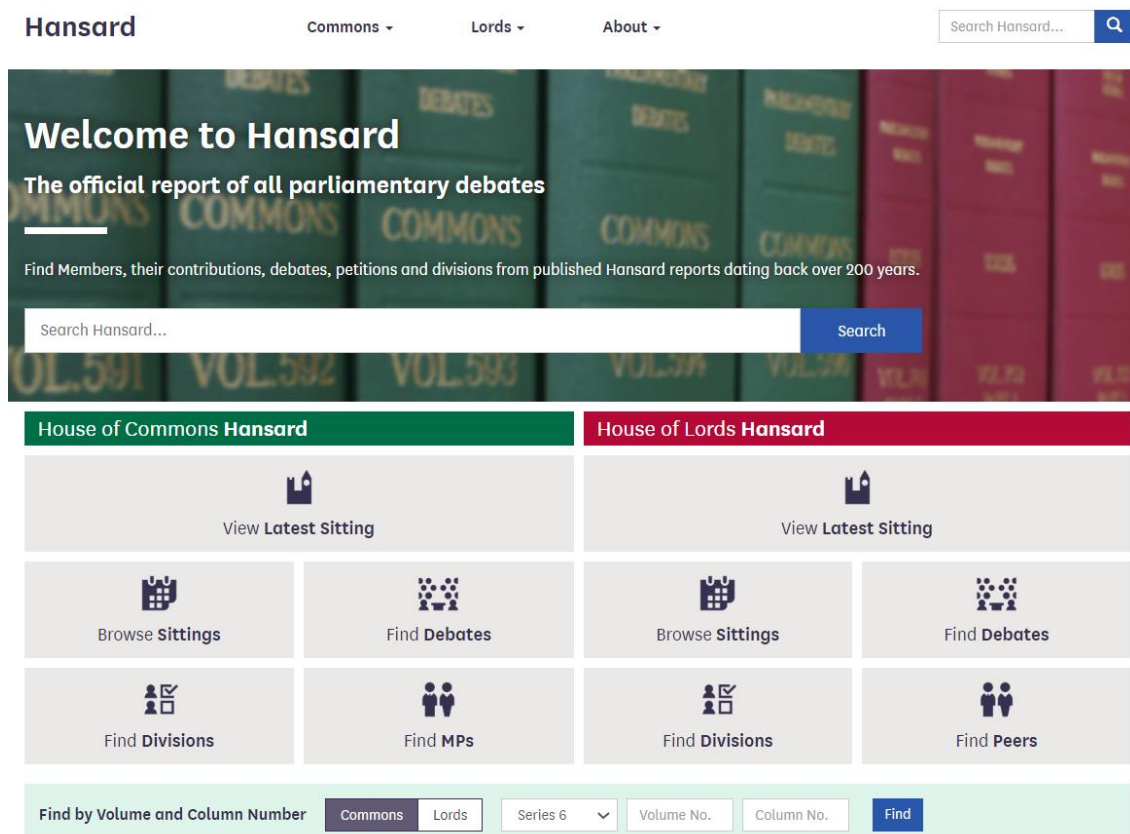
Figure III.25. parliamentlive.tv: MPs interventions search options. Source: parliamentlive.tv (<https://www.parliamentlive.tv/Commons>).



The screenshot shows the parliamentlive.tv website. At the top, there is a navigation bar with links to HOME, EVENT GUIDE, HELP, and SEARCH. Below this is a PLAYER section for a House of Commons meeting on Monday 21 January 2019, which started at 2.33pm and ended at 8.17pm. The video player shows a live feed of the meeting with a play button overlay. Below the video player are controls for volume, quality, and a share/download/info section. To the right of the video player is an AGENDA table listing interventions.

AGENDA	INDEX
14:33:53	Oral Questions to the Secretary of State for the Home Department
14:33:58	Q1 What recent discussions he has had with Cabinet colleagues on future security agreements with the EU. (908644)
14:34:02	Rt Hon Sajid Javid MP, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Bromsgrove, Conservative)
14:34:23	Debbie Abrahams MP (Oldham East and Saddleworth, Labour)
14:34:52	Rt Hon Sajid Javid MP, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Bromsgrove, Conservative)
14:35:13	Rt Hon Sir Desmond Swayne MP (New Forest West, Conservative)
14:35:22	Rt Hon Sajid Javid MP, The Secretary of State for the Home Department (Bromsgrove, Conservative)

Figure III.26. parliamentlive.tv webpage: MPs interventions search options. Source: parliamentlive.tv (<https://www.parliamentlive.tv/Commons>).



The screenshot shows the Hansard webpage. At the top, there is a navigation bar with links to Commons, Lords, and About. Below this is a search bar labeled 'Search Hansard...'. The main content area is divided into two sections: House of Commons Hansard and House of Lords Hansard. Each section has a 'View Latest Sitting' button and a grid of buttons for 'Browse Sitings', 'Find Debates', 'Find Divisions', and 'Find MPs/Peers'. At the bottom, there is a 'Find by Volume and Column Number' section with dropdown menus for Commons, Lords, Series, Volume No., and Column No., and a 'Find' button.

Figure III.27. Hansard webpage: transcript search options. Source: Hansard (<https://hansard.parliament.uk/>).

Hansard Commons Lords About Search Hansard...

Find Members

Filter your results

Theresa May

Commons Lords Both

From 01/09/2015 **Until** 01/09/2020 [View All Years](#)

Member Status

Current Members Former Members Both

Search

Showing results 1 - 1 of 1 (page 1 of 1)

Mrs Theresa May
Conservative
Maidenhead (1997 - present)

Showing results 1 - 1 of 1 (page 1 of 1)

Figure III.28. Hansard webpage: transcript search options. Source: Hansard (<https://hansard.parliament.uk/>).

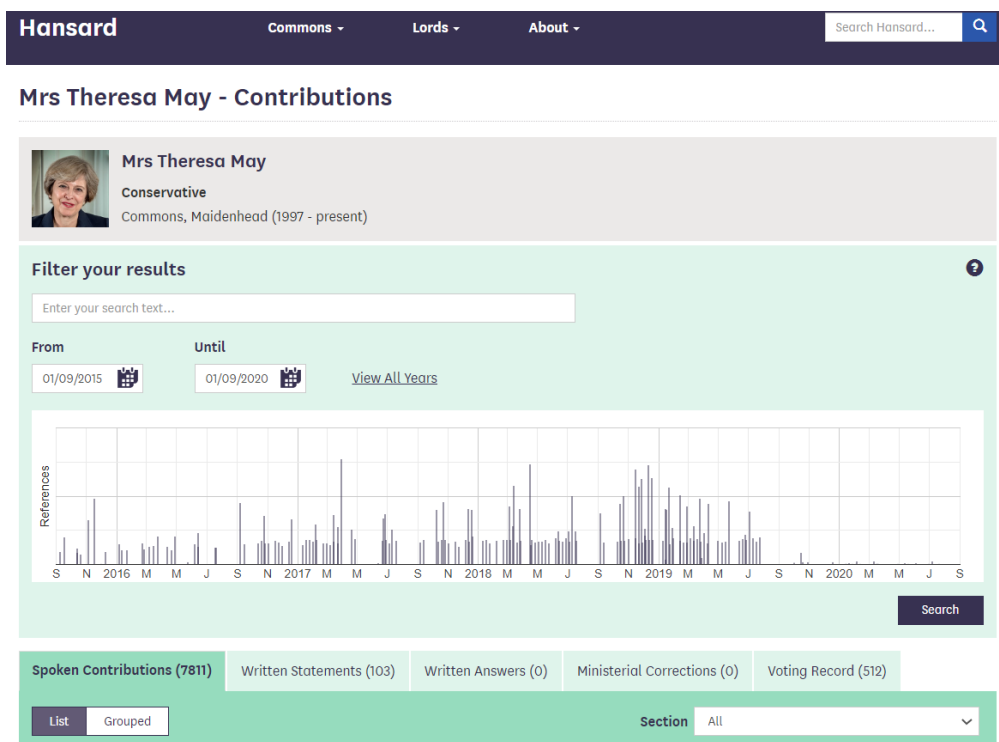


Figure III.29. Hansard webpage: transcript search options. Source: Hansard (<https://hansard.parliament.uk/>).

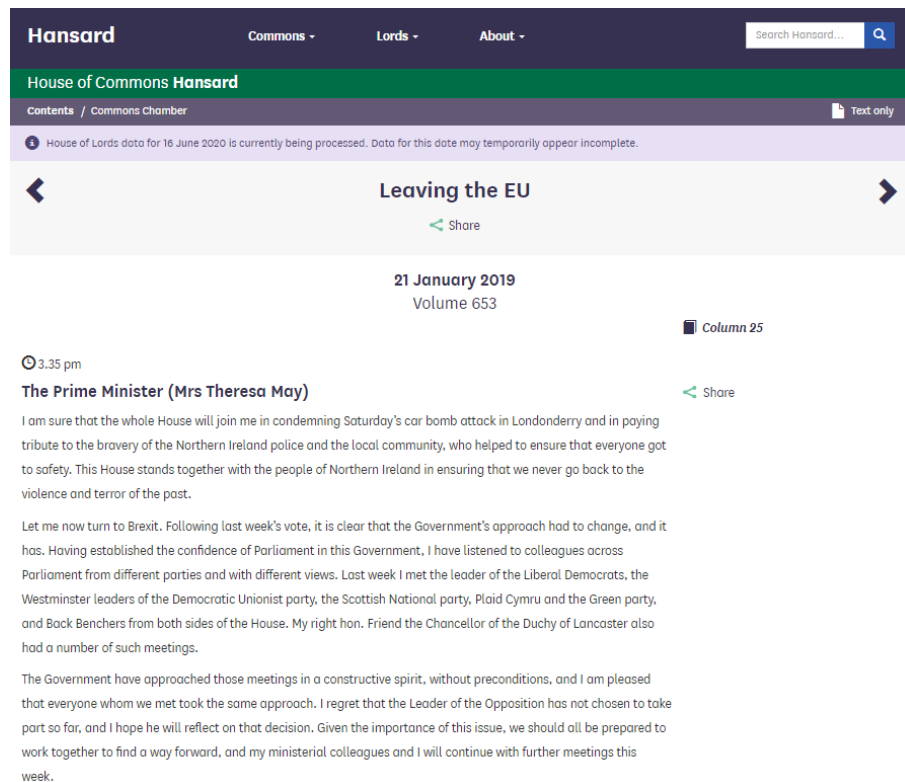


Figure III.30. Hansard webpage: transcript search options. Source: Hansard (<https://hansard.parliament.uk/>)

As for American informants, the speech event selected for this context consisted in a political statement known as State of the Union, which takes place once a year in the U.S. Congress (Washington D.C.). Several scholars from different disciplines have addressed the functioning of State of the Union speeches and the strategies used by politicians in these speech events (Posch 2006, 2018; Ahrens 2006; or Hodges 2011, 2018). This practice began as a communication between the president and members of Congress, but with the advent of radio and television it has become a communication between the president and U.S. citizens, having a national as well as an international scope. These speech events are characterised by a high degree of formality, and topics like current political issues that affect the country as well as achievements and plans of the government for the year ahead are usually addressed (State of the Union 2020a, 2020b). Thus, Barack Obama's State of the Union speech on 21 January 2015 and Trump's State of the Union speech on 31 January 2018 were the political statements chosen for the analysis of both male informants. However, given the different political career of the American informants selected, State of the Union speeches were only available for Barack Obama and Donald Trump. Thus, regarding Hillary Clinton, a political statement made by this politician right after having won the seat for the New York Senate on

7 November 2000 was selected for the present study. Similarly, the political statement selected for the speech analysis of Sarah Palin was her acceptance speech at the Republican National Convention in Minnesota on 3 September 2008.

In this respect, different mass media sources were used in the data collection of the speech of the selected American informants. On the one hand, Hillary Clinton's speech event was obtained from the official webpage of "C-SPAN" (<https://www.c-span.org/video/?160369-1/clinton-victory-speech>), where the transcript of the video was also available; similarly the speech event of Sarah Palin was obtained from the official webpage of "C-SPAN" (<https://www.c-span.org/video/?280790-11/sarah-palin-2008-acceptance-speech>), where the transcript of the video was also available. Barack Obama's Political Statement was obtained from the "ABC News" YouTube official site (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=au2knz6nExI>), while the corresponding transcript was obtained from "CNN politics" official website (<https://edition.cnn.com/2015/01/20/politics/state-of-the-union-2015-transcript-full-text/index.html>). Similarly, Trump's political statement was obtained from the "ABC News" YouTube official site (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=HUZRiGEwqCg>), while the corresponding transcript was obtained from "CNN politics" official website (<https://edition.cnn.com/2018/01/30/politics/2018-state-of-the-union-transcript/index.html>).

III.2.2.b.ii.ii. Interview

As indicated by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 61), interviews –at least in Western societies– are characterised by several aspects: (i) they are rather structured speech events in which formal style is appropriate and prone to emerge; (ii) they often involve an interaction between two individuals, being their roles clearly defined; and (iii) turn-taking rights are unequally distributed.

As indicated by Ekström & Patrona (2011), political interviews are regarded as a crucial type of political communication in modern democracies. In fact, this type of interviews functions as an arena in which political performances by means of identity negotiations take place. In addition, it is relevant to mention that just as with other political contexts, individuals' performance in interview contexts often requires the employment of a rather formal speech. However, it has been stated that certain relaxation on the part of the

interviewee may occur in this context, since as Labov (1966/2006) indicated, a decrease in the awareness of the informant payed to his own speech could take place. Several scholars like Clayman (1988, 1992), Harris (1991), Bull (1994), Fairclough (1995b, 1998, 2006) Simon-Vandenberg (1996), Clayman and Heritage (2002), Lauerbach (2004, 2007), and Ekström (2009), among others, have addressed the functioning and characteristics of political interviews from different perspectives, such as Conversational Analysis, Social Psychology and Pragmatics among others. However, style-shifting strategies employed by the interviewees have been scarcely addressed from variationists perspectives.

Regarding this political context, one interview of national as well as international scope was selected for each British and American politician. As for British informants, four interviews made for ITV –a British television network– were selected. Due to the different political career of the British informants selected for the present study, the interviews in which Theresa May (on 3 December 2018), Jeremy Corbyn (on 29 November 2018) and Boris Johnson (on 5 December 2019) participated were selected from a series of political interviews made for *This Morning*, a programme of ITV network which studios are located in London. On the other hand, an interview made for *ITV News* –another programme of ITV network– which took place in Westminster on 12 September 2019 was selected for the speech analysis of Emma Lewell-Buck. It is noteworthy to mention that topics such as UK elections, Brexit plans and political strategies were addressed in the interviews in which the four British informants participated.

In order to obtain such speech events, two YouTube news accounts were used as data source: on the one hand, the YouTube account of ITV programme “*This Morning*” was used to obtain the interviews in which Theresa May (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ua1rbTT5xKc>), Jeremy Corbyn (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tupR2UUYZm8>) and Boris Johnson (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QGKbfXqyTzg>) participated; on the other hand, the interview in which Emma Lewell-Buck participated was obtained from the “*ITV News*” programme YouTube account (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yg0Uxz0s56c&t=1117s>). In addition, transcripts from YouTube videos can also be obtained just by clicking on the *More options (...)* button at the bottom of the video and selecting *Open Transcript* from the drop-down menu.

As for the American informants, an interview carried out in the White House for 20/20 –a programme that belongs to the American Broadcasting Company (ABC)– on 12 January 1996 was selected for the speech analysis of Hillary Clinton; it is noteworthy to remark that at that time Clinton was serving as First Lady of the U.S. The selected interview in which Sarah Palin participated took place in New York and was made as a part of a series of interviews for CBS Evening News (the news division of the CBS television network in the U.S.) in the framework of the 2008 U.S. presidential elections. On the other hand, Obama’s interview took place in Washington DC on 31 January 2014 at the beginning of his second presidential mandate, and it was conducted by the CNN, an American news division television channel which belongs to CNN Worldwide. Lastly, Trump’s interview took place in Davos (Switzerland) on 22 January 2020 in the framework of the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting. This interview was conducted by the CNBC, an American television news channel owned by NBCUniversal Worldwide News Group. The main topics addressed in these speech events were related to U.S elections.

In this respect, several media sources were used in order to access the aforementioned speech events. The interview in which Hillary Clinton participated was obtained from a YouTube video of 20/20, the ABC programme that conducted the interview (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1ScDPH9oIXg>). As for Sarah Palin, the interview in which she participated was obtained from the official YouTube account of Kate Couric, the journalist who conducted the interview for the CBS Evening News programme (https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-ZVh_u5RyiU&t=61). Barack Obama’s interview was obtained from the “CNN” YouTube official account (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WBgwuFM92i4>) and the corresponding transcript was obtained from the “CNN” official website (<https://cnnpressroom.blogs.cnn.com/2014/01/30/just-released-cnns-jake-tapper-exclusive-interview-with-president-obama/>). Lastly, Donald Trump’s interview was obtained from the “CNBC” official website (<https://www.cnbc.com/2020/01/22/davos-2020-cnbc-full-interview-with-president-trump.html>), where the corresponding transcript was also available.

III.2.2.b.ii.iii. Rally (North)

Political rallies consist of large public meetings that are held in order to show support for a particular political opinion (Cambridge Dictionary 2020). Several scholars from different disciplines have addressed the functioning as well as the characteristics associated with this type of political context, such as Stoll (1987), Baker and Oneal (2001), Hetherington and Nelson (2003), and Lacatus (2020), among others. However, as with previous political contexts, no sociolinguistic approaches from a variationist perspective have addressed this type of political context.

Thus, in order to analyse the speech of the selected informants in terms of style-shifting strategies across different political contexts, one rally per informant was considered. In addition, in order to fully account for the potential different treatment that informants could make of the linguistic variables selected for the present study, rallies taking place in Northern as well as Southern areas of both the United Kingdom and the United States were selected. As already mentioned in section III.1, the selection of Northern and Southern geographic areas was motivated by the main dialect division that characterises England (Altendorf & Watt 2004: 178) and the U.S. (Schneider 2006: 62). Precisely, North-South divisions are one of the most remarkable dialect boundaries in England and the U.S.

As for British informants the selected rallies that took place in Northern areas were the following ones: Theresa May's rally in Tynemouth (Tyne and Wear County) on 12 May 2017, Jeremy Corbyn's rally in Middlesbrough (North Yorkshire County) on 11 December 2019, and Boris Johnson's rally in Stockton-on-Tess (Durham county) on 20 November 2019. On the other hand, given the lesser political and public repercussion of Emma Lewell-Buck when compared with Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, no rallies of this informant taking place in Northern areas were available. Thus, a video message recorded in her North-eastern constituency (South Shields, Tyne and Wear County) in which she addressed the local electorate was taken into account. Generally, the main topics covered in these speech events concerned UK elections and Brexit aspects.

In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that the fact that a video message was used instead of a rally in the case of Emma Lewell-Buck does not imply a relevant hazard in the speech analysis of this informant, since both formats share several features that characterise political speeches. In fact, the language produced in both formats is ultimately located between written and oral language, "a genre between a literary text and a casual

conversation” (Reyes-Rodríguez 2008: 226). In addition, the majority of political speeches are read aloud to a certain extent from a text or an outline, being the message orally transmitted (Reyes-Rodríguez 2008: 226). Consequently, both formats heavily rely on pre-established written information, which leads to the conclusion that the language produced in both formats is planned in advance (Ochs 1979). Lastly, the aforementioned speech events share one main objective: targeting the electorate (whether present or absent from the speech event) in order to gain political support.

Thus, different data sources were employed so as to obtain recorded videos of the four British informants holding a rally in Northern regions of England. Thus, the speech event of Emma Lewell-Buck was obtained from Lewell-Buck’s own Facebook webpage (<https://www.facebook.com/1102911153246075/videos/508110149988207>), that of Theresa May was obtained from “gettyimages” webpage (<https://www.gettyimages.co.nz/detail/video/general-election-2017-theresa-may-speech-england-tyne-and-news-footage/820608944>), that of Jeremy Corbyn was obtained from “ITV News” YouTube account (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ul11i6fiSo0&t=1239s>) and the recorded video of the Northern rally held by Boris Johnson was obtained from the “Guardian News” YouTube account (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NSLr7PON8sw>).

Regarding American informants, the selected rallies that took place in Northern areas of the U.S. were the following ones: Hillary Clinton’s rally in Cincinnati, Ohio, on 27 June 2016; Sarah Palin’s rally in Ames, Iowa, on 19 January 2019; Barack Obama’s rally in Chicago, Illinois on 31 October 2010 and Donald Trump’s rally in Minneapolis, Minnesota, on 10 October 2019. It is noteworthy to mention that Clinton’s rally took place in the framework of the 2016 United States presidential elections; Obama’s rally was part of his “Moving America Forward” rally for Democratic Party candidates, which was framed in the 2010 midterm elections; and Palin’s and Trump’s rallies took place in the framework of the 2020 United States presidential elections.

As with previous speech events, those under the label of “Rally (North)” were obtained from different mass media sources. Thus, the speech event of Hillary Clinton was obtained from “C-SPAN” official website (<https://www.c-span.org/video/?411661-1/hillary-clinton-senator-elizabeth-warren-campaign-cincinnati-ohio>), where the corresponding transcript was also available; that of Sarah Palin was obtained from “ABC News” official YouTube account (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=25uCYfvZgGQ>), that of Barack Obama was obtained

from YouTube account “BarackObamadotcom” (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4VppAgp4Lv0>), and the Northern rally held by Donald Trump was obtained from the official YouTube account of “NewsNOW from FOX” (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=vT3O5WFYUxo>).

III.2.2.b.ii.iv. Rally (South)

As with Rally (North), in order to analyse the speech of the selected informants in terms of style-shifting strategies across different political contexts, one rally per informant was considered. In addition, in order to fully account for the potential different treatment that informants could make of the linguistic variables selected for the present study, rallies taking place in Northern as well as Southern areas of both the United Kingdom and the United States were selected. As already mentioned, the selection of Northern and Southern geographic areas corresponds to the main dialectal division that characterises the UK (Altendorf & Watt 2004: 178) and the U.S. (Schneider 2006: 62). Precisely, North-South divisions are one of the most remarkable dialect boundaries in England and the U.S.

As for British informants the selected rallies that took place in Southern areas were the following ones: Theresa May’s rally in Slough (Berkshire County) on 6 June 2017, Jeremy Corbyn’s rally in Kempston (Bedfordshire County) on 12 December 2019, and Boris Johnson’s rally in London on 12 December 2019. On the other hand, given the lesser political and public repercussion of Emma Lewell-Buck when compared with Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, no rallies of this informant in Southern areas were available. Thus, a video message recorded in London, (outside the Houses of Parliament) in which she addressed the electorate as a whole was taken into account. Generally, the main topics covered in these speech events concerned UK elections and Brexit aspects.

As previously stated, it is noteworthy to mention that the fact that a video message was used instead of a rally in the case of Emma Lewell-Buck does not imply a relevant hazard in the speech analysis of this informant, since both formats share several main features that characterise political speeches. In fact, the language produced in both formats is ultimately located between written and oral language, “a genre between a literary text and a casual conversation” (Reyes-Rodríguez 2008: 226). In addition, the majority of political speeches are read aloud to a certain extent from a text or an outline, being the message orally transmitted (Reyes-Rodríguez 2008: 226). Consequently, both formats heavily rely on pre-established

written information, which leads to the conclusion that the language produced in both formats is planned in advance (Ochs 1979). Lastly, the aforementioned speech events share one main objective: targeting the electorate (whether present or absent from the speech event) in order to gain political support.

Thus, the speech events under the label of “Rally (South)” were obtained from different mass media sources. Thus, the speech event of Emma Lewell-Buck was obtained from the “Catholic Church England and Wales” YouTube account (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=yoOwbAs6O3I>), that of Theresa May was obtained from the “Guardian News” YouTube account (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=MKLSgKr4A8U&t=884s>), that of Jeremy Corbyn was obtained from “ITV News” YouTube account (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Gnbk6HAmVQk>), and the recorded video of the Southern rally held by Boris Johnson was obtained from the “Conservatives” YouTube account (<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=swjnzz4pxkU&t=10s>).

Regarding American informants, the selected rallies that took place in Southern areas of the U.S. were the following ones: Hillary Clinton’s rally in Selma, Alabama, on 4 March 2007; Sarah Palin’s rally in Montgomery, Alabama, on 21 September 2017; Barack Obama’s rally in Selma, Alabama, on 4 March 2007 and Donald Trump’s rally in Huntsville, Alabama, on 22 September 2017. It is noteworthy to mention that the speech events of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama took place in the framework of the race for the nomination of the Democratic Party during the 2008 U.S. presidential campaign, particularly, both rallies were also influenced by the commemoration of the historical event known as “Bloody Sunday”. On the other hand, the speech events of Sarah Palin and Donald Trump took place in the framework of the 2017 U.S. Senate elections.

Lastly, the speech events under the label of “Rally (South)” of Hillary Clinton (<https://www.c-span.org/video/?196941-1/civil-rights-issues>), Sarah Palin (<https://www.c-span.org/video/?434431-1/sarah-palin-sebastian-gorka-campaign-roy-moore-alabama>), Barack Obama (<https://www.c-span.org/video/?196942-1/barack-obama-remarks-selma-2007>) and Donald Trump (<https://www.c-span.org/video/?434480-1/president-trump-campaigns-alabama-senator-luther-strange>) were obtained from the “C-SPAN” official website, where the corresponding transcripts were also available.

III.2.3. Demographics

Apart from linguistic information, demographic information has proven to be necessary in order to provide an accurate description of the areas of study (Labov 2001). Hence, demographic data used in sections III.1.1, III.1.2 and III.2.2.a., were obtained from the Office of National Statistics (<https://www.ons.gov.uk/>), the United States Census Bureau (<https://www.census.gov/>), Alabama Maps (<http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/>) and DATA USA (<https://datausa.io/>).

III.3. Measuring variation: Use of statistical analysis

Once linguistic data have been obtained throughout mass media observation, spoken samples must be operationalised into useful –quantitative– data in order to be properly measured (Rasinger 2010: 55). As stated by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 143), careful identification and definition of linguistic variables as well as the selection of an appropriate method are crucial aspects in this conversion process.

Particularly, auditory techniques were employed to measure phonological variation in the present study. This procedure consists on the identification of the variants of a given linguistic variable by means of repeated listening; then, the larger speech corpus is reviewed and variants are coded (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 144). This technique is frequently referred to as “impressionistic coding”, since it “involves the researcher’s perception or impressions of the variants produced” (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 144). Certainly, those categories used in the coding process of the data will be subject to the nature of the variables selected for the analysis and the objectives of the investigation (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 144). Consequently, coded data will be easy to quantify just by counting the usage level of each variant, which will enable comparative analyses between speakers. As previously stated in section III.2.2.a., Table III.3 shows the codification process of the variants selected for the present study.

Nevertheless, cross-speaker comparisons cannot be made without first delimiting linguistic variation; that is, “establishing the boundaries of a variable’s influence on the linguistic system and ascertaining the factors that influence the variation” (Milroy & Gordon 2003: 152). This stage is crucial, as quantitative analyses cannot be carried out until it is clear what instances must be counted. In this respect, the identification of those words or contexts that are subject to vary regarding phonological variables is detailed in section III. 3.

As already indicated, just like many other scientific disciplines, variationist sociolinguistics combines quantitative and qualitative arguments to analyse the problems under study (Gorman & Johnson 2013, Martín-Butragueño & Orozco 2014; Martín-Butragueño n.d.). This combination of becomes crucial in the analysis of language as a carrier of social meaning, since social practices involve both symbolic aspects and measurable elements (Coupland 2001a: 186; see also Levon 2010; Holmes 2007: 5; Lazaraton 2005: 219; Ortí 1999: 88). In this respect, Tagliamonte (2012: 8) states that “[e]xplanation in sociolinguistics can only happen when statistics are used in conjunction with a strong interpretive component, grounded in real-world language use”. In a similar vein, Sankoff (1988: 2) claims that:

[a]nalyzes of heterogeneous structures within the speech community rest on the assumption that whenever a choice exists among two (or more) alternatives in the course of linguistic performance, and where that choice may have been influenced by any number of factors, then it is appropriate to invoke statistical techniques.

Hence, the nature of the data obtained for the present study proved to be adequate to be approached from qualitative and quantitative methodological perspectives. Regarding the latter, it is noteworthy to remark that specific mathematics tools become crucial so as to operate with numerical data (Rasinger 2010). Particularly, inferential statistic methods were implemented to the results obtained so as to test the existence of significant correlations between the variables studied, and ultimately, to determine the existence of sociolinguistic patterns in the speech of the informants analysed. In this respect, inferential statistics provide probabilistic measures, which means that they play a key role in the generation of predictions concerning the validity of the sociolinguistic patterns observed (Levon 2010). This type of statistic test clearly contrasts with descriptive statistics methods, which are useful in the identification of potential patterns by means of providing general information about the shape or quality of the data (Levon 2010; Cantos-Gómez 2013).

In order to implement inferential statistic methods, a null hypothesis and an alternative –or experimental– hypothesis must be first established, as this type of methods test the likelihood of the null hypothesis to be true (Levon 2010; Cantos-Gómez 2013). On the one hand, the null hypothesis (H0) indicates that there is not a relationship between the dependent and the independent variable, which means that the data obtained is the result of pure chance. On the other hand, the alternative or experimental hypothesis (H1) indicates

that there exists a relationship between the dependent and the independent variable, which means that the data obtained did not occur by chance, and that the relationship between variables is significant (Cantos-Gómez 2013). Thus, by means of implementing inferential statistic methods, it will be possible to accept or reject the null hypothesis (H0): there is, or there is not, no relationship between the dependent and the independent variable.

In this respect, the following null (H0) and experimental hypotheses (H1) were established for the present study so as to conduct inferential statistic methods:

i. Analysis of British informants

- Individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each British informant:

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the context (Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South)) in which the British informant operates (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson).

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the context (Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South)) in which the British informant operates (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson).

- Sociolinguistic behaviour of British females:

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that female British informants (Emma Lewell-Buck and Theresa May) make of it.

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that female British informants (Emma Lewell-Buck and Theresa May) make of it.

- Sociolinguistic behaviour of British males:

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that male British informants (Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) make of it.

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping)

and the treatment that male British informants (Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) make of it.

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants:

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that British informants (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) make of it.

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that British informants (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) make of it.

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in the context of Statement:

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that British informants (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) make of it in the context of Statement.

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that British informants (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) make of it in the context of Statement.

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in the context of Interview:

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that British informants (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) make of it in the context of Interview.

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that British informants (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) make of it in the context of Interview.

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in the context of Rally (North):

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that British informants (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) make of it in the context of Rally (North).

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that British informants (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) make of it in the context of Rally (North).

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in the context of Rally (South):

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that British informants (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) make of it in the context of Rally (South).

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping) and the treatment that British informants (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) make of it in the context of Rally (South).

ii. Analysis of American informants

- Individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each American informant:

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the context (Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South)) in which the American informant operates (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump).

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the context (Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South)) in which the American informant operates (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump).

- Sociolinguistic behaviour of American females:

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that female American informants (Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin) make of it.

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that female American informants (Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin) make of it.

- Sociolinguistic behaviour of American males:

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that male American informants (Barack Obama and Donald Trump) make of it.

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that male American informants (Barack Obama and Donald Trump) make of it.

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants:

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that American informants (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump) make of it.

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that American informants (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump) make of it.

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants in the context of Statement:

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that American informants (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump) make of it in the context of Statement.

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that American informants (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump) make of it in the context of Statement.

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants in the context of Interview:

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that American informants (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump) make of it in the context of Interview.

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that American informants (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump) make of it in the context of Interview.

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants in the context of Rally (North):

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that American informants (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump) make of it in the context of Rally (North).

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that American informants (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump) make of it in the context of Rally (North).

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants in the context of Rally (South):

H0: There is no relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that American informants (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump) make of it in the context of Rally (South).

H1: There exists a relationship between the linguistic variable studied (PRICE vowel, Pin/Pen merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping) and the treatment that American informants (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump) make of it in the context of Rally (South).

iii. Analysis of British versus American informants

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British and American informants:

H0: There is no relationship between the geographic origin of provenance of the informant (UK or USA) and his or her treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms.

H1: There exists a relationship between the geographic origin of provenance of the informant (UK or USA) and his or her treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms.

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British and American informants in the context of Statement:

H0: There is no relationship between the geographic origin of provenance of the informant (UK or USA) and his or her treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms in the context of Statement.

H1: There exists a relationship between the geographic origin of provenance of the informant (UK or USA) and his or her treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms in the context of Statement.

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British and American informants in the context of Interview:

H0: There is no relationship between the geographic origin of provenance of the informant (UK or USA) and his or her treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms in the context of Interview.

H1: There exists a relationship between the geographic origin of provenance of the informant (UK or USA) and his or her treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms in the context of Interview.

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British and American informants in the context of Rally (North):

H0: There is no relationship between the geographic origin of provenance of the informant (UK or USA) and his or her treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms in the context of Rally (North).

H1: There exists a relationship between the geographic origin of provenance of the informant (UK or USA) and his or her treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms in the context of Rally (North).

- Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British and American informants in the context of Rally (South):

H0: There is no relationship between the geographic origin of provenance of the informant (UK or USA) and his or her treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms in the context of Rally (South).

H1: There exists a relationship between the geographic origin of provenance of the informant (UK or USA) and his or her treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms in the context of Rally (South).

iv. Analysis of Contexts

- Treatment of mainstream and non-mainstream variants in the contexts of Statement and Interview:

H0: There is no relationship between the treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) and the context (Statement versus Interview) in which the informant operates.

H1: There exists a relationship between the treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) and the context (Statement versus Interview) in which the informant operates.

- Treatment of mainstream and non-mainstream variants in the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South):

H0: There is no relationship between the treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) and the context (Rally (North) versus Rally (South)) in which the informant operates.

H1: There exists a relationship between the treatment of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) and the context (Rally (North) versus Rally (South)) in which the informant operates.

Thus, the likelihood of H0 to be true can be measured by means of inferential statistics methods, which will provide a probability figure in the form of a “p-value” that will indicate in a percentage format if H0 has to be rejected or accepted (Levon 2010; Cantos-Gómez 2013). Particularly, in the fields of humanities and social sciences, a 5% –or 1% in certain cases– has been conventionalised as a cut-off point for the rejection or acceptance of H0 ($\alpha = 5\% = 0.05$) (Cantos-Gómez 2013; Levon 2010). Hence, if a p-value is greater than 5% ($p > 0.05$), we will accept H0. However, if a p-value is less than or equal to 5% ($p \leq 0.05$), we will reject H0, and therefore, it will be possible to accept H1. This means that the quantitative analysis implemented is statistically significant: “we are less than 5% sure that the null hypothesis is true, and thus at least 95% sure that a relationship does in fact exist between our dependent and independent variable(s)” (Levon 2010: 71-72). Hence:

with $\alpha = 5\% = 0.05$
 if $p > \alpha$ = accept H0
 if $p \leq \alpha$ = reject H0 \rightarrow accept H1

Particularly, two inferential statistic methods were implemented for the quantitative analysis of the present study: Pearson’s chi-square and logistic regression. Nevertheless, as stated by Milroy and Gordon (2003: 168), statistical tests –just like other quantitative procedures– should only be regarded as tools employed to shed light on variation models, being not advisable to confuse the impossibility of achieving statistical significance with sociolinguistic irrelevance. Similarly, Eckert (2008: 455) states that quantitative

generalisations are relevant, although the meaning of variation beneath those generalisations must also be examined.

III.3.1. Pearson's Chi-square

According to (Cantos-Gómez 2013: 44-45), non-parametric methods (also known as distribution-free or parameter-free tests), “do not rely on the estimation of parameters (such as the mean or the standard deviation) describing the distribution of the variable of interest in the population”; that is, “they do not rely on assumptions that the data are drawn from a given probability distribution (i.e. normal distribution)”. This contrasts with parametric statistics methods, which assume that “the distributions of the variables being assessed belong to known parameterized families of probability distribution” (Cantos-Gómez 2013: 44). Particularly, non-parametric tests deal with nominal scores (or frequencies) as well as with ordinal scales, being the data not necessarily normally distributed (Cantos-Gómez 2013: 69)

In this respect, chi-square (often abbreviated as χ^2) is a non-parametric statistic test that can be applied to categorical variables, which are variables whose values can be categorically expressed or easily arranged into different categories (e.g: “mainstream” or “non-mainstream” realisation; “yes” or “no”; “male” or “female”; etc.) (Levon 2010: 72).

This type of statistical test examines how data is distributed across the categories under analysis, being its ultimate aim to assess the likelihood that the data obtained was the result of pure chance (Cantos-Gómez 2013: 75-76). That is, it “compares what actually happened to what hypothetically would have happened if all other things were equal” (Cantos-Gómez 2013: 76):

The goal of chi-squares is to determine whether the proportional distribution we observe in our sample population (e.g. X% of values in one category, Y% of values in another) is significantly different from the distribution we would expect to find in any population of the same size and shape. (Levon 2010: 72)

The key idea of the chi-square test is a comparison of the difference between the actual observed frequencies in the texts, and those frequencies that we would expect if the only factor operating had been chance. The closer the expected frequencies are to the observed frequencies, the more likely it is that the observed frequencies are a result of chance. However, if the difference between the observed frequencies and the expected ones is greater, then it is more likely that the observed frequencies are being influenced by something other than chance. (Cantos-Gómez 2013: 76)

In order to apply the chi-square test to the data obtained in the present study, the online calculator created by Preacher (2001) was used

(<http://www.quantpsy.org/chisq/chisq.htm>) (see Figures III.31 and III.32). This online utility allows users to enter the observed frequencies –or raw data–, from which the expected frequencies will be calculated. Particularly, expected frequencies can be obtained by multiplying the row total and column total divided by the sum of all observed samples (Cantos-Gómez 2013: 76):

$$\text{Expected frequency (E)} = \frac{\Sigma \text{ row} \times \Sigma \text{ column}}{\Sigma \text{ cell}}$$

	Gp 1	Gp 2	Gp 3	Gp 4	Gp 5	Gp 6	Gp 7	Gp 8	Gp 9	Gp 10
Cond. 1:										
Cond. 2:										
Cond. 3:										
Cond. 4:										
Cond. 5:										
Cond. 6:										
Cond. 7:										
Cond. 8:										
Cond. 9:										
Cond. 10:										

Output:

Chi-square: _____

degrees of freedom: _____

p-value: _____

Yates' chi-square: _____

Yates' p-value: _____

Status:

Figure III.31. Preacher's (2001) online calculator for the chi-square test.

	Gp 1	Gp 2	Gp 3	Gp 4	Gp 5	Gp 6	Gp 7	Gp 8	Gp 9	Gp 10
Cond. 1:	335	244	328	150						1057
Cond. 2:	68	212	108	91						479
Cond. 3:										0
Cond. 4:										0
Cond. 5:										0
Cond. 6:										0
Cond. 7:										0
Cond. 8:										0
Cond. 9:										0
Cond. 10:										0
	403	456	436	241	0	0	0	0	0	1536

Output:

Chi-square: 101.459

degrees of freedom: 3

p-value: 0

Yates' chi-square: 99.486

Yates' p-value: 0

Status:

Figure III.32. Preacher's online calculator for the chi-square test. Example of the calculation of the chi-square test of Theresa May's use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ (variant 1 (No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) = Cond. 1; variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) = Cond. 2) across the different contexts studied (from left to right: Statement = Gp 1, Interview = Gp 2, Rally (North) = Gp 3, and Rally (South) = Gp 4).

Then, the chi-square formula is applied, where “O” is the observed frequency and “E” the expected frequency:

$$\chi^2 = \sum \frac{(O-E)^2}{E}$$

As it can be observed in Figure III.32, this online calculator provides the total number of samples observed, the chi-square value, the degrees of freedom (*df*) and the p-value. Specifically, the degrees of freedom function as “general parameters under which the statistical test holds true” (Levon 2010: 80), and can be calculated with the following formula (Cantos-Gómez 2013: 78; Levon 2010: 80):

$$df = (\text{number of columns in the table} - 1) \times (\text{number of rows in the table} - 1)$$

Hence, this statistical test examines how data is distributed across the categories under analysis, being its ultimate aim to assess the likelihood that the data obtained was the result of pure chance (Cantos-Gómez 2013: 75-76), and therefore to provide predictive power to descriptive facts (Levon 2010: 81).

III.3.2. Logistic regression

Regressions are further statistical analyses that assess relationships between variables. This type of analysis provides information about how the value of a dependent variable changes when any of the independent variables is altered while the remaining independent variables stay unchanged, which becomes of outmost importance when it comes to making proportion predictions (Tagliamonte 2012, 2013; Baayen 2008; Lamy n.d.).

Logistic regressions within mixed effects models become of special interest, as these models allow researchers to explore data by means of considering both fixed and random factors (Tagliamonte 2012: 141). These statistical analyses can be implemented by making use of packages such as *Rbrul* (Johnson 2008-2016, 2016a, 2016b), which operates within an *R* environment. *R* can be freely downloaded from <https://www.r-project.org/>:

R is a language and environment for statistical computing and graphics [...]. *R* provides a wide variety of statistical (linear and nonlinear modelling, classical statistical tests, time-series analysis, classification, clustering, ...) and graphical techniques, and is highly extensible [...]. We prefer to think of it as an

environment within which statistical techniques are implemented. R can be extended (easily) via *packages*. There are about eight packages supplied with the R distribution and many more are available through the CRAN family of Internet sites covering a very wide range of modern statistics (<https://www.r-project.org/about.html> accessed: 17 November 2020).

R can also be used through *RStudio* (2009-2016) (<https://rstudio.cloud/>) (see Figure III.33), which is “an integrated development environment for R and Python, with a console, syntax-highlighting editor that supports direct code execution, and tools for plotting, history, debugging and workspace management” (<https://rstudio.com/> accessed on 17 November 2020). In order to conduct logistic regressions, the “lme4”, “Matrix” and “Rbrul” packages were first installed:

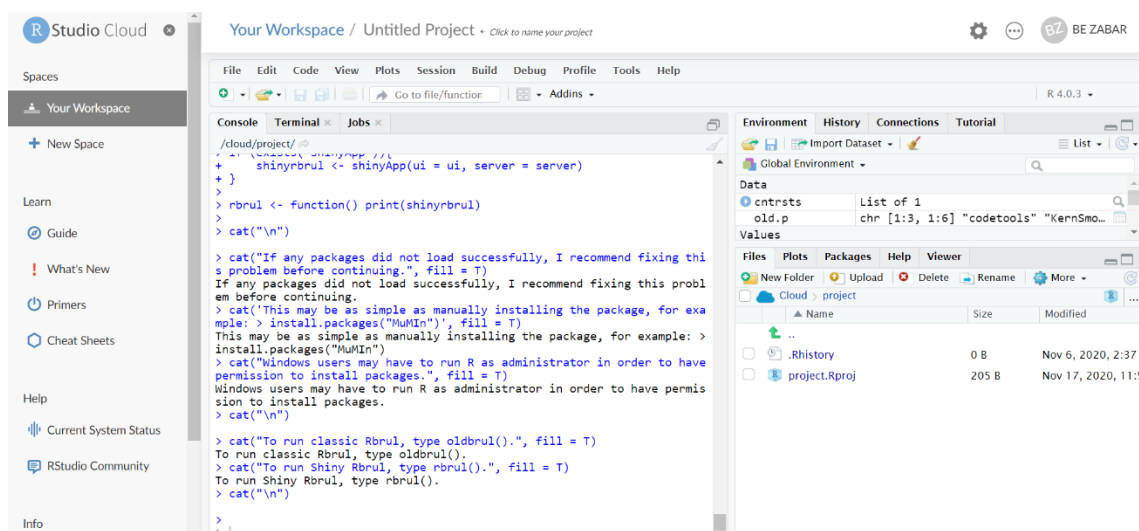


Figure III.33. Workspace in *RStudio* Cloud.

Then, Excel files in CSV format containing the data to which logistic regressions would be applied were uploaded to *RStudio*. Prior to this step, data had to be codified so as to be properly used in *RStudio*.

Once data was uploaded, the package “rbrul2()” was typed in the console box, which prompted the following command:

```
MAIN MENU
1-load/save data
9-reset 0-exit
1:
```

Then, “1” was selected from the main menu in order to load data into *Rbrul*, and the option “s” was typed in order to indicate what separated the columns in the file to be loaded.

MAIN MENU

1-load/save data

9-reset 0-exit

1: 1

No data loaded.

What separates the columns in the data file to open?

(c-commas s-semicolons t-tabs tf-token file)

Press Enter to exit, keeping current data file, if any.

1: s

After this, the next step will be to create the model of the logistic regression that is going to be calculated, for which a series of *Rbrul* prompts will have to be followed. Table III.10 provides an example of a one-level logistic regression of the treatment that British and American female and male informants make of mainstream and non-mainstream variants, without considering any random factor.

Table III.10. Example: *Rbrul* modelling menu (“Sex” and “Provenance” considered as fixed factors; no random effects selected).

MODELING MENU

1-choose variables 2-one-level (recommended)

3-step-up 4-step-down 5-step-up/step-down

6-trim 7-plotting 8-settings 9-main menu 0-exit

10-chi-square test

11-open this model in Shiny Rbrul!

1: 1

Choose response (dependent variable) by number (1-Informant 2-Sex 3-Provenance 4-Variant)

1: 4

Type of response? (1-continuous Enter-binary)

1:

Choose application value(s) by number? (1-Mainstream 2-Non-Mainstream)

1: 1

Choose predictors (independent variables) by number (1-Informant 2-Sex 3-Provenance)

1: 2

2: 3

3:

Are any predictors continuous? (2-Sex 3-Provenance Enter-none)

1:

Consider the interaction between two fixed effects? [For interactions between fixed and random effects, use random slopes, below.] (2-Sex 3-Provenance Enter-done)

1:

Any random intercepts? (2-Sex 3-Provenance Enter-none)

1:

Current variables are:

response.binary: Variant (Mainstream vs. Non-Mainstream)

fixed.factor: Sex Provenance

MODELING MENU

1-choose variables 2-one-level (recommended)

3-step-up 4-step-down 5-step-up/step-down

6-trim 7-plotting 8-settings 9-main menu 0-exit

10-chi-square test

11-open this model in Shiny Rbrul!

1: 2

Moreover, apart from fixed factors, random intercepts can also be selected to conduct logistic regressions so as to compare and contrast different factor groups through their interaction within the same model (Tagliamone 2012: 141). This becomes of special relevance, as individuals can be run as random effects within mixed effects models (Tagliamone 2012: 141). In this respect, the presence of random variables may modify previous models in which random effects were not considered, evidencing in this sense the important role played by individual informants, which subsequently may alter the role of some of the fixed predictors (Martín-Butragueño (n. d.)). Table III.11 provides an example of such modelling, in which the fixed factors considered are same as in the previous example, being the individual informant run this time as a random effect.

Table III.11. Example: *Rbrul* modelling menu ("Sex" and "Provenance" considered as fixed factors; "Informant" selected as random effect).

MODELING MENU

1-choose variables 2-one-level (recommended)

3-step-up 4-step-down 5-step-up/step-down

6-trim 7-plotting 8-settings 9-main menu 0-exit

10-chi-square test

11-open this model in Shiny Rbrul!

1: 1

Choose response (dependent variable) by number, or Enter to keep Sex (1-Informant 2-Sex 3-Provenance 4-Variant)

1: 4

Type of response? (1-continuous Enter-binary)

1:

Choose application value(s) by number? (1-Mainstream 2-Non-Mainstream)

1: 1

Choose predictors (independent variables) by number, or Enter to keep Informant (1-Informant 2-Sex 3-Provenance)

1: 1

2: 2

3: 3

Are any predictors continuous? (1-Informant 2-Sex 3-Provenance Enter-none)

1:

Consider the interaction between two fixed effects? [For interactions between fixed and random effects, use random slopes, below.] (1-Informant 2-Sex 3-Provenance Enter-done)

1:

Any random intercepts? (1-Informant 2-Sex 3-Provenance Enter-none)

1: 1

2:

Any by-Informante random slopes - must vary for each Informant? (2-Sex 3-Provenance Enter-none)

1:

Current variables are:

response.binary: Variant (Mainstream vs. Non-Mainstream)

fixed.factor: Sex Provenance

random.intercept: Informant

MODELING MENU

1-choose variables 2-one-level (recommended)

3-step-up 4-step-down 5-step-up/step-down

6-trim 7-plotting 8-settings 9-main menu 0-exit

10-chi-square test

11-open this model in Shiny Rbrul!

1: 2

Once logistic regressions are conducted, different types of information will be provided. Tables III.12 and III.13 show the results obtained for Tables III.10 and III.11, respectively. As it can be observed, the first line of the results obtained for logistic regressions always indicate the p-values of the group factors selected: a value above 0.05 will indicate that the effect of a given factor is not statistically significant, while a value below or equal to 0.05 will indicate that the effect is statistically significant, and therefore that it conditions in a significant way the dependent variable. Further results obtained for the logistic regressions are provided by rows containing the following elements:

- Logodds: these coefficients measure the size of the effect, and they indicate the strength of its relationship with the dependent variable (Daleszynska n.d.: 10). If the value obtained is negative, there will not be a correlation between the effect and the dependent variable; however, if the value is above 0, the correlation will be positive. Hence, the higher the value obtained for the logodds coefficient, the stronger the

correlation will be between the effect and the dependent variable; thus, a result close to 0 will indicate a neutral correlation. (Daleszynska n.d.: 10).

- Total number of raw tokens in each cell
- Uncentered factor weight: it indicates the proportion of the dependent variable (individual probability) (Daleszynska n.d.).
- Centered factor weights: just like the logodds coefficient, this type of information indicates the degree of contrasts between factors, which is also provided in the form of a hierarchical organization, although factor weights can take values from 0 to 1. Thus, a result closed to 0.50 will be almost neutral (Tagliamonte 2012: 141).

Table III.12. Results for example provided in Table III.10

ONE-LEVEL ANALYSIS OF RESPONSE Variant WITH PREDICTOR(S): Provenance (2.76e-251) + Sex (4.61e-52)

\$Sex

factor logodds tokens Mainstream/Mainstream+Non-Mainstream

Male 0.28 10055 0.827

Female -0.28 8643 0.738

centered factor weight

0.569

0.431

\$Provenance

factor logodds tokens Mainstream/Mainstream+Non-Mainstream

USA 0.679 7778 0.901

UK -0.679 10920 0.703

centered factor weight

0.664

0.336

\$misc.1

n df intercept overall proportion centered input prob

18698 3 1.538 0.786 0.823

\$misc.2

log.likelihood AIC AICc Dxy R2

-9037.254 18080.51 18080.51 0.371 0.138

Similar information is obtained when considering the individual as a random effect, although new data is indicated for the "Informant" factor:

- Intercept: for binary variables, this information is the logodds coefficient of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it "provides a baseline from which the model predictions are built" (Tagliamonte 2012: 141): a positive value will indicate that a

given factor has a favouring effect on the dependent variable, while a negative value will indicate its disfavouring effect on the dependent variable.

- Standard deviation (std dev): this information indicates the extent to which the data deviates from the predictions of the model, or how well the model fits the data. Thus, a large deviance will indicate a poor fit (Tagliamonte 2012: 143; Daleszynska n.d.: 11).

Table III.13. Results for example provided in Table III.11.

ONE-LEVEL ANALYSIS OF RESPONSE Variant WITH PREDICTOR(S): Informant [random, not tested] and Provenance (0.0386) + Sex (0.966)

\$Sex

factor logodds tokens Mainstream/Mainstream+Non-Mainstream

Male 0.015 10055 0.827

Female -0.015 8643 0.738

centered factor weight

0.504

0.496

\$Provenance

factor logodds tokens Mainstream/Mainstream+Non-Mainstream

USA 0.802 7778 0.901

UK -0.802 10920 0.703

centered factor weight

0.69

0.31

\$`Informant (random)`

intercept tokens Mainstream/Mainstream+Non-Mainstream

std dev 0.952 18698 0.786

...
2	0.846	2999	0.836
6	0.709	1704	0.957
4	0.62	3348	0.807
3	0.581	2522	0.801
5	0.482	1889	0.947
7	-0.386	2097	0.884
8	-0.82	2088	0.831
1	-2.048	2051	0.219

centered factor weight

...

...

0.7

0.671

0.651

0.642

0.619

0.405

0.306

0.114

\$misc.1

n df intercept overall proportion centered input prob

```

18698 4 1.599 0.786 0.832

$misc.2
log.likelihood AIC AICc Dxy.fixed Dxy.total R2.fixed
-7736.666 15481.33 15481.33 0 0.509 0.13
R2.random R2.total
0.188 0.318

```

In addition, general information about the model produced under the label of “\$misc” is also provided by logistic regressions in *Rbrul*:

- Degrees of freedom (df): they indicate the number of parameters in the model (Tagliamonte 2012: 143; Daleszynska n.d.: 11).
- Overall proportion
- Centered input probability: it indicates the overall probability of the dependent variable occurring in a particular changing context (Daleszynska n.d.: 11).
- AIC: it indicates the Akaike Information Criterion about the model’s output (Baayen 2008: 206).
- AICc: it is a corrected version of AIC (Baayen 2008: 206).
- Somer’s Dxy (fixed and total: it indicates the ranked correlation between predicted probabilities and observed responses (Baayen 2008: 204; Tagliamonte 2012: 149).
- R2 (fixed, random and total): it indicates the strength of the variation proportion of the model, and it can be calculated from log-likelihood ratio statistics (Baayen 2008: 204).

Overall, logistic regressions within mixed effects models become of special relevance when making predictions, as these models allow researchers to explore data by means of considering both fixed and random factors (Tagliamonte 2012), being *Rbrul* a key tool in the implementation of such statistical analyses.

Yet, as stated by Milroy and Gordon (2003), statistical tests—just like other quantitative procedures—should only be regarded as tools employed to shed light on variation models, being not advisable to confuse the impossibility of achieving statistical significance with sociolinguistic irrelevance. Similarly, Eckert (2008) states that quantitative generalisations are relevant, although the meaning of variation beneath those generalisations must also be examined.

Chapter 4

Results and Analysis

IV. RESULTS AND ANALYSIS

Carrying out field work in order to obtain data by means of the speech analysis of selected informants entails the implementation of neopositivist secular linguistics, which were advocated by Labov and set the contrast against “armchair” linguistics (Hernández-Campoy & Almeida 2005: 287). Precisely, it is at this stage of the investigation that sociolinguistic facts will be accounted in terms of linguistic acts resulted from communicative interactions (Eckert 2018; Edwards 2009; De Fina 2007; Omoniyi 2006; Heller 2005; Sankoff 1974, 1980; Milroy 1992).

On the one hand, the coding of the results obtained and the mechanical tabulation of the collected data have played a relevant role regarding the simplification of the raw information available and the data preparation for its analytical use. In addition, the graphic display of data has contributed to a greater and clearer visualisation of the results obtained. Moreover, the correlation of data and the implementation of statistical techniques have provided a more detailed and summarised data description, highlighting the presence of any phenomenon or anomaly, and therefore, allowing us to make estimates of significance and reliability (Hernández-Campoy & Almeida 2005). Nevertheless, it must be taken into account

that statistical techniques should be considered as a mere instrument of analysis rather than as an end in itself (Milroy 1980/1987). In addition, the fact that language significantly correlates with distinctive social traits does not imply that sociolinguistic studies are simply correlational and descriptive works of little theoretical interest (Trudgill 2002). On the contrary, as already mentioned, their objectives relay on creating an empirically and scientifically based sociolinguistic theory which ultimately aims to know more about language and to investigate such topics as the mechanisms of linguistic change, the nature of linguistic variability, and the structure of linguistic systems (Trudgill 1978a: 11).

Due to the close relationship between analytical and interpretive processes, the nature of the present section will be determined by data analysis, being certain conclusive aspects of the interpretive process anticipated at this analytical stage. Thus, at this stage: (i) the null hypothesis (H0) will be rejected, being the working hypothesis (H1) consequently accepted; (ii) the degree of effectiveness of the techniques used both for data collection and analysis will be evaluated; and (iii) the theoretical significance of the analysed results will be assessed (Hernández-Campoy & Almeida 2005).

As previously indicated, the following results were obtained from the speech analysis of British (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson) and American politicians (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump), who performed in four different public political contexts, namely: Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South). Precisely, public political interactions become of special relevance in sociolinguistic studies, since as stated by Duranti (2006: 3), “what a candidate says throughout a political campaign might offer valuable insights into the dilemmas that characterize any effort to gain the support and approval of a large number of people”, being this endeavour what certainly characterises the functioning, mechanisms and aims of political campaigns. In addition, it is noteworthy to remark that these types of contexts function as an arena where politicians engage in identity construction and projection processes, being therefore the role played by language of special relevance (Duranti 2006; Coupland 2001a, 2001b). In this respect, Duranti (2006: 53) specifies that politicians aim at finding a balance between “their own unique ideas

while reaching out to the most diverse audiences” (Duranti 2006: 53), which may foster politicians’ engagement in identity creation and projection processes.

Particularly, the speech of the informants selected was analysed according to their frequency of use of several linguistic variables. Thus, FACE vowel, MOUTH vowel, GOAT vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ and H-Dropping were the variables selected for the speech analysis of British informants; while PRICE vowel, PIN-PEN merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping, T-Voicing and Yod-Dropping were the variables selected for the speech analysis of American informants.

The results obtained reveal the treatment that Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, on the one hand, and Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump, on the other, make of the variables selected across the different contexts in which they operate. These results will be analysed from different perspectives, taking into account socio-cultural, dialectological and sociolinguistic patterns of status and prestige so as to observe the potential effect that some extralinguistic factors might have on the speech style of the informants, such as the societal system within which the informants operate, their geographical region of provenance, educational background, socio-economic status, gender, occupation and the socio-contextual features surrounding the speech events analysed.

IV.1. Dialectal and Sociolinguistic Behaviour of British Informants

IV.1.1. Emma Lewell-Buck

Table IV.1 and Figures IV.1-IV.12 show the sociolinguistic behaviour of British informant number 1, Emma Lewell-Buck, for the four political contexts indicated in section III.2.2.b.ii: Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South). On the one hand, the scores obtained by this informant reveal a rather stable sociolinguistic pattern in her usage of GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping. However, certain variability may also be observed in the treatment that Lewell-Buck makes of FACE vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split and Glottalisation of /p, t, k/.

Table IV.1. British Informant 1: Emma Lewell-Buck							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Context				
			Statement	Interview	Rally (North)	Rally (South)	Total
FACE vowel	Variant #1: [eɪ]	%	18.58%	13.39%	11.32%	42.86%	16.29%
		#	21/113	17/127	6/53	6/14	50/307
	Variant #2: Other	%	81.42%	86.61%	88.68%	57.14%	83.71%
		#	92/113	110/127	47/53	8/14	257/307
GOAT vowel	Variant #1: [əʊ]	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/55	0/228	0/42	0/10	0/335
	Variant #2: Other	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	55/55	228/228	42/42	10/10	335/335
MOUTH vowel	Variant #1: [aʊ]	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	25/25	64/64	18/18	11/11	118/118
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/25	0/64	0/18	0/11	0/118
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Variant #1: (u) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/	%	0.00%	2.87%	0.00%	9.09%	2.22%
		#	0/63	5/174	0/22	1/11	6/270
	Variant #2: (u) = /ʊ/	%	100.00%	97.13%	100.00%	90.91%	97.78%
		#	63/63	169/174	22/22	10/11	264/270
Glottalisation of /p, t, k/	Variant #1: No	%	27.59%	17.22%	29.41%	15.79%	20.74%
		#	40/145	104/604	45/153	6/38	195/940
	Variant #2: Yes	%	72.41%	82.78%	70.59%	84.21%	79.26%
		#	105/145	500/604	108/153	32/38	745/940
H-Dropping	Variant #1: (h) = /h/	%	100.00%	97.96%	100.00%	100.00%	98.77%
		#	19/19	48/49	8/8	5/5	80/81
	Variant #2: (h) = /ə/	%	0.00%	2.04%	0.00%	0.00%	1.23%
		#	0/19	1/49	0/8	0/5	1/81
Total	Variant #1	%	25.00%	19.10%	26.01%	32.58%	21.89%
		#	105/420	238/1246	77/296	29/89	449/2051
	Variant #2	%	75.00%	80.90%	73.99%	67.42%	78.11%
		#	315/420	1008/1246	219/296	60/89	1602/2051

IV.1.1.a. Face vowel

As for FACE vowel, Lewell-Buck employs a general non-mainstream behaviour characterised by a predominant use of locally marked forms. However, certain fluctuation may be observed in the usage that she makes of this linguistic feature across the different contexts in which she operates. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.05$ ($\chi^2 = 9.429$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1)

and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 7.491$; $df = 1$), but not between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.212$; $df = 1$).

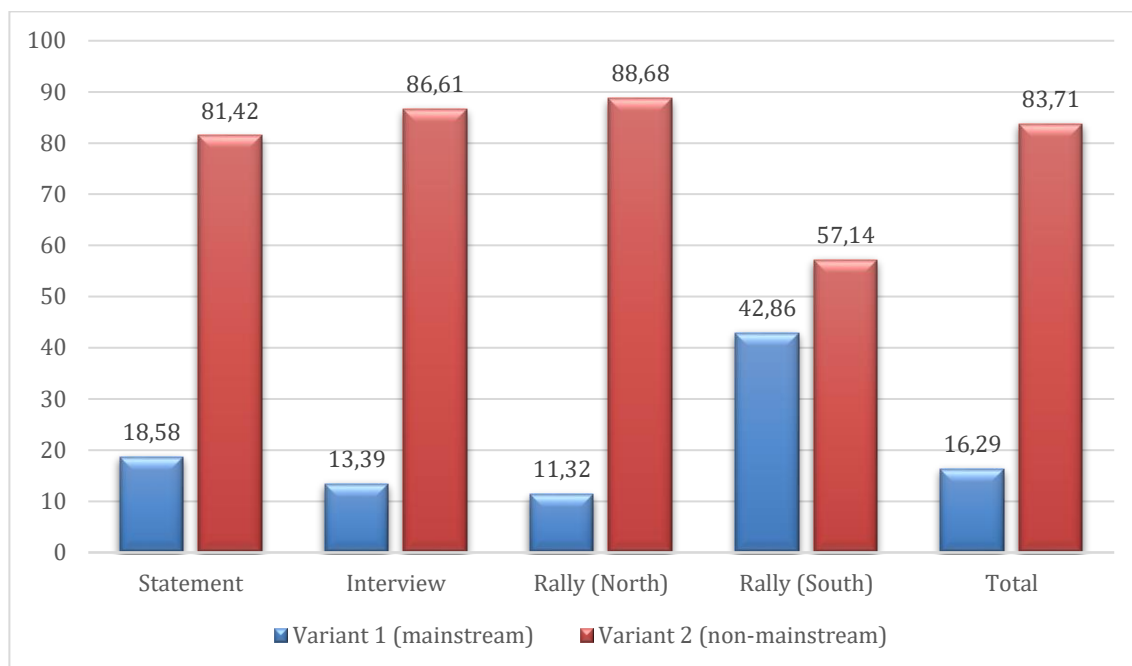


Figure IV.1. Emma Lewell-Buck's use of FACE vowel across the different contexts.

As it can be observed in Figure IV.1, Lewell-Buck obtained the lowest percentage of use for variant 1 /eɪ/ (11.32%) and the highest percentage of use for variant 2 (other non-mainstream realisations) (88.68%) in the context of Rally (North). These scores could be rather expected, as this rally took place in South Shields (Tyne and Wear County) –where Emma Lewell-Buck is originally from– in the framework of the 2019 re-selection process of MPs for the Labour Party in this North-eastern city. Dialectologically and sociolinguistically, this geographical area is characterised by an extensive use of variant 2 in the form of Northern realisations /iə/ and /e:/, being the former associated with the speech of older, working-class males, while the latter is frequently employed in the speech of all other groups (Beal 2004: 123). Particularly, Emma Lewell-Buck predominantly uses /e:/ realisations in her speech, being this monophthongal form regarded as old-fashioned, even by North-eastern speakers (Beal 2004). Thus, it seems that she strictly adheres to her North-eastern accent by means of

exhibiting a prominent use of variant 2. Consequently, the informant's sociolinguistic behaviour in terms of FACE vowel could be regarded as an attempt to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity by means of adhering to the local and non-mainstream variant (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), resulting in a rather localised and regionally marked speech style. This implies a clear reluctance in the adoption of mainstream variant 1, which is frequently used by RP speakers and enjoys relevant prestige, as this variety has traditionally been associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982).

On the other hand, a noticeable increase in the usage of variant 1 (42.86%) and a subsequent decrease in the usage of non-mainstream realisations of FACE vowel (57.14%) is observed when the informant performs in the context of Rally (South) (see Figure IV.1). In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 7.491$; $df = 1$). It is noteworthy to mention that this rally took place outside the Houses of Parliament in London, as a part of a series of speeches related to the Racial Justice Sunday movement. Considering the sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited by Lewell-Buck in the context of Rally (North), it becomes of relevance the fact that instead of accommodating to the linguistic variant that is frequently used in the geographical area where the Southern rally took place –i.e. FACE vowel in the form of non-mainstream diphthong /æɪ/ (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 75)– the informant combines a relevant use of mainstream variant 1 /eɪ/ with non-mainstream variant 2 in the form of North-eastern monophthongal /e:/. Thus, it seems that socially stratified aspects influence the speech of Lewell-Buck in this context to a greater extent than geographical factors, since /æɪ/ pronunciations tend to be associated with the speech of working-class London individuals (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), which could be the reason why the informant does not employ this type of realisations. In addition, the proximity to her workplace –the Houses of Parliament– and the variety that is usually heard and which enjoys greater prestige in the political interventions that take place there –i.e. Received Pronunciation– might have also influenced the speech of this informant towards an accommodation to the mainstream variant. Hence, it seems that when diverging

from her North-eastern accent, Lewell-Buck tends to accommodate to the prestigious mainstream variant rather than to other locally marked and non-mainstream forms.

However, if compared with the scores obtained in the context of Rally (South), Lewell-Buck significantly lowers her mainstream realisations in the contexts of Statement and Interview, being these percentages of use rather similar to those obtained in the context of Rally (North). In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.212$; $df = 1$). Concerning the context of Interview, Emma Lewell-Buck obtained a score of 13.39% for mainstream variant 1 and 86.61% for variant 2. Particularly, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though this interview took place in Westminster and had a national scope, the informant did not employ mainstream variant 1 to a relevant extent –which contrasts with her usage of FACE vowel in the context of Rally (South). As previously stated, it seems that Emma Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her North-eastern accent by means of exhibiting a prominent use of variant 2 instead of employing mainstream variant 1 in such a formal context. Consequently, the informant's sociolinguistic behaviour could be regarded again as an attempt to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to non-mainstream variant 2 (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). On the other hand, the rather low percentage of use obtained for mainstream variant 1 in the interview might be motivated by certain characteristics surrounding this situational context. Particularly, it is noteworthy to mention that the interviewer asked different types of questions, being some of them more formal (regarding political and Brexit issues) and others more relaxed, fun and personal, aiming at getting to know more Emma Lewell-Buck as a politician and as a layperson, such as: “So you're unpacking your bags [at Downing Street nº 10] ... what do you think is the picture that you take with you to hang on door?”, “Who would you be desperate to phone as soon as you got into Downing Street?”, “How does it [dyspraxia] affect you day-to-day and how in particular does it affect your job as an MP?”, “Have you got any particular memories of things when you were a kid that were difficult?”, “What would be the song you'd love to dance to a party conference?”. Hence, this type of questions could have turned the interview into a more relaxed context, making Lewell-Buck to engage in the conversation not as a politician but as

an ordinary citizen. From a Labovian perspective, this fact could have fostered a decrease in Lewell-Buck's degree of attention paid to her own speech, which would have resulted in the production of more non-mainstream realisations (Labov 1972a: 70-109). In fact, the scores obtained for this context are the most similar ones to those obtained in the rally that Lewell-Buck held in her North-eastern constituency.

Regarding the context of Statement, a modest increase can be observed in the score obtained for variant 1 (18.58%) together with a subsequent decrease in the score obtained for variant 2 (81.42%) if compared with the scores obtained in the contexts of Interview and Rally (North). This slight change towards a more mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour may be motivated by the formality associated with this speech event –as it consisted in an intervention in the House of Commons– together with the fact that these interventions can be heard and viewed by the entire country. Hence, it could be tentatively stated that certain accommodation to a present or absent audience as well as to formal aspects might have taken place in this context (Labov 1966/2006; Bell 1984), leading to a slight increase in the usage of mainstream variant 1. However, the score obtained for non-mainstream variant 2 remains considerably high, revealing a clear reluctance to fully accommodate to mainstream conventions in such a formal context. As with previous contexts, this strong adherence to regionally marked variant 2 might be regarded as an attempt to project and reinforce Lewell-Buck's North-eastern identity (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

Therefore, certain fluctuation can be observed in the scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck when it comes to FACE vowel. On the one hand, a relevant contrast between the usage that this informant makes of this variable is evident if the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South) are considered. In fact, it could be tentatively stated that while Lewell-Buck naturally performs in the rally that she held in her own North-eastern constituency, she accommodates to the mainstream variant in the rally that took place in the South, rather than accommodating to the variant that is commonly used in that geographical region. Similarly, certain degree of accommodation may be observed in the scores obtained in the context of Statement, perhaps under the influence of the formality associated with this speech event. However, this degree of accommodation is not as high as the one exhibited in the context of Rally (South). On the

other hand, the scores obtained in the context of Interview reveal a prominent adherence to non-mainstream realisations, as in the case of Rally (North). Thus, as it can be observed in Figure IV.1, despite certain modest accommodations to mainstream conventions, the total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-buck for FACE vowel reveal a prominent use of regionally marked and non-mainstream forms (83.71%), being mainstream realisations scarcely used (16.29%).

IV.1.1.b. GOAT vowel

Regarding GOAT vowel, a consistent sociolinguistic behaviour in the usage that Emma Lewell-Buck makes of this variable can be perceived across the different contexts in which she operates (see Figure IV.2). Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$).

Thus, the realisation of GOAT vowel as variant 1 [əʊ] is completely absent from the speech of North-eastern speaker Emma Lewell-Buck, being variant 2 (which encompasses other non-mainstream forms) predominantly used in each of the contexts studied, specifically in the form of monophthong /o:/ (Beal 2014). This prominent use of the regionally marked variant may be motivated by the fact that it is commonly regarded as a "symbolic affirmation of local identity" in the speech of Northern individuals (Watt & Milroy 1999: 37), which could have shaped the sociolinguistic behaviour of the informant, especially when performing in the context of Rally (North).

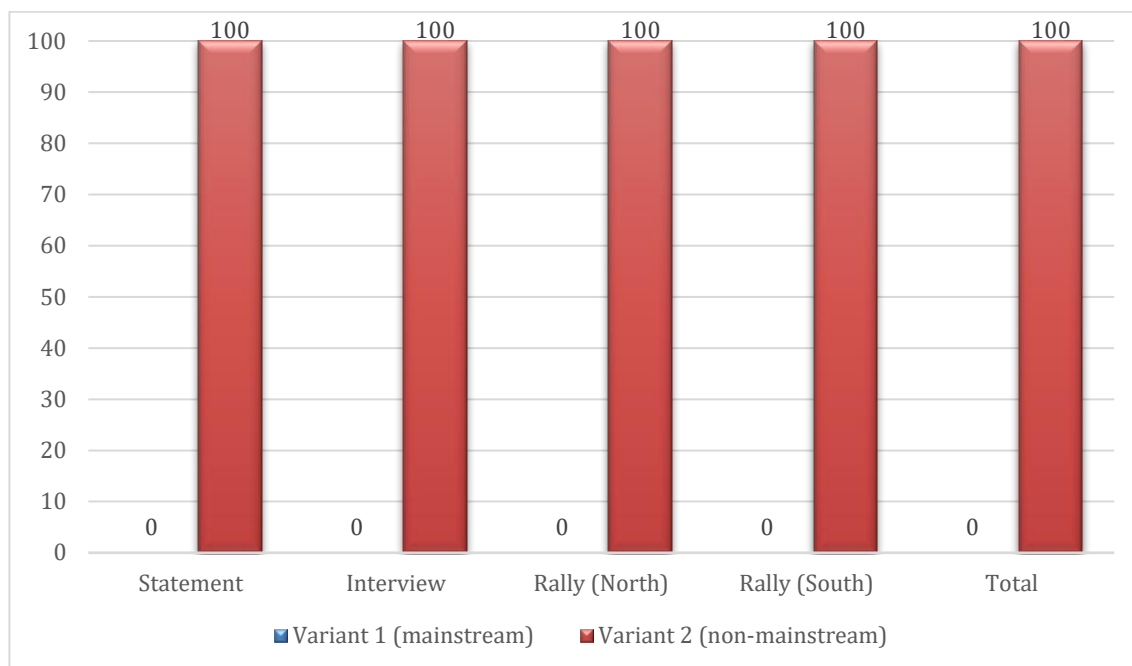


Figure IV.2. Emma Lewell-Buck's use of GOAT vowel across the different contexts.

In addition, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though variant 2 in the form of diphthong [ʌʊ] is commonly used in London (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013) –where the Southern rally of Lewell-Buck took place–, she did not accommodate to this local variant. Instead, she remained faithful to the regionally marked realisation that is associated with her geographical region of provenance and which she represents in parliament. As previously indicated, the differences in frequencies of use for variant 1 and 2 between both Rallies (North-South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$).

Moreover, even though this informant operates in other highly formal contexts where mainstream variant 1 would be expected to be employed –as it is commonly used by RP speakers and enjoys greater prestige (Upton 2004)–, Lewell-Buck strictly adheres to non-mainstream variant 2 in the contexts of Statement and Interview, perhaps in an attempt to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). In fact, as previously indicated, the differences in frequencies of use for variant 1 and 2 between Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$). Hence, despite of the connotations of local identity aspects and a less formal and prestigious speech associated with variant 2, no trace of accommodation can be identified in the

sociolinguistic behaviour of this informant towards mainstream conventions, not even to other local pronunciations.

Consequently, it can be noticed how neither the degree of formality associated with each context nor the rather low prestige associated with monophthongal forms influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck. In a similar vein, neither the format of the different contexts in which she operates nor the geographical region where they take place appear to be conditioning factors of Lewell-Buck's speech style: whether consciously or unconsciously, this informant remains faithful to her local identity and strengthens in-group linguistic connections by using variant 2 to a prominent extent (100%), which implies at the same time a rejection of being identified with out-groups by means of her accentual behaviour (Bell 1984, 1991b; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). With the usage of variant 2 she reinforces her personal, social and regional identity, even in contexts in which mainstream variant [əʊ] could be expected because of the influence of formality issues or certain exerted pressure on the part of more prestigious and socially accepted forms (Labov 1966/2006, 2001a, 2001b).

IV.1.1.c. MOUTH vowel

In contrast to previous variables and as it can be observed in Figure IV.3, the scores obtained by Lewell-Buck for MOUTH vowel reveal a strong adherence to mainstream variant 1 [aʊ]; in fact, this variant is commonly used by RP speakers and enjoys greater prestige than variant 2, which encompasses other non-mainstream forms (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$).

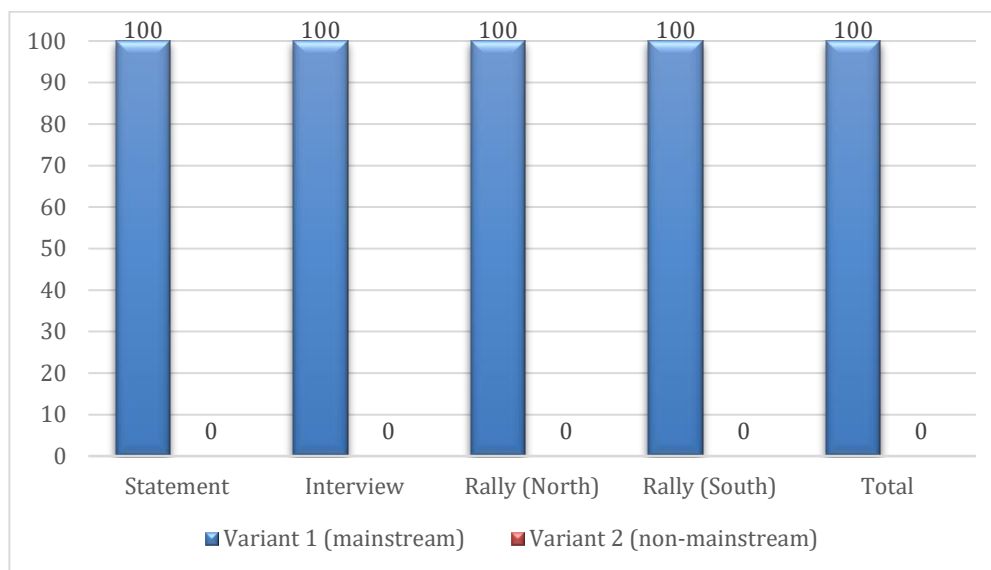


Figure IV.3. Emma Lewell-Buck's use of MOUTH vowel across the different contexts.

It is noteworthy to mention that among other realisations, monophthongal forms (/u:/) can be heard in traditional dialects of Northern areas of England, where Emma Lewell-Buck is originally from. However, these pronunciations are mostly restricted to older and/or working-class and/or male speakers in Tyneside and Northumberland (Beal 2004: 124), and even though certain words associated with local identity may be pronounced with /u:/ by a wide range of speakers in these areas, it seems that the degree of local identity and covert prestige associated with this variable is lesser than the one associated with GOAT vowel or /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. This lack of North-eastern identity linked to MOUTH vowel and certain degree of stigmatisation associated with non-mainstream variant 2 could be the reason why Lewell-Buck only uses mainstream variant [aʊ] in the contexts in which she operates, instead of making use of other traditional or more regionally marked realisations of this variable –as she does when it comes to FACE vowel, GOAT vowel or /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. That is, the usage of non-mainstream forms of MOUTH vowel does not necessarily index meanings of regional identity or covert prestige, which implies that variant 2 seems to be an inoperative device when it comes to eliciting regional identity aspects and establishing in-group linguistic connections. Contrarily, it seems that these forms are rather stigmatised and scarcely used even by Northerners. Consequently, Lewell-Buck's overall use of GOAT vowel is characterised by a

predominant use of mainstream variant 1 (100%) over non-mainstream variant 2 regardless of the contexts in which she operates.

IV.1.1.d. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split

As for /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, even though Lewell-Buck's usage of this sociolinguistic feature might reveal certain variability across the different contexts, a prominent non-mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour is still evident in the speech of this informant (see Figure IV.4). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 4.66$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.063$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.849$; $df = 1$).

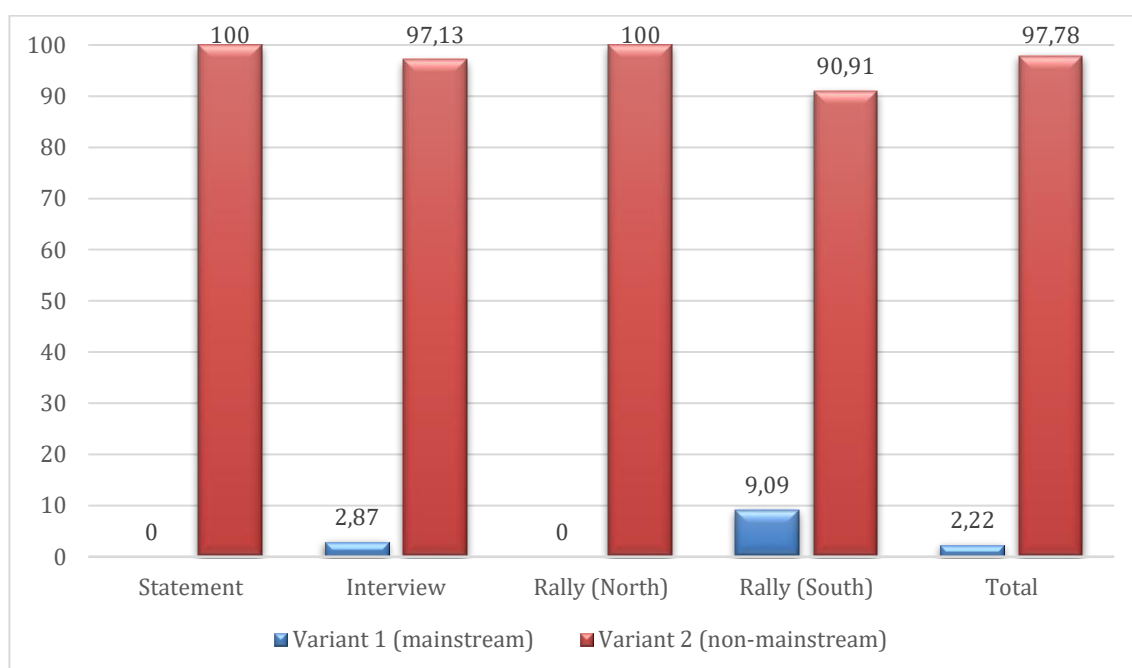


Figure IV.4. Emma Lewell-Buck's use of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split across the different contexts.

Given that variant 2 (no /ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation) is one of the most salient markers of Northern English pronunciations (Beal 2004: 121), the scores obtained by the informant in the context of Rally (North) were rather expected: she did not make use of variant 1 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/

differentiation), being variant 2 used in all the realisations (100%), which subsequently reveals a strong adherence to the sociolinguistic feature that characterises the geographical region where she is originally from. This contrasts with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is regarded as more prestigious, being it commonly used by RP as well as Southern speakers (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013).

Likewise, Lewell-Buck did not increase her use of variant 1 in the context of Statement (which contrasts with her use of FACE vowel in the same context), obtaining again a 0.00% of realisations for variant 1. Thus, even though the proceedings taking place in the House of Commons are rather formal and have a national (as well as international) scope, it becomes of relevance the fact that the informant does not accommodate to the mainstream and prestigious variant, as she predominantly uses non-mainstream variant 2, strengthening in this way in-group linguistic connections with North-eastern speakers (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

However, a modest increase in her use of variant 1 can be appreciated in the contexts of Interview and Rally (South). Regarding the former, the informant obtained a score of 2.87% for the mainstream variant. It is noteworthy to mention that this interview –which would be later broadcasted at a national level in a podcast format– took place in Westminster, which could have influenced the speech of the informant in terms of formality aspects. However, Lewell-Buck still significantly uses variant 2 (97.13%) over variant 1, which evidences the fact that differences in frequencies of use for both variants in the contrast between Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.849$; $df = 1$).

On the other hand, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck when it comes to /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split becomes of relevance if the context of Rally (South) is considered. In a geographical area where the distinction between /ʊ/ and /ʌ/ is a common linguistic feature (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), the informant increases the usage of variant 1 in comparison to previous contexts. Thus, the innovative variant is realised with a score of 9.09%, while the conservative one decreases to a 90.91%. Nevertheless, even though a slight accommodation can be observed, the informant remains faithful to her non-mainstream use of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split,

evidencing that differences in frequencies of use for both variants in the contrast between both Rallies are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.063$; $df = 1$)

Hence, as it can be observed in Figure IV.4, the overall scores obtained for /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split reveal a strong adherence to non-mainstream variant 2 (97.78%) despite of the formality associated with the contexts in which Lewell-Buck operates, remaining mainstream variant 1 almost unused (2.22%). In this respect, it could be tentatively stated that the informant is attempting to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity, as variant 2 has long been regarded as a prominent linguistic feature of Northern regions (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), where Lewell-Buck is originally from.

IV.1.1.e. Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

As it can be observed in Figure IV.5, among the linguistic variables studied, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ is the variable that fluctuates the most across the different contexts, being certain aspects quite determinant in the usage that Lewell-Buck makes of this sociolinguistic feature. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 16.254$; $df = 3$). Particularly, raw figures show that the differences in Lewell-Buck's use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant in the contrast between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 8.093$; $df = 1$), but not between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.886$; $df = 1$).

Despite the traditional association of variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) with the speech of Londoners and South-eastern speakers (Altendorf & Watt 2004), this linguistic feature is also frequently used in North-eastern regions (Wells 1982; Llamas 2007). In addition, social status aspects can affect the use that speakers make of the voiceless stops, as glottalised realisations tend to be avoided by Upper-middle-class individuals while working-class people tend to use these realisations to a greater extent (Altendorf & Watt 2004); being word-internal intervocalic position the most stigmatised phonological context (Altendorf & Watt 2004). Nevertheless, a relevant spread of this variable has been observed to almost all urban areas

in Britain (Beal 2004: 128). In fact, as described by Trudgill (1999: 136), this has been “one of the most dramatic, widespread and rapid changes to have occurred in British English in recent times”. As a consequence, glottalised realisations can be encountered in RP accents –mostly associated with /t/– in words like *Gatwick* or *Luton*. In addition, these pronunciations may be avoided in careful speech, but used to a certain extent in conversations (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). This could explain the high score that Emma Lewell-Buck obtained for variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) in the context of Interview (82.78%), which contrasts with her usage of variant 1 (No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) (17.22%).

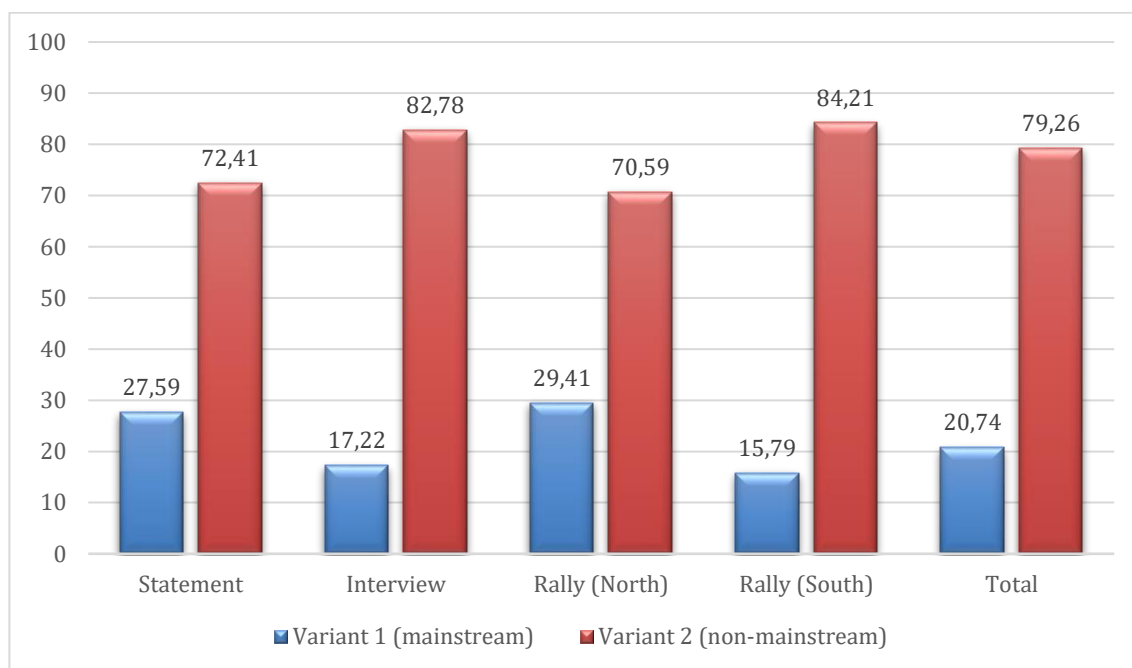


Figure IV.5. Emma Lewell-Buck’s use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ across the different contexts.

A similar sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the context of Rally (South), as Lewell-Buck exhibits a predominant use of variant 2, being this the highest score obtained out of the four contexts (84.21%). Subsequently, the realisation percentage obtained for variant 1 is the lowest one if compared with the percentages obtained in the remaining contexts (15.79%). As previously stated, these scores could be influenced by the fact that the glottal stop [ʔ] is commonly used in London (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), where Lewell-Buck’s rally took place.

On the other hand, a relevant increase in the percentages of use obtained for variant 1 can be observed in the contexts of Statement and Rally (North), as the informant obtained a score of 27.59% for variant 1 and 72.41% for variant 2 in the former, and 29.41% for variant 1 and 70.59% for variant 2 in the latter. Particularly, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though variant 2 is commonly used in North-eastern regions, the informant employs variant 1 to a greater extent in the context of Rally (North) than in the context of Rally (South), which may be motivated by the high frequency of use of [ʔ] in London, as it appears to be a long-standing characteristic of this region (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Yet, as previously indicated, the difference in terms of frequencies of use for both variants in the contrast between both Rallies (North-South) is not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.886$; $df = 1$).

In addition, if compared with Lewell-Buck's sociolinguistic behaviour in the context of Interview, her relevant increase in the use of mainstream variant 1 in the context of Statement might be motivated by the degree of formality associated with this context, which could result in the subsequent use of a careful speech in which Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ is often avoided (Fabricious 2002b, Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). In fact, the difference in terms of frequencies of use for both variants in the contrast between Statement and Interview is statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 8.093$; $df = 1$).

Hence, even though this variable appears to be geographically as well as socially constricted, it seems that Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ is subject to a greater fluctuation across contexts than other variables –such as FACE vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split– in the speech of Emma Lewell-Buck. As a result, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of this informant regarding this variable reveals certain tendency to accommodate to the different contexts in which she operates according to formality, geographical and social aspects, although variant 2 realisations predominate over variant 1 forms (79.26% versus 20.74%, respectively). In fact, this fluctuation might be influenced by the –still in progress– dramatic spread of this variable, which can be heard in different regions and in individuals belonging to different social classes. In addition, regarding those mainstream conventions that may have precluded Lewell-Buck from using non-mainstream variant 2 to a greater extent in the contexts in which she operates, it must be reminded that “it seems probable that in coming decades the stigmatisation of /t/

glottalling even in pre-vocalic contexts in the speech of younger RP speakers will recede to the point where its use is no longer remarked upon” (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 44), which means that “the stigma of ugliness, inarticulacy and ‘sloppiness’” is becoming to recede (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67).

IV.1.1.f. H-Dropping

As with MOUTH vowel, the usage that Emma Lewell-Buck makes of H-Dropping reveals a strong adherence to the mainstream convention, as variant 1 (presence of initial /h/) is predominantly used over variant 2 (absence of initial /h/) in each context in which the informant operates. Particularly, this variable is subject to both regional and social variation. In this respect, a greater use of variant 1 tends to be associated with the speech of individuals belonging to a higher social status as well as with RP speech and the subsequent prestige that characterises this variety; on the contrary, variant 2 would be expected to be used by speakers belonging to a lower social status (Beal 2004: 127). This, together with the fact that the presence of initial /h/ is quite common in North-eastern regions, could explain why the informant makes a predominant use of variant 1 regardless of the context in which she is operating (as it can be observed in Figure IV.6). Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in Lewell-Buck’s results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.661$; $df = 3$).

Particularly, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though variant 2 is almost invariably absent in Londoners’ speech (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), the informant does not accommodate to this socially stigmatised linguistic feature in the context of Rally (South). Instead, she exhibits a rather stable mainstream pattern regardless of the geographical area in which her speech event is taking place. This sociolinguistic pattern is quite similar to that exhibited by Lewell-Buck in her treatment of FACE vowel when performing in the context of Rally (South), which may indicate that socially stratified aspects influence her speech in this context to a greater extent than geographical factors, which could be the reason why the informant does not employ this type of realisations. Thus, the informant obtained a score of

100% for mainstream variant 1 in both rallies, which evidences the fact that the difference in terms of frequencies of use for both variants in the contrast between both Rallies (North-South) is not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$).

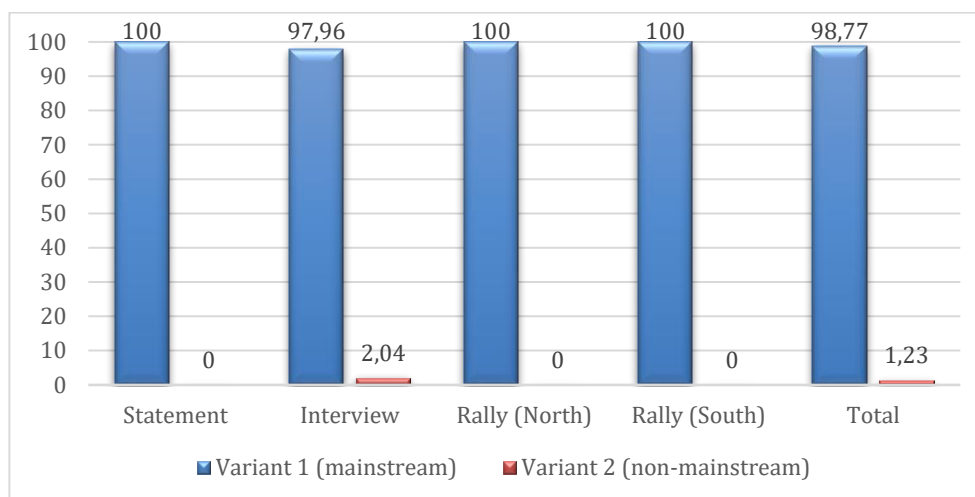


Figure IV.6. Emma Lewell-Buck's use of H-Dropping across the different contexts.

On the other hand, even though a slight decrease in the usage of mainstream forms (97.96%) and a subsequent modest increase in the usage of non-mainstream realisations (2.04%) can be appreciated in Lewell-Buck's speech in the context of Interview if compared with her speech style in the context of Statement –were she obtained a score of 100% for variant 1–, the difference in terms of frequencies of use for both variants in the contrast between Statement and Interview is not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.394$; $df = 1$).

Thus, as a result of a greater attention paid to stigmatised factors associated with social class status linked with H-Dropping or just as the outcome of a strong adherence to the speech style that characterises her regional area of provenance, Lewell-Buck strictly adheres to mainstream conventions regardless of the different contexts in which she operates (98.77%), being non-mainstream variant 2 scarcely used in her speech style (1.23%)

IV.1.1.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck

As it can be appreciated in the total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck (see Figure IV.7), this informant tends to use conservative forms encompassed by variant 2 to a greater extent

(78.11%) than innovative forms encompassed by variant 1 (21.89%), except for MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, for which the informant uses variant 1 over variant 2.

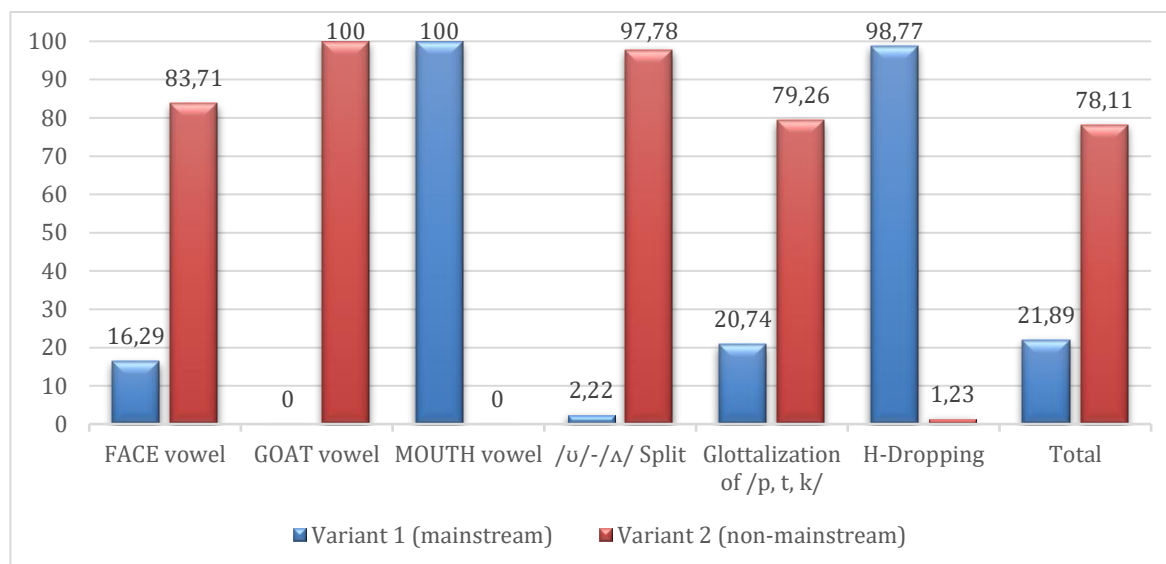


Figure IV.7. Total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck.

In addition, while local identity aspects seem to foster the emergence of non-mainstream realisations, social factors appear to constrict the informant's sociolinguistic behaviour to a greater extent, as those variants associated with lower or working-class speech are usually absent from the speech of Lewell-Buck (as in the case of MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping). Thus, even though the informant is more prone to include regionally marked forms in her speech than mainstream forms, it has been evidenced that if regionally marked realisations are also socially stratified, Lewell-Buck will use mainstream and prestigious forms instead.

In terms of variability across contexts, and as it can be observed in Figures IV.8-IV.11, while Lewell-Buck's usage of FACE vowel and Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ presents certain degree of fluctuation across contexts as a result of both regional and social factors, the usage that this informant makes of the remaining variables (GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split and H-Dropping) does not reveal a significant degree of variability.

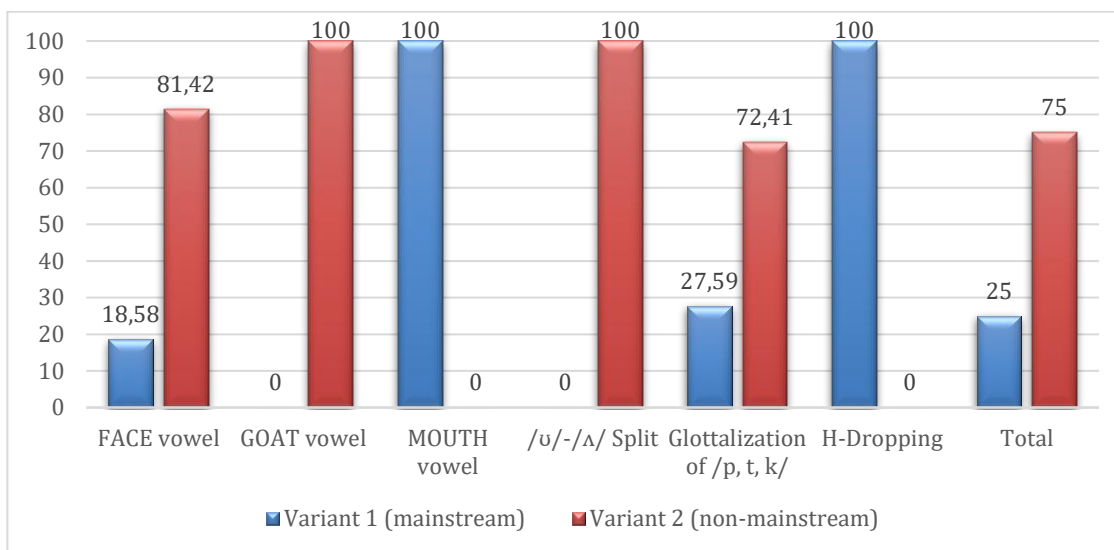


Figure IV.8. Total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck in the context of Statement.

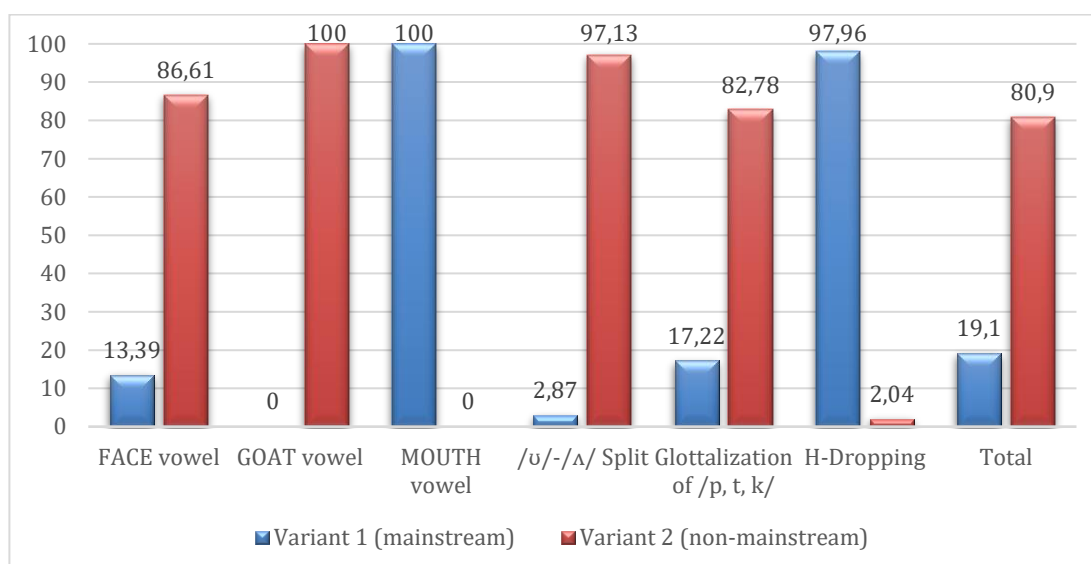


Figure IV.9. Total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck in the context of Interview.

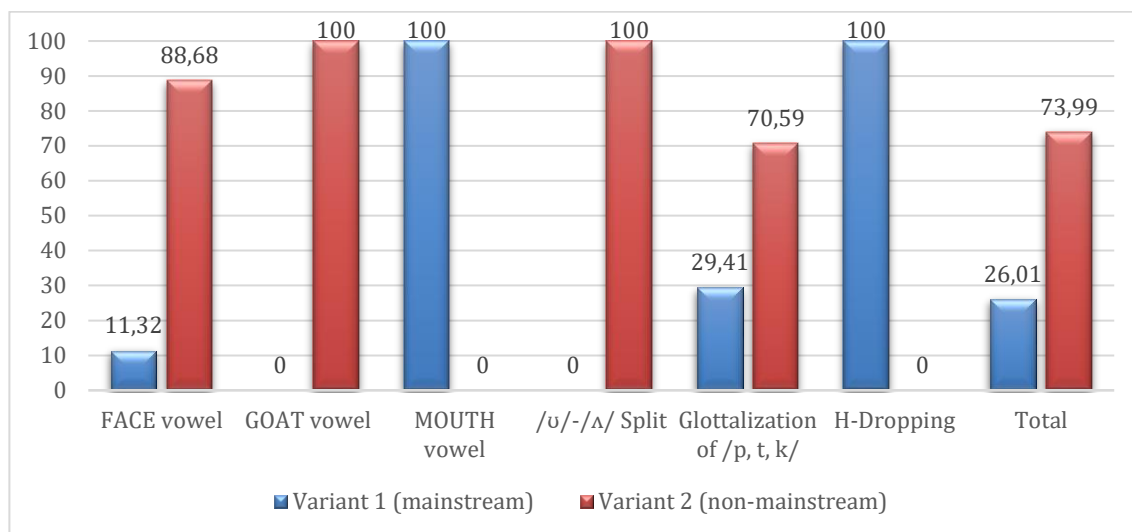


Figure IV.10. Total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck in the context of Rally (North).

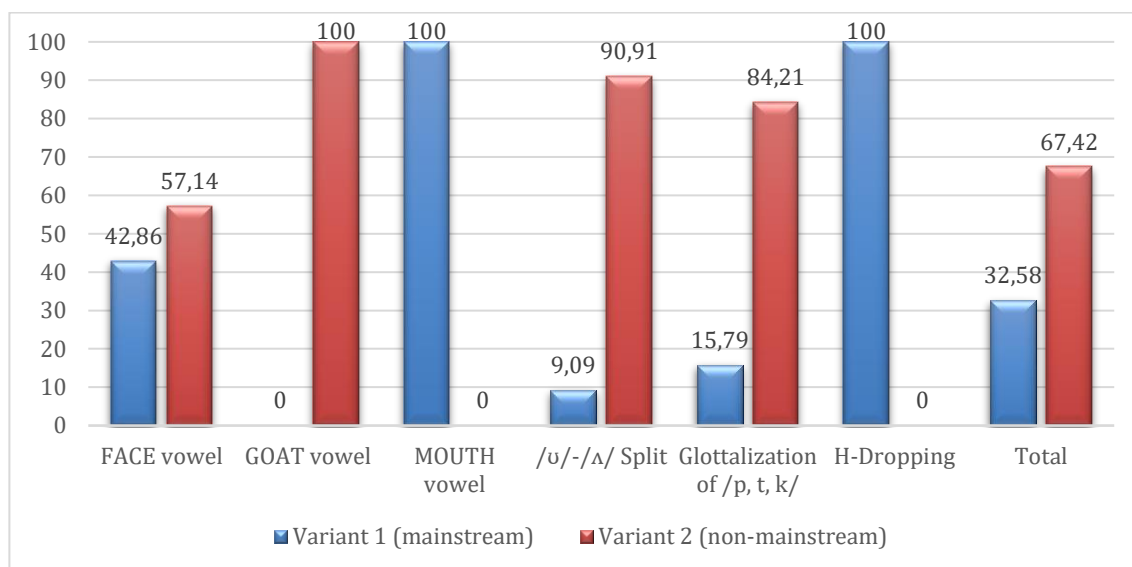


Figure IV.11. Total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck in the context of Rally (South).

On the other hand, as it can be observed in Figure IV.12, the general sociolinguistic behaviour of Lewell-Buck across the different contexts in which she operates reveals a clear pattern of use of the variables studied: this informant tends to employ non-mainstream variants to a greater extent than mainstream forms regardless of the context. Precisely, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2=16.939$; $df= 3$). In addition,

raw figures show that the difference in terms of frequencies of use for mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms is statistically significant in the contrast between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 6.685$; $df = 1$), but not between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.481$; $df = 1$). Particularly, it seems that the context of Interview appears to be the one in which Lewell-Buck employs non-mainstream forms to a greater extent than mainstream realisations (80.90% versus 19.10%), which may be explained by the conversational format of this speech event and the subsequent ease for certain variants to emerge in such context. Contrarily, the context of Rally (South) appears to be the one in which mainstream forms are used to a greater extent than non-mainstream realisations (32.58% versus 67.42% respectively), although as previously stated, a clear tendency towards the usage of non-mainstream forms is still observable. In addition, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite being a highly formal context, Lewell-Buck does not accommodate to mainstream linguistic conventions when operating in the context of Statement (intervention in the House of Commons), as she obtained a total score of 25.00% for mainstream variant 1 and 75.00% for non-mainstream realisations. In fact, the scores obtained by the informant in this context are rather similar to those obtained for the context of Rally (North) (26.01% for mainstream variant 1 versus 73.99% for non-mainstream variant 2), which took place in the North-eastern constituency from she originally is.

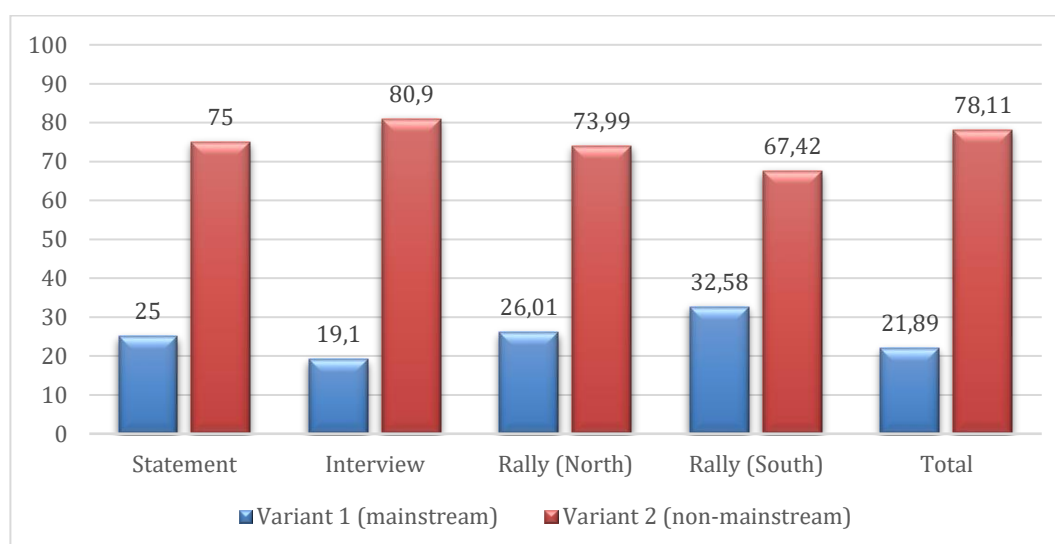


Figure IV.12. Total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck per context.

In fact, as observed in Table IV.2, a logistic regression indicates that the context of Rally (South) is the one which most favours the usage of mainstream forms in Emma Lewell-Buck's speech, followed by the contexts of Rally (North) and Statement. On the contrary, the negative value obtained for the context of Interview indicates that this context is a disfavoured effect in the usage of mainstream forms, being non-mainstream realisations used to a greater extent in this context (see "Intercept" column).

Table IV.2. Logistic regression of the contribution of contextual factors to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by Emma Lewell-Buck. Fixed effects analysis: "Context" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.196	2051	0.218	—
Rally (South)	0.175	89	0.326	0.543
Rally (North)	0.069	296	0.26	0.517
Statement	0.026	420	0.248	0.506
Interview	-0.262	1246	0.191	0.434
Misc. 1	N=2051; df= 2; Intercept=-1.146; Overall proportion=0.218; Centered input probability=0.241.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1073.256; AIC= 2150.512; AICc= 2150.518; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.106; R2 fixed= 0; R2 random= 0.012; R2 total= 0.012.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

On the whole, it could be tentatively stated that in accordance with the tenets of the Communication Accommodation Theory (Giles 1973, 1980, 2009) this informant seems to partially accommodate to the context in which she operates by means of altering her usage of FACE vowel and Glottalisation of /p, t, k/. In addition, and from a socio-constructionist approach, the informant's predominant use of non-mainstream forms closely related with regional identity aspects and her reluctance to adhere to certain mainstream conventions may be regarded as a strategy in the design of her public sociolinguistic behaviour aimed at reinforcing and projecting her North-eastern identity as well as her working-class social background (Coupland 1985). In this respect, Lewell-Buck's general non-mainstream

sociolinguistic behaviour clearly contrasts with her occupation and the formality associated with the contexts in which she operates, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b). Moreover, it also diverges from the strategies normally used by politicians operating in the public sphere, as they usually employ mainstream variants since persuasive aims are usually best accomplished if a “correct” and “educated” speech is used (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44).

Apart from occupation and social class conventions, Emma Lewell-Buck also violates gender expectations, as Sociolinguistic studies have demonstrated that sex is a determinant factor of the speech of men and women in urbanised societies. In this respect, in his study about the English spoken in Norwich, Trudgill (1972) found that women make much higher use of mainstream features in their speech than men. As similar results have been obtained in studies carried out all over the world, especially in industrialised Western urban centres, different explanations have been given from different perspectives. Some of the most relevant ones relate it to the notion of appropriateness and politeness:

[I]inguistic sex differentiation is a reflection of a much wider tendency for men to be relatively more favourably regarded than women if they act tough, rough and break the rules. Women, on the other hand, are encouraged to a much greater extent to be correct, discreet, quiet and polite in their behaviour (Chambers & Trudgill 2004: 85).

Also, women may exhibit greater linguistic politeness through the use of mainstream language than men because of deference and subservience. Other series of explanations for linguistic sex differentiation are based on sociological findings that suggest that women are, generally speaking, more status-conscious than men; and therefore, more aware of the social significance of linguistic variables (Trudgill 1983a: 167-168):

- (a) Women are more closely involved with child-rearing and the transmission of culture, and are therefore more aware of the importance, for their children, of the acquisition of (prestige) norms.
- (b) The social position of women in our society has traditionally been less secure than that of men. It may be, therefore, that it has been more necessary for women to secure and signal their social status linguistically and in other ways, and they may for this reason be more aware of the importance of this type of signal.

- (c) Men in our society have traditionally been rated socially by their occupation, their earning power, and perhaps by their other abilities -in other words, by what they do. Until recently, however, this has been much more difficult for women, and indeed women continue to suffer discrimination against them in many occupations. It may be, therefore, that they have had to be rated instead, to a greater extent than men, on how they appear. Since they have not been rated, to the same extent that men have, by their occupation or by their occupational success, other signals of status, including speech, have been correspondingly more important.

In addition, it is noteworthy to point out that just like many other aspects of working-class culture, working-class speech has connotations of masculinity, as it is frequently associated with the rough and tough working-class life (Trudgill 1974: 93-94). These associations clearly contrast with “desirable feminine characteristics”, being refinement and sophistication much preferred traits for women’s speech (Trudgill 1974: 94). Hence, Lewell-Buck violates expectations not only for occupation and social class but also for gender, since it has been observed that, at least in the industrialised Western world, women’s speech tends to be more mainstream than that of men (Trudgill 1972).

On the other hand, even though Lewell-Buck’s behaviour is characterised by a prominent use of local features, it must be remarked that when social class aspects come into play, this informant clearly increases her use of mainstream variants (as in the case of H-Dropping). Thus, it can be tentatively stated that while the formality associated with the different contexts where Emma Lewell-Buck operates does not preclude her from using those regionally marked and non-mainstream linguistic features that would reinforce her Northern identity, those variants that would elicit a lower social status tend to be avoided in her speech. In addition, Emma Lewell-Buck only makes use of those regionally marked features that are characteristic of North-eastern accents. That is, she only accommodates to those local features that are associated with the speech of her geographical region of provenance, as she does not accommodate to other regional accents by means of adopting other local features – as in the case of FACE vowel or H-Dropping.

Consequently, it seems that rather than immediately making use of mainstream forms when operating in public political contexts, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to the majority of the linguistic features associated with the geographical area from where she originally is in an attempt to reinforce and project her North-eastern identity, while also maintaining certain

mainstream realisations. In fact, it could be stated that she is trying to establish a connection between her sociolinguistic behaviour and the toughness and hardworkingness associated with lower and working-class individuals from the North-east. In fact, she stated in the context of Interview that “You know, I was pretty tough anyway you know, I’m from the Northeast and I’m working class” (ITV News 2019: 3:28’), which reinforces her North-eastern and working-class identity and evidences her alignment with her North-eastern and working-class constituents. In addition, it seems that she is aware of the drawbacks that using a regionally marked accent in formal political contexts might have, as she also stated in the interview that “our country is a long way from having a prime minister with an accent like mine and a background like mine” (ITV News 2019: 23:43’), acknowledging that having such a regionally marked accent may preclude her from promoting in her job as Member of Parliament. This line of thought is acknowledged by Duranti (2006: 3), who indicates that not only voters but also politicians tend to associate certain characteristics with the “ideal” candidate, which leads to the identification of what should be needed to achieve a specific political position. As a result, it seems that Lewell-Buck identifies herself as an out-group member in the House of commons, as she also reckons in the interview that “hopefully, the more people like me who come into Parliament with accents... and you know who are from my class... then maybe one day we’ll get there but I don’t think so my lifetime” (ITV News 2019: 24:23’). Hence, it seems that she could be strategically employing her North-eastern accent in order to reinforce and project her North-eastern identity in an attempt to reach to working-class and non-elitist individuals while also rejecting in-group associations with elitist MPs.

IV.1.2. Theresa May

Table IV.3 shows the sociolinguistic behaviour of British informant number 2, Theresa May, for the four political contexts indicated in section III.2.2.b.ii: Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South). As it can be observed, the informant exhibits a stable sociolinguistic pattern when it comes to FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, and H-Dropping, although slight variations in the usage that she makes of FACE vowel and GOAT

vowel can also be observed. On the other hand, the only variable that fluctuates to a relevant extent across the different contexts in which May operates is that of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/.

Table IV.3. British Informant 2: Theresa May							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Context				
			Statement	Interview	Rally (North)	Rally (South)	Total
FACE vowel	Variant #1: [eɪ]	%	99.35%	98.82%	100.00%	93.55%	98.66%
		#	154/155	84/85	147/147	58/62	443/449
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.65%	1.18%	0.00%	6.45%	1.34%
		#	1/155	1/85	0/147	4/62	6/449
GOAT vowel	Variant #1: [əʊ]	%	96.80%	99.17%	98.85%	100.00%	98.42%
		#	121/125	119/120	86/87	48/48	374/380
	Variant #2: Other	%	3.20%	0.83%	1.15%	0.00%	1.58%
		#	4/125	1/120	1/87	0/48	6/380
MOUTH vowel	Variant #1: [aʊ]	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	59/59	51/51	48/48	20/20	178/178
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/59	0/51	0/48	0/20	0/178
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Variant #1: (u) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	69/69	114/114	102/102	49/49	334/334
	Variant #2: (u) = /ʊ/	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/69	0/114	0/102	0/49	0/334
Glottalisation of /p, t, k/	Variant #1: No	%	83.13%	53.51%	75.23%	62.24%	68.82%
		#	335/403	244/456	328/436	150/241	1057/1536
	Variant #2: Yes	%	16.87%	46.49%	24.77%	37.76%	31.18%
		#	68/403	212/456	108/436	91/241	479/1536
H-Dropping	Variant #1: (h) = /h/	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	41/41	36/36	27/27	18/18	122/122
	Variant #2: (h) = /ə/	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/41	0/36	0/27	0/18	0/122
Total	Variant #1	%	91.43%	75.17%	87.13%	78.31%	83.63%
		#	779/852	648/862	738/847	343/438	2508/2999
	Variant #2	%	8.57%	24.83%	12.87%	21.69%	16.37%
		#	73/852	214/862	109/847	95/438	491/2999

IV.1.2.a. FACE vowel

Regarding FACE vowel, May's use of mainstream variant 1 (/eɪ/) reveals certain variation across the contexts of Statement (99.35%), Interview (98.82%), Rally (North) (100%) and Rally (South) (93.55%). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in her results

for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 14.874$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 9.669$; $df = 1$), but not between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.188$; $df = 1$). Nevertheless, it is paramount to mention that this fluctuation corresponds to the presence of realisations associated with an older RP pronunciation of the days of the week ending in /ɪ/ rather than /eɪ/. As Lindsey (2019: 116) indicates, the weak KIT vowel /ɪ/ was the preferred RP pronunciation of *Monday*, *Tuesday* and the other days of the week (e.g.: /'mʌndɪ/, /'sʌndɪ/); however, it seems that the preferred pronunciation of these words at current times ends with FACE vowel /eɪ/. In fact, it is specified in the Longman Pronunciation Dictionary (2000: 201) that:

[a]lthough RP and GenAm are both traditionally considered to prefer di, most speakers in practice use both pronunciations for this suffix, often in a strong form—weak form relationship. The deɪ form is generally preferred in exposed positions, for example at the end of a sentence: I'll do it on Monday 'mʌn deɪ; the di form is preferred in close-knit expressions such as Monday morning.

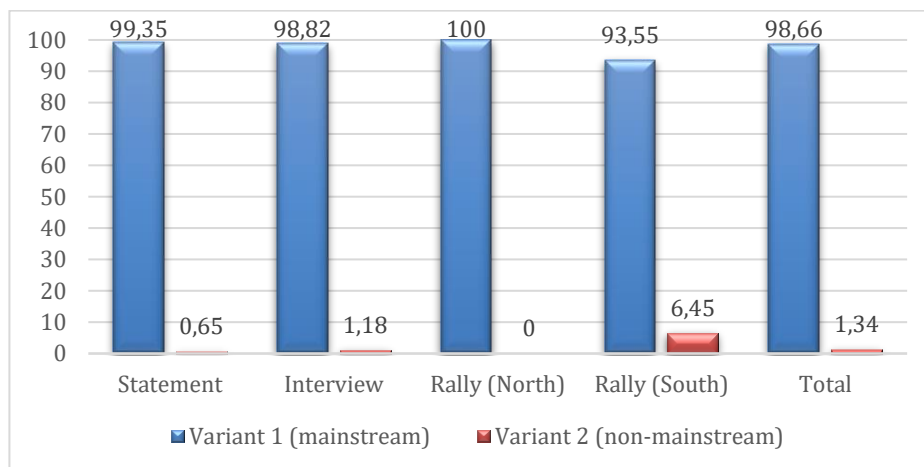


Figure IV.13. Theresa May's use of FACE vowel across the different contexts.

Consequently, taking into account that the informant always pronounces the days of the week with the KIT vowel, and that she uses variant 1 /eɪ/ in the remaining FACE words, May's sociolinguistic behaviour could be regarded as rather stable (as it can be observed in Figure IV.13).

Thus, the scores obtained for this variable across the different contexts reveal a strong adherence to mainstream variant 1, which is characteristic of RP speech and enjoys relevant prestige, as this variety has traditionally been associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982). Hence, May does not alter her use of FACE vowel to a relevant extent, as she does not accommodate neither to her Northern audience in the context of Rally (North) nor to her Southern audience in the context of Rally (South), despite being variant 2 commonly used in these geographical areas (Beal 2004; Altendorf & Watt 2004). Consequently, as it can be observed in Figure IV.13, the total scores obtained by Theresa May for FACE vowel reveal a strict adherence to mainstream conventions (98.66%), remaining non-mainstream variant 2 scarcely used in her speech (1.34%).

IV.1.2.b. GOAT vowel

Similarly, Theresa May makes a prominent use of variant 1 [əʊ] of GOAT vowel, which is commonly used by RP speakers and enjoys relevant prestige (Upton 2004). In fact, the informant obtained the scores of 96.80%, 99.17%, 98.85% and 100% for the contexts of Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South) respectively, remaining non-mainstream variant 2 almost unused (see Figure IV.14). In addition, even though a slight degree of variability may be perceived across the different contexts studied, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 3.416$; $df = 3$), which means that those pronunciation changes made by Theresa May are not relevant enough so as to state that this informant is adjusting her speech style to the different contexts in which she operates. In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.556$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.715$; $df = 1$).

Moreover, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though variant 2 is usually regarded as a "symbolic affirmation of local identity" in the speech of individuals from Northern regions of England (Watt & Milroy 1999: 37), the informant does not accommodate

to her Northern audience. Similarly, Theresa May does not accommodate to Southern audiences, although regionally marked forms encompassed by variant 2 can also be employed by Southern speakers (Altendorf & Watt 2004). Hence, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of May when it comes to GOAT vowel reveals a predominant use of the innovative (98.42%) over the conservative variant (1.58%), with almost no fluctuation across contexts.

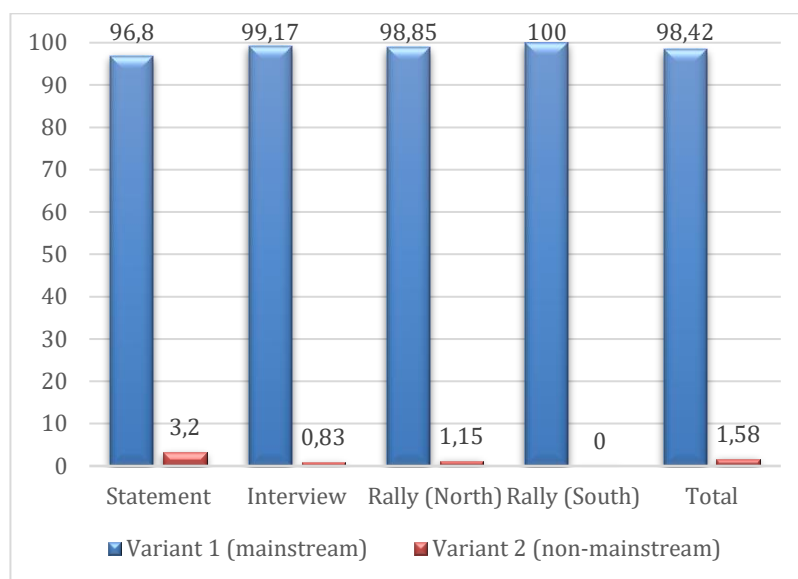


Figure IV.14. Theresa May's use of GOAT vowel across the different contexts.

IV.1.2.c. MOUTH vowel

Regarding MOUTH vowel, May exhibits a stable sociolinguistic pattern with any trace of variability across the different contexts in which she operates, being mainstream variant 1 ([aʊ]) predominantly used over non-mainstream variant 2 (which encompasses other non-mainstream realisations). In fact, the informant obtained a score of 100% for mainstream variant 1 in all the contexts analysed, which indicates a clear rejection when it comes to accommodating to local non-mainstream forms and a strict adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions. Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

This absence of variant 2 in May's speech could be expected, as words realised with this variant are mostly encountered in the speech of older and/or working-class and/or male speakers in Tyneside and Northumberland (Beal 2004: 124), which clearly contrasts with the predominant use that RP speakers and individuals belonging to higher social status make of variant 1 (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Thus, as it can be observed in Figure IV.15, neither the different audience targeted at each speech event nor the situational factors that characterise each context appear to influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May, who predominantly uses mainstream variant 1 (100%) over non-mainstream variant 2 (0.00%).

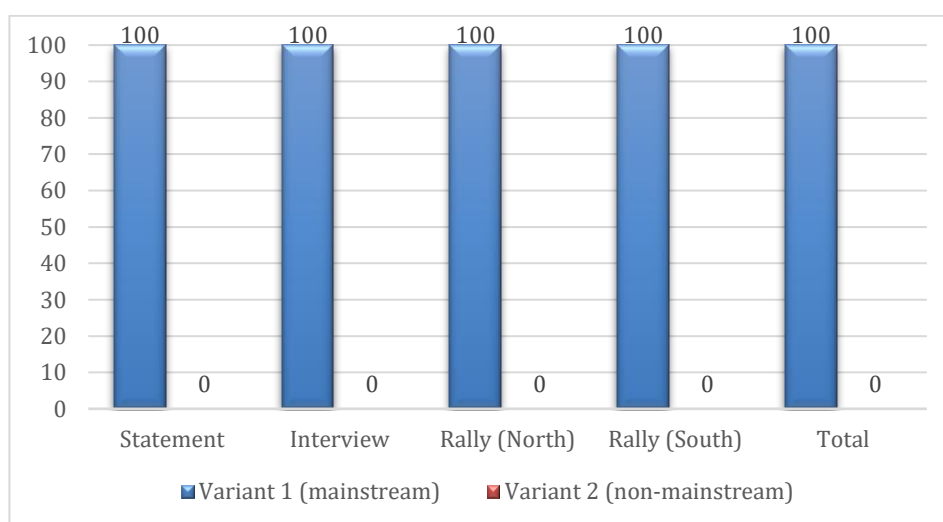


Figure IV.15. Theresa May's use of MOUTH vowel across the different contexts.

IV.1.2.d. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split

An equal pattern can be appreciated in the usage that Theresa May makes of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split (see Figure IV.16). In fact, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

Precisely, given that variant 2 (no /ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation) is regarded as one of the most salient markers of local identity in Northern English pronunciations (Beal 2004: 121), the lack

of realisations with this variant in the speech of Theresa May could be expected, as she is originally from the Southeast of England, where variant 1 (ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation) is extensively used (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 75). In fact, by not using variant 2 in the context of Rally (North) the informant is evidencing a divergent sociolinguistic behaviour from her Northern audience, and therefore, a rejection when it comes to establishing a link with the targeted audience by means of employing non-mainstream forms associated with a local identity. In addition, apart from geographical factors, variant 1 is also associated with a prestigious speech style, as it is employed by RP speakers and individuals belonging to a high social status (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013).

Hence, neither the different audience targeted at each speech event nor the situational factors that characterise each context appear to influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May, who predominantly uses mainstream variant 1 (100%) over non-mainstream variant 2 (0.00%) regardless of the context in which she operates.

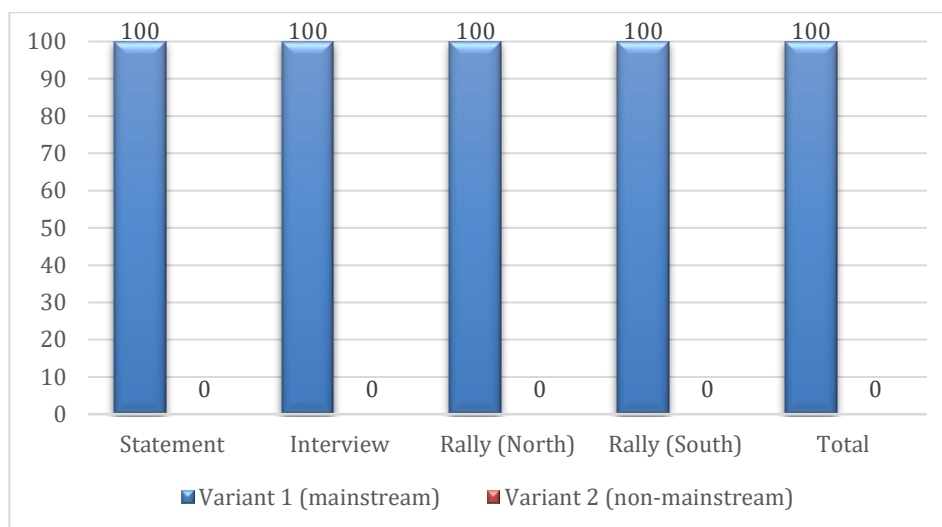


Figure IV.16. Theresa May's use of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split across the different contexts.

IV.1.2.e. Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

As previously stated, among the variables studied, Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ is the variable that fluctuates the most across the different contexts in which Theresa May operates, as she alters

the use of variant 1 (No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) and 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) resulting in a heterogeneous sociolinguistic behaviour. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 101.459$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant both in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 12.617$; $df = 1$) and between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 85.414$; $df = 1$).

In this respect, certain aspects might determine the usage that this informant makes of glottalised forms. On the one hand, variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) has been traditionally associated with the speech of Londoners and South-easterners (Altendorf & Watt 2004), which might have influenced May's speech since she is originally from that geographical area and has spent there most of her life. In addition, variant 2 is also associated with the speech of North-eastern individuals (Wells 1982; Llamas 2007), which might have resulted in certain accommodation towards this non-mainstream variant on the part of the former Prime Minister when operating in the context of Rally (North). Also, social status aspects could have influenced the use that May makes of the voiceless stops, as glottalised realisations tend to be avoided by Upper-middle-class speakers while working-class individuals tend to use variant 2 to a greater extent (Altendorf & Watt 2004), being word-internal intervocalic position the most stigmatised phonological environment (Altendorf & Watt 2004). Nevertheless, a relevant spread of this variable has been observed to almost all urban areas in Britain (Beal 2004: 128). In fact, as previously stated, this has been "one of the most dramatic, widespread and rapid changes to have occurred in British English in recent times" (Trudgill 1999: 136). As a consequence, the general stigmatisation associated with glottalised realisations seems to be receding, being this type of pronunciation increasingly used by individuals belonging to higher social statuses and even by RP speakers –mostly associated with /t/– in words like *Gatwick* or *Luton*.

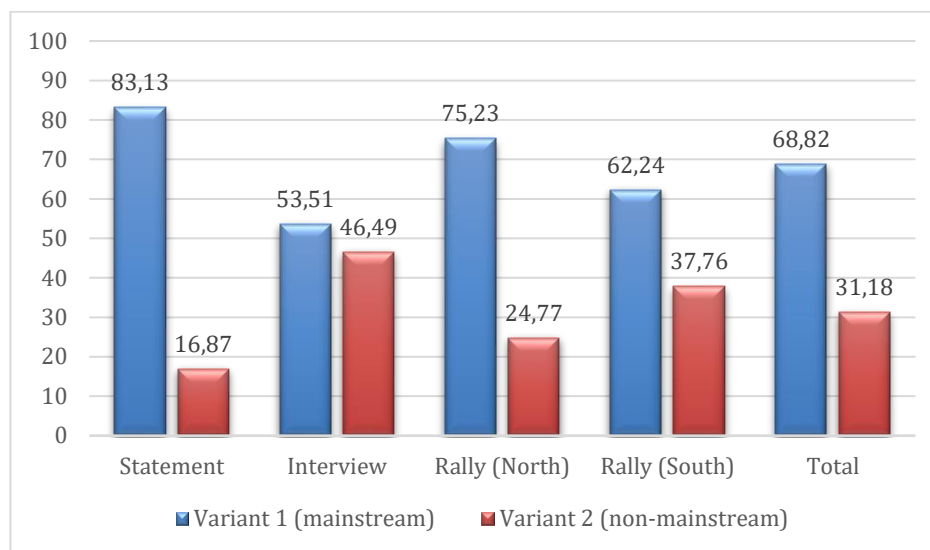


Figure IV.17. Theresa May's use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ across the different contexts.

As it can be observed in Figure IV.17, the lowest score obtained by Theresa May for variant 2 (16.87%) corresponds to the context of Statement, where she subsequently obtained the highest score for variant 1 (83.13%) out of the four contexts. This speech event consisted in an intervention made by the former Prime Minister and Leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons, and it is usually regarded as a rather formal context in the political sphere. Conversely, the highest score obtained for variant 2 (46.49%) corresponds to the context of Interview, which was broadcasted at a national level and took place at the ITV News studio in London. Thus, the score obtained for variant 1 in this context is the lowest one out of the four contexts studied (53.51%). This sociolinguistic behaviour goes in line with the assumption that glottalised pronunciations may be avoided in careful speech while used to a certain extent in conversations (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). In fact, as previously stated, the difference in terms of frequencies of use for both variants in the contexts of Statement and Interview are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 85.414$; $df = 1$). Hence, Theresa May strictly adheres to mainstream conventions when operating in the context of Statement, while she adapts here speech (whether consciously or unconsciously) to the conversational format of the Interview context.

On the other hand, a relevant increase in the scores obtained for variant 2 in the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South) can be observed if compared with the one obtained

in the context of Statement, although these scores are not as high as the one obtained for this variant in the context of Interview. The speech event under the label of Rally (North) took place in Tynemouth (Tyne and Wear County, in North-east England), in the framework of the 2017 United Kingdom general elections. On the other hand, the context of Rally (South) took place in Slough (Berkshire County) in the framework of the 2017 United Kingdom general elections. As it can be observed in Figure IV.17, while Theresa May obtained a score of 75.23% for variant 1 and 24.77% for variant 2 in her Northern rally, a slight decrease in her usage of variant 1 (62.24%) and a subsequent increase in her usage of variant 2 (37.76%) can be observed in the context of Rally (South). As previously stated, May's relatively high use of glottalised forms might have been influenced by the common use that speakers from North-eastern and South-eastern regions make of glottalised forms (Beal 2004; Altendorf & Watt 2004; Wells 1982; Llamas 2007), which could have resulted in a noticeable accommodation towards the non-mainstream variant. Yet, it seems that May accommodates to a greater extent to her Southern audience than to her Northern audience. In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 12.617$; $df = 1$).

Hence, it could be tentatively stated even though Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ appears to be geographically as well as socially constricted, Theresa May accommodates her usage of this linguistic variable to the different contexts in which she operates. This fluctuation might be influenced by the dramatic spread of glottalised forms, which can be heard in different regions and in the speech of individuals belonging to different social classes. In addition, it must be reminded that "it seems probable that in coming decades the stigmatisation of /t/ glottalling even in pre-vocalic contexts in the speech of younger RP speakers will recede to the point where its use is no longer remarked upon" (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 44), meaning that "the stigma of ugliness, inarticulacy and 'sloppiness'" is becoming to recede (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67). Globally, even though May exhibits a prominent use of mainstream variant 1 (68.82%), she tends to accommodate her use of this variable to the different contexts studied, which means that variant 2 is used to a relevant extent by this informant (31.18%).

IV.1.2.f. H-Dropping

Regarding H-Dropping, Theresa May exhibits a stable sociolinguistic pattern with any trace of variability across the different contexts in which she operates, being mainstream variant 1 (presence of initial /h/) predominantly used over non-mainstream variant 2 (absence of initial /h/). In fact, the informant obtained a score of 100% for mainstream variant 1 in all the contexts analysed, which indicates a strict adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (see Figure IV.18). Precisely, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

In this respect, May's prominent use of variant 1 (presence of initial /h/) might be influenced by the socially stratified nature of this variable, as this variant is associated with the speech of individuals belonging to a rather high social status as well as with RP speakers, while variant 2 would be expected to be used by speakers belonging to lower social statuses (Beal 2004: 127). In this respect, the linguistic behaviour of Theresa May when it comes to H-Dropping in the context of Statement and Interview could be expected, since it appears that the speech of a Prime Minister –at the time in which the videos analysed were recorded– would not be expected to be characterised by the presence of a phonological feature associated with the speech of working-class individuals. This goes in line with the assumption that the use of certain linguistic variants is conditioned by social class, and therefore, if a linguistic variable reveals social stratification, the use of those variants associated with higher status groups will be preferred in certain contexts (Chambers & Trudgill 2004).

In addition, H-Dropping is also geographically constricted, as variant 1 appears to be only used in North-eastern regions and in the region of East Anglia, although certain variation may be observed in other South-eastern regions (Beal 2004: 127; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). However, even though Theresa May is originally from the Southeast of England and has spent most of her life in this geographical area, the sociolinguistic behaviour of this informant reveals a prominent use of variant 1. Particularly, it is of relevance the fact that she does not accommodate to non-mainstream variant 2 in the context of Rally (South), which indicates

that she is influenced to a greater extent by socially stratified factors than by geographical aspects associated with this variable. Regarding the context of Rally (North) it is noteworthy to mention that even though this rally took place in a geographical area where variant 1 is frequently used, it seems that the informant is adhering to mainstream conventions rather than accommodating to her Northern audience.

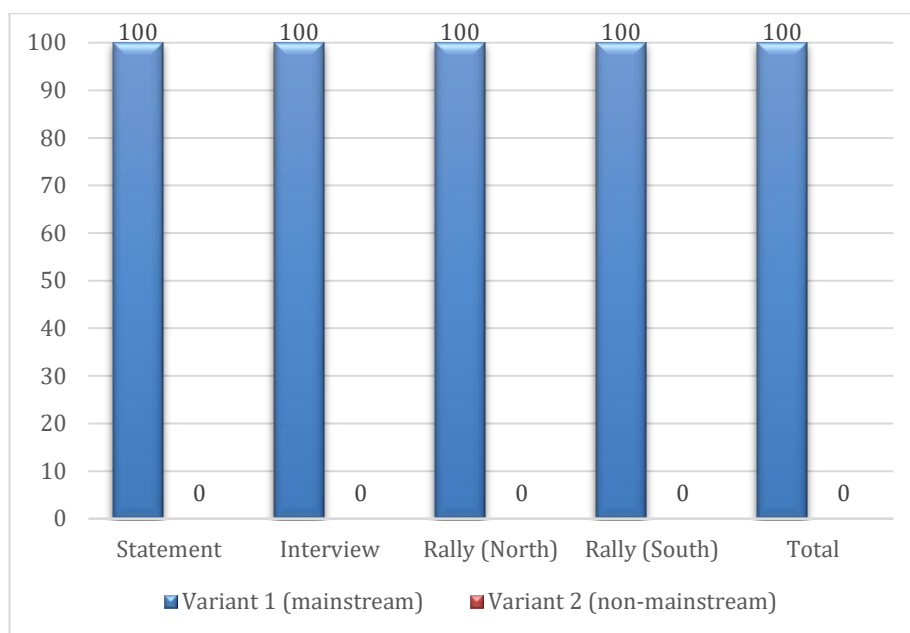


Figure IV.18. Theresa May's use of H-Dropping across the different contexts.

Consequently, given the geographical as well as social stratification constrictions associated with this linguistic feature, Theresa May exhibits a prominent use of mainstream variant 1 (100%), which correlates with her social status and occupation (Labov 2001a, 2001b), but contrasts with the geographical area from where she is originally from. Thus, it could be tentatively stated that the sociolinguistic behaviour of this informant is influenced to a greater extent by social stratification factors than by geographical aspects, which results in a strict adherence to mainstream conventions and a subsequent clear reluctance to accommodate to local audiences by means of employing regionally marked variant 2, which remains unused in May's speech.

IV.1.2.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May

Overall, and as it can be appreciated in the total scores obtained by Theresa May (see Figure IV.19), this informant tends to use innovative forms encompassed by variant 1 (83.63%) to a greater extent than conservative forms encompassed by variant 2 (16.37%), which results in a prominent mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour. In fact, considering May's prevailing use of mainstream and prestigious variants, her rather scarce variation in the scores obtained for the variables studied across the different contexts and her subsequent adherence to mainstream conventions, the speech of this informant appears to fall within the description of RP accents.

In terms of variability across contexts, and as it can be observed in Figures IV.20-IV.23, mainstream forms are generally used over non-mainstream realisations, being all contexts characterised by a noticeable mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour. Thus, May employed a percentage of 91.43 for mainstream forms and a percentage of 8.57 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Statement, 75.17 for mainstream forms and 24.83 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Interview, 87.13 for mainstream forms and 12.87 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (North) and 78.31 for mainstream forms and 21.69 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (South). Particularly, the contexts where the lowest percentage of use for mainstream forms is located are those of Interview and Rally (South), which may be explained by the increased use of glottalised forms on the part of the informant.

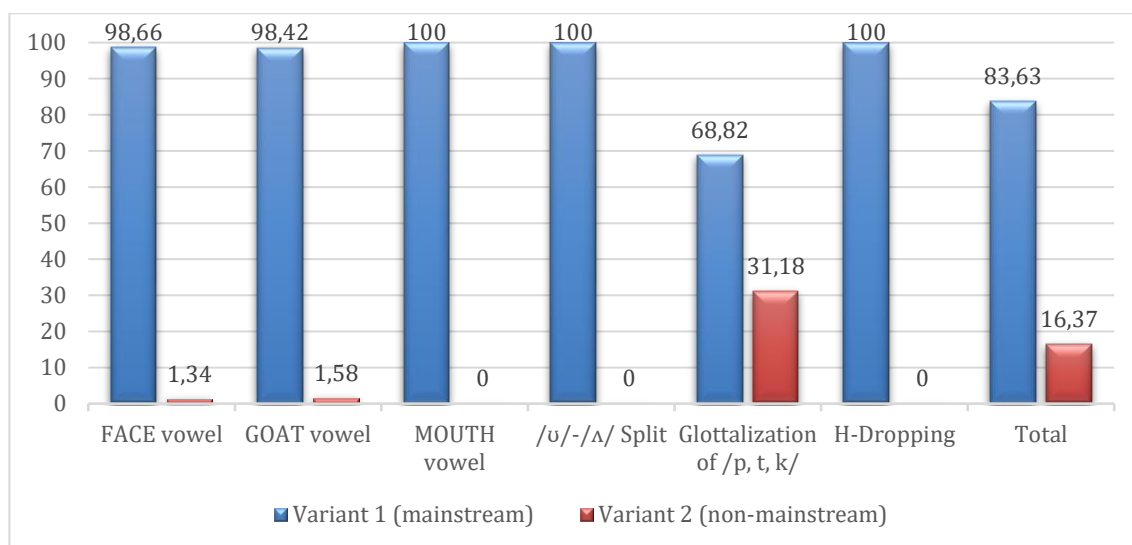


Figure IV.19. Total scores obtained by Theresa May.

In fact, as previously stated, the only variable that presents a significant degree of fluctuation across the different contexts in which May operates is that of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, as it seems that the informant enjoys a greater degree of freedom when it comes to making use of this linguistic feature, which results in evident accommodations to the format (as in the case of Statement and Interview, showed in Figures IV.20 and IV.21, respectively) and the audience of each speech event (as in the case of Rally (North) and Rally (South), showed in Figures IV.22 and IV.23, respectively). As indicated above, due to the recent spread of variant 2, regional and socially stratified aspects associated with this linguistic feature seem to be receding, leading to a greater use of glottalised pronunciations, even in the speech of individuals belonging to high statuses and RP speakers. Thus, it could be tentatively stated that this linguistic feature is already part of May's sociolinguistic repertoire, as she employs non-mainstream variant 2 of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ even in the context of Statement, which is regarded as one of the most formal contexts in the political sphere. Nevertheless, the heterogeneous treatment that this informant makes of glottalised forms reveals that certain constrictions (whether in terms of formal, geographical or socially stratified aspects) seem to remain associated with this type of pronunciation.

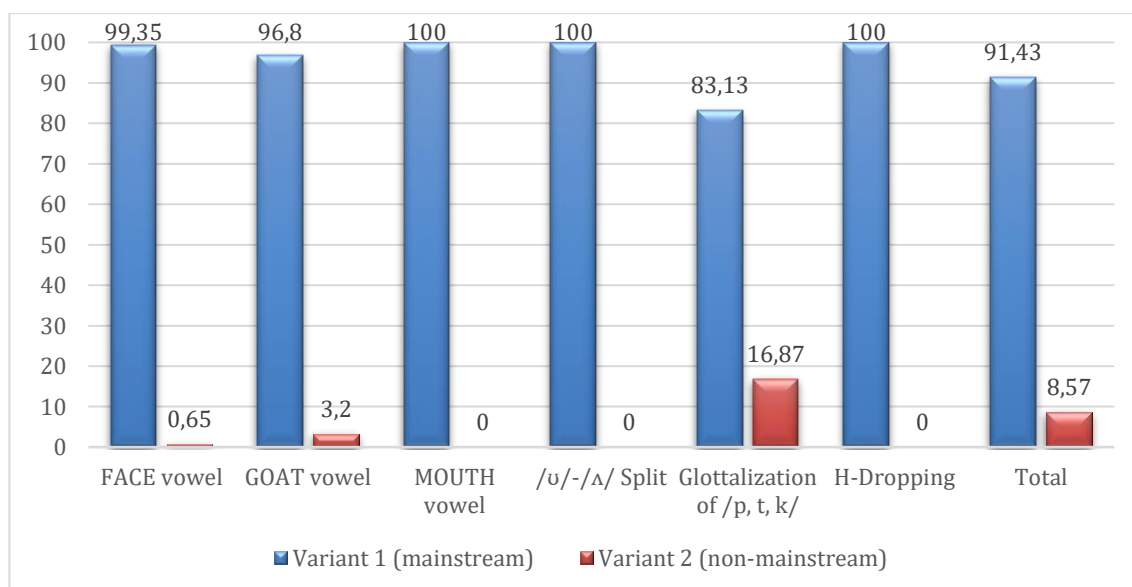


Figure IV.20. Total scores obtained by Theresa May in the context of Statement.

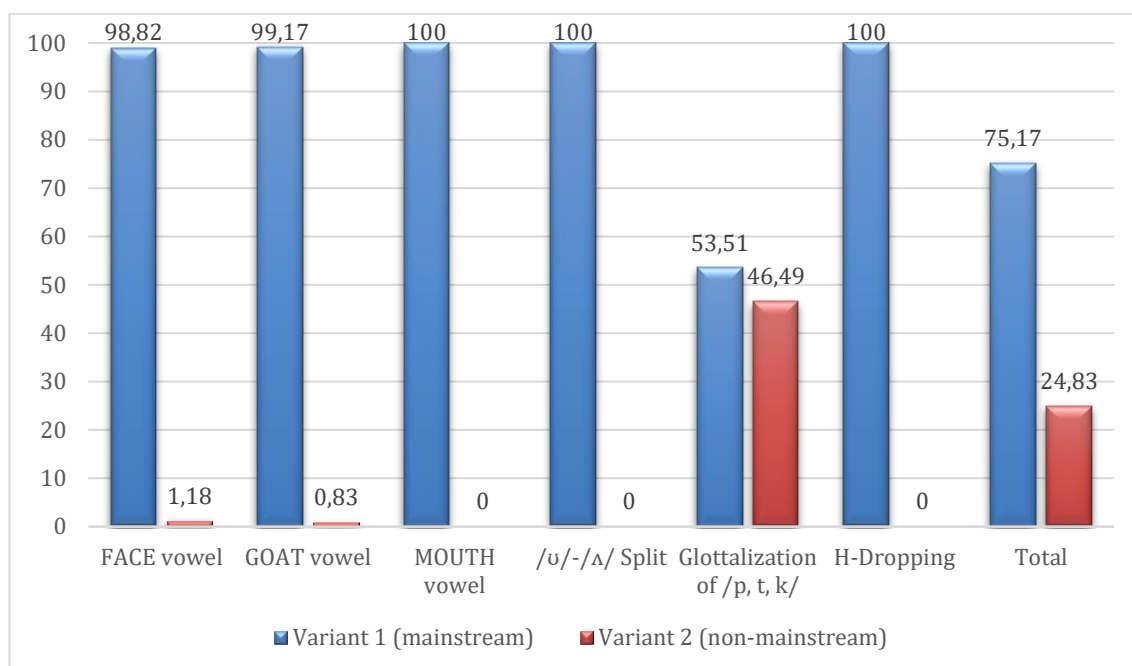


Figure IV.21. Total scores obtained by Theresa May in the context of Interview.

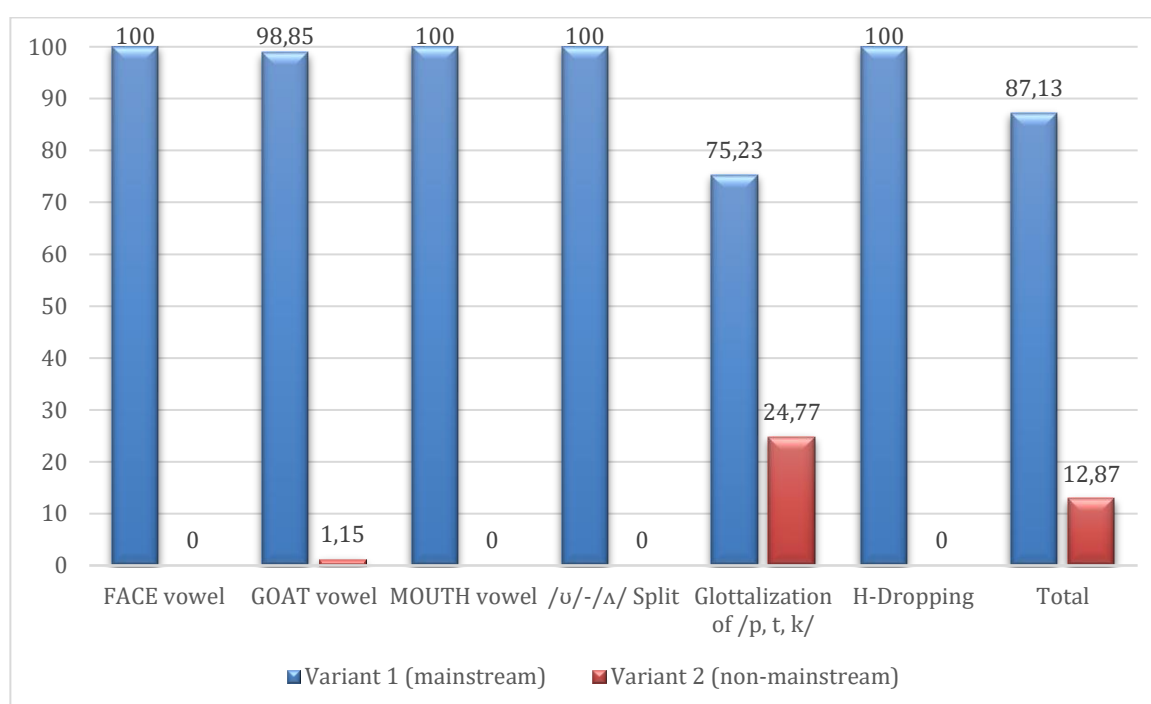


Figure IV.22. Total scores obtained by Theresa May in the context of Rally (North).

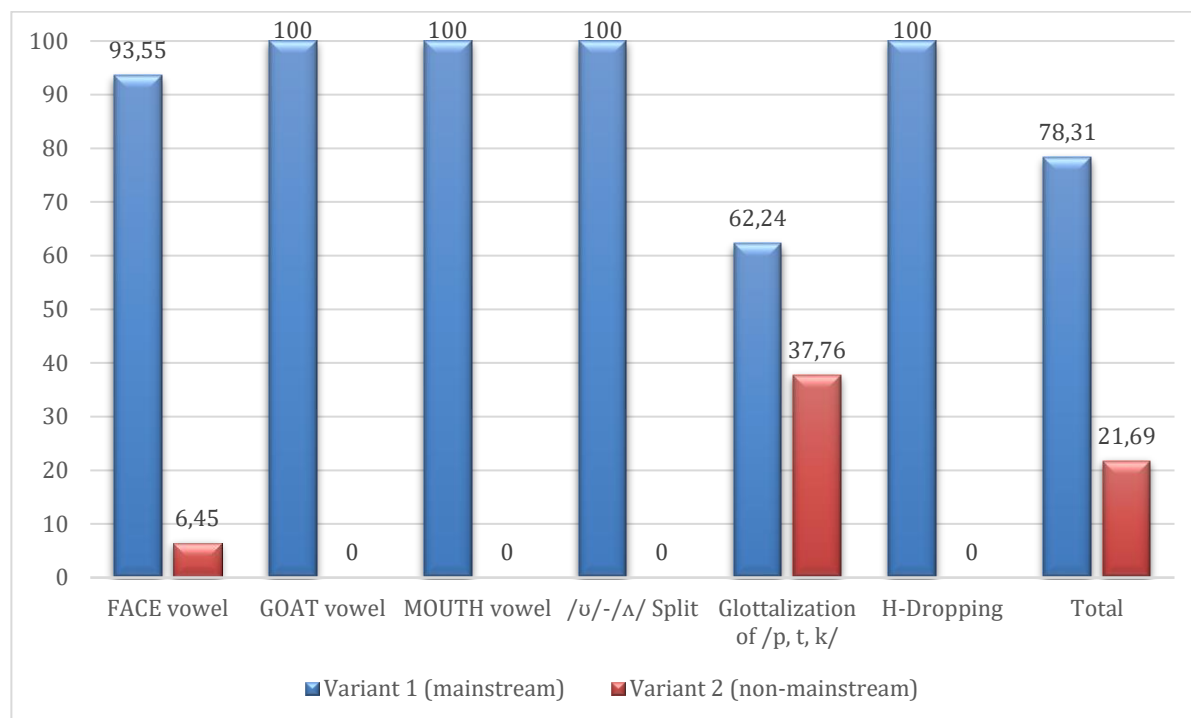


Figure IV.23. Total scores obtained by Theresa May in the context of Rally (South).

On the other hand, as it can be observed in Figure IV.24, the general sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May across the different contexts in which she operates reveals a clear pattern of use of the variables studied: this informant tends to employ mainstream variants (83.63%) to a greater extent than non-mainstream forms regardless of the context (16.37%), although her treatment of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ evidences certain variations in her speech style across contexts. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 99.53$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant both in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 16.819$; $df = 1$) and between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 81.242$; $df = 1$).

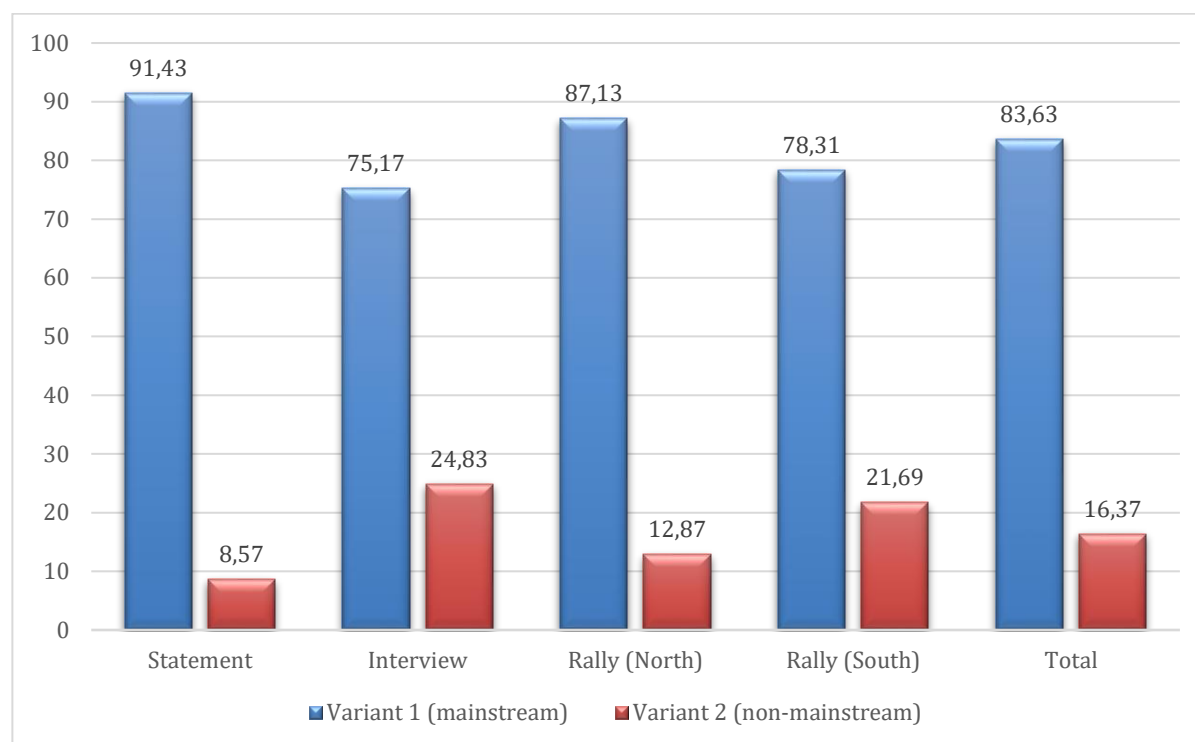


Figure IV.24. Total scores obtained by Theresa May per context.

Thus, May's sociolinguistic behaviour reveals a clear reluctance to accommodate to regionally marked variants in order to align with the speech of the targeted audience, which correlates with her social status and occupation (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44), as well as with the formality associated with the contexts in which she operates (Labov 2001a, 2001b). Also, May's high use of mainstream forms correlates with her educational background, as this informant attended Oxford University, which is regarded as one of the key institutions in the promotion of RP speech (Trudgill 2001). In addition, May's sociolinguistic behaviour goes in line with a common strategy employed by politicians operating in the public sphere, which consists in using mainstream variants in order to produce a "correct" and "educated" speech so as to best accomplish persuasive aims (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). Moreover, May adjusts not only to occupation and social class, but also to gender expectations, since it has been evidenced that, at least in the industrialised Western world, women's speech tends to be more mainstream than that of men (Trudgill 1972): while working class (non-mainstream) speech seems to have

connotations of masculinity because of its association with the roughness and toughness of the vernacular world and culture, these masculine attributes are not positively evaluated in women's speech, being refinement and sophistication much conventionally preferred (Coupland & Jaworski 2009).

Table IV.4. Logistic regression of the contribution of contextual factors to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by Theresa May. Fixed effects analysis: "Context" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.492	2999	0.836	—
Statement	0.66	852	0.914	0.66
Rally (North)	0.235	847	0.871	0.559
Rally (South)	-0.363	438	0.783	0.411
Interview	-0.545	862	0.752	0.368
Misc. 1	N= 2999; df= 2; Intercept= 1.667; Overall proportion= 0.836; Centered input probability= 0.841.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1294.76; AIC= 2593.521; AICc= 2593.525; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.269; R2 fixed= 0; R2 random= 0.068; R2 total= 0.068.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

Moreover, as observed in Table IV.4, a logistic regression indicates that the context of Statement is the one which most favours the usage of mainstream forms in Theresa May's speech, followed by that of Rally (North). On the contrary, the negative values obtained for Rally (South) and Interview indicate that none of these contexts favour the usage of mainstream forms in May's speech, being non-mainstream realisations more prone to be used in Interview (see "Intercept" column).

As a result, it seems that Theresa May neither strategically accommodates nor purposely designs her sociolinguistic behaviour across the different contexts in which she operates, being Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ the only exception to this assumption. Thus, it appears that May is making use of her own idiolect, which shares a wide range of

characteristics with RP accents, although a noticeable degree of accommodation to the targeted audience and the format of the different speech events can be observed when it comes to her usage of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ (Giles 1973, 1980, 2009).

IV.1.3. Jeremy Corbyn

Table IV.5 shows the sociolinguistic behaviour of British informant number 3, Jeremy Corbyn, for the four political contexts indicated in section III.2.2.b.ii: Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South). As it can be observed, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Corbyn is rather similar to that of Theresa May. Particularly, Corbyn exhibits a stable sociolinguistic pattern when it comes to FACE vowel, MOUTH vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split and H-Dropping. On the other hand, slight variations may emerge in his speech style when it comes to GOAT vowel, although these fluctuations are not as stark as those observed in Corbyn's use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/.

Table IV.5. British Informant 3: Jeremy Corbyn							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Context				
			Statement	Interview	Rally (North)	Rally (South)	Total
FACE vowel	Variant #1: [eɪ]	%	98.41%	97.62%	97.84%	97.84%	97.88%
		#	62/63	82/84	136/139	136/139	416/425
	Variant #2: Other	%	1.59%	2.38%	2.16%	2.16%	2.12%
		#	1/63	2/84	3/139	3/139	9/425
GOAT vowel	Variant #1: [əʊ]	%	86.57%	92.68%	93.40%	95.19%	92.48%
		#	58/67	76/82	99/106	99/104	332/359
	Variant #2: Other	%	13.43%	7.32%	6.60%	4.81%	7.52%
		#	9/67	6/82	7/106	5/104	27/359
MOUTH vowel	Variant #1: [aʊ]	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	21/21	18/18	40/40	53/53	132/132
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/21	0/18	0/40	0/53	0/132
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Variant #1: (u) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	60/60	70/70	141/141	89/89	360/360
	Variant #2: (u) = /ʌ/	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/60	0/70	0/141	0/89	0/360
Glottalisation of /p, t, k/	Variant #1: No	%	76.42%	45.61%	60.50%	55.49%	58.99%
		#	162/212	104/228	216/357	187/337	669/1134
	Variant #2: Yes	%	23.58%	54.39%	39.50%	44.51%	41.01%
		#	50/212	124/228	141/357	150/337	465/1134
H-Dropping	Variant #1: (h) = /h/	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	29/29	12/12	38/38	33/33	112/112
	Variant #2: (h) = /ə/	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/29	0/12	0/38	0/33	0/112
Total	Variant #1	%	86.73%	73.28%	81.61%	79.07%	80.13%
		#	392/452	362/494	670/821	597/755	2021/2522
	Variant #2	%	13.27%	26.72%	18.39%	20.93%	19.87%
		#	60/452	132/494	151/821	158/755	501/2522

IV.1.3.a. FACE vowel

Regarding FACE vowel, an almost imperceptible variation may be appreciated in the usage that Jeremy Corbyn makes of this linguistic feature. In fact, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.116$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 =$

0; $df=1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2=0.113$; $df=1$). That is, the usage that Corbyn makes of this variable is not influenced by the context in which he operates. Hence, the informant predominantly uses variant 1 ([eɪ]) over variant 2 (other non-mainstream realisations) in the context of Statement (98.41% versus 1.59% respectively), Interview (97.62% versus 2.38% respectively), Rally (North) (97.84% versus 2.16%) and Rally (South) (97.88% versus 2.12% respectively), as it can be observed in Table IV.5 and Figure IV.25. Consequently, no relevant accommodation is made on the part of Jeremy Corbyn by means of using regionally marked forms encompassed by variant 2, neither in the context of Rally (North), where monophthong /e:/ is quite common (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), nor in the context of Rally (South), as regionally marked forms encompassed by variant 2 can also be employed by Southern speakers (Altendorf & Watt 2004).

Hence, the total scores obtained by Jeremy Corbyn for FACE vowel reveal a strict adherence to mainstream variant 1 (97.88%), which is characteristic of RP speech and enjoys relevant prestige, as this variety has traditionally been also associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982). As a result, no fluctuation across contexts can be observed in Corbyn's speech, which results in a clear reluctance to accommodate to non-mainstream and locally marked pronunciations (2.12%).

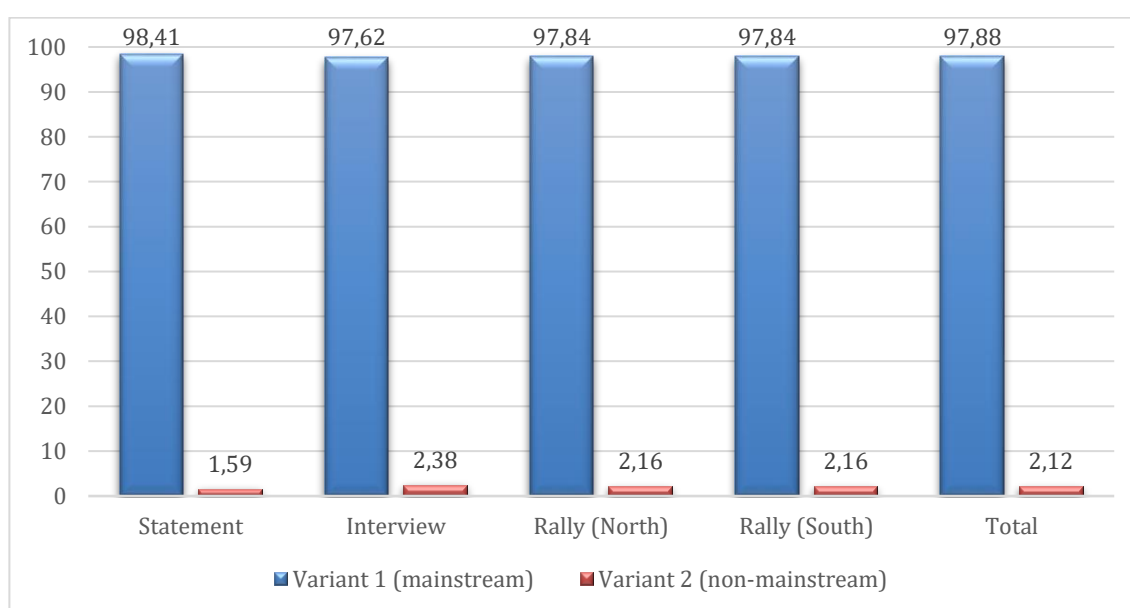


Figure IV.25. Jeremy Corbyn's use of FACE vowel across the different contexts.

IV.1.3.b. GOAT vowel

On the other hand, certain variation may be perceived in the usage that Jeremy Corbyn makes of GOAT vowel, as his usage of variant 1 ([əʊ]) and variant 2 (other non-mainstream variables) slightly varies across contexts. This slight variation could be influenced by the fact that even though variant 1 is regarded as the prestigious one as it is commonly used in RP accents (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Upton 2004), certain RP speakers –particularly older ones– may retain [o] as the first element in the realisation of this diphthong (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Upton 2004), as Jeremy Corbyn does. Nevertheless, the scores obtained by Corbyn for variant 1 in the contexts of Statement (86.57%), Interview (92.68%), Rally (North) (93.40%) and Rally (South) (95.19%) reveal a strong adherence to mainstream conventions, remaining variant 2 scarcely used (see Figure IV.26). In fact, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in Corbyn's results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 4.601$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.314$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.523$; $df = 1$).

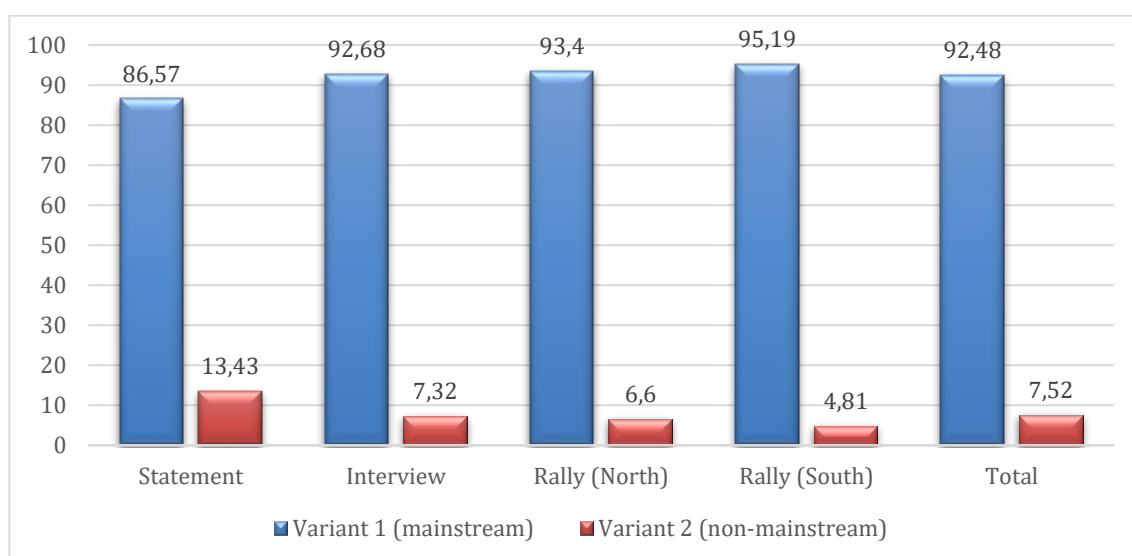


Figure IV.26. Jeremy Corbyn's use of GOAT vowel across the different contexts.

Consequently, it can be tentatively stated that Corbyn does not accommodate to a relevant extent to the different audiences targeted at each speech event. In fact, given that Corbyn has not had any close contact with Northern accents, the lack of accommodation movements in Corbyn's speech towards his Northern audience could be expected, as the usage of variant 2 in the form of monophthongal realisations has a strong association with local Northern identity (Watt & Milroy 1999: 37; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Similarly, the informant does not accommodate to his Southern audience, being locally marked forms encompassed by variant 2 frequently employed by individuals from Southern regions (Altendorf & Watt 2004). Hence, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Corbyn when it comes to GOAT vowel reveals a predominant use of the innovative (92.48%) over the conservative variant (7.52%) and a subsequent adherence to mainstream conventions with almost no fluctuation across contexts.

IV.1.3.c. MOUTH vowel

On the other hand, Jeremy Corbyn exhibits a rather stable sociolinguistic pattern when it comes to MOUTH vowel, being mainstream variant 1 ([aʊ]) (100%) predominantly used over non-mainstream variant 2 (other non-mainstream pronunciations) (0.00%). Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in Corbyn's results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with the frequent use that RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social statuses make of variant 1 (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), which contrasts with the frequency with which variant 2 is used in Northern areas, being monophthongal forms mostly restricted to older and/or working-class and/or male speakers in Tyneside and Northumberland (Beal 2004: 124). Hence, the prestige associated with variant 1, on the one hand, and the connotations associated with variant 2, on the other, might have precluded Corbyn from accommodating to his Northern audience by means of increasing his usage of local forms (non-mainstream variant 2). As a result, the scores obtained by the informant reveal a strong adherence to mainstream conventions and a clear rejection to

accommodate to Northern audiences by means of employing regionally marked forms. Thus, as it can be observed in Figure IV.27, neither the different audience targeted at each speech event nor the situational factors that characterise each context appear to influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of Jeremy Corbyn.

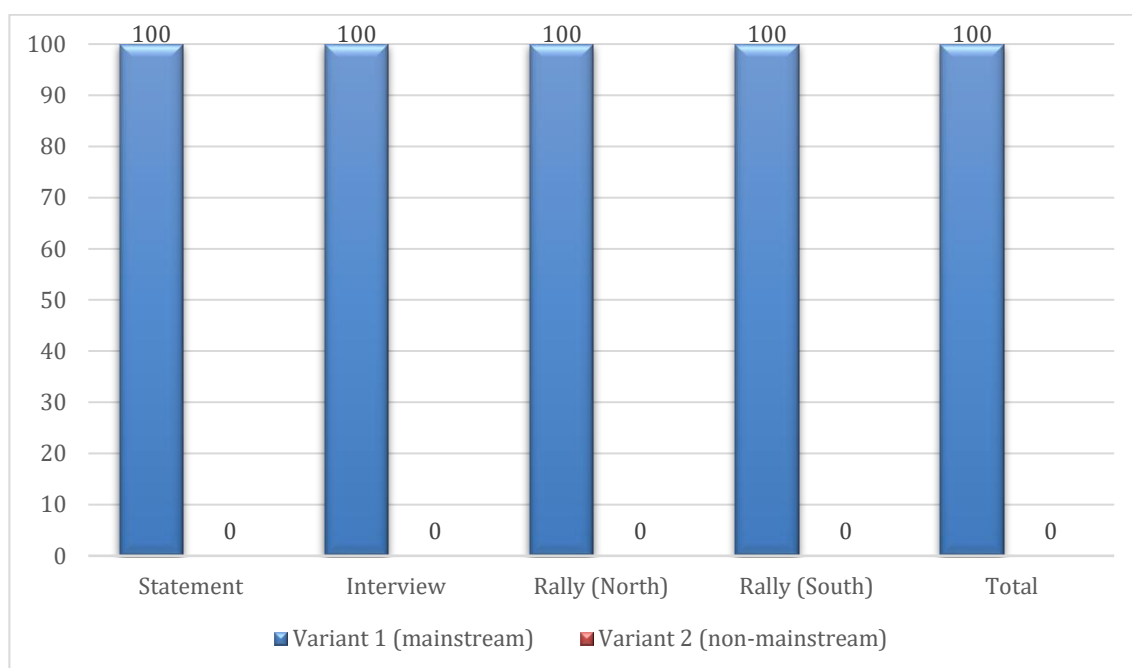


Figure IV.27. Jeremy Corbyn's use of MOUTH vowel across the different contexts.

IV.1.3.d. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split

An equal pattern can be appreciated in the usage that the informant makes of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split (see Figure IV.28), since he uses innovative variant 1 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation) in a 100% of realisations in each context, subsequently obtaining a percentage of 0.00 for variant 2 (No /ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation). This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 enjoys greater prestige as it is commonly used by RP speakers (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Thus, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in Corbyn's results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

In fact, considering that this variable is geographically restricted, and that variant 2 is one of the most salient markers of local identity in Northern English pronunciations (Beal 2004: 121), the scores obtained by Corbyn were rather expected, as he is originally from the South of England, where variant 1 is extensively used (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 75). In fact, by not using variant 2 in the context of Rally (North) the informant is evidencing a divergent sociolinguistic behaviour from his Northern audience, and therefore, a rejection when it comes to establishing a link with the targeted audience by means of employing non-mainstream linguistic forms associated with local identity. Thus, no fluctuation can be observed in the speech of Jeremy Corbyn when it comes to his usage of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, which results in a strict adherence to mainstream conventions and a clear rejection to accommodate to non-mainstream variant 2 regardless of the context in which he is operating.

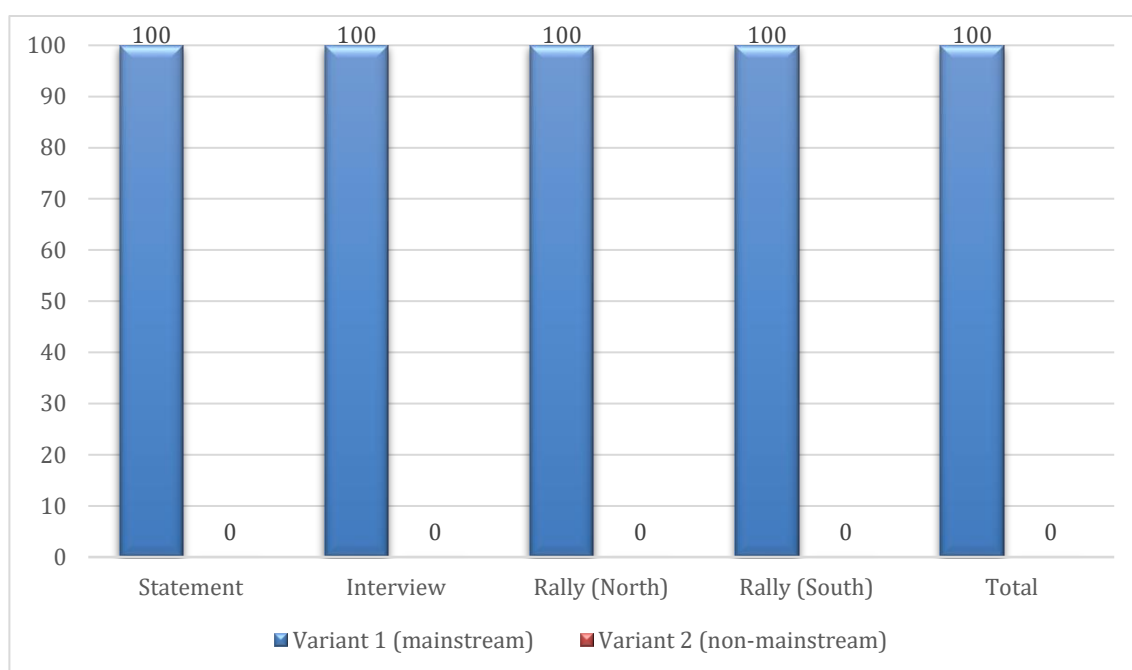


Figure IV.28. Jeremy Corbyn's use of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split across the different contexts.

IV.1.3.e. Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

If compared with Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn exhibits a similar sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to the usage of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, being this the only variable that presents a statistically significant degree of variation across contexts in Corbyn's speech style

(see Figure IV.29). Thus, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 45.517$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant in the contrast between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 43.594$; $df = 1$), but not between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.79$; $df = 1$).

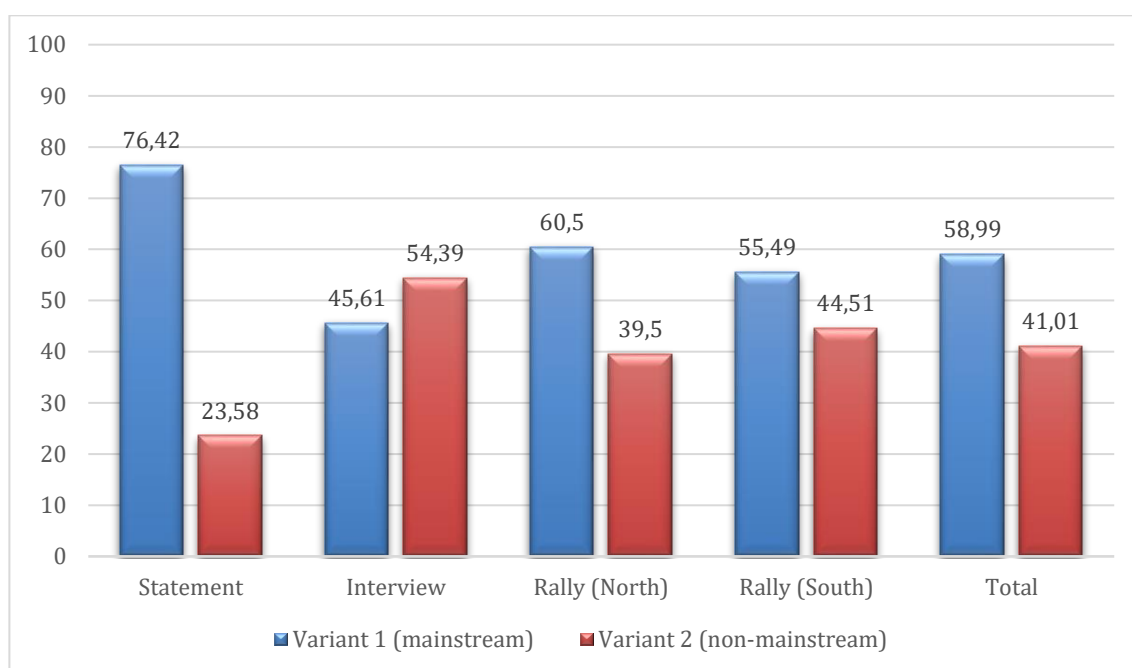


Figure IV.29. Jeremy Corbyn's use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ across the different contexts.

Particularly, certain aspects might determine the usage that this informant makes of glottalised forms. On the one hand, variant 2 has been traditionally associated with the speech of individuals from London –as well as from other South-eastern areas (Altendorf & Watt 2004). This might have influenced Corbyn's speech, since he has spent there most of his life. In addition, variant 2 is also associated with the speech of North-eastern individuals (Wells 1982; Llamas 2007), which might have resulted in certain accommodations in Corbyn's speech towards this non-mainstream variant when performing in his Northern rally. On the other hand, social status aspects could have influenced the use that Corbyn makes of the voiceless

stops, as glottalised realisations tend to be avoided by Upper-middle-class speakers while working-class individuals tend to use variant 2 to a greater extent (Altendorf & Watt 2004), being word-internal intervocalic position the most stigmatised phonological environment (Altendorf & Watt 2004). Nevertheless, a relevant spread of this variable has been observed to almost all urban areas in Britain (Beal 2004: 128). In fact, as previously stated, this has been “one of the most dramatic, widespread and rapid changes to have occurred in British English in recent times” (Trudgill 1999: 136). As a consequence, the general stigmatisation associated with glottalised realisations seems to be receding, being this type of pronunciation increasingly used by individuals belonging to higher social statuses and even by RP speakers – mostly associated with /t/– in words like *Gatwick* or *Luton*.

As it can be observed in Table IV.5 and Figure IV.29, the highest percentage obtained for mainstream variant 1 (76.42%) corresponds to the context of Statement, in which the Leader of the Labour Party and Leader of the Opposition –at the time in which the video was recorded– made an intervention in the House of Commons. A subsequent score of 23.58% was obtained for variant 2 for the same context, which is the lowest score obtained for this variant out of the four contexts studied. These scores contrast with those obtained in the context of Interview, which was broadcasted at a national level and took place at the ITV News studio in London. Thus, a relevant decrease in the usage of variant 1 can be appreciated in Corbyn’s speech (45.61%), being this percentage of use the lowest one obtained for the mainstream variant out of the four contexts. Correspondingly, the highest percentage for variant 2 (54.39%) was obtained in this context. This linguistic behaviour goes in line with the assumption that glottalised pronunciations may be avoided in careful speech while used to a certain extent in conversations (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). In this respect, Jeremy Corbyn strictly adheres to mainstream conventions when operating in the context of Statement, while he adapts his speech (whether consciously or unconsciously) to the conversational format that characterises the Interview context. Hence, as previously stated, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 43.594$; $df = 1$).

On the other hand, if compared with the scores obtained in the context of Statement, a relevant increase in the usage that Corbyn makes of variant 2 can be perceived in the contexts of Rally (North) –which took place in Middlesbrough (North Yorkshire County), in the framework of the 2019 UK general elections– and Rally (South) –which took place in Kempston (Bedfordshire County), in the framework of the 2019 UK general elections. Nevertheless, this increase in the percentage of use of glottalised forms is not as high as the score obtained for this variant in the context of Interview. Particularly, while Corbyn obtains a percentage of use of 60.50 for variant 1 and 39.50 for variant 2 in the context of Rally (North), a slight decrease is observed in his usage of variant 1 (55.49%) together with a subsequent increase in his usage of variant 2 (44.51%) in the context of Rally (South). As previously stated, this relevant use of glottalised realisations of /p, t, k/ in both rallies might have been influenced by the common use that speakers from North-eastern and South-eastern regions make of glottalised forms (Beal 2004; Wells 1982; Llamas 2007); which may have resulted in a noticeable accommodation of Corbyn’s speech towards the non-mainstream variant. Precisely, it seems that the informant accommodates to a greater extent to his Southern than to his Northern audience. Nevertheless, as already indicated, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.79$; $df = 1$).

Hence, it could be tentatively stated that even though Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ appears to be geographically as well as socially constricted, Jeremy Corbyn enjoys a considerable degree of freedom when it comes to employing this linguistic feature, as he accommodates his usage of this linguistic variable across the different contexts in which he operates. This fluctuation might be influenced by the dramatic spread of glottalised pronunciations, which can be heard in different regions and in the speech of individuals belonging to different social classes. In addition, it must be reminded that “it seems probable that in coming decades the stigmatisation of /t/ glottalling even in pre-vocalic contexts in the speech of younger RP speakers will recede to the point where its use is no longer remarked upon” (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 44), meaning that “the stigma of ugliness, inarticulacy and ‘sloppiness’” is becoming to recede (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67). As a result, Corbyn exhibits a

sociolinguistic behaviour for Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ characterised by a noticeable use of mainstream variant 1 (58.99%) and an evident tendency to accommodate his use of this variable to the different contexts studied, meaning that variant 2 is employed (whether consciously or unconsciously) to a relevant extent in his speech (41.01%).

IV.1.3.f. H-Dropping

On the other hand, and as it can be observed in Figure IV.30, Jeremy Corbyn exhibits a prominent mainstream behaviour when it comes to H-Dropping, as he obtained a score of 100% of realisations for variant 1 (presence of initial /h/) in all of the contexts studied. Thus, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

This prominent use of variant 1 might be influenced by the socially stratified nature of this variable, as variant 1 (presence of initial /h/) is associated with the speech of individuals belonging to a rather high social status as well as with RP speakers, while variant 2 (absence of initial /h/) would be expected to be used by speakers belonging to low social statuses (Beal 2004: 127). In this respect, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Jeremy Corbyn when it comes to H-Dropping in the context of Statement and Interview could be expected, since it appears that the speech of an informant with such a social status and political occupation would not be expected to be characterised by the usage of a phonological feature associated with the speech of working-class individuals. This goes in line with the assumption that the use of certain linguistic variants is conditioned by social class, and therefore, if a linguistic variable reveals social stratification, the use of those variants associated with higher status groups will be preferred in certain contexts (Chambers & Trudgill 2004).

In addition, H-Dropping is also geographically constricted, as variant 1 appears to be only used in North-eastern regions and in the region of East Anglia, although certain variation may be observed in other South-eastern regions (Beal 2004: 127; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Even though Jeremy Corbyn has spent most of his life in the South-east of England, the sociolinguistic behaviour of this informant reveals a prominent use of variant 1. Particularly,

it is of relevance the fact that he does not accommodate to mainstream 2 in the context of Rally (South), which indicates that he is influenced to a greater extent by socially stratified factors than by geographical aspects associated with this variable. Similarly, regarding the context of Rally (North), it is noteworthy to mention that even though this rally took place in Middlesbrough, a geographical area where /h/ is usually dropped in spontaneous speech (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 120), Corbyn did not accommodate to the local variant.

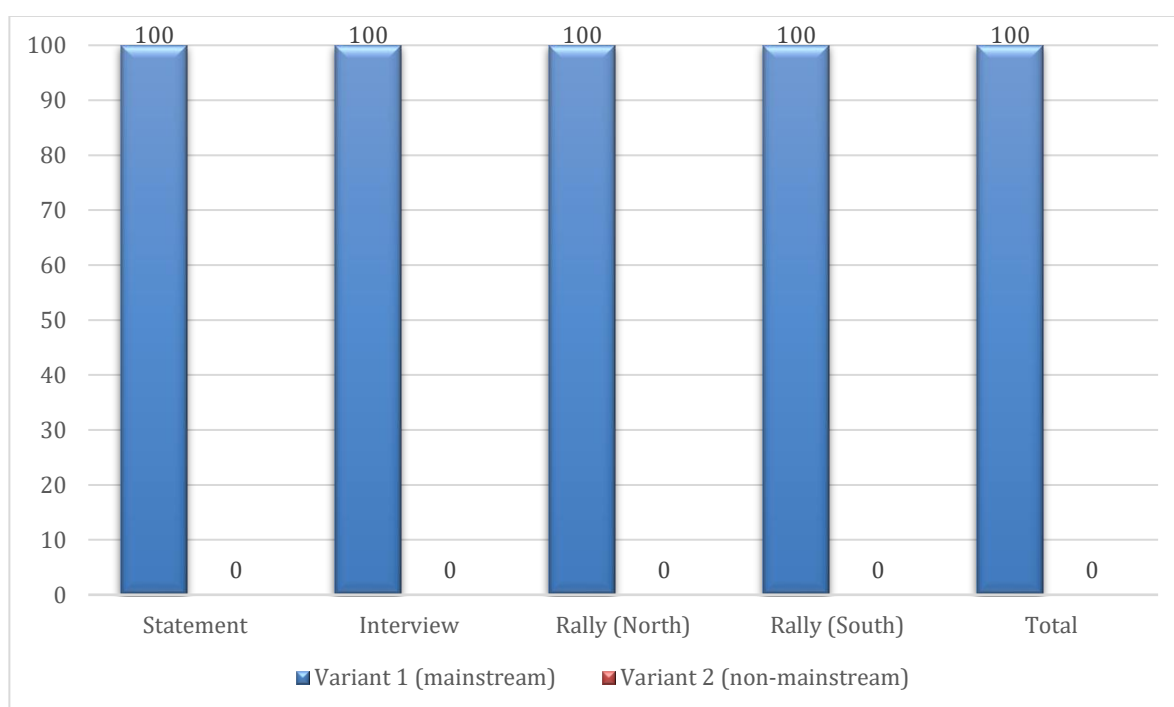


Figure IV.30. Jeremy Corbyn's use of H-Dropping across the different contexts.

Consequently, given the geographical as well as the social stratification constrictions associated with this linguistic feature, Jeremy Corbyn exhibits a prominent use of mainstream variant 1, which correlates with his social status and occupation but betrays the regional accent spoken in his geographical area of provenance. Thus, it could be tentatively stated that the sociolinguistic behaviour of this informant is influenced to a greater extent by social stratification factors than by geographical aspects, which results in a strict adherence to mainstream conventions and a clear reluctance to accommodate to local audiences by means of employing regionally marked variant 2, which remains unused in Corbyn's speech.

IV.1.3.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Jeremy Corbyn

Thus, as it can be observed in Figure IV.31, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Jeremy Corbyn is highly similar to that of Theresa May, as all the variables studied are predominantly realised with their mainstream variant regardless of the context (80.13%), being variant 2 scarcely used (19.87%). In fact, considering Corbyn's prevailing use of mainstream variants, his rather scarce variation in the scores obtained for the variables studied across the different contexts and his subsequent adherence to mainstream conventions, the speech of this informant appears to fall within the description of RP accents.

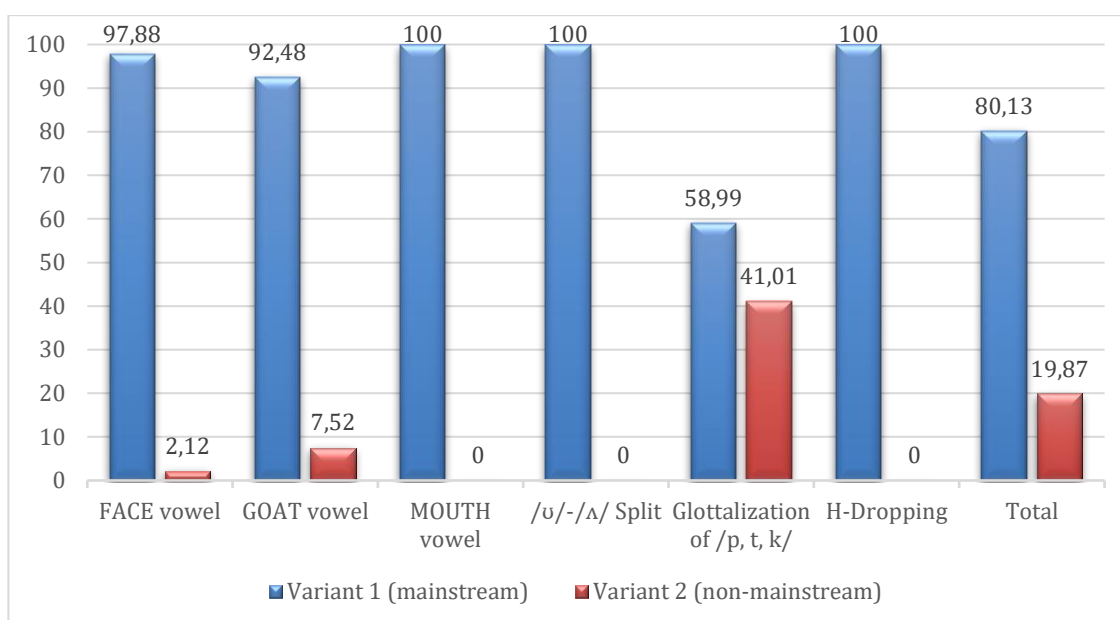


Figure IV.31. Total scores obtained by Jeremy Corbyn.

In terms of variability across contexts, and as it can be observed in Figures IV.32-IV.35, mainstream forms are generally used over non-mainstream realisations, being all contexts characterised by a noticeable mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour. Thus, Jeremy Corbyn employed a percentage of 86.73 for mainstream forms and a percentage of 13.27 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Statement, 73.28 for mainstream forms and 26.72 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Interview, 81.61 for mainstream forms and 18.39 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (North) and 79.07 for mainstream forms and 20.93 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (South). Particularly, the contexts

where the lowest percentage of use for mainstream forms is located are those of Interview and Rally (South), which may be explained by the increased use of glottalised forms on the part of the informant. In fact, as previously stated, the only variable that presents a significant degree of fluctuation across the different contexts in which Corbyn operates is that of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, as it seems that the informant enjoys a greater degree of freedom when it comes to using this linguistic variable, which results in a noticeable tendency to accommodate to the format (as in the case of Statement and Interview, showed in Figures IV.32 and IV.33, respectively) and the audience of each speech event (as in the case of Rally (North) and Rally (South), showed in Figures IV.34 and IV.35, respectively). As indicated above, due to the recent spread of variant 2, regional and socially stratified aspects associated with this linguistic feature seem to be receding, leading to a greater use of glottalised pronunciations, even in the speech of individuals belonging to high statuses and RP speakers. Thus, it could be tentatively stated that this linguistic feature is already part of Corbyn's sociolinguistic repertoire, as he employs non-mainstream variant 2 of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ even in the context of Statement, which is regarded as one of the most formal contexts in the political sphere. Nevertheless, the heterogeneous treatment that this informant makes of glottalised forms reveals that certain constraints seem to remain associated with this type of pronunciation.

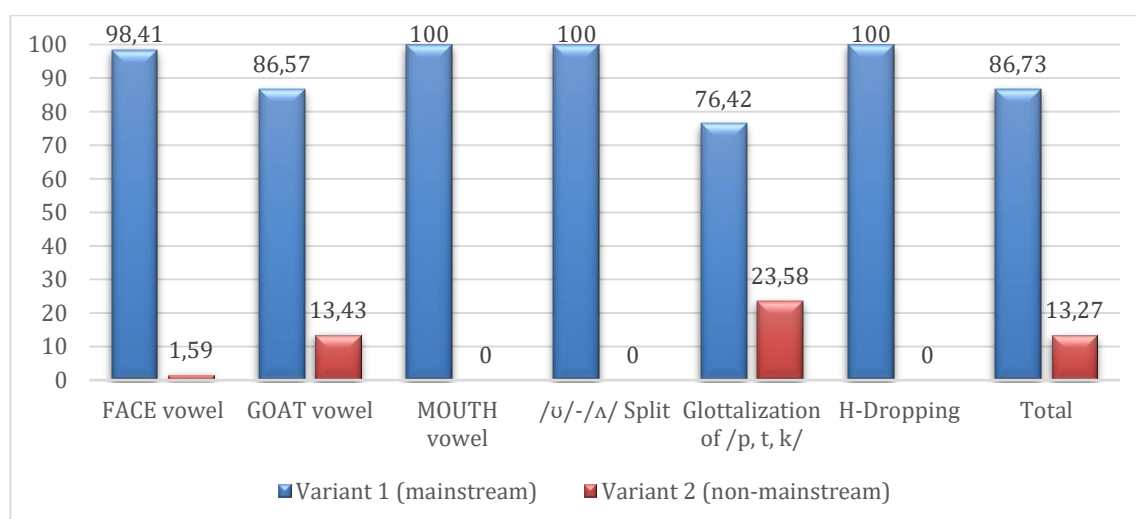


Figure IV.32. Total scores obtained by Jeremy Corbyn in the context of Statement.

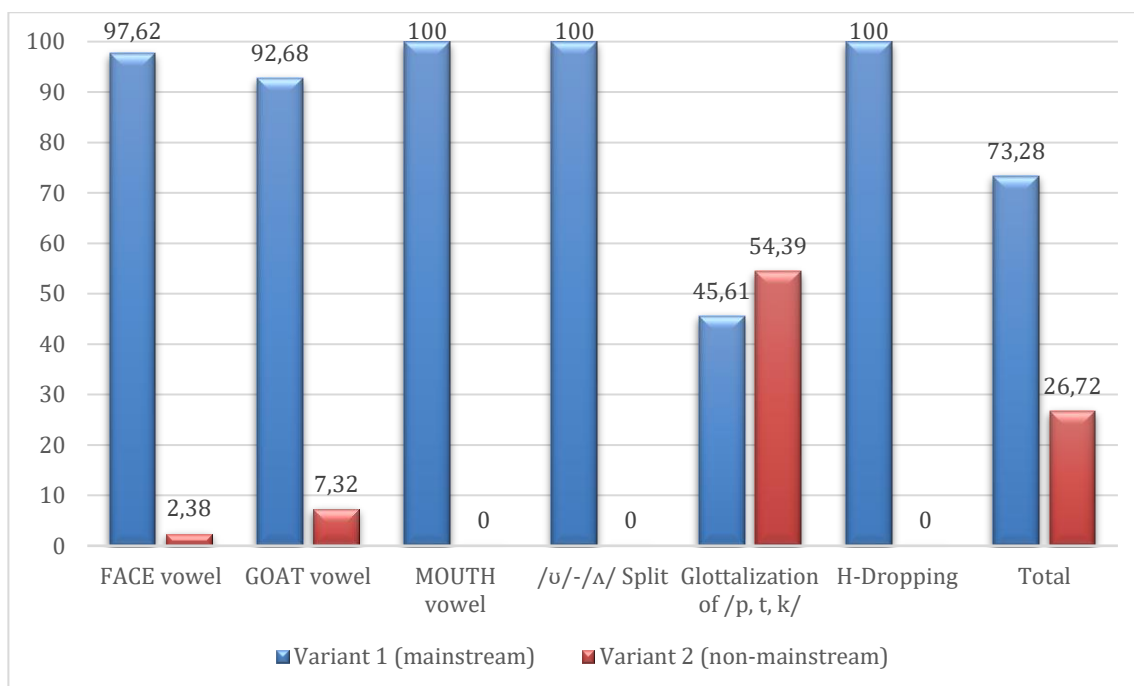


Figure IV.33. Total scores obtained by Jeremy Corbyn in the context of Interview.

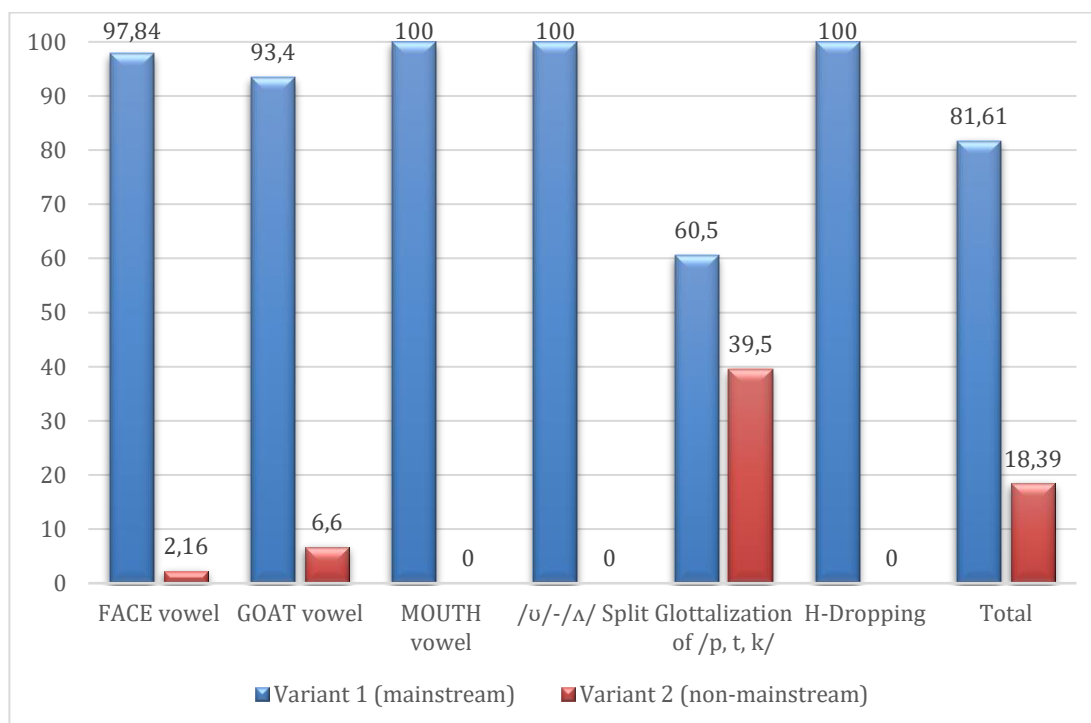


Figure IV.34. Total scores obtained by Jeremy Corbyn in the context of Rally (North).

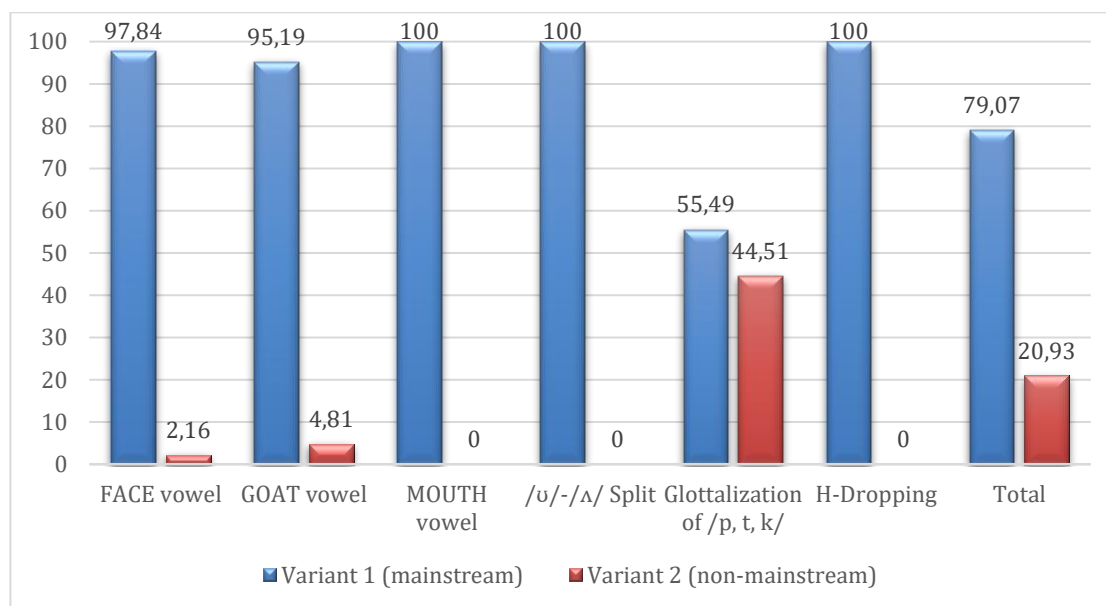


Figure IV.35. Total scores obtained by Jeremy Corbyn in the context of Rally (South).

On the other hand, as it can be observed in Figure IV.36, the general sociolinguistic behaviour of Jeremy Corbyn across the different contexts in which he operates reveals a clear pattern of use of the variables studied: this informant tends to employ mainstream variants (80.13%) to a greater extent than non-mainstream forms regardless of the context (19.87%). Nevertheless, his treatment of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ may result in certain variations across contexts. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in Corbyn's results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 28.572$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant in the contrast between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 26.381$; $df = 1$), but not between Rallies (North-South) ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.603$; $df = 1$).

Globally, Corbyn's sociolinguistic behaviour reveals a clear reluctance to accommodate to regionally marked variants in order to align with the speech of the targeted audience, which correlates with his educational background as well as with his social status and occupation (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44), together with the formality

associated with the contexts in which he operates (Labov 2001a, 2001b). In addition, Corbyn's sociolinguistic behaviour goes in line with a common strategy employed by politicians operating in the public sphere, which consists in using mainstream variants in order to produce a "correct" and "educated" speech so as to best accomplish persuasive aims (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44).

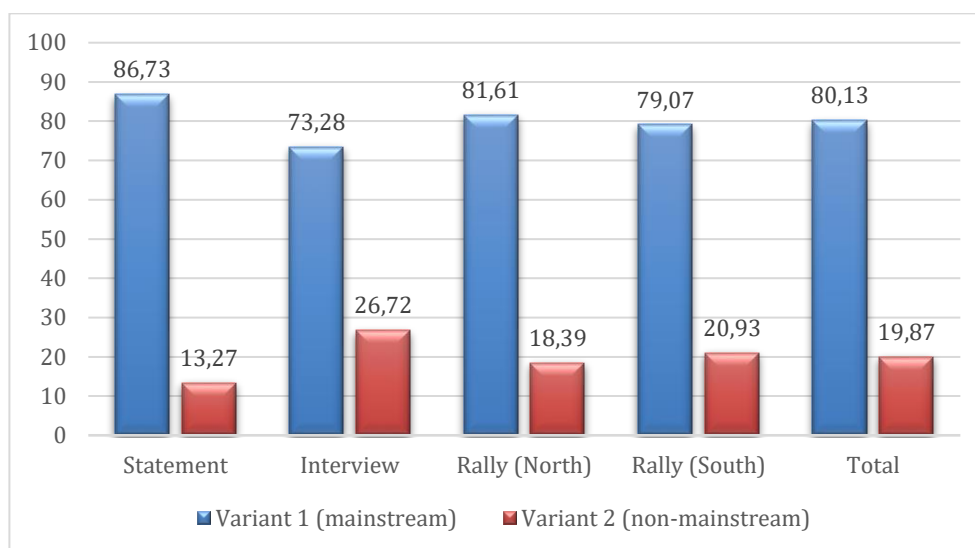


Figure IV.36. Total scores obtained by Jeremy Corbyn per context.

Precisely, as observed in Table IV.6, a logistic regression indicates that the context of Statement is the one which most favours the usage of mainstream forms in Jeremy Corbyn's speech, followed by that of Rally (North). On the contrary, the negative values obtained for the contexts of Rally (South) and Interview indicate that none these contexts favour Corbyn's usage of mainstream forms, being non-mainstream realisations more prone to emerge in Interview (see "Intercept" column).

Table IV.6. Logistic regression of the contribution of contextual factors to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by Jeremy Corbyn. Fixed effects analysis: “Context” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.283	2522	0.801	—
Statement	0.371	452	0.867	0.592
Rally (North)	0.064	821	0.816	0.517
Rally (South)	-0.082	755	0.791	0.48
Interview	-0.363	494	0.733	0.411
Misc. 1	N= 2522; df= 2; Intercept= 1.42; Overall proportion= 0.801; Centered input probability= 0.805.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1249.275; AIC= 2502.549; AICc= 2502.554; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.144; R2 fixed= 0; R2 random= 0.024; R2 total= 0.024.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

On the whole, it seems that Jeremy Corbyn neither strategically accommodates nor purposely designs his sociolinguistic behaviour across the different contexts in which he operates, being Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ the only exception to this assumption. Thus, it appears that Corbyn is making use of his own idiolect, which shares a wide range of characteristics with RP accents, although a considerable degree of accommodation to the targeted audience as well as to the format of the different speech events can be observed when it comes to his usage of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ (Giles 1973, 1980, 2009).

IV.1.4. Boris Johnson

Table IV.7 shows the sociolinguistic behaviour of British informant number 4, Boris Johnson, for the four political contexts indicated in section III.2.2.b.ii: Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South). As it can be observed, Boris Johnson exhibits a stable sociolinguistic pattern when it comes to /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split and H-Dropping, while slight variations can be observed

in the treatment that he makes of FACE vowel, GOAT vowel and MOUTH vowel. In addition, and just like Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn, relevant fluctuations across contexts are noticeable if the treatment that Johnson makes of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ is considered.

Table IV.7. British Informant 4: Boris Johnson							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Context				
			Statement	Interview	Rally (North)	Rally (South)	Total
FACE vowel	Variant #1: [eɪ]	%	100.00%	98.99%	98.89%	100.00%	99.41%
		#	119/119	98/99	178/180	112/112	507/510
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	1.01%	1.11%	0.00%	0.59%
		#	0/119	1/99	2/180	0/112	3/510
GOAT vowel	Variant #1: [əʊ]	%	100.00%	98.28%	98.39%	97.62%	98.71%
		#	121/121	57/58	122/124	82/84	382/387
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	1.72%	1.61%	2.38%	1.29%
		#	0/121	1/58	2/124	2/84	5/387
MOUTH vowel	Variant #1: [aʊ]	%	100.00%	91.43%	100.00%	97.73%	97.45%
		#	25/25	32/35	53/53	43/44	153/157
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	8.57%	0.00%	2.27%	2.55%
		#	0/25	3/35	0/53	1/44	4/157
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Variant #1: (u) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	98/98	97/97	193/193	144/144	532/532
	Variant #2: (u) = /ʌ/	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/98	0/97	0/193	0/144	0/532
Glottalisation of /p, t, k/	Variant #1: No	%	75.57%	52.96%	56.15%	62.76%	61.40%
		#	263/348	161/304	315/561	268/427	1007/1640
	Variant #2: Yes	%	24.43%	47.04%	43.85%	37.24%	38.60%
		#	85/348	143/304	246/561	159/427	633/1640
H-Dropping	Variant #1: (h) = /h/	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	21/21	25/25	46/46	30/30	122/122
	Variant #2: (h) = /ə/	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/21	0/25	0/46	0/30	0/122
Total	Variant #1	%	88.39%	76.05%	78.39%	80.74%	80.73%
		#	647/732	470/618	907/1157	679/841	2703/3348
	Variant #2	%	11.61%	23.95%	21.61%	19.26%	19.27%
		#	85/732	148/618	250/1157	162/841	645/3348

IV.1.4.a. FACE vowel

Regarding FACE vowel, certain fluctuation may be perceived in the usage that Boris Johnson makes of variant 1 [eɪ] and variant 2 (other non-mainstream realisations). Nevertheless, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance

suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.51$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.253$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.208$; $df = 1$).

Thus, as it can be seen in Table IV.7 and Figure IV.37, Johnson predominantly uses variant 1 over variant 2, as he obtained a score of 100% for variant 1 in the context of Statement, 98.99% in the context of Interview, 98.89% in the context of Rally (North) and 100% in the context of Rally (South). This sociolinguistic behaviour reveals a strong adherence to mainstream variant 1, which is characteristic of RP speech and enjoys relevant prestige, as this variety has traditionally been associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982).

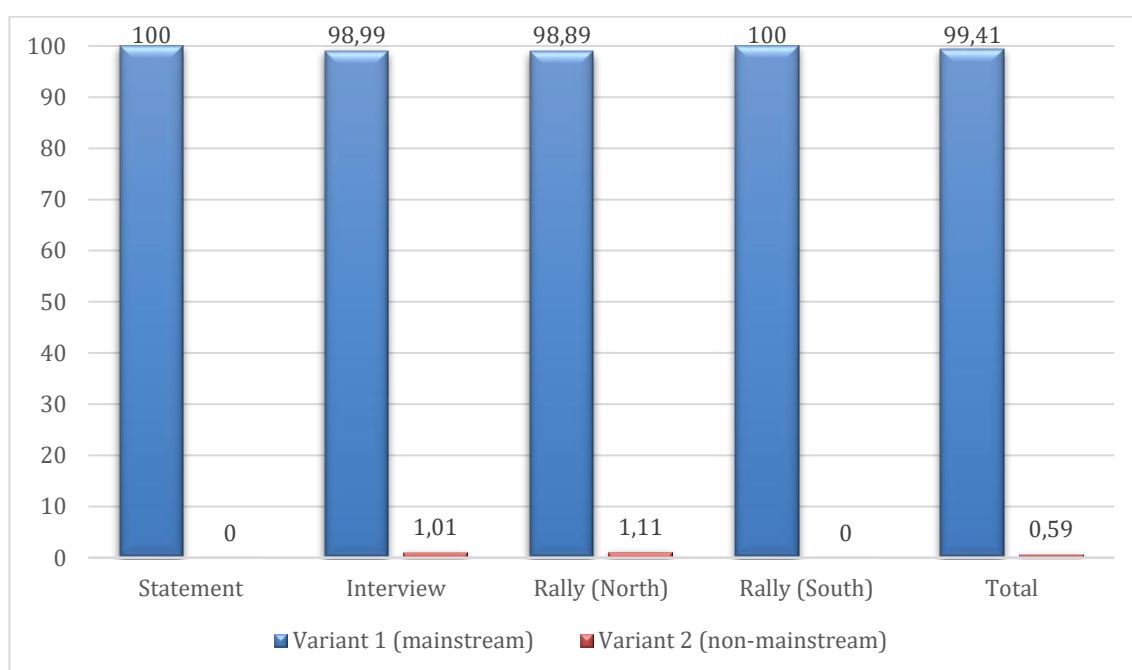


Figure IV.37. Boris Johnson's use of FACE vowel across the different contexts.

Particularly, it is noteworthy to mention that both Rally (North) and Rally (South) took place in geographical areas where variant 2 is frequently used: while realisations as /iə/ and /e:/ are commonly heard in Northern regions (Beal 2004: 123), [æɪ] forms are usually

employed in London (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 77). Thus, it becomes of relevance the fact that the informant did not alter his usage of this variable to a relevant extent by means of significantly using regionally marked realisations associated with Northern or Southern speech.

As for the remaining contexts, the usage that Boris Johnson makes of FACE vowel in the speech events of Statement and Interview is rather expected, as both contexts were quite formal, and therefore, a relevant use of the mainstream variant would be expected on the part of the Prime Minister (Labov 2001a, 2001b).

Thus, it can be clearly observed that Boris Johnson does not alter his usage of FACE vowel across the different contexts in which he operates. In fact, despite the prevalent use of locally marked forms encompassed by variant 2 in the areas where both rallies took place (North-South), the informant did not accommodate to the audience, as he made a prominent use of variant 1 instead of variant 2. Therefore, as it can be observed in Figure IV.37, the total scores obtained by Boris Johnson for FACE vowel reveal a strict adherence to mainstream conventions (99.41%), remaining non-mainstream variant 2 scarcely used (0.59%).

IV.1.4.b. GOAT vowel

Similarly, the usage that Boris Johnson makes of GOAT vowel also reveals a subtle variation. Nevertheless, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.55$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.157$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.098$; $df = 1$). Thus, there is no correlation between the usage of variant 1 [əʊ] and variant 2 (other non-mainstream realisation) of GOAT vowel and the context in which Johnson operates, which means that pronunciation changes made by this informant are not relevant enough so as to state that he is adjusting his speech to the different contexts in which he operates (see Figure IV.38).

In line with the scores obtained by Johnson for FACE vowel, it becomes of relevance the fact he predominantly uses variant 1 in each context, as he obtained a score of 100% in the context of Statement, 98.28% in the context of Interview, 98.39% in the context of Rally (North) and 97.62% in the context of Rally (South). This sociolinguistic behaviour reveals a strong adherence to mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is commonly used by RP speakers and enjoys greater prestige (Upton 2004).

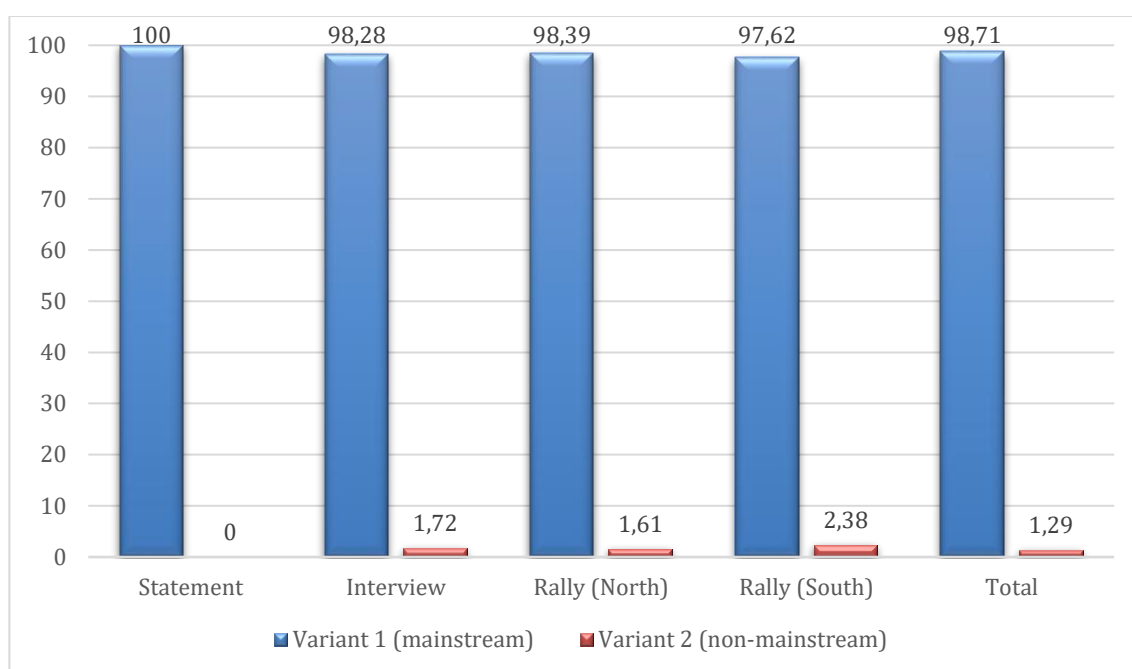


Figure IV.38. Boris Johnson's use of GOAT vowel across the different contexts.

In fact, the scores obtained for the different contexts were rather expected, as the speech events in which Boris Johnson participated were rather formal, which would have fostered a prominent use of mainstream over non-mainstream forms in the sociolinguistic behaviour of the Prime Minister (Labov 2001a, 2001b; Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010). Particularly, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though variant 2 is usually regarded as a “symbolic affirmation of local identity” in the speech of Northern individuals (Watt & Milroy 1999: 37), the informant does not accommodate to his Northern audience. Similarly, even though variant 2 in the form of diphthong [ʌʊ] is commonly used in

London (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), the informant neither accommodates to this local linguistic feature in his Southern rally.

Thus, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Boris Johnson when it comes to GOAT vowel reveals a predominant use of the innovative (98.71%) over the conservative variant (1.29%), with almost no fluctuation across contexts.

IV.1.4.c. MOUTH vowel

A similar pattern is observed in the usage that Boris Johnson makes of MOUTH vowel, being variant 1 [aʊ] predominantly used over variant 2 (other non-mainstream pronunciations) in each of the contexts studied (see Figure IV.39). This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with Johnson's social background and occupation, as RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social statuses commonly use variant 1 (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). In addition, even though a subtle variation in Johnson's proportion of use of both MOUTH vowel variants may be perceived, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 7.168$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.217$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.256$; $df = 1$). That is, those pronunciation changes made by Boris Johnson are not relevant enough so as to state that he is adapting his speech to the different contexts in which he operates.

Regarding the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South), it is noteworthy to mention that despite variant 2 being used to a certain extent in the geographical areas where both rallies took place (Beal 2004; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), Boris Johnson did not accommodate to his audience, as he obtained a percentage of use for variant 1 of 100 in Rally (North) and a score of 97.73% in Rally (South). This rejection to accommodate neither to Northern nor to Southern audiences might be motivated by the associations of variant 2 with the speech of older and/or working-class and/or male speakers in Tyneside and Northumberland (Beal 2004: 124) in the case of Rally (North), and the associations of variant

2 with the speech of working-class London individuals in the case of Rally (South) (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). This clearly contrasts with the prestige associated with variant 1, which is predominantly used by RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social statuses (Trudgill 1990, 2001; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). In addition, the scores obtained for variant 1 in the contexts of Statement (100%) and Interview (91.43%) were rather expected due to the formality associated with both contexts, the national scope of both speech events, and the occupational and social status of the informant.

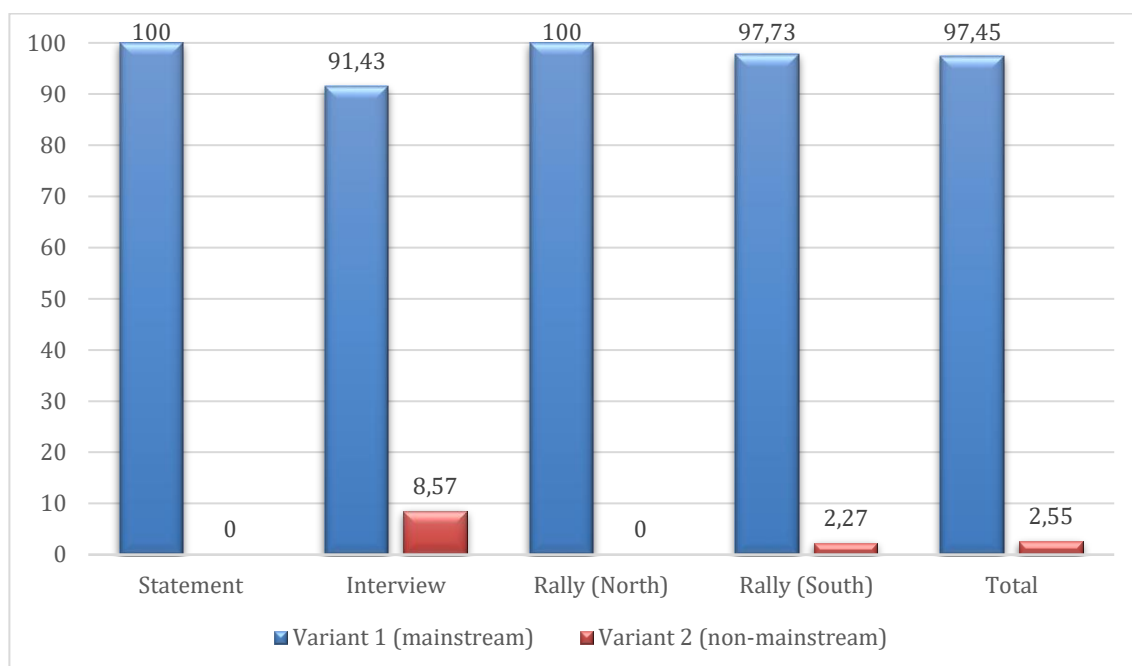


Figure IV.39. Boris Johnson's use of MOUTH vowel across the different contexts.

Thus, as it can be observed in Figure IV.39, neither the different audience targeted at each speech event nor the situational factors that characterise each context appear to influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of Boris Johnson, who predominantly uses mainstream variant 1 (97.45%) over non-mainstream variant 2 (2.55%).

IV.1.4.d. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split

On the other hand, the scores obtained by Boris Johnson for /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split exhibit a stable sociolinguistic pattern without any trace of variability across the different contexts, being

mainstream variant 1 predominantly used over non-mainstream variant 2 (see Figure IV.40). In fact, the informant obtained a score of 100% for mainstream variant 1 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation) in each of the contexts studied, remaining variant 2 (No /ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation) unused in Johnson's speech. Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$). This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 enjoys greater prestige since it is commonly used by RP speakers (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013).

In addition, it is of relevance the fact that even though variant 2 is regarded as one of the most salient markers of local identity in Northern English pronunciations (Beal 2004: 121), the informant did not use this variant at all in the context of Rally (North), employing mainstream variant 1 to same extent as in the contexts of Statement, Interview and Rally (South). Particularly, the lack of realisations with this variant in the speech of Boris Johnson could be expected, as he has spent most of his life in South-eastern areas of England, where variant 1 is extensively used (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 75). In fact, by not using variant 2 in the context of Rally (North) Johnson is evidencing a divergent sociolinguistic behaviour from his Northern audience, and therefore, a rejection when it comes to establishing a linguistic association with the targeted audience by means of employing non-mainstream forms that tend to elicit local identity aspects.

Hence, neither the different audience targeted at each speech event nor the situational factors that characterise each context appear to influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of Boris Johnson, whose total scores for ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split reveal a prevalent mainstream behaviour –which correlates with his social status and occupation (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010)– as well as a clear rejection when it comes to accommodating to local non-mainstream forms.

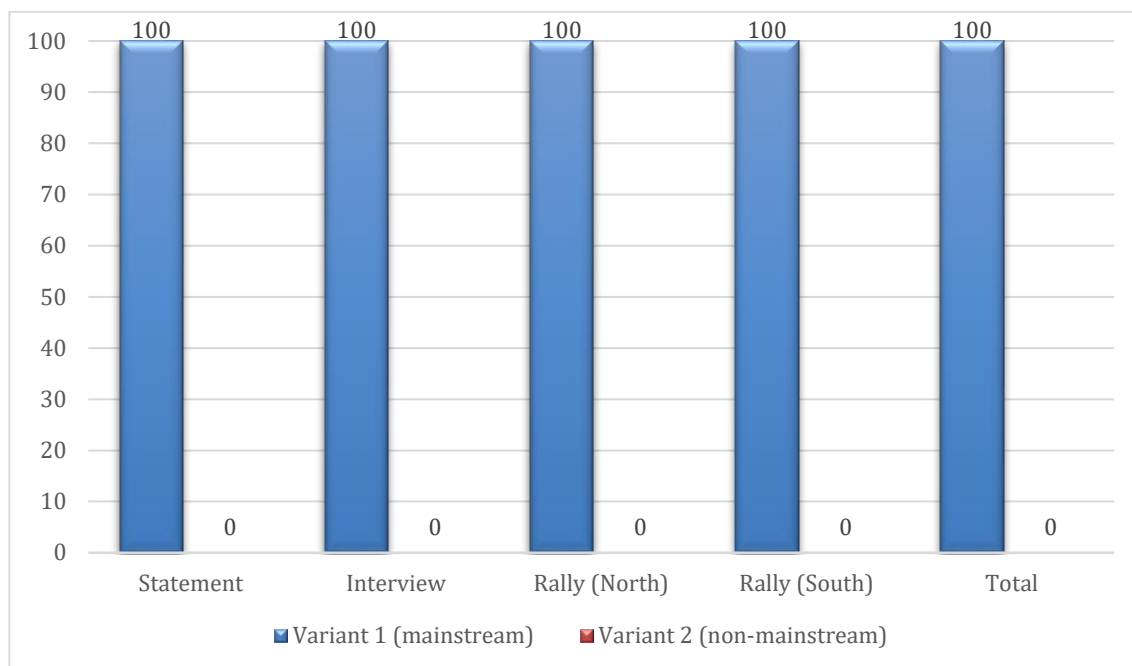


Figure IV.40. Boris Johnson's use of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split across the different contexts.

IV.1.4.e. Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

In line with the percentages of use obtained by previous informants for Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, Boris Johnson also employs a varied use of variant 1 (No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) and variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/). Particularly, this variable is the only one that presents a significant degree of variation in the speech of this informant. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in Johnson's results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 45.499$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant both in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 4.384$; $df = 1$) and between Statements and Interview ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 36.489$; $df = 1$).

As previously stated, certain aspects might determine the usage that Johnson makes of this linguistic feature. On the one hand, variant 2 has been traditionally associated with the speech of individuals based in the South-east of England, and particularly, in London (Altendorf & Watt 2004). This might have influenced Johnson's speech, since he has spent most of his life in this geographical area, as he served as the Mayor of London from 2008 to

2012 and from 2012 to 2016, and has been representing the small constituency of Uxbridge and South Ruislip –a commuter town located on the outskirts of London– from 2015 until present times. In addition, variant 2 is also associated with the speech of North-eastern individuals (Wells 1982; Llamas 2007), which might have resulted in certain accommodation towards this non-mainstream variant on the part of the Prime Minister when operating in Northern regions. On the other hand, social status aspects could have influenced the use that Boris Johnson makes of the voiceless stops, as glottalised realisations tend to be avoided by Upper-middle-class speakers while working-class individuals tend to use variant 2 to a greater extent (Altendorf & Watt 2004), being word-internal intervocalic position the most stigmatised phonological environment (Altendorf & Watt 2004). Nevertheless, a relevant spread of this variable has been observed to almost all urban areas in Britain (Beal 2004: 128). In fact, as previously stated, this has been “one of the most dramatic, widespread and rapid changes to have occurred in British English in recent times” (Trudgill 1999: 136). As a consequence, the general stigmatisation associated with glottalised realisations seems to be receding, being this type of pronunciation increasingly used by individuals belonging to higher social statuses and even by RP speakers –mostly associated with /t/– in words like *Gatwick* or *Luton*.

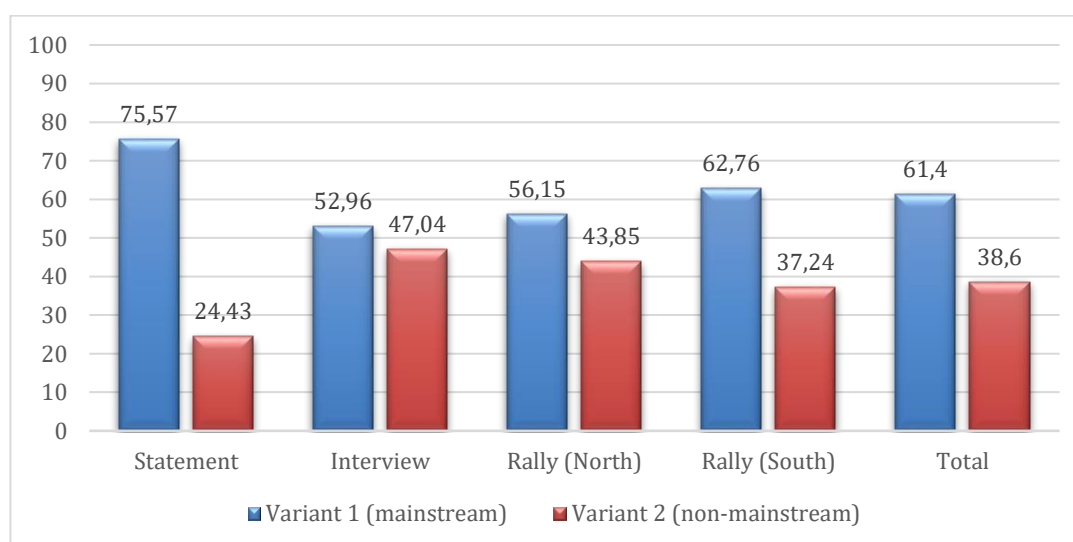


Figure IV.41. Boris Johnson's use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ across the different contexts.

As it can be observed in Figure IV.41, the treatment that Johnson makes of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ across the different contexts reveals a stark contrast between the scores obtained in the context of Statement and those obtained in the context of Interview. In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between Statement and Interview are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 36.489$; $df = 1$). Precisely, both contexts differ in terms of format aspects: while the context of Statement consisted in an intervention made by the Prime Minister and Leader of the Conservative Party in the House of Commons, the context of Interview consisted in an interview that took place at ITV News studio in London, in which Johnson participated and which was broadcasted at a national level. The inherent differences to such different contexts could have influenced Boris Johnson's treatment of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, as he obtained the highest percentage of use for variant 1 (75.57%) and the lowest percentage of usage for variant 2 (24.43%) in the context of Statement, but he reversed these figures in the context of Interview, obtaining the lowest percentage of use for variant 1 (52.96%) and the highest percentage of use for variant 2 (47.04%) out of the four contexts. As previously stated, this use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ goes in line with the assumption that glottalised pronunciations may be avoided in careful speech while used to a certain extent in conversations (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Hence Boris Johnson strictly adheres to mainstream conventions when operating in the context of Statement, while he adapts his speech (whether consciously or unconsciously) to the conversational format of the Interview context.

On the other hand, Figure IV.41 evidences an increase in the scores obtained for variant 1 in the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South) –which took place in the framework of the 2019 UK general elections– if compared with the score obtained in the context of Interview, although they are not as high as the one obtained in the context of Statement. Thus, even though Johnson uses variant 1 over variant 2 in both rallies, glottalised forms are also used to a relevant extent in these contexts. In the case of Rally (North), it is of relevance the fact that it took place in Stockton-on-Tees (Durham County), a geographical area where glottalised pronunciations are rather frequent (Beal 2004). Regarding Rally (South), this speech event took place in London, where glottalised pronunciations are also extremely

common but usually associated with the speech of working-class individuals (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Just as in the context of Rally (North), the frequency with which individuals from this geographical area employ variant 2 might have influenced the relevant use that Johnson makes of variant 2 (37.24%), although variant 1 is still prominently used in his speech (62.76%). Thus, it seems that Boris Johnson accommodates to a greater extent to his Northern audience than to his Southern audience, which could be motivated by the fact that even though geographical and social restrictions associated with this variable are receding, variant 2 tends to be a sociolinguistic variable that correlates with age and gender in North-eastern regions (Beal 2004). Hence, the fact that the Northern rally took place in an engineering company with the staff consisting mostly of middle-aged male employees could have fostered a greater use of glottalised forms in the speech of Johnson than the more varied audience in terms of gender, age and social class, that attended the Southern rally. Consequently, not only geographical but also social factors appear to influence the usage that Johnson made of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ in both rallies, as it seems that he adjusted his production of glottalised forms to the audience of each speech event. In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-south) are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 4.384$; $df = 1$).

Hence, it could be tentatively stated that even though Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ appears to be geographically as well as socially constricted, Boris Johnson accommodates his usage of this linguistic feature to the different contexts in which he operates. This relevant degree of freedom in the usage of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ might be influenced by the dramatic spread of glottalised forms, which can be heard in different regions of England and in the speech of individuals belonging to different social classes. In addition, it must be reminded that “it seems probable that in coming decades the stigmatisation of /t/ glottalling even in pre-vocalic contexts in the speech of younger RP speakers will recede to the point where its use is no longer remarked upon” (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 44), meaning that “the stigma of ugliness, inarticulacy and ‘sloppiness’” is becoming to recede (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67). As a result, even though Johnson exhibits a relevant use of mainstream variant 1 (61.40%),

he tends to accommodate his use of this variable to the different contexts studied, meaning that variant 2 is also used to a noticeable extent by this informant (31.60%).

IV.1.4.f. H-Dropping

As for H-Dropping, Johnson obtained a score of 100% for variant 1 (presence of /h/) and a subsequent 0.00% for variant 2 (absence of /h/) in each of the contexts studied (see Figure IV.42). Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

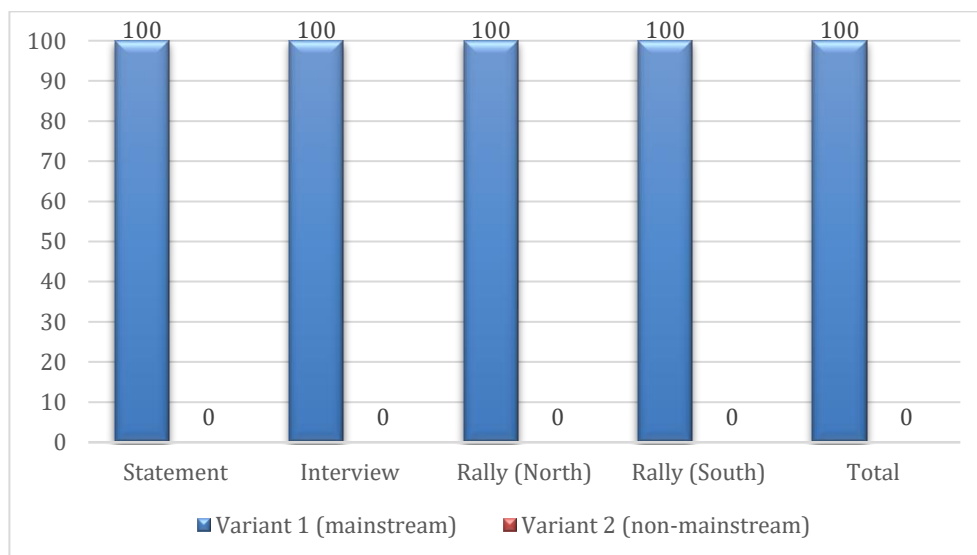


Figure IV.42. Boris Johnson's use of H-Dropping across the different contexts.

This prominent use of variant 1 might be influenced by the socially stratified nature of this variable, as variant 1 tends to be associated with the speech of individuals belonging to a rather high social status as well as with RP speakers, while variant 2 would be expected to be used by speakers belonging to lower social statuses (Beal 2004: 127). In this respect, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Boris Johnson when it comes to H-Dropping in the context of Statement and Interview could be expected, since it appears that the speech of a Prime Minister would not be expected to be characterised by a phonological feature associated with

the speech of working-class individuals. This goes in line with the assumption that the use of certain linguistic variants is conditioned by social class, and therefore, if a linguistic variable reveals social stratification, the use of those variants associated with higher status groups will be preferred in certain contexts (Chambers & Trudgill 2004).

In addition, H-Dropping is also geographically constricted, as variant 1 appears to be used only in North-eastern regions and in East Anglia, although certain variation may be observed in South-eastern regions (Beal 2004: 127; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Hernández-Campoy 1999). Thus, even though Boris Johnson has been based in the Southeast of England for long periods of time, the sociolinguistic behaviour of this informant reveals a prominent use of variant 1, betraying in this way the accent associated with his geographical area of provenance. In this respect, it is of relevance the fact that he does not accommodate to non-mainstream variant 2 in the context of Rally (South), perhaps under the influence of the socially stratified nature of this linguistic variable. Regarding the context of Rally (North), it is noteworthy to mention that even though his rally took place in a region where variant 1 is frequently used, if socially stratified aspects are also considered, it could be stated that the informant is not accommodating to the local variant, but adhering to mainstream and prestigious conventions instead.

Consequently, given the geographical as well as social stratification constrictions associated with this linguistic feature, Boris Johnson exhibits a prominent use of mainstream variant 1 (100%) regardless of the context in which he operates, which correlates with his social status and occupation (Labov 2001a, 2001b; Cutillas-Espinosa; Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010), but contrasts with the geographical area where he has been based for long periods of time. Thus, it could be tentatively stated that the sociolinguistic behaviour of this informant is influenced to a greater extent by social stratification factors than by geographical aspects, which results in a strict adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions and a clear reluctance to accommodate to local audiences by means of employing regionally marked variant 2, which remains unused in Johnson's speech.

IV.1.4.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Boris Johnson

Thus, if the total scores obtained for each variable in the different contexts are considered, it could be stated that Boris Johnson makes a predominant use of mainstream variant 1 (80.73%) over non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2 (19.27%), resulting in a prominent mainstream behaviour (see Figure IV.43). Considering Johnson's prevailing use of mainstream variants, his rather scarce variation in the scores obtained for the variables studied across the different contexts and his subsequent adherence to mainstream conventions, the speech of this informant appears to fall within the description of RP accents.

In terms of variability across contexts, and as it can be observed in Figures IV.44 - IV.47, mainstream forms are generally used over non-mainstream realisations, being all contexts characterised by a noticeable mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour. Thus, Johnson employed a percentage of 88.39 for mainstream forms and a percentage of 11.61 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Statement, 76.05 for mainstream forms and 23.95 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Interview, 78.39 for mainstream forms and 21.61 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (North) and 80.74 for mainstream forms and 19.26 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (South). Particularly, the contexts where the lowest percentage of use for mainstream forms is located are those of Interview and Rally (North), which may be explained by the increased use of glottalised forms on the part of the informant.

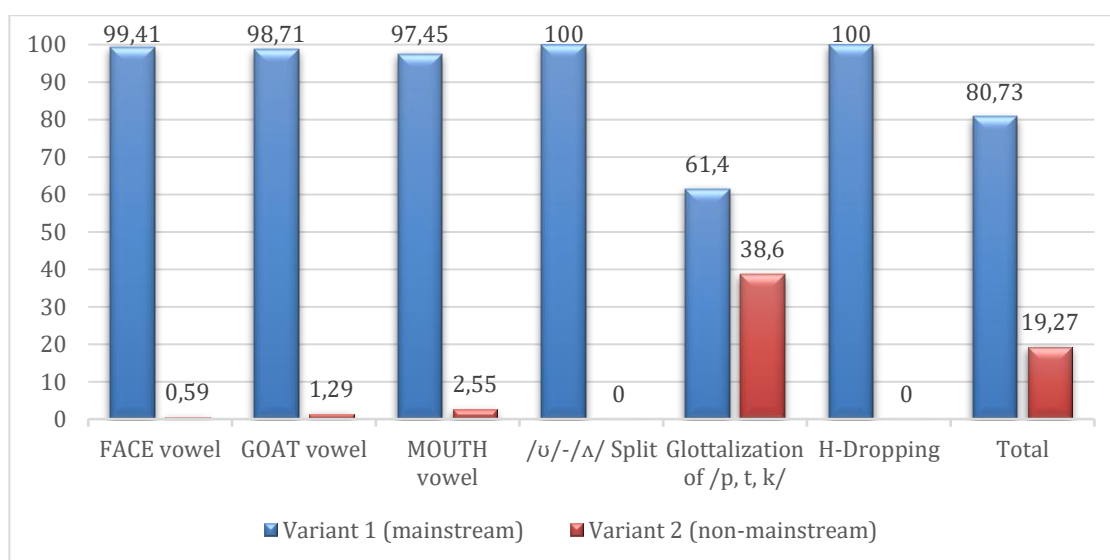


Figure IV.43. Total scores obtained by Boris Johnson.

In fact, as previously stated, the only variable that presents a significant degree of fluctuation across the different contexts in which Johnson operates is that of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, as it seems that the informant alters his usage of this linguistic feature in an attempt to accommodate to the format (as in the case of Statement and Interview, showed in Figures IV.44 and IV.45, respectively) and the audience of each speech event (as in the case of Rally (North) and Rally (South), showed in Figures IV.46 and IV.47, respectively). As indicated above, due to the recent spread of variant 2, regional and socially stratified aspects associated with this linguistic feature seem to be receding, leading to a greater use of glottalised pronunciations, even in the speech of individuals belonging to high statuses and RP speakers. Thus, it could be tentatively stated that this linguistic feature is already part of Johnson's sociolinguistic repertoire, as he employs non-mainstream variant 2 of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ even in the context of Statement, which is regarded as one of the most formal contexts the political sphere. Nevertheless, the heterogeneous treatment that this informant makes of glottalised forms reveals that certain constraints seem to remain associated with this type of pronunciation.

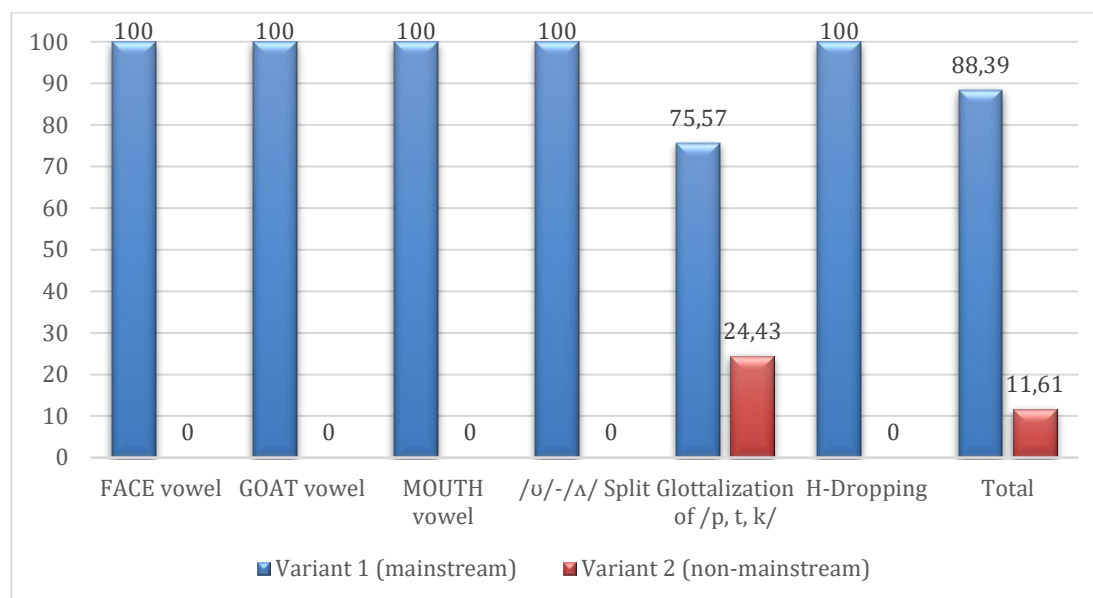


Figure IV.44. Total scores obtained by Boris Johnson in the context of Statement.

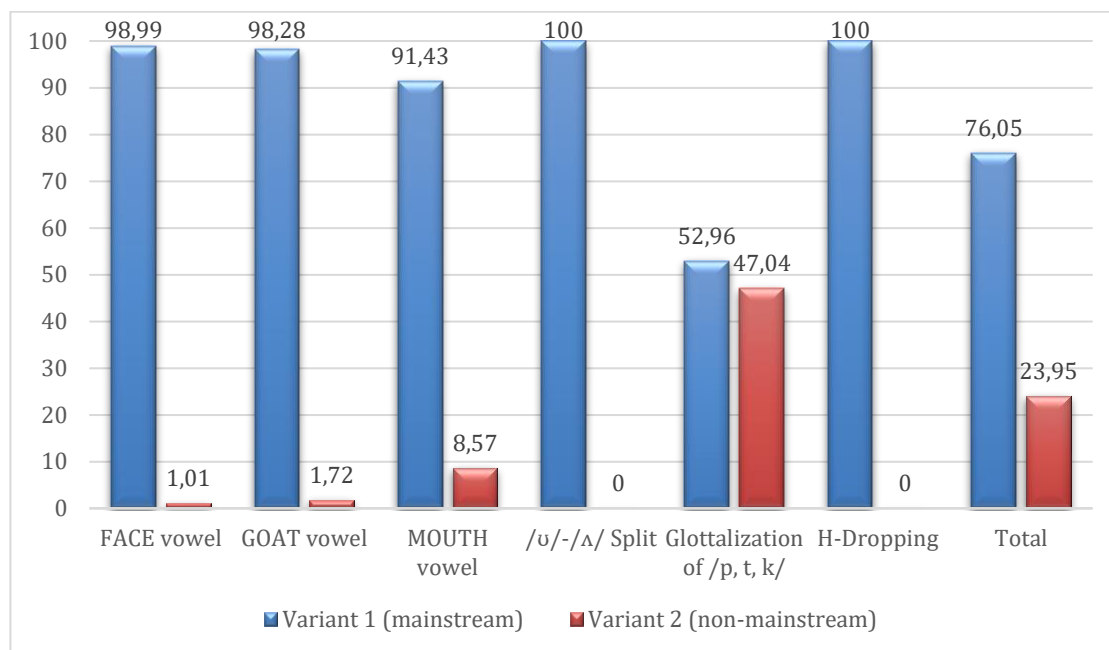


Figure IV.45. Total scores obtained by Boris Johnson in the context of Interview.

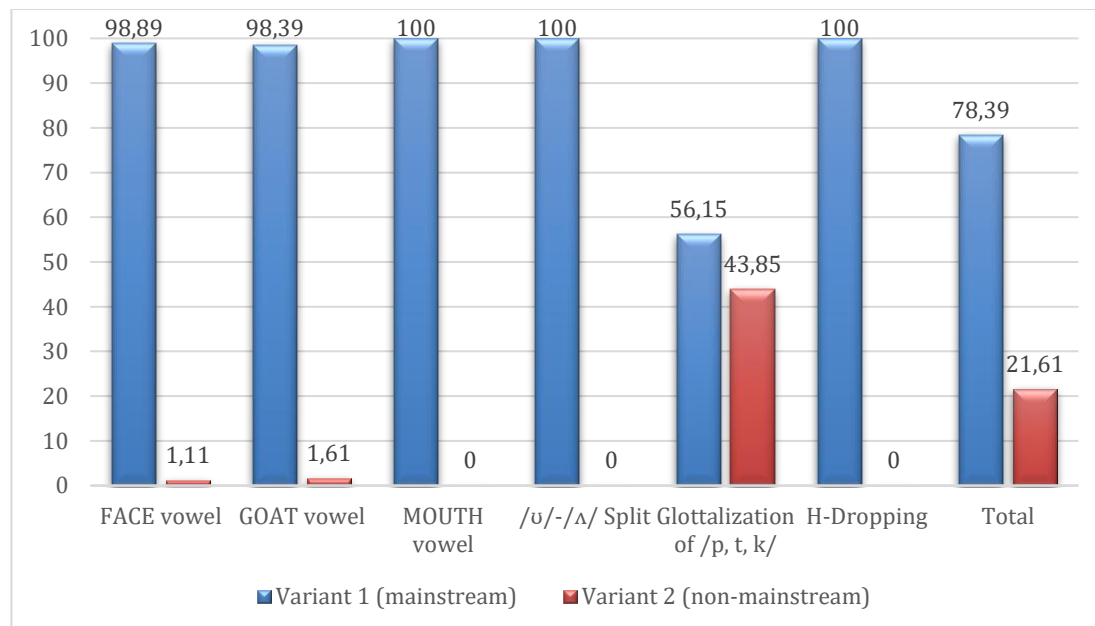


Figure IV.46. Total scores obtained by Boris Johnson in the context of Rally (North).

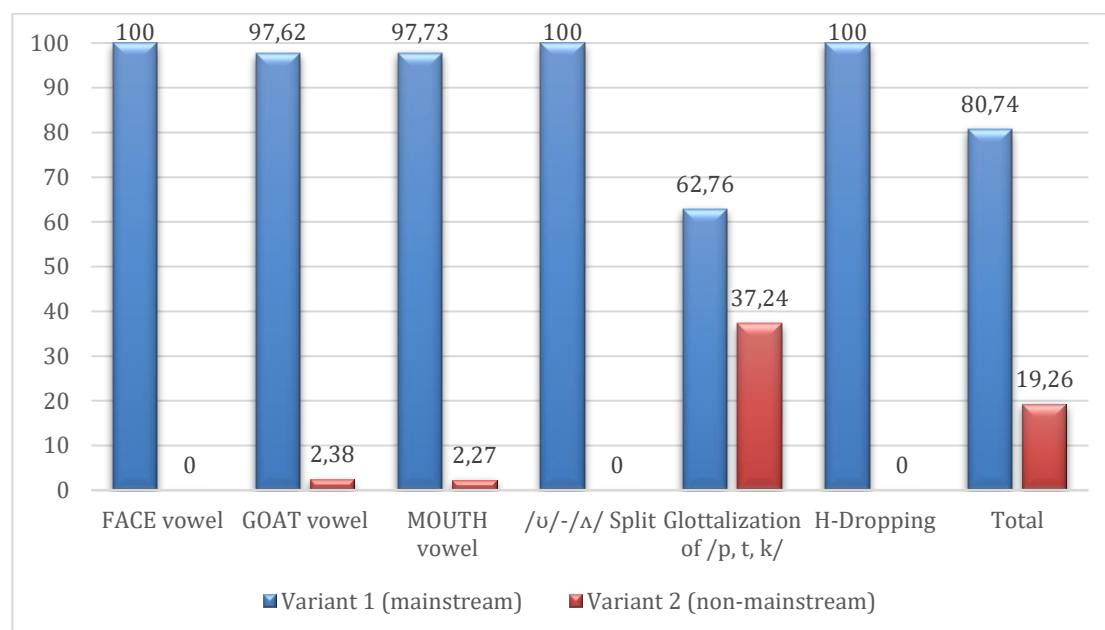


Figure IV.47. Total scores obtained by Boris Johnson in the context of Rally (South).

Consequently, as it can be observed in Figure IV.48, the general sociolinguistic behaviour of Boris Johnson across the different contexts in which he operates reveals a clear pattern of use of the variables studied: this informant tends to employ mainstream variants (80.73%) to a greater extent than non-mainstream forms regardless of the context (19.27%). Nevertheless, his treatment of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ may result in certain variations across contexts. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in Johnson's results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 40.36$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant in the contrast between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 35.71$; $df = 1$), but not between Rallies (North-South) ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.636$; $df = 1$).

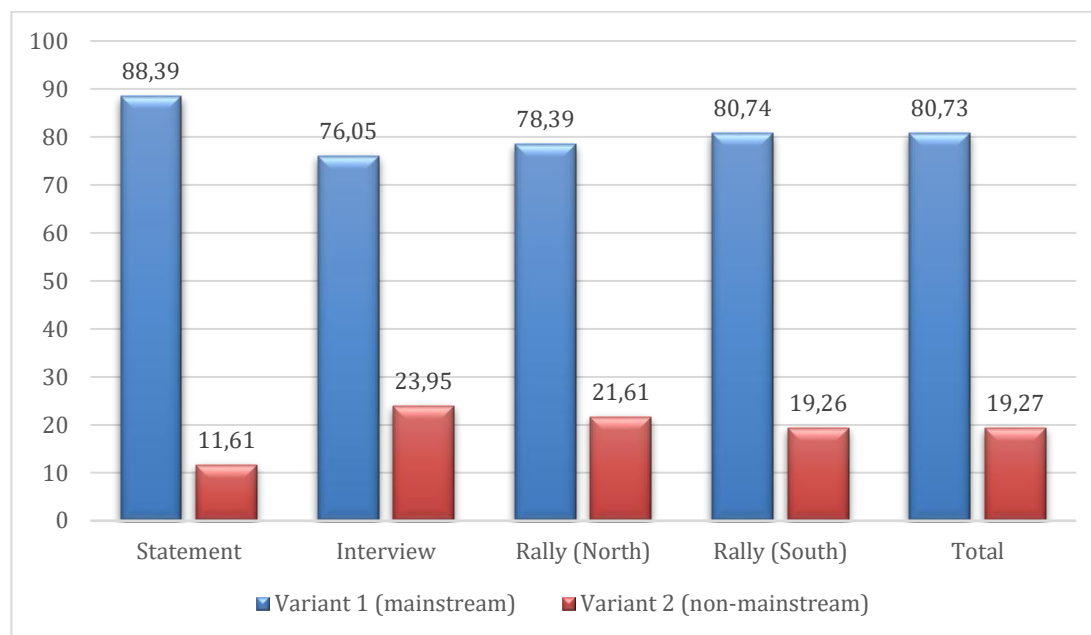


Figure IV.48. Total scores obtained by Boris Johnson per context.

Globally, Johnson's sociolinguistic behaviour reveals a clear reluctance to accommodate to regionally marked variants in order to align with the speech of the targeted audience, which correlates with his social status and occupation (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44), as well as with the formality associated with the contexts in which he operates (Labov 2001a, 2001b). Also, Johnson's high use of mainstream forms correlates with his educational background, as this informant attended Eton college and Oxford University, being these institutions prominent precursors in teaching and using mainstream and prestigious forms (Trudgill 2001). In addition, Johnson's sociolinguistic behaviour goes in line with a common strategy employed by politicians operating in the public sphere, which consists in using mainstream variants in order to produce a "correct" and "educated" speech so as to best accomplish persuasive aims (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44).

Table IV.8. Logistic regression of the contribution of contextual factors to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by Boris Johnson. Fixed effects analysis: “Context” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.313	3348	0.807	—
Rally (South)	0.492	732	0.884	0.621
Rally (North)	-0.036	841	0.807	0.492
Statement	-0.175	1157	0.784	0.457
Interview	-0.29	618	0.761	0.429
Misc. 1	N= 3348; df= 2; Intercept= 1.472; Overall proportion= 0.807; Centered input probability= 0.813.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1626.182; AIC= 3256.363; AICc= 3256.367; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.144; R2 fixed= 0; R2 random= 0.029; R2 total= 0.029.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

Moreover, as observed in Table IV.8 and Figure IV.48, a logistic regression indicates that the context of Rally (South) is the one which most favours the usage of Mainstream in Boris Johnson’s speech. On the contrary, the negative values obtained for the contexts of Rally (North), Statement and Interview indicate that these contexts are disavouring effects in Johnson’s usage of mainstream forms, being non-mainstream realisations mostly used in Interview (see “Intercept” column). However, as indicated by the “Centered factor weight” column, the difference in the probability of Johnson’s use of mainstream forms in the contexts of Rally (North), Statement and Interview is rather low, which evidences a rather stable sociolinguistic behaviour.

On the whole, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Boris Johnson is quite similar to that of Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn, as none of them make use of non-mainstream or regionally marked variants to a relevant extent in an attempt to accommodate to the targeted audience, being mainstream variants predominantly used across the different contexts. As a result, it seems that Boris Johnson neither strategically accommodates nor purposely designs his

sociolinguistic behaviour, being Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ the only exception to this assumption. In fact, it appears that Johnson is making use of his own idiolect, which shares a wide range of characteristics with RP accents, although a considerable degree of accommodation to the targeted audience and the format of the different speech events can be observed when it comes to his usage of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ (Giles 1973, 1980, 2009).

IV.1.5. British Females

If the total usage levels that both female British informants obtained across the different contexts is analysed, a stark contrast will be appreciated in the treatment that Emma Lewell-Buck and Theresa May make of the variables studied (see Table IV.9 and Figure IV.49). This contrast might be explained by the fact that Emma Lewell-Buck is from South-Shields, a North-eastern region of England in which non-mainstream and regionally marked variants are commonly used. Contrarily, Theresa May's speech is characterised by a predominant use of mainstream variants, falling within the description of RP accents, which may be the outcome of her occupation and social status. As a result, opposite sociolinguistic patterns can be observed in the treatment that both informants make of FACE vowel, GOAT vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. In addition, relevant contrasts are also observed in the speech of Lewell-Buck and May when it comes to their treatment of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, although differences are not as stark as in the case of the aforementioned variables. On the other hand, both informants exhibit a similar sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping.

Table IV.9. Totals per Gender: British Females					
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants		
			Emma Lewell-Buck	Theresa May	Total
FACE vowel	Variant #1: [eɪ]	%	16.29%	98.66%	65.21%
		#	50/307	443/449	493/756
	Variant #2: Other	%	83.71%	1.34%	34.79%
		#	257/307	6/449	263/756
GOAT vowel	Variant #1: [əʊ]	%	0.00%	98.42%	52.31%
		#	0/335	374/380	374/715
	Variant #2: Other	%	100.00%	1.58%	47.69%
		#	335/335	6/380	341/715
MOUTH vowel	Variant #1: [aʊ]	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	118/118	178/178	296/296
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/118	0/178	0/296
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Variant #1: (u) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/	%	2.22%	100.00%	56.29%
		#	6/270	334/334	340/604
	Variant #2: (u) = /ʌ/	%	97.78%	0.00%	43.71%
		#	264/270	0/334	264/604
Glottalisation of /p, t, k/	Variant #1: No	%	20.74%	68.82%	50.57%
		#	195/940	1057/1536	1252/2476
	Variant #2: Yes	%	79.26%	31.18%	49.43%
		#	745/940	479/1536	1224/2476
H-Dropping	Variant #1: (h) = /h/	%	98.77%	100.00%	99.51%
		#	80/81	122/122	202/203
	Variant #2: (h) = /ə/	%	1.23%	0.00%	0.49%
		#	1/81	0/122	1/203
Total	Variant #1	%	21.89%	83.63%	58.55%
		#	449/2051	2508/2999	2957/5050
	Variant #2	%	78.11%	16.37%	41.45%
		#	1602/2051	491/2999	2093/5050

This sociolinguistic behaviour is further evidenced if a logistic regression is applied to the data obtained by each informant, as Table IV.10 evidences that Theresa May is the female British informant who most favours the usage of mainstream forms. On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the “Intercept” column reveals that Emma Lewell-buck disfavours the usage of mainstream forms (see “Intercept” column). In fact, the values obtained for the “Centered factor weight” column indicate that the probability of each informant to employ mainstream forms is rather different, being May more prone to adhere to mainstream conventions than Lewell-Buck.

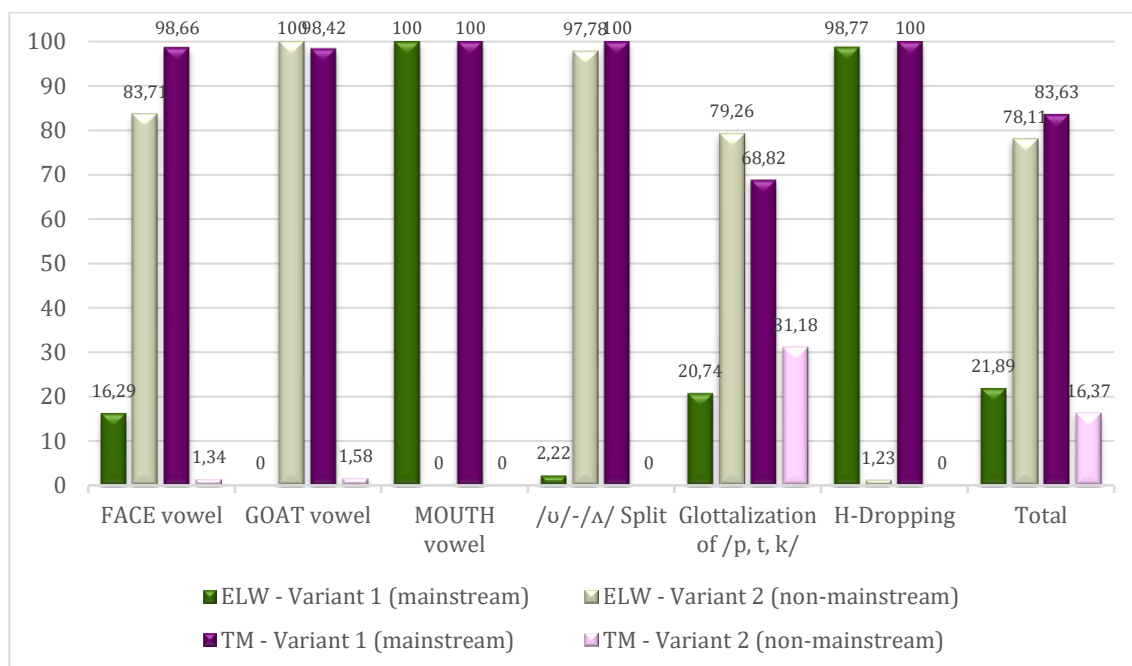


Figure IV.49. Total scores: Emma Lewell-Buck (ELW) versus Theresa May (TM).

Table IV.10. Logistic regression of the contribution of British to the probability of using mainstream forms. Fixed effects analysis: “Informant” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	1.451	5050	0.586	—
Theresa May	1.45	2999	0.836	0.81
Emma Lewell-Buck	-1.45	2051	0.219	0.19
Misc. 1	N= 5050; df= 2; Intercept= 0.18; Overall proportion= 0.586; Centered input probability= 0.545.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -2422.479; AIC= 4848.957; AICc= 4848.96; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.614; R2 fixed= 0; R2 random= 0.39; R2 total= 0.39.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

IV.1.5.a. FACE vowel

Regarding FACE vowel, Emma Lewell-Buck exhibits a non-mainstream behaviour characterised by a predominant use of locally marked variant 2 (83.71%) in the form of monophthongal /e:/, which is commonly used in North-eastern regions –where she is originally from– and is generally regarded as old-fashioned (Beal 2004: 123). Thus, mainstream variant 1 [eɪ] is used to a rather low extent (16.29%) in Lewell-Buck’s speech. On the other hand, Theresa May strongly adheres to mainstream variant 1, which is characteristic of RP speech and enjoys relevant prestige, as this variety has traditionally been associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses and a particular educational background (Upton 2004; Wells 1982; Trudgill 2001). Particularly, May obtained a score of 98.66% for mainstream variant 1, remaining variant 2 almost unused in her speech (1.34%). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both female informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 545.402$; $df = 1$).

Thus, it seems that both informants remain faithful to their own idiolect, although Lewell-Buck tends to accommodate to the mainstream variant to a greater extent than May does to non-mainstream forms. This lack of accommodation on the part of Theresa May could be motivated by the former president’s greater awareness of the social significance of the variants used, which correlates with the occupation that she held in Parliament at the moment in which her speech events were recorded (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010). Precisely, the different degree of accommodation exhibited by both informants correlates with the accepted tendency of non-mainstream speakers to accommodate to mainstream forms in certain contexts, being this strategy commonly regarded as a “willingness to assimilate”; however, the converse situation is often regarded as “inappropriate” (Cole & Pellicer 2013: 390). In fact, the electorate and the media tend to expect a technical command of language in the form of correctness adherence in politicians’ speech (Gogolin 2001: 613). For this reason, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite holding a public political position, Emma Lewell-Buck does not accommodate to a relevant

extent to the mainstream form, which tends to be expected in such formal contexts (Labov 2001a, 2001b).

IV.1.5.b. GOAT vowel

On the other hand, both informants exhibit a completely opposite sociolinguistic behaviour in their usage of GOAT vowel (see Figure IV.49). While Emma Lewell-Buck predominantly uses non-mainstream variant 2 (100%) over mainstream variant 1 [əʊ] (0.00%), Theresa May obtains a 98.42% for variant 1 and a subsequent 1.58% for variant 2. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both female informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 691.329$; $df = 1$). These scores may be influenced by the symbolic local Northern identity associated with variant 2 (Watt & Milroy 1999: 37) in the case of Lewell-Buck, and the common use that RP speakers make of variant 1 (Upton 2004) in the case of May.

Hence, it seems that even though Lewell-Buck operates in rather formal contexts in which mainstream variant 1 would be expected, the informant remains faithful to the non-mainstream variant that is commonly used in North-eastern regions and which elicits identity aspects. This sociolinguistic pattern could be tentatively considered as a sociolinguistic stance taken by the informant in order to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity (Kiesling 2001, 2005, 2009; Jaffe 2009a; Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Thus, it can be noticed how the degree of formality associated with each context does not influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck: whether consciously or unconsciously, this informant remains faithful to her local identity and strengthens in-group linguistic connections by using variant 2 to a prominent extent, which implies at the same time a rejection of any type of identification with individuals from out-groups (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985; Bell 1991b), at least by linguistic means. In contrast, it appears that the symbolic local identity associated with Northern areas does not seem to determine the sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May, as she does not alter her treatment of GOAT vowel, not even in her Northern rally.

IV.1.5.c. MOUTH vowel

Even though both informants exhibit an almost opposite sociolinguistic behaviour if the aforementioned variables are considered, the scores depicted in Table IV.9 and Figure IV.49 also reveal that Emma Lewell-Buck and Theresa May tend to employ a similar use of MOUTH vowel, as both informants predominantly use mainstream variant 1 [aʊ] despite of the context (100%), while variant 2 (other non-mainstream realisations) remains unused (0.00%) in their speech. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is commonly employed by RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social statuses (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance evidence the inexistent differences in the sociolinguistic practices employed by Lewell-Buck and May ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

On the one hand, it becomes of relevance the lack of use of variant 2 in Emma Lewell-Buck's speech. Given that she is originally from the Northeast, and considering her non-mainstream use of the aforementioned variables, a higher percentage of use for variant 2 could have been expected in her speech; however, a clear reluctance to adopt non-mainstream variant 2 can be clearly observed. The reason behind the absence of variant 2 from the speech of this informant might be motivated by the fact that this non-mainstream variant is not strongly associated with Northern identity aspects, in contrast to FACE vowel, GOAT vowel or /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. In addition, other factors such as non-mainstream realisations of MOUTH vowel being commonly used by older and/or working-class and/or male speakers in Tyneside and Northumberland and variant 2 experiencing a recessive trend of use in certain areas of the middle North might explain why Lewell-Buck does not accommodate to it and uses the mainstream and prestigious variant instead (Beal 2004; Petyt 1985). Consequently, taking into account that identity factors do not play a significant role in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck when it comes to MOUTH vowel, it could be tentatively stated that in this case, her usage of variant 1 might be motivated by her occupation and the formality of the contexts in which she operates. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with the assumption that politicians are prone to have greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have, as well as greater control over

mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). Thus, it seems that when identity aspects are not associated with a given variant, Emma-Lewell Buck tends to employ the mainstream and prestigious one. On the other hand, and as with previous variables, Theresa May exhibits a complete use of the mainstream and prestigious variant, which correlates with her prominent mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour.

IV.1.5.d. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split

A rather opposite sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the speech style of Emma Lewell-Buck and Theresa May if /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split is considered. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both female informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 580.156$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, Emma Lewell-Buck hardly uses mainstream variant 1 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation), for which she obtained a percentage of use of 2.22. Instead, she mainly uses non-mainstream variant 2 (No /ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation), obtaining a percentage of use of 97.78 for this variant. These scores were rather expected, as variant 2 is one of the most salient markers of Northern English pronunciations (Beal 2004: 121), and Lewell-Buck tends to strictly adhere to those linguistic features that characterise the speech of the geographical area from where she is. Nevertheless, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though the contexts in which this informant operates are rather formal, she does not accommodate to mainstream and prestigious variant 1 (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), strengthening in this way in-group linguistic connections with North-eastern speakers, and therefore, challenging out-group linguistic associations (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

On the contrary, Theresa May presents a total use of mainstream variant 1 (100%), which is commonly used by RP and Southern speakers (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 75). Thus, the lack of realisations with variant 2 in May's speech could be expected, as she is originally from the Southeast of England –where variant 1 is extensively used. In this respect, May's sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with the public political position that she holds – since politicians tend to be characterised by having a greater awareness of the usage of certain

linguistic features (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010)– as well as with her social and educational background.

Consequently, none of the informants intend to accommodate to the audience targeted at each speech event, and subsequently, alter their usage of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Thus, it could be tentatively stated that while Emma-Lewell-buck exhibits a prominent use of regionally marked variant 2 in an attempt to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity, Theresa May strictly adheres to mainstream conventions.

IV.1.5.e. Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

However, the differences between the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck and Theresa May begin to decrease if their treatment of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ is analysed. Nevertheless, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for the mainstream and non-mainstream variant between both female informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 539.063$; $df = 1$).

As previously indicated, several aspects might have motivated the usage that both female informants make of this variable. Firstly, geographical aspects may operate as a conditioning factor, as variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) is rather characteristic of North-eastern regions –where Lewell-Buck is originally from– and commonly used in the South-east of England –where May is originally from– (Altendorf & Watt 2004; Wells 1982; Llamas 2007). In addition, the relatively high frequency with which both informants employ variant 2 may be motivated by the dramatic spread of glottalised forms to almost all urban areas of Britain that is currently taking place (Beal 2004: 128; Trudgill 1999: 136), its common use in conversational contexts (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), and its receding behaviour when it comes to geographical and socially stratified constraints. As a result, glottalised pronunciations are increasingly being used across different geographical areas in Britain. Similarly, this type of pronunciation is also spreading through the social British ladder, as even RP speakers are frequent users of variant 2 in certain contexts.

Nevertheless, Emma Lewell-Buck still exhibits a higher percentage of use for variant 2 than that obtained by Theresa May for the same variant (79.26% versus 31.18% respectively). Thus, mainstream variant 1 (No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) is highly used by the former Prime Minister (68.82%), which contrasts with the relatively low percentage obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck (20.74%). This different use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ could be influenced by social and formal aspects, as glottalised forms are commonly avoided in careful speech (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 44), probably under the stigma of “ugliness, inarticulacy and ‘sloppiness’” that has been traditionally associated with variant 2; in fact, this variant was originally characteristic of the speech of working-class individuals from London (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67). Thus, given the social status and the occupation of May, geographical as well as socially stratified aspects might have precluded her from using glottalised forms to a greater extent. On the contrary, Emma Lewell-Buck exhibits again a non-mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour, making use of the regionally and traditionally stigmatised variant. Yet, both informants approach their usage of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ in a similar fashion, as both accommodate to the audience and the situational factors that characterise the contexts in which they operate –although their degree of accommodation and adherence to the different variants differs to a certain extent.

IV.1.5.f. H-Dropping

As for H-Dropping, Emma Lewell-Buck and Theresa May predominantly use mainstream variant 1 (presence of initial /h/) regardless of the context, obtaining a percentage of use for this variant of 98.77 and 100 respectively. Thus, non-mainstream variant 2 (absence of initial /h/) is scarcely used in the speech of both informants. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with the speech of RP individuals, as they commonly use variant 1 (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 45). Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance suggests that differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both female informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.514$; $df = 3$).

These scores might be influenced by the fact that H-Dropping is subject to both regional and social variation. On the one hand, a greater use of variant 1 tends to be associated with the speech of individuals belonging to high social statuses as well as with RP speakers, while variant 2 would be expected to be used by speakers belonging to lower social statuses (Beal 2004: 127; Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192). Thus, given the occupation of both politicians, a rather high use of variant 1 could be expected in their speeches, while the usage of a linguistic feature that is commonly employed by working-class individuals would be quite unexpected.

This, together with the fact that the presence of initial /h/ is quite common in North-eastern regions (Beal 2004: 127), could explain why Emma Lewell-Buck makes a complete use of variant 1 regardless of the context in which she is operating, adhering to geographical as well as socially stratified aspects. On the contrary, Theresa May seems to ignore the common use that individuals from the Southeast –where she is originally from– make of variant 2 (Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192), as she exhibits a prominent use of variant 1 regardless of the context in which she operates, even in the context of Rally (South). Hence, it could be tentatively stated that in this case, May is influenced to a greater extent by social stratification factors than by geographical aspects associated with this variable.

IV.1.5.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British female informants

Consequently, if the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck and Theresa May is compared, relevant differences as well as clear similarities will be observed. Hence, while both informants exhibit a completely opposite percentage of use when it comes to FACE vowel, GOAT vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, lesser differences can be observed in the usage that these informants make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/. On the other hand, a shared reluctance of both informants regarding the usage of the non-mainstream and locally marked variant of MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping variable can also be observed. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for mainstream and non-mainstream variants between both female informants are statistically significant $p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 1.912.897$; $df = 1$).

On the whole, it can be seen how Emma Lewell-Buck tends to use variant 2 over variant 1 more frequently (78.11% versus 21.89% respectively), which clearly contrasts with the sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May, who uses variant 1 (83.63%) over variant 2 (16.37%). This difference of use might be explained by the strong adherence to regionally and identity marked forms on the part of Emma Lewell-Buck, and a clear intention on the part of Theresa May to strictly adhere to mainstream and prestigious forms together with a subsequent reluctance to adopt locally marked realisations.

Thus, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May correlates with her social status and occupation (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44), as well as with the formality associated with the contexts in which she operates and her educational background (Labov 2001a, 2001b). However, the general usage that Emma Lewell-Buck makes of the variables studied clearly contrasts with her occupation and the formality associated with the contexts in which she operates, since it has been evidenced that individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b). In addition, Lewell-Buck's sociolinguistic behaviour also diverges from strategies normally used by politicians operating in the public sphere, as they frequently employ mainstream variants since persuasive aims are usually best accomplished if a "correct" and "educated" speech is used (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44).

In addition, while Theresa May clearly adjusts to gender expectations, Emma Lewell-Buck also violates gender expectations, since it has been shown, at least in the industrialised Western world, that women's speech tends to be more mainstream than that of men (Trudgill 1972): while working class (non-mainstream) speech seems to have connotations of masculinity because of its association with the roughness and toughness of the vernacular world and culture, these masculine attributes are not positively evaluated in women's speech, which is conventionally associated with a higher degree of refinement and sophistication (Coupland & Jaworski 2009).

Lastly, as it can be observed in Figure IV.50, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British female informants is characterised by a relevant use of mainstream variants (58.55%),

being non-mainstream forms also used to a noticeable extent in their speeches (41.45%). As previously stated, both informants exhibit a different sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to FACE vowel, GOAT Vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, and Glottalisation of /p, t, k/. However, both politicians make a similar treatment of MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, as neither Lewell-Buck nor May employ the non-mainstream and locally marked variants of these two variables.

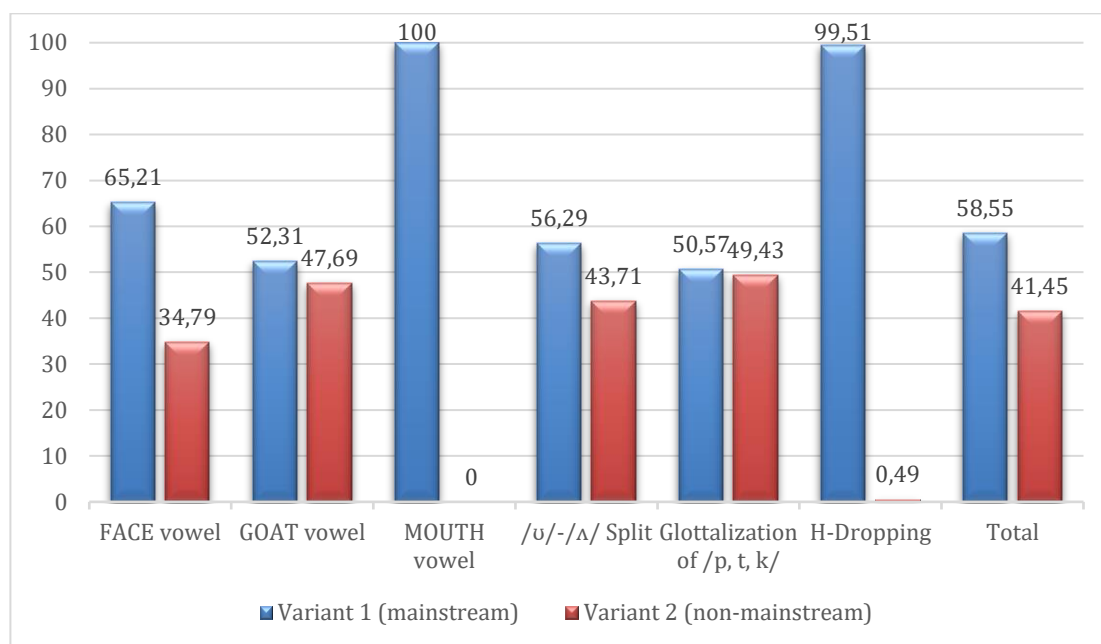


Figure IV.50. Total scores obtained by British females.

IV.1.6. British Males

If the total usage levels that both male British informants obtained across the different contexts is analysed, an almost equal sociolinguistic behaviour will be observed in the usage that Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson make of the variables studied (see Table IV.11 and Figure IV.51). This similarity might be explained by the influence of certain geographical aspects –as both informants have been based in the South-east of England for long periods of time– as well as by social status and occupational aspects, as they exhibit a prominent mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour without any trace of accommodation to regionally marked variants.

This sociolinguistic behaviour is further evidenced if a logistic regression is applied to the data obtained by each informant, as Table IV.12 indicates that both male British informants favour the usage of mainstream forms (see “Intercept” column). In fact, the values obtained for the “Centered factor weight” column indicate that the probability of each informant to adhere to mainstream conventions is exactly the same.

Table IV.11. Totals per Gender: British Males					
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants		
			Jeremy Corbyn	Boris Johnson	Total
FACE vowel	Variant #1: [eɪ]	%	97.88%	99.41%	98.72%
		#	416/425	507/510	923/935
	Variant #2: Other	%	2.12%	0.59%	1.28%
		#	9/425	3/510	12/935
GOAT vowel	Variant #1: [əʊ]	%	92.48%	98.71%	95.71%
		#	332/359	382/387	714/746
	Variant #2: Other	%	7.52%	1.29%	4.29%
		#	27/359	5/387	32/746
MOUTH vowel	Variant #1: [aʊ]	%	100.00%	97.45%	98.62%
		#	132/132	153/157	285/289
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	2.55%	1.38%
		#	0/132	4/157	4/289
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Variant #1: (ʊ) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	360/360	532/532	892/892
	Variant #2: (ʊ) = /ʌ/	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/360	0/532	0/892
Glottalisation of /p, t, k/	Variant #1: No	%	58.99%	61.40%	60.42%
		#	669/1134	1007/1640	1676/2774
	Variant #2: Yes	%	41.01%	38.60%	39.58%
		#	465/1134	633/1640	1098/2774
H-Dropping	Variant #1: (h) = /h/	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	112/112	122/122	234/234
	Variant #2: (h) = /ə/	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/112	0/122	0/234
Total	Variant #1	%	80.13%	80.73%	80.48%
		#	2021/2522	2703/3348	4724/5870
	Variant #2	%	19.87%	19.27%	19.52%
		#	501/2522	645/3348	1146/5870

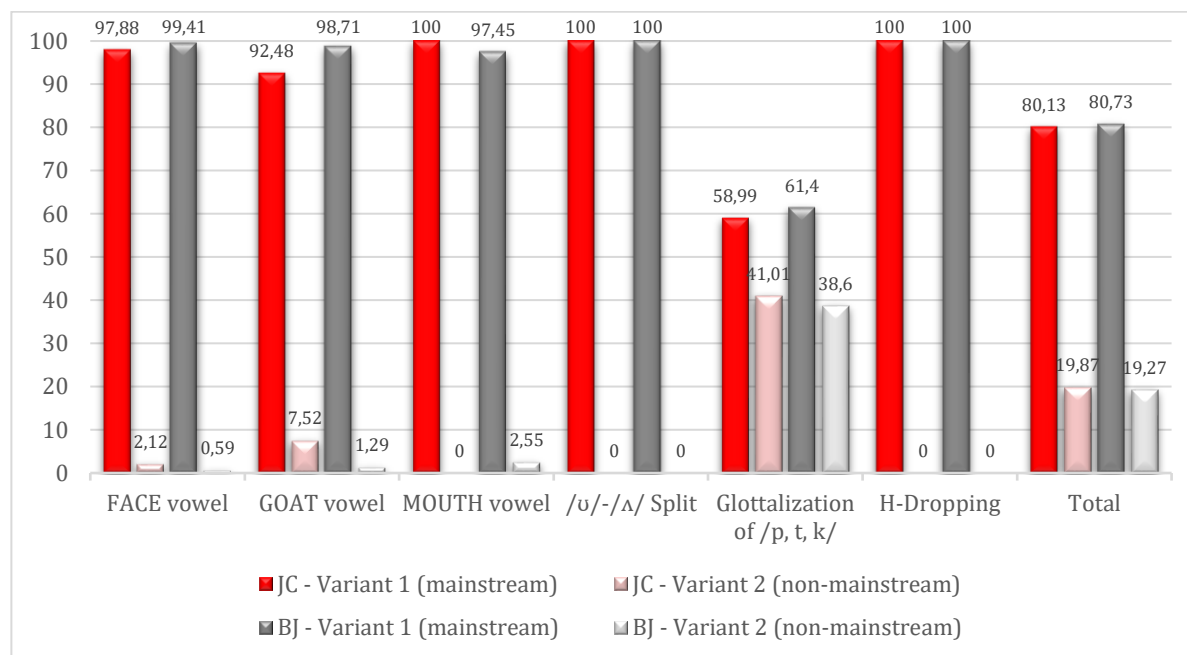


Figure IV.51. Total scores: Jeremy Corbyn (JC) versus Boris Johnson (BJ).

Table IV.12. Logistic regression of the contribution of British males to the probability of using mainstream forms. Fixed effects analysis: "Informant" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0	5870	0.805	—
Jeremy Corbyn	0	2522	0.801	0.5
Boris Johnson	0	3348	0.807	0.5
Misc. 1	N= 5870; df= 2; Intercept= 1.416; Overall proportion= 0.805; Centered input probability= 0.805.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -2898.126; AIC= 5800.252; AICc= 5800.254; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0; R2 fixed= 0; R2 random= 0; R2 total= 0.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

IV.1.6.a. FACE vowel

Regarding FACE vowel, both male informants exhibit a rather similar use, being mainstream variant 1 predominantly used over non-mainstream variant 2. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the

differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are statistically significant, but to a rather low extent ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 4.28$; $df = 3$). Specifically, Jeremy Corbyn obtained a score of 97.88% for mainstream variant 1 [eɪ], which is quite similar to the 99.41% obtained by Boris Johnson for the same variant. Consequently, non-mainstream variant 2 remains scarcely used in the speech of Corbyn (2.12%) and Johnson (0.59%).

As previously stated, this strong adherence to the mainstream variant might be motivated by the common use that RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social statuses make of variant 1 (Upton 2004; Wells 1982), which contrasts with the common use that regionally accented speakers make of non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2. Thus, neither Corbyn nor Johnson alter their usage of FACE vowel to a great extent. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with the occupation of both male informants, as politicians tend to exhibit “a greater awareness of the social significance of linguistic variables”, as well as a greater control of the mainstream forms (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44).

IV.1.6.b. GOAT vowel

The percentages of use obtained by both informants for GOAT vowel are rather similar to those obtained for FACE vowel. Thus, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson exhibit a predominant use of mainstream variant 1 ([əʊ]) (92.48% and 98.71%, respectively) over non-mainstream variant 2 (7.52% and 1.29%, respectively), which indicates that neither Corbyn nor Johnson alter their sociolinguistic behaviour towards the adoption of regionally marked forms. Given that variant 2 is commonly associated with Northern identity aspects (Watt & Milroy 1999: 37) and that none of the male informants has had any close contact with Northern accents, the scores obtained by both male informants were rather expected. In fact, the sociolinguistic behaviour of both informants correlates with the common use that RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social statuses make of variant 1 (Upton 2004). In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that even though Jeremy Corbyn obtained a slightly lower percentage of use for variant 1 than Boris Johnson, this sociolinguistic behaviour also falls within the description of RP accent, as some speakers –frequently the older ones– may retain [o] as the

first element in the realisation of this diphthong (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Upton 2004), as Jeremy Corbyn does. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are statistically significant, but to a rather low extent ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 17.6$; $df = 3$).

IV.1.6.c. MOUTH vowel

As with previous variables, MOUTH vowel is mostly realised with mainstream variant 1 ([aʊ]) in the speeches of Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, as both informants obtained a score of 100% and 97.45%, respectively, for this variant. Consequently, realisations with non-mainstream variant 2 are completely absent from the speech of Jeremy Corbyn, while Boris Johnson scarcely uses this variant in a 2.55% of realisations. Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 3.41$; $df = 3$).

This clear reluctance of both politicians to accommodate to variant 2 in their speeches might be motivated by the association of this variant with the speech of older and/or working-class and/or male speakers in Tyneside and Northumberland (Beal 2004: 124). This, together with the fact that none of the informants has had any close contact with Northern accents could have influenced their mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour, which correlates with the speech of RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social statuses (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), and goes in line with the assumption that politicians tend to have greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have, as well as greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44).

IV.1.6.d. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split

On the other hand, both informants exhibit the same percentages of use when it comes to /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split, as they predominantly use variant 1 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation) over variant 2 (No

/ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation). Precisely, both informants obtained a score of 100% for variant 1 and a subsequent 0.00% for variant 2 in each of the contexts studied. Thus, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

This clear reluctance to adopt variant 2 might be motivated by the fact that /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split is geographically constricted, as variant 1 is commonly used in Southern regions –where Corbyn and Johnson have spent most of their life– while variant 2 is regarded as one of the most salient markers of Northern English pronunciations (Beal 2004: 127). Consequently, given the Northern regionality associated with variant 2 and the lack of close contact of both informants with Northern accents, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson is rather expected. Hence, none of them aim to accommodate to their Northern audience by accentual means, which results in a strong adherence to prestigious and mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is also commonly used by RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social statuses (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Hernández-Campoy 1999).

IV.1.6.e. Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

Likewise, both informants make a similar treatment of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.625$; $df = 3$).

However, if compared with the scores obtained for previous variables, a relevant decrease in the usage of the mainstream variant and a subsequent increase in the usage of non-mainstream forms will be observed in Corbyn's and Johnson's speech. Thus, Jeremy Corbyn obtained a score of 58.99% for variant 1 (No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) and a 41.01% for variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/), and Boris Johnson obtained a score of 61.40% for variant 1, and a 38.60% for variant 2. However, as mentioned before, the increase in the usage of variant 2 might be motivated by the dramatic spread of glottalised forms to almost all urban areas of Britain (Beal 2004: 128; Trudgill 1999: 136), its common use in conversations

(Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013) and its receding behaviour when it comes socially stratified constraints. In addition, the fact that glottalised forms are commonly used not only in North-eastern regions but also in the South-east of England might have fostered a greater use of variant 2 in the speech of both informants (Wells 1982; Llamas 2007), as they have spent most of their lives in this geographical area. Yet, the still relevant use that both politicians make of variant 1 could be explained by the common tendency of avoiding glottalised forms in careful speech (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 44), together with the stigma of “ugliness, inarticulacy and ‘sloppiness’” that has traditionally been associated with variant 2 (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67).

IV.1.6.f. H-Dropping

Similarly, variant 1 of H-Dropping (presence of initial /h/) is used by both informants in every context (100%), remaining non-mainstream variant 2 (absence of initial /h/) completely unused in the speech of Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson. Thus, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

These scores might be influenced by the fact that the usage of this variable is determined by social aspects. Hence, a greater use of variant 1 tends to be associated with the speech of individuals belonging to a high social status as well as with RP speakers, while variant 2 would be expected to be used by speakers belonging to lower social statuses (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013).

Apart from social factors, geographical aspects may also influence the usage that Corbyn and Johnson make of this variable. Hence, while variant 1 is commonly used in Northern regions (Beal 2004: 127), variant 2 is frequently employed in several Southern areas—where both informants have been based for long periods of time (Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192). In this respect, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson diverge from their regional accent, as none of them employ variant 2 in their speech. Nevertheless, considering the sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited by both British male informants for previous variables, it could be

tentatively stated that instead of accommodating to their Northern audience by means of employing a relevant use of variant 1, it seems that both informants are strictly adhering to mainstream conventions, which means that socially stratified factors tend to influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of both informants to a greater extent than geographical aspects associated with this variable.

IV.1.6.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British male informants

Consequently, if the sociolinguistic behaviour of Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson is compared, clear similarities will be observed. Precisely, both informants exhibit an almost equal treatment of the variables studied, always adhering to mainstream conventions. Thus, Jeremy Corbyn obtained a total percentage of use of 80.13 for mainstream forms encompassed by variant 1 and a total score of 19.87% for non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2. Similarly, Boris Johnson obtained a percentage of use of 80.73 for mainstream variants and a total score of 19.27% for non-mainstream variants (see Figure IV.51). Thus, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.33$; $df = 3$).

Particularly, it is noteworthy to mention that the only linguistic feature for which both informants exhibit a noticeable use of non-mainstream variant 2 is that of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/. Precisely, as previously stated, due to the extended use of glottalised forms, regional and social stratification aspects associated with this variable are receding, leading to a greater use of glottalised pronunciations in the speech of high-status individuals and even in RP accents.

As a result, as it can be observed in Figure IV.52, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British male informants is characterised by a strong adherence to mainstream conventions (80.48%) and a clear reluctance to adopt non-mainstream and regionally marked forms (19.52%), which correlates with their social status and their occupation, as well as with their educational background and the formality of the contexts in which they operate (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Labov 2001a, 2001b).

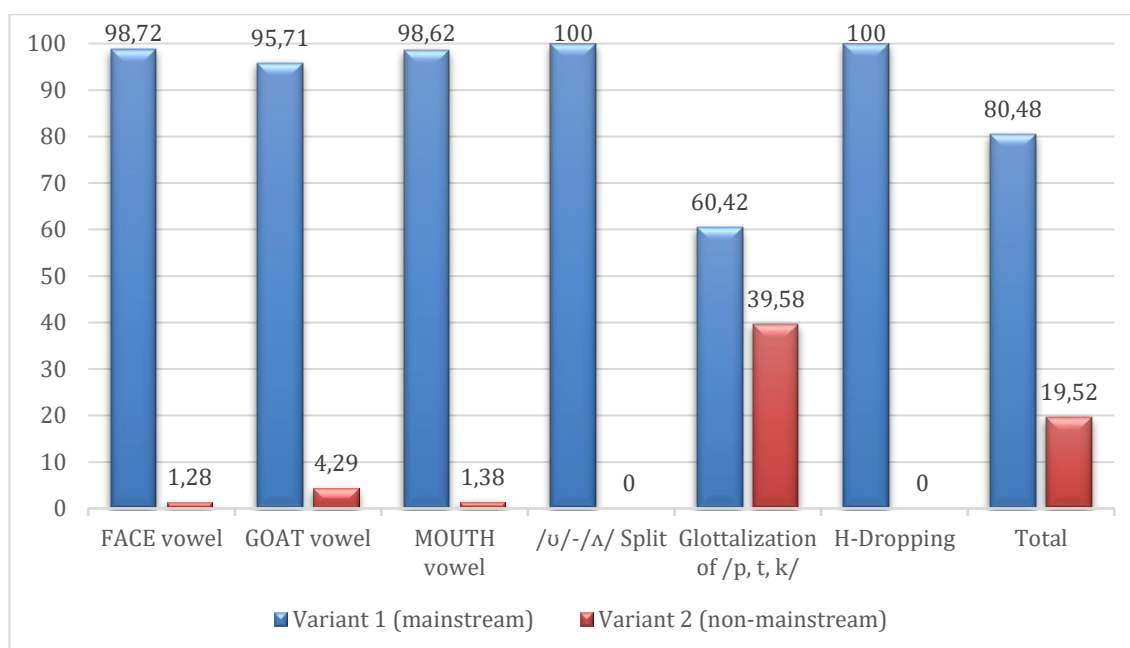


Figure IV.52. Total scores obtained by British males.

IV.1.7. British Informants: Overall

Table IV.13 shows the usage levels of the four British informants for the variables studied. As it can be appreciated, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson tend to exhibit a rather similar sociolinguistic behaviour, as they invariably use mainstream forms encompassed by variant 1 rather than non-mainstream ones encompassed by variant 2. This mainstream pattern clearly contrasts with that of Emma Lewell-Buck, who tends to employ non-mainstream over mainstream variants. Particularly, this opposite sociolinguistic behaviour is clearly observed in the treatment that the four British politicians make of FACE vowel, GOAT vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. In addition, relevant differences are also observed if Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ is considered, since even though Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson lower their usage of variant 1 in their treatment of this variable, the scores obtained by these three informants for the mainstream variant are still higher than the one obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck. On the other hand, certain similarities are also noticeable regarding the scores obtained by the four informants, as all of them exhibit a prominent use of mainstream forms when it comes to MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping.

Table IV.13. British Informants: Totals							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants				
			Emma Lewell-Buck	Theresa May	Jeremy Corbyn	Boris Johnson	Total
FACE vowel	Variant #1: [eɪ]	%	16.29%	98.66%	97.88%	99.41%	83.74%
		#	50/307	443/449	416/425	507/510	1416/1691
	Variant #2: Other	%	83.71%	1.34%	2.12%	0.59%	16.26%
		#	257/307	6/449	9/425	3/510	275/1691
GOAT vowel	Variant #1: [əʊ]	%	0.00%	98.42%	92.48%	98.71%	74.47%
		#	0/335	374/380	332/359	382/387	1088/1461
	Variant #2: Other	%	100.00%	1.58%	7.52%	1.29%	25.53%
		#	335/335	6/380	27/359	5/387	373/1461
MOUTH vowel	Variant #1: [aʊ]	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	97.45%	99.32%
		#	118/118	178/178	132/132	153/157	581/585
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.55%	0.68%
		#	0/118	0/178	0/132	4/157	4/585
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Variant #1: (u) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/	%	2.22%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	82.35%
		#	6/270	334/334	360/360	532/532	1232/1496
	Variant #2: (u) = /ʌ/	%	97.78%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	17.65%
		#	264/270	0/334	0/360	0/532	264/1496
Glottalisation of /p, t, k/	Variant #1: No	%	20.74%	68.82%	58.99%	61.40%	55.77%
		#	195/940	1057/1536	669/1134	1007/1640	2928/5250
	Variant #2: Yes	%	79.26%	31.18%	41.01%	38.60%	44.23%
		#	745/940	479/1536	465/1134	633/1640	2322/5250
H-Dropping	Variant #1: (h) = /h/	%	98.77%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	99.77%
		#	80/81	122/122	112/112	122/122	436/437
	Variant #2: (h) = /ə/	%	1.23%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.23%
		#	1/81	0/122	0/112	0/122	1/437
Total	Variant #1	%	21.89%	83.63%	80.13%	80.73%	70.34%
		#	449/2051	2508/2999	2021/2522	2703/3348	7681/10920
	Variant #2	%	78.11%	16.37%	19.87%	19.27%	29.66%
		#	1602/2051	491/2999	501/2522	645/3348	3239/10920

IV.1.7.a. FACE vowel

Regarding FACE vowel, and as it can be observed in Figure IV.53, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson mainly use variant 1 ([eɪ]) over variant 2 (which encompasses other non-mainstream forms), as they obtained a percentage of use for variant 1 of 98.66, 97.88 and 99.41 respectively, and a percentage of use for variant 2 of 1.34, 2.12 and 0.59, respectively. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, since variant 1 is

characteristic of RP speech and enjoys relevant prestige, as this variety has traditionally been associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982).

On the other hand, Figure IV.53 also evidences a stark contrast between the usage levels obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, on the one hand, and the ones obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck, on the other. In fact, Lewell-Buck obtained a rather low score for variant 1 (16.29%) and a subsequent high score for variant 2 (83.71%) than her British counterparts. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 1.253.572$; $df = 1$).

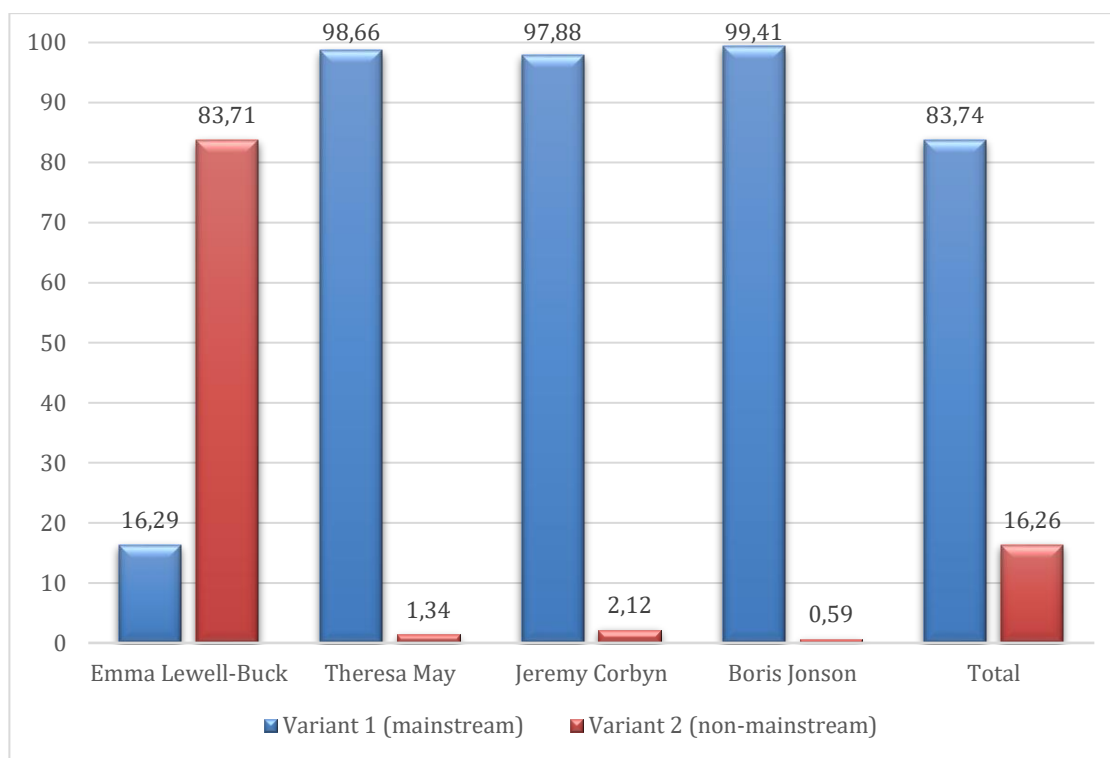


Figure IV.53. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of FACE vowel across the different contexts.

Thus, while Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream forms, Emma Lewell-Buck shows a general reluctance to adopt variant 1. This linguistic choice might be motivated by the fact that the usage of variant 2 (particularly in the

form of /e:/ realisations) is a long-standing feature of the speech of individuals based in North-eastern regions of England (Beal 2004), where Emma Lewell-Buck is originally from. Hence, it seems that Lewell-Buck is attempting to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to the non-mainstream variant regardless of the formality associated with the contexts in which she operates and the targeted audience (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). In this respect, Emma Lewell-Buck diverges from the stereotype of politicians' tendency of having greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as a greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). Lewell-buck also breaks with formality and social status conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b).

On the whole, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants regarding their usage of FACE vowel reveals a strict adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (83.74%), being non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (16.26%).

IV.1.7.b. GOAT vowel

A similar pattern can be appreciated in the case of GOAT vowel (see Figure IV.54). On the one hand, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson predominantly use variant 1 ([əʊ]) over non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2, as they obtained a percentage of use for variant 1 of 98.42, 92.48 and 98.71, respectively, remaining variant 2 almost unused in the speech of these informants (1.58%, 7.52% and 1.29%, respectively). This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, since variant 1 is characteristic of RP speech and enjoys relevant prestige, as this variety has traditionally been associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982). In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that even though Jeremy Corbyn obtained a slightly lower percentage of use for variant 1 than Theresa May and Boris Johnson, this sociolinguistic behaviour also falls within the description of some RP accents, as certain speakers –frequently the older

ones– may retain [o] as the first element in the realisation of this diphthong (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Upton 2004), as Jeremy Corbyn does.

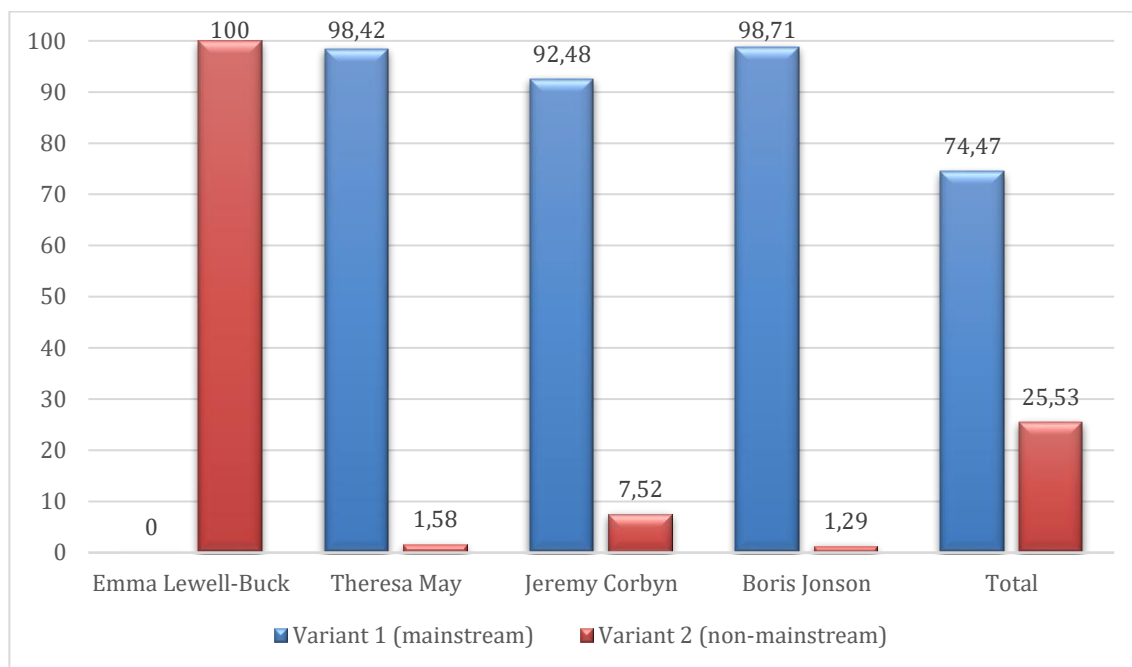


Figure IV.54. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson’s use of GOAT vowel across the different contexts.

On the contrary, Emma Lewell-Buck exhibits a completely opposite sociolinguistic behaviour, as she obtained a score of 0.00% for mainstream variant 1, only using variant 2 (100%) in her speeches. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 1.272.649$; $df = 1$).

Thus, while Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream forms, Emma Lewell-Buck shows a clear reluctance when it comes to adopting variant 1. In this sense, it must be remarked that Lewell-Buck’s predominant use of non-mainstream variant 2 may be determined by the fact that she is originally from the North-east of England, where variant 2 is associated with local Northern identity (Watt & Milroy 1999; Beal 2004). Hence, whether consciously or unconsciously, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her

local accent in her usage of GOAT vowel, perhaps in an attempt to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to the non-mainstream variant (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

Consequently, Emma Lewell-Buck diverges from the stereotype of politicians' tendency of having greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as a greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b). As a result, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants regarding the usage of GOAT vowel reveals a noticeable adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (74.47%), being non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (25.53%).

IV.1.7.c. MOUTH vowel

Contrarily to the aforementioned variables, the four British informants present a rather similar sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of MOUTH vowel, as Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn obtained a total score of 100% for mainstream variant 1 ([aʊ]). In a similar vein, Boris Johnson obtained a total score of 97.45% for the mainstream variant (see Figure IV.55). Thus, while Lewell-Buck, May and Corbyn do not use variant 2 (which encompasses other non-mainstream realisations) in their speeches, Johnson employs a modest use of such variant (2.55%). As a result, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 10.98$; $df = 3$), but to a rather low extent. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is commonly employed by RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social statuses (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013).

Nevertheless, while the scores obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson were rather expected, it becomes of relevance the fact that Emma Lewell-Buck did

not use variant 2 at all. Given that she is originally from the North-east, and taking into account her treatment of FACE vowel, GOAT vowel and Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, a higher percentage of use for this variant could be expected in her speech. However, her sociolinguistic behaviour evidences a clear reluctance to adopt non-mainstream variant 2. The reason behind this reluctance in the adoption of non-mainstream forms might be explained by the fact that variant 2 is not as strongly associated with Northern identity aspects as FACE vowel, GOAT vowel or /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split are. In addition, other factors such as non-mainstream realisations being commonly used by older and/or working-class and/or male speakers in Tyneside and Northumberland as well as variant 2 experiencing a recessive trend of use in certain areas of the middle North might explain why Lewell-Buck does not accommodate to it (Beal 2004; Petyt 1985). Consequently, considering that identity factors do not play a significant role in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck when it comes to MOUTH vowel, it could be tentatively stated that in this case, she adjusts to occupational, formality and social status conventions (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Labov 2001a, 2001b).

Thus, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in terms of MOUTH vowel is characterised by a strict adherence to mainstream conventions: variant 1 (99.32%) is predominantly used over non-mainstream forms (0.68%), as none of the informants attempt to accommodate to their different audiences by means of employing regionally marked pronunciations (see Figure IV.55).

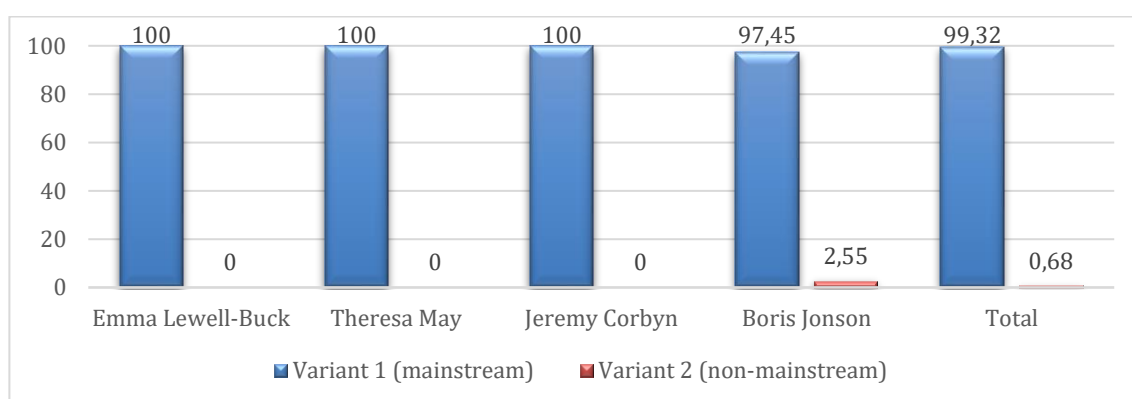


Figure IV.55. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of MOUTH vowel across the different contexts.

IV.1.7.d. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split

However, an opposite sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the usage that British informants make of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split (see Figure IV.56). On the one hand, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson predominantly use variant 1 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation), obtaining a score of 100% each informant. Thus, variant 2 (No /ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation) remains unused in the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson, which goes in line with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is commonly used by RP as well as Southern speakers (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), being this variant associated with a high degree of prestige.

On the contrary, Emma Lewell-Buck only makes use of variant 2 (100%), remaining variant 1 completely absent from her speeches. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 1.455.632$; $df = 1$).

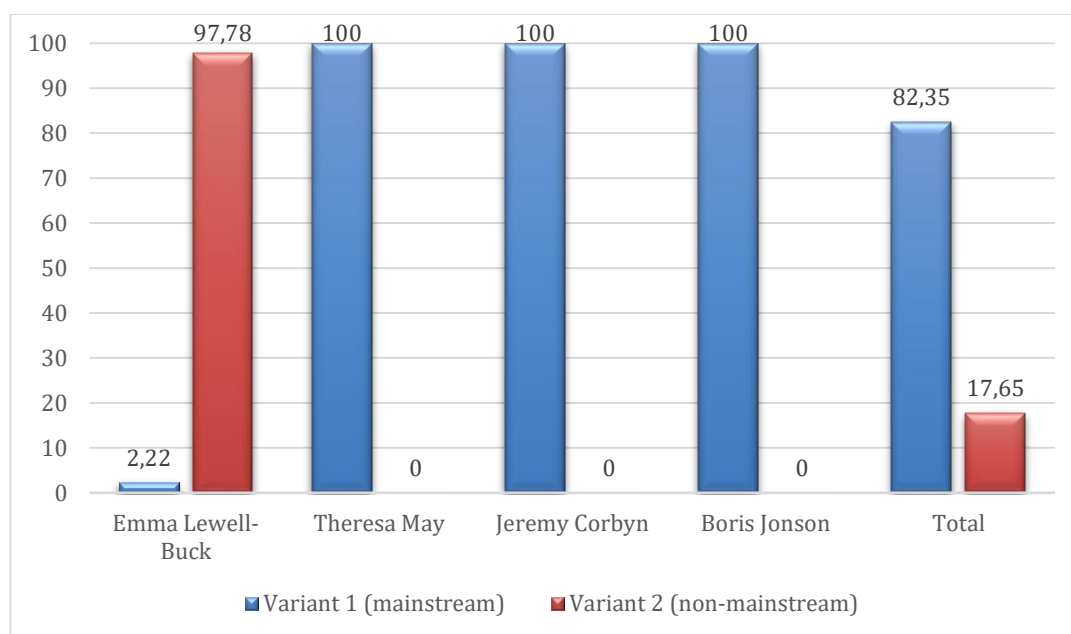


Figure IV.56. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split across the different contexts.

Lewell-Buck's predominant use of non-mainstream variant 2 and her subsequent reluctance to accommodate to mainstream conventions that would correlate with her occupation and the formality associated with the contexts in which she operates may be motivated by the fact that this variant is one of the most salient markers of Northern English pronunciations (Beal 2004: 121). Hence, considering that Lewell-Buck is originally from the North-east of England, these scores could be rather expected. However, Lewell-Buck diverges from the stereotype of politicians' tendency of having greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as a greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b).

Consequently, and in line with the scores obtained for FACE vowel and GOAT vowel, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her local accent, perhaps in an attempt to project her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to the non-mainstream variant (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), which contrasts with the mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited by May, Corbyn and Johnson.

As a result, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants regarding their usage of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split can be characterised by a relevant use of mainstream variant 1 (82.35%), being non-mainstream variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (17.65%).

IV.1.7.e. Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

Even though a similar pattern may be observed in the treatment that British informants make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, Figure IV.57 reveals a noticeable decrease in the usage of variant 1 on the part of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, as well as a slight increase in the usage of this mainstream variant in the speech of Emma Lewell-Buck. As a result, differences in the treatment of this variable between May, Corbyn and Johnson, on the one hand, and Lewell-Buck, on the other, are not as stark as the ones already evidenced in their

usage of FACE vowel, GOAT vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Yet, the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson is still characterised by a greater use of mainstream forms than that of Lewell-Buck.

On the one hand, a relevant drop in the percentages of use obtained for variant 1 (No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) and a subsequent increase in the usage of variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) can be observed in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson if compared with the scores obtained by these informants for previous variables. Thus, Theresa May obtained a score of 68.82% for variant 1 and 31.18% for variant 2, Jeremy Corbyn obtained a score of 58.99% for variant 1 and 41.01% for variant 2, and Boris Johnson obtained a score of 61.40% for variant 1 and 38.60% for variant 2. Contrarily, Emma Lewell-Buck obtained a score of 20.74% for variant 1 and 79.26% for variant 2. Hence, even though a noticeable increase in the usage of variant 1 can be perceived in the sociolinguistic behaviour of this informant if compared with the scores that she obtained for previous variables, Lewell-Buck still exhibits a strong adherence to variant 2, which still contrasts with the scores obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 599.335$; $df = 1$).

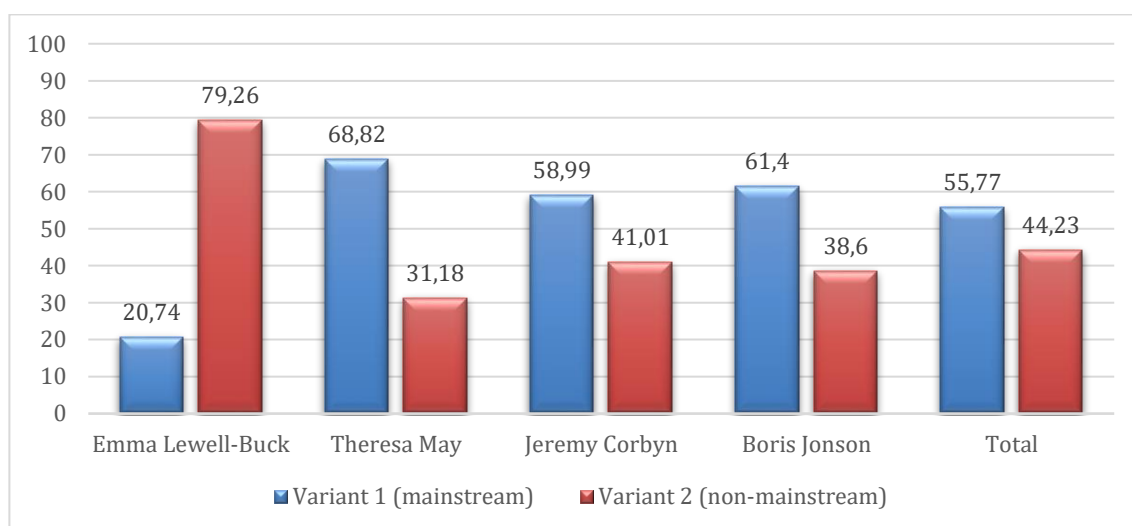


Figure IV.57. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ across the different contexts.

As already mentioned, the increase in the usage of variant 2 in the data obtained by May, Corbyn and Johnson may be explained by the spread that this variant is experiencing to almost all British urban centres (Beal 2004; Trudgill 1999), its common use in conversational contexts (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), and its receding behaviour when it comes to geographical and socially stratified constraints. In fact, the degree of stigmatisation associated with this variable is decreasing to the extent that glottalised realisations may be encountered in RP accents and in the speech of individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004). In addition, the fact that variant 2 is not only associated with the speech of North-eastern but also with that of South-eastern individuals might have fostered a greater use of glottalised pronunciations in the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson (Altendorf & Watt 2004; Wells 1982; Llamas 2007), as these three informants have been based in the South-east of England for long periods of time.

Consequently, it seems that British informants enjoy a great degree of freedom when it comes to using Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, which may result in noticeable accommodations – both to the mainstream and the non-mainstream variant– depending on the different contexts in which they operate. This fluctuation is showed in the total scores obtained by British informants for this variable, which indicate that mainstream variant 1 (55.77%) is slightly used over non-mainstream variant 2 (44.23%) and evidence the receding behaviour of geographical as well as social constraints associated with this variable.

IV.1.7.f. H-Dropping

On the other hand, the four British informants exhibit similar sociolinguistic behaviours when it comes to H-Dropping (see Figure IV.58), as all of them predominantly use variant 1 (presence of initial /h/) over variant 2 (absence of initial /h/). In fact, Emma Lewell-Buck obtained a score of 98.77% for variant 1 and 1.23% for variant 2, being these scores highly similar to those obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, as these three informants obtained a score of 100% for the mainstream variant –remaining non-mainstream variant 2 unused in their speeches. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with the speech of RP speakers, as they commonly use variant 1 (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Thus, given the

categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 4.405$; $df = 3$).

Particularly, this lack of use of non-mainstream variant 2 might be influenced by the fact that this variable is subject to both regional and social variation. Hence, a greater use of variant 1 tends to be associated with the speech of individuals belonging to a high social status as well as with RP speakers, while variant 2 would be expected to be used by speakers belonging to low social statuses (Beal 2004: 127; Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192). This, together with the fact that the presence of initial /h/ is quite common in North-eastern regions, could explain why Emma Lewell-Buck makes an almost complete use of variant 1 regardless of the context in which she is operating, adhering to geographical as well as socially stratified aspects. On the contrary Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson seem to ignore the common use that individuals from the South-east –where they have been based for long periods of time– make of variant 2 (Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Thus, instead of adhering to their corresponding regional accent, May, Corbyn and Johnson exhibit a prominent use of variant 1, which indicates that these three informants are influenced to a greater extent by socially stratified factors than by geographical aspects associated with this variable.

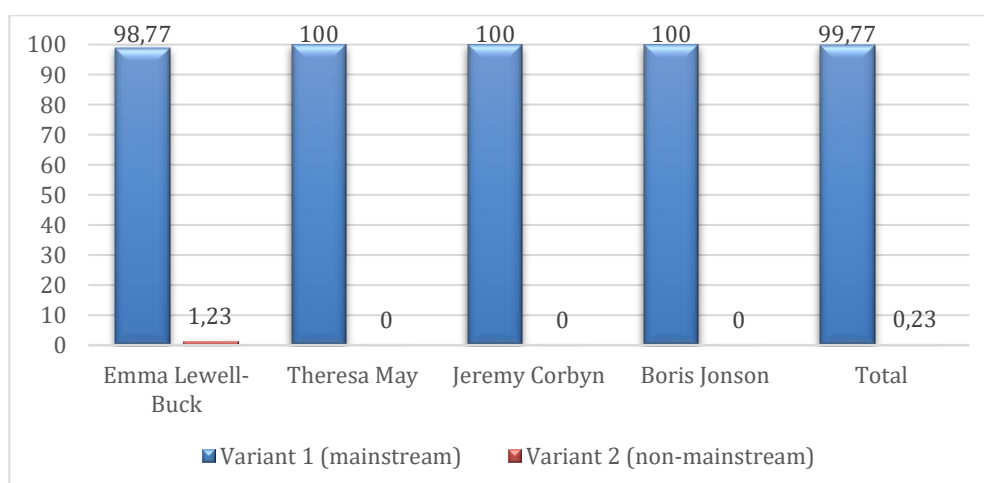


Figure IV.58. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of H-Dropping across the different contexts.

Thus, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in terms of H-Dropping is characterised by a strict adherence to mainstream conventions, as variant 1 (99.77%) is predominantly used over non-mainstream forms (0.23%), which means that none of the informants attempt to accommodate to their different audiences by means of employing a regionally marked pronunciation that also carries negative evaluations due to its association with the speech of working-class individuals.

IV.1.7.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants

Regarding the overall treatment made by British informants of the variables studied, Figure IV.59 shows that there seems to be unanimity in their usage of MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, as the four politicians obtained a percentage of use 99.32 for mainstream variant 1 of MOUTH vowel and 99.77 for mainstream variant 1 of H-Dropping.

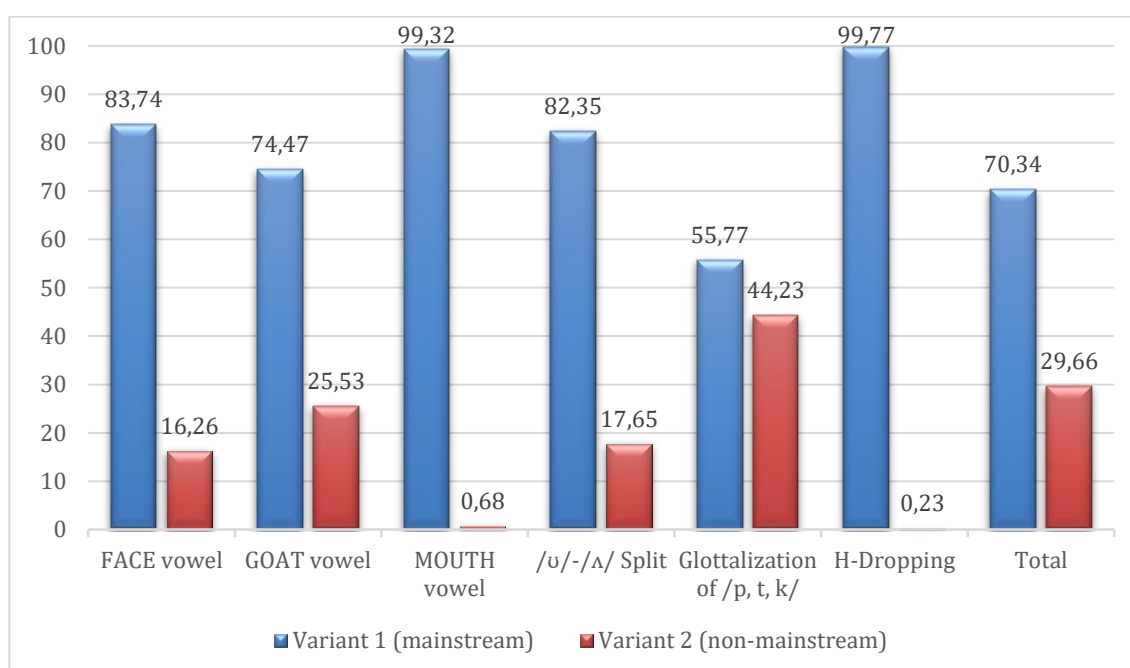


Figure IV.59. Total scores obtained by British informants.

As previously stated, this strict adherence to mainstream variants may be motivated by the socially stratified aspects associated with both variants. On the other hand, non-mainstream variants of FACE vowel (16.26%), GOAT vowel (25.53%) and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split (17.65%)

tend to be used by British informants to a greater extent, perhaps as a resource in the creation, projection and reinforcement of local identity aspects, as it is the case of Emma Lewell-Buck. Lastly, the usage that British informants make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ reveals a higher degree of fluctuation between mainstream (55.77%) and non-mainstream forms (44.23%), perhaps due to the recession of geographical as well as socially stratified aspects associated with this variable. On the whole, the sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants appears to be characterised by a relevant use of mainstream forms of the variables studied (70.34%), being non-mainstream variants used to a much lesser extent (29.66%).

In addition, if the general sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson is compared, relevant differences as well as clear similarities will be observed, which may be influenced by geographical as well as socially stratified factors. On the one hand, an opposite sociolinguistic behaviour is noticeable in the usage that Emma Lewell-Buck on the one hand, and Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson on the other, make of FACE vowel, GOAT vowel and or /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Thus, while Lewell-Buck predominantly uses non-mainstream and regionally marked variants, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strongly adhere to mainstream conventions. Similarly, differences can also be observed in the usage that Lewell-Buck, on the one hand, and May, Corbyn and Johnson, on the other, make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, since as with previous variables, May, Corbyn and Johnson employ a greater use of mainstream variant 1 than Emma Lewell-buck does. However, the four British politicians employ a similar sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, as all of them exhibit a prominent use of mainstream variants. Thus, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 2.850.654$; $df = 1$).

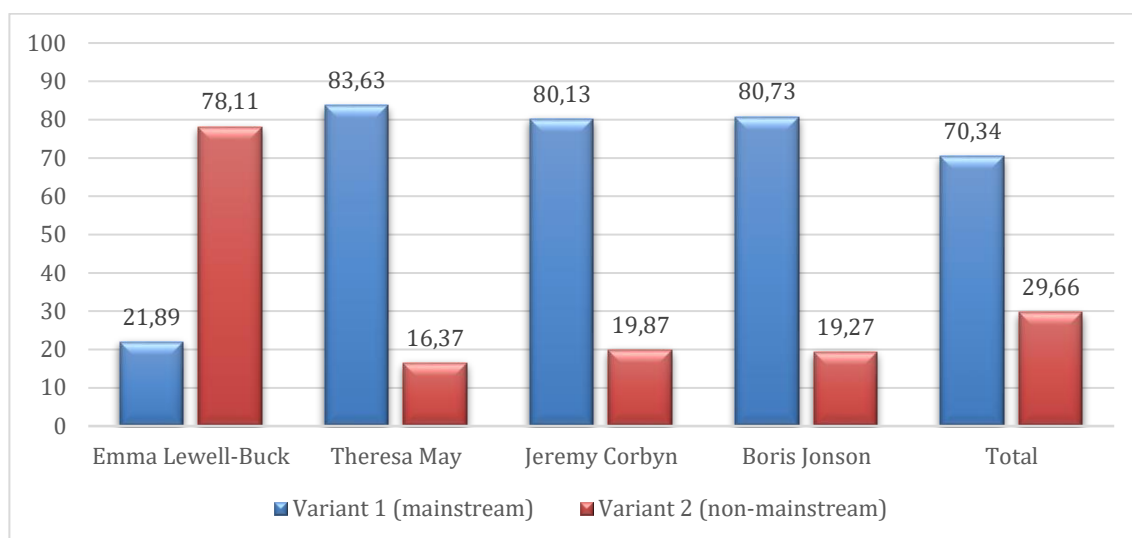


Figure IV.60. Total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson.

Hence as it can be observed in Figure IV.60, the total percentages of use obtained for variant 1 by Theresa May (83.63%), Jeremy Corbyn (80.13%) and Boris Johnson (80.73%) reveal a general mainstream behaviour, which is characterised by a scarce use of locally marked variants (16.37%, 19.87% and 19.27%, respectively). This sociolinguistic pattern clearly contrasts with that of Emma Lewell-Buck, who tends to employ non-mainstream (78.11%) over mainstream variants (21.89%). Consequently, it could be tentatively stated that whether mainstream or non-mainstream oriented, none of the informants alter their usage of the variables studied across the different contexts to a great extent, remaining faithful to their own speech style.

In addition, as it can be observed in Table IV.14, sex ($6.45e-139 < 0.05$) appears to be a significant factor when it comes to British informants' speech style, as male informants tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms. On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the "Logodds" column signals that female informants tend to favour the usage of non-mainstream forms. In fact, the probability values indicated in the "Centered factor weight" column reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for male than female informants.

Table IV.14. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being used by British informants (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Male	0.535	5870	0.805	0.631
	Female	-0.535	5050	0.586	0.369
Misc. 1	N= 10920; df= 2; Intercept= 0.881; Overall proportion= 0.703; Centered input probability= 0.707.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -6324.244; AIC= 12652.49; AICc= 12652.49; Dxy= 0.261; R2= 0.08.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.15 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, sex ceases to be a significant factor ($0.267 > 0.05$). In fact, Theresa May is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms regardless of the context, followed by Boris Johnson. On the contrary, the negative values obtained in the “Intercept” column indicate that Jeremy Corbyn disfavours the usage of mainstream forms, being Emma Lewell-Buck the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream realisations out of the four British informants. This is also evidenced by the data obtained for the “Centerd factor weight” column, which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Theresa May’s speech, while Lewell-Buck is the informant who is more likely to employ non-mainstream forms in her speech.

Lastly, it is noteworthy to mention that while the sociolinguistic behaviour of May, Corbyn and Johnson correlates with their social status, education and occupation as well as with the formality associated with the contexts in which they operate (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44; Labov 2001a, 2001b), the scores obtained by Lewell-Buck reveal a clear divergence from occupational and social class expectations. Moreover, if compared with the sociolinguistic behaviour of May, Lewell-Buck also violates gender expectations, since it has been shown, at least in the industrialised Western world, that women’s speech tends to be more mainstream than that of men (Trudgill 1972: 183): while working class (non-mainstream) speech seems to have connotations of masculinity

because of its association with the roughness and toughness of the vernacular world and culture, these masculine attributes are not positively evaluated in the women's speech, being refinement and sophistication much conventionally preferred (Coupland & Jaworski 2009).

Table IV.15. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by British informants. Fixed effects analysis: "Informant" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	1.026	10920	0.703	—
Theresa May	1.448	2999	0.836	0.81
Boris Johnson	0.018	3348	0.807	0.505
Jeremy Corbyn	-0.02	2522	0.801	0.495
Emma Lewell-Buck	-1.448	2051	0.219	0.19
Misc. 1	N= 10920; df= 3; Intercept= 0.797; Overall proportion= 0.703; Centered input probability= 0.689.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -5326.925; AIC= 10659.85; AICc= 10659.85; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.46; R2 fixed= 0.08; R2 random= 0.223; R2 total= 0.303.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

IV.1.8. British Informants: Statement

Regarding the different contexts, Table IV.16 shows the percentages of use of each informant for each variable studied in the context of Statement. As already mentioned in section III.2.2.b.ii, the speech events of the four British informants under the label of Statement refer to their individual interventions in the House of Commons. These procedures are rather formal and can be viewed and heard by the public, who can either attend the debates or watch or heard them in streaming.

Generally, a clear contrast can be appreciated in the usage levels of British informants in this context. In fact, only the percentages of use obtained for MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping variables are exactly the same for Lewell-Buck, May, Corbyn and Johnson. As for the remaining variables, it can be clearly seen how Emma Lewell-Buck is the only informant that often

deviates from mainstream conventions, which clearly contrasts with the mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson.

Table IV.16. British Informants: Context - Statement							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants				
			Emma Lewell-Buck	Theresa May	Jeremy Corbyn	Boris Johnson	Total
FACE vowel	Variant #1: [eɪ]	%	18.58%	99.35%	98.41%	100.00%	79.11%
		#	21/113	154/155	62/63	119/119	356/450
	Variant #2: Other	%	81.42%	0.65%	1.59%	0.00%	20.89%
		#	92/113	1/155	1/63	0/119	94/450
GOAT vowel	Variant #1: [əʊ]	%	0.00%	96.80%	86.57%	100.00%	81.52%
		#	0/55	121/125	58/67	121/121	300/368
	Variant #2: Other	%	100.00%	3.20%	13.43%	0.00%	18.48%
		#	55/55	4/125	9/67	0/121	68/368
MOUTH vowel	Variant #1: [aʊ]	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	25/25	59/59	21/21	25/25	130/130
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/25	0/59	0/21	0/25	0/130
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Variant #1: (ʊ) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/	%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	78.28%
		#	0/63	69/69	60/60	98/98	227/290
	Variant #2: (ʊ) = /ʌ/	%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	21.72%
		#	63/63	0/69	0/60	0/98	63/290
Glottalisation of /p, t, k/	Variant #1: No	%	27.59%	83.13%	76.42%	75.57%	72.20%
		#	40/145	335/403	162/212	263/348	800/1108
	Variant #2: Yes	%	72.41%	16.87%	23.58%	24.43%	27.80%
		#	105/145	68/403	50/212	85/348	308/1108
H-Dropping	Variant #1: (h) = /h/	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	19/19	41/41	29/29	21/21	110/110
	Variant #2: (h) = /ə/	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/19	0/41	0/29	0/21	0/110
Total	Variant #1	%	25.00%	91.43%	86.73%	88.39%	78.30%
		#	105/420	779/852	392/452	647/732	1923/2456
	Variant #2	%	75.00%	8.57%	13.27%	11.61%	21.70%
		#	315/420	73/852	60/452	85/732	533/2456

IV.1.8.a. FACE vowel

Regarding FACE vowel, the score obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck for variant 1 ([eɪ]) (18.58%) directly contrasts with the scores obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson (99.35%, 98.41% and 100%, respectively). Thus, while variant 2 (which encompasses other non-mainstream realisations) is predominantly used by Emma Lewell-Buck (81.42%), it is

scarcely used by Theresa May (0.65%) and Jeremy Corbyn (1.59%), being Boris Johnson the informant who employs the lowest percentage of use for variant 2 in the context of Statement (0.00%). Thus, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 334.572$; $df = 1$).

As previously stated, the high percentage obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck for variant 2 may be influenced by her North-eastern origins and the linguistic features that characterise Northern accents. Hence, non-mainstream realisations such as /iə/ and /e:/ for FACE vowel are commonly used by Northern speakers (Beal 2004), being the latter regarded as old-fashioned and the one that Lewell-Buck commonly uses in her speeches. Hence, it seems that whether consciously or unconsciously this informant is attempting to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to regionally marked variant 2 (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). As it can be observed in Table IV.16 and Figure IV.61, this sociolinguistic behaviour clearly contrasts with that of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, as these three informants exhibit a prominent use of variant 1, which correlates with mainstream conventions. In fact, a higher use of this variant tends to be characteristic of RP speech, being this variety regarded as prestigious due to its traditional association with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982).

Consequently, it becomes of relevance that despite of the formality associated with the interventions that take place in the House of Commons, Emma Lewell-Buck clearly diverges from mainstream and formality conventions. She breaks from the stereotype of politicians' having a greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as a greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase their usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b). On the contrary, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream, social status and formality conventions, exhibiting a sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of FACE vowel that would fall within the description of RP accents.

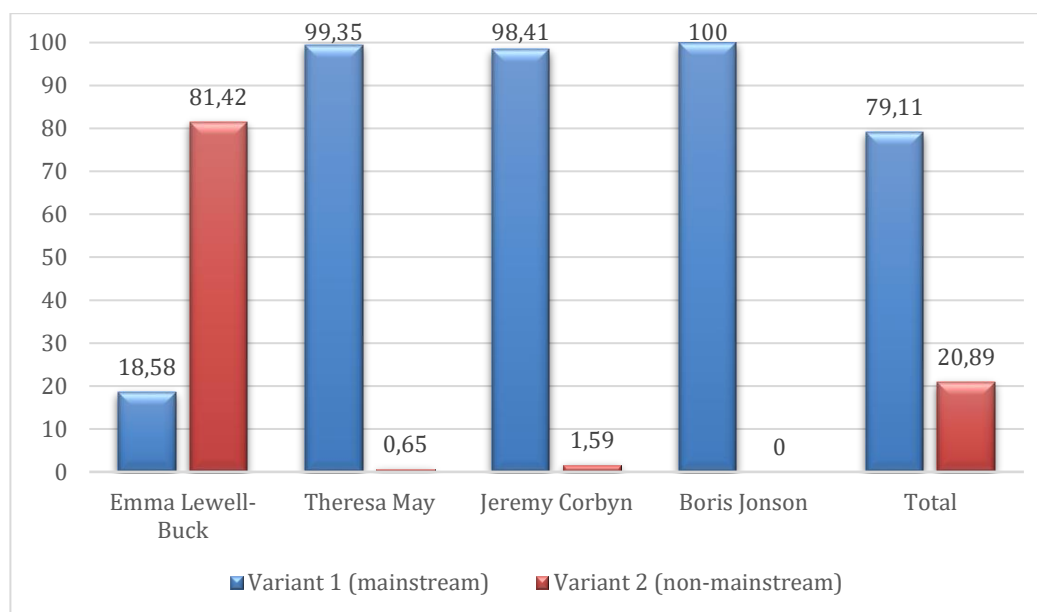


Figure IV.61. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of FACE vowel in the context of Statement.

As a result, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of the four British informants regarding their usage of FACE vowel reveals a noticeable adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (79.11%), being non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (20.89%).

IV.1.8.b. GOAT vowel

A similar pattern can be appreciated in the case of GOAT vowel (see Figure IV.62). On the one hand, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson make a predominant use of variant 1 ([əʊ]) (96.80%, 86.57% and 100%, respectively), remaining variant 2 (which includes other non-mainstream realisations) scarcely used in the speech of May (3.20%) and Corbyn (13.43%), and completely absent from the speech of Johnson (0.00%). This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, since variant 1 is characteristic of RP speech and enjoys relevant prestige, as this variety has traditionally been associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982). In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that even though Jeremy Corbyn obtained a slightly lower percentage of use for variant 1 than Theresa May and Boris Johnson, this sociolinguistic behaviour also

falls within the description of some RP accents, as some speakers –frequently the older ones– may retain [o] as the first element in the realisation of this diphthong (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Upton 2004), as Jeremy Corbyn does.

In contrast, Emma Lewell-Buck exhibits a completely opposite sociolinguistic behaviour, as she obtained a score of 0.00% for mainstream variant 1, only using variant 2 (100%) in her speech. Thus, while Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream forms, Emma Lewell-Buck shows a clear reluctance when it comes to adopting variant 1. Thus, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 290.576$; $df = 1$).

As with FACE vowel, the higher use that Emma Lewell-Buck makes of variant 2 of GOAT vowel –particularly in the form of monophthong /o:/– may be influenced by her North-eastern origins and the symbolic local Northern identity associated with this non-mainstream variant (Watt & Milroy 1999; Beal 2004). Hence, whether consciously or unconsciously, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her local accent, perhaps in an attempt to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to the non-mainstream variant (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

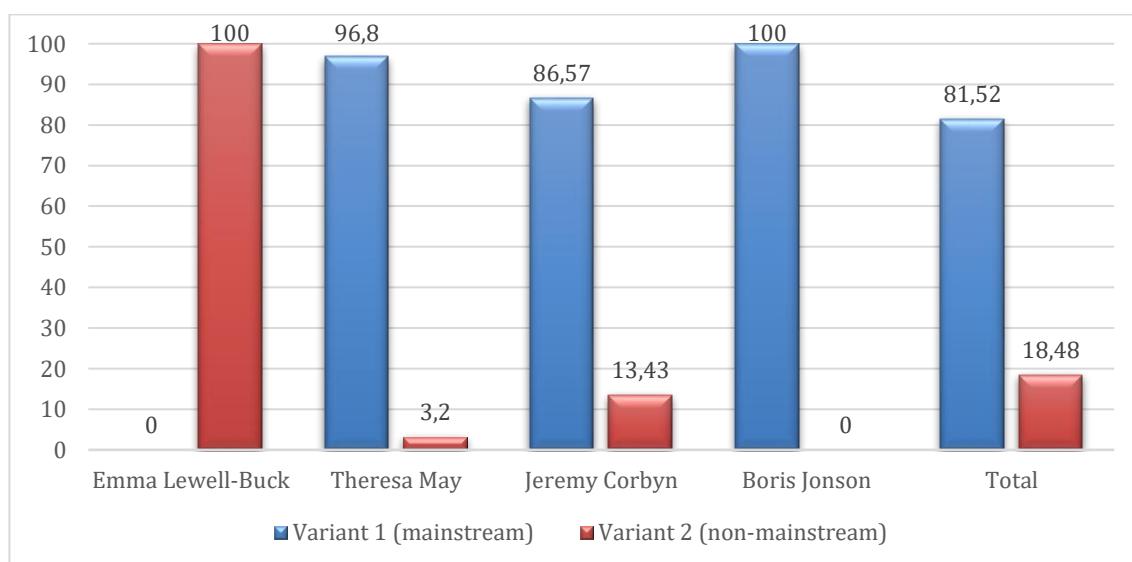


Figure IV.62. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of GOAT vowel in the context of Statement.

Consequently, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite of the formality associated with the interventions that take place in the House of Commons, Emma Lewell-Buck diverges again from mainstream and formality conventions. She breaks from the stereotype of politicians' having a greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b). On the contrary, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream and formality conventions, exhibiting a sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of GOAT vowel that would fall within the description of RP accents.

As a result, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of the four British informants analysed regarding their usage of GOAT vowel reveals a prominent adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (81.52%), being non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (18.48%).

IV.1.8.c. MOUTH vowel

However, if MOUTH vowel is considered, an equal sociolinguistic behaviour may be observed in the speech of the four British informants. As it can be observed in Figure IV.63, Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson exhibit a complete use of mainstream variant 1 ([aʊ]), obtaining each informant a total score of 100% for this variant. Thus, none of the informants use regionally marked forms encompassed by variant 2 in their speeches. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is commonly employed by RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social status (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$).

Considering the scores obtained by the four British informants for previous variables, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson regarding MOUTH vowel was rather expected. However, it becomes of relevance the fact that Emma Lewell-Buck did not use variant 2 at all. In fact, given that she is originally from the North-east, a higher percentage of use for this variant could be expected in her speech rather than a clear reluctance to adopt non-mainstream variant 2. The reason behind this reluctance in the adoption of non-mainstream forms might be explained by the fact that variant 2 is not as strongly associated with Northern identity aspects as FACE vowel, GOAT vowel or /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split are. In addition, other factors might explain why Lewell-Buck does not accommodate to this variant, such as non-mainstream realisations being commonly used by older and/or working-class and/or male speakers in Tyneside and Northumberland (Beal 2004: 124), as well as the recessive trend that this variant is experiencing in certain areas of the middle North (Petyt1985). Consequently, considering that identity factors do not play a significant role in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck when it comes to MOUTH vowel, it could be tentatively stated that in this case, she adjusts to occupational, formality and social status conventions (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Labov 2001a, 2001b).

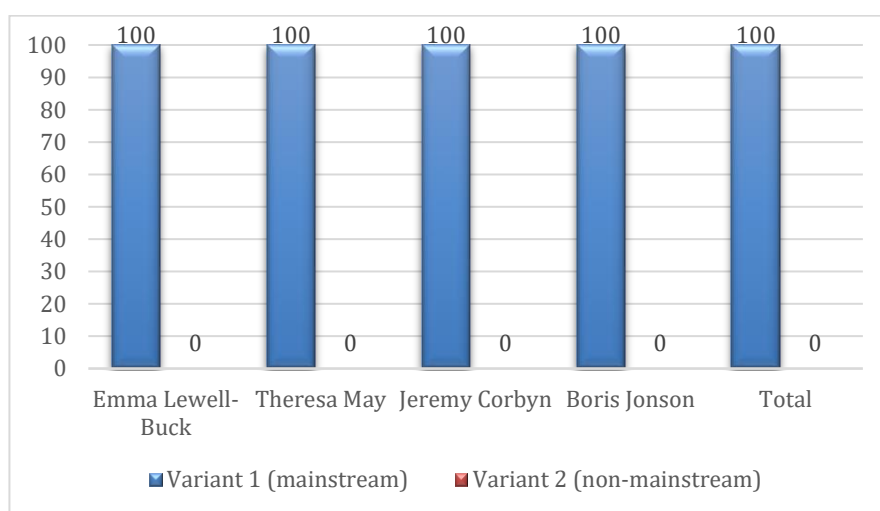


Figure IV.63. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of MOUTH vowel in the context of Statement.

Thus, Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris adjust to occupational and formality conventions when it comes to MOUTH vowel (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Labov 2001a, 2001b), as none of the informants alter their sociolinguistic behaviour in the context of Statement by means of employing regionally marked pronunciations. Hence, it can be tentatively stated that the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants when performing in the context of Statement in terms of MOUTH vowel is characterised by a strict adherence to mainstream conventions, as variant 1 (100%) is predominantly used over non-mainstream forms (0.00%).

IV.1.8.d. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split

However, an opposite sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the usage that British informants make of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split (see Figure IV.64). On the one hand, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson predominantly use variant 1 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation) over variant 2 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ no differentiation), obtaining each informant a score of 100% for the former variant and 0.00% for the latter. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is commonly used by RP as well as Southern speakers (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), being this variant associated with a higher degree of prestige.

Contrarily, it can be observed how Emma Lewell-Buck uses variant 2 (100%) over variant 1 (0.00%) in the context of Statement. Thus, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 290$; $df = 1$).

This strong adherence to non-mainstream variant 2 and the subsequent reluctance to accommodate to mainstream conventions that would correlate with the occupation of the informant and the formality associated with the context in which she operates may be motivated by the fact that variant 2 is one of the most salient markers of Northern English pronunciations (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2013; Labov 2001a, 2001b; Beal 2004). Hence, considering that Lewell-Buck is originally from the North-east of England, these scores could be rather expected. However, Emma Lewell-Buck's sociolinguistic

behaviour diverges from the stereotype of politicians having a greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). In addition, Lewell-Buck also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b).

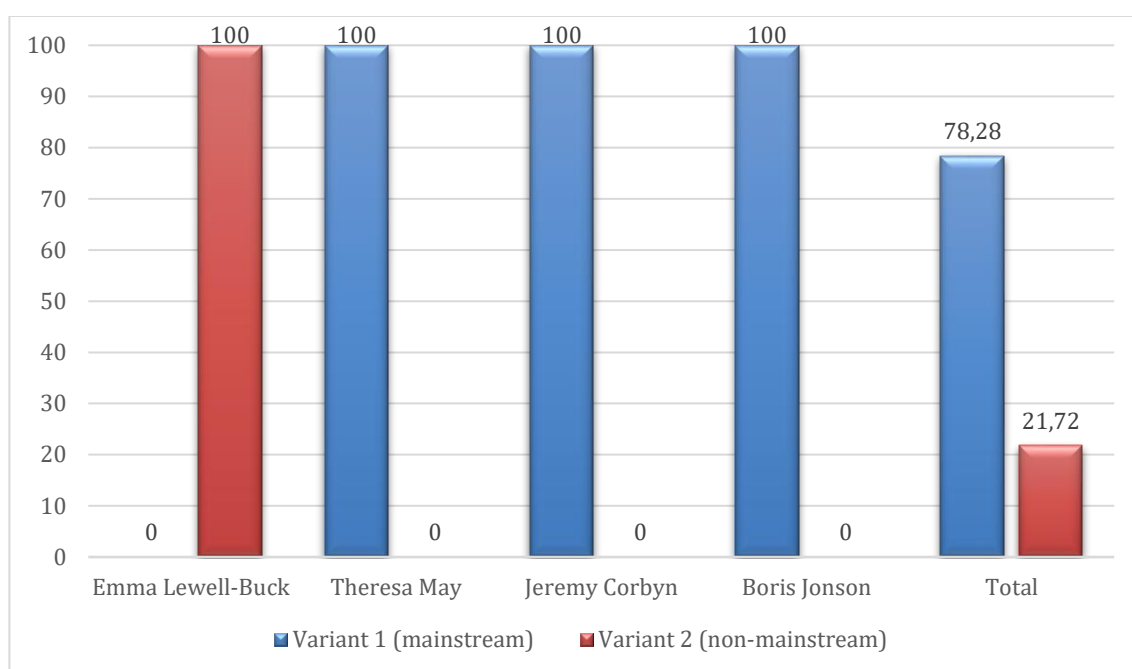


Figure IV.64. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split in the context of Statement.

Consequently, and in line with the scores obtained for FACE vowel and GOAT vowel, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her local accent, perhaps in an attempt to project her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to non-mainstream variant 2, even in a rather formal context (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). On the contrary, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream and formality conventions, exhibiting a sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split that would fall within the description of RP accents. As a result, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of the four British informants analysed regarding their usage of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split in the context of

Statement reveals a prominent adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (78.28%), being non-mainstream variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (21.72%).

IV.1.8.e. Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

Even though a similar pattern may be observed in the treatment that British informants make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, Figure IV.65 reveals a noticeable decrease in the usage of variant 1 on the part of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, as well as a slight increase in the usage of this mainstream variant in the speech of Emma Lewell-Buck. As a result, differences in the treatment of this variable between May, Corbyn and Johnson, on the one hand, and Lewell-Buck, on the other, are not as stark as the ones already evidenced in their usage of FACE vowel GOAT vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Yet, the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson is still characterised by a greater use of mainstream forms than that of Lewell-Buck. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 171.619$; $df = 1$).

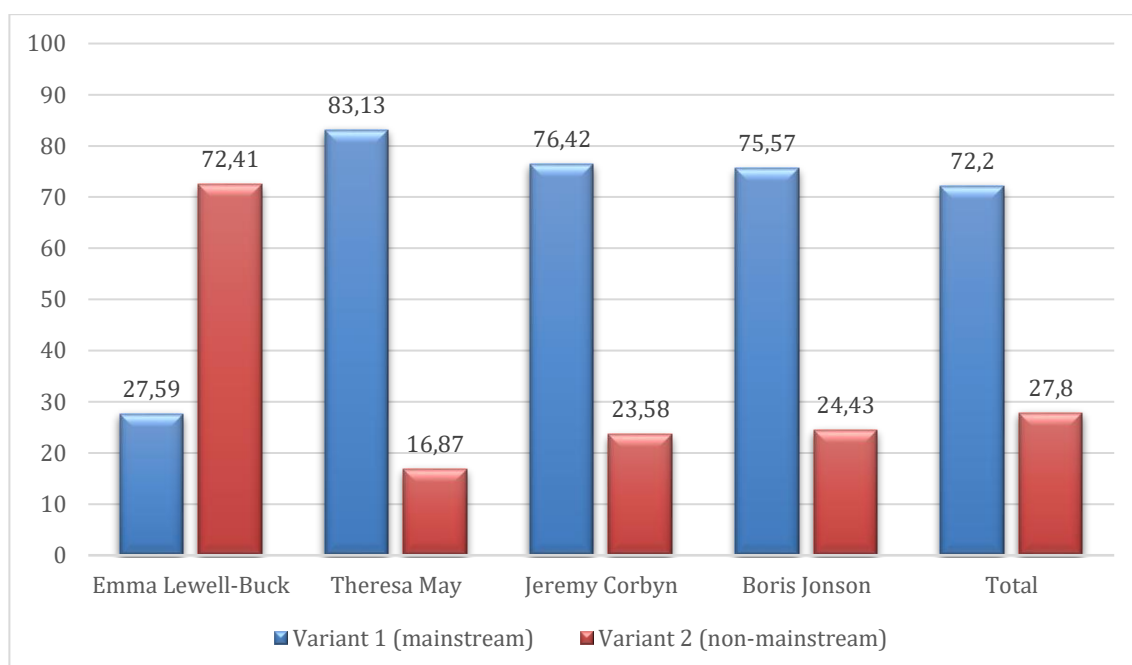


Figure IV.65. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ in the context of Statement.

On the one hand, a relevant drop in the percentages of use obtained for variant 1 (No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) and a subsequent increase in the usage of variant 2 (No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) can be observed in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson if compared with the scores obtained by these informants for previous variables. Thus, Theresa May obtained a score of 83.13% for variant 1 and 16.87% for variant 2, Jeremy Corbyn obtained a score of 76.42% for variant 1 and 23.58% for variant 2, and Boris Johnson obtained a score of 75.57% for variant 1 and 24.43% for variant 2. Yet, despite the relevant use of variant 2 in the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson, Emma Lewell-Buck is still the informant who obtained the lowest percentage of use for variant 1 (27.59%) and the highest percentage of use for variant 2 (72.41%). Nevertheless, it must be remarked that Lewell-Buck's scores for this variable evidence a noticeable increase in the usage of variant 1 if compared with the scores that she obtained for previous variables.

As already mentioned, the increase in the usage of variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) in the data obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson may be explained by the spread that this variant is experiencing to almost all British urban centres (Beal 2004; Trudgill 1999), its common use in conversational contexts (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013) and its receding behaviour when it comes to geographical and socially stratified constraints. In fact, the degree of stigmatisation associated with this variable is decreasing to the extent that glottalised realisations may be encountered in RP accents and in the speech of individuals belonging to high a social status (Upton 2004). In addition, the common use that not only North-eastern but also South-eastern speakers make of variant 2 could have fostered a greater use of glottalised pronunciations in the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson (Altendorf & Watt 2004; Wells 1982; Llamas 2007), as these three informants have spent long periods of time in the South-east of England. Hence, a relevant degree of accommodation to the non-mainstream variant can be observed in the speech of these three informants.

Nevertheless, the still relevant use that the four British informants make of variant 1 could be motivated by the common avoidance of glottalised forms in careful speech (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 44), the high degree of formality associated with the context of Statement (Labov 2001a, 2001b), and the stigma of "ugliness, inarticulacy and 'sloppiness'"

traditionally associated with variant 2 (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67). As a result, mainstream variant 1 (72.2%) is still predominantly used in the context of Statement, while non-mainstream variant 2 is used to a lesser extent (27.8%).

IV.1.8.f. H-Dropping

However, Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson make a similar use of H-Dropping (see Figure IV.66). In fact, the four British informants exhibit a complete use of mainstream variant 1 (presence of initial /h/) in the context of Statement, obtaining each informant a total score of 100% for this variant. Thus, none of the informants use variant 2 (absence of initial /h/) in their speeches. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with the speech of RP speakers, as they commonly use variant 1 (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Hence, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

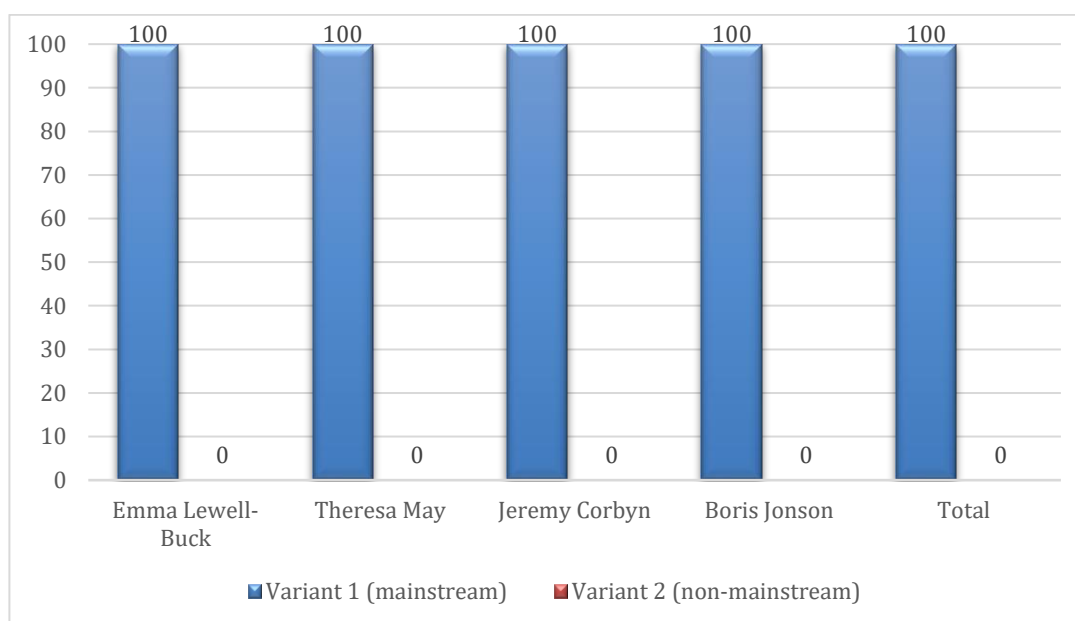


Figure IV.66. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of H-Dropping in the context of Statement.

Particularly, this lack of use of non-mainstream variant 2 might be influenced by the fact that this variable is subject to both regional and social variation. Hence, a greater use of variant 1 tends to be associated with the speech of individuals belonging to high social status as well as with RP speakers, while variant 2 would be expected to be used by speakers belonging to low social statuses (Beal 2004: 127; Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192). This, together with the fact that the presence of initial /h/ is quite common in North-eastern regions, could explain why Emma Lewell-Buck makes a complete use of variant 1, as she adheres to geographical as well as socially stratified aspects (Beal 2004: 127).

On the contrary Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson seem to ignore the common use that individuals from the Southeast –where they have been based for long periods of time– make of variant 2 (Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192). Thus, instead of adhering to their corresponding geographical accent, May, Corbyn and Johnson exhibit a prominent use of variant 1, which indicates that these three informants are influenced to a greater extent by socially stratified factors than by geographical aspects associated with this variable.

Hence, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants when performing in the context of Statement in terms of H-Dropping is characterised by a strict adherence to mainstream conventions, as variant 1 (100%) is predominantly used over non-mainstream forms (0.00%). Thus, none of the informants attempt to accommodate to a regionally marked pronunciation that also carries negative evaluations due to its association with the speech of working-class individuals.

IV.1.8.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in the context of Statement

Regarding the overall treatment made by British informants of the variables studied, Figure IV.67 reveals that there seems to be unanimity in their usage of MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, as the four British informants obtained a score of 100% for mainstream variant 1 of both variables, remaining non-mainstream variants unused. As previously stated, this strict adherence to mainstream forms may be motivated by the socially stratified aspects associated with both variables, which may preclude British politicians to use non-mainstream forms in such a formal context as Statement is. On the other hand, non-mainstream variants of FACE

vowel (20.89%), GOAT vowel (18.48%) and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split (21.72%) tend to be used to a greater extent, perhaps as a resource in the creation, projection and reinforcement of local identity aspects, as it is the case of Emma Lewell-Buck. Lastly, the usage that British informants make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ reveals a higher degree of fluctuation between mainstream (72.2%) and non-mainstream forms (27.8%), perhaps due to the recession of geographical as well as socially stratified aspects associated with this variable. On the whole, the scores obtained by British informants for the variables studied reveal a prominent use of mainstream forms (78.3%), being non-mainstream variants used to a much lesser extent (21.7%).

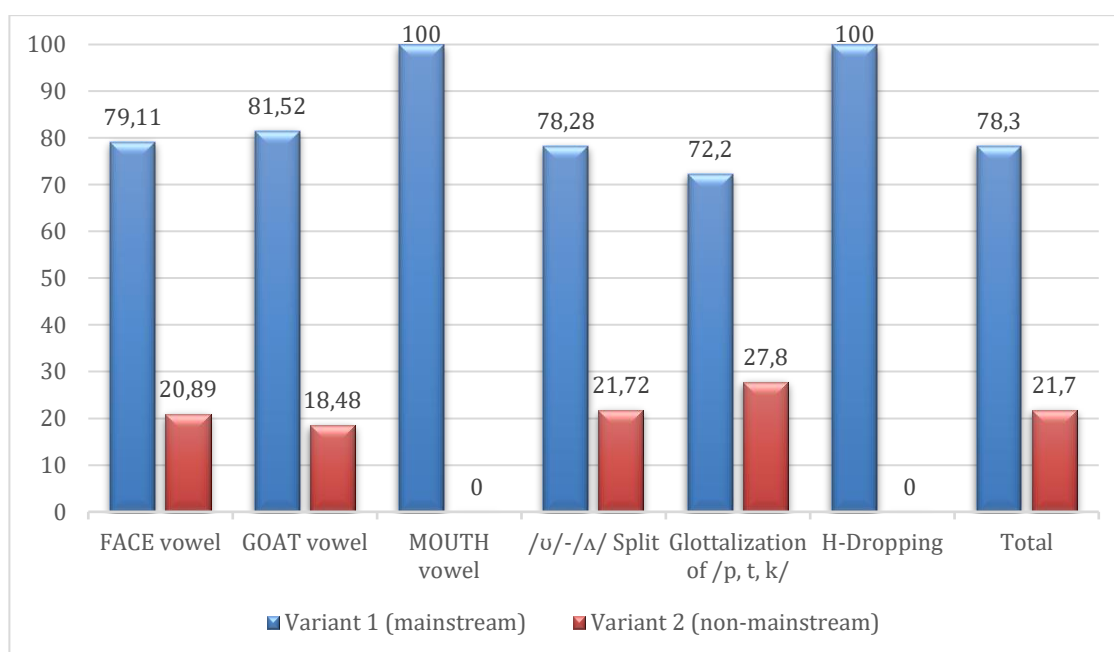


Figure IV.67. Total scores obtained by British informants in the context of Statement.

Overall, and as it can be observed, if the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson in the context of Statement is compared, relevant differences as well as clear similarities will be observed, which may be influenced by geographical as well as socially stratified factors. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for mainstream and non-mainstream variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 851.379$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, an opposite sociolinguistic behaviour is noticeable in the usage that Emma Lewell-Buck, on the one hand, and Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, on the other, make of FACE vowel, GOAT, vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Thus, while Lewell-Buck predominantly uses non-mainstream and regionally marked variants, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strongly adhere to mainstream conventions. Similarly, a noticeable difference can also be observed in the usage that Lewell-Buck, on the one hand, and May, Corbyn and Johnson, on the other, make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, since as with previous variables, May, Corbyn and Johnson employ a greater use of mainstream variant 1 than Emma Lewell-buck does. However, the four British politicians employ a similar sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, as all of them exhibit a prominent use of mainstream variants.

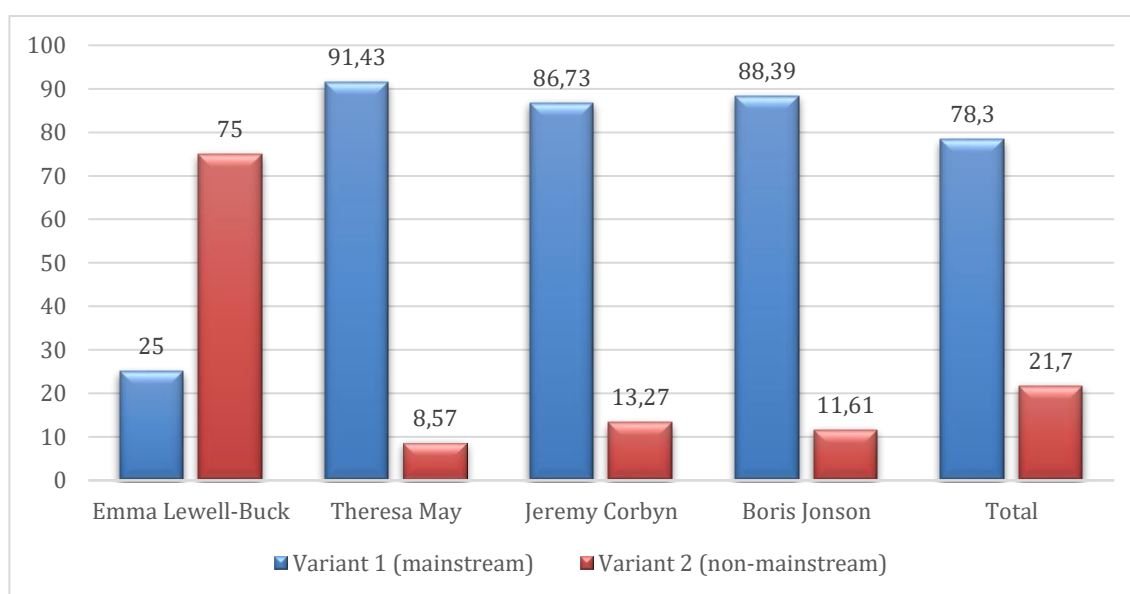


Figure IV.68. Total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson in the context of Statement.

Hence, as it can be observed in Figure IV.68, the total percentage of use obtained for variant 1 by Theresa May (91.43%), Jeremy Corbyn (86.73%) and Boris Johnson (88.39%) reveal a predominant use of mainstream realisations encompassed by variant 1. Thus, non-mainstream forms covered by variant 2 remain scarcely used in the speech of May (8.57%), Corbyn (13.27%) and Johnson (11.61%). On the contrary, the sociolinguistic pattern of Emma

Lewell-Buck in the context of Statement is marked by a predominant use of non-mainstream variants over mainstream forms encompassed by variant 1 (75.00% versus 25.00%, respectively). Thus, even though this context could be considered as one of the most formal ones when it comes to public interventions in the British political sphere, Emma Lewell-Buck shows a clear reluctance to adopt mainstream forms, using variant 2 in the majority of the variables studied.

In addition, as it can be observed in Table IV.17, sex ($7.11e-29 < 0.05$) appears to be a significant factor when it comes to British informants' speech style, as male informants tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms. On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the "Logodds" column indicates that female informants tend to disfavour the usage of non-mainstream forms. In fact, the values of the "Centered factor weight" column reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for male than female informants.

Table IV.17. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being used by British informants in the context of Statement (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Male	0.573	1184	0.878	0.639
	Female	-0.573	1272	0.695	0.361
Misc. 1	N= 2456; df= 2; Intercept= 1.396; Overall proportion= 0.783; Centered input probability= 0.802.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1222.589; AIC= 2449.178; AICc= 2449.183; Dxy= 0.268; R2= 0.091.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.18 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, sex ceases to be a significant factor ($0.313 > 0.05$). In fact, Theresa May is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms in the context of Statement, followed by Boris Johnson. On the contrary, the negative values obtained in the "Intercept" column indicate that Jeremy Corbyn disfavors the usage of mainstream forms,

being Emma Lewell-Buck the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream realisations out of the four British informants. This is also evidenced by the data obtained for the “Centerd factor weight” column, which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Theresa May’s speech, while Lewell-Buck is the informant who is more likely to employ non-mainstream forms in her speech.

Table IV.18. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by British informants in the context of Statement. Fixed effects analysis: “Informant” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	1.225	2456	0.783	—
Theresa May	1.716	852	0.914	0.848
Boris Johnson	0.07	732	0.884	0.518
Jeremy Corbyn	-0.082	452	0.867	0.48
Emma Lewell-Buck	-1.719	420	0.25	0.152
Misc. 1	N=2456; df= 3; Intercept= 1.297; Overall proportion= 0.783; Centered input probability= 0.785.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -936.446; AIC= 1878.892; AICc= 1878.901; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.578; R2 fixed= 0.084; R2 random= 0.287; R2 total= 0.371.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

On the whole, it could be stated that while the speech of Lewell-Buck is characterised by a frequent use of regionally marked variants, that of May, Corbyn and Johnson is almost absent of non-mainstream forms, which correlates with mainstream, social status, occupational and formal conventions (Labov 2001a, 2001b). Hence, Lewell-Buck breaks with the assumption that politicians tend to use a more careful speech when performing in public (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010), perhaps under the influence of the association of certain linguistic features with local identity aspects.

In addition, if compared with the sociolinguistic behaviour of May, Lewell-Buck also violates gender expectations, since it has been shown, at least in the industrialised Western

world, that women's speech tends to be more mainstream than that of men (Trudgill 1972): while working class (non-mainstream) speech seems to have connotations of masculinity because of its association with the roughness and toughness of the vernacular world and culture, these masculine attributes are not positively evaluated in the women's speech, being refinement and sophistication much conventionally preferred (Coupland & Jaworski 2009). However, it must be remarked that when social class aspects come into play, Lewell-Buck clearly turns to variant 1. Thus, it can be tentatively stated that while the formality associated with this context does not preclude Emma Lewell-Buck from using those linguistic features that would reinforce her Northern identity, those variants that would elicit a lower social status are frequently avoided in her speech.

Globally, as evidenced by the total scores obtained by the four informants, British politicians tend to generally employ mainstream variants than non-mainstream forms in the context of Statement (78.30% versus 21.70%, respectively). In addition, it seems that regional linguistic features could be expected to be heard in the House of Commons, while those features associated with social class factors seem to be avoided.

IV.1.9. British Informants: Interview

Regarding the different contexts, Table IV.19 shows the percentages of use of each British informant for each variable studied in the context of Interview. As already mentioned in section III.2.2.b.ii, the speech events of the four British informants under the label of Interview refer to the interview in which each informant participated for ITV News, a brand of news programmes that belongs to the ITV British television network. Particularly, the interviews of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson took place in the ITV News studio in London, as part of a series of interviews conducted by the programme "This Morning" in the framework of the 2018 Brexit negotiations with the EU (in the case of Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn) and the 2019 UK general elections, in the case of Boris Johnson. On the other hand, the interview of Emma Lewell-Buck took place in Westminster, as part of a series of interviews of the programme "Acting Prime Minister". All these interviews were broadcasted at a national level.

In line with the scores obtained in the context of Statement, a clear contrast in the usage levels of Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson can be appreciated. In fact, only the percentages of use obtained for MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping are almost the same for the four British informants. As for the remaining variables, it can be clearly seen how Emma Lewell-Buck is the only informant that often deviates from mainstream conventions, which clearly contrasts with the sociolinguistic behaviour of May, Corbyn and Johnson.

Table IV.19. British Informants: Context – Interview							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants				
			Emma Lewell-Buck	Theresa May	Jeremy Corbyn	Boris Johnson	Total
FACE vowel	Variant #1: [eɪ]	%	13.39%	98.82%	97.62%	98.99%	71.14%
		#	17/127	84/85	82/84	98/99	281/395
	Variant #2: Other	%	86.61%	1.18%	2.38%	1.01%	28.86%
		#	110/127	1/85	2/84	1/99	114/395
GOAT vowel	Variant #1: [əʊ]	%	0.00%	99.17%	92.68%	98.28%	51.64%
		#	0/228	119/120	76/82	57/58	252/488
	Variant #2: Other	%	100.00%	0.83%	7.32%	1.72%	48.36%
		#	228/228	1/120	6/82	1/58	236/488
MOUTH vowel	Variant #1: [aʊ]	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	91.43%	98.21%
		#	64/64	51/51	18/18	32/35	165/168
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	8.57%	1.79%
		#	0/64	0/51	0/18	3/35	3/168
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Variant #1: (u) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/	%	2.87%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	62.86%
		#	5/174	114/114	70/70	97/97	286/455
	Variant #2: (u) = /ʊ/	%	97.13%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	37.14%
		#	169/174	0/114	0/70	0/97	169/455
Glottalisation of /p, t, k/	Variant #1: No	%	17.22%	53.51%	45.61%	52.96%	38.51%
		#	104/604	244/456	104/228	161/304	613/1592
	Variant #2: Yes	%	82.78%	46.49%	54.39%	47.04%	61.49%
		#	500/604	212/456	124/228	143/304	979/1592
H-Dropping	Variant #1: (h) = /h/	%	97.96%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	99.18%
		#	48/49	36/36	12/12	25/25	121/122
	Variant #2: (h) = /ø/	%	2.04%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.82%
		#	1/49	0/36	0/12	0/25	1/122
Total	Variant #1	%	19.10%	75.17%	73.28%	76.05%	53.35%
		#	238/1246	648/862	362/494	470/618	1718/3220
	Variant #2	%	80.90%	24.83%	26.72%	23.95%	46.65%
		#	1008/1246	214/862	132/494	148/618	1502/3220

IV.1.9.a. FACE vowel

Regarding FACE vowel, the score obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck for variant 1 ([eɪ]) (13.39%) clearly contrasts with the scores obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson for the same variant (98.82%, 97.62% and 98.99%, respectively). Thus, while variant 2 (which encompasses other non-mainstream realisations) is predominantly used by Emma Lewell-Buck (86.61%), it is scarcely used by Theresa May (1.18%), Jeremy Corbyn (2.38%) and Boris Johnson (98.99%). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 304.139$; $df = 1$).

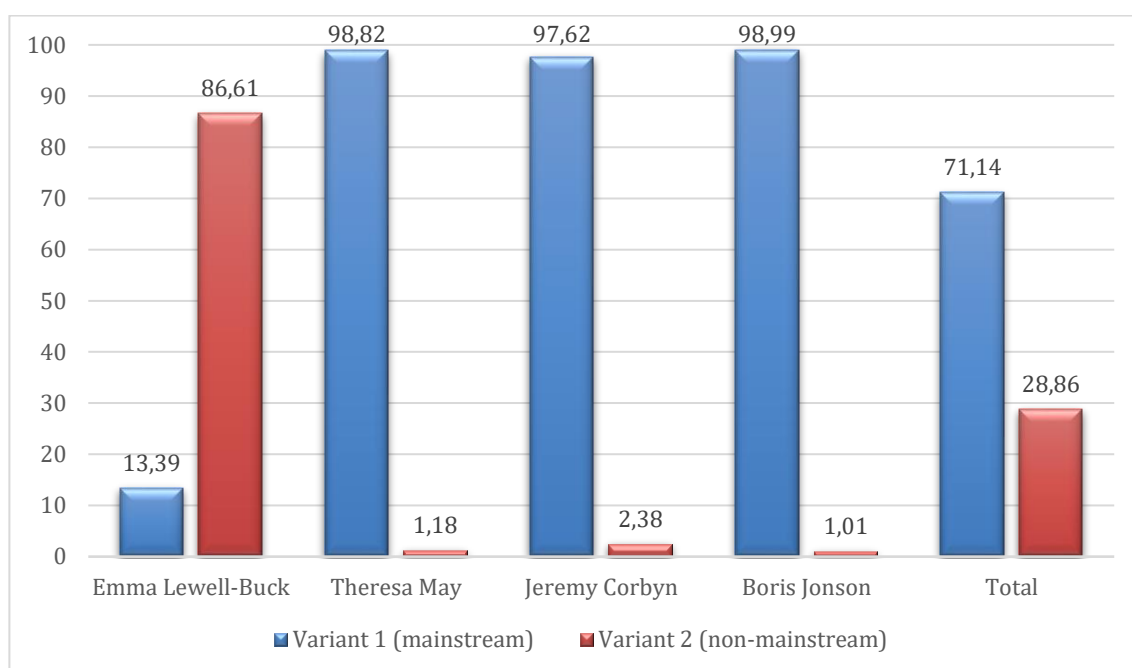


Figure IV.69. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of FACE vowel in the context of Interview.

As previously stated, the higher percentage obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck for variant 2 may be influenced by her North-eastern origins and the linguistic features that characterise Northern accents. Hence, non-mainstream realisations such as /iə/ and /e:/ for FACE vowel are commonly used by Northern speakers (Beal 2004), being the latter regarded as old-fashioned and the one that Lewell-Buck frequently uses in her speeches. Hence, it seems that

whether consciously or unconsciously this informant is attempting to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to the regionally marked variant (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). As already indicated, this sociolinguistic behaviour clearly contrasts with that of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson. As it can be observed in Table IV.19 and Figure IV.69, these three informants exhibit a prominent use of variant 1, which correlates with mainstream conventions. In fact, a higher use of this variant tends to be regarded as prestigious, as it is associated with RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982).

Consequently, it becomes of relevance that despite of the formality associated with these interviews and their national scope, Emma Lewell-Buck clearly diverges from mainstream and formality conventions. She breaks from the stereotype of politicians' having a greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have, as well as greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b). On the contrary, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream, social status, occupational and formality conventions, exhibiting a sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of FACE vowel that would fall within the description of RP accents.

On the whole, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of the four British informants analysed regarding their usage of FACE vowel in the context of Interview reveals a noticeable adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (71.14%), being non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (28.86%).

IV.1.9.b. GOAT vowel

A similar pattern can be appreciated in the case of GOAT vowel (see Figure IV.70). Thus, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson make a predominant use of variant 1 [əʊ] (99.17%, 92.68% and 98.28% respectively), remaining variant 2 (which includes other non-mainstream realisations) scarcely used in the speech of May (0.83%), Corbyn (7.32%) and

Johnson (1.72%). This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, since variant 1 is characteristic of RP speech and enjoys relevant prestige, as this variety has traditionally been associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982). In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that even though Jeremy Corbyn obtained a slightly lower percentage of use for variant 1 than Theresa May and Boris Johnson, this sociolinguistic behaviour also falls within the description of certain RP accents, as some speakers –frequently the older ones– may retain [o] as the first element in the realisation of this diphthong (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Upton 2004), as Jeremy Corbyn does.

On the contrary, Emma Lewell-Buck exhibits a completely opposite sociolinguistic behaviour, as she obtained a score of 0.00% for mainstream variant 1, only using variant 2 (100%) in her interview. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 457.826$; $df = 1$).

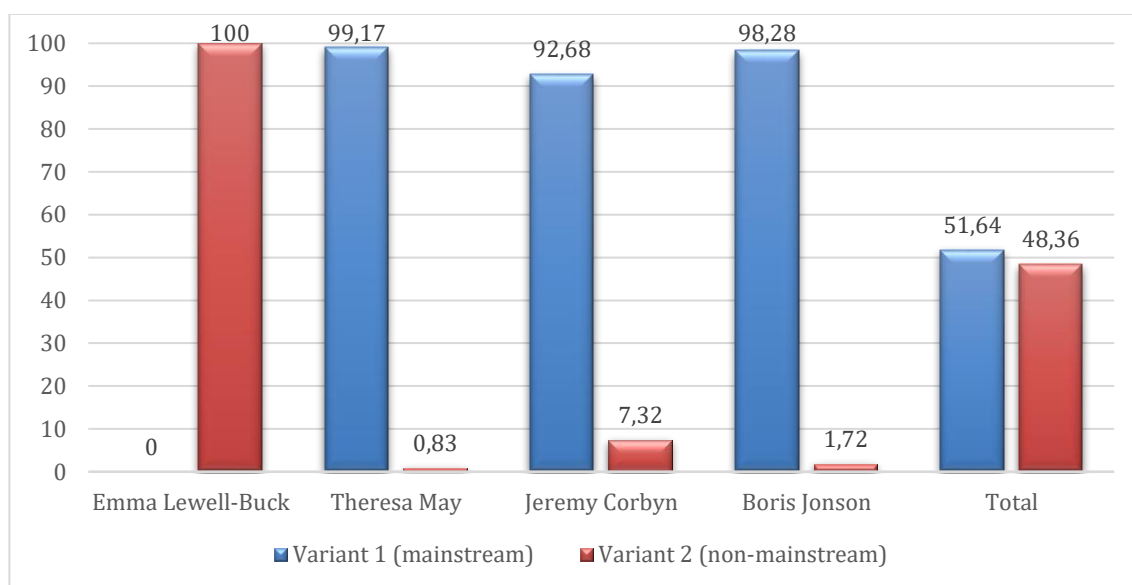


Figure IV.70. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of GOAT vowel in the context of Interview.

Thus, while Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream forms, Emma Lewell-Buck shows a clear reluctance when it comes to adopting variant 1. As with FACE vowel, the higher use that Emma Lewell-Buck makes of variant 2 –

particularly in the form of monophthong /o:/ – may be influenced by her North-eastern origins and the symbolic local Northern identity associated with variant 2 (Watt & Milroy 1999; Beal 2004). Hence, whether consciously or unconsciously, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her local accent, perhaps in an attempt to project her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to the non-mainstream variant (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), which is commonly used by Northern speakers (Beal 2004).

Consequently, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite of the formality associated with these interviews and their national scope, Emma Lewell-Buck diverges again from mainstream and formality conventions. She breaks from the stereotype of politicians' having a greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b). On the contrary, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream and formality conventions, exhibiting a sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of GOAT vowel that would fall within the description of RP accents.

On the whole, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of the four British informants analysed regarding their usage of GOAT vowel reveals that mainstream and prestigious forms tend to be slightly used over non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2 in the context of Interview (51.64% versus 48.36%, respectively).

IV.1.9.c. MOUTH vowel

In contrast to the aforementioned variables, the percentages of use obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson for MOUTH are almost the same. As it can be observed in Figure IV.71, Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson exhibit a predominant use of variant 1 ([aʊ]) over variant 2 (which encompasses other non-mainstream realisations). In fact, Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn obtained a score of 100% for variant 1, which is quite similar to the total score obtained by

Boris Johnson (91.43%). Thus, variant 2 is absent from the speech of Lewell-Buck, May and Corbyn and scarcely used in the speech of Johnson (8.57%). This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is commonly employed by RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social status (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Hence, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

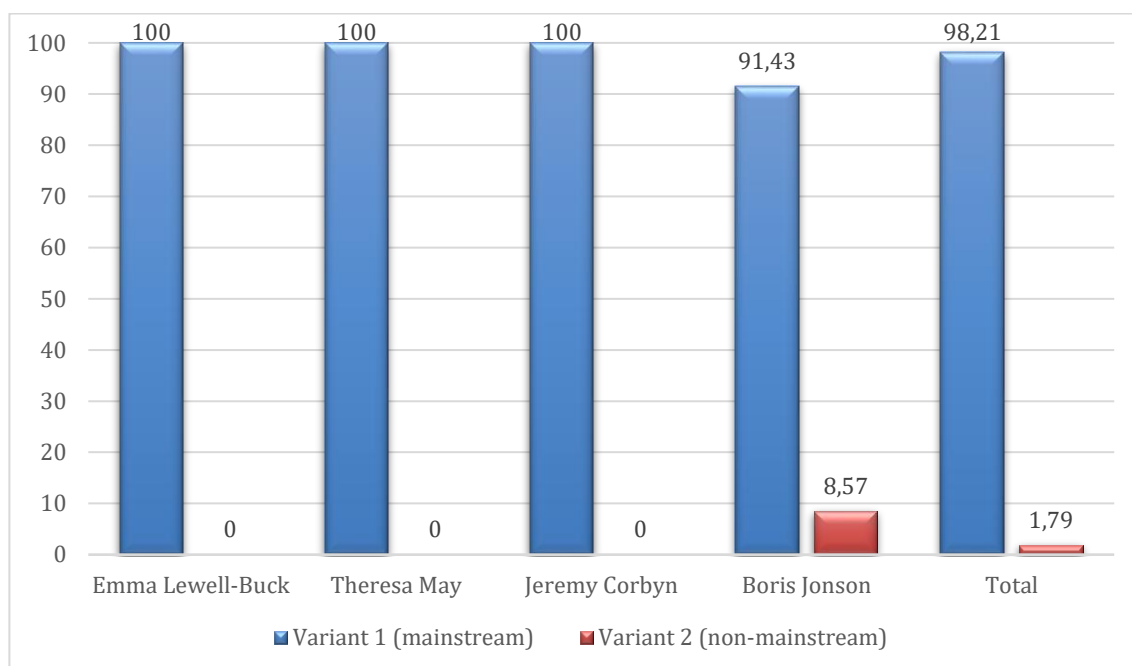


Figure IV.71. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of MOUTH vowel in the context of Interview.

On the other hand, while the scores obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson were rather expected, it becomes of relevance the fact that Emma Lewell-Buck did not use variant 2 in her interview. In fact, given that she is originally from the North-east of England and that this interview was broadcasted at a national level, a higher percentage of use for this variant could be expected in her speech. However, a clear reluctance to adopt non-mainstream variant 2 can be clearly observed. The reason behind this lack of use of variant 2 might be explained by the fact that variant 2 is not as strongly associated with

Northern identity aspects as FACE vowel, GOAT vowel or /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split are. In addition, other factors such as non-mainstream realisations being commonly used by older and/or working-class and/or male speakers in Tyneside and Northumberland as well as variant 2 experiencing a recessive trend of use in certain areas of the middle North might explain why Lewell-Buck does not accommodate to this type of pronunciation (Beal 2004; Petyt 1985). Consequently, considering that identity factors do not play a significant role in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck when it comes to MOUTH vowel, it could be tentatively stated that in this case, she adjusts to occupational, formality and social status conventions (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Labov 2001a, 2001b).

Thus, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in terms of MOUTH vowel in the context of Interview is characterised by a strict adherence to mainstream, occupational and formality conventions (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Labov 2001a, 2001b), as variant 1 is predominantly used over non-mainstream variant 2 (98.21% versus 1.79%, respectively).

IV.1.9.d. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split

However, an opposite sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the usage that British informants make of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split (see Figure IV.72). On the one hand, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnsons predominantly use variant 1 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation) over variant 2 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ no differentiation), obtaining a 100% of realisations for the former variant and a 0.00% for the latter. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is commonly used by RP as well as Southern speakers (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), being this variant associated with a high degree of prestige.

Contrarily, it can be observed how Emma Lewell-Buck diverges from mainstream conventions, as she uses variant 2 (97.13%) over variant 1 (2.87%). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 458$; $df = 1$).

This strong adherence to the non-mainstream convention and the subsequent reluctance to accommodate to mainstream conventions that would correlate with the occupation of Lewell-Buck and the formality associated with the contexts in she operates may be motivated by the fact that variant 2 is one of the most salient markers of Northern English pronunciations (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2013; Labov 2001a, 2001b; Beal 2004). Hence, considering that Lewell-Buck is originally from the North-east of England, these scores could be rather expected. However, with her sociolinguistic behaviour, Emma Lewell-Buck diverges from the stereotype of politicians' having a greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b).

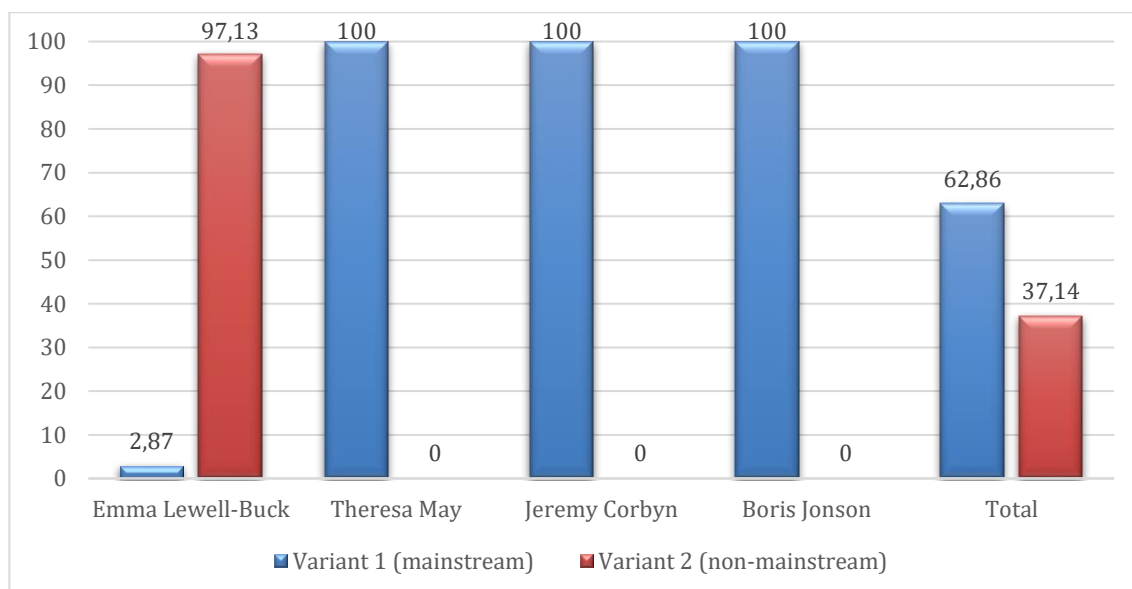


Figure IV.72. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split in the context of Interview.

Consequently, and in line with the scores obtained for FACE vowel and GOAT vowel, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her local accent, perhaps in an attempt to project and

reinforce her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to non-mainstream variant 2, even in a rather formal context (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). On the contrary, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream and formality conventions, exhibiting a sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split that would fall within the description of RP accents. As a result, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of the four British informants regarding their usage of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split in the context of Interview reveals a noticeable adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (62.86%), being non-mainstream variant 2 used to a lesser extent (37.14%).

IV.1.9.e. Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

On the other hand, Figure IV.73 reveals noticeable changes regarding the informants' use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ if compared with their usage of FACE vowel, GOAT vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Yet, certain differences can still be observed between the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck, on the one hand, and the sociolinguistic behaviours of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, on the other, although these differences are not as stark as the ones observed in the treatment of the aforementioned variables.

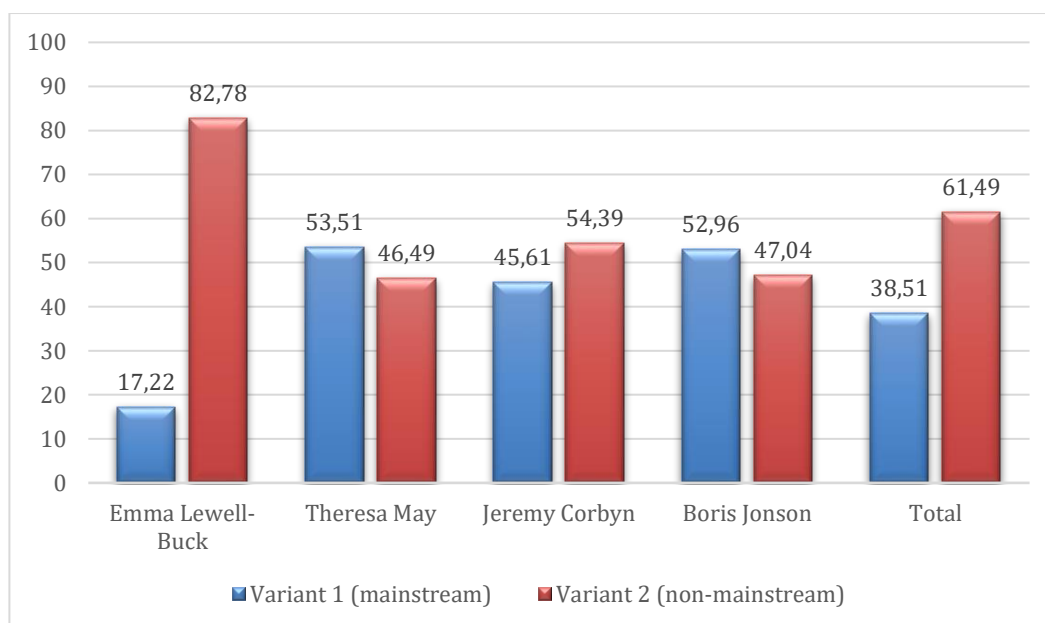


Figure IV.73. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ in the context of Interview.

On the one hand, a relevant decrease in the usage of variant 1 (No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) together with a subsequent increase in the usage of variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) may be appreciated in the speech of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson if the data obtained for this variable is compared with the scores obtained for the previous ones. Thus, Theresa May obtained a score of 53.51% for variant 1 and 46.49% for variant 2, Jeremy Corbyn obtained a score of 45.61% for variant 1 and 54.39% for variant 2, and Boris Johnson obtained a score of 52.96% for variant 1 and 47.04% for variant 2. Nevertheless, despite the relevant use of variant 2 in the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson, Emma Lewell-Buck is still the informant who obtained the lowest percentage of use for variant 1 (17.22%) and the highest percentage of use for variant 2 (82.78%). However, it must be remarked that Lewell-Buck's scores for this variable evidence a noticeable increase in the usage of variant 1 if compared with the scores that she obtained for FACE vowel GOAT vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Yet, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 105.273$; $df = 1$).

As already mentioned, the increase in the usage of variant 2 in the data obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson may be explained by the spread that this variable is experiencing to almost all British urban centres (Beal 2004; Trudgill 1999), its common use in conversational contexts (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), and its receding behaviour when it comes to geographical and socially stratified constraints. In fact, the degree of stigmatisation associated with this variable is decreasing to the extent that glottalised realisations may be encountered in RP accents and in the speech of individuals belonging to high social status (Upton 2004). In addition, the common use that not only North-eastern but also South-eastern speakers make of variant 2 could have fostered a greater use of glottalised pronunciations in the speech of not only May, Corbyn and Johnson, but also of Lewell-Buck (Wells 1982; Llamas 2007; Altendorf & Watt 2004). Consequently, a relevant degree of accommodation to the non-mainstream variant can be observed in the speech style of British informants when operating in the context of Interview.

As a result, the total scores obtained by the four British informants for Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ in the context of Interview reveal a noticeable decrease in the usage of mainstream variant 1 (38.51%) together with a subsequent increase in the usage of non-mainstream variant 2 (61.49%). Yet, the slight adherence to mainstream forms in the speech of Lewell-Buck, May, Corbyn and Johnson may be motivated by the fact that glottalised forms are commonly avoided in careful speech (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 44), the high degree of formality associated with this context (Labov 2001a, 2001b), and the stigma of “ugliness, inarticulacy and ‘sloppiness’” traditionally associated with variant 2 (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67).

IV.1.9.f. H-Dropping

On the other hand, Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnsons make a similar use of H-Dropping (see Figure IV.74), as the four British informants exhibit a prominent use of mainstream variant 1 (presence of initial /h/) over non-mainstream variant 2 (absence of initial /h/). Particularly, Lewell-Buck obtained a score of 97.96% and May, Corbyn and Johnson obtained a 100% each for variant 1. Thus, variant 2 is scarcely used in the speech of Lewell-Buck (2.04%) and completely absent from the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson. Hence, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance suggests the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

Particularly, this lack of use of non-mainstream variant 2 might be influenced by the fact that this variable is subject to both regional and social variation. Hence, a greater use of variant 1 tends to be associated with the speech of individuals belonging to high social status as well as RP speakers, while variant 2 would be expected to be used by speakers belonging to low social statuses (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Beal 2004: 127; Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192). This, together with the fact that the presence of initial /h/ is quite common in North-eastern regions (Beal 2004: 127), could explain why Emma Lewell-Buck makes a complete use of variant 1, adhering to geographical as well as socially stratified aspects.

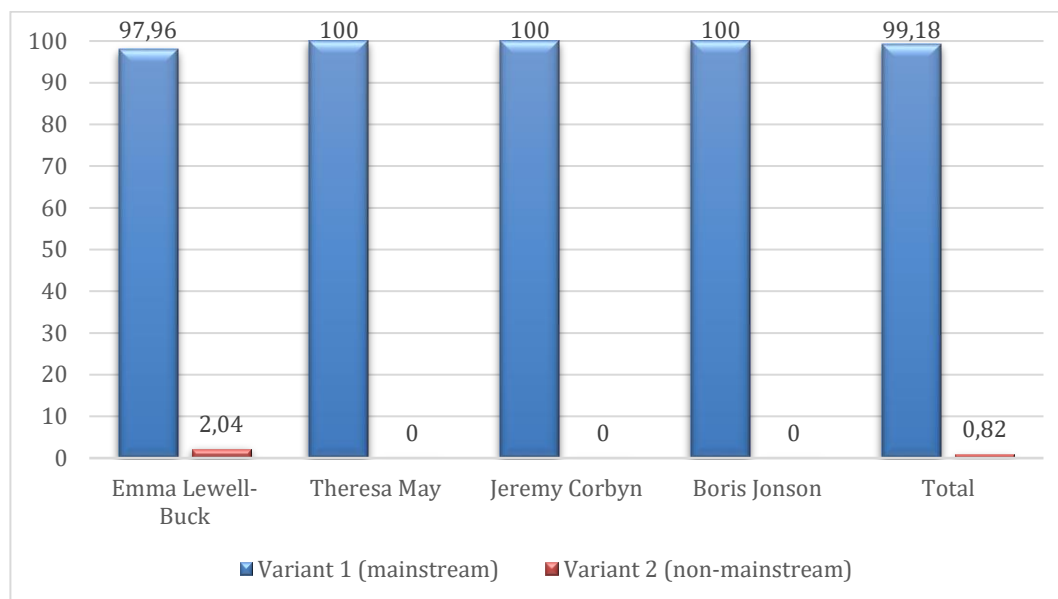


Figure IV.74. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of H-Dropping in the context of Interview.

On the contrary Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson seem to ignore the common use that individuals from the Southeast –where they have been based for long periods of time– make of variant 2 (Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192). Thus, instead of adhering to their corresponding geographical accent, they exhibit a prominent use of variant 1, which indicates that these three informants are influenced to a greater extent by socially stratified factors than by geographical aspects associated with this variable.

Thus, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in terms of H-Dropping is characterised by a strict adherence to mainstream conventions, since variant 1 is predominantly used over non-mainstream forms (99.18% versus 0.82%, respectively). Hence, none of the informants attempt to accommodate to a regionally marked pronunciation that also carries negative evaluations due to its association with the speech of working-class individuals.

IV.1.9.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in the context of Interview

Regarding the overall treatment made by British informants of the variables studied, Figure IV.75 reveals that there seems to be certain unanimity in their usage of MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, as both variables are predominantly used with their mainstream realisations

(98.21% and 99.18%, respectively). As previously stated, this strict adherence to mainstream variants may be motivated by the socially stratified aspects associated with MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, which may preclude British politicians to use non-mainstream forms in such a formal context as a political interview is. On the other hand, non-mainstream variants of FACE vowel (28.86%) seem to be used to a noticeable extent, followed by non-mainstream realisations of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split (37.14%) and GOAT vowel (48.36%), perhaps as a resource in the creation, projection and reinforcement of local identity aspects, as it is the case of Emma Lewell-Buck. Lastly, the usage that British informants make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ evidences a prominent decrease in the realisation of mainstream forms (38.51%), being non-mainstream realisations used to a greater extent (61.49%), perhaps due to the common use that British speakers tend to make of glottalised forms in conversational contexts (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), together with the receding behaviour of geographical as well as socially stratified aspects associated with this variable. On the whole, the scores obtained for the variables studied reveal a modest use of mainstream forms (53.35%), being non-mainstream variants used to a rather similar extent (46.65%).

Overall, if the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson in the context of Interview is compared, relevant differences as well as clear similarities will be observed, which may be influenced by geographical as well as by socially stratified factors. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 489.162$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, an opposite sociolinguistic behaviour is noticeable in the usage that Emma Lewell-Buck, on the one hand, and Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, on the other, make of FACE vowel, GOAT, vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Thus, while Lewell-Buck predominantly uses non-mainstream and regionally marked variants, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strongly adhere to mainstream conventions. However, these differences seem to fade if Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ is considered, although as with previous variables May, Corbyn and Johnson tend to employ a greater use of mainstream variant 1 than Emma Lewell-buck does.

On the other hand, the four British politicians exhibit a similar sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, as all of them exhibit a prominent use of mainstream variants.

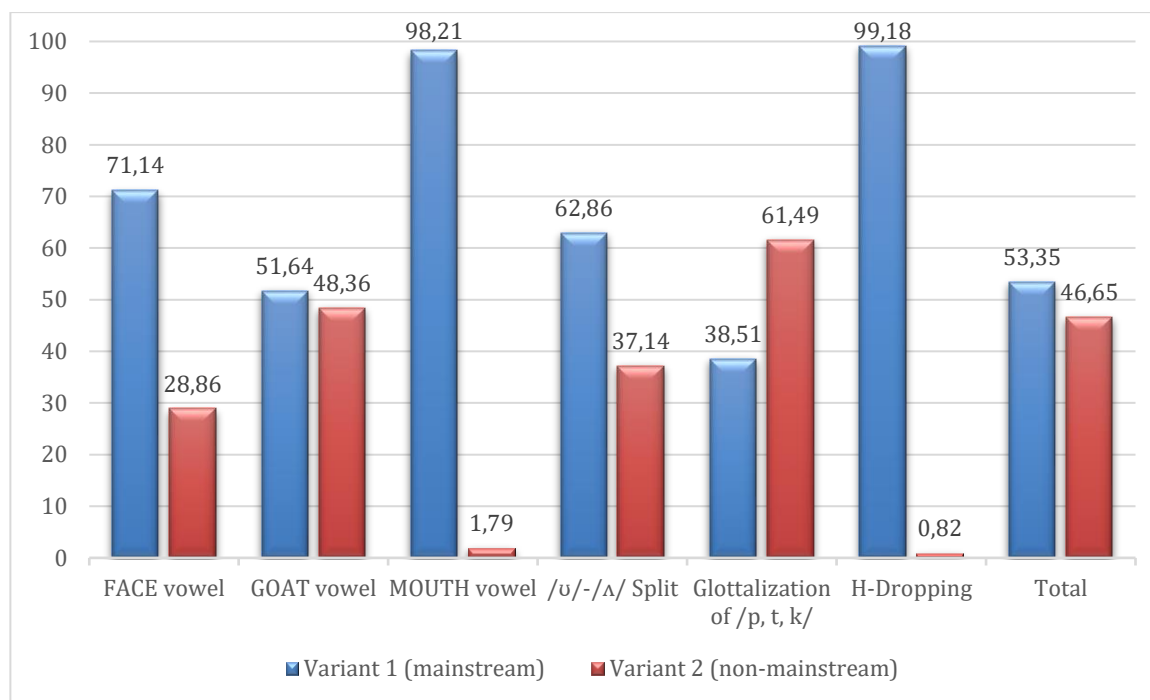


Figure IV.75. Total scores obtained by British informants in the context of Interview.

Hence, as it can be observed in Figure IV.76, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson exhibit a relevant use of mainstream realisations encompassed by variant 1, as they obtained a global percentage of use of 75.17, 73.28 and 76.05, respectively. Thus, non-mainstream forms covered by variant 2 remain scarcely used in the speech of these three informants, as they obtained a global percentage of use of 24.83, 26.72 and 23.95, respectively. On the contrary, the sociolinguistic choices of Emma Lewell-Buck for this context are marked by a predominant use of non-mainstream variants (80.90%) over mainstream forms encompassed by variant 1 (19.10%). Thus, the fact that this context was characterised by a relevant degree of formality and was broadcasted at a national scope did not preclude Emma Lewell-Buck from using variant 2 in the majority of the variables studied, evidencing in this sense a clear reluctance to adopt mainstream forms.

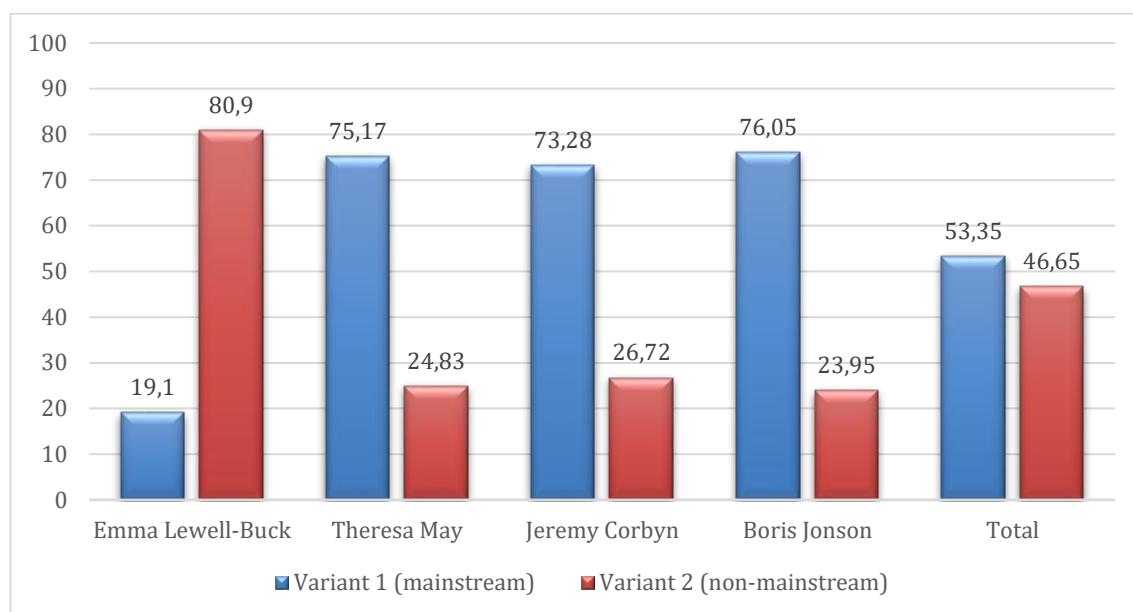


Figure IV.76. Total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson in the context of Interview.

In addition, as it can be observed in Table IV.20, sex ($7.76e-73 < 0.05$) appears to be a significant factor when it comes to British informants' speech style, as male informants tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms. On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the "Logodds" column indicates that female informants tend to disfavour the usage of non-mainstream forms. In fact, the values of the "Centered factor weight" column reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for male than female informants.

However, Table IV.21 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, sex ceases to be a significant factor ($0.313 > 0.05$). In fact, Theresa May is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms in the context of Interview, followed by Boris Johnson. On the contrary, the negative values obtained in the "Intercept" column indicate that Jeremy Corbyn disfavors the usage of mainstream forms, being Emma Lewell-Buck the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream realisations out of the four British informants. This is also evidenced by the data obtained for the "Centerd factor weight" column, which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Theresa May's speech, while Lewell-Buck is the informant who is more likely to employ non-mainstream forms.

Table IV.20. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being used by British informants in the context of Interview (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Male	0.705	1112	0.748	0.669
	Female	-0.705	2108	0.420	0.331
Misc. 1	N= 3220; df= 2; Intercept= 0.384; Overall proportion= 0.534; Centered input probability= 0.595.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -2061.766; AIC= 4127.532; AICc= 4127.536; Dxy= 0.298; R2= 0.12.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

Table IV.21. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by British informants in the context of Interview. Fixed effects analysis: "Informant" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.903	3220	0.534	—
Theresa May	1.267	862	0.752	0.78
Boris Johnson	0.07	618	0.761	0.518
Jeremy Corbyn	-0.075	494	0.733	0.482
Emma Lewell-Buck	-1.267	1246	0.191	0.22
Misc. 1	N= 3220; df= 3; Intercept= 0.458; Overall proportion= 0.534; Centered input probability= 0.613.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1729.102; AIC= 3464.205; AICc= 3464.212; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.541; R2 fixed= 0.08; R2 random= 0.182; R2 total= 0.262.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if x=0, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

On the whole, it could be stated that while the speech of Lewell-Buck is characterised by a frequent use of regionally marked variants, the ones of May, Corbyn and Johnson are characterised by a scarce presence of non-mainstream forms, which correlates with

mainstream, social status, occupational and formal conventions (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Labov 2001a, 2001b). Hence, Lewell-Buck breaks with the assumption that politicians tend to use a more careful speech when performing in public contexts (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010), perhaps under the influence of the association of certain linguistic features with local identity aspects.

In addition, if compared with the sociolinguistic behaviour of May, Lewell-Buck also violates gender expectations, since it has been shown, at least in the industrialised Western world, that women's speech tends to be more mainstream than that of men (Trudgill 1972): while working class (non-mainstream) speech seems to have connotations of masculinity because of its association with the roughness and toughness of the vernacular world and culture, these masculine attributes are not positively evaluated in the women's speech, being refinement and sophistication much conventionally preferred (Coupland & Jaworski 2009). However, it must be remarked that when social class aspects come into play, this informant clearly turns to variant 1. Thus, it can be tentatively stated that while the formality associated with this context does not preclude Emma Lewell-Buck from using those linguistic features that would reinforce her Northern identity, those variants that would elicit a lower social status are frequently avoided in her speech.

Lastly, as it can be observed in Figure IV.76, the scores obtained for the variables studied reveal a modest use of mainstream forms (53.35%), being non-mainstream variants used to a relevant extent (46.65%). These global scores may be influenced by the prominent use that the four British informants tend to make of glottalised forms in conversational contexts (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013).

IV.1.10. British Informants: Rally (North)

Table IV.22 shows the percentages of use obtained by each informant for the variables studied in the context of Rally (North). As already indicated in section III.2.2.b.ii, these speech events took place in Northern regions. Particularly, the rally held by Theresa May took place in Tynemouth (Tyne and Wear County), the rally held by Jeremy Corbyn took place in

Middlesbrough (North Yorkshire County), and the one hold by Boris Johnson took place in Stockton-on-Tees (Durham County). As for the rally hold by Emma Lewell-Buck, a video recorded in her own constituency of South Shields (Tyne and Wear County) in which she addressed South Shields voters was considered as appropriate for the context of rally, since due to her lesser impact on political and public spheres –if compared with the political career of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson– no rallies hold by Lewell-Buck in Northern regions were found.

Just like in the contexts of Statement in Interview, a clear contrast can be appreciated in the usage levels of British informants when holding rallies in Northern regions. Thus, while Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson adhere to mainstream conventions, Emma Lewell-Buck diverges from the sociolinguistic patterns exhibited by her British counterparts. Particularly, relevant differences are observed in the treatment that the informants make of FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split and Glottalisation of /p, t, k/. On the other hand, the percentages of use obtained for MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping are exactly the same for the four British informants.

Table IV.22. British Informants: Context – Rally (North)							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants				
			Emma Lewell-Buck	Theresa May	Jeremy Corbyn	Boris Johnson	Total
FACE vowel	Variant #1: [eɪ]	%	11.32%	100.00%	97.84%	98.89%	89.98%
		#	6/53	147/147	136/139	178/180	467/519
	Variant #2: Other	%	88.68%	0.00%	2.16%	1.11%	10.02%
		#	47/53	0/147	3/139	2/180	52/519
GOAT vowel	Variant #1: [əʊ]	%	0.00%	98.85%	93.40%	98.39%	85.52%
		#	0/42	86/87	99/106	122/124	307/359
	Variant #2: Other	%	100.00%	1.15%	6.60%	1.61%	14.48%
		#	42/42	1/87	7/106	2/124	52/359
MOUTH vowel	Variant #1: [aʊ]	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	18/18	48/48	40/40	53/53	159/159
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/18	0/48	0/40	0/53	0/159
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Variant #1: (u) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/	%	0.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	95.20%
		#	0/22	102/102	141/141	193/193	436/458
	Variant #2: (u) = /ʊ/	%	100.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	4.80%
		#	22/22	0/102	0/141	0/193	22/458
Glottalisation of /p, t, k/	Variant #1: No	%	29.41%	75.23%	60.50%	56.15%	59.99%
		#	45/153	328/436	216/357	315/561	904/1507
	Variant #2: Yes	%	70.59%	24.77%	39.50%	43.85%	40.01%
		#	108/153	108/436	141/357	246/561	603/1507
H-Dropping	Variant #1: (h) = /h/	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	8/8	27/27	38/38	46/46	119/119
	Variant #2: (h) = /ə/	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/8	0/27	0/38	0/46	0/119
Total	Variant #1	%	26.01%	87.13%	81.61%	78.39%	76.64%
		#	77/296	738/847	670/821	907/1157	2392/3121
	Variant #2	%	73.99%	12.87%	18.39%	21.61%	23.36%
		#	219/296	109/847	151/821	250/1157	729/3121

IV.1.10.a. FACE vowel

Regarding FACE vowel, the score obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck for variant 1 ([eɪ]) (11.32%) contrasts with the ones obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson (100%, 97.84% and 98.89%, respectively). Thus, while variant 2 (which encompasses other non-mainstream realisations) is predominantly used by Emma Lewell-Buck (88.68%), it is completely absent from the speech of Theresa May (0.00%) and scarcely used by Jeremy Corbyn (2.16%) and Boris Johnson (1.11%). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in

frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 405.486$; $df = 1$).

As previously stated, the high percentage obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck for variant 2 may be influenced by her North-eastern origins and the linguistic features that characterise Northern accents. Precisely, Northern speech is characterised by a frequent use of non-mainstream realisations in the form of /iə/ and /e:/ for FACE vowel (Beal 2004: 123), being the latter regarded as old-fashioned and the one that Lewell-Buck commonly uses in her speeches. Thus, it seems that whether consciously or unconsciously this informant is attempting to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to regionally marked variant 2 (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). This sociolinguistic behaviour clearly contrasts with that of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson. Hence, as it can be observed in Table IV.22 and Figure IV.77, these three informants exhibit a prominent use of variant 1, which correlates with mainstream conventions. In fact, a high use of [eɪ] tends to be associated with a prestigious speech style and with RP accent, as this variety has traditionally been associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982).

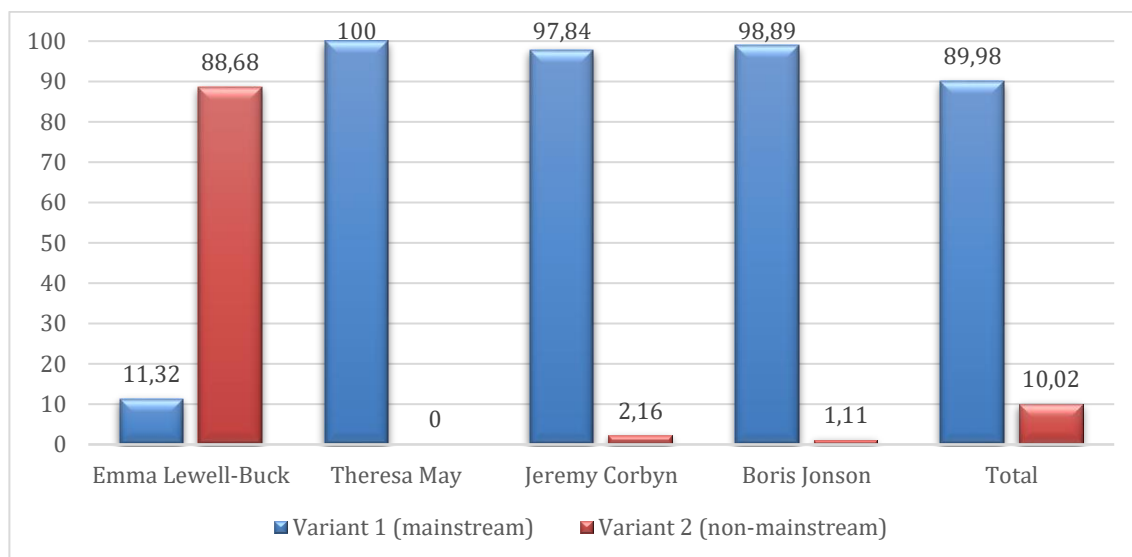


Figure IV.77. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of FACE vowel in the context of Rally (North).

Consequently, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite of the formality associated with this speech event, Emma Lewell-Buck clearly diverges from mainstream and formality conventions. She breaks from the stereotype of politicians' having a greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b).

Nevertheless, the fact that the audience of these rallies consisted of local communities from North-eastern regions might have influenced Emma Lewell-Buck's speech, fostering the emergence of non-mainstream and regionally marked variant 2, perhaps in an attempt to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity. On the contrary, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson do not alter their speech towards non-mainstream forms, and therefore, they do not accommodate to their North-eastern audiences by linguistic means. In fact, these three politicians strictly adhere to mainstream and formality conventions, exhibiting a sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of FACE vowel that would fall within the description of RP accents.

As a result, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of the four British informants regarding their usage of FACE vowel in the context of Rally (North) reveals a prominent adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (89.98%), being non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (10.02%).

IV.1.10.b. GOAT vowel

A similar pattern may be observed in the case of GOAT vowel (see Figure IV.78). As in previous contexts, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson make a predominant use of variant 1 ([əʊ]) (98.85%, 93.40% and 98.39%, respectively), remaining variant 2 (which includes other non-mainstream realisations) scarcely used in the speech of May (1.15%), Corbyn (6.60%) and Johnson (1.61%). This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, since variant 1 is characteristic of RP speech and enjoys relevant prestige, as this variety has

traditionally been associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982). In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that even though Jeremy Corbyn obtained a slightly lower percentage of use for variant 1 than Theresa May and Boris Johnson, this sociolinguistic behaviour also falls within the description of some RP accents, as some speakers –frequently the older ones– may retain [o] as the first element in the realisation of this diphthong (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Upton 2004), as Jeremy Corbyn does.

On the contrary, Emma Lewell-Buck exhibits a completely opposite sociolinguistic behaviour, as she obtained a score of 0.00% for mainstream variant 1, only using variant 2 (100%) in her speech. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 282.353$; $df = 1$).

Thus, while Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream forms, Emma Lewell-Buck shows a clear reluctance when it comes to adopting variant 1. As with FACE vowel, the high use that Emma Lewell-Buck makes of variant 2 – particularly in the form of monophthong /o:/– may be influenced by her North-eastern origins and the symbolic local Northern identity associated with variant 2 (Watt & Milroy 1999; Beal 2004). Hence, whether consciously or unconsciously, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her local accent, perhaps in an attempt to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to the non-mainstream variant (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

Consequently, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite of the formality associated with this speech event, Emma Lewell-Buck diverges again from mainstream and formality conventions, perhaps under the influence of her North-eastern audience and the common use that North-eastern speakers make of variant 2. Thus, she breaks from the stereotype of politicians' general tendency of having greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as a greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to

increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b). On the contrary, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream and formality conventions, exhibiting a sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of GOAT vowel that would fall within the description of RP accents. Hence, even though May, Corbyn and Johnson also directed their rallies towards North-eastern audiences, these three politicians did not accommodate their speech to North-eastern sociolinguistic features by means of using regionally marked forms.

As a result, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants regarding their usage of GOAT vowel in the context of Rally (North) reveals a prominent adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (85.52%), being non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (14.48%).

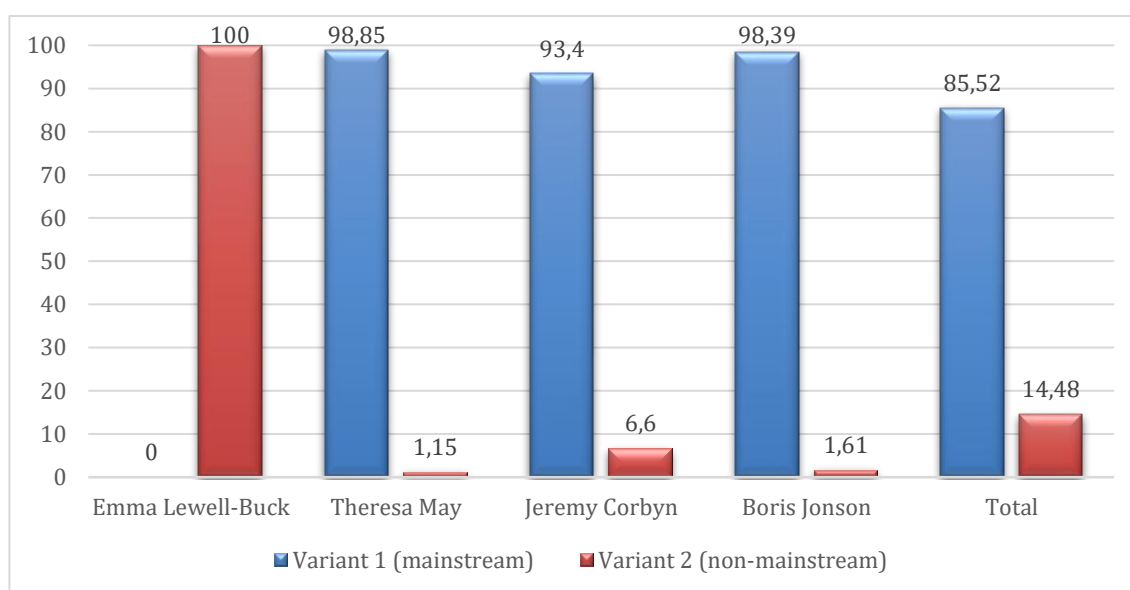


Figure IV.78. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of GOAT vowel in the context of Rally (North).

IV.1.10.c. MOUTH vowel

However, an equal sociolinguistic behaviour may be observed in the speech of the four British informants when it comes to MOUTH vowel (see Figure IV.79), as Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnsons exhibit a complete use of mainstream variant 1 ([aʊ]),

obtaining each informant a total score of 100% for this variant. Thus, none of the informants use regionally marked variants encompassed by variant 2 in their speeches. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is commonly employed by RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social status (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$).

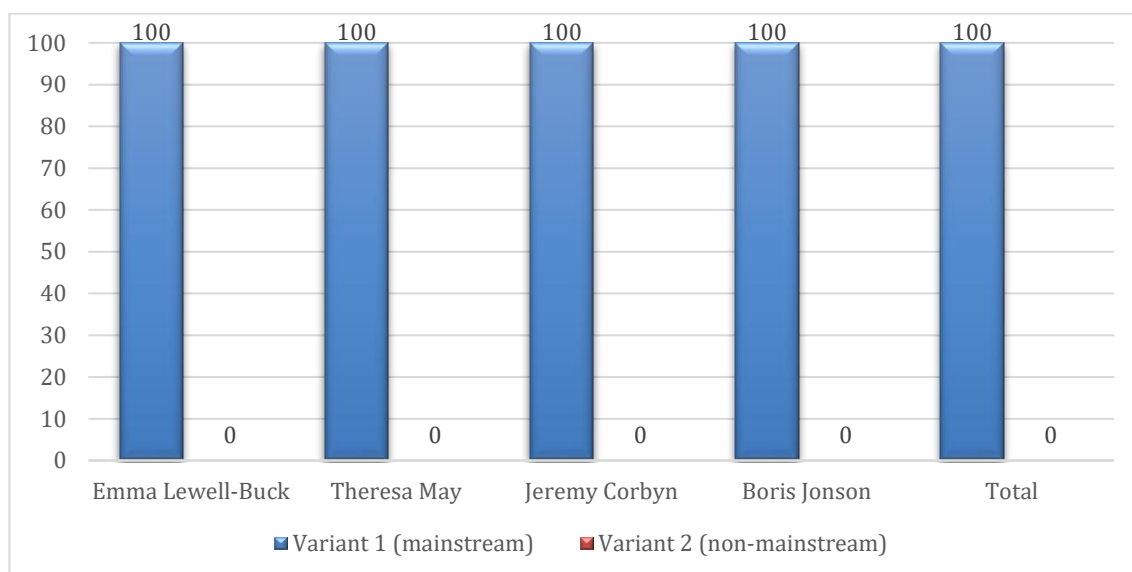


Figure IV.79. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of MOUTH vowel in the context of Rally (North).

Considering the scores obtained by the four British informants for previous variables, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson regarding MOUTH vowel was rather expected. However, it becomes of relevance the fact that Emma Lewell-Buck did not use variant 2 at all. In fact, given that she is originally from the Northeast and that her rally was directed towards a North-eastern audience, a higher percentage of use for this variant could be expected in her speech. However, her sociolinguistic behaviour evidences a clear reluctance to adopt non-mainstream variant 2. The reason behind this reluctance in the adoption of non-mainstream forms might be explained by the fact that variant 2 is not as strongly associated with Northern identity aspects as FACE vowel, GOAT

vowel or /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split are. In addition, other factors such as non-mainstream realisations being commonly used by older and/or working-class and/or male speakers in Tyneside and Northumberland as well as variant 2 experiencing a recessive trend of use in certain areas of the middle North might explain why Lewell-Buck does not accommodate to this variant (Beal 2004: 124; Petyt 1985). Consequently, considering that identity factors do not play a significant role in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck when it comes to MOUTH vowel, it could be tentatively stated that in this case, she adjusts to occupational, formality and social status conventions (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Labov 2001a, 2001b). Similarly, even though May, Corbyn and Johnson also directed their rallies towards North-eastern audiences, these three politicians neither accommodated to their North-eastern audience by means of adopting regionally marked forms in their speeches.

Consequently, taking into account that identity factors do not play a significant role in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson when it comes to MOUTH vowel, it could be tentatively stated that in this case, the four informants adjust to occupational and formality conventions (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Labov 2001a, 2001b). Thus, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in terms of MOUTH vowel in the context of Rally (North) is characterised by a strict adherence to mainstream conventions, as variant 1 (100%) is predominantly used over non-mainstream forms (0.00%).

IV.1.10.d. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split

However, an opposite sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the usage that British informants make of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split (see Figure IV.80). On the one hand, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson predominantly use variant 1 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation) over variant 2 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ no differentiation), obtaining each informant a score of 100% for the former variant and 0.00% for the latter. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is commonly used by RP as well as Southern speakers (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), being this variant associated with a high degree of prestige.

Contrarily, it can be observed how Emma Lewell-Buck uses variant 2 (100%) over variant 1 (0.00%) in her Northern rally. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 458$; $df = 1$).

Lewell-Buck's strong adherence to the non-mainstream convention and her subsequent reluctance to accommodate to mainstream conventions that would correlate with her occupation and the formality associated with the contexts in which she operates may be motivated by the fact that variant 2 is one of the most salient markers of Northern English speech (Beal 2004: 121). Hence, considering that Lewell-Buck is originally from the North-east of England and that the target audience of her rally was also a North-eastern local community, these scores could be rather expected. However, with her sociolinguistic behaviour Emma Lewell-Buck diverges from the stereotype of politicians' general tendency of having a greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b).

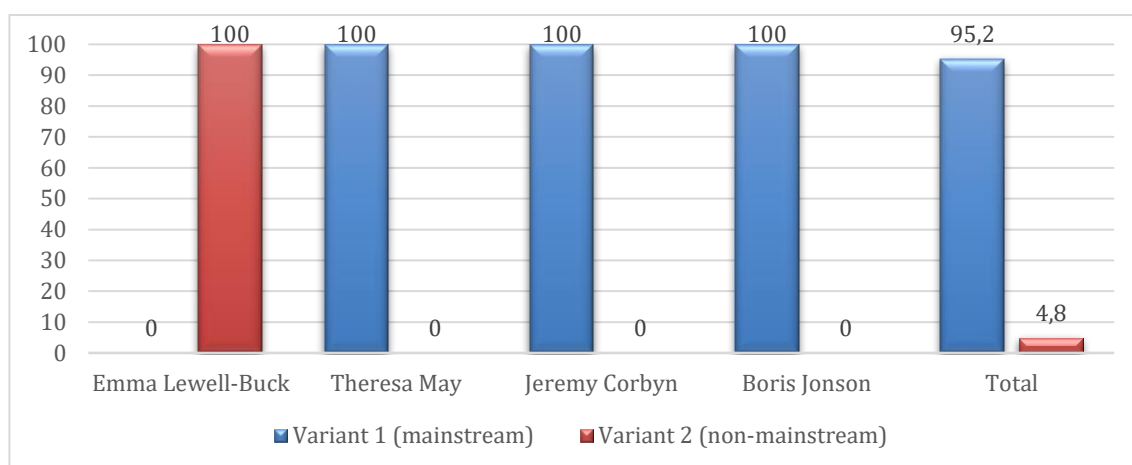


Figure IV.80. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split in the context of Rally (North).

Consequently, and in line with the scores obtained for FACE vowel and GOAT vowel, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her local accent, perhaps in an attempt to project and reinforce her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to non-mainstream variant 2 (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). On the other hand, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream and formality conventions, exhibiting a sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split that would fall within the description of RP accents. Hence, even though May, Corbyn and Johnson also directed their rallies towards North-eastern audiences, these three politicians did not accommodate to their North-eastern audiences by means of using regionally marked forms. As a result, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of the four British informants regarding their usage of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split in the context of Rally (North) reveals a prominent adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (95.20%), being non-mainstream variant 2 scarcely used (4.80%).

IV.1.10.e. Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

Even though a similar pattern may be observed in the treatment that British informants make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, Figure IV.81 reveals a noticeable decrease in the usage of variant 1 in the speech of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, as well as a slight increase in the usage of this mainstream variant in the speech of Emma Lewell-Buck. As a result, differences regarding the usage of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, between Lewell-Buck, on the one hand, and May, Corbyn and Johnson, on the other, are not as stark as the ones already evidenced in their usage of FACE vowel, GOAT vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Yet, the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson is still characterised by a greater use of mainstream forms than that of Lewell-Buck. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for mainstream and non-mainstream variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 105.273$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, a relevant decrease in the percentages of use obtained for variant 1 (No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) and a subsequent increase in the usage of variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) can be observed in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May,

Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson if compared with the scores obtained by these informants for previous variables. Thus, Theresa May obtained a score of 75.23% for variant 1 and 24.77% for variant 2, Jeremy Corbyn obtained a score of 60.50% for variant 1 and 39.50% for variant 2, and Boris Johnson obtained a score of 56.15% for variant 1 and 43.85 percent for variant 2. Yet, despite the relevant use of variant 2 in the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson, Emma Lewell-Buck is still the informant who obtained the lowest percentage of use for variant 1 (29.41%) and the highest percentage of use for variant 2 (70.59%). Nevertheless, it must be remarked that Lewell-Buck's scores for this variable evidence a noticeable increase in the usage of variant 1 if compared with the scores that she obtained for previous variables.

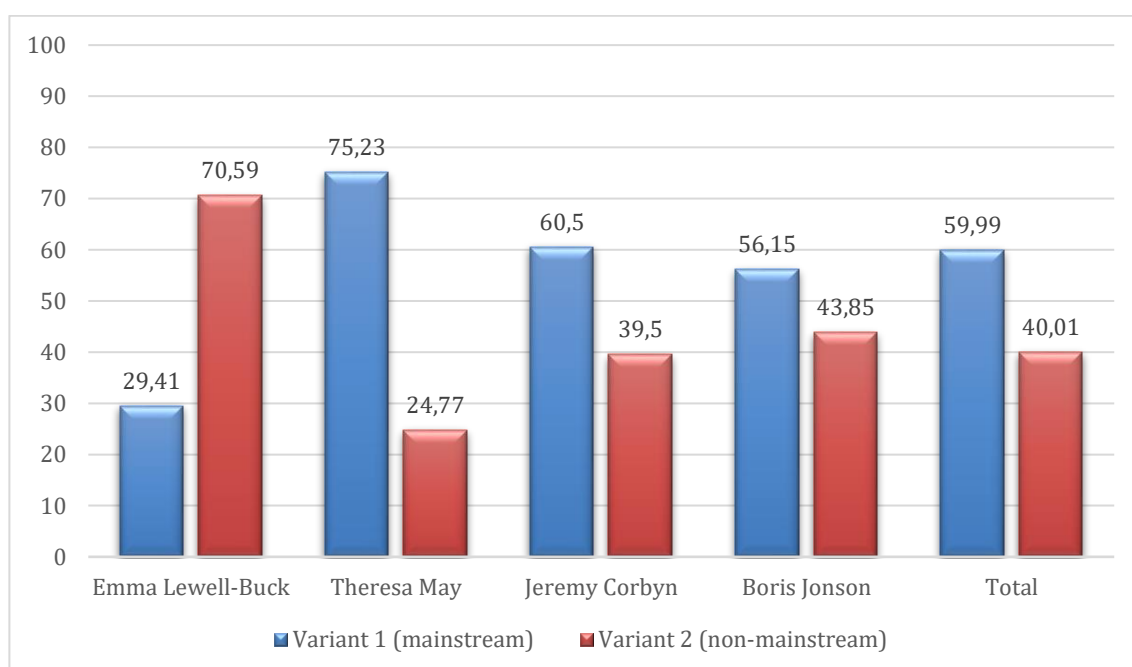


Figure IV.81. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ in the context of Rally (North).

As already mentioned, the increase in the usage of variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) in the data obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson may be explained by the spread that this variant is experiencing to almost all British urban centres and its receding behaviour when it comes to geographical and socially stratified constraints (Beal 2004; Trudgill 1999). In fact, the degree of stigmatisation associated with this variable is decreasing to the

extent that glottalised realisations may be encountered in RP accents and in the speech of individuals belonging to high social status (Upton 2004). In addition, the common use that not only North-eastern but also South-eastern individuals make of variant 2 might have fostered a greater use of variant 2 in the speech of these informants (Altendorf & Watt 2004; Wells 1982; Llamas 2007). As a result, a relevant degree of accommodation to the non-mainstream variant can be observed in the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson.

Nevertheless, the still relevant use that the four British informants make of variant 1 could be motivated by the fact that glottalised forms are subject to both regional and social variation (Beal 2004), the common tendency to avoid variant 2 in careful speech (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 44) and the stigma of “ugliness, inarticulacy and ‘sloppiness’” traditionally associated with this variant (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67). As a result, mainstream variant 1 (59.99%) and non-mainstream variant 2 (40.01%) are used to a similar extent in this context.

IV.1.10.f. H-Dropping

On the other hand, an equal sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the treatment that the four British informants make of H-Dropping (see Figure IV.82), as Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnsons exhibit a complete use of mainstream variant 1 (presence of initial /h/), obtaining each informant a total score of 100% for this variant. Thus, none of the informants use variant 2 (absence of initial /h/) in their speeches. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with the speech of RP speakers, as they commonly use variant 1 (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Hence given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance evidences that there are no differences in the usage that the four British informants make of this variable ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 3$).

Particularly, this lack of use of non-mainstream variant 2 might be influenced by the fact that this variable is subject to both regional and social variation. Hence, a greater use of variant 1 tends to be associated with the speech of individuals belonging to high social status as well as with RP speakers (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), while variant 2 would be expected

to be used by speakers belonging to low social statuses (Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192). This, together with the fact that the presence of initial /h/ is quite common in North-eastern regions, could explain why Emma Lewell-Buck makes a complete use of variant 1, adhering to geographical as well as socially stratified aspects (Beal 2004: 127).

On the other hand, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson seem to adhere to socially stratified aspects, as these three politicians are not prone to alter their sociolinguistic behaviour by means of employing the regionally marked variant under the influence of geographical factors. In fact, even though they have been based in the Southeast for long periods of time –where variant 2 is commonly used (Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192)–, they only use variant 1 in their speeches. Thus, it could be tentatively stated that rather than accommodating to their North-eastern audience, May, Corbyn and Johnson are using the mainstream, prestigious and socially accepted variant, as they frequently do, which indicates that these three informants are influenced to a greater extent by socially stratified factors than by geographical aspects associated with this variable.

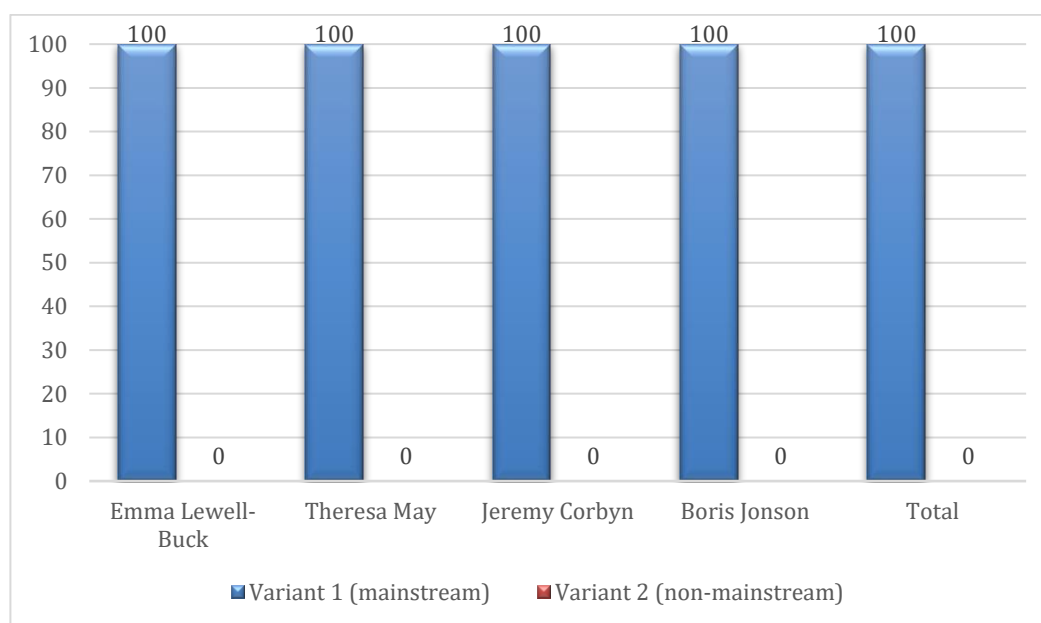


Figure IV.82. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of H-Dropping in the context of Rally (North).

Thus, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of the four informants regarding their use of H-Dropping in the context of Rally (North) is characterised by a strict adherence to mainstream conventions: variant 1 (100%) is predominantly used over non-mainstream forms (0.00%). Hence, none of the informants attempt to accommodate to regionally marked pronunciations which also carry negative evaluations due to their association with the speech of working-class individuals.

IV.1.10.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in the context of Rally (North)

Regarding the overall treatment made by British informants of the variables studied, Figure IV.83 reveals that there seems to be unanimity in their usage of MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, as the four British informants obtained a total score of 100% for the mainstream variant of both variables, remaining non-mainstream variants unused. As previously stated, this strict adherence to mainstream conventions may be motivated by the socially stratified aspects associated with both variables, which may preclude British politicians to use non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (North). On the other hand, non-mainstream variants of FACE vowel (10.02%), GOAT vowel (14.48%) and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split (4.80%) tend to be used to a greater, perhaps as a resource in the creation, projection and reinforcement of local identity aspects –as in the case of Lewell-Buck. Lastly, the usage that British informants make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ reveals a higher degree of fluctuation between mainstream (59.99%) and non-mainstream forms (40.01%), perhaps due to the recession of geographical as well as socially stratified aspects associated with this variable. On the whole, the scores obtained for the variables studied reveal a prominent use of mainstream forms (76.74%), being non-mainstream variants used to a much lesser extent (23.36%).

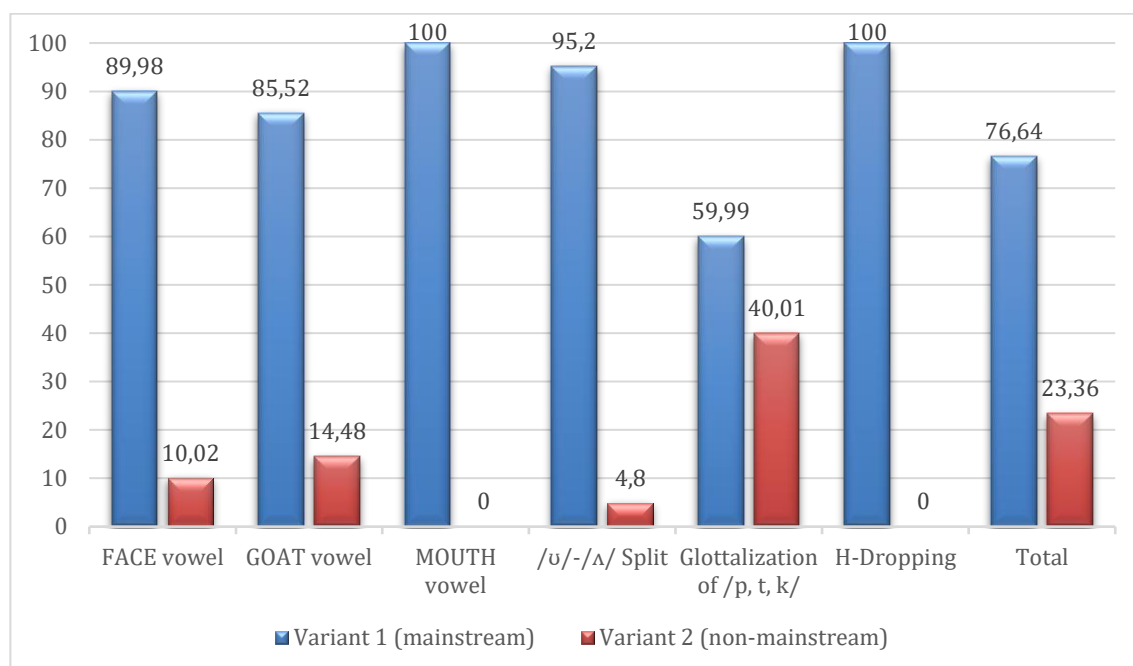


Figure IV.83. Total scores obtained by British informants in the context of Rally (North).

Overall, if the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson in the context of Rally (North) is compared, relevant differences as well as clear similarities will be observed, which may be influenced by geographical as well as socially stratified factors. On the one hand, an opposite sociolinguistic behaviour is evident in the usage that Emma Lewell-Buck, on the one hand, and Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, on the other, make of FACE vowel, GOAT, vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Thus, while Lewell-Buck predominantly uses non-mainstream and regionally marked variants, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strongly adhere to mainstream conventions. Similarly, a noticeable difference can also be observed in the usage that Lewell-Buck, on the one hand, and May, Corbyn and Johnson, on the other, make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, since as with previous variables, May, Corbyn and Johnson employ a greater use of mainstream variant 1 than Emma Lewell-buck does. However, the four British politicians employ a similar sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, as all of them exhibit a prominent use of mainstream variants. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in

frequencies of use for mainstream and non-mainstream variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 489.162$; $df = 1$).

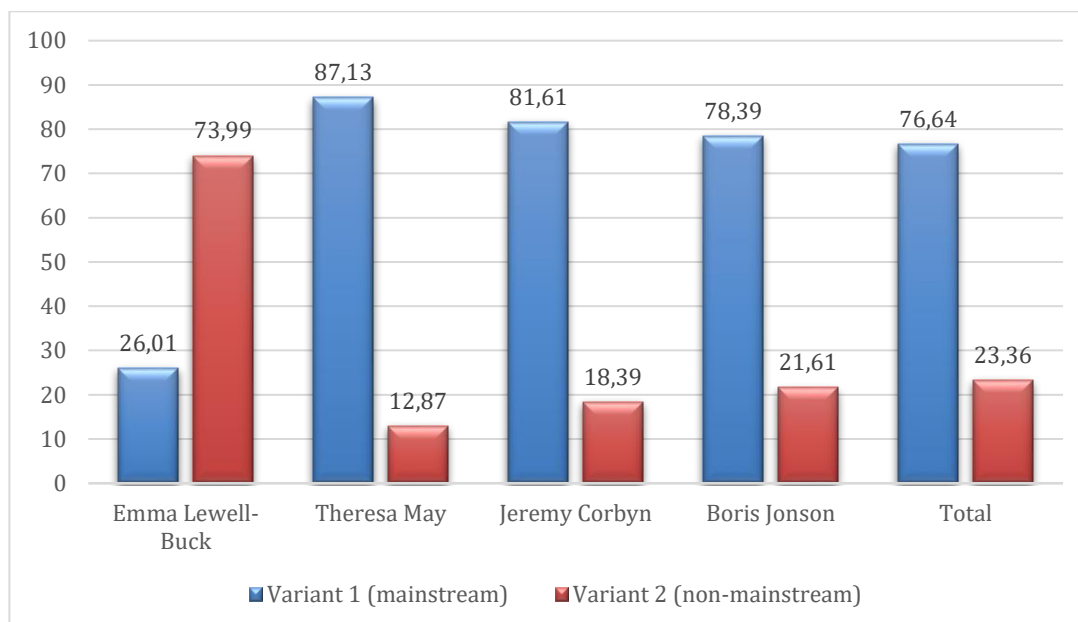


Figure IV.84. Total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson in the context of Rally (North).

Hence, as it can be observed in Figure IV.84, despite the context being determined by the presence of individuals from North-eastern regions, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson exhibit a predominant use of mainstream realisations encompassed by variant 1, obtaining a total score of 87.13%, 81.61% and 78.39%, respectively. Thus, non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2 remain scarcely used in the speech of these three informants, as May, Corbyn and Johnson obtained a total score of 12.87%, 18.39% and 21.61%, respectively. On the contrary, the sociolinguistic pattern of Emma Lewell-Buck in the context of Rally (North) is marked by a predominant use of non-mainstream local variants over mainstream forms encompassed by variant 1 (73.99% versus 26.00%, respectively). Thus, even though this context could be considered as rather formal, Emma Lewell-Buck shows a clear reluctance to adopt mainstream forms, using variant 2 in the majority of the variables studied. In contrast, May, Corbyn and Johnson remain faithful to their mainstream sociolinguistic

behaviour, as they do not accommodate to their audiences by means of employing regionally marked variants.

In addition, as it can be observed in Table IV.23, sex ($1.09e-07 < 0.05$) appears to be a significant factor when it comes to British informants' speech style, as male informants tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms. On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the "Logodds" column indicates that female informants tend to disfavour the usage of non-mainstream forms. In fact, the values of the "Centered factor weight" column reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for male than female informants.

Table IV.23. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being used by British informants in the context of Rally (North) (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Male	0.23	1978	0.797	0.557
	Female	-0.23	1143	0.713	0.443
Misc. 1	N= 3121; df= 2; Intercept= 1.14; Overall proportion= 0.766; Centered input probability= 0.758.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1682.363; AIC= 3368.726; AICc= 3368.73; Dxy= 0.109; R2= 0.015.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.24 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, sex ceases to be a significant factor ($0.386 > 0.05$). In fact, Theresa May is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms in the context of Rally (North), followed by Jeremy Corbyn. On the contrary, the negative values obtained in the "Intercept" column indicate that Boris Johnson disfavors the usage of mainstream forms, being Emma Lewell-Buck the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream realisations out of the four British informants. This is also evidenced by the data obtained for the "Centerd factor weight" column, which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone

to emerge in Theresa May's speech, while Lewell-Buck is the informant who is more likely to employ non-mainstream forms in her speech.

Table IV.24. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by British informants in the context of Rally (North). Fixed effects analysis: "Informant" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	1.043	3121	0.766	—
Theresa May	1.46	847	0.871	0.812
Jeremy Corbyn	0.098	821	0.816	0.525
Boris Johnson	-0.102	1157	0.784	0.475
Emma Lewell-Buck	-1.46	296	0.26	0.189
Misc. 1	N= 3121; df= 3; Intercept= 0.915; Overall proportion= 0.766; Centered input probability= 0.714.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1502.045; AIC= 3010.089; AICc= 3010.097; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.357; R2 fixed= 0.046; R2 random= 0.237; R2 total= 0.283.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

On the whole, it could be stated that while the speech of Lewell-Buck is characterised by a frequent use of regionally marked variants, that of May, Corbyn and Johnson is characterised by a scarce presence of non-mainstream forms, which correlates with mainstream, social status, occupational and formality conventions (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Labov 2001a, 2001b). Thus, Lewell-Buck breaks with the assumption that politicians tend to use a more careful speech when performing in public contexts (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010), perhaps under the influence of the association of certain linguistic features with North-eastern local identity aspects.

In addition, if compared with the sociolinguistic behaviour of May, Lewell-Buck also violates gender expectations, since it has been shown, at least in the industrialised Western world, that women's speech tends to be more mainstream than that of men (Trudgill 1972): while working class (non-mainstream) speech seems to have connotations of masculinity because of its association with the roughness and toughness of the vernacular world and culture, these masculine attributes are not positively evaluated in the women's speech, being refinement and sophistication much conventionally preferred (Coupland & Jaworski 2009). However, it must be remarked that when social class aspects come into play, Lewell-Buck clearly turns to variant 1. Thus, it can be tentatively stated that while the formality associated with this context does not preclude Emma Lewell-Buck from using those linguistic features that would reinforce her Northern identity, those variants that would elicit a lower social status tend to be avoided.

IV.1.11. British Informants: Rally (South)

Regarding the different contexts, Table IV.25 shows the percentages of use obtained by each informant for the variables studied in the context of Rally (South). As already indicated in section III.2.2.b.ii, these speech events took place in South-eastern regions. Thus, the rally hold by Theresa May took place in Slough (Berkshire County), the rally hold by Jeremy Corbyn took place in Kempston (Bedfordshire County), and the one hold by Boris Johnson took place in London. As for the rally hold by Emma Lewell-Buck, a video recorded in London (City of Westminster) as part of a series of messages of MPs about the Racial Justice Sunday movement was considered as appropriate for the context of rally, since due to her lesser impact on political and public spheres –if compared with the political career of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson– no rallies in Southern regions hold by Lewell-Buck were found.

As with previous contexts, a clear contrast can be appreciated in the treatment that British informants make of FACE vowel, GOAT vowel, /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split and Glottalisation of /p, t, k/. In fact, only the percentages of use that the four British informants obtained for MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping variables are rather similar. Generally, Emma Lewell-Buck is the only

informant that often deviates from mainstream conventions, which clearly contrasts with the mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson.

Table IV.25. British Informants: Context – Rally (South)							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants				
			Emma Lewell-Buck	Theresa May	Jeremy Corbyn	Boris Johnson	Total
FACE vowel	Variant #1: [eɪ]	%	42.86%	93.55%	97.84%	100.00%	95.41%
		#	6/14	58/62	136/139	112/112	312/327
	Variant #2: Other	%	57.14%	6.45%	2.16%	0.00%	4.59%
		#	8/14	4/62	3/139	0/112	15/327
GOAT vowel	Variant #1: [əʊ]	%	0.00%	100.00%	95.19%	97.62%	93.09%
		#	0/10	48/48	99/104	82/84	229/246
	Variant #2: Other	%	100.00%	0.00%	4.81%	2.38%	6.91%
		#	10/10	0/48	5/104	2/84	17/246
MOUTH vowel	Variant #1: [aʊ]	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	97.73%	99.22%
		#	11/11	20/20	53/53	43/44	127/128
	Variant #2: Other	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	2.27%	0.78%
		#	0/11	0/20	0/53	1/44	1/128
/ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split	Variant #1: (u) = /ʊ/ - /ʌ/	%	9.09%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	96.59%
		#	1/11	49/49	89/89	144/144	283/293
	Variant #2: (u) = /ʊ/	%	90.91%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	3.41%
		#	10/11	0/49	0/89	0/144	10/293
Glottalisation of /p, t, k/	Variant #1: No	%	15.79%	62.24%	55.49%	62.76%	58.58%
		#	6/38	150/241	187/337	268/427	611/1043
	Variant #2: Yes	%	84.21%	37.76%	44.51%	37.24%	41.42%
		#	32/38	91/241	150/337	159/427	432/1043
H-Dropping	Variant #1: (h) = /h/	%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%	100.00%
		#	5/5	18/18	33/33	30/30	86/86
	Variant #2: (h) = /ə/	%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%	0.00%
		#	0/5	0/18	0/33	0/30	0/86
Total	Variant #1	%	32.58%	78.31%	79.07%	80.74%	77.63%
		#	29/89	343/438	597/755	679/841	1648/2123
	Variant #2	%	67.42%	21.69%	20.93%	19.26%	22.37%
		#	60/89	95/438	158/755	162/841	475/2123

IV.1.11.a. FACE vowel

Regarding FACE vowel (see Figure IV.85), even though a noticeable increase may be observed in the score obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck for mainstream variant 1 ([eɪ]) if compared with how she uses this variable in other contexts, a relevant contrast between her percentage of use for variant 1 (42.86%) and those obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris

Johnson can still be observed (93.55%, 97.84% and 100%, respectively). Thus, while variant 2 (which encompasses other non-mainstream realisations) is still used to a relevant extent by Lewell-Buck (57.14%), it remains scarcely used in the speech of May (6.45%) and Corbyn (2.16%), being it completely absent from the speech of Johnson (0.00%). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 96.103$; $df = 1$).

In line with the sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson in previous contexts, their percentages of use obtained for FACE vowel in the context of Rally (South) were rather expected. Hence, these three informants exhibit prominent use of variant 1, which correlates with mainstream conventions. In fact, a high use of this variant is characteristic of RP speech and enjoys relevant prestige, as this variety has traditionally been associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982).

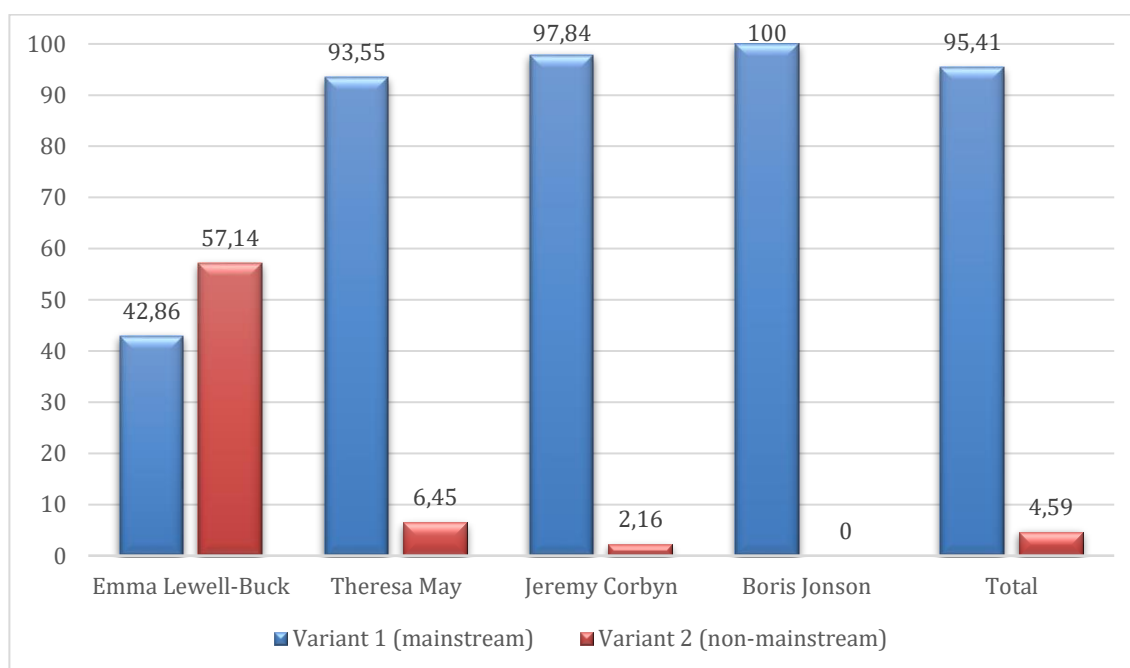


Figure IV.85. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of FACE vowel in the context of Rally (South).

On the other hand, it seems that North-eastern informant Emma Lewell-Buck alters her treatment of FACE vowel in this context, as she increases her usage of mainstream variant 1 and subsequently lowers to a relevant extent her usage of regionally marked forms. Hence, considering that variant 2 –whether in the form of /iə/ or /e:/ realisations– is frequently used in her geographical area of origin (Beal 2004), and that she has previously exhibited a prominent use of monophthong /e:/ in other contexts, it seems that this informant is attempting to accommodate to mainstream conventions while also exhibiting a relevant use of North-eastern forms by means of strongly adhering to the North-eastern regional variant. Thus, certain degree of accommodation to mainstream conventions –perhaps under the influence of the proximity to her workplace, where mainstream and prestigious variants are commonly heard– and a still prevalent aim to project her North-eastern identity can be inferred from the sociolinguistic behaviour of Lewell-Buck when it comes to her usage of FACE vowel in this context.

In addition, it is paramount to remark that none of the informants alter their speech style towards locally marked linguistic features that are commonly used in the South. For instance, even though Lewell-Buck and Johnson hold their rallies in London –where [æɪ] is usually employed instead of mainstream [eɪ] (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Altendorf & Watt 2004)– they did not accommodate to this realisation. Instead, Johnson remained faithful to the mainstream variant, and Lewell-Buck managed to accommodate to the mainstream variant while also employing North-eastern monophthong /e:/.

Nevertheless, despite of the relevant accommodation made by Emma Lewell-Buck, her score for variant 1 is rather low if compared with the scores obtained by her British counterparts. Hence, it seems that the formality associated with public political speeches does not condition Lewell-Buck's speech style to a relevant extent, as she clearly diverges from mainstream and formality conventions. She breaks from the stereotype of politicians' general tendency of having greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as a greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the

usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b). On the contrary, May, Corbyn and Johnson adhere to mainstream and formality conventions, exhibiting a sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of FACE vowel that would fall within the description of RP accents.

Overall, the sociolinguistic behaviour of the four British informants regarding their usage of FACE vowel in the context of Rally (South) is characterised by a prominent adherence to mainstream conventions (95.41%), being non-mainstream realisations scarcely used (4.59%).

IV.1.11.b. GOAT vowel

A similar pattern may be observed in the case of GOAT vowel (see Figure IV.86). As in previous contexts, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson make a predominant use of variant 1 ([əʊ]) (100%, 95.19% and 97.62%, respectively), remaining variant 2 (which includes other non-mainstream realisations) scarcely used in the speech of Corbyn (4.81%) and Johnson (2.38%), and completely absent from the speech of May (0.00%). This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, since variant 1 is characteristic of RP speech and enjoys relevant prestige, as this variety has traditionally been associated with individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004; Wells 1982). In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that even though Jeremy Corbyn obtained a slightly lower percentage of use for variant 1 than Theresa May and Boris Johnson, this sociolinguistic behaviour also falls within the description of some RP accents, as some speakers –frequently the older ones– may retain [o] as the first element in the realisation of this diphthong (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Upton 2004), as Jeremy Corbyn does.

On the contrary, Emma Lewell-Buck exhibits a completely opposite sociolinguistic behaviour, as she obtained a score of 0.00% for mainstream variant 1, being variant 2 (100%) predominantly used in her speech. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 141.663$; $df = 1$).

Thus, while Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream forms, Emma Lewell-Buck shows a clear reluctance when it comes to adopting variant 1. As with FACE vowel, the high use that Emma Lewell-Buck makes of variant 2 – particularly in the form of monophthong /o:/ – may be influenced by her North-eastern origins and the symbolic local Northern identity associated with variant 2 (Watt & Milroy 1999; Beal 2004). Hence, whether consciously or unconsciously, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her local accent, perhaps in an attempt to project her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to the non-mainstream variant (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

In addition, it is paramount to mention that none of the informants accommodate to locally marked linguistic features that are commonly used in the South. For instance, even though Lewell-Buck and Johnson hold their rallies in London, where /ʌ/ is usually employed instead of mainstream [əʊ] (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013; Altendorf & Watt 2004), they did not accommodate to this realisation. Instead, while Johnson remained faithful to the mainstream variant, Lewell-Buck strongly adhered to North-eastern realisations.

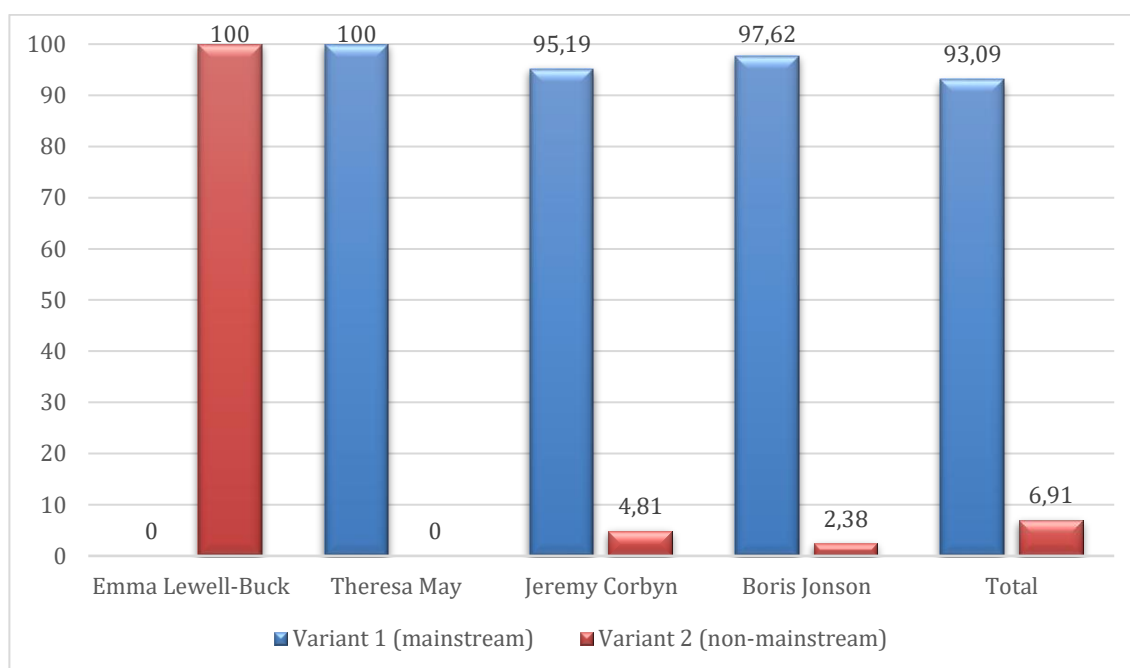


Figure IV.86. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of GOAT vowel in the context of Rally (South).

Consequently, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite of the formality associated with this speech event, Emma Lewell-Buck diverges again from mainstream and formality conventions. Thus, she breaks from the stereotype of politicians' general tendency of having a greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b). On the contrary, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream and formality conventions, exhibiting a sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of GOAT vowel that would fall within the description of RP accents.

Thus, even though the four rallies took place in South-eastern regions, no accommodation to regionally marked linguistic features employed in these areas can be identified in the speech of Lewell-Buck, May, Corbyn and Johnson, as Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her North-eastern speech style in the treatment of GOAT vowel while May, Corbyn and Johnson exhibit their characteristic mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour. As a result, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of the British informants analysed regarding their usage of GOAT vowel in the context of Rally (South) reveals a general adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (93.09%), being non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (6.91%).

IV.1.11.c. MOUTH vowel

However, a rather similar sociolinguistic behaviour may be observed in the speech of the four British informants when it comes to MOUTH vowel (see Figure IV.87). Thus, Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May and Jeremy Corbyn exhibit a complete use of mainstream variant 1 ([aʊ]) in this context, obtaining each informant a total score of 100%. Similarly, Boris Johnson exhibits a predominant use of variant 1 (97.73%), remaining variant 2 scarcely used in his speech (2.27%). Thus, none of the informants use variant 2 (which encompasses other non-mainstream realisations) in their speeches to a relevant extent. In fact, this sociolinguistic

behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is commonly employed by RP speakers and individuals belonging to high social status speakers (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Hence, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the sociolinguistic behaviour of the four British informants is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.924$; $df = 3$).

Considering the scores obtained by the four British informants for previous variables, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson regarding MOUTH vowel was rather expected. However, it becomes of relevance the fact that Emma Lewell-Buck did not use variant 2 at all. In fact, given that she is originally from the North-east of England, a higher percentage of use for this variant could be expected in her speech. However, her speech style reveals a clear reluctance to adopt non-mainstream variant 2, which might be explained by the fact that variant 2 is not as strongly associated with Northern identity aspects as FACE vowel, GOAT vowel or /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split are. In addition, other factors such as non-mainstream realisations being commonly used by older and/or working-class and/or male speakers in Tyneside and Northumberland as well as variant 2 experiencing a recessive trend of use in certain areas of the middle North might explain why Lewell-Buck does not employ this North-eastern linguistic feature (Beal 2004; Petyt 1985).

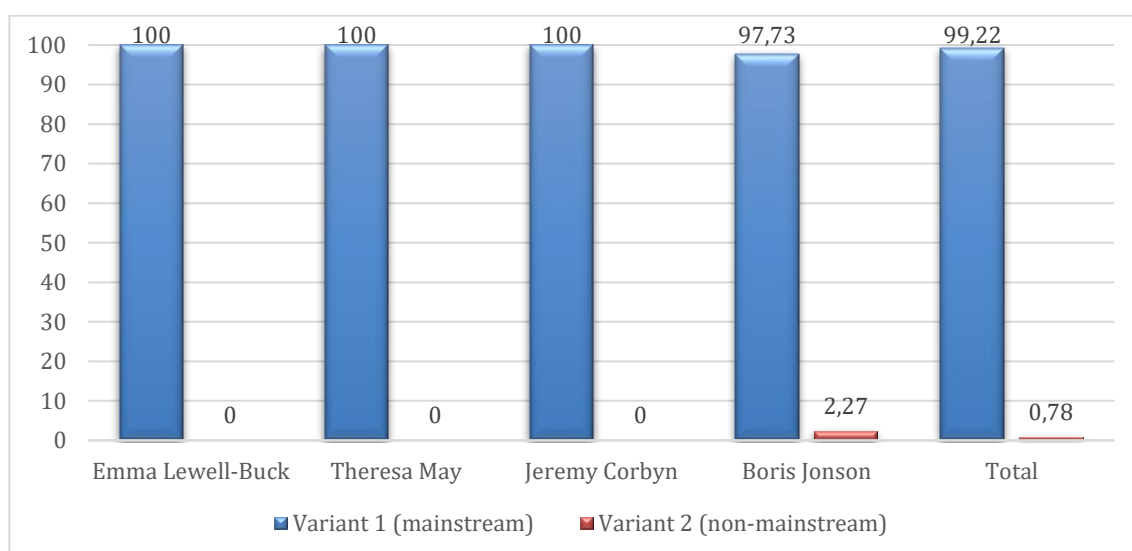


Figure IV.87. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of MOUTH vowel in the context of Rally (South).

In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that even though the rallies of the four informants took place in South-eastern regions where non-mainstream forms encompassed by variant 2 are commonly used –such as [æə] in London–, none of the informants accommodated to regionally marked realisations. Instead, Lewell-Buck, May, Corbyn and Johnson exhibited a mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour characterised by a relevant absence of local variants.

Consequently, considering that identity factors do not play a significant role in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson when it comes to MOUTH vowel, it could be tentatively stated that in this case, the four informants adjust to occupational and formality conventions (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Labov 2001a, 2001b). Thus, given that none of the informants alter their sociolinguistic behaviour in the context of Rally (South) by means of employing regionally marked pronunciations, it can be tentatively stated that the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of the British informants in terms of MOUTH vowel is characterised by a strict adherence to mainstream conventions, as variant 1 (99.22%) is predominantly used over non-mainstream forms (0.78%).

IV.1.11.d. /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split

However, an opposite sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the usage that British informants make of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split (see Figure IV.88). On the one hand, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson predominantly use variant 1 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ differentiation) over variant 2 (/ʊ/-/ʌ/ no differentiation), obtaining each informant a 100% of realisations for the former variant and 0.00% for the latter. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions, as variant 1 is commonly used by RP as well as Southern speakers (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), being this variant associated with a high degree of prestige.

Contrarily, it can be observed how Emma Lewell-Buck predominantly uses variant 2 (90.91%) over variant 1 (9.09%) in her rally. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in

frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 265.422$; $df = 1$).

Lewell-Buck's strong adherence to the non-mainstream convention and her subsequent reluctance to accommodate to mainstream conventions that would correlate with her occupation and the formality associated with the context in which she operates may be motivated by the fact that variant 2 is one of the most salient markers of Northern English speech (Beal 2004: 121). Hence, considering that Lewell-Buck is originally from the North-east of England, these scores could be rather expected. However, with her sociolinguistic behaviour, Emma Lewell-Buck diverges from the stereotype of politicians' general tendency of having a greater awareness of the social implications that the usage of a determined linguistic variable might have as well as greater control over mainstream variants (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). She also breaks with formality conventions, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b).

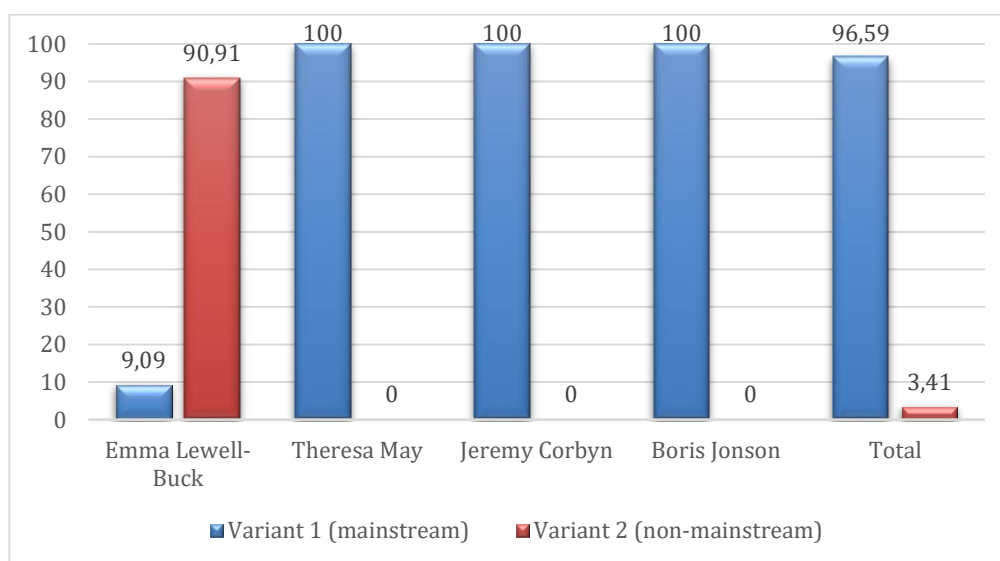


Figure IV.88. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split in the context of Rally (South).

In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that even though variant 1 is commonly used in Southern regions (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 75), Lewell-Buck does not accommodate

to this geographical linguistic feature. On the contrary, May, Corbyn and Johnson employ variant 1 to a prominent extent, although it seems that their motivation to do so is influenced by mainstream conventions rather than by accommodation moves resulting from the potential influence of geographical factors.

Consequently, and in line with the scores obtained for GOAT vowel, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her local accent, perhaps in an attempt to project her North-eastern identity by means of strongly adhering to non-mainstream variant 2 (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). On the contrary, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream and formality conventions, exhibiting a sociolinguistic behaviour in their treatment of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split that would fall within the description of RP accents. As a result, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of the four British informants analysed regarding their usage of /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split in the context of Rally (South) reveals a prominent adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (96.59%), being non-mainstream variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (3.41%).

IV.1.11.e. Glottalisation of /p, t, k/

Regarding Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, Figure IV.89 reveals a noticeable decrease in the usage of variant 1 (No Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) and a subsequent increase of variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) in the speech of Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson. On the other hand, a slight increase in the usage of mainstream variant 1 can be observed in the speech of Emma Lewell-Buck, together with a modest decrease in her usage of non-mainstream variant 2. As a result, differences in the treatment of this variable between May, Corbyn and Johnson, on the one hand, and Lewell-Buck, on the other, are not as stark as the ones already evidenced in their usage of GOAT vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Yet, the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson is still characterised by a greater use of mainstream forms than that of Lewell-Buck. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 34.414$; $df = 1$).

Particularly, Theresa May obtained a score of 62.24% for variant 1 and 37.76% for variant 2, Jeremy Corbyn obtained a score of 55.49% for variant 1 and 44.51% for variant 2, and Boris Johnson obtained a score of 62.76% for variant 1 and 37.24% for variant 2. Yet, despite the relevant use of variant 2 in the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson, Emma Lewell-Buck is still the informant who obtained the lowest percentage of use for variant 1 (15.79%) and the highest percentage of use for variant 2 (84.21%). Nevertheless, it must be remarked that Lewell-Buck's scores for this variable evidence a noticeable increase in the usage of variant 1 if compared with the scores that she obtained for of GOAT vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split.

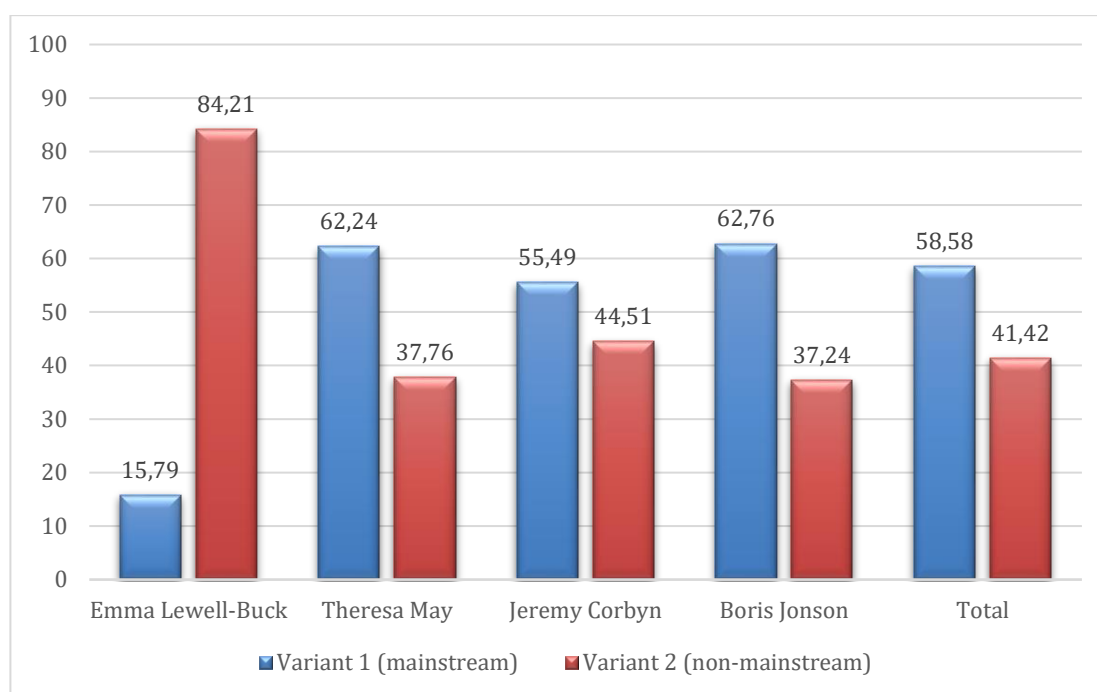


Figure IV.89. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson's use of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ in the context of Rally (South).

As already mentioned, the increase in the usage of variant 2 (Glottalisation of /p, t, k/) in the data obtained by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson may be explained by the spread that this variant is experiencing to almost all British urban centres and its receding behaviour when it comes to geographical and socially stratified constraints (Beal 2004; Trudgill 1999). In fact, the degree of stigmatisation associated with this variable is decreasing to the extent that glottalised realisations may be encountered in RP accents and in the speech of

individuals belonging to high social statuses (Upton 2004). Another aspect that might have fostered a greater use of glottalised realisations in the speech of not only of May, Corbyn and Johnson but also of Lewell-Buck is the frequent use that Londoners and South-eastern speakers make of variant 2 (Altendorf & Watt 2004). Thus, it could be tentatively stated that under the influence of several factors, the four British informants alter their speech to a certain extent in their treatment of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ in context of Rally (South), resulting in a relevant accommodation to non-mainstream variant 2 in their speeches.

Nevertheless, the still relevant use that the Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson make of variant 1 could be motivated by the fact that glottalised forms are subject to both regional and social variation (Beal 2004), the common tendency to avoid variant 2 in careful speech (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 44) and the stigma of “ugliness, inarticulacy and ‘sloppiness’” traditionally associated with this variant (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67). As a result, mainstream variant 1 (58.58%) and non-mainstream variant 2 (41.42%) are used to a rather similar extent in this context.

IV.1.11.f. H-Dropping

On the other hand, the treatment that the four British informants make of H-Dropping reveals a similar sociolinguistic behaviour (see Figure IV.90), as Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson exhibit a complete use of mainstream variant 1 (presence of initial /h/), obtaining each informant a total score of 100% for this variant. Thus, none of the informants use variant 2 (absence of initial /h/) in their speeches. This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with the speech of RP speakers, as they commonly use variant 1 (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Hence, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$).

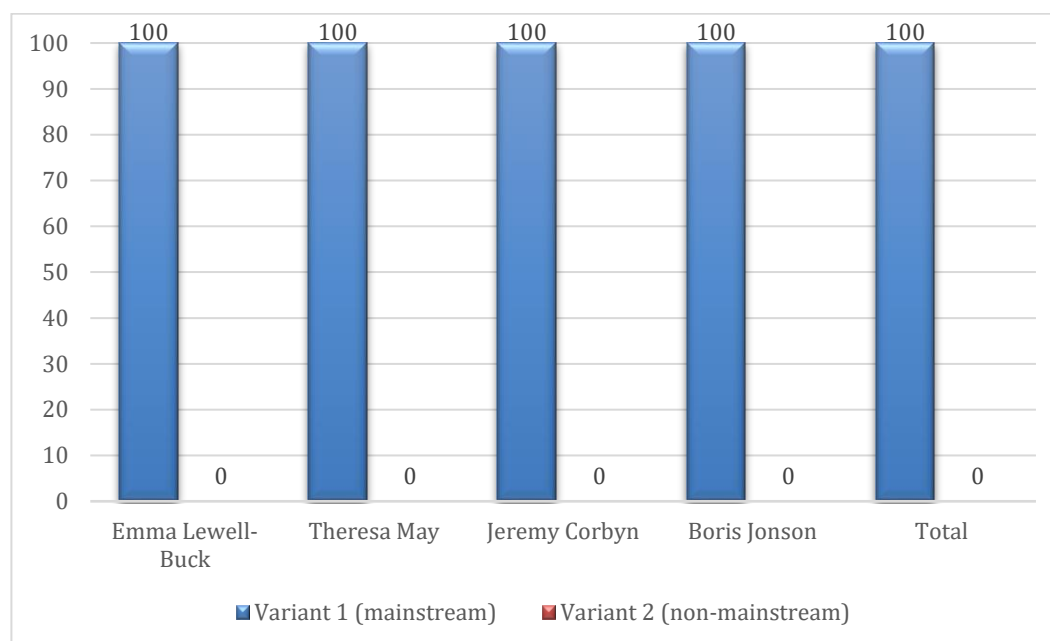


Figure IV.90. Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson’s use of H-Dropping in the context of Rally (South).

Particularly, this lack of use of non-mainstream variant 2 might be influenced by the fact that this variable is subject to both regional and social variation. Hence, a greater use of variant 1 tends to be associated with the speech of individuals belonging to a high social status as well as RP speakers (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013), while variant 2 would be expected to be used by speakers belonging to lower social statuses (Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192).

In addition, if geographical aspects are considered, Emma Lewell-Buck’s use of variant 1 could be motivated by the frequency with which North-eastern speakers use this variant (Beal 2004: 127), resulting in a strong adherence to geographical as well as socially stratified aspects on the part of this informant. On the other hand, even though Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson have been based in the South-east for long periods of time –where variant 2 is commonly used (Altendorf & Watt 2004: 192; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013)– they only use variant 1 in their speeches. Hence, it seems that these three informants are adhering to socially stratified and mainstream conventions, rather than to geographical aspects associated with this variable.

Thus, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in terms of H-Dropping is characterised by a strict adherence to mainstream conventions, as variant 1 (100%) is predominantly used over non-mainstream forms (0.00%), which means that none of the informants attempt to accommodate to the regionally marked pronunciation which carries negative evaluations due to its association with the speech of working-class individuals.

IV.1.11.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of British informants in the context of Rally (South)

Regarding the overall treatment made by British informants of the variables studied, Figure IV.91 reveals that there seems to be an evident unanimity in their usage of MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, as the four British informants predominantly use mainstream forms of both variables (99.22% and 100%, respectively), being non-mainstream forms scarcely used (0.78% and 0.00%, respectively). As previously stated, this strict adherence to mainstream variants may be motivated by the socially stratified aspects associated with MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, which may preclude British politicians from using non-mainstream forms in public political contexts. On the other hand, non-mainstream variants of FACE vowel (4.59%), GOAT vowel (6.91%) and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split (3.41%) tend to be used to a greater extent, perhaps as a resource in the creation, projection and reinforcement of local identity aspects –as in the case of Emma Lewell-Buck. Lastly, the usage that British informants make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/ reveals a higher degree of fluctuation between mainstream (58.58%) and non-mainstream forms (41.42%), perhaps due to the recession of geographical as well as socially stratified aspects associated with this variable. On the whole, the scores obtained for the variables studied reveal a prominent use of mainstream forms (77.63%), being non-mainstream variants used to a much lesser extent (22.37%).

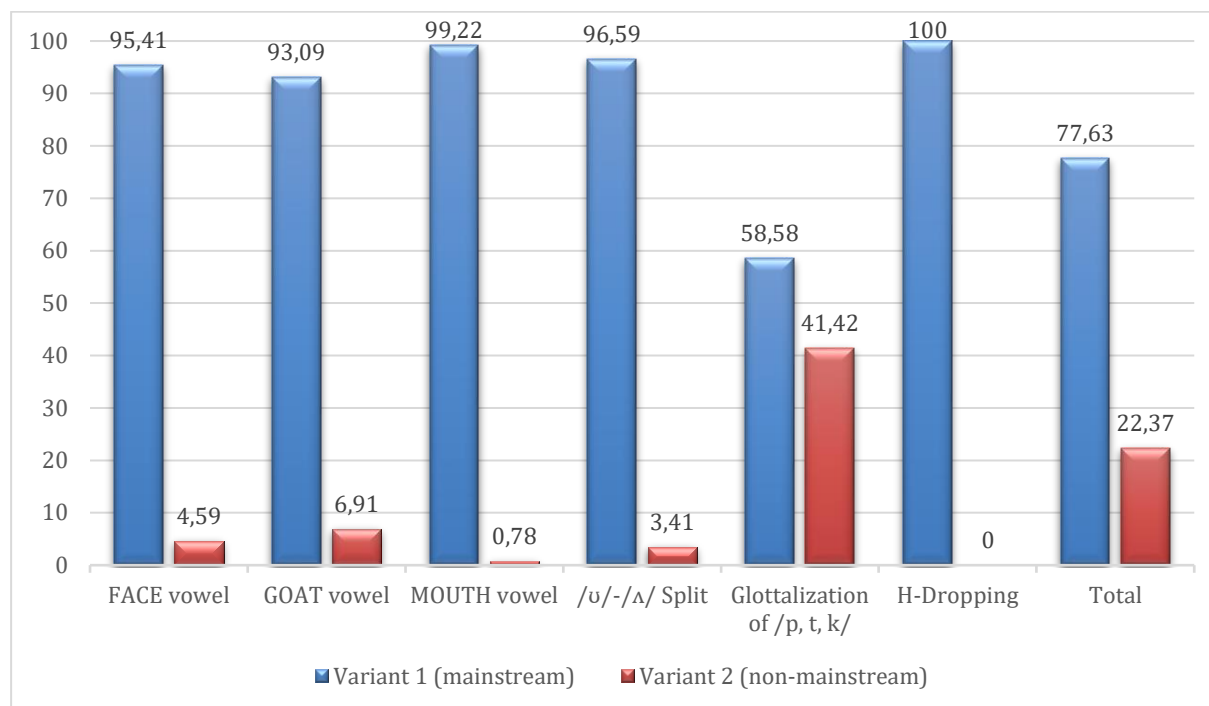


Figure IV.91. Total scores obtained by British informants in the context of Rally (South).

Overall, if the sociolinguistic behaviour of Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson is compared, relevant differences as well as clear similarities will be observed, which may be influenced by geographical as well as socially stratified factors. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four British informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 109.676$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, an opposite sociolinguistic behaviour is noticeable in the usage that Emma Lewell-Buck, on the one hand, and Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson, on the other, make of FACE vowel, GOAT, vowel and /ʊ/-/ʌ/ Split. Thus, while Lewell-Buck predominantly uses non-mainstream and regionally marked variants, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson strongly adhere to mainstream conventions. Similarly, a noticeable difference can also be observed in the usage that Lewell-Buck, on the one hand, and May, Corbyn and Johnson, on the other, make of Glottalisation of /p, t, k/, since as with previous variables, May, Corbyn and Johnson employ a greater use of mainstream variant 1 than Emma Lewell-buck does. However, the four British politicians employ a similar sociolinguistic

behaviour when it comes to MOUTH vowel and H-Dropping, as all of them exhibit a prominent use of mainstream variants.

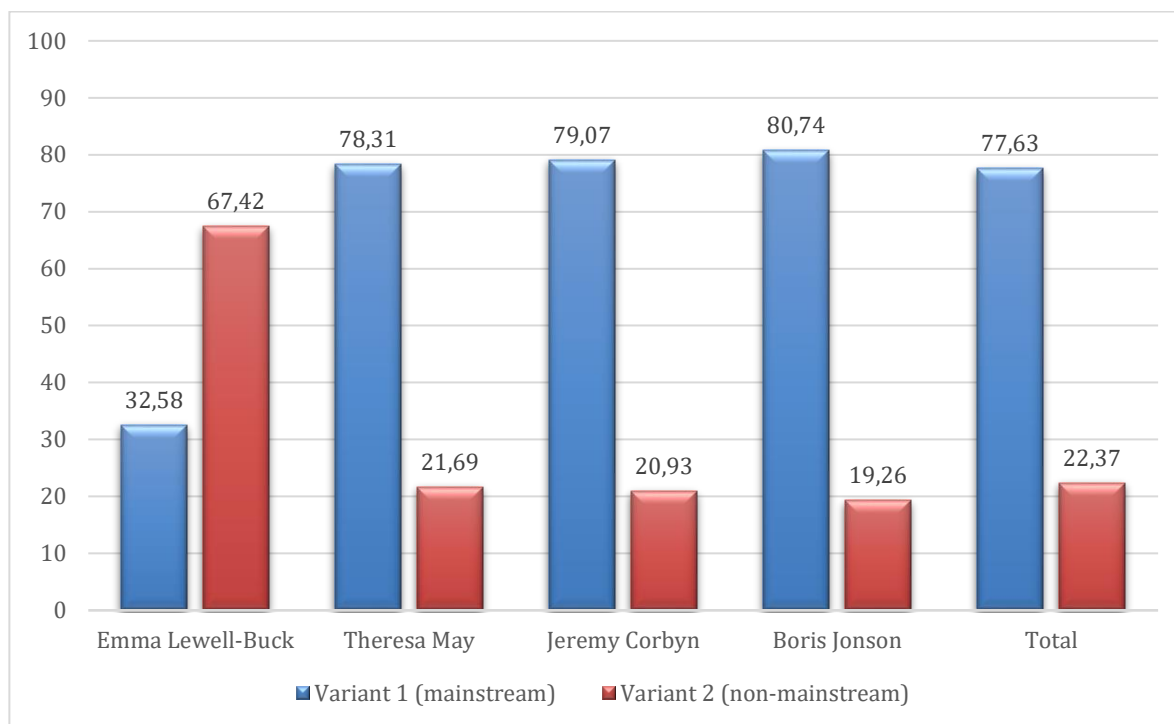


Figure IV.92. Total scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson in the context of Rally (South).

Hence, as it can be observed in Figure IV.92, even though the audiences of the four rallies consisted of individuals from South-eastern regions, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson exhibited a predominant use of mainstream forms encompassed by variant 1, obtaining a total score of 78.31%, 79.07% and 80.74%, respectively. This means that non-mainstream and regionally-marked realisations forms covered by variant 2 remained scarcely used in the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson, as they obtained a total score of 21.69%, 20.93% and 19.26%, respectively, for non-mainstream forms. On the contrary, the sociolinguistic pattern of Emma Lewell-Buck in this context is marked by a predominant use of non-mainstream variants over mainstream forms encompassed by variant 1 (67.42% versus 32.58%, respectively). Thus, even though this context could be considered as rather formal, Emma Lewell-Buck shows a clear reluctance to adopt mainstream forms, as she uses variant

2 in the majority of the variables studied. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy to mention that Emma Lewell-Buck does not accommodate to her Southern audience to a great extent, as the regionally marked variants that she uses in this context are those associated with North-eastern rather than with South-eastern accents. However, if FACE vowel is considered, certain accommodation to the mainstream variant can be observed in the speech of this informant. Hence, it seems that Emma Lewell-Buck only betrays her regional accent in order to accommodate to mainstream conventions, as she does not alter her speech style towards non-mainstream realisations other than local North-eastern linguistic features.

In addition, as it can be observed in Table IV.26, sex ($1.2e-05 < 0.05$) is a significant factor when it comes to British informants' speech style, as male informants tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms in this context. On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the "Logodds" column indicates that female informants tend to disfavour the usage of non-mainstream forms. In fact, the values of the "Centered factor weight" column reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for male than female informants.

Table IV.26. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being used by British informants in the context of Rally (South) (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Male	0.254	1596	0.799	0.563
	Female	-0.254	527	0.706	0.437
Misc. 1	N= 2123; df= 2; Intercept= 1.129; Overall proportion= 0.776; Centered input probability= 0.756.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1119.005; AIC= 2242.011; AICc= 2242.016; Dxy= 0.101; R2= 0.014.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.27 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, sex ceases to be a significant factor ($0.171 > 0.05$). In fact, Theresa May is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms in the context

of Rally (South), followed by Jeremy Corbyn. On the contrary, the negative values obtained in the “Intercept” column indicate that Boris Johnson disfavours the usage of mainstream forms, being Emma Lewell-Buck the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream realisations out of the four British informants. This is also evidenced by the data obtained for the “Centerd factor weight” column, which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Theresa May’s speech, while Lewell-Buck is the informant who is more likely to employ non-mainstream forms in her speech.

Table IV.27. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by British informants in the context of Rally (South). Fixed effects analysis: “Informant” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.684	2123	0.776	—
Theresa May	0.943	438	0.783	0.72
Jeremy Corbyn	0.049	841	0.807	0.512
Boris Johnson	-0.053	755	0.791	0.487
Emma Lewell-Buck	-0.94	89	0.326	0.281
Misc. 1	N= 2123; df= 3; Intercept= 0.849; Overall proportion= 0.776; Centered input probability= 0.7			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1093.741; AIC= 2193.482; AICc= 2193.493; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.137; R2 fixed= 0.054; R2 random= 0.117; R2 total= 0.171.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

On the whole, it could be stated that while the speech of Lewell-Buck is characterised by a frequent use of regionally marked variants, that of May, Corbyn and Johnson is characterised by a scarce presenece of non-mainstream forms, which correlates with mainstream and formal conventions (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010; Labov 2001a, 2001b). Thus, Figure IV.92 reveals that May, Corbyn and Johnson are not

prone to alter their mainstream behaviour to a great extent when performing in South-eastern regions, as their global percentages of use show a clear reluctance to accommodate to regionally marked forms.

On the other hand, Lewell-Buck breaks with the assumption that politicians tend to use a more careful speech when performing in public, as she tends to employ regionally marked sociolinguistic features associated with North-eastern local identity aspects. In addition, if compared with the sociolinguistic behaviour of May, Lewell-Buck also violates gender expectations, since it has been shown, at least in the industrialised Western world, that women's speech tends to be more mainstream than that of men (Trudgill 1972): while working class (non-mainstream) speech seems to have connotations of masculinity because of its association with the roughness and toughness of the vernacular world and culture, these masculine attributes are not positively evaluated in the women's speech, being refinement and sophistication much conventionally preferred (Coupland & Jaworski 2009). However, it must be remarked that when social class aspects come into play, this informant clearly turns to variant 1. Thus, it can be tentatively stated that while the formality associated with this context does not preclude Emma Lewell-Buck from using those sociolinguistic features that would reinforce her Northern identity, those variants that would elicit a lower social status are frequently avoided in her speech.

Hence, as evidenced by the total scores obtained by the four informants, British politicians tend to generally employ mainstream variants when holding rallies in Southern regions of England, being non-mainstream forms used to a much lesser extent in this context (77.63% versus 22.37%, respectively).

IV.2. Dialectal and Sociolinguistic Behaviour of American Informants

IV.2.1. Hillary Clinton

Table IV.28 shows the sociolinguistic behaviour of American informant number 1, Hillary Clinton, for the four political contexts indicated in section III.2.2.b.ii: Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South). Certain variability may be observed in some of the linguistic features studied (such as PRICE vowel, Progressive consonant assimilation or Yod-Dropping), while a stable pattern is noticed in the usage that this informant makes for PIN-PEN merger, R-Dropping or T-Voicing.

Table IV.28. American Informant 1: Hillary Clinton							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Context				
			Statement	Interview	Rally (North)	Rally (South)	Total
PRICE vowel	Variant #1: /aɪ/	%	94.55%	90.83%	93.04%	76.19%	88.32%
		#	104/110	109/120	107/115	96/126	416/471
	Variant #2: [a:]	%	5.45%	9.17%	6.96%	23.81%	11.68%
		#	6/110	11/120	8/115	30/126	55/471
PIN-PEN merger: /ɪ/-/ɛ/	Variant #1: No merging	%	100.00%	94.59%	100.00%	100.00%	99.01%
		#	34/34	35/37	67/67	64/64	200/202
	Variant #2: Merging	%	0.00%	5.41%	0.00%	0.00%	0.99%
		#	0/34	2/37	0/67	0/64	2/202
Progressive consonant assimilation	Variant #1: (nt) = /n/	%	57.14%	85.71%	50.00%	50.00%	58.33%
		#	4/7	6/7	5/10	6/12	21/36
	Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/	%	42.86%	14.29%	50.00%	50.00%	41.67%
		#	3/7	1/7	5/10	6/12	15/36
R-Dropping	Variant #1: (r) = /r/	%	98.53%	98.10%	99.38%	97.70%	98.48%
		#	201/204	155/158	321/323	298/305	975/990
	Variant #2: (r) = /ø/	%	1.47%	1.90%	0.62%	2.30%	1.52%
		#	3/204	3/158	2/323	7/305	15/990
T-Voicing	Variant #1: (t) = /d/	%	100.00%	94.12%	100.00%	94.64%	97.26%
		#	36/36	16/17	37/37	53/56	142/146
	Variant #2: (t) = /t/	%	0.00%	5.88%	0.00%	5.36%	2.74%
		#	0/36	1/17	0/37	3/56	4/146
Yod-Dropping	Variant #1: (j) = [u:]	%	56.25%	100.00%	90.00%	86.67%	77.27%
		#	9/16	3/3	9/10	13/15	34/44
	Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]	%	43.75%	0.00%	10.00%	13.33%	22.73%
		#	7/16	0/3	1/10	2/15	10/44
Total	Variant #1	%	95.33%	94.74%	97.15%	91.70%	94.65%
		#	388/407	324/342	546/562	530/578	1788/1889
	Variant #2	%	4.67%	5.26%	2.85%	8.30%	5.35%
		#	19/407	18/342	16/562	48/578	101/1889

IV.2.1.a. PRICE vowel

The sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton for PRICE vowel reveals certain degree of fluctuation: while she exhibits a similar speech style in the contexts of Statement, Interview and Rally (North), different patterns are evident when it comes to her performance in the context of Rally (South) (see Figure IV.93). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 25.33$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 12.858$; $df = 1$), but not between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.155$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, Hillary Clinton obtained similar scores for mainstream variant 1 /aɪ/ in the contexts of Statement (94.55%), Interview (90.83%), and Rally (North) (93.04%), being non-mainstream variant 2 [a:] used to a lesser extent (5.45%, 9.17% and 6.96%, respectively). In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.155$; $df = 1$). It is noteworthy to mention that the context of Statement took place in New York –right after Clinton won the seat for the New York Senate–; the context of Interview took place in the White House –when she served as First Lady–; and the context Rally (North) took place in Cincinnati, Ohio, in the framework of the 2016 United States presidential elections. Particularly, the prevalence of variant 1 in these contexts may be motivated by the common use that speakers from these geographical areas make of this variant (Wells 1982; Gordon 2004b; Collins & Mees 2013), together with the fact that variant 1 is frequently used in General American speech –which enjoys overt prestige and is frequently used at a national level by broadcasting organisations (Gramley & Pätzold 2004: 257). Consequently, given the social status and the occupation of Hillary Clinton, a greater degree of awareness about the prestigious form and a subsequent predominant use of variant 1 could be expected in these speech events.

However, a relevant increase in the usage that this informant makes for variant 2 can be observed in the context of Rally (South), which took place in Selma, Alabama. Precisely, it

becomes of relevance the different patterns of use exhibited by Clinton for this variable in both rallies. In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 12.858$; $df = 1$). Thus, while Clinton's score for variant 1 in Rally (South) noticeably decreases to a 76.19%, the score that she obtained for variant 2 considerably increases to a 23.81% if compared with the scores obtained in previous contexts –and especially with the context of Rally (North). This increase in variant 2 [a:] may be motivated by the fact that monophthongal realisations for PRICE vowel are rather common in Southern regions, being this variant one of the most remarkable stereotypes associated with Southern accents and particularly linked with Southern culture (Thomas 2004; Boberg 2015).

In addition, monophthongal realisations for PRICE vowel are rather common in the speech of Africans Americans (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982). This fact becomes of great relevance, as one of the aims of Hillary Clinton's Southern Rally was to commemorate the forty-second anniversary of the voting rights march that took place in 1965 from Selma to Montgomery. This historical event –also known as “Bloody Sunday”– was fostered by Martin Luther King and was marked by the violence with which state troopers and county sheriffs tried to turn back marchers at the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Particularly, Hillary Clinton's speech took place within the framework of the Democratic Party nomination process for president during the 2008 U.S. presidential campaign. In this respect, in order to gain support from African American voters (Cole & Pellicer 2012: 450), the informant gave a speech at the First Baptist Church, from where the Bloody Sunday's march started. Hence, the vast majority of Clinton's audience at this speech event consisted of African American individuals.

These factors could have influenced Hillary Clinton's speech towards an increase of certain linguistic features that are commonly used in African American speech in order to project an identity that would adjust to the context and the audience of this speech event. Hence, it seems that the informant is creating acts of identity by means of employing certain patterns of sociolinguistic behavior with the aim of establishing a connection with a specific group to which she wishes to be identified. As it can be observed across the different contexts in which Hillary Clinton operates, the usage of these patterns of sociolinguistic behavior –i.e.:

a noticeable use of variant 2 [a:] and a reduced use of /aɪ/ forms– are not permanent, and therefore, they are subject to change depending on the context in which the informant is operating. Consequently, it could be tentatively stated that Hillary Clinton is attempting to strengthen in-group linguistic connections with her audience by means of using non-mainstream variant 2 (Le page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Even though these techniques are rather fluid, and might be used by individuals in conscious or unconscious ways (Edwards 2009), it seems that Hillary Clinton is making use of these techniques consciously, as she cited gospel singer James Cleveland, adopting not only a clear usage of variant 2 but also an African American intonation:

“I don't feel no ways tired, I come too far from where I started from. Nobody told me that the road would be easy. I don't believe he brought me this far to leave me”. (Cleveland 1978)

In addition, non-mainstream variant 2 is geographically and socially constricted. Also, monophthongal realisations may be observed in the speech of White and Black educated individuals in Southern regions –where Hillary Clinton has been based for long periods of time. Moreover, variant 2 has traditionally been linked with the speech of working-class individuals, which has influenced upper-middle class people towards an avoidance of this variant (Thomas 2004: 312), although this avoidance seems to be more prevalent in urban than in rural areas. This means that non-mainstream variant 2 is subject to negative social evaluation, being this realisation rejected by young, urban speakers, especially women (Boberg 2015: 245). Perhaps, if the degree of association of variant 2 with social factors was lesser, a greater usage of variant 2 could have been used by Hillary Clinton in the context of Rally (South).

Thus, taking into account the contrast between the scores obtained for Rally (South) and those obtained for the remaining contexts, together with the fact that the audience of Clinton's Southern rally consisted of an African American community, it could be tentatively stated that this informant alters the usage of PRICE vowel in an attempt to accommodate to her audience and project a particular identity so as to align not only with regional identity aspects associated with her audience, but also with ethnicity factors (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Consequently, it seems that the region in which Clinton operates and

the target audience of her speech events influence to a certain extent her usage of PRICE vowel, although the close contact that this informant has had with Southern accents might have also influenced the relevant increase of variant 2 in her Southern Rally. Yet, the total scores obtained by Clinton when it comes to PRICE vowel reveal a strong adherence to mainstream variant 1 (88.32%), being variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (11.68%).

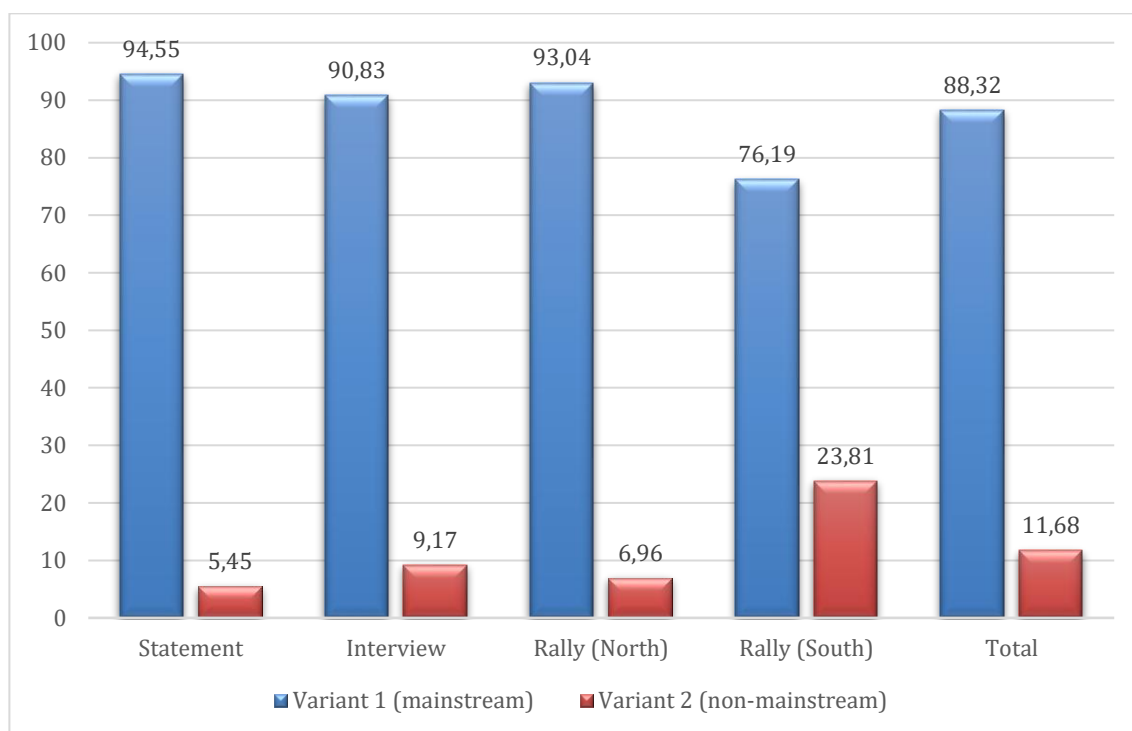


Figure IV.93. Hillary Clinton's use of PRICE vowel across the different contexts.

IV.2.1.b. PIN-PEN merger

On the other hand, Hillary Clinton seems to exhibit a rather invariable use of PIN-PEN merger (see Figure IV.94). Thus, similar scores were obtained in the four contexts studied, being variant 1 (No merging) predominantly used over variant 2 (Merging). Precisely, the informant obtained a score of 100% for variant 1 in the contexts of Statement, Rally (North) and Rally (South), and a score of 94.59% in the context of Interview, being non-mainstream variant 2 completely absent from Clinton's speech in the contexts of Statement, Rally (North) and Rally (South) and scarcely used in the context of Interview (5.41%). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the

different sociolinguistic practices in Clinton's results for the different contexts did not occur by chance, although the relationship is not highly significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 9.008$; $df = 3$). This means that Hillary Clinton does not alter to a considerable extent her usage of this variable if the context in which she performs is changed. In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.891$; $df = 1$).

In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that variant 2 is regarded as one of the most prominent stereotypical linguistic features of Southern speech and often associated with a strong regional identity (Thomas 2004; Schneider 2006). Also, this variant is commonly used by African American speakers (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004). However, despite having been based in the South for long periods of time, the speech of Hillary Clinton is characterised by a prominent use of variant 1. This reluctance to adopt merged realisations may be explained by the stigmatisation associated with variant 2, which has led Southern speakers to differentiate PIN-PEN words (Thomas 2004: 316). In fact, the higher the individual's education, the greater the differentiation between PIN-PEN words (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). As a result, this traditional linguistic feature is experiencing a recession (Schneider 2006: 64), especially in large urban Southern areas (Tillery & Bailey 2004; Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008).

Consequently, it seems that due to the correlation of a predominant use of variant 1 with a high degree of education, together with geographical and ethnicity constrictions as well as the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 and its receding behaviour, no motivation may be found by Hillary Clinton in order to alter her usage of PIN-PEN words when performing across different contexts. Thus, it could be tentatively stated that the informant strictly adheres to mainstream linguistic conventions despite of the context, being social factors associated with this variable more determinant in her linguistic usage of PIN-PEN merger than geographical aspects. Hence, mainstream variant 1 is predominantly used by Clinton across the different contexts in which she operates (99.01%), being variant 2 scarcely used (0.99%).

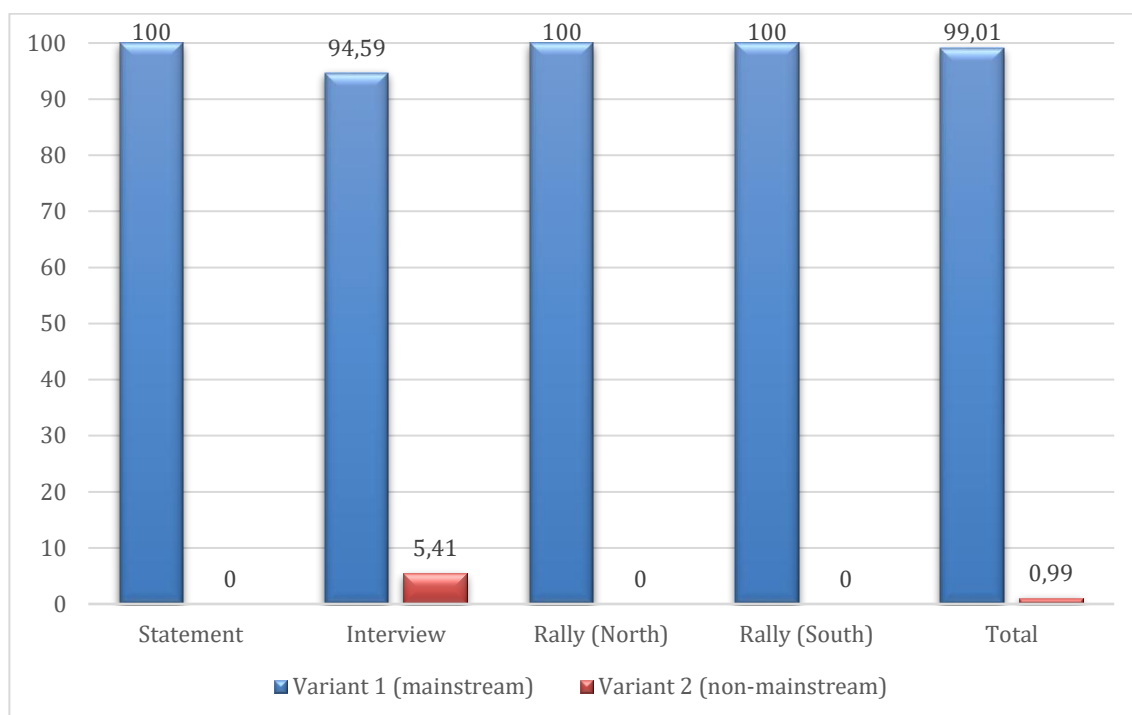


Figure IV.94. Hillary Clinton's use of PIN-PEN merger across the different contexts.

IV.2.1.c. Progressive consonant assimilation

This linguistic feature presents certain variability in the speech of Hillary Clinton (see Figure IV.95), although inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.792$; $df = 3$).

On the one hand, Clinton obtained the exact same scores in the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South): 50.00% for variant 1 ((nt) = /n/) and 50.00% for variant 2 ((nt) = /nt/). Thus, no different frequencies of use for both variants are observed in Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$). These scores may reveal that the usage that Hillary Clinton makes of this variable is not geographically constricted, as the same scores are obtained when she performs in front of Northern and Southern audiences. Thus, it seems that the informant exhibits an equilibrated use of this variable, as variant 1 is commonly used in Southern accents while variant 2 is often preserved in the speech of Northern speakers (Wells 1982).

On the other hand, a slight increase in the usage of variant 1 (57.14%) and a subsequent decrease in the percentage obtained for variant 2 (42.86%) may be observed in

the context of Statement, which took place in New York right after Clinton won the seat for the New York Senate. Nevertheless, a rather equilibrate use of both variants can still be appreciated in the speech of the informant. Moreover, another increase may be observed in the score obtained for variant 1 (85.71%) in the context of Interview, which is predominantly used over variant 2 (14.29%). Nevertheless, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.4$; $df = 1$).

Yet, it is noteworthy to remember that Clinton's interview took place in the White House, when she was serving as First Lady of the United States. Thus, unlike other contexts, the informant was not addressing a specific audience (such as New Yorkers, Northerners, Southerners or African Americans), she was addressing American citizens as a whole. Thus, this increase in variant 1 may be motivated by the mainstream convention of deleting /t/ from /nt/ in General American speech (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). This fact, together with the national –as well as international– scope of this speech event could have resulted in a greater awareness towards the mainstream use of this variant. An additional motivation for Hillary Clinton to increase her usage of the mainstream variant in this context could be the persuasive motivations of her speech, as she was asked by the interviewer rather controversial topics for which she was being scrutinised at that moment, and, as stated by Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes (2010: 44), one of the best ways to accomplish persuasive goals in political public speech is to use a speech that is regarded as “correct” and “educated”.

Consequently, it can be tentatively stated that the usage that Hillary Clinton makes of Progressive consonant assimilation is not constricted by geographical aspects. However, it can be observed how the informant alters the usage of this variable when the scope of the speech event becomes broader, subsequently adhering to a greater extent to mainstream conventions. As a result, Clinton's overall treatment of this variable is characterised by a general equilibrated use of mainstream variant 1 (58.33%) and non-mainstream variant 2 (41.67%).

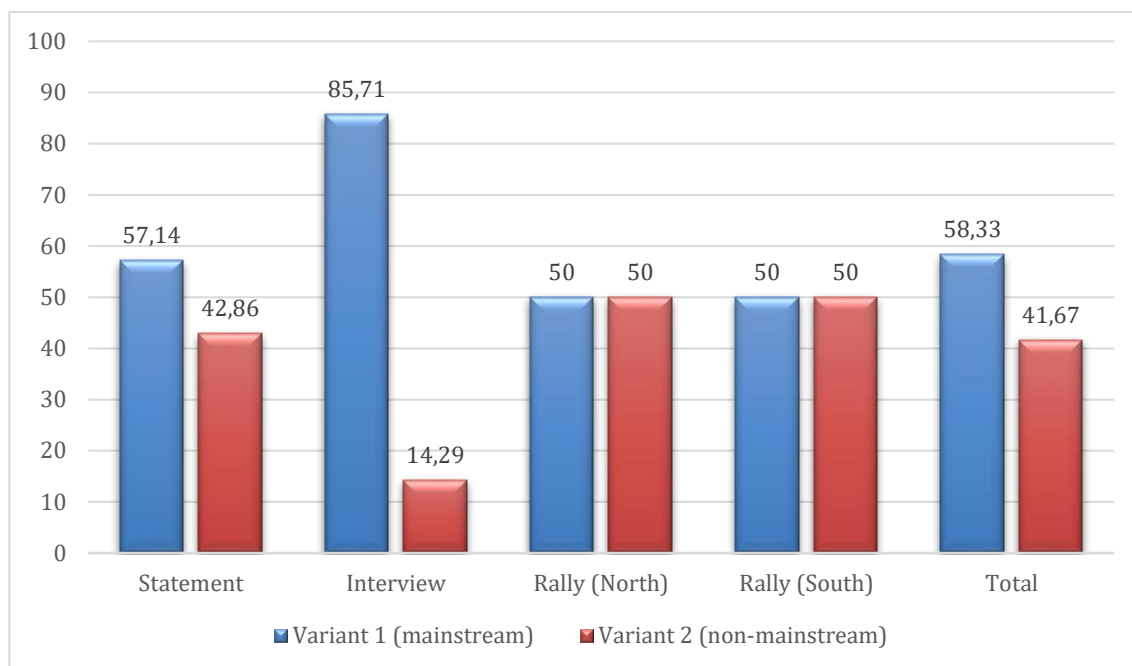


Figure IV.95. Hillary Clinton's use of Progressive consonant assimilation across the different contexts.

IV.2.1.d. R-Dropping

Hillary Clinton exhibits a rather stable sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to R-Dropping, which evidences a clear reluctance to accommodate to the targeted audience when operating in different speech events (see Figure IV.96). As for variant 1 ((r) = /r/), Clinton obtained a score of 98.53% in the context of Statement, 98.10% in the context of Interview, 99.38% in the context of Rally (North) and 97.70% in the context of Rally (South). As a result, variant 2 ((r) = /ø/) remains scarcely used in the speech of Hillary Clinton, as she obtained a score of 1.47% in the context of Statement, 1.90% in the context of Interview, 0.62% in the context of Rally (North) and 2.30% in the context of Rally (South). In addition, even though a slight increase may be observed in the percentage obtained for variant 1 in Rally (North) as well as a slight decrease for the same variant in the context of Rally (South), inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in Clinton's results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 3.139$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically

significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 3.119$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.1$; $df = 1$). This means that those realisation changes in the pronunciation of consonant /r/ in postvocalic contexts made by Hillary Clinton are not relevant enough so as to state that this informant is adjusting her speech to the different contexts in which she operates.

Nevertheless, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite operating in a geographical area where variant 2 has traditionally been one of the most remarkable stereotypes –New York City– (Gordon 2004b), Hillary Clinton does not adjust her usage of R-Dropping in the context of Statement, being variant 1 (98.53%) predominantly used over variant 2 (1.47%). This reluctance to adopt variant 2 may be explained by the increasing use that New Yorkers are making of variant 1, particularly among high social class groups (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 52). Even though non-rhotic realisations used to be frequently employed by New York individuals of all social levels, this linguistic feature became a strong class marker, which led to a significant stigmatisation associated with variant 2 –as evidenced in Labov’s study (1966/2006). As a result, non-rhotic realisations began to be associated with the speech of low and working-class speakers, being the speech of those individuals belonging to higher social statuses characterised by a relevant use of rhotic pronunciations (Gordon 2004b: 288; Labov 1966/2006). Thus, even though rhotic and non-rhotic realisations can still be encountered in the speech of New Yorkers (Fowler 1986), the trend towards rhoticity seems to be progressing while the prestige associated with r-lessness forms has reversed (Gordon 2004b: 288; Boberg 2015). In this respect, Lippi-Green (2012) remarks that rather than social status factors, formality issues appear to affect speakers’ usage of rhotic or non-rhotic pronunciations: “the more formal the situation, the more likely New Yorkers are to keep (r) after vowels” (Lippi-Green 2012: 30; Fowler 1986; Labov 1994: 83-87). Consequently, the stigmatisation associated with non-rhotic pronunciations in New York City together with the inappropriate use of variant 2 in formal situations may explain why Hillary Clinton strictly adheres to mainstream variant 1 in this context.

Similarly, Hillary Clinton’s high usage of variant 1 in the context of Interview may be motivated by the prestige that rhotic realisations are acquiring, the stigmatisation associated

with variant 2 and its subsequent inappropriateness in formal speech events. In fact, even though certain variability may be perceived in the speech of Northern Americans when it comes to R-Dropping, rhotic pronunciations are generally preferred in careful speech (Wells 1982: 490). Hence, given the occupation of the informant, prestigious and mainstream realisations would be expected to be used in an interview that would be broadcasted at a national level. In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.1$; $df = 1$).

Likewise, the common use that General American speakers make of rhotic forms may also explain the higher percentage of use for variant 1 obtained by Hillary Clinton in the context of Rally (North), as she strictly adheres again to mainstream conventions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008).

As for the speech event of Rally (South), which took place in Selma, Alabama, it is noteworthy to mention that the speech of individuals from this geographical area presents certain variability when it comes to the pronunciation of postvocalic /r/, as Northern Alabama speakers tend to use rhotic realisations while Southern Alabama speakers commonly use non-rhotic pronunciations (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Thus, Southern Alabama, together with other Low Southern areas, has been traditionally characterised by a prominent use of variant 2 (Schneider 2006; Trudgill & Hannah 2008). In fact, this variant was associated with upper-class Southern Whites and African American speakers (Wells 1982: 542), while variant 1 was stereotypically associated with “northerners and ‘crackers’ (poor whites)” (Wells 1982: 542). However, a predominant score for variant 1 was obtained by Hillary Clinton in this context. As previously indicated, the mainstream and prestigious use of rhotic pronunciation together with the inappropriateness of using non-rhotic realisations in formal contexts may have influenced the speech of Hillary Clinton when operating in this context (Thomas 2004: 318). In addition, it must be remarked that rhotic realisations are acquiring a relevant degree of prestige in Southerners’ speech, which may reduce Clinton’s motivation to accommodate to non-rhotic forms in this context (McDavid 1948; Levine & Crockett 1966; Harris 1969).

However, considering that the audience of Clinton’s Southern rally was mainly formed by African American individuals, it must be pointed out that the prestige model acquired by

rhotic realisations in several North American regions does not apply to the speech of African American speakers, who still retain non-rhotic pronunciations (Thomas 2004). In fact, African American speakers tend to delete postvocalic /r/ more frequently than White Southerners (Edwards 2004: 388). Thus, it seems that the audience of this context does not determine Clinton's use of postvocalic /r/, which results in a strict adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions. In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 3.119$; $df = 1$).

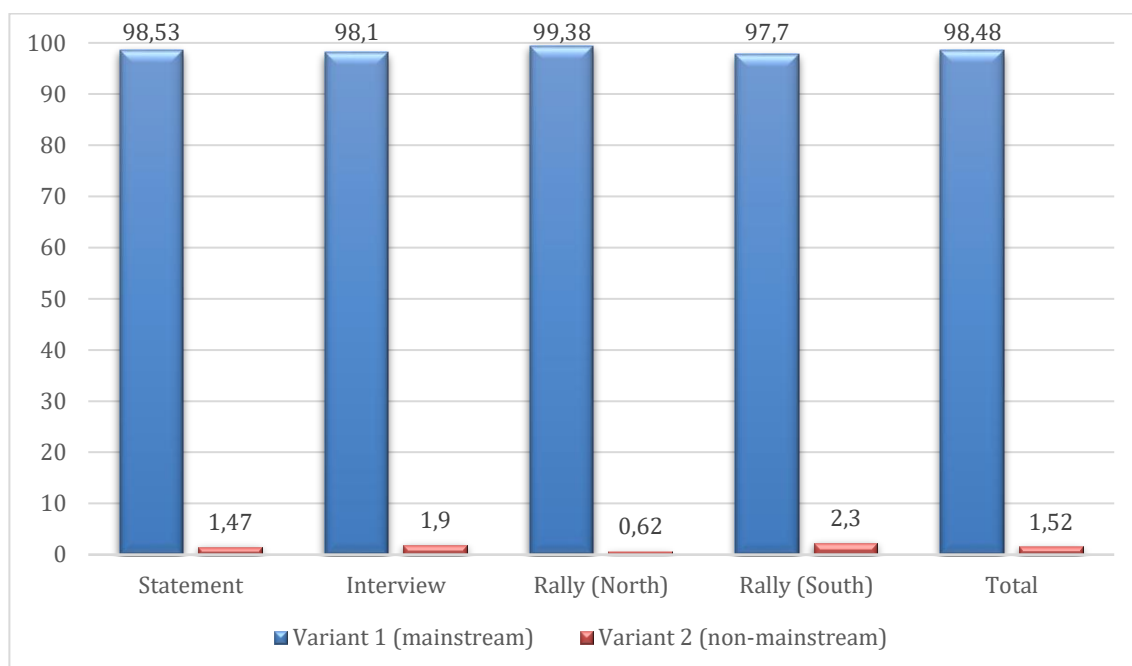


Figure IV.96. Hillary Clinton's use of R-Dropping across the different contexts.

Consequently, even though a slight fluctuation can be observed in Figure IV.96, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton when it comes to R-Dropping is characterised by a strong adherence to the mainstream variant and a lack of accommodation to African American and Southern audiences, being mainstream variant 1 predominantly used over non-mainstream variant 2 (98.48% versus 1.52%, respectively). As previously stated, this mainstream adherence may be motivated by the prestige associated with rhotic realisations, as “younger speakers are now becoming increasingly rhotic, especially among higher social class groups” (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 52).

IV.2.1.e. T-Voicing

Similarly, a rather stable sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the usage that Hillary Clinton makes of T-Voicing, as she obtained a score of 100% in the context of Statement, 94.12% in the context of Interview, 100% in the context of Rally (North), and 94.64% in the context of Rally (South) for variant 1 ((t) = /d/). Consequently, and as it can be observed in Table IV.28 and Figure IV.97, variant 2 ((t) = /t/) remains absent from Clinton's speech in the contexts of Statement and Rally (North), although it is scarcely used in the contexts of Interview (5.88%) and Rally (South) (5.36%). In this respect, and even though a modest fluctuation may be appreciated across the different contexts, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in Clinton's results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 4.126$; $df = 3$). Moreover, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.048$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.158$; $df = 1$), which means that Hillary Clinton does not alter to a great extent the usage of variant 1 and variant 2 depending on the context in which she operates.

This sociolinguistic behaviour may be explained by the common use that General American speakers make of variant 1 and the prestige acquired by neutralised realisations of the contrast between /t/ and /d/, which is preferred by educated American speakers (Wells 1982: 250; McDavid 1966; Kretzschmar 2004). In addition, even though variant 1 is commonly used by Southern and New York speakers (Collins & Mees 2013), it seems that rather than adopting a linguistic feature that is characteristic of the geographical area in which her speech events take place, Hillary Clinton is strictly adhering to mainstream conventions, which correlate with her social status and her occupation (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010). As a result, mainstream variant 1 (97.26%) is predominantly used over non-mainstream variant 2 (2.74%) in Clinton's speech regardless of the contexts in which she operates.

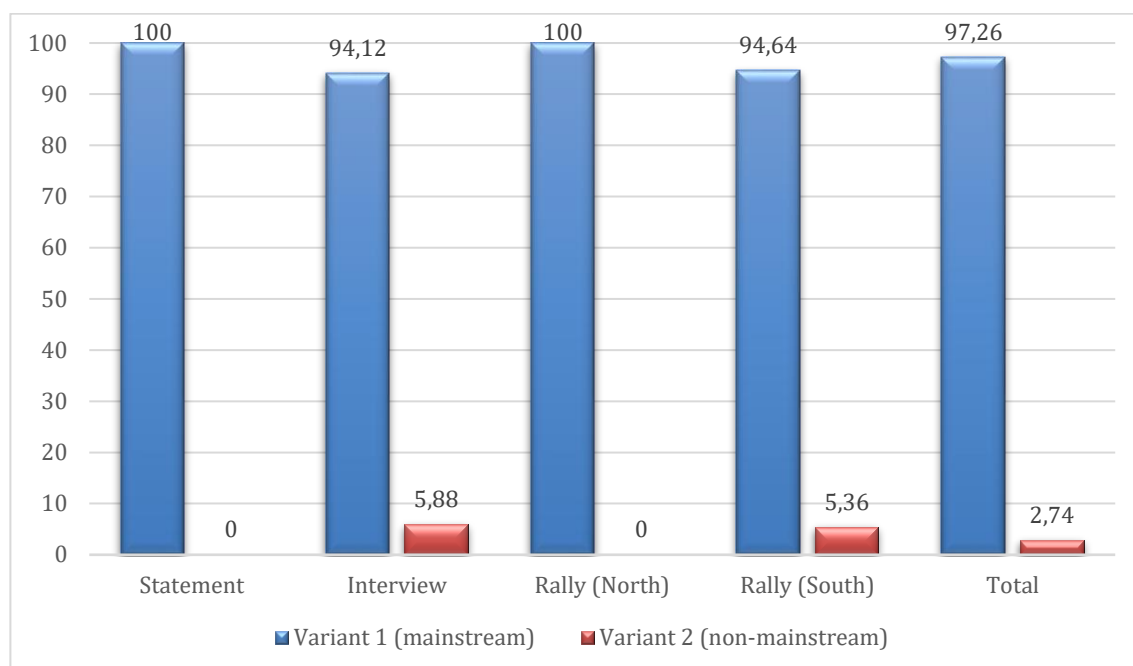


Figure IV.97. Hillary Clinton's use of T-Voicing across the different contexts.

IV.2.1.f. Yod-Dropping

Yod-Dropping is another variable that reveals certain fluctuation depending on the context in which Hillary Clinton operates (see Figure IV.98). Nevertheless, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in Clinton's results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 6.585$; $df = 3$). As a matter of fact, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.063$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.078$; $df = 1$).

Yet, it is noteworthy to consider that the context of Statement took place in New York, where variant 1 ((j) = [u:]) is extensively used and pronunciations realised with variant 2 ((j) = [ju:]) are often perceived as affected (Wells 1982: 504), just as in other Northern states (Gramley & Pätzold 2004). Nevertheless, the scores obtained by the informant in this context indicate an equilibrate use of both variants, as she obtained a score of 56.25% for variant 1 and a score of 43.75% for variant 2. Thus, even though variant 1 is commonly used in Northern –as well as in Western– regions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Gramley & Pätzold 2004), a

predominant use of this variant is not perceived in Clinton's speech when operating in this context. This might be explained by the fact that even though General American speakers tend to delete /j/ (Wells 1982), certain variability can be encountered in the usage of this variable, as variant 2 may appear in words like *cure* or *music*, while variant 1 could be frequently used in other words like *Tuesday*, *coupon* or *neurotic* (Kretzschmar 2004: 267).

On the other hand, a noticeable increase is evident in the score obtained by the informant for variant 1 (100%) in the context of Interview, which took place in the White House. This increase, may be motivated by several facts: (i) variant 1 is extensively used by speakers based in Western and Northern regions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008); (ii) this variant is also preferred by General American speakers, although certain variability in the usage of this linguistic feature may be observed; and (iii) the interview was broadcasted at a national level, reaching audiences from different geographical areas across the U.S. Thus, it seems that the informant is increasing variant 1 realisations in the context of Interview –whether consciously or unconsciously–, perhaps as the result of a greater awareness of the social significance of the variable used and a greater interest in using mainstream forms under the motivation of the national scope of this speech event together with the rather persuasive goal pursued by Hillary Clinton in this context (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). However, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.078$; $df = 1$).

Regarding the context of Rally (North) –which took place in Cincinnati, Ohio– a still predominant use of variant 1 (90.00%) over variant 2 (10.00%) can be observed. As previously stated, this geographical area is characterised by a frequent use of variant 1 (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Gramley & Pätzold 2004), which may have determined the rather low score obtained by Clinton for variant 2. Precisely, if compared with the scores obtained by Clinton in the context of Statement –which took place in New York City–, it becomes of relevance the fact that the informant tends to accommodate more to a Northern audience rather than to a North-eastern and New Yorker one. As already stated, the rather high score obtained for variant 1 may also be motivated by the common use that General American speakers make of this variant (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar 2004).

As for Rally (South) –which took place in Selma, Alabama–, a rather high score for variant 1 (86.67%) and a subsequent low score for variant 2 (13.33%) can still be observed if compared with the scores obtained in the context of Statement. However, a slight decrease in the usage of variant 1 can be noticed if compared with the scores obtained by Hillary Clinton in the contexts of Interview and Rally (North). This decrease may be motivated by the common use that Southern speakers make of variant 2, which persists in this geographical area longer than in any other part of the United States (Thomas 2004: 319). Nevertheless, despite performing in a region where variant 2 is extensively used, the degree of accommodation towards this linguistic feature is not that stark, as a predominant use of variant 1 is still employed by the informant. This mainstream behaviour may be explained by the common use that General American speakers make of variant 1 (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar 2004), the demanding requirements that the occupation of this informant have regarding the usage of mainstream language (Lei & Liu 2016: 7), and the steady movement towards /j/ loss that has been taken place in Southern regions since World War II (Edwards 2004: 319). In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.063$; $df = 1$).

As a result, the speech of Hillary Clinton is characterised by a general usage of mainstream variant 1 (77.27%), being non-mainstream variant 2 used to a lesser extent (22.73%). Yet, the scores obtained in the context of Statement show a more equilibrated use of variant 1 and variant 2. In this respect, even though certain accommodation influenced by geographical factors may also be observed in the context of Rally (South), it becomes of relevance the fact that the informant tends to accommodate to a greater extent to a New Yorker rather than to a Southern audience. As previously indicated, this lack of accommodation when it comes to Southern audiences may be motivated by the receding behaviour that variant 2 is experiencing in Southern regions, which may act as a conditioning factor in the adoption of this variant.

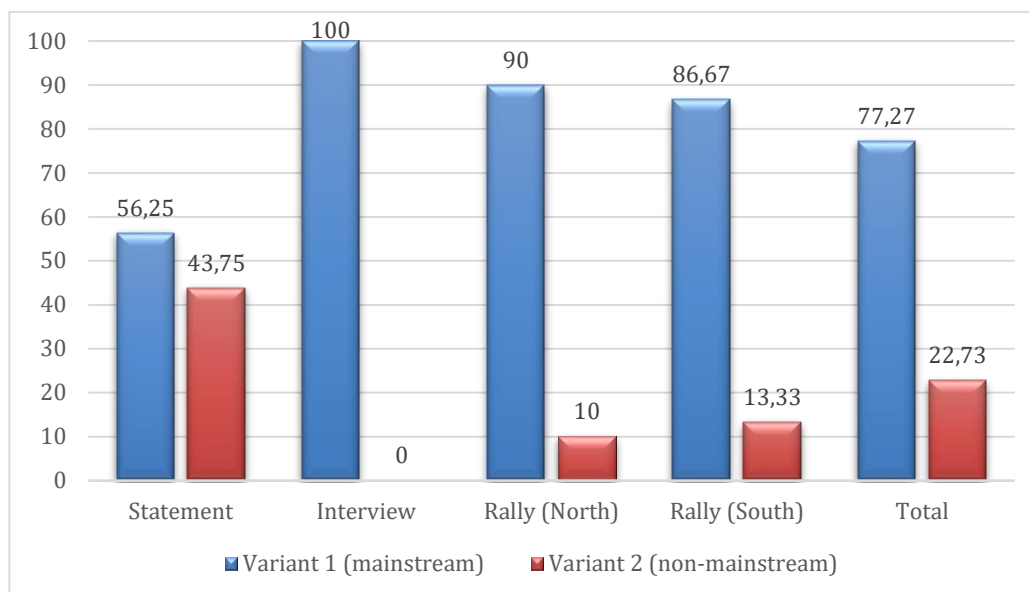


Figure IV.98. Hillary Clinton's use of Yod-Dropping across the different contexts.

IV.2.1.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton

Thus, as it can be observed in Figure IV.99, Hillary Clinton exhibits a rather general mainstream behaviour. Nevertheless, certain variability may be observed in the treatment that this informant makes of certain variables. In this respect, those linguistic features that are subject to experience a relevant degree of fluctuation across contexts are those of Progressive consonant assimilation (58.33% for variant 1 versus 41.67% for variant 2), Yod-Dropping (77.27% for variant 1 versus 22.73% for variant 2) and PRICE vowel (88.32% for variant 1 versus 11.68% for variant 2), followed by T-Voicing (97.26% for variant 1 versus 2.74% for variant 2) and R-Dropping (98.48% for variant 1 versus 1.52% for variant 2), being PIN-PEN merger the linguistic feature that is less prone to fluctuate across the different speech events in which Hillary Clinton operates (99.01% for variant 1 versus 0.99% for variant 2).

In terms of variability across contexts, and as it can be observed in Figures IV.100-IV.103, mainstream forms are generally used over non-mainstream realisations, being all contexts characterised by a noticeable mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour. Thus, Hillary Clinton employed a total percentage of 95.33 for mainstream forms and a percentage of 4.67 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Statement, 94.74 for mainstream forms and 5.26 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Interview, 97.15 for mainstream forms and 2.85

for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (North) and 91.70 for mainstream forms and 8.30 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (South). As previously stated, and as Figures IV.100-IV.103 show, Clinton tends to alter her usage of PRICE vowel, Progressive consonant assimilation and Yod-Dropping depending on the context in which she operates. This contrasts with the treatment that she makes of PIN-PEN merger, R-Dropping and T-Voicing, which reveals a rather stable mainstream pattern.

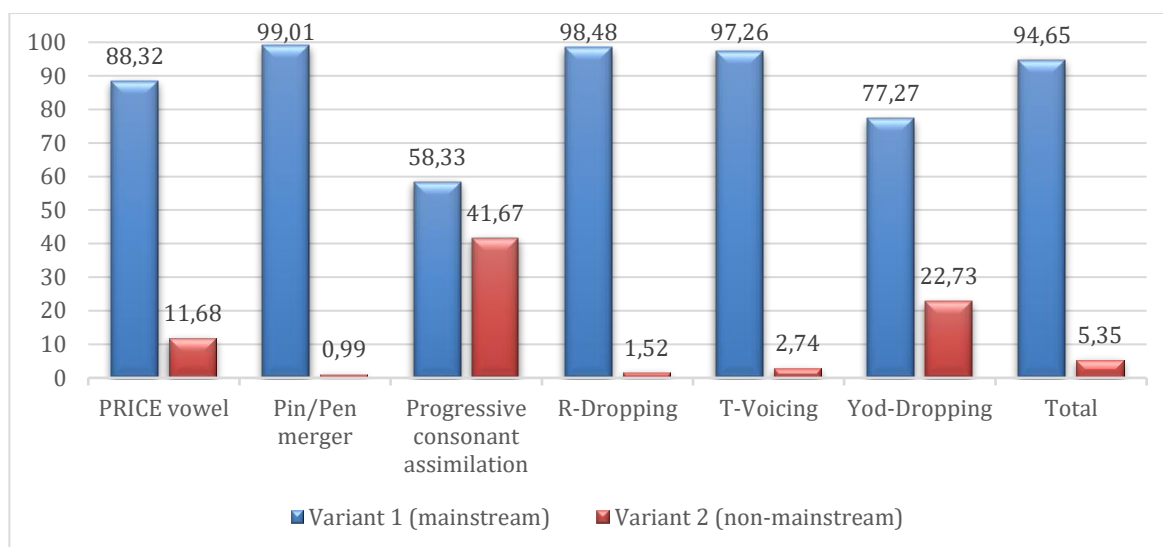


Figure IV.99. Total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton.

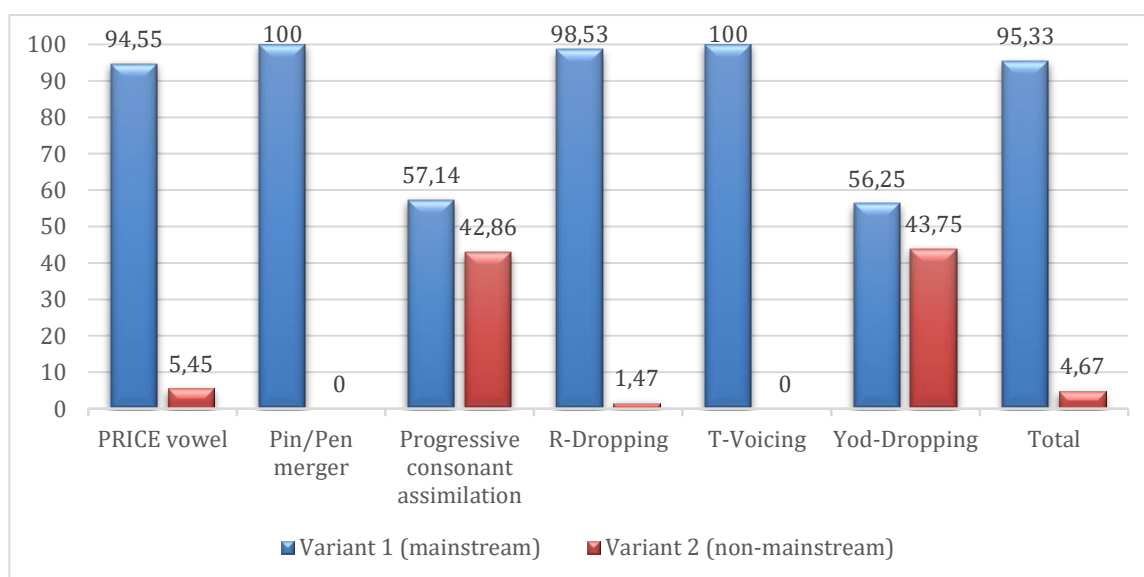


Figure IV.100. Total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton in the context of Statement.

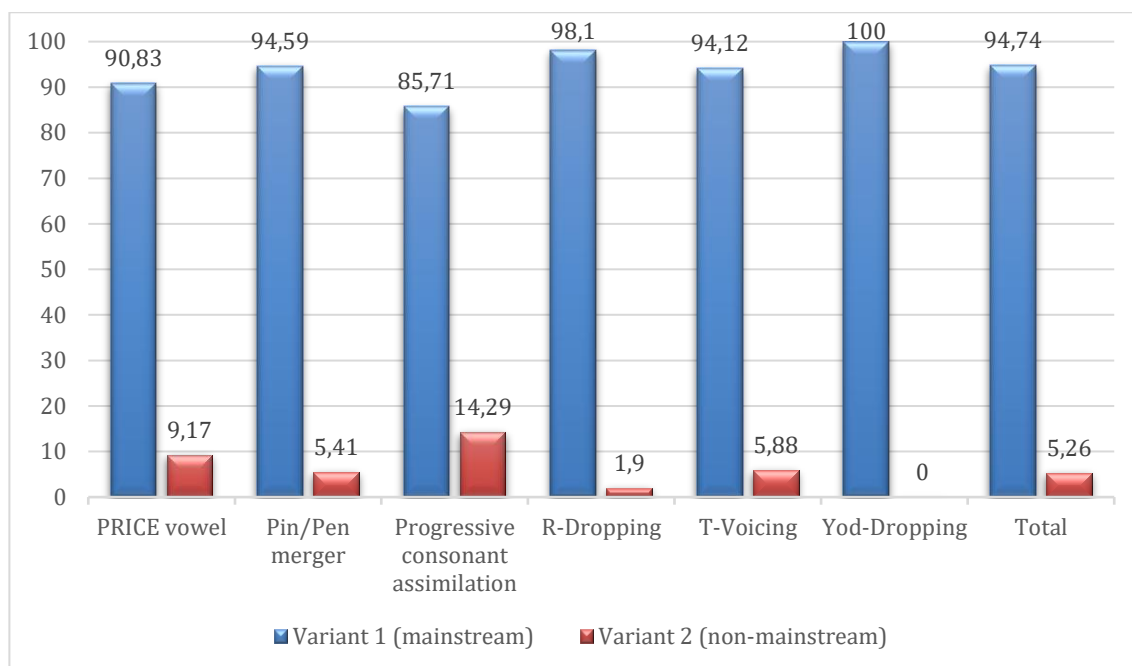


Figure IV.101. Total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton in the context of Interview.

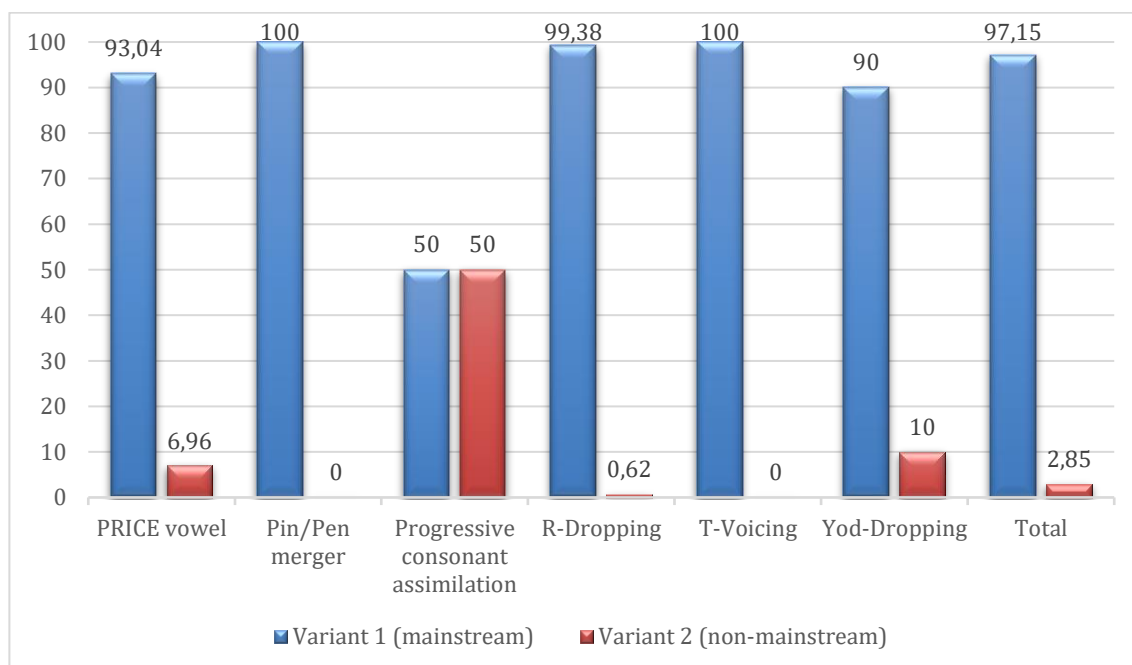


Figure IV.102. Total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton in the context of Rally (North).

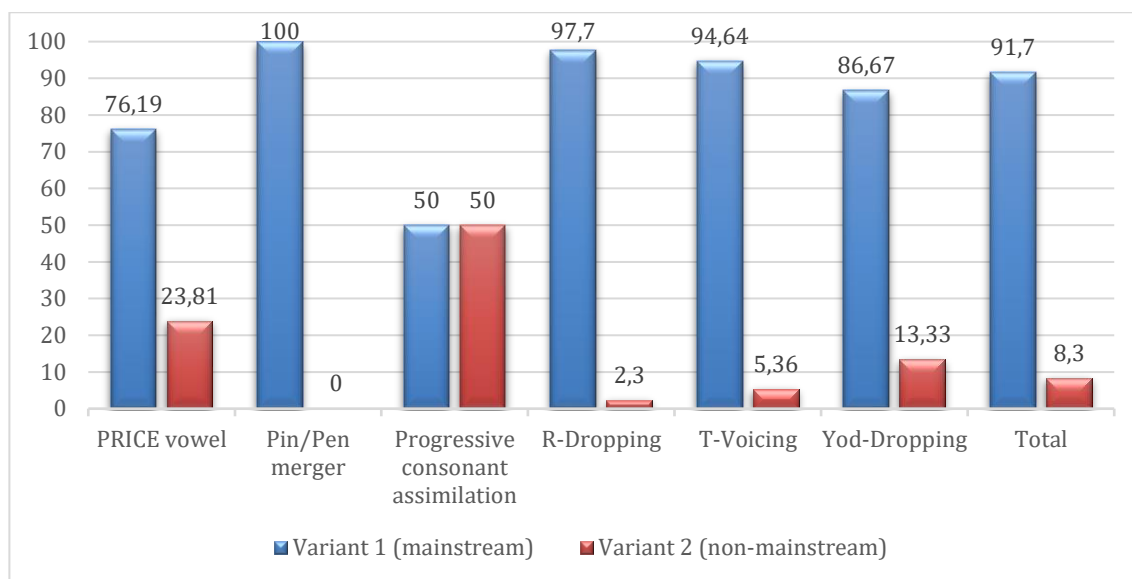


Figure IV.103. Total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton in the context of Rally (South).

On the other hand, even though Hillary Clinton uses variant 1 to a relevant extent in her speech, strong criticism about the “sociolinguistic versatility” of this informant is rather common among the media and laypeople, especially when performing in Southern regions. In this respect, it can be observed how the context of Rally (South) is the one in which non-mainstream realisations associated with Southern and African American speech are used to a greater extent, perhaps under the motivation of projecting a trustworthy, relatable and likeable persona, being these traits ultimately materialised in the strategic construction of her public political identity (Sclafani 2018). However, Clinton’s strategic accommodation to non-mainstream Southern as well as African American variants has been regarded as inauthentic and strongly criticised. Some examples of this strong criticism towards Hillary Clinton’s sociolinguistic behaviour can be found in the media:

1. Fox News delivers exclusive on Hillary Clinton’s ‘evolving accent’ (Wemple 2015)
2. “It didn’t take long once candidate Hillary Clinton returned to Dixieland for her patented Southern accent, that fickle and elusive creature that only surfaces in select settings, to raise its proud head once more” (Wemple 2015).

3. The woman speaking with a bit of a twang is an “Illinois native who graduated from Wellesley and represented New York in the U.S. Senate” (Wemple 2015).
4. “Details of the Clinton campaign strategy and schedule have been slow to reach news organizations. As soon as we learn of another unscheduled change of accent, however, we’ll bring it to you right here” (Wemple 2015).
5. Hillary Clinton Spoke About Policy Positions, But Media Only Heard Her Southern Accent (Arrowood 2015).
6. Despite speaking at length about the substance of her campaign platform, media chose to fixate on her southern accent (Arrowood 2015).
7. After reporters traveling with the campaign noted a hint of a southern drawl, media pounced, treating Clinton's substantive speech as a sideshow and her accent as the main event (Arrowood 2015).
8. Would You Really Like Hillary More if She Sounded Different? (Khazan 2016).
9. Hillary Clinton Mimics Accents – But So Do You, Probably (Dahl 2015).
10. Clinton's Southern strategy? Hillary fakes her accent for local crowd (Mills 2015).
11. Hillary Clinton has started faking a Southern drawl to speak to Southerners, just as she did during her last presidential run eight years ago (Mills 2015).
12. Speaking in a voice she did not learn during her childhood in Illinois and schooling in New England (Mills 2015).
13. The mystery of Hillary Clinton's changing accent (Dowling 2007).
14. "if I were an African-American, I would be insulted" (Dowling 2007).
15. Hillary Clinton hails from Chicago, but she did live in Arkansas for 20 years when her husband was the governor. Does that entitle her to a Southern accent, if she wants one? (Dowling 2007).

Thus, it seems that she is not “entitled” to make use of a Southern accent, as she is originally from Chicago and she spent most of her formative years in the North –although she also spent several years in the South. Hence, it could be tentatively stated that due to the social status, the educational background, and the occupation of Hillary Clinton, a mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour is clearly expected by the electorate, being any deviation from mainstream conventions negatively evaluated (Cole & Pellicer 2012). That is, Clinton is expected to employ a General American accent –which is regarded as formal and prestigious– rather than linguistic features that are characteristic of Southern areas –which are generally regarded as neither prestigious nor mainstream forms.

Particularly, the speech event of Rally (South) elicited both positive and negative opinions among the electorate and the media. On the one hand, the congregation of African American individuals at Selma evaluated Clinton's speech in a favourable way (Cole & Pellicer 2012), as they felt connected and identified with the informant (Staff Reports 2007). However, despite the positive evaluations of Clinton's performance on the part of the audience that attended this rally, the national media and those individuals that did not attend this speech event classified her style-shifting strategy and her overall performance as "bizarre" (Media Matters Staff 2007), "disagreeable phony and affected" (Zorn 2007), and accused her of having an affected "Southern drawl" (Julie 2007). Strong critics also pointed out to racism traces when she cited gospel singer James Cleveland (Cole & Pellicer 2012), which seems to contrast with one of the informant's main objectives of this rally: gaining African American support in the framework of the 2008 U.S. Presidential elections.

Hence, the fact that Hillary Clinton employed a speech style that is not associated with (i) the accent of her region of provenance, (ii) her original sociolinguistic behaviour and (iii) her public persona –as she is clearly not a member of the Southern African American identity category (Cole & Pellicer 2012: 463-464)– seem to be triggering effects on the emergence of negative evaluations in a large share of the electorate, being her performance in the Southern rally classified as inauthentic. Far from being exceptional, negative responses are prone to emerge if an informant who is associated with a mainstream (linguistic) identity makes use of non-mainstream and racially marked forms, resulting in a failure to project one's persona, and being the performance regarded as "inappropriate", "inauthentic", "condescending", "mocking" and even "racist" (Cole & Pellicer 2012: 450; Cutler 2003; Hill 2008; Schwartz 2008). This particular example reflects how Hillary Clinton attempted to project a particular identity by strategically and intentionally style-shifting towards certain linguistic features that are commonly used by African American and Southern speakers in order to accommodate to the audience of the speech event of Rally (South) (Coupland 1985), and therefore, to obtain its support for the Democratic Party nominations for the 2008 U.S. Presidential elections. Nevertheless, while the informant's performance was favourably evaluated by her face-to-face audience, negative opinions emerged among the media, experts and laypeople. This

strong criticism about Clinton's mainstream deviations in the context of Rally (South) may be motivated by the fact that, at least in industrialised Western urban centres, women are expected to use mainstream, "appropriate" and polite speech styles (Trudgill, 1972, 1974, 1983a), which means that Clinton would be violating gender expectations.

Thus, Clinton's strategic deviations from mainstream conventions, and therefore, accommodation moves to the audience by means of employing non-mainstream forms, arise positive as well as negative opinions among the electorate, resulting in "authentic" versus "non-authentic" evaluations of her linguistic behaviour. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 17.306$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that global differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 16.017$; $df = 1$), but not between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.14$; $df = 1$).

Yet, despite certain fluctuations in specific contexts, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton reveals a strong adherence to mainstream conventions (94.65%), being non-mainstream variants used to a rather scarce extent (5.35%) (see Figure IV. 104). This correlates with formality aspects –since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b)– as well as with those strategies normally used by politicians operating in the public sphere in which mainstream variants are predominantly employed since persuasive aims are usually best accomplished if a "correct" and "educated" speech is used (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44).

Lastly, as observed in Table IV.29 and Figure IV.104, a logistic regression indicates that the context of Rally (North) is the one which most favours the usage of mainstream forms in Hillary Clinton's speech, followed by the context of Statement. On the contrary, the negative value obtained for the contexts of Interview and Rally (South) indicate that these contexts are disavouring effects in Clinton's usage of mainstream forms (see "Intercept" column), being non-mainstream realisations more prone to emerge in the context of Rally (South) (see "Centered factor weight" column).

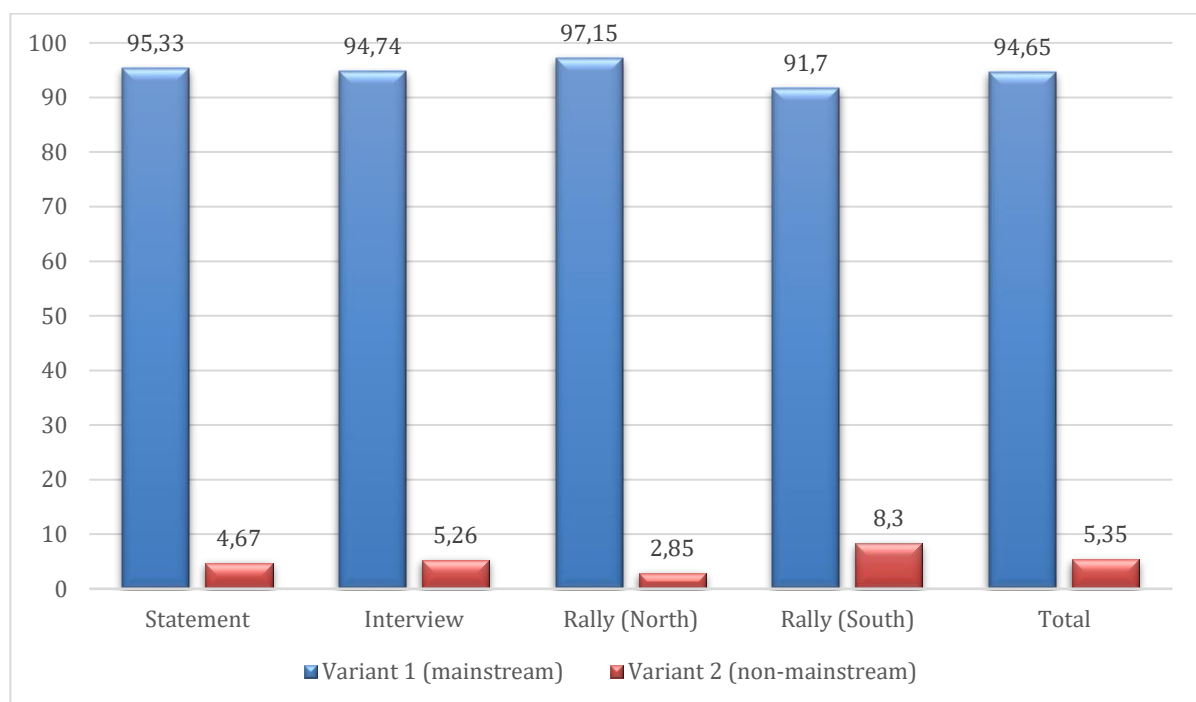


Figure IV.104. Total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton per context.

Table IV.29. Logistic regression of the contribution of contextual factors to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by Hillary Clinton. Fixed effects analysis: “Context” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.36	1889	0.947	—
Rally (North)	0.402	562	0.972	0.602
Statement	0.05	407	0.953	0.515
Interview	-0.037	342	0.947	0.494
Rally (South)	-0.46	578	0.917	0.39
Misc. 1	N= 1889; df= 2; Intercept= 2.945; Overall proportion= 0.947; Centered input probability= 0.95.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -390.002; AIC= 784.004; AICc= 784.011; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.232; R2 fixed= 0; R2 random= 0.038; R2 total= 0.038.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

IV.2.2. Sarah Palin

Table IV.30 shows the percentages of use obtained by American informant number 2, Sarah Palin, for the four political contexts indicated in section III.2.2.b.ii: Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South). It is noteworthy to mention that during the 2008 U.S. presidential campaign and onwards, the speech of Palin –who was appointed vice presidential candidate for the Republican party, being therefore the running mate of Senator John McCain– was widely discussed among experts, the media and the electorate. Her accent, together with the register and dialect that she employed –which are not discussed here– contributed to the emergence of a general negative opinion about her speech, being it perceived as rather informal for an informant with such occupation (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009: 334).

Table IV.30. American Informant 2: Sarah Palin							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Context				
			Statement	Interview	Rally (North)	Rally (South)	Total
PRICE vowel	Variant #1: /aɪ/	%	97.41%	94.23%	95.73%	93.75%	95.58%
		#	113/116	98/104	112/117	45/48	368/385
	Variant #2: [a:]	%	2.59%	5.77%	4.27%	6.25%	4.42%
		#	3/116	6/104	5/117	3/48	17/385
PIN-PEN merger: /ɪ/-/ɛ/	Variant #1: No merging	%	100.00%	92.68%	89.83%	97.92%	94.48%
		#	33/33	38/41	53/59	47/48	171/181
	Variant #2: Merging	%	0.00%	7.32%	10.17%	2.08%	5.52%
		#	0/33	3/41	6/59	1/48	10/181
Progressive consonant assimilation	Variant #1: (nt) = /n/	%	50.00%	66.67%	50.00%	12.50%	45.16%
		#	3/6	6/9	4/8	1/8	14/31
	Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/	%	50.00%	33.33%	50.00%	87.50%	54.84%
		#	3/6	3/9	4/8	7/8	17/31
R-Dropping	Variant #1: (r) = /r/	%	98.96%	97.31%	99.14%	100.00%	98.78%
		#	191/193	217/223	344/347	142/142	894/905
	Variant #2: (r) = /ø/	%	1.04%	2.69%	0.86%	0.00%	1.22%
		#	2/193	6/223	3/347	0/142	11/905
T-Voicing	Variant #1: (t) = /d/	%	97.50%	94.12%	89.83%	80.77%	91.19%
		#	39/40	32/34	53/59	21/26	145/159
	Variant #2: (t) = /t/	%	2.50%	5.88%	10.17%	19.23%	8.81%
		#	1/40	2/34	6/59	5/26	14/159
Yod-Dropping	Variant #1: (j) = [u:]	%	100.00%	80.00%	100.00%	100.00%	90.70%
		#	7/7	16/20	13/13	3/3	39/43
	Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]	%	0.00%	20.00%	0.00%	0.00%	9.30%
		#	0/7	4/20	0/13	0/3	4/43
Total	Variant #1	%	97.72%	94.43%	96.02%	94.18%	95.72%
		#	386/395	407/431	579/603	259/275	1631/1704
	Variant #2	%	2.28%	5.57%	3.98%	5.82%	4.28%
		#	9/395	24/431	24/603	16/275	73/1704

In this respect, the dialect of former Alaska Governor has been identified by the audience as “Upper Midwestern”, which causes certain confusion as she has been based in Alaska for long periods of time. Nevertheless, it is noteworthy to mention that several Western as well as Northern linguistic features are commonly present in the speech of Alaskans, which results from the particular settlement history of this geographical area. Certainly, in the 1930s, the Matanuska-Susitna Valley –where Sarah Palin’s hometown Wasilla is placed– experienced a large-scale settlement of white residents that where originally from depressed areas of Michigan, Minnesota and Wisconsin. Thus, the perception of Palin’s accent

as Upper Midwestern on the part of the electorate comes as less of a surprise if dialect formation factors that are characteristic of the Alaskan region where she grew up and is actually based are taken into account (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009). Consequently, even though Sarah Palin's speech lacks some of the contemporary Upper Midwestern and Northern linguistic features, a clear influence of the speech pattern of these geographical regions can be observed in the speech of individuals from the Matanuska-Susitna Valley (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009: 349-340).

IV.2.2.a. PRICE vowel

Regarding the usage of PRICE vowel, Sarah Palin obtained rather stable scores for the four contexts analysed. Thus, as it can be observed in Figure IV.105, variant 1 (/aɪ/) is predominantly used in the context of Statement (97.41%), Interview (94.23%), Rally (North) (95.73%) and Rally (South) (93.75%). Hence variant 2 ([a:]) is scarcely used in Palin's speech, as she obtained a score of 2.59% for this variant in the context of Statement, 5.77% in the context of Interview, 4.27% in the context of Rally (North) and 6.25% in the context of Rally (South). Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.76$; $df = 3$), which means that Palin's usage of PRICE vowel across the different contexts in which she operates is not subject to a relevant modification. That is, there is no correlation between Palin's treatment of this variable and the contexts in which she operates. In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 0.288$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.416$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, the context of Statement took place in St. Paul, Minnesota, in the framework of the 2008 U.S. presidential elections, and it consisted in Palin's acceptance speech for the Vice President nomination of the Republican Party at the Republican National Convention. Given the extensive use that General American speakers make of variant 1

(Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), together with the national –as well as international– scope of this speech event, Palin’s extensive use of mainstream variant 1 was rather expected. Precisely, Palin’s prominent use of the mainstream form together with her scarce adoption of non-mainstream variant 2 could have been influenced by the formality associated with this acceptance speech. In fact, this speech event could be regarded as one of the most formal and relevant moments in Palin’s political career, which would have required the use of a “correct”, “educated”, and mainstream speech (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010).

Even though a slight increase in the usage that Palin makes of non-mainstream variant 2 (4.27%) can be observed in the context of Rally (North) if compared with the score that she obtained in the context of Statement, no stark differences are observed in the contrast between both contexts. Particularly, the speech event under the label of Rally (North) took place in Ames, Iowa, where Sarah Palin endorsed Republican candidate Donald Trump in the framework of the 2016 U.S. presidential elections. Thus, the formality associated with this context together with the extensive use that General American speakers make of mainstream and prestigious variant 1 could have influenced the sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited by the informant.

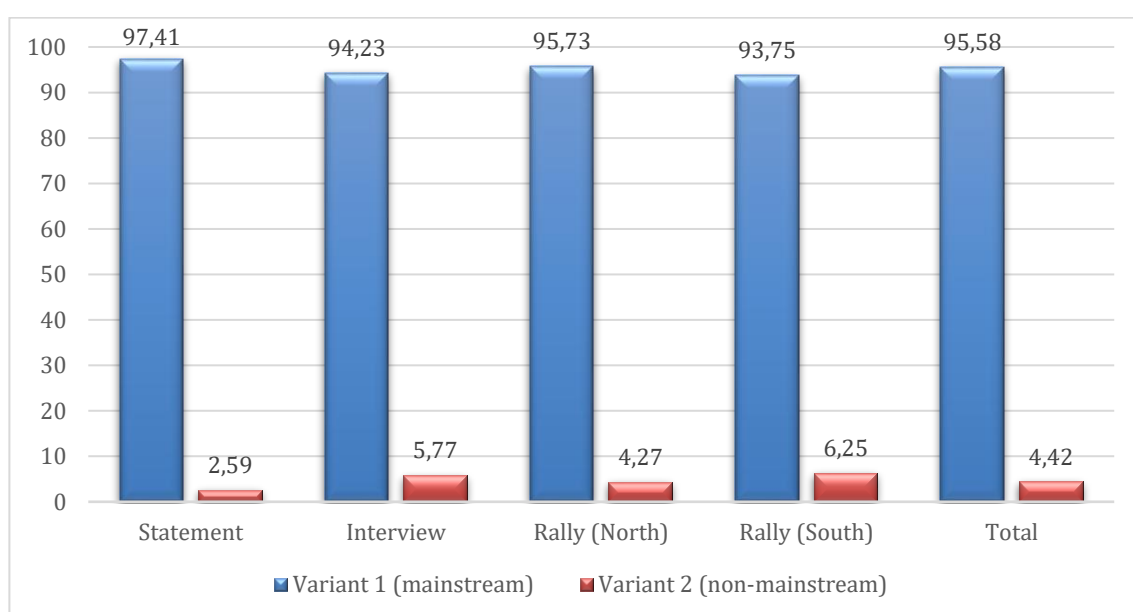


Figure IV.105. Sarah Plain’s use of PRICE vowel across the different contexts.

Another slight increase can be observed in the score obtained by Palin for non-mainstream variant 2 in the context of Interview, which took place in New York City, and was part of a series of interviews conducted by American journalist Kate Couric during the 2008 U.S. presidential elections campaign. Nevertheless, and just as with previous contexts, if the national scope of this speech event is considered, together with the common use that New Yorkers (Wells 1982; Collins & Mees 2013) and General American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982) make of variant 1, a rather prominent use of variant 1 in Palin's speech would be expected in this speech event. In fact, despite this slight increase, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.416$; $df = 1$).

On the other hand, Palin's score obtained for variant 1 in the context of Rally (South) reveals a modest decrease if compared with the scores obtained for the same variant in previous contexts, being the score obtained for variant 2 (6.25%) the highest percentage obtained for the non-mainstream variant out of the four contexts studied. Nevertheless, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.288$; $df = 1$). Yet, it is noteworthy to mention that this speech event took place in Montgomery, Alabama, where variant 2 is frequently employed, as well as in other Southern regions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982). Thus, this increase in the usage of non-mainstream variant 2 could be regarded as a rather modest accommodation to Palin's Southern audience.

Nevertheless, Palin's general lack of a relevant accommodation towards non-mainstream variant 2 might be motivated by the stigmatisation associated with this variant – as it is often characteristic of the speech of low-class individuals – and its subsequent receding behaviour, particularly in urban areas of the South (Tillery & Bailey 2004; Lippi-Green 2012).

Hence, it seems that geographical factors do not determine the usage that Sarah Palin makes of PRICE vowel to a relevant extent, as a stable pattern of use can be observed in her speech style regardless of the context in which she operates. In addition, ethnic factors neither appear to influence Palin's sociolinguistic behaviour, since the informant does not attempt to accommodate to a potential African American audience, as AAVE speakers tend to use variant

2 to a greater extent than Whites from Southern regions. Thus, given that the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Palin when it comes to PRICE vowel reveals a prominent use of mainstream variant 1 (95.58%) despite of the context in which she is operating as well as a scarce use of non-mainstream variant 2 (4.42%), it could be tentatively stated that social status aspects and mainstream linguistic conventions appear to influence the speech of Sarah Palin to a greater extent than geographical or ethnicity aspects.

IV.2.2.b. PIN-PEN merger

On the other hand, Figure IV.106 shows a modest variation in the treatment that Sarah Palin makes of PIN-PEN merger. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.71$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 2.831$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.517$; $df = 1$).

Particularly, Sarah Palin obtained a score of 100% for variant 1 (No merging) in the context of Statement, which could be motivated by the degree of formality associated with this speech event and the geographical area in which it took place –St. Paul, Minnesota–, as variant 2 tends to be associated with a strong Southern regional identity (Schneider 2006). However, a slight decrease in the usage of variant 1 (92.68%) and a subsequent increase in the usage of variant 2 (7.32%) may be observed in the context of Interview, although variant 1 is still predominantly used over variant 2 in this context. As previously stated, this strong adherence to the mainstream variant may be motivated by the national –as well as international– scope of the interview, the prestige associated with variant 1, and the potential influence that North American accentual features areas might have had on the speech of Sarah Palin (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009). Thus, even though slight differences may be perceived between the contexts of Statement and Interview, they are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.517$; $df = 1$).

In addition, another increase in the usage of non-mainstream variant 2 may be observed in the context of Rally (North) (10.17%), being this the highest score obtained for this variant out of the four contexts studied. Nevertheless, mainstream variant 1 remains predominantly used in Sarah Palin's speech (89.83%), which may be influenced by the linguistic pattern of the geographical area in which this speech event took place (Ames, Iowa), where variant 1 is commonly used. On the contrary, Palin obtained a score of 2.08% for variant 2 in the context of Rally (South) –where variant 2 has traditionally been used over variant 1–, being this percentage one of the lowest ones out the four contexts studied. This lack of accommodation to the local variant might be explained by the stigmatisation that is commonly associated with merged realisations (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004), which has led Southern speakers to differentiate PIN-PEN words (Thomas 2004: 316). As a result, this traditional Southern feature is starting to experience a receding behaviour, particularly in large urban areas of the South (Schneider 2006: 64; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008). Thus, even though slight differences may be perceived between the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South), they are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.831$; $df = 1$).

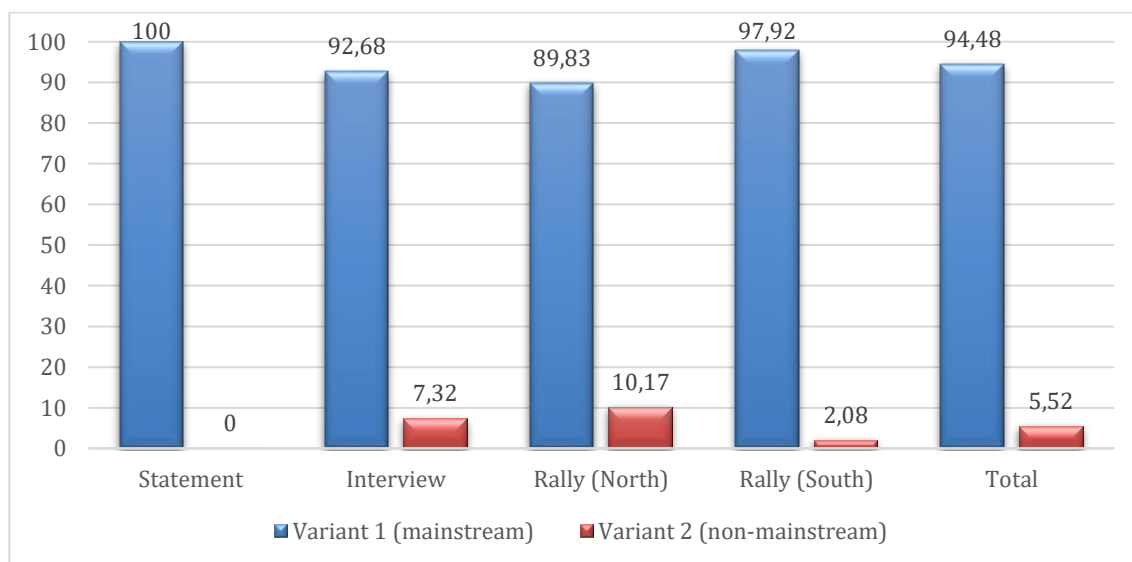


Figure IV.106. Sarah Plain's use of PIN-PEN merger across the different contexts.

Consequently, the general sociolinguistic behaviour of Sarah Palin when it comes to PIN-PEN merger is characterised by a predominant use of mainstream variant 1 (94.48%) and

a scarce use of non-mainstream variant 2 (5.52%), probably under the influence of the stigmatisation associated with variant 2, as merged realisations tend to inversely correlate with individuals' education: the speech of individuals with higher education is commonly associated with a greater degree of differentiation in the realisations of PIN-PEN words (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006).

IV.2.2.c. Progressive consonant assimilation

As for of Progressive consonant assimilation, certain variation can be observed across the different contexts in which Sarah Palin operates, being the scores obtained in the contexts of Statement, Interview and Rally (North) rather different from those obtained in Rally (South) (see Figure IV.107). Nevertheless, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.259$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 2.618$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.417$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, the context of Statement, which took place in St. Paul, Minnesota, is characterised by an equilibrated use of variant 1 ((nt) = /n/) (50.00%) and variant 2 ((nt) = /nt/) (50.00%). These scores may be motivated by the extensive use that General American speakers make of variant 1 and the high frequency with which Northern speakers use variant 2 (Wells 1982; Kretzschmar 2004). Hence, it becomes of relevance how Palin manages to exhibit a mainstream use of this variable –perhaps under the influence of the national scope of this speech event– while also making use of the variant that is characteristic of the geographical area in which her political intervention took place. Similar scores can be observed in the context of Rally (North), which took place in Ames, Iowa, as the informant also obtained a score of 50.00% of realisations for variant 1 and another 50.00% of realisations for variant 2. As in the previous context, the informant manages to employ mainstream variant 1 –which is used by General American speakers (Kretzschmar 2004)– and non-mainstream

variant 2, which is commonly heard in the speech of individuals from Northern areas (Wells 1982). Hence, it seems that Palin attempts to exhibit a mainstream use of this variable while also accommodating to her Northern audience.

However, a slight increase in the usage of variant 1 (66.67%) and a subsequent decrease in the score obtained for variant 2 (33.33%) can be observed in Palin's speech when she operates in the context of Interview, which took place in New York. The increase in the percentage of use for variant 1 may be motivated by the national –as well as international– scope of the interview, which would have shaped the linguistic behaviour of the informant towards a mainstream use of this variable, as /t/ is not frequently pronounced in General American speech (Gramley & Pätzold 2004: 275). In addition, it seems that the informant manages to also employ variant 2, which correlates with the tendency of Northern speakers to preserve a clear distinction in words such as *winter* and *winner* (Wells 1982: 252). Yet, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.417$; $df = 1$).

In addition, a relevant decrease in the usage of variant 1 (12.50%) together with a subsequent increase in the score of variant 2 (87.50%) may be observed in Palin's speech when operating in the context of Rally (South), which took place in Montgomery, Alabama. This sociolinguistic behaviour contrasts with the general linguistic pattern employed by Southern speakers –as variant 1 tends to be commonly used in their speech (Wells 1982)– as well as with the prominent use of mainstream variant 1 that characterises General American speech (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). Thus, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though this speech event consisted in Palin's endorsement of the Alabamian judge Roy Moore in the framework of the 2017 U.S. Senate elections, she did not accommodate to her Southern audience. In fact, she increased her usage of variant 2, which is commonly used by Northern speakers (Wells 1982). Yet, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Rally (North) and Rally (South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.618$; $df = 1$).

Thus, geographical factors do not appear to play a relevant role in the speech of Sarah Palin. However, it seems that the informant alters the usage of this variable depending on the degree of formality and the scope associated with each speech event. In this respect, the

highest usage of variant 1 takes place in the context of Interview –which had a national and international scope, followed by the scores obtained in the context of Statement and the context of Rally (North). Finally, the lowest score for mainstream variant 1 was obtained in the context of Rally (South), which was marked by a rather relaxed and informal tone, being the audience of this rally rather scarce in comparison with the audience that attended the other speech events in which Palin participated. Consequently, it seems that the informant is not strategically using Progressive consonant assimilation according to the geographical area in which the speech events take place; instead, she varies the usage of this variable under the influence of the formality degree and the scope of the speech event. As a result, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Sarah Palin regarding her use of Progressive consonant assimilation is characterised by a rather equilibrated use of mainstream variant 1 (45.16%) and non-mainstream variant 2 (54.84%).

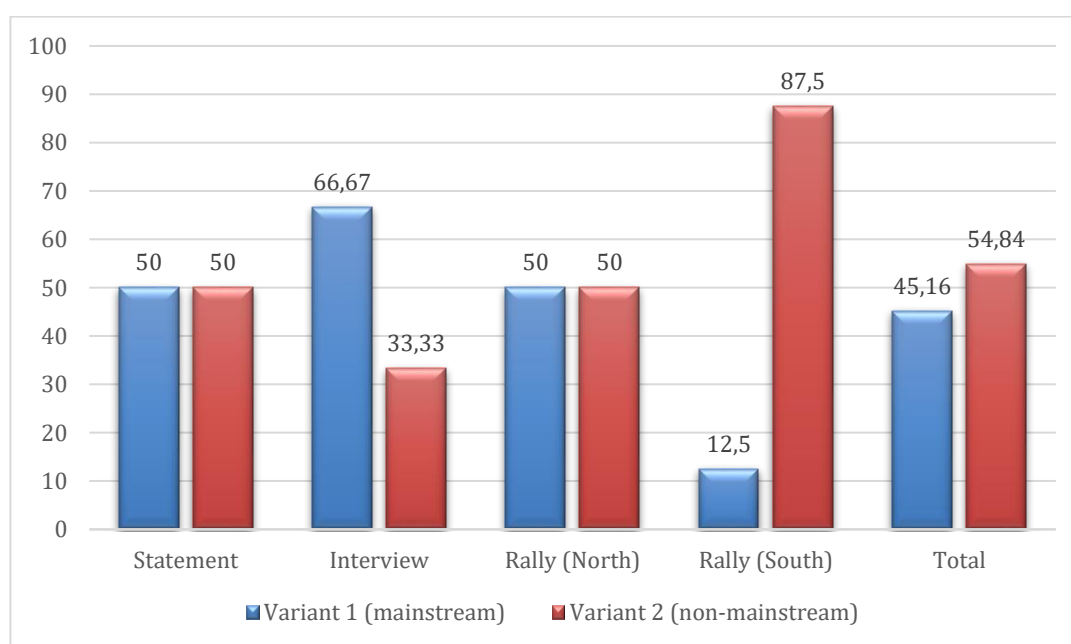


Figure IV.107. Sarah Plain's use of Progressive consonant assimilation across the different contexts.

IV.2.2.d. R-Dropping

The treatment that Sarah Palin makes of R-Dropping also evidences rather stable percentages of use across the contexts studied. As it can be observed in Figure IV.108, variant 1 ((r) = /r/)

is used to a prominent extent in the context of Statement (98.96%), Interview (97.31%), Rally (North) (99.14%) and Rally (South) (100%). Consequently, variant 2 is scarcely used by the informant regardless of the context in which she operates; precisely, Palin obtained a score of 1.04% in the context of Statement, 2.69% in the context of Interview, 0.86% in the context of Rally (North) and 0.00% in the context of Rally (South). Thus, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 6.196$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 1.235$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.501$; $df = 1$).

This sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with the usage that Western and Northern American speakers make of this variable, being the pronunciation of postvocalic /r/ almost universal across these regions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Moreover, it is noteworthy to mention that despite the fact that certain variability may be perceived regarding the usage of this variable, rhotic pronunciations are generally preferred in careful speech than non-rhotic realisations (Wells 1982: 490). This, together with the extensive use that General American speakers make of variant 1 and the subsequent prestige associated with rhotic forms (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008), could explain the high percentages of use obtained by Palin for variant 1 in the contexts of Statement –which took place in St. Paul, Minnesota– and Rally (North) –which took place in Ames, Iowa– and the rather low scores obtained for variant 2 in both contexts.

Similarly, Sarah Palin exhibited a prominent use of rhotic forms in the context of Interview, which took place in New York and consisted in a series of interviews that American journalist Kate Couric made with Sarah Palin in the framework of the 2008 U.S. presidential elections. In addition, it must be mentioned that the format of this speech event was characterised by the realisation of a “sit-down interview” and a “walk-and-talk” outside the headquarters of the U.N. Thus, the high percentage of use for variant 1 could have been motivated by (i) the national –as well as international– scope of this interview, in which a wide

range of political aspects were discussed; (ii) politicians' general tendency of having a greater degree of awareness of the social significance of linguistic variables together with a greater control over mainstream forms (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010); and (iii) the extensive use that General American speakers make of variant 1 (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Thus, it seems that the fact of the interview having place in a geographical area where non-rhotic realisations have traditionally been used by speakers from all social classes did not influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of Sarah Palin to a relevant extent. Precisely, Palin's reluctance to employ non-rhotic realisations may be explained by the association of this variant with the speech of working-class individuals (Gordon 2004b; Labov 1966/2006), being this type of realisation often stigmatised in New York City. As a result, New Yorkers are prone to increase their use of rhotic forms, especially in the case of individuals belonging to high social statuses. Nevertheless, certain variability regarding the usage of rhotic and non-rhotic pronunciations may be observed in New York speech, which evidences certain linguistic insecurity in the treatment of this variable (Collins & Mees 2013). Thus, as already stated, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.501$; $df = 1$).

In addition, Palin's speech in the context of Rally (South) reveals a complete use of the mainstream variant, which clearly contrasts with the linguistic pattern that has traditionally characterised the Lower South, where variant 2 is commonly employed (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Precisely, non-rhotic realisations used to be associated with upper-class Southern Whites and African American speakers (Wells 1982: 542), while variant 1 was stereotypically associated with "northerners and 'crackers' (poor whites)" (Wells 1982: 542). However, Sarah Palin does not use variant 2 at all in this context, which could be explained by the recessive behaviour of non-rhotic forms in Southern regions, being rhotic realisations increasingly used by Southern and Lower Southern speakers (Wells 1982). Thus, as already stated, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Rally (North) and Rally (South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.235$; $df = 1$).

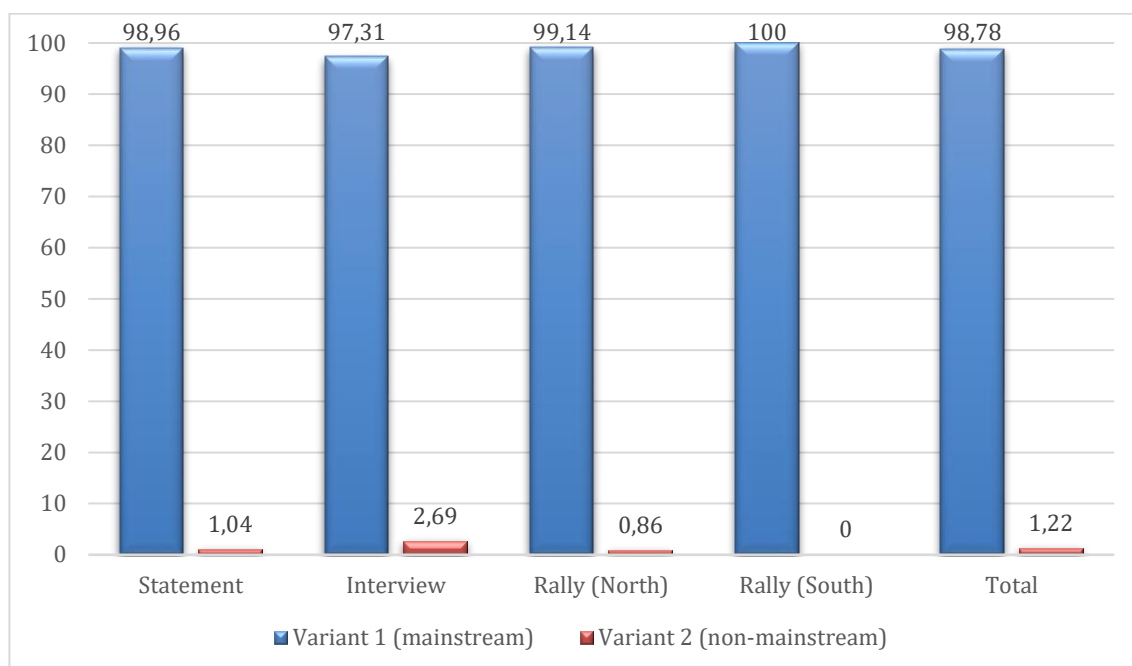


Figure IV.108. Sarah Plain's use of R-Dropping across the different contexts.

Thus, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Sarah Palin when it comes to R-Dropping reveals a stable pattern of use of mainstream variant 1 (98.78%) and a clear reluctance to adopt variant 2 (1.22%). This reluctance becomes of relevance if the contexts of Interview and Rally (South) are considered, as they took place in geographical areas that have been traditionally characterised by certain variability in the usage of postvocalic /r/ and a common use of variant 2. Consequently, it seems that geographical factors do not determine the speech style of Sarah Palin; instead, social factors and mainstream linguistic conventions appear to influence her sociolinguistic behaviour.

IV.2.2.e. T-Voicing

Regarding T-Voicing, even though this variable presents a modest fluctuation across contexts, a prominent mainstream behaviour can be clearly observed in the speech of Sarah Palin. Concerning variant 1 ((t) = /d/), the informant obtained a score of 97.50%, 94.12%, 89.83% and 80.77% in the contexts of Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South), respectively. As for variant 2 ((t) = /t/), Sarah Palin employed a percentage of use of 2.50, 5.88, 10.17 and 19.23 in the contexts of Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South),

respectively. Precisely, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.998$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 1.315$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.541$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, this predominant adherence to mainstream variant 1 may be explained by the common use that General American English speakers make of flapped realisations (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar 2004). In addition, variant 1 is also used by Northern, Southern and New Yorker speakers (Trudgill & Hannah 2008), which might also explain the high percentages of use that the informant exhibits for this variant across the different contexts. Moreover, the prestige acquired by neutralised realisations of the contrast between /t/ and /d/, may play a relevant role in Palin's speech, as variant 1 is frequently associated with the speech of educated Americans (Wells 1982: 250; McDavid 1966; Kretzschmar 2004).

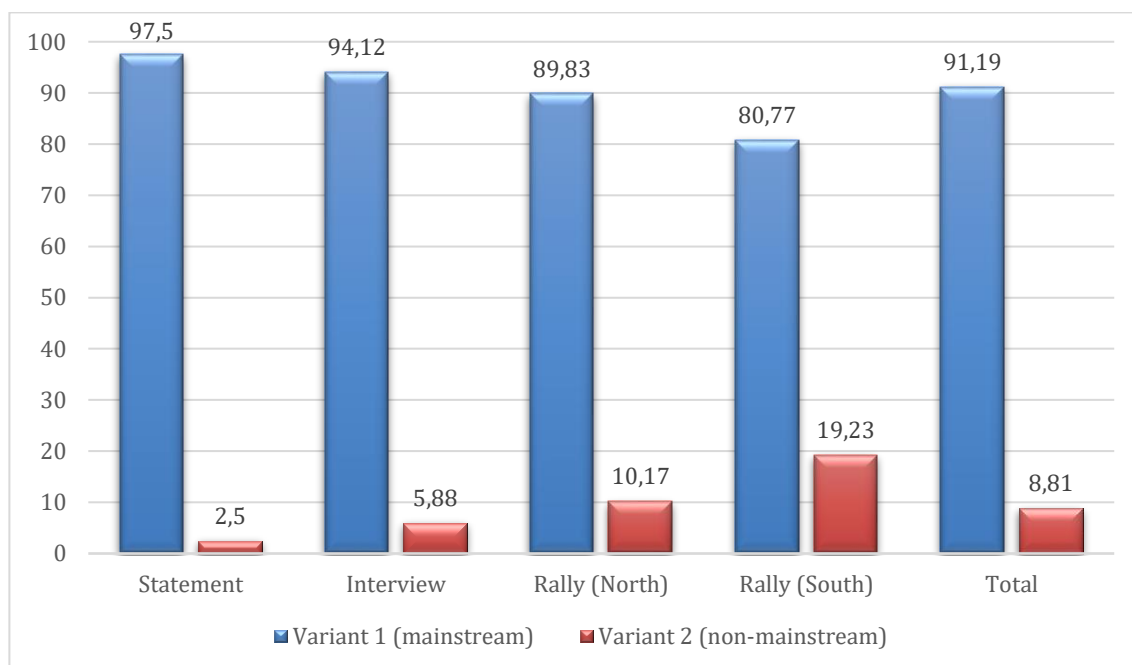


Figure IV.109. Sarah Plain's use of T-Voicing across the different contexts.

Even though certain variation can be observed in Figure IV.109, Palin's overall sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to T-Voicing is characterised by a prominent use of mainstream variant 1 (91.19%) and a subsequent scarce use of non-mainstream variant 2 (8.81%). In fact, certain factors such as the relevant spread of this variable across the different dialect regions of the U.S. and the associations of variant 1 with a prestigious and careful speech –which correlate with the social status and the occupation of the informant– might have influenced the linguistic behaviour of Sarah Palin towards a mainstream realisation of T-Voicing (Wells 1982; McDavid 1966).

IV.2.2.f. Yod-Dropping

When it comes to Yod-Dropping, a rather stable sociolinguistic behaviour may be observed in the scores obtained by Sarah Palin (see Figure IV.110). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts are not statistically significant at $p \geq 0.05$ ($\chi^2 = 5.072$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 0$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.643$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, the informant obtained a score of 100% for variant 1 ((j) = [u:]) in the context of Statement, remaining variant 2 ((j) = [ju:]) unused. This predominant use of [u:] forms may be motivated by the frequency with which this variant is used by General American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). In addition, the formality associated with this speech event might have also motivated a complete use of mainstream variant 1 in Palin's speech. Similar scores were obtained by Sarah Palin in the context of Rally (North), being variant 1 predominantly used over variant 2 (100% versus 0.00%, respectively). As already indicated, this sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with the common use that Western and Northern speakers make of this variant (Trudgill & Hannah 2008).

The same sociolinguistic behaviour is observed in the context of Rally (South), as the informant obtained again a score 100% for variant 1. This predominant use of the mainstream

variant clearly contrasts with the linguistic pattern exhibited by Southern speakers, as they tend to use variant 2 to a relevant extent (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). Hence, Sarah Palin's speech reveals a strong adherence to the mainstream variant and a reluctance to adopt non-mainstream forms that are characteristic of Southern speech. Precisely, this reluctance might be motivated by a recent movement towards the loss of /j/ in Southern regions (Thomas 2004) –which would reduce the difference between the speech style of the informant and that of her of the Southern audience– together with the prestige associated with mainstream variant 1.

On the other hand, the scores obtained by Sarah Palin in the context of Interview are of special relevance, as this speech event took place in New York, a geographical area that is characterised by an extensive use of variant 2 (Wells 1982). Particularly, it could be the case that the common use of this linguistic feature in New York could have fostered a decrease in Palin's percentage of use for variant 1 (80.00%), leading to a subsequent increase of variant 2 realisations (20.00%) in the speech of the informant. Nevertheless, it must be pointed out that the usage that General American speakers make of this variable is not entirely uniform (Wells 1982), since "the palatal glide /j/ remains firmly in place in words like *cure*, *music*, but in other words like *Tuesday*, *coupon*, *neurotic* it is frequently lost" (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). However, despite the decrease observed in the score obtained for variant 1 in the Interview, the predominance of mainstream variant 1 in Sarah Palin's speech in this context is still evident. In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.643$; $df = 1$).

Thus, it can be noticed how the informant does not adjust her sociolinguistic behaviour to a great extent if the context in which she operates is changed; not even in the context of Rally (South), where variant 2 is commonly used (Thomas 2004: 319). Hence, it seems that geographical factors do not influence the treatment that Palin makes of Yod-Dropping. In fact, it appears that the informant only alters her usage of this variable when performing in a conversational context (i.e.: Interview). Consequently, Sarah Palin strictly adheres to mainstream linguistic conventions, predominantly employing mainstream variant 1 (90.70%) over non-mainstream variant 2 (9.30%) regardless of the context.

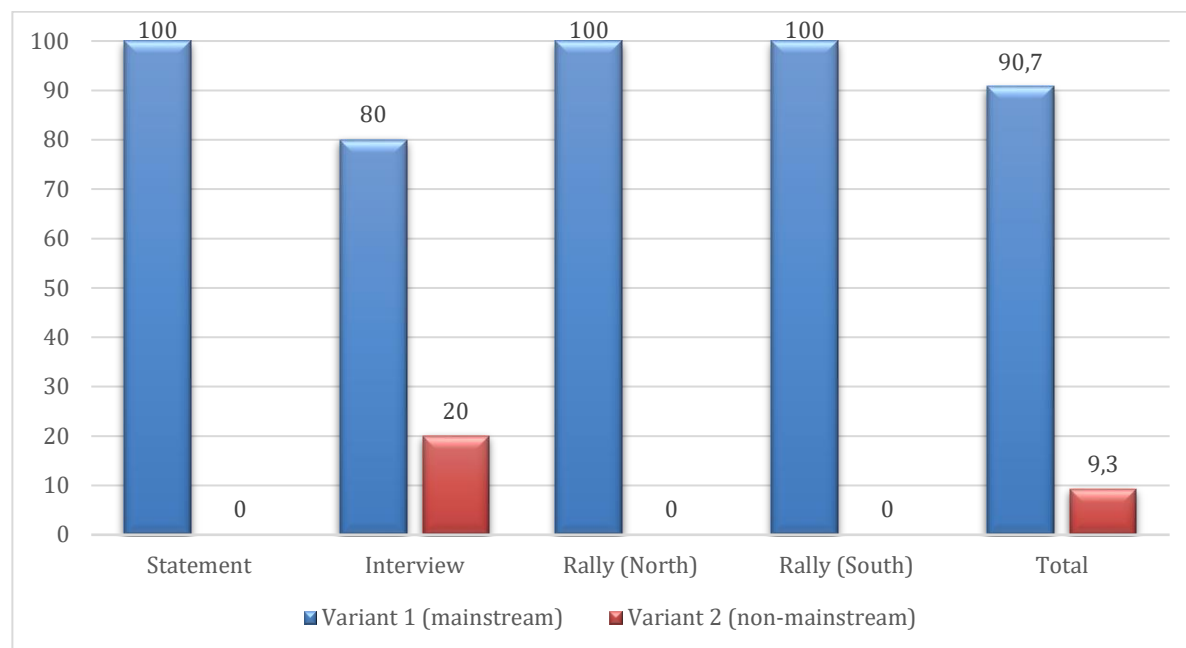


Figure IV.110. Sarah Palin's use of Yod-Dropping across the different contexts.

IV.2.2.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Sarah Palin

On the whole, as it can be observed in Figure IV.111, Sarah Palin exhibits a rather mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour for the variables analysed in the present study. In fact, this informant tends to use mainstream over non-mainstream variants, being Progressive consonant assimilation the only exception, as Palin obtained a general score of 45.16% for mainstream variant 1 and 54.84% for non-mainstream variant 2 of the aforementioned variable.

In contrast, Palin's overall use of the remaining variables evidences her strict adherence to mainstream conventions, being R-Dropping (98.78% for variant 1 versus 1.22% for variant 2) the variable that tends to be pronounced with the highest percentage of mainstream realisations, followed by PRICE vowel (95.58% for variant 1 versus 4.42% for variant 2), PIN-PEN merger (94.48% for variant 1 versus 5.52% for variant 2), T-Voicing (91.19% for variant 1 versus 8.81% for variant 2) and Yod-Dropping (90.70% for variant 1 versus 9.30% for variant 2).

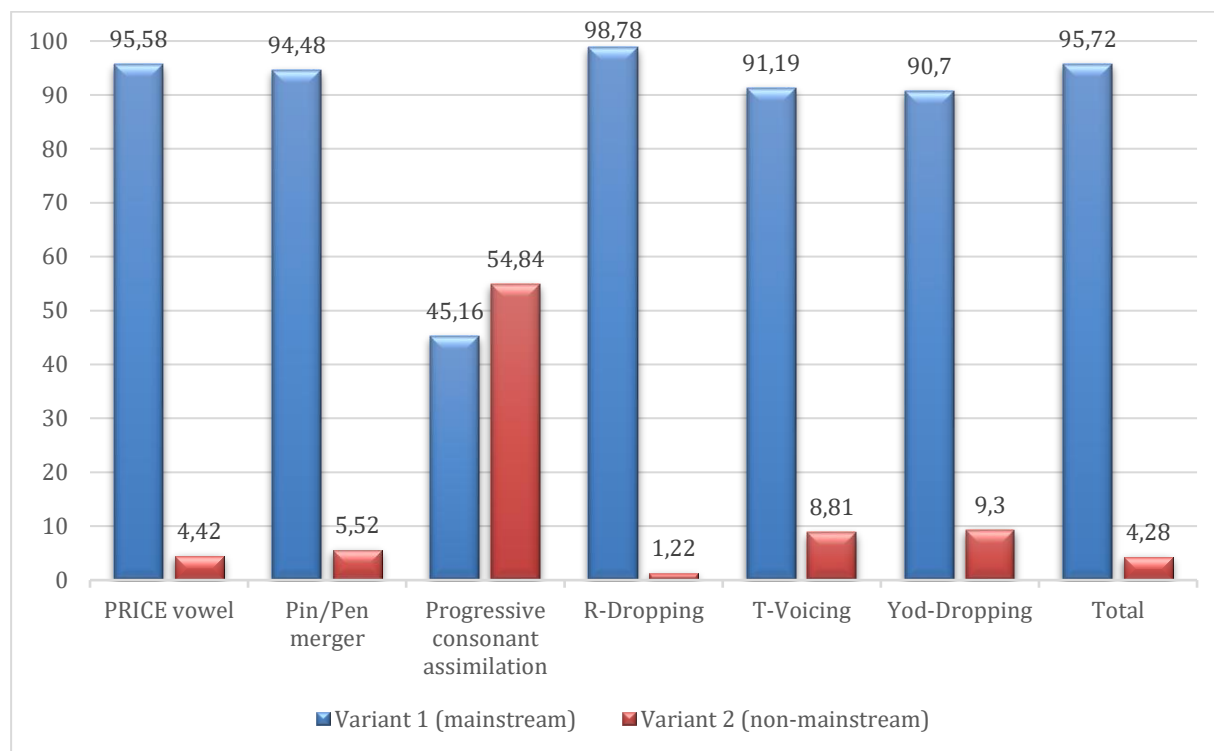


Figure IV.111. Total scores obtained by Sarah Palin.

In terms of variability across contexts, and as it can be observed in Figures IV.112-IV.115, mainstream forms are generally used over non-mainstream realisations, being all contexts characterised by a noticeable mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour. Particularly, certain variability may be observed in the usage that Palin makes of some variables (such as PIN-PEN merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, T-Voicing or Yod-Dropping), while others present a rather stable pattern of use (such as PRICE vowel and R-Dropping). Thus, Sarah Palin employed a total percentage of 97.72 for mainstream forms and a percentage of 2.28 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Statement, 94.43 for mainstream forms and 5.57 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Interview, 96.02 for mainstream forms and 3.98 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (North) and 94.18 for mainstream forms and 5.82 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (South). As previously stated, and as Figures IV.112-IV.115 show, the only variable that is subject to experience a relevant fluctuation across the different contexts in which Palin operates is that of Progressive consonant, which

contrasts with the rather stable and mainstream treatment that she makes of the remaining variables.

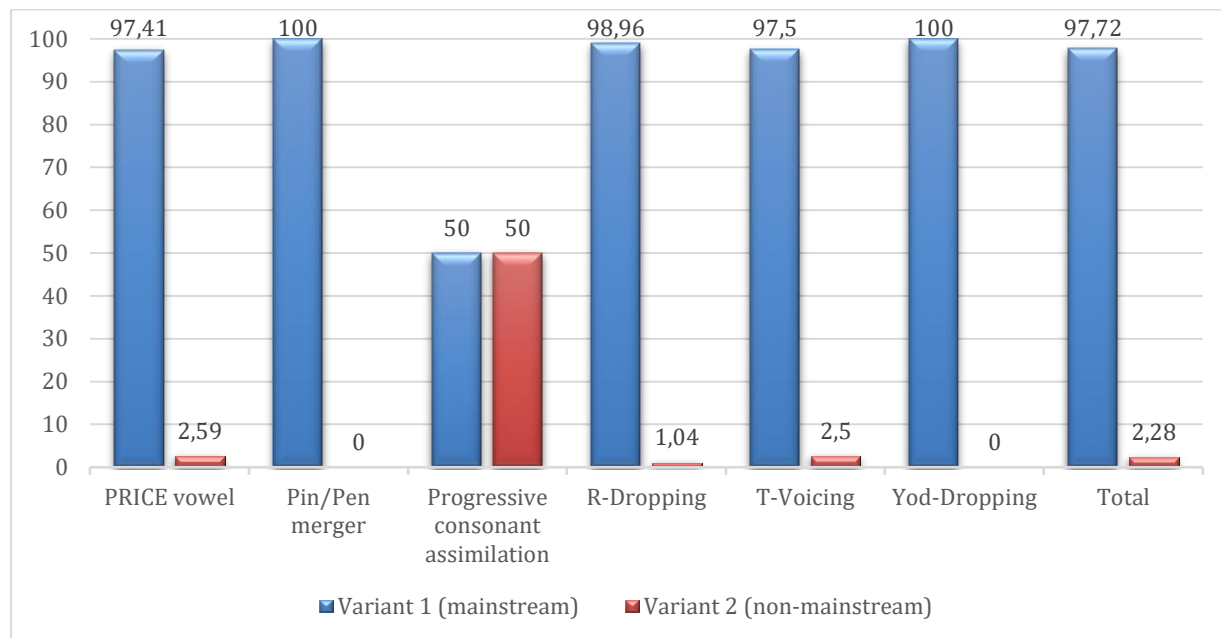


Figure IV.112. Total scores obtained by Sarah Palin in the context of Statement.

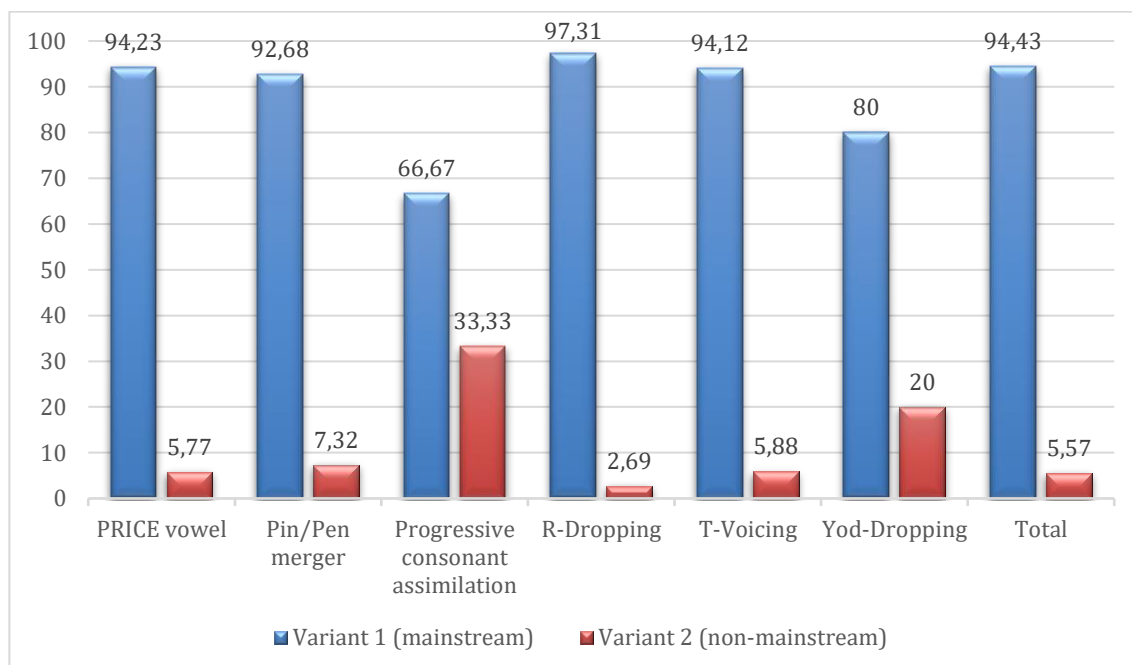


Figure IV.113. Total scores obtained by Sarah Palin in the context of Interview.

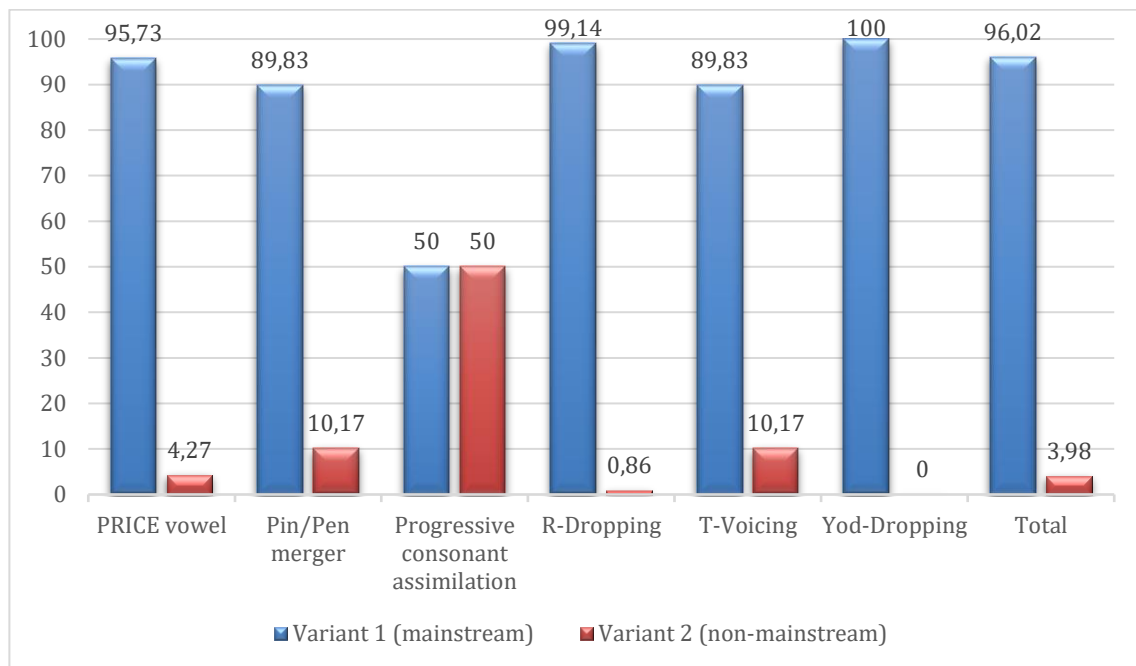


Figure IV.114. Total scores obtained by Sarah Palin in the context of Rally (North).

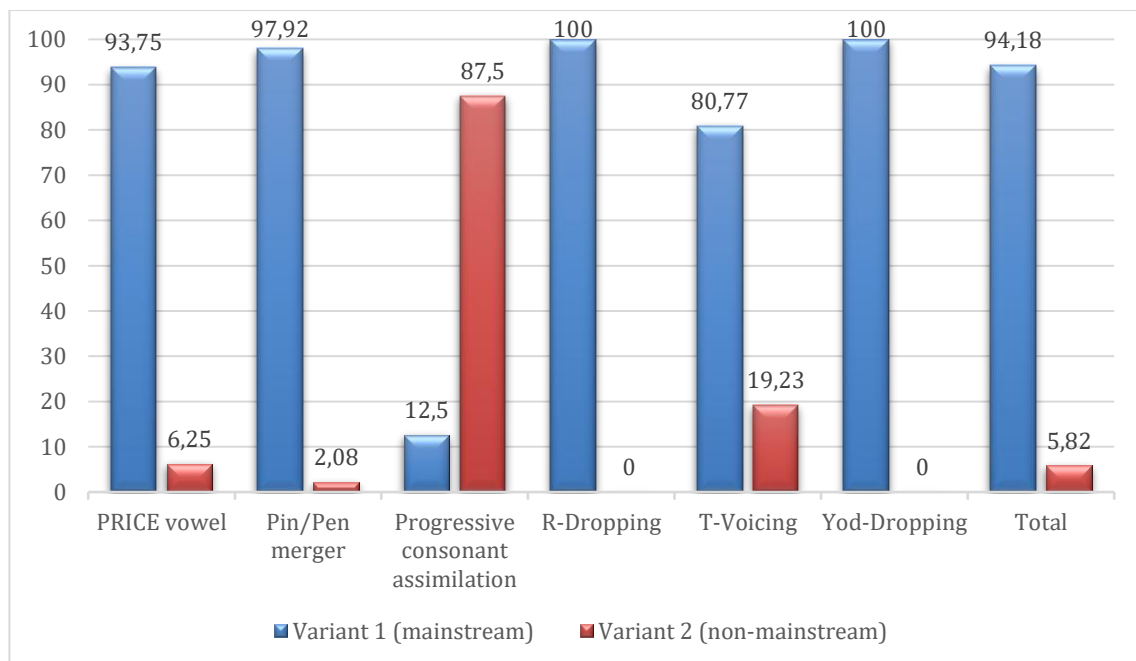


Figure IV.115. Total scores obtained by Sarah Palin in the context of Rally (South).

Hence, despite certain fluctuations in the speech of Sarah Palin, and as it can be observed in Figure IV.116, the sociolinguistic behaviour of this informant is characterised by a prominent use of mainstream forms (95.72%) over non-mainstream realisations (4.28%). In addition, as it has been evidenced, it seems that geographical factors do not condition the sociolinguistic behaviour of Sarah Palin to a great extent, as she is not prone to accommodate her speech style to the different linguistic features that are characteristic of the regions where her speech events take place. In fact, she frequently employs mainstream variant 1, which is commonly used in General American speech. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in her results for the different contexts are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 7.323$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 1.467$; $df = 1$); however, the contrast between Statement and Interview appears to be statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.816$; $df = 1$), but to a rather low degree.

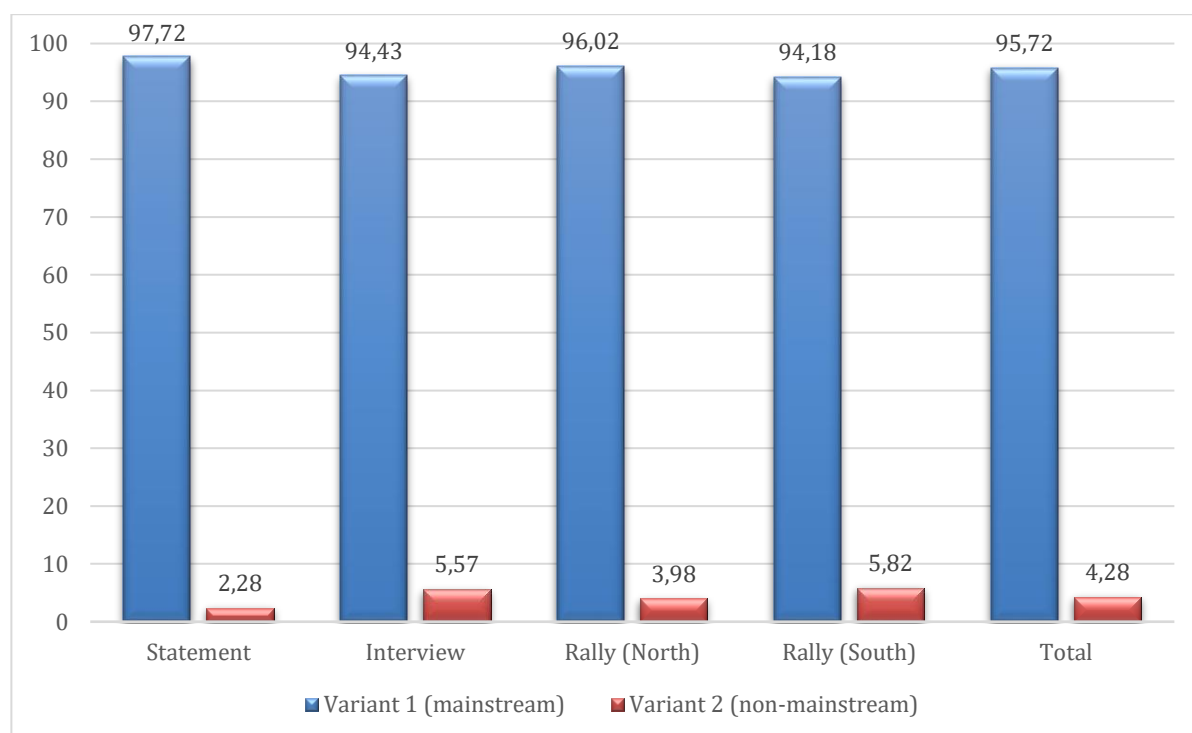


Figure IV.116. Total scores obtained by Sarah Palin per context.

In addition, as observed in Table IV.31 and Figure IV.116, a logistic regression indicates that the context of Statement is the one which most favours the usage of mainstream forms in Sarah Palin's speech, followed by the context of Rally (South). On the contrary, the negative value obtained for the contexts of Rally (South) and Interview indicate that these contexts are disavouring effects in Palin's usage of mainstream forms (see "Intercept" column), being non-mainstream realisations more prone to emerge in the context of Rally (South). However, the probability values of the usage of mainstream forms in the different contexts are rather similar (see "Centered factor weight" column), which means that Palin's sociolinguistic behaviour appears to be quite similar regardless of the contexts in which she operates.

Table IV.31. Logistic regression of the contribution of contextual factors to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by Sarah Palin. Fixed effects analysis: "Context" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.226	1704	0.957	—
Statement	0.227	395	0.977	0.558
Rally (North)	0.036	603	0.96	0.51
Rally (South)	-0.137	275	0.942	0.467
Interview	-0.149	431	0.944	0.464
Misc. 1	N= 1704; df= 2; Intercept= 3.117; Overall proportion= 0.957; Centered input probability= 0.958.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -301.01; AIC= 606.02; AICc= 606.027; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.171; R2 fixed= 0; R2 random= 0.015; R2 total= 0.015.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

Lastly, it must be pointed out that despite the mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited by Sarah Palin across the different political contexts studied, generalised negative opinions towards her speech style are rather frequent among the media and laypeople (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009; Lippi-Green 2012). These unfavourable evaluations may be motivated by the regional variety of American English that Palin speaks, which is specific to the Matanuska-Susitna Valley –where her hometown Wasilla is located–, together with the

emergence of certain regional features in her speech in public appearances (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009). In fact, it has been stated that drawing on accentual and other dialect aspects, the folksy style of the former Governor was strategically designed to foster her authenticity and link certain aspects such as whiteness, rurality and poverty to her conservative beliefs (Lippi-Green 2012: 138). However, a large part of the media, experts and laypeople have negatively evaluated, mocked and ridiculed her accent and pronunciation of certain words (Lippi-Green 2012: 139). Nevertheless, such a relevant use of regional and non-mainstream features has not been observed in the present analysis of Sarah Palin's speech. In fact, this informant evidences a strict adherence to mainstream conventions regardless of the context in which she operates.

IV.2.3. Barack Obama

Table IV.32 show the sociolinguistic behaviour of informant number 3, Barack Obama, for the four political contexts established in section III.2.2.b.ii: Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South). As it can be appreciated, the treatment that Obama makes of almost all variables studied evidences certain degree of variation. In fact, the only variable that reveals a rather stable pattern across the four contexts in which the informant operates is that of PIN-PEN merger.

Table IV.32. American Informant 3: Barack Obama							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Context				
			Statement	Interview	Rally (North)	Rally (South)	Total
PRICE vowel	Variant #1: /aɪ/	%	93.52%	76.61%	74.53%	51.49%	72.88%
		#	101/108	95/124	79/106	69/134	344/472
	Variant #2: [a:]	%	6.48%	23.39%	25.47%	48.51%	27.12%
		#	7/108	29/124	27/106	65/134	128/472
PIN-PEN merger: /ɪ/-/ɛ/	Variant #1: No merging	%	97.87%	92.73%	95.08%	92.59%	94.47%
		#	46/47	51/55	58/61	50/54	205/217
	Variant #2: Merging	%	2.13%	7.27%	4.92%	7.41%	5.53%
		#	1/47	4/55	3/61	4/54	12/217
Progressive consonant assimilation	Variant #1: (nt) = /n/	%	66.67%	100.00%	100.00%	66.67%	90.32%
		#	4/6	7/7	15/15	2/3	28/31
	Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/	%	33.33%	0.00%	0.00%	33.33%	9.68%
		#	2/6	0/7	0/15	1/3	3/31
R-Dropping	Variant #1: (r) = /r/	%	96.42%	98.05%	93.21%	83.65%	93.25%
		#	323/335	302/308	261/280	220/263	1106/1186
	Variant #2: (r) = /ə/	%	3.58%	1.95%	6.79%	16.35%	6.75%
		#	12/335	6/308	19/280	43/263	80/1186
T-Voicing	Variant #1: (t) = /d/	%	91.67%	87.50%	87.88%	93.94%	90.14%
		#	33/36	35/40	29/33	31/33	128/142
	Variant #2: (t) = /t/	%	8.33%	12.50%	12.12%	6.06%	9.86%
		#	3/36	5/40	4/33	2/33	14/142
Yod-Dropping	Variant #1: (j) = [u:]	%	89.29%	78.57%	100.00%	75.00%	85.71%
		#	25/28	11/14	3/3	3/4	42/49
	Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]	%	10.71%	21.43%	0.00%	25.00%	14.29%
		#	3/28	3/14	0/3	1/4	7/49
Total	Variant #1	%	95.00%	91.42%	89.36%	76.37%	88.36%
		#	532/560	501/548	445/498	375/491	1853/2097
	Variant #2	%	5.00%	8.58%	10.64%	23.63%	11.64%
		#	28/560	47/548	53/498	116/491	244/2097

IV.2.3.a. PRICE vowel

As for PRICE vowel, Table IV.32 and Figure IV.117 reveal a steady decrease in the usage levels obtained by Barack Obama for mainstream variant 1 (/aɪ/) across the four contexts. Thus, Obama obtained the highest score for variant 1 in the context of Statement (93.52%), followed by the scores obtained in Interview (76.61%) and Rally (North) (74.53%), being the score obtained in Rally (South) the lowest one out of the four contexts studied (51.49%). Subsequently, a progressive increase in the usage of non-mainstream variant 2 ([a:]) can be observed from the context of Statement (6.48%) to that of Rally South (48.51%), being the

scores obtained for variant 2 in the contexts of Interview (23.39%) and Rally (North) (25.47%) in an intermediate position within this increase. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in Obama's results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 55.308$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant both in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 13.285$; $df = 1$) and between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 12.585$; $df = 1$).

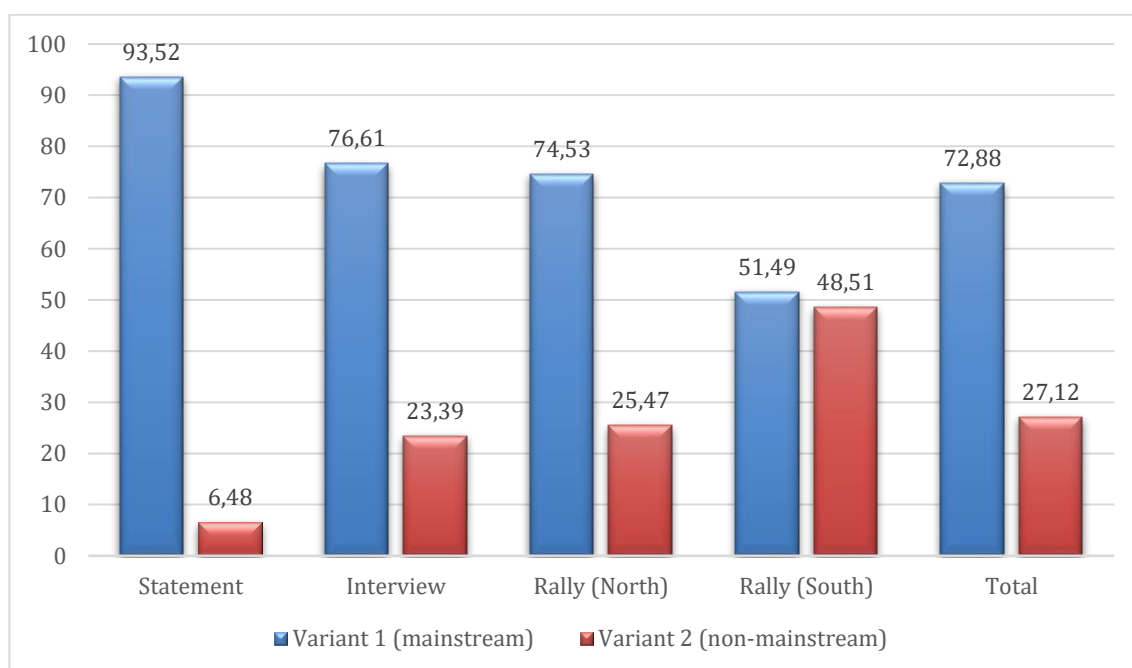


Figure IV.117. Barack Obama's use of PRICE vowel across the different contexts.

On the one hand, the predominant percentage of /aɪ/ forms obtained in the context of Statement may be explained by the common use that General American speakers make of this variant. In fact, this variety of English is the one that enjoys greater prestige in the United States, as it is used on national broadcasting networks (Gramley & Pätzold 2004). Moreover, it is noteworthy to mention that the speech event of this context consisted in a discourse of former president Barack Obama in the political event known as State of the Union, which takes place once a year in the U.S. Congress (Washington D.C.). As already explained in section 538

III.2.2.b.ii, this practice began as a communication between the president and members of Congress, but with the advent of radio and television turned into a communication between the president and U.S. citizens. Particularly, these speech events are characterised by a high degree of formality, and usually address political aspects of national interest as well as achievements and plans of the government for the year ahead (State of the Union 2020a, 2020b). Consequently, due to the national as well as international scope of this speech event, together with the high degree of formality associated with it, a predominant percentage of use of the mainstream variant in Obama's speech style would be expected.

In addition, since the State of the Union speech serves as a tool for the electorate to evaluate the mandate of the president, one of the aims of these discourses might be to convince voters that a proper and efficient mandate has been implemented. Thus, this may serve as another motivation to exhibit a predominant use of variant 1, as persuasive goals are often best accomplished if a "correct" or "educated" speech is used (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). Also, the fact that Obama has been based for long periods of time in Northern as well as North-eastern regions of the U.S. might have influenced the frequency with which he uses diphthongal realisations in this context, since variant 1 is characteristic of Northerners' speech. In addition, further geographical and social aspects may have also influenced the sociolinguistic behaviour of Obama when operating in this context, as variant 2 is rather characteristic of Southern speech and often associated with working-class individuals (Thomas 2004: 311-312; Boberg 2015; Thomas 2004: 312). Hence, due to the negative social evaluations associated with variant 2 and the high degree of formality that characterises this speech event, Obama's sociolinguistic behaviour was rather expected.

On the other hand, the speech event under the label of Interview took place in Washington D.C. As previously indicated, a slight decrease in the percentage obtained for variant 1 and an ensuing increase in the percentage obtained for variant 2 can be observed in the treatment that Obama makes of PRICE vowel in this context. This increase in the usage of variant 2 may be motivated by the conversational format of this context, which could have resulted in a lesser degree of formality and a subsequent decrease in the awareness of the

informant payed to his own speech, fostering in this sense the emergence of non-mainstream realisations (Labov 1966/2006). In addition, the national scope of this interview and its lesser degree of formality could have allowed the informant to diverge to a greater extent from mainstream conventions in an attempt to establish a connection with a wide range of individuals (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), as monophthongal realisations are frequently used by Southern (Trudgill & Hannah 2008) as well as African American speakers (Wells 1982). Nevertheless, the still prevalence of variant 1 may be conditioned by the extensive use that General American speakers make of this variant, the prestige associated with this type of pronunciation (Gramley & Pätzold 2004), and the influence of Northern speech patterns in the sociolinguistic behaviour of the informant. Nevertheless, as already stated, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 12.585$; $df = 1$).

Similar scores were obtained by Obama in the context of Rally (North), which took place in Chicago, Illinois. This speech event was part of his “Moving America Forward” rally for Democratic Party candidates, which was framed within the 2010 midterm elections. Even though the percentage of use obtained for variant 1 is still higher than that obtained for variant 2, another slight decrease can be observed in the usage of the mainstream variant in Obama’s speech style. Thus, while the scores obtained in this context are rather similar to those obtained in the context of Interview, they considerably differ from the percentages obtained in the context of Statement. This decrease in the usage of variant 1 may be motivated by the national scope of this speech event and the lesser degree of formality associated with this context (if compared to that of Statement), which could have allowed the informant to diverge to a greater extent from mainstream conventions in an attempt to establish a connection through linguistic means with a wide range of individuals (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Additional aspects could have also influenced Obama’s sociolinguistic behaviour, since while prestigious and mainstream variant 1 is commonly used by General American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008), variant 2 constitutes a salient characteristic of Southern as well as African American speech (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982; Edwards 2004: 386). Precisely, the common usage that African Americans make

of this variable becomes of special relevance, as this ethnic community tends to use variant 2 over variant 1 regardless of the geographical area in which they are based.

As previously indicated in section III.1.1 (see Figure III.6), even though the largest part of Black or African American individuals are located in South-eastern and Eastern areas of the U.S., a significant percentage of Black or African American inhabitants can be observed in the geographical area of Chicago. This is confirmed by the data displayed in Table IV.33 (second column), which signals Chicago as the second city with the largest number of Black or African Americans in 2010 in the U.S.

Table IV.33. Places with the largest number of Blacks or African Americans in 2010. Source: United States Census Bureau (2010), (<https://www.census.gov/>).

(For information on confidentiality protection, nonsampling error, and definitions, see www.census.gov/prod/cen2010/doc/pl94-171.pdf)

Place ¹	Total population	Black or African American alone or in combination		Black or African American alone		Black or African American in combination	
		Rank	Number	Rank	Number	Rank	Number
New York, NY	8,175,133	1	2,228,145	1	2,088,510	1	139,635
Chicago, IL	2,695,598	2	913,009	2	887,608	3	25,401
Philadelphia, PA	1,526,006	3	686,870	3	661,839	4	25,031
Detroit, MI	713,777	4	601,988	4	590,226	13	11,762
Houston, TX	2,099,451	5	514,217	5	498,466	8	15,751
Memphis, TN	646,889	6	414,928	6	409,687	58	5,241
Baltimore, MD	620,961	7	403,998	7	395,781	29	8,217
Los Angeles, CA	3,792,621	8	402,448	8	365,118	2	37,330
Washington, DC	601,723	9	314,352	9	305,125	22	9,227
Dallas, TX	1,197,816	10	308,087	10	298,993	23	9,094
Columbus, OH	787,033	15	237,077	16	220,241	5	16,836
San Diego, CA	1,307,402	40	104,374	43	87,949	6	16,425
Phoenix, AZ	1,445,632	37	109,544	40	93,608	7	15,936
Indianapolis, IN	829,718	14	240,789	15	226,671	9	14,118
Boston, MA	617,594	21	163,629	23	150,437	10	13,192

¹ Places of 100,000 or more total population. The 2010 Census showed 282 places in the United States with 100,000 or more population. They included 273 incorporated places (including 5 city-county consolidations) and 9 census designated places (CDPs) that were not legally incorporated.

Source: U.S. Census Bureau, 2010 Census Redistricting Data (Public Law 94-171) Summary File, Table P1.

Thus, the large number of Black or African American individuals based in Chicago together with the noticeable presence of this ethnic community in Obama's rally could have influenced Obama's speech towards the production of non-mainstream realisations. Precisely, Figure IV.117 indicates that, whether consciously or unconsciously, Obama increases his usage of non-mainstream variant 2 in this context, which could be understood as an attempt to reinforce his African American identity towards his potential Chicagoan African American audience. Hence, Barack Obama would be strengthening in-group linguistic connections by means of using a particular linguistic feature that is associated with the speech of a specific ethnic community (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985; Edwards 2009). This linguistic

behaviour reflects Obama's inclusive political beliefs, since as he stated in his speech at the 2004 Democratic National Convention "there's not a black America and white America and Latino America and Asian America; there's the United States of America".

On the other hand, Obama's treatment of PRICE vowel in the context of Rally (South) is characterised by a relevant increase in the usage of monophthongal realisations. In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 13.285$; $df = 1$). Particularly, this speech event took place in Selma, Alabama; and just like Hillary Clinton's context of Rally (South), Obama's Southern rally consisted in a commemoration of the forty-second anniversary of the voting rights march that took place in 1965 from Selma to Montgomery. This historical event –also known as "Bloody Sunday"– was fostered by Martin Luther King and was marked by the violence with which state troopers and county sheriffs tried to turn back marchers at the Edmund Pettus Bridge. Just like Clinton's rally, Obama's speech event took place within the framework of the Democratic Party's nomination process for president during the 2008 U.S. presidential campaign. Thus, in order to obtain support from African American voters (Cole & Pellicer 2012: 450), Obama gave a speech at the Brown Chapel AME Church, being the vast majority of the audience African American individuals. In this sense, the fact that the audience of this speech event mainly consisted of Southern African American individuals might have influenced Obama's stark decrease in the usage of mainstream variant 1, as variant 2 is one of the most remarkable stereotypes associated with Southern accents and particularly linked with Southern culture ((Thomas 2004; Boberg 2015). In addition, as previously stated, variant 2 is also commonly used in African American speech (Wells 1982).

Moreover, as it can be observed in Figures IV.118 and IV.119, at the time of Obama's Southern rally, the county of Dallas –where the city of Selma is located– was proportionately more populated by Blacks or African Americans (43.8% - 82.2%) than Whites (15.8% - 55.3%). This is confirmed by Figure IV.120, which shows that this proportion was not altered in 2017; being the percentage of Black or African American citizens larger than that of White individuals in this geographical area.

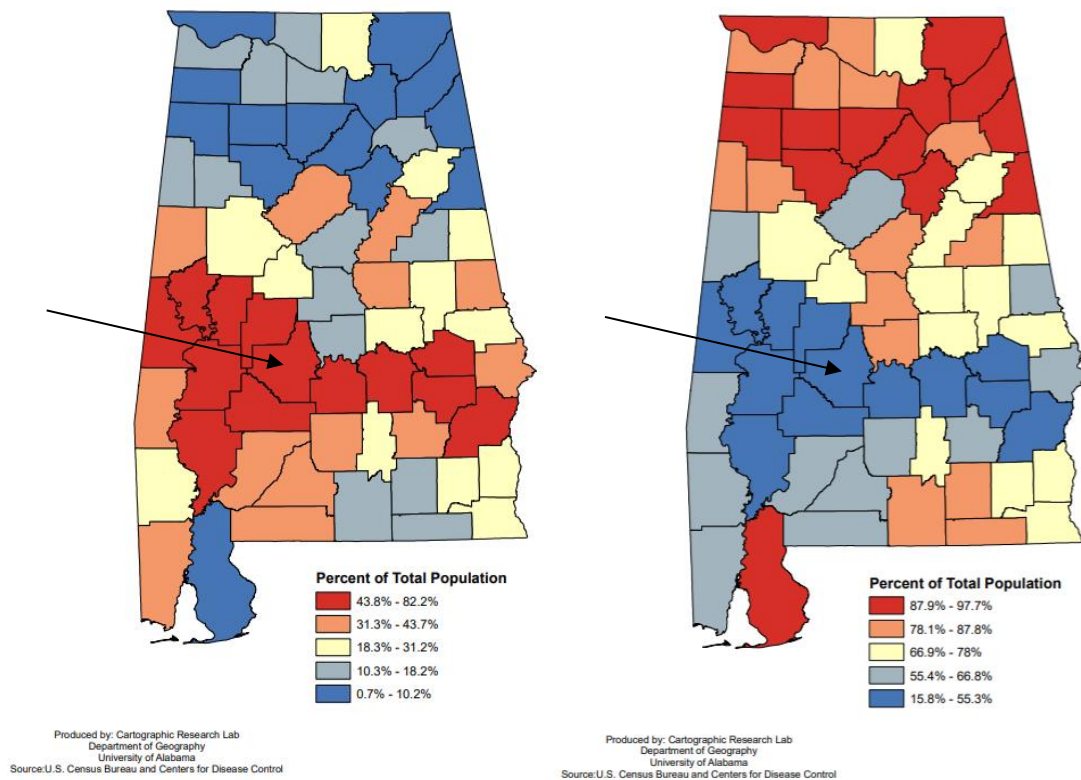


Figure IV.118 and IV.119. Black and White population by County in Alabama in 2008. Source: Alabama Maps (n.d.), (<http://alabamamaps.ua.edu/>).

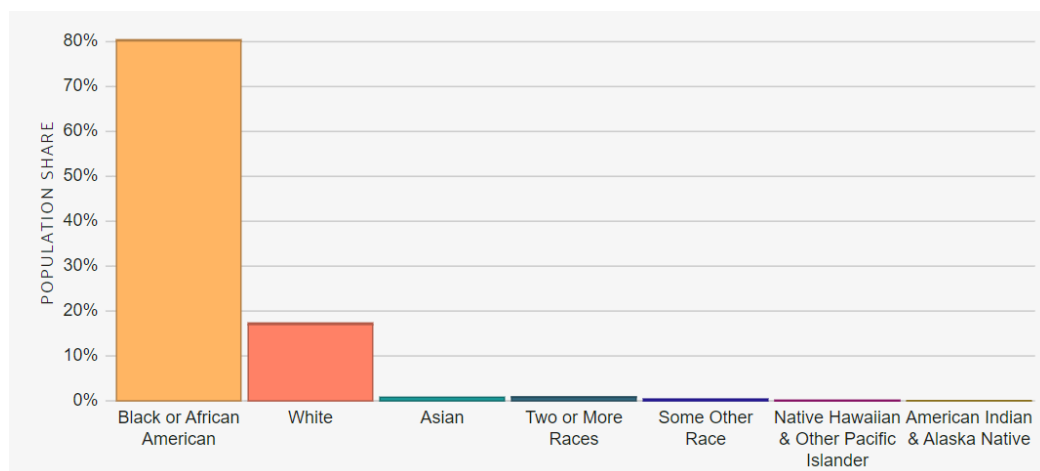


Figure IV.120. Race and ethnicity groups in 2017 in Selma, Alabama. Source: Data USA, (n. d.), (<https://datausa.io/>).

Hence, it could be stated that despite the stigmatisation of variant 2 and its association with the speech of individuals belonging to lower economic classes (Lippi-Green 2012; Wells

1982), Obama alters the usage of this variable to a relevant extent, perhaps under the motivation of his Southern African American audience. This shift in his sociolinguistic behaviour could be regarded as a strategic attempt to accommodate to this audience and project and reinforce his African American identity (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

Consequently, it seems that the geographical area in which Barack Obama operates, the formality associated with the context and the target audience of his speech events influence to a great extent his usage of PRICE vowel. Hence, Table IV.32 and Figure IV.117 clearly reveal how the informant decreases his percentage of use for mainstream variant 1 and subsequently increases the scores obtained for non-mainstream variant 2 across the different contexts. Thus, it can be stated that Obama's sociolinguistic behaviour exhibits a greater degree of versatility when it comes to PRICE vowel, as his treatment of this variable is subject to change if the context in which he operates is also changed. Yet, the overall scores obtained for PRICE vowel reveal a prominent adherence to mainstream forms (72.88%), being non-mainstream variant 2 used to a lesser extent (27.12%) (see Figure IV.117).

IV.2.3.b. PIN-PEN merger

On the contrary, the usage that the informant makes of PIN-PEN merger reveals a relatively stable sociolinguistic pattern across the different contexts studied, being it characterised by a prominent use of mainstream variant 1 regardless of the format and the audience of each speech event (see Figure IV.121). Thus, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in Obama's results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.769$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.311$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.439$; $df = 1$).

Thus, Barack Obama obtained a score of 97.87% in the context of Statement, 92.73% in the context of Interview, 95.08% in the context of Rally (North) and 92.50% in the context

of Rally (South) for variant 1 (No merging). Consequently, variant 2 (Merging) remains constantly but scarcely used in Obama's speech, as he obtained a score of 2.13% in the context of Statement, 7.27% in the context of Interview, 4.92% in the context of Rally (North) and 7.41% in the context of Rally (South).

On the one hand, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Barack Obama in the context of Statement reveals an almost complete use of mainstream variant 1, being the score obtained for this variant the highest one out of the four contexts. This predominant use of unmerged realisations may be motivated by the high degree of formality that characterises this speech event, its national and international scope and the stigmatisation that has been recently associated with merged realisations (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004).

As for context of Interview, even though the informant still exhibits a predominant use of variant 1, a slight decrease in the usage of this variant and a subsequent increase in the usage of variant 2 can be observed. In this respect, it is noteworthy to mention that Obama is bidialectal and that he masters General American and African American speech (Lippi-Green 2012), being variant 2 frequently used by African American speakers but commonly absent from General American speech (Wells 1982; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Edwards 2004). According to Labov (1972a, 1966/2006), this slight increase in the usage of the non-mainstream variant could have been motivated by the fact that individuals' attention to their own speech is often minimised in interviews, which could have resulted in a decrease in Obama's degree of mainstream awareness, subsequently leading to a slight increase of merged realisations. Yet, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.439$; $df = 1$).

Similarly, the context of Rally (North) is characterised by a predominant use of the mainstream variant. This correlates with mainstream conventions, but diverges from the common use that African American individuals make of variant 2 (Wells 1982; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Edwards 2004). Thus, even though a large share of the audience of this rally consisted of African Americans, Obama evidences a clear reluctance to accommodate to this ethnic community by altering his usage of PIN-PEN merger. This reluctance to adopt non-mainstream variant 2 may be motivated by the stigmatisation that is commonly associated

with merged realisations (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004), being variant 1 expected to be used in the speech of educated individuals.

Of special importance are the scores obtained in the context of Rally (South), as even though the informant exhibits the highest usage of variant 2 out of the four contexts studied, variant 1 is still predominantly used. Hence, the fact that Southern as well as African American speakers commonly use variant 2 (Thomas 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982) –which is associated with a strong regional identity (Schneider 2006)–, seems not to influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of the informant to a considerable extent, as no relevant accommodation to the local linguistic feature can be observed in this context. Precisely, Obama's strong adherence to variant 1 may be motivated by the stigmatisation that is commonly associated with variant 2 (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004), which has led Southern speakers to differentiate PIN-PEN words (Thomas 2004: 316). As a result, this traditional Southern feature is starting to experience a receding behaviour, particularly in large urban areas (Schneider 2006: 64; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008). However, it must be mentioned that Southern African American individuals seem to be more conservative than Whites, as this receding behaviour is not that frequent in African American speech. Yet, no relevant accommodation can be found in Obama's speech style when operating in this context, since the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in both Rallies (North-South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.311$; $df = 1$).

As it can be observed in Figure IV.121, PIN-PEN merger is the variable that is subject to a lesser degree of fluctuation across the contexts studied. As a result, the total scores obtained by Obama for this linguistic feature reveal a predominant use of mainstream variant 1 (94.47%), being variant 2 scarcely used in his speech (5.53%). This strict adherence to mainstream conventions may be determined by the stigmatisation associated with variant 2, as it is inversely correlated with education: the speech of individuals with higher education is commonly associated with a higher use of variant 1 (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). Hence, neither geographical nor ethnic factors associated with this variable seem to influence Obama's sociolinguistic behaviour, as no relevant accommodation to non-mainstream variant 2 can be observed in Obama's public political speeches.

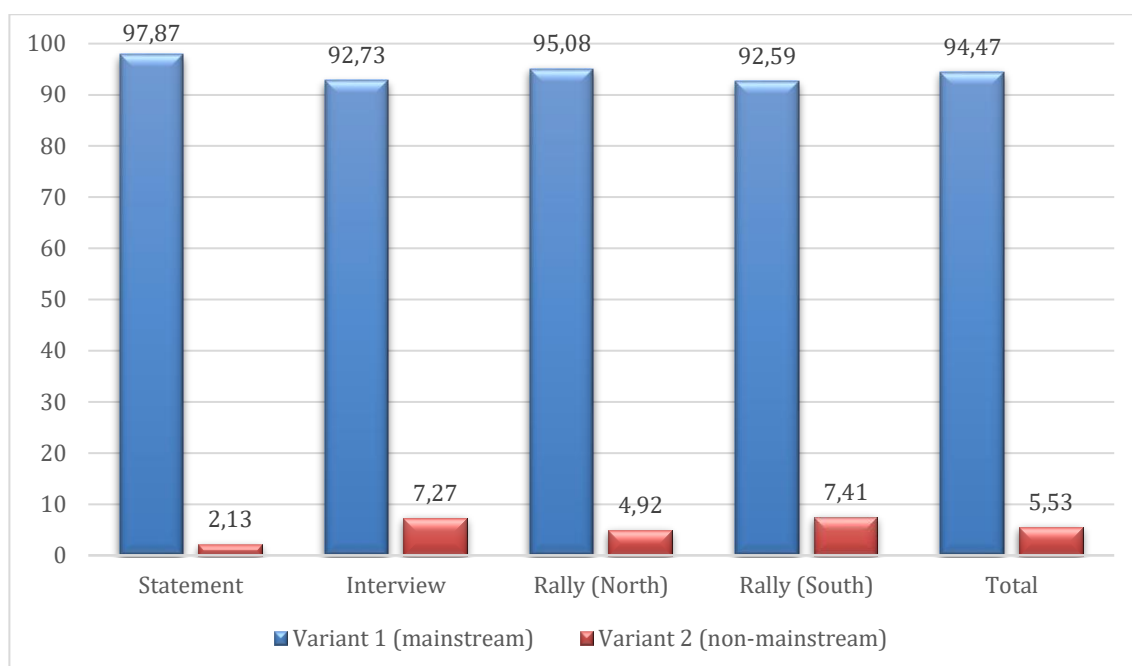


Figure IV.121. Barack Obama's use of PIN-PEN merger across the different contexts.

IV.2.3.c. Progressive consonant assimilation

Another variable that presents certain degree of fluctuation in the speech of Obama is that of Progressive consonant assimilation (see Figure IV.122). Thus, while a prominent use of mainstream variant 1 ((nt) = /n/) is observed in the contexts of Interview and Rally (North) (100% in each context), variant 2 ((nt) = /nt/) is used to a greater extent in the contexts of Statement and Rally (South) (33.33% in each context), which leads to a relevant decrease in the usage of variant 1 (66.67% in each context). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.05$ ($\chi^2 = 8.119$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant –although to a rather low degree– in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.294$; $df = 1$), but not between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.758$; $df = 1$).

As observed in Figure IV.122, the percentages obtained for variant 1 and 2 in the context of Statement –which consisted in the State of the Union speech in the U.S. congress–

may be influenced by the tendency of deleting /t/ from /nt/ in General American speech and the common use that Southern speakers make of variant 1 together with the high frequency with which Northern, and particularly, East-coast speakers, employ of variant 2 (Kretzschmar 2004; Wells 1982). Thus, it could be tentatively stated that the national scope of this speech event might have influenced the sociolinguistic behaviour of Barack Obama, as he uses almost half of realisations with variant 1 and the other half with variant 2. Hence, it becomes of relevance how the informant manages to exhibit a mainstream use of this variable –probably under the influence of the formality associated with this speech event–, while also accommodating to the speech of different geographical areas.

In addition, the same sociolinguistic pattern may be observed in Obama's speech style when operating in Rally (South). It becomes of relevance the fact that despite being variant 1 commonly used in Southern speech (Kretzschmar 2004; Wells 1982), the informant does not increase the usage of this variant, as he employs the same percentages of use as in the context of Statement. Thus, no relevant accommodation is observed in this speech event.

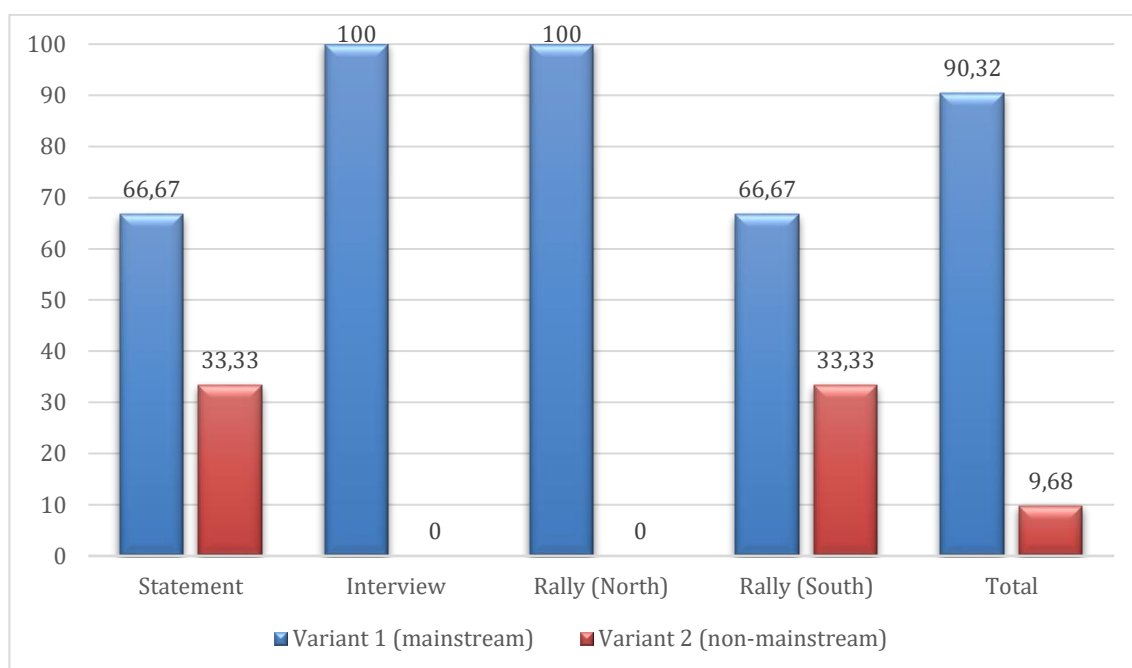


Figure IV.122. Barack Obama's use of Progressive consonant assimilation across the different contexts.

On the other hand, it could be stated that the percentages obtained by Obama in the context of Interview might have also been determined by the common use that General American speakers make of variant 1 (Kretzschmar 2004: 267), remaining variant 2 unused in Obama's speech. Yet, even though variant 1 is frequently used by Southern speakers and variant 2 is common in Northern speech (Wells 1982), it seems that the informant is adhering to mainstream conventions rather than accommodating to a potential Southern audience. Moreover, the national scope of the interview could also be regarded as another conditioning factor affecting Obama's prominent use of variant 1, although the scores obtained in this context are rather different to those obtained in the context of Statement –despite being the latter one of the most formal speech events within the political sphere. Hence, it seems that the format of this context as well as formality and mainstream aspects related with this speech event play a more relevant role in the speech style of Obama than geographical factors associated with this variable. As already indicated, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.758$; $df = 1$).

Similarly, an exact sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the scores obtained in the context of Rally (North), as Obama employed a predominant use of mainstream variant 1, remaining non-mainstream variant 2 unused. In this respect, it can be clearly observed how the informant strongly adheres to mainstream linguistic conventions, as variant 1 is frequently used in General American speech (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). In addition, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though variant 2 is extensively used in Northern regions (Wells 1982), the informant does not attempt to accommodate to this linguistic feature, although he has been based for long periods of time in the North and has had close contact with Northern accents. Also, it must be remarked that even though variant 1 is frequently used by Southern speakers (Wells 1982), this rally took place in Chicago, Illinois, and therefore, it seems unlikely that Obama was increasing his usage of this variant in an attempt to accommodate to a third-party and absent Southern audience; instead, it seems that he is just adhering to mainstream conventions. As already indicated, the differences in frequencies of

use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.294$; $df = 1$).

Thus, it seems that geographical factors do not appear to condition to a relevant extent the speech of Barack Obama when it comes to Progressive consonant assimilation. In fact, it could be tentatively stated that the informant does not accommodate to a great extent to the linguistic variant that is commonly used in the regions where he gives his speeches. Instead, formality and mainstream aspects appear to act as conditioning factors of Obama's speech style. Hence, even though certain fluctuation in the treatment that this informant makes of this linguistic feature can be observed across the different contexts in which he operates, his total scores for Progressive consonant assimilation reveal a strict adherence to mainstream conventions (90.32%), being variant 2 scarcely used (9.68%).

IV.2.3.d. R-Dropping

Regarding R-Dropping, Figure IV.123 reveals a significant fluctuation in the scores obtained by Barack Obama across the different contexts in which he operates. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 55.166$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 12.265$; $df = 1$), but not between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.575$; $df = 1$).

As for the context of Statement, the informant obtained a 96.42% of use for mainstream variant 1 ((r) = /r/), together with a 3.58% of realisations for non-mainstream variant 2 ((r) = /ø/). This predominant use of variant 1 over variant 2 in such a formal context is rather expected if the social status and the occupation of the informant are considered. Precisely, Obama's sociolinguistic behaviour may be motivated by the common use that General American speakers make of this variant together with the general tendency of using rhotic realisations in careful speech, as rhoticity tends to increase with stylistic formality (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982: 490; Thomas 2004). Thus, it seems that the formality

associated with this speech event –State of the Union speech– together with its national scope might have influenced a strong adherence to mainstream conventions in Obama’s speech style. As previously stated, since the State of the Union speech serves as a tool for the electorate to evaluate the mandate of the president, one of the aims of these discourses might be to convince the audience that a proper and efficient mandate has been implemented. Thus, this may serve as another motivation to exhibit a predominant use of variant 1, as persuasive goals are often best accomplished if a “correct” or “educated” speech is used (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44).

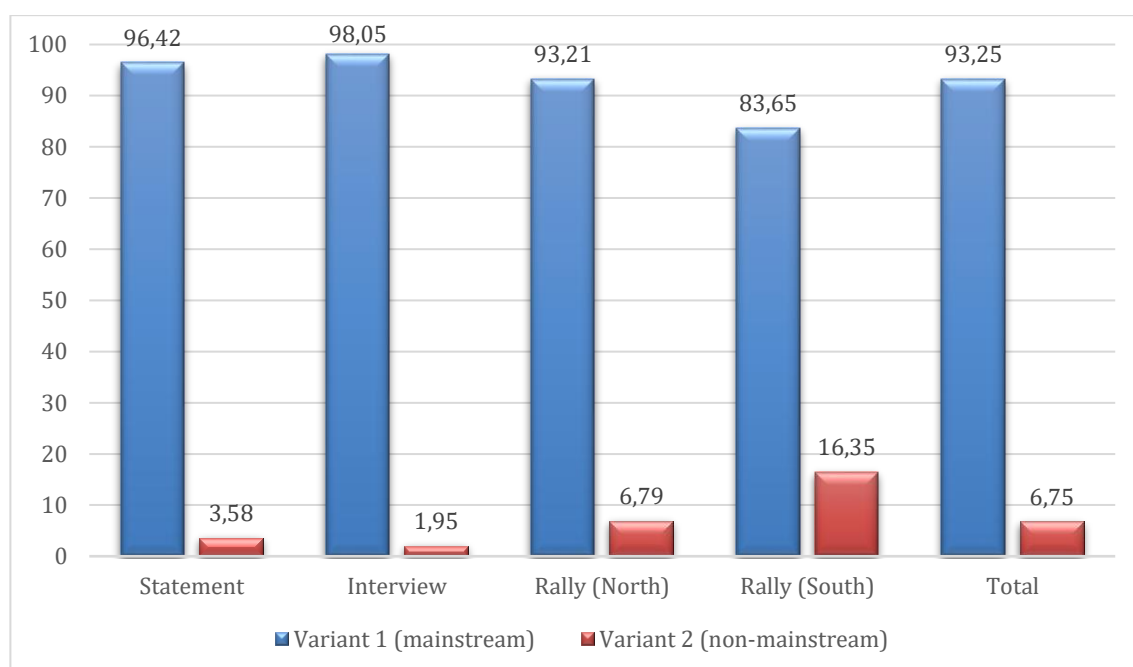


Figure IV.123. Barack Obama’s use of R-Dropping across the different contexts.

A rather similar sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the context of Interview, as the informant obtained 98.05% of realisations for variant 1 and 1.95% of realisations for variant 2. As with the previous context, a predominant use of mainstream variant 1 may be motivated by the national scope of this speech event together with the prestige associated with this variant, as rhotic realisations are commonly used in General American speech (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that since this interview took place several days after Obama’s 2014 State of the Union speech, the interviewer posed

specific questions about the former president's agenda for the year ahead and further issues already addressed by Obama in the State of The Union. As a result, Obama's answers were designed to persuade not only the interviewer but also the electorate, since relevant governmental aspects were discussed. In this respect, and as previously stated, it must be taken into account that "correct" or "educated" speech is preferred by individuals if persuasive goals are pursued (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44), which may also explain Obama's strong adherence to the mainstream variant. Thus, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.575$; $df = 1$).

Regarding the context of Rally (North) –which took place in Chicago, Illinois–, Obama obtained a 93.21% of realisations for variant 1 and a 6.79% of realisations for variant 2. Even though variant 1 is still predominantly used in this context, a slight decrease in the usage of rhotic realisations can be observed if compared with the scores obtained in the contexts of Statement and Interview. This decrease in the usage of the mainstream variant could be influenced by the common use that African American speakers make of variant 2 (Edwards 2004; Wells 1982). In this vein, and as previously indicated in Figure III.6 and Table IV.33, African American individuals represent a large share of the population that is based in Chicago. Consequently, it could be tentatively stated that Obama engaged in a rather moderate accommodation to an African American audience in this context thorough linguistic means in order to project his African American identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Yet, Obama manages to also employ variant 1 to a prominent extent, which is commonly used by Northern speakers.

Nevertheless, if compared to previous contexts, the scores that Obama obtained in the speech event of Rally (South) reveal a clear decrease in his usage of variant 1 and a subsequent increase in his usage of variant 2. This increase of non-rhotic and non-mainstream realisations could be influenced by the common use that Low Southern speakers make of variant 2 (Wells 1982), together with the fact that variant 2 is also frequently used in the speech of African Americans (Edwards 2004). Hence, taking into account that the audience of this speech event mainly consisted of Southern African American individuals, it could be tentatively stated that

the informant altered his usage of this variable aiming at accommodating to his audience in order to reinforce and project his African American identity in an attempt to gain the support of the Southern African American electorate of this geographical area. However, the prevalence of mainstream variant 1 might be influenced by the prestige associated with this variant –as it is employed in General American speech (Wells 1982; Trudgill & Hannah 2008) –, together with the relevant spread that rhotic pronunciations have experienced throughout the South (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006), which are also acquiring significant prestige in this dialectal area. However, Southern African American speakers seem to be more conservative than Southern Whites, as they have proven to be more resistant when it comes to including consonantal /r/ in their speech (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). Yet, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 12.265$; $df = 1$).

Consequently, Obama's general sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to R-Dropping reveals a strong adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions, as variant 1 is predominantly used across the different contexts in which he operates (93.25%), being non-mainstream variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (6.75%). However, noticeable decreases in the usage of mainstream variant 1 can be observed in the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South), which might be explained by a moderate accommodation to an African American audience, being Rally (South) the context in which Obama most alters his treatment of R-Dropping. As a result, it seems that mainstream conventions, formality aspects and ethnic identity factors tend to influence the speech of Barack Obama to a greater extent than the geographical area in which his public political interactions take place.

IV.2.3. e. T-Voicing

As for T-Voicing, no stark differences can be observed in the usage that Barack Obama makes of this variable across the different contexts (see Figure IV.124). In fact, the informant exhibits a predominant use of variant 1 ((t) = /d/) over variant 2 ((t) = /t/). Concerning mainstream variant 1, Barack Obama obtained a score of 91.67% in the context of Statement, 87.50% in the context of Interview, 87.88% in the context of Rally (North), and 93.94% in the context of

Rally (South). Thus, variant 2 is constantly but scarcely used in Obama's speech, as he obtained a score of 8.33% in the context of Statement, 12.50% in the context of Interview, 12.12% in the context of Rally (North) and 6.06% in the context of Rally (South). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts are not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.134$; $df = 3$). In a similar vein, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.733$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.349$; $df = 1$).

This predominance of variant 1 in Obama's speech may be explained by the frequency with which it is used in General American English, which is regarded as the prestigious variety in U.S. (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar 2004). In addition, variant 1 is also used by Northern speakers—as well as by individuals from the South and New York (Trudgill & Hannah 2008)—, which might also explain Obama's adherence to the mainstream realisation, as he has spent long periods of time in the North and his speech has been subsequently influenced by Northern accents. Moreover, the prestige acquired by neutralised realisations of the contrast between /t/ and /d/ may have also influenced Obama's speech style to a relevant extent, as variant 1 tends to be used by educated American speakers (Wells 1982: 250; McDavid 1966; Kretzschmar 2004).

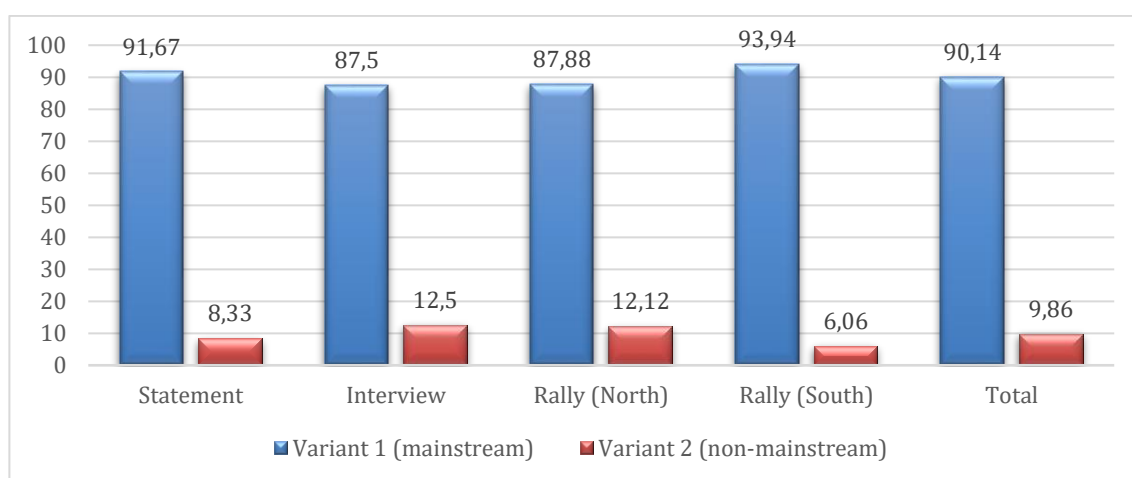


Figure IV.124. Barack Obama's use of T-Voicing across the different contexts.

Thus, certain factors such as the relevant spread that this variable has experienced across different regions of the U.S. (Wells 1982; McDavid 1966), the associations of variant 1 with a prestigious and careful speech and the social status and the occupation of the informant might have influenced the sociolinguistic behaviour of Barack Obama towards a mainstream use of T-Voicing (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010). As a result, Obama's total scores for this linguistic feature reveal a prominent use of variant 1 (90.14%), being variant 2 scarcely used (9.86%).

IV.2.3.f. Yod-Dropping

On the other hand, the fluctuation observed in Obama's usage of Yod-Dropping is rather noticeable (see Figure IV.125). Thus, the extent to which variant 1 ((j) = [u:]) and variant 2 ((j) = [ju:]) may be employed in Obama's speech seems to be subject to change if the context in which this informant operates is also changed. Nevertheless, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in Obama's results for the different contexts are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.75$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.875$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.875$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, the context of Statement is characterised by a predominant use of variant 1 (89.29%) over variant 2 (10.71%), which may be explained by the common use that General American speakers make of mainstream variant 1 (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). However, a slight decrease in the usage of variant 1 (78.57%) and a subsequent increase in the usage of variant 2 (21.43%) can be observed in Obama's speech when operating in the context of Interview. This decrease in the usage of mainstream variant 1 could be motivated by the fact that individuals' attention to their own speech is often minimised in interviews (Labov 1972a, 1966/2006). Thus, influenced by a more relaxed and conversational tone, the informant could have lowered his mainstream awareness, resulting in a more informal speech scattered with variant 2 realisations. Yet, the differences in frequencies of use for both

variants in the contexts of Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.875$; $df = 1$).

On the other hand, a noticeable increase in the realisation of variant 1 (100%) can be observed in Obama's speech when operating in Rally (North), which took place in Chicago, Illinois. This stark increase in the usage of variant 1 may be determined by the Northern audience of that speech event, as this variant is extensively used by speakers from Western and Northern regions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Thus, it could be tentatively stated that the informant strongly adheres to mainstream conventions at the same time that he clearly accommodates to his Northern audience.

On the contrary, Barack Obama lowers again his usage of variant 1 (75.00%) and increases his usage of variant 2 (25.00%) in the context of Rally (South), which took place in Selma, Alabama. Nevertheless, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.875$; $df = 1$). Yet, this increase in the usage of non-mainstream variant 2 correlates with the linguistic pattern exhibited in the speech of Southern individuals, as [j] realisations have persisted in Southern regions longer than in other areas of the U.S. (Thomas 2004: 319; Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). Hence, it can be tentatively stated that although not in a statistically significant extent, the informant alters his usage of Yod-Dropping in this speech event, perhaps in an attempt to strengthen in-group linguistic connections and peer-group solidarity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). However, even though a relevant increase in the usage of variant 2 can be observed in this context, the scores obtained for variant 1 still exhibit a noticeable mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour. As previously indicated, the prevalence of variant 1 in this context may be motivated by mainstream conventions, which are also spreading throughout Southern areas, as Southern speakers are beginning to drop /j/ to a greater extent (Thomas 2004: 319). As a result, certain variability may be observed in the usage that Southerners make of Yod-Dropping. Thus, these factors could have diminished Obama's purpose of altering his speech.

Hence, it could be tentatively stated that even though a relevant mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the scores obtained by Barack Obama in the four

contexts studied, Yod-Dropping is subject to fluctuate depending on the context in which this informant operates. This fluctuation may be motivated by mainstream conventions as well as regional aspects associated with this variable, as it is evidenced by the scores obtained in the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South). Precisely, the usage that General American speakers make of this variable is not entirely uniform (Wells 1982), since “the palatal glide /j/ remains firmly in place in words like *cure*, *music*, but in other words like *Tuesday*, *coupon*, *neurotic* it is frequently lost” (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). In addition, the fact that schoolteachers often prescribe variant 1 (Wells 1982) increases the variability with which speakers employ this linguistic feature. Nevertheless, if the total scores obtained for this variable are considered, it seems that Obama predominantly adheres to mainstream variant 1 (85.71%) in his public speeches, being variant 2 used to a lesser extent (14.29%).

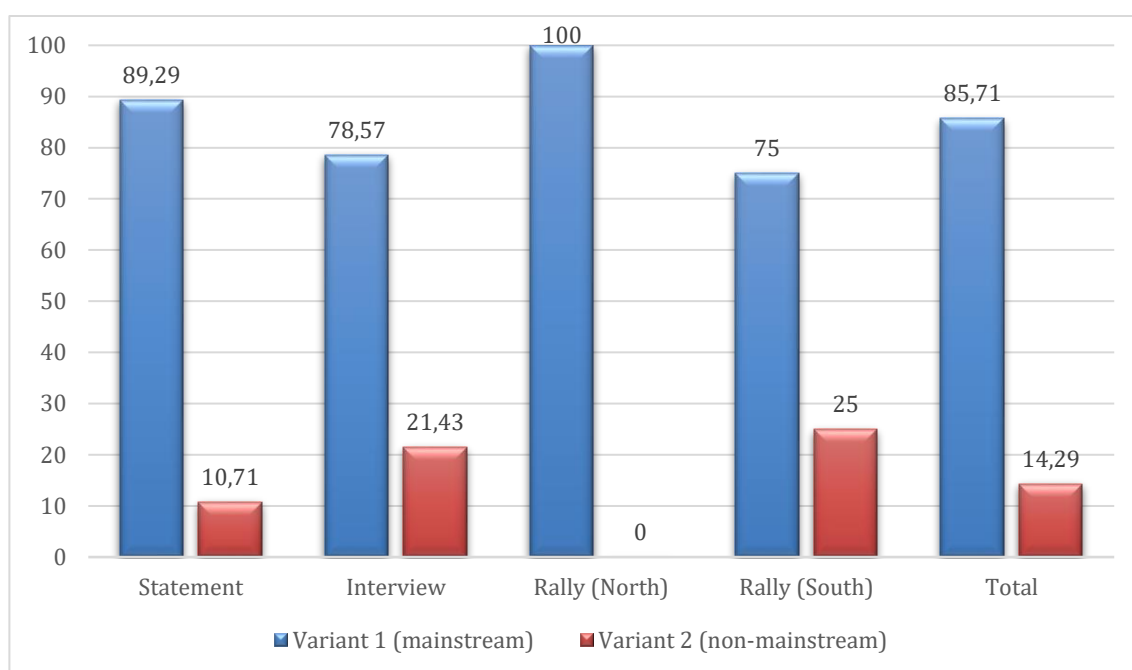


Figure IV.125. Barack Obama's use of Yod-Dropping across the different contexts.

IV.2.3.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Barack Obama

Overall, and as it can be observed in Figure IV.126, Barack Obama tends to exhibit a general mainstream behaviour. Nevertheless, certain variability may be observed in the treatment that this informant makes of some of the variables studied. In this respect, those linguistic

features that are subject to experience a relevant degree of fluctuation across contexts are those of PRICE vowel (72.88% for variant 1 versus 27.12% for variant 2) and Yod-Dropping (85.71% for variant 1 versus 14.29% for variant 2), followed by Progressive consonant assimilation (90.32% for variant 1 versus 9.68% for variant 2) and R-Dropping (93.25% for variant 1 versus 6.75% for variant 2). On the other hand, Obama tends to exhibit a stable use of PIN-PEN merger (94.47% for variant 1 versus 5.53% for variant 2) and T-Voicing (90.14% for variant 1 versus 9.86% for variant 2).

In terms of variability across contexts, and as it can be observed in Figures IV.127-IV.130, mainstream forms are generally used over non-mainstream realisations, being all contexts characterised by a noticeable mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour. Thus, Barack Obama employed a total percentage of 95.00 for mainstream forms and a percentage of 5.00 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Statement, 91.42 for mainstream forms and 8.58 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Interview, 89.36 for mainstream forms and 10.64 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (North) and 76.37 for mainstream forms and 23.63 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (South).

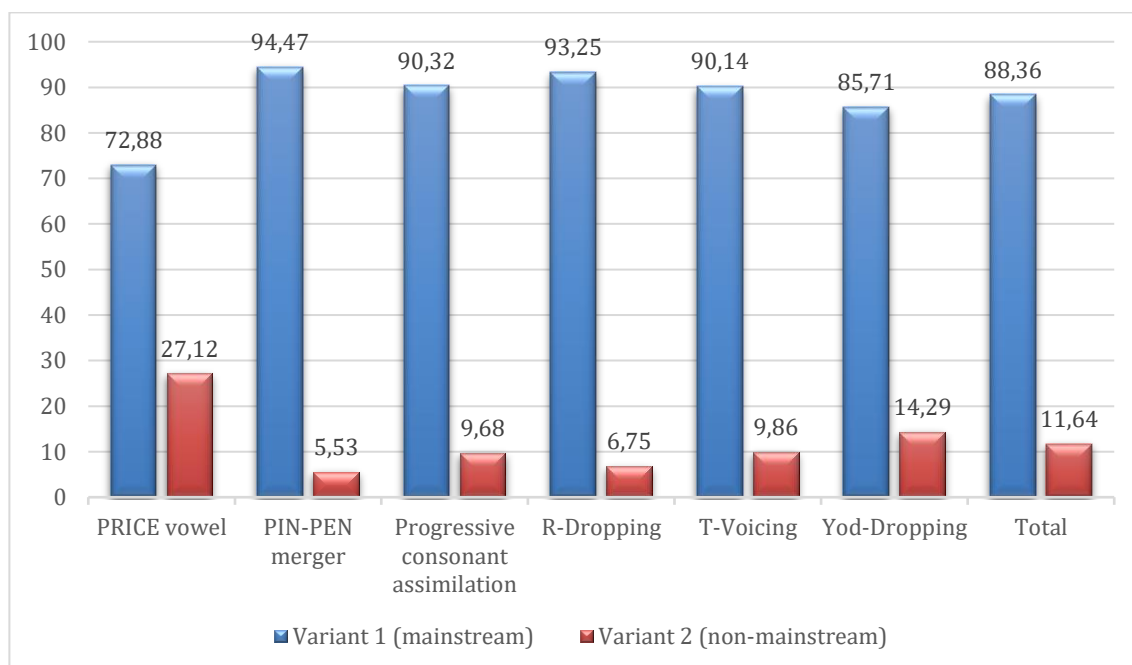


Figure IV.126. Total scores obtained by Barack Obama.

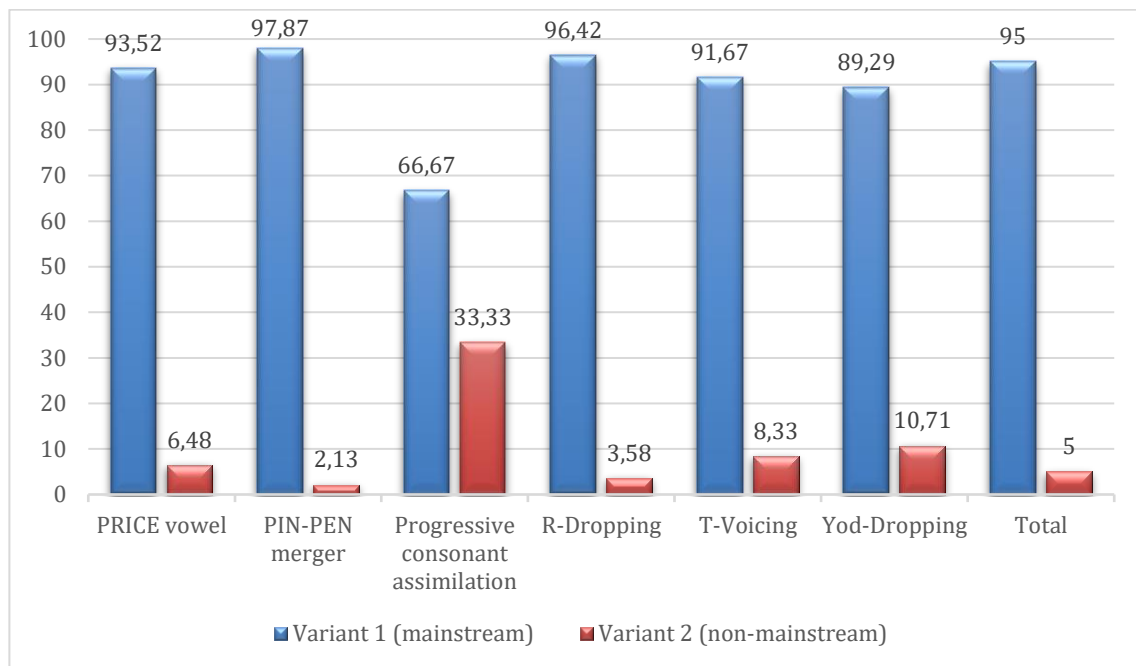


Figure IV.127. Total scores obtained by Barack Obama in the context of Statement.

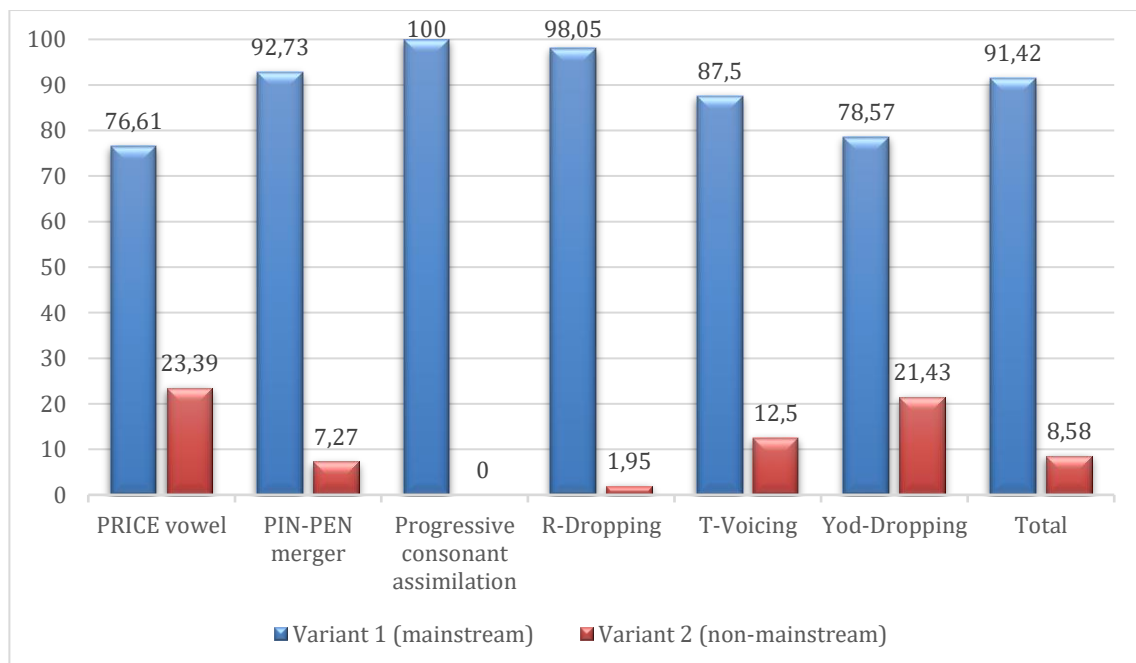


Figure IV.128. Total scores obtained by Barack Obama in the context of Interview.

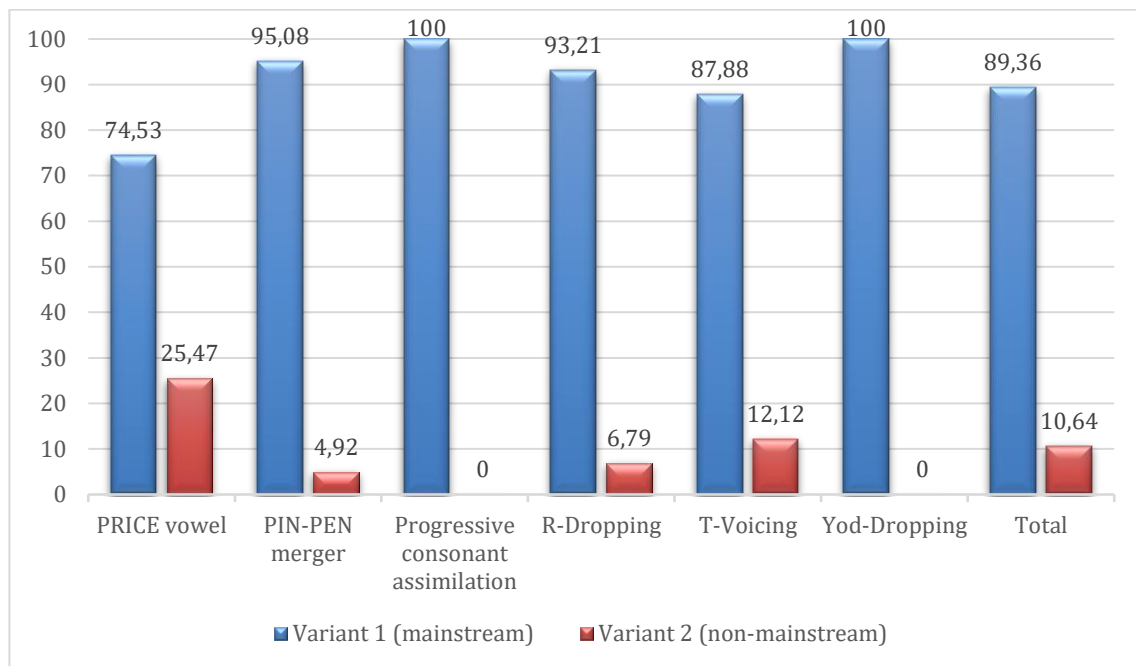


Figure IV.129. Total scores obtained by Barack Obama in the context of Rally (North).

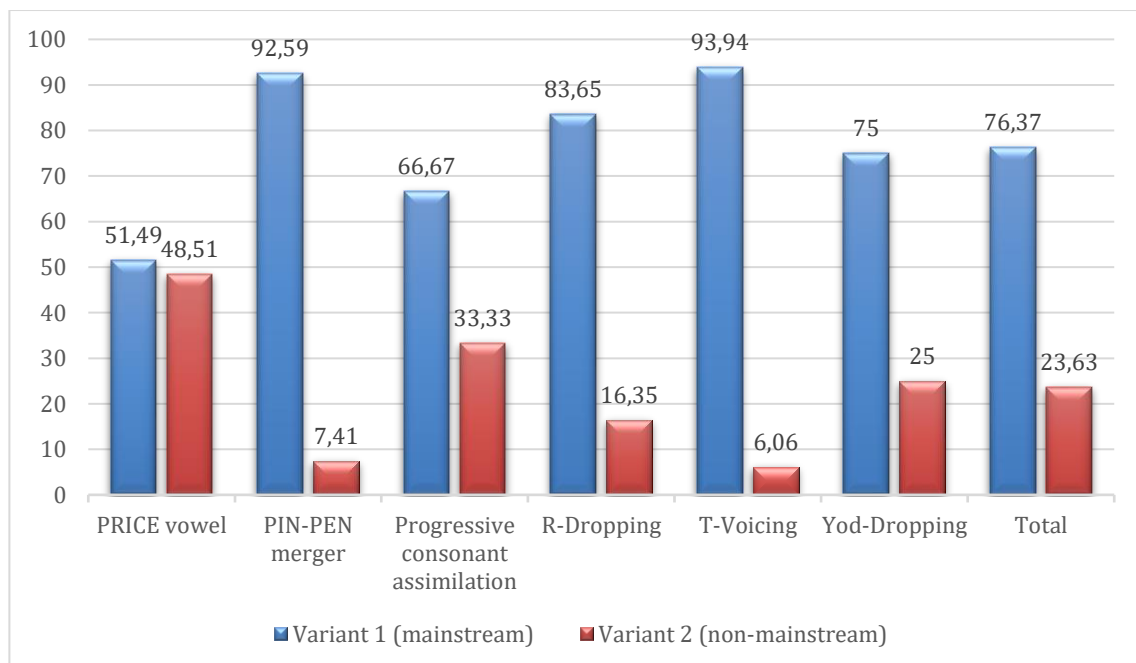


Figure IV.130. Total scores obtained by Barack Obama in the context of Rally (South).

Thus, as it can be observed in Figures IV.127-IV.130, certain variables are subject to a greater degree of fluctuation than others in Obama's speech across the different contexts in which he operates. Hence, as previously stated, the scores obtained for PRICE vowel, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping and T-Voicing exhibit a greater degree of variability than those obtained for PIN-PEN merger, being Yod-Dropping the variable that experiences a greater degree of fluctuation.

Moreover, Obama not only accommodates to certain variants motivated by formal, social, geographical, mainstream, prestigious or occupational factors, but he also accommodates to the audience under the influence of ethnicity aspects. In this respect, the informant tends to alter his use of PRICE vowel and R-Dropping when he is performing in front of large shares of African American audiences. As a result, Obama's style shifts, particularly those under the influence of ethnicity factors, have been praised as well as criticised (Lippi-Green 2012). On the one hand, this sociolinguistic behaviour contrasts with several expectations, since due to Obama's occupation and social status, a greater awareness of the social significance of certain linguistic features and a subsequent mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour seems to be expected on the part of the audience (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010). This goes in line with the fact that individuals from different social status tend to increase their usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b). In this respect, Democratic Senator Harry Reid criticised Obama's occasional use of certain African American linguistic features, and he asserted that Obama had "no Negro dialect, unless he wanted to have one" (Preston 2010). Similarly, Daily Caller Editor-in-Chief Tucker Carlson stated: "let me just be totally clear for anyone who just watched it and who has seen Obama speak in public over the last ten years will note, this accent is absurd" (Poor 2012); "this is not the way Obama talks — at least it's not the way he's talked in the dozens, the scores of speeches I've watched him give, or public appearances I've seen him make. This is a put-on" (Poor 2012). Nevertheless, Obama has acknowledged himself that he is bidialectal, which makes it natural for him to switch back and forth between General American English and African American English, a highly stigmatised variety of English in certain contexts (Lippi-Green 2012: 143). In this respect, Obama stated in his biography that:

“I learned to slip back and forth between my Black and white worlds, understanding that each possessed its own language and customs and structures of meaning” (Obama 2004: 82, cited in Lippi-Green 2012: 144). Yet, Obama’s strategic deviations from mainstream conventions, and accommodations to the audience by means of employing non-mainstream forms – whether under the motivation of geographic, formal or ethnic aspects–, tend to arise negative opinions among the electorate.

Nevertheless, despite certain fluctuations in specific contexts (see Figure IV.131), the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Barack Obama reveals a strong adherence to mainstream conventions (88.36%), being non-mainstream variants used to a much lesser extent (11.64%). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 98.094$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant both in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 29.413$; $df = 1$) and between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.614$; $df = 1$). In fact, a steady decrease in the usage of mainstream forms can be observed across the different contexts, being that of Statement the one with the highest degree of mainstream realisations –which correlates with the formality of this speech event–, while Rally (South) is the context in which the lowest number of mainstream forms were employed –being the audience of this speech event mainly composed of African American individuals. Yet, Obama’s general sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with formality aspects –since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b)– as well as with those strategies normally used by politicians operating in the public sphere in which mainstream variants are predominantly employed since persuasive aims are usually best accomplished if a “correct” and “educated” speech is used (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44).

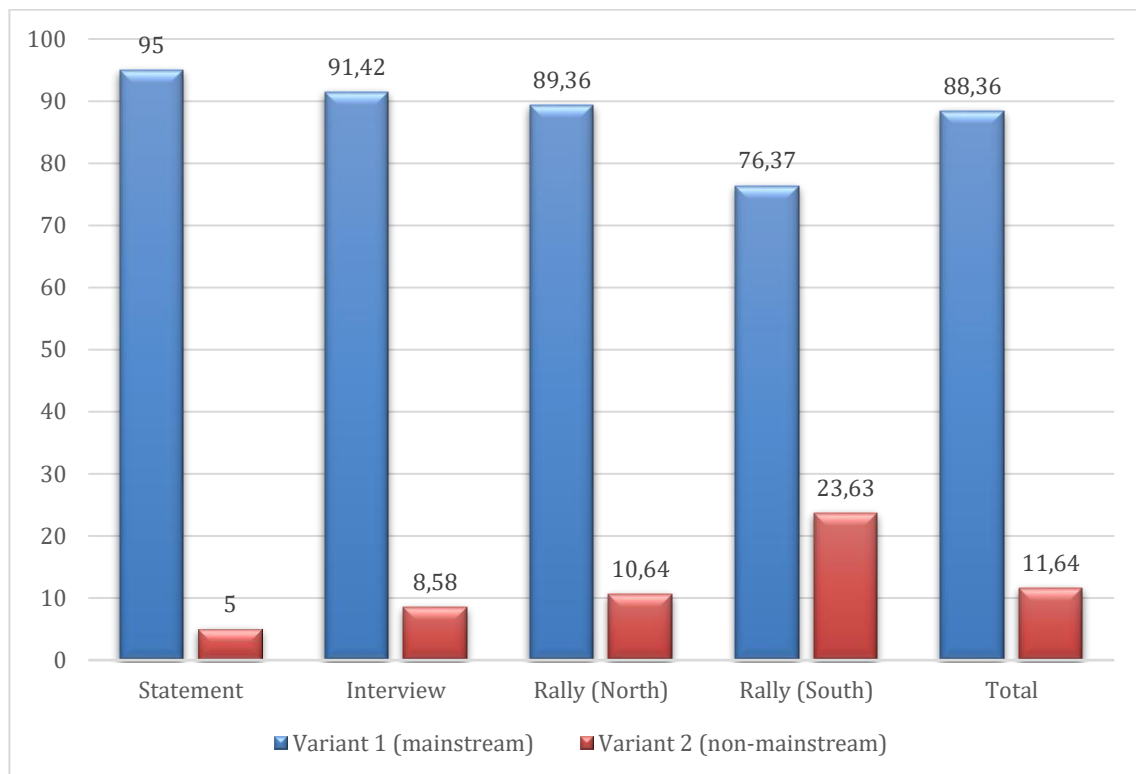


Figure IV.131. Total scores obtained by Barack per context.

Lastly, as observed in Table IV.34 and Figure IV.131, a logistic regression indicates that the context of Statement is the one which most favours the usage of mainstream forms in Barack Obama's speech, followed by the context of Interview. On the contrary, the negative values obtained for the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South) indicate that these contexts are disavouring effects in Obama's usage of mainstream forms (see "Intercept" column). This is also evidenced by the probability values obtained for the "Centered factor weight", which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in the context of Statement, while non-mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Rally (South).

Table IV.34. Logistic regression of the contribution of contextual factors to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by Barack Obama. Fixed effects analysis: "Context" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.627	2097	0.884	—
Statement	0.729	560	0.95	0.676
Interview	0.206	548	0.914	0.553
Rally (North)	-0.019	498	0.894	0.497
Rally (South)	-0.948	491	0.764	0.281
Misc. 1	N= 2097; df= 2; Intercept= 2.148; Overall proportion= 0.884; Centered input probability= 0.896.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -716.715; AIC= 1437.431; AICc= 1437.436; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.345; R2 fixed= 0; R2 random= 0.107; R2 total= 0.107.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

IV.2.4. Donald Trump

Table IV.35 shows the sociolinguistic behaviour of American informant number 4, Donald Trump, for the four political contexts established in section III.2.2.b.ii: Statement, Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South). Just as in the case of Barack Obama, certain variability can be observed in the usage that this informant makes of the linguistic variables studied.

Table IV.35. American Informant 4: Donald Trump							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Context				
			Statement	Interview	Rally (North)	Rally (South)	Total
PRICE vowel	Variant #1: /aɪ/	%	97.80%	89.77%	88.62%	80.95%	88.03%
		#	89/91	193/215	109/123	153/189	544/618
	Variant #2: [a:]	%	2.20%	10.23%	11.38%	19.05%	11.97%
		#	2/91	22/215	14/123	36/189	74/618
PIN-PEN merger: /ɪ/-/ɛ/	Variant #1: No merging	%	100.00%	90.79%	91.84%	88.52%	91.82%
		#	34/34	69/76	45/49	54/61	202/220
	Variant #2: Merging	%	0.00%	9.21%	8.16%	11.48%	8.18%
		#	0/34	7/76	4/49	7/61	18/220
Progressive consonant assimilation	Variant #1: (nt) = /n/	%	45.45%	41.18%	63.64%	60.00%	50.00%
		#	5/11	7/17	7/11	3/5	22/44
	Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/	%	54.55%	58.82%	36.36%	40.00%	50.00%
		#	6/11	10/17	4/11	2/5	22/44
R-Dropping	Variant #1: (r) = /r/	%	94.55%	79.92%	74.30%	67.35%	78.83%
		#	243/257	199/249	159/214	196/291	797/1011
	Variant #2: (r) = /ø/	%	5.45%	20.08%	25.70%	32.65%	21.17%
		#	14/257	50/249	55/214	95/291	214/1011
T-Voicing	Variant #1: (t) = /d/	%	94.59%	97.06%	94.44%	89.74%	93.84%
		#	35/37	33/34	34/36	35/39	137/146
	Variant #2: (t) = /t/	%	5.41%	2.94%	5.56%	10.26%	6.16%
		#	2/37	1/34	2/36	4/39	9/146
Yod-Dropping	Variant #1: (j) = [u:]	%	83.33%	40.00%	68.75%	60.00%	67.35%
		#	15/18	4/10	11/16	3/5	33/49
	Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]	%	16.67%	60.00%	31.25%	40.00%	32.65%
		#	3/18	6/10	5/16	2/5	16/49
Total	Variant #1	%	93.97%	84.03%	81.29%	75.25%	83.09%
		#	421/448	505/601	365/449	444/590	1735/2088
	Variant #2	%	6.03%	15.97%	18.71%	24.75%	16.91%
		#	27/448	96/601	84/449	146/590	353/2088

IV.2.4.a. PRICE vowel

Concerning PRICE vowel, even though Donald Trump exhibits a predominant use of variant 1 (/aɪ/) over variant 2 ([a:]), a slight but steady decrease in the percentage of use for diphthongal forms and a subsequent increase in the usage of monophthongal realisations can be observed across the different contexts studied (see Figure IV.132). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 17.883$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the

differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant in the contrast between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.711$; $df = 1$), but not between Rallies (North-South) ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 3.253$; $df = 1$).

Just as with Obama, Trump's speech event under the label of Statement consisted in State of the Union speech, which takes place once a year in the U.S. Congress (Washington D.C.). As already explained in section III.2.2.b.ii, this practice began as a communication between the president and members of Congress, but with the advent of radio and television it has become a communication between the president and U.S. citizens. Particularly, these speech events are characterised by a high degree of formality. In addition, political aspects of national interest as well as achievements and plans of the government for the year ahead are some of the issues that are commonly addressed in this type of public political context (State of the Union 2020a, 2020b). Consequently, due to the national as well as international scope of this speech event, together with the high degree of formality associated with it, a predominant percentage of use of mainstream variant 1 –which is commonly used in General American speech (Wells 1982: 487)– would be expected in Trump's speech in this context. In addition, since the State of the Union speech serves as a tool for the audience to evaluate the mandate of the president, one of the aims of these discourses might be to convince voters that a proper and efficient mandate has been implemented. Thus, this may serve as another motivation to exhibit a predominant use of mainstream variant 1, as persuasive goals are often best accomplished if a "correct" or "educated" speech is used (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). In addition, geographical as well as social aspects may influence Trump's scarce use of variant 2 in this context, as he is originally from New York and has never had close contact with. In this respect, Northern and New York speakers frequently use variant 1, while variant 2 is commonly employed in Southern regions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Thomas 2004: 311; Boberg 2015). Moreover, variant 2 tends to be stigmatised, as it is often associated with the speech of working-class speakers (Thomas 2004: 312). Hence, due to the lack of influence of Southern accents on Trump's speech and the negative social evaluations associated with variant 2, it could be expected a reluctance on the part of the informant in the adoption of monophthongal realisations (Boberg 2015: 245). In

fact, Trump obtained a score of 97.80% for mainstream variant 1 and 2.20% for non-mainstream variant 2 in the context of Statement, being evident the prevalence of mainstream and prestigious variant 1 in such a formal context.

On the other hand, a slight decrease in the percentage of use of variant 1 can be observed in the context of Interview together with a subsequent increase in variant 2 forms (89.77% versus 10.23%, respectively). Nevertheless, the scores obtained in this context still reveal a predominant use of the mainstream variant. Particularly, this interview took place at the World Economic Forum Annual Meeting in Davos, Switzerland; it was conducted by the CNBC, and it had a national as well as international scope. With this into account, Trump's modest increase in the usage of monophthongal realisations may be motivated by the fact that individuals' attention to their own speech is often minimised in interviews (Labov 1972a, 1966/2006). Thus, influenced by a more relaxed and conversational tone, the informant could have lowered his mainstream awareness, resulting in a speech scattered with variant 2 instances. In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in the contexts of Statement and Interview are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.711$; $df = 1$).

A similar pattern may be observed in the context of Rally (North), which took place in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in the framework of the 2020 campaign for the U.S. presidential elections. The score obtained for variant 1 evidences a slight decrease in Trump's use of diphthongal realisations if compared with the scores obtained for this variant in previous contexts, although a prominent use of mainstream (88.62%) over non-mainstream (11.38%) realisations is still evident in Trump's speech. This modest decrease in the realisation of mainstream variant 1 could be motivated by a lesser degree of attention paid to the realisation of mainstream forms on the part of the informant. Nevertheless, mainstream variant 1 remains predominantly used, which correlates with the common use that General American speakers and individuals from Northern regions of the U.S. make of this prestigious form (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982).

Regarding the context of Rally (South), this speech event took place in Huntsville, Alabama, in the framework of the 2017 U.S. Senate elections, being one of the aims of Donald Trump to support and rally in favour of Senator Luther Strange. Even though variant 1 remains

predominantly used in this context, it can be appreciated how the informant obtained the lowest score for the mainstream variant (80.95%) and the highest score for non-mainstream variant 2 (19.05%) out of the four contexts studied. Yet, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 3.253$; $df = 1$).

Particularly, this sociolinguistic behaviour could have been influenced by geographical factors associated with PRICE vowel, since Southern speakers frequently use variant 2, being this variant one of the most remarkable stereotypes associated with Southern accents (Thomas 2004: 311; Lippi-Green 2012: 214), and particularly linked with Southern culture (Boberg 2015). In addition, the still high percentage obtained for variant 1 could be influenced by the common use that General American speakers make of this prestigious form (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), on the one hand, and the stigmatisation associated with variant 2, on the other. In this respect, monophthongal realisations have traditionally been associated with the speech of working-class individuals, which has fostered the avoidance of this type of pronunciation by upper-middle class speakers (Thomas 2004: 312). As a result, due to negative social evaluations associated with variant 2, monophthongal realisations tend to be rejected by young, urban speakers (Boberg 2015: 245).

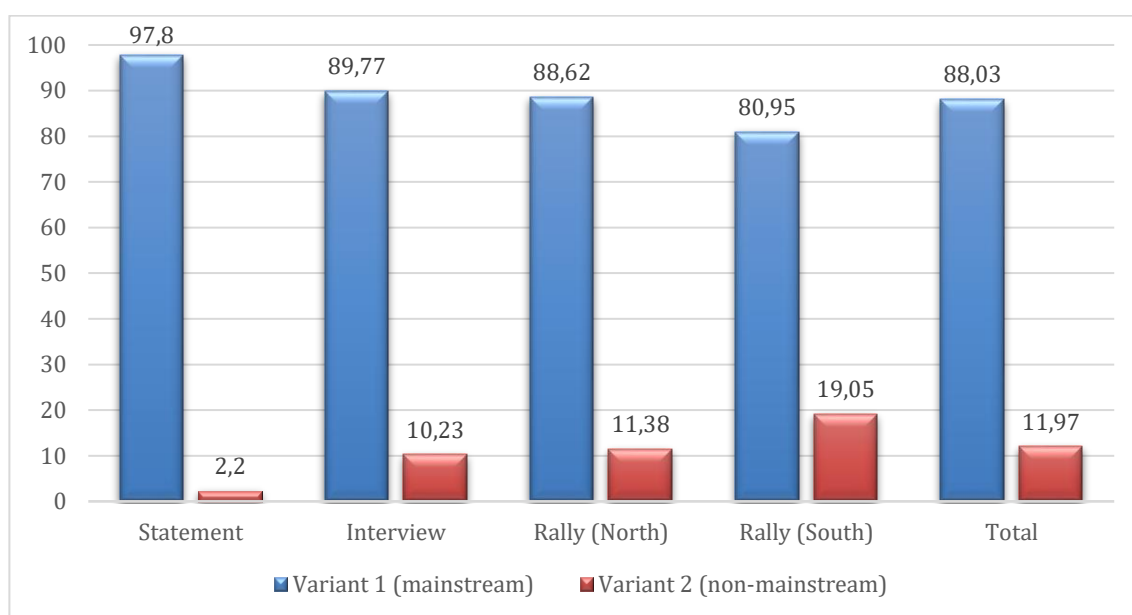


Figure IV.132. Donald Trump's use of PRICE vowel across the different contexts.

Hence, it can be tentatively stated that although in a rather modest way, Donald Trump alters his usage of PRICE vowel depending on the context in which he operates and the targeted audience. In fact, despite the stigmatisation associated with variant 2, the informant varies the usage of this variable, employing a mainstream behaviour in the most formal context (Statement) and lowering the realisation percentage for the mainstream variant in the context of Rally (South). In this respect, it is noteworthy to mention that even though variant 2 is also commonly used by African Americans, it seems unlikely that the increase in the usage of the non-mainstream variant in Trump's speech variant may be motivated by the aim of accommodating to an African American audience, as his political beliefs are racially charged. Instead, this shift in his sociolinguistic behaviour could be regarded as an attempt to accommodate to his –White– Southern audience, although a strong adherence to the mainstream variant can be clearly observed in the four contexts in which Trump operates. Consequently, it seems that mainstream conventions, the geographical areas in which Donald Trump gives his political speeches, the formality associated with the given context and the targeted audience of his speech events are conditioning factors in Trump's usage of PRICE vowel. Yet, despite the aforementioned fluctuations, the general sociolinguistic behaviour of Trump when it comes to this linguistic feature is characterised by a prominent adherence to mainstream conventions (88.03%), being non-mainstream forms used to a much lesser extent (11.97%).

IV.2.4.b. PIN-PEN merger

As for PIN-PEN merger, certain variability may also be observed in the usage that Donald Trump makes of this linguistic feature (see Table IV.35 and Figure IV.133). Just as in his treatment of PRICE vowel, Trump obtained the highest score for variant 1 (No merging) of PIN-PEN merger in the context of Statement and the lowest one in the context of Rally (South). Thus, Trump's performance in the context of Rally (South) evidences the informant's highest use for variant 2 (Merging) out of the four contexts studied. Nevertheless, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts is not

significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 4.018$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.331$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 3.344$; $df = 1$).

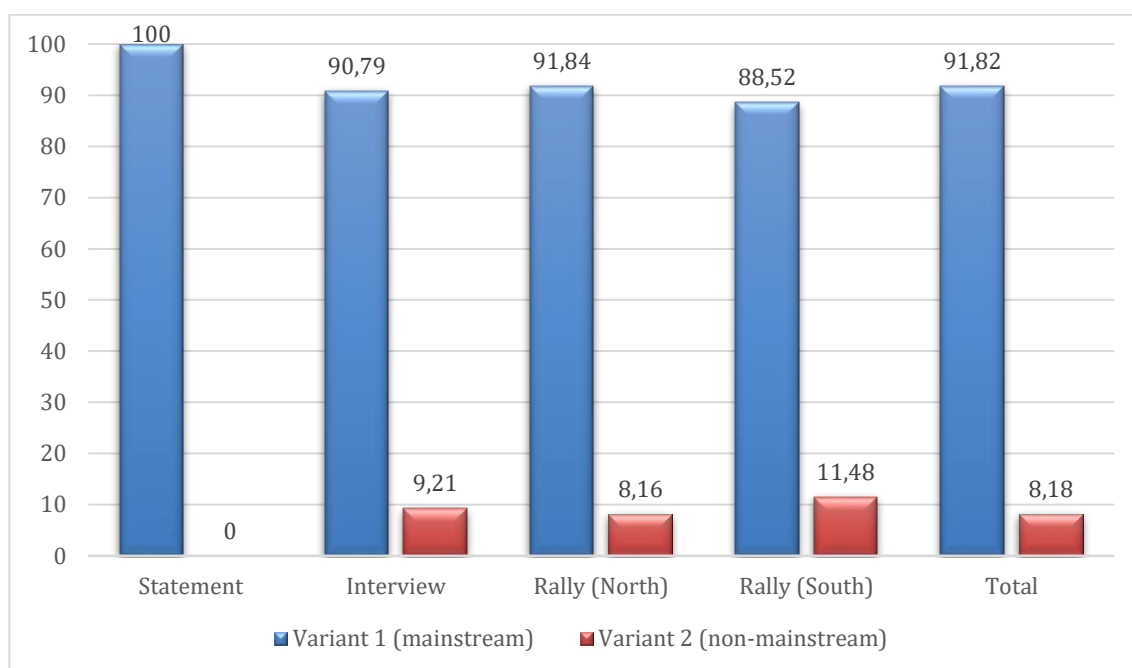


Figure IV.133. Donald Trump's use of PIN-PEN merger across the different contexts.

On the one hand, a score of 100% was obtained for variant 1 in the context of Statement, which could be motivated by the predominant use that General American speakers make of this linguistic feature (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982), together with the national scope of this speech event and the formality associated with it. In addition, since the State of the Union speech serves as a tool for the audience to evaluate the mandate of the president, one of the aims of these discourses might be to convince voters that a proper and efficient mandate has been implemented. Thus, this may serve as another motivation to exhibit a predominant use of mainstream variant 1, as persuasive goals are often best accomplished if a “correct” or “educated” speech is used (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). Moreover, the fact that Donald Trump is originally from New York and has always been based in Northern regions might also have influenced the

informant's sociolinguistic behaviour, as variant 1 is unfrequently used in these regions (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). Further geographical, ethnic and socially stratified aspects associated with this variable might have determined Trump's use of PIN-PEN merger in this context, since the usage of variant 2 is associated with Sotuhern speech (Thomas 2004: 311; Boberg 2015), African American individuals (Thomas 2004; Edwards 2004; Wells 1982) and working-class speakers (Thomas 2004: 312). Hence, due to the aforementioned constraints associated with variant 2, and considering that General American is regarded as the mainstream and prestigious variety in the U.S., it could be expected a reluctance on the part of Donald Trump regarding the usage of merged realisations together with a subsequent strict adherence to mainstream conventions in such a formal context.

As for the context of Interview, even though the informant still exhibits a predominant use of variant 1 (90.79%), a slight decrease in the usage of this variant and a subsequent increase in the usage of variant 2 (9.21%) can be observed in Trump's speech style. This slight increase in the usage of the non-mainstream variant may be motivated by the fact that individuals' attention to their own speech is often minimised in interviews (Labov 1972a, 1966/2006). Hence, this could have provoked a decrease in Trump's mainstream awareness, resulting in an increase of merged realisations. However, as previously mentioned, his scarce use of variant 2 in this speech event may be motivated by geographical, social and formality aspects. Hence, the common use that Northern and General American speakers make of unmerged realisations (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982), the stigmatisation that is commonly associated with variant 2, its subsequent receding behaviour (Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008), and the national and international scope of this interview, could have determined the prevalent mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour of Donald Trump in this speech event. In fact, as already stated, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 3.344$; $df = 1$).

Similar scores can be observed in the context of Rally (North), as the informant obtained a score of 91.84% for variant 1 and 8.16% for variant 2. If compared to the context of Interview, it seems that the informant does not alter his usage of this variable in his Northern rally. However, a more noticeable decrease in the usage of mainstream variant 1

can be observed if compared to the score obtained in the context of Statement. Nevertheless, a predominant use of the mainstream variant is still exhibited in this context. Precisely, this reluctance to adopt variant 2 to greater extent in this speech event may be motivated by geographic, social and formality aspects. In this respect, the common use that Northern and General American speakers make of unmerged realisations (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982), the stigmatisation that is commonly associated with variant 2, its subsequent receding behaviour (Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008), and the national scope of this speech event could have determined the Trump's strict adherence to mainstream conventions.

Contrarily, the scores obtained in the context of Rally (South) reveal an even more noticeable decrease in the usage of mainstream variant 1 (88.52%) if compared with the score obtained in the context of Statement. Subsequently, the informant obtained in this Southern rally the highest percentage of use for variant 2 (11.48%) out of the four contexts. This relevant increase in the usage of the non-mainstream variant could be highly influenced by the common use that Southern speakers make of this variant. In fact, it constitutes one of the most prominent stereotypical linguistic features of Southern speech (Thomas 2004; Lippi-Green 2012), and it is often associated with a strong regional identity (Schneider 2006). However, a still prominent use of variant 1 over variant 2 can still be observed in the speech of Donald Trump, although it seems that he is slightly accommodating his speech style towards his Southern audience, whether consciously or unconsciously. Precisely, Trump's strong adherence to the mainstream variant may be motivated by the stigmatisation that has been recently associated with non-mainstream variant 2 in Southern regions of the U.S. (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004). This has led Southern speakers to differentiate PIN-PEN words (Thomas 2004: 316), which means that this traditional Southern feature seems to be receding (Schneider 2006: 64), especially in large urban Southern areas (Schneider 2006; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008). Consequently, even though a modest accommodation can be observed in the speech of Donald Trump when performing in this Southern rally, his use of mainstream variant 1 still prevails over non-mainstream variant 2. In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.331$; $df = 1$).

Overall, it seems that geographical, formal and socially stratified factors tend to influence Donald Trump's speech, since –although not statistically significant– a modest attempt to accommodate to his Southern audience by means of using non-mainstream variant 2 may be observed in his speeches (8.18%), together with a strong adherence to mainstream variant 1 (91.82%). Thus, Table IV.35 and Figure IV.133 reveal Trump's prominent mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour, which may also be influenced by the stigmatisation associated with variant 2, as it is inversely correlated with education: the speech of individuals with higher education is commonly associated with a higher use of variant 1 (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). Nevertheless, a modest but steady decrease can be observed in the scores obtained across the different contexts, being the percentage of use obtained for variant 1 in the context of Statement the highest one out of the four contexts studied, which contrasts with the percentage obtained in the context of Rally (South). In this respect, it is noteworthy to mention that even though variant 2 is also commonly used by African Americans (Edwards 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982), it seems unlikely that Trump's increase in the use of this variant –particularly in the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South)– was motivated by the aim of accommodating to an African American audience, as his political beliefs are racially charged.

IV.2.4.c. Progressive consonant assimilation

Another variable that presents certain degree of fluctuation in Trump's speech across the different contexts in which he operates is that of Progressive consonant assimilation (see Figure IV.134). Nevertheless, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.639$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.019$; $df = 1$) nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.05$; $df = 1$). Yet, while the percentages of use obtained in the context of Statement and Interview are rather similar, a relevant increase in the usage of variant 1 ((nt) = /n/), and a subsequent

decrease in the usage of variant 2 ((nt) = /nt/) can be observed in the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South).

Regarding the context of Statement, the informant obtained a score of 45.45% for variant 1 and 54.55% for variant 2. This rather equal treatment of both variants may be influenced by the tendency of deleting /t/ from /nt/ in General American speech (Kretzschmar 2004: 267), on the one hand, together with the high frequency with which Northern, and particularly, East-coast speakers, use variant 2 (Wells 1982). Hence, it seems that the informant manages to exhibit a mainstream use of this variable –probably under the influence of the formality associated with this speech event and its national and international scope–, while also employing in his speech the variant that is commonly used in his regional area of provenance (i.e.: New York). In this respect, a rather similar pattern may be observed in the scores obtained by the informant in the context of Interview for variant 1 (41.18%) and variant 2 (58.82%). As in the context of Statement, the informant manages to exhibit a mainstream use of this variable while also employing in his speech the variant that is commonly used in his regional area of provenance. Particularly, the slight decrease observed in Trump's usage of variant 1 in the interview might be explained by the fact that individuals' attention to their own speech is often minimised in interviews (Labov 1972a, 1966/2006), which may result in a decrease of Trump's mainstream awareness, and therefore, an increase of /nt/ realisations. Yet, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.05$; $df = 1$).

On the contrary, a relevant increase in the usage of variant 1 (63.64%) together with a subsequent decrease in the usage of variant 2 (36.36%) can be noticed when Donald Trump operates in the context of Rally (North). It becomes of relevance the fact that even though this speech event took place in Minneapolis, Minnesota, and that variant 2 is extensively used in Northern and North-eastern regions (Wells 1982), the informant did not attempt to accommodate to this linguistic feature. In fact, despite having been based in the North-east of the U.S. for long periods of time and having had close contact with Northern accents, Trump increased his usage of mainstream variant 1 while also employing a relevant amount of variant 2 realisations. It must be reminded that even though variant 1 is frequently used by Southern

speakers (Wells 1982), this rally took place in Minneapolis, and therefore, the possibility of Trump strategically accommodating to an absent Southern audience seems rather unlikely. Instead, it seems that Trump could have employed variant 1 to a greater extent in order to adhere to mainstream linguistic conventions, as /t/ is usually deleted from /nt/ in General American speech (Kretzschmar 2004: 267).

A similar sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the context of Rally (South), as Donald Trump obtained a score of 60.00% for variant 1 and 40.00% for variant 2. This increase in the usage of variant 1 may be motivated by the tendency of deleting /t/ from /nt/ in General American speech (Kretzschmar 2004: 267), which also correlates with the Southern /nt/ simplification (Wells 1982: 252). Hence, if compared with the scores obtained in previous contexts, it appears that the informant increases his usage of variant 1 in front of a Southern audience while also adhering to the mainstream linguistic conventions. Yet, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.019$; $df = 1$).

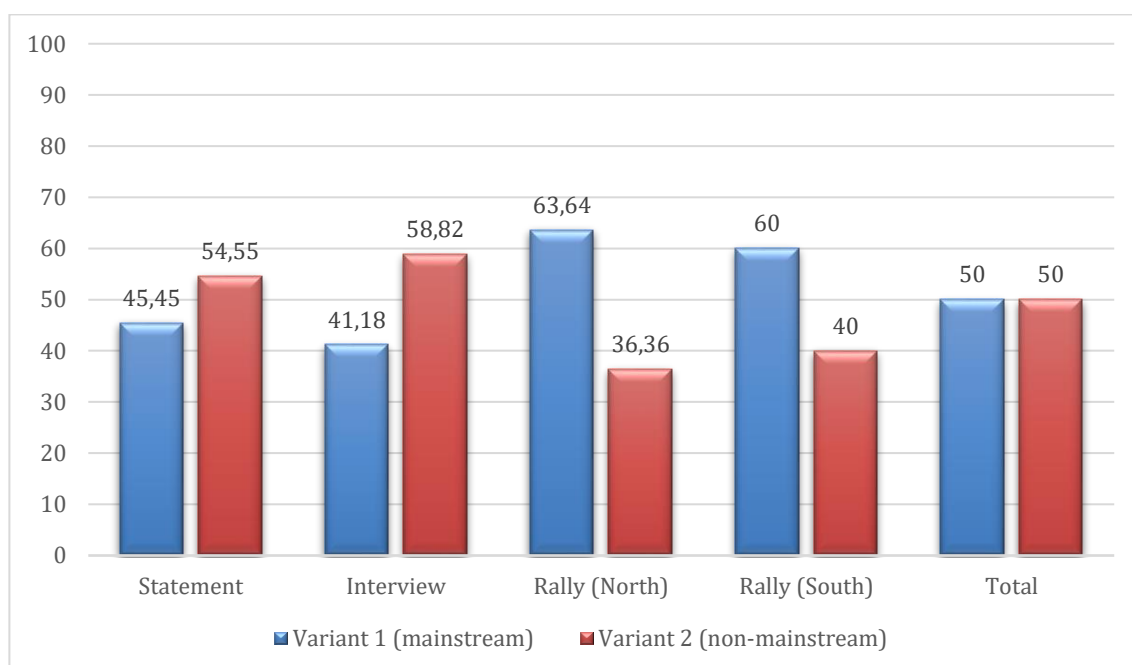


Figure IV.134. Donald Trump's use of Progressive consonant assimilation across the different contexts.

Thus, the global sociolinguistic behaviour of Donald Trump across different political contexts when it comes to Progressive consonant assimilation is characterised by an equilibrated use of mainstream (50.00%) and non-mainstream realisations (50.00%). Hence, both variants are used to a similar extent in Trump's speech, perhaps under the influence of the prestige associated with variant 1 and the frequent use with which North-eastern speakers employ variant 2. Hence, it seems that the scope of the speech events in which Trump operates, together with geographical factors and mainstream linguistic conventions may influence to a certain extent the speech of Donald Trump.

IV.2.4.d. R-Dropping

Regarding Trump's treatment of R-Dropping, a steady decrease in the usage of variant 1 ((r) = /r/) together with a subsequent increase in variant 2 ((r) = /ø/) can be observed across the four contexts in which the informant operates (see Figure IV.135). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 63.849$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant in the contrast between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 24.51$; $df = 1$), but not between Rallies (North-South) ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.849$; $df = 1$).

It is noteworthy to mention that Donald Trump is originally from New York, a geographical area that has traditionally been characterised by an extensive use of non-rhotic realisations by individuals from all social classes (Collins & Mees 2013). However, nowadays postvocalic /r/ has become a relevant class marker (Gordon 2004b: 288; Labov 1966/2006), being r-les pronunciations strongly stigmatised and commonly used by lower- and working-class individuals. This was tested by a seminal study carried out by Labov (1966/2006), which confirmed that the higher the social status, the more rhotic realisations were employed by New York speakers. As a result, variant 1 tends to be preferred in careful speech (Wells 1982). In addition, General American English speakers tend to use variant 1 regardless of the context (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Consequently, even though non-rhotic pronunciations are still used

by New Yorkers, this linguistic feature seems to be receding in this geographical area (Gordon 2004b). Hence, variability in the usage of postvocalic /r/ may be perceived in mainstream New York speech, provoking certain linguistic insecurity (Collins & Mees 2013).

With this in light, and regarding the context of Statement, Donald Trump exhibited a prominent mainstream behaviour, as he obtained a score of 94.55% for variant 1 and 5.45% for variant 2, being this the lowest score obtained for the non-mainstream variant out of the four contexts studied. Trump's predominant use of variant 1 over variant 2 in such a formal context may be motivated by the prestige that rhotic realisations enjoy in the U.S. –as they are commonly employed in General American English speech–, as well as by the stigmatisation associated with non-rhotic forms (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 52). Thus, it seems that the formality that characterises this speech event –State of the Union– together with its national and international scope might have influenced Trump's strong adherence to mainstream conventions. As previously stated, since the State of the Union speech serves as a tool for the electorate to evaluate the mandate of the president, one of the aims of these discourses might be to convince the audience that a proper and efficient mandate has been implemented. Thus, this may serve as another motivation to exhibit a predominant use of variant 1, as persuasive goals are often best accomplished if a "correct" or "educated" speech is used (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44).

Nevertheless, this predominant use of variant 1 directly contrasts with the sociolinguistic behaviour of New Yorkers –as Donald Trump is–, since non-rhotic realisations have traditionally been one of the most remarkable stereotypes of New Yorkers' speech (Gordon 2004b). However, as previously stated, this deviation from his original and regional variety may be motivated by the increasing use that New York City individuals are making of variant 1, particularly among high social class groups and in careful speech (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982). In addition, even though rhotic and non-rhotic realisations can still be encountered in the speech of New Yorkers (Fowler 1986), the trend towards rhoticity seems to be progressing, while the prestige associated with r-lessness forms has reversed (Gordon 2004b; Labov 1966/2006; Boberg 2015). In this respect, Lippi-Green (2012) remarks that rather than social-status factors, formality issues also affect the usage of rhotic or non-rhotic

pronunciations. Thus, “the more formal the situation, the more likely New Yorkers are to keep (r) after vowels” (Lippi-Green 2012: 30), which may explain the sociolinguistic behaviour of Donald Trump in this context. Hence, even though he appears to betray the speech style that characterises his regional area of provenance, Trump’s sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with mainstream conventions and the formality of this speech event, as well as with his occupation and social status.

As for Interview, a relevant decrease in the percentage of use obtained for variant 1 (79.92%) and a subsequent increase in the realisation of rhotic forms (20.08%) can be observed in this context if compared with the scores obtained in Statement. Nevertheless, the still predominant use of variant 1 may be motivated by the national scope of this speech event, together with the prestige associated with rhotic realisations, as they are commonly used in General American speech (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Nevertheless, despite the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 52), Trump’s relevant increase regarding the usage of the non-mainstream variant may be motivated by the fact that individuals’ attention to their own speech is often minimised in interviews (Labov 1972a, 1966/2006). Hence, this could have provoked a decrease in Trump’s mainstream awareness, resulting in the emergence of traditional New Yorker non-rhotic realisations. In fact, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 24.51$; $df = 1$).

A similar linguistic behaviour can be observed in the context of Rally (North), as Trump obtained a score of 74.30% for variant 1 and 25.70% for variant 2. Particularly, a slight increase in the usage of non-mainstream variant 2 can be observed in this context if compared to the previous one. In this respect, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though Northern speakers make a predominant use of variant 1 (Gramley & Pätzold 2004), Trump keeps increasing variant 2 realisations. Hence, it seems that rather than accommodating to a greater extent to his Northern audience, Donald Trump is lowering his mainstream awareness regarding his use of postvocalic /r/, which results in the emergence of non-mainstream variant 2 – which has traditionally been regarded as a stereotypical linguistic feature of New York City. Moreover, given that African American speakers tend to use variant 2 to a relevant extent

(Edwards 2004), and considering Trump's racially charged politics, it seems unlikely that Trump's motivation to increase his usage of non-rhotic pronunciations was to accommodate to an African American audience.

On the other hand, Trump exhibits his lowest score obtained for variant 1 (67.35%) and his highest score obtained for variant 2 (32.65%) in the context of Rally (South), which took place in Huntsville, Alabama. It is noteworthy to mention that this geographical area – together with other North Alabaman and Inland Southern regions– is characterised by a relevant use of rhotic forms, being coastal Southern individuals more prone to include non-rhotic forms in their speech (Gramley & Pätzold 2004). In fact, even though individuals from other regions may think of Southerners as non-rhotic speakers, this long-standing traditional Southern feature appears to be receding (Lippi-Green 2012; Wells 1982), perhaps under the influence of stigmatised associations with r-less realisation, which has led urban Southern speakers to increase rhotic pronunciations, especially in formal situations (Wells 1982). As a result, certain variability might occur in Southern speech, as variant 2 has traditionally been associated with the speech of upper-class Whites and African Americans, while variant 1 was stereotypically associated with “northerners and ‘crackers’ (poor whites)” (Wells 1982: 542). Hence, even though Southern speakers are returning to rhoticity –except African American Southern individuals, who appear to be more conservative in the treatment of this variable (Thomas 2004)–, and being rhotic realisations commonly preferred in formal style (Thomas 2004:318), Donald Trump significantly lowers his usage of variant 1, obtaining the highest percentage of use for non-mainstream variant 2 out of the four contexts studied. However, the prevalence of the mainstream variant 1 in Trump's speech may result from the prestige associated with rhotic realisations (Wells 1982; Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Hence, it could be stated that, whether consciously or unconsciously, the informant lowers his awareness towards mainstream conventions in this context, resulting in a relevant emergence of non-mainstream realisations and a subsequent accommodation to a Southern audience. Nevertheless, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.849$; $df = 1$).

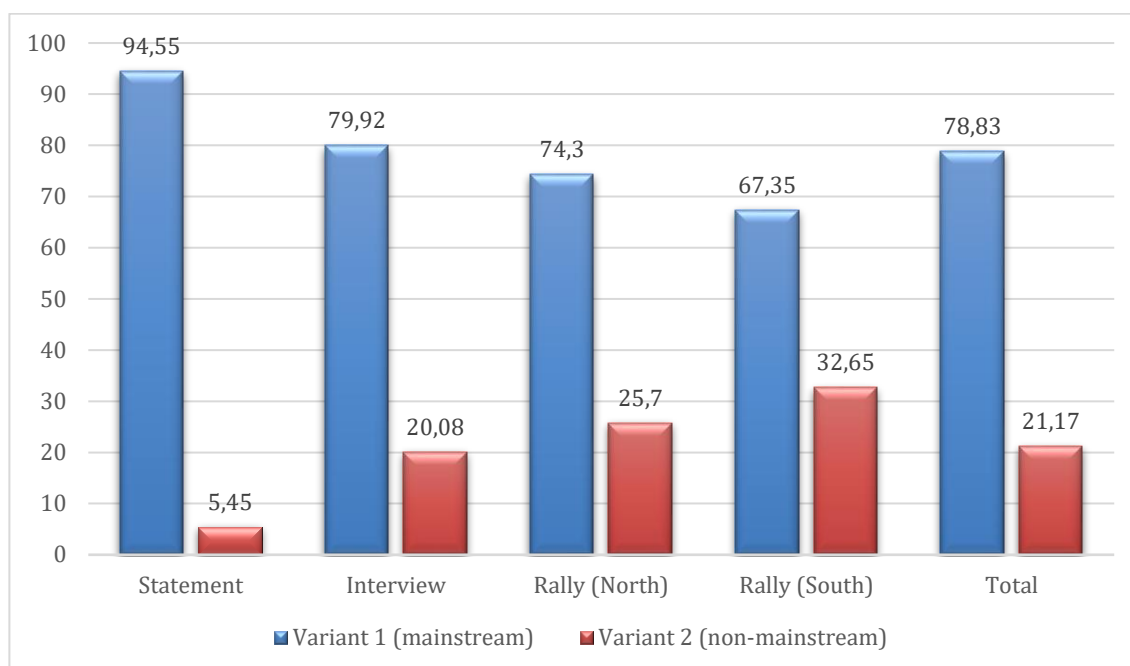


Figure IV.135. Donald Trump's use of R-Dropping across the different contexts.

Consequently, Table IV.35 and Figure IV.135 reveal the fluctuation that R-Dropping is subject to experience in Donald Trump's speech across different contexts. In fact, even though variant 1 is usually employed to a greater extent than variant 2, a progressive decrease in the usage of rhotic realisations can be observed across the contexts in which Trump operates, being Statement the context in which the informant obtained the highest percentage of use of mainstream realisations. Thus, it seems that mainstream conventions and formality aspects tend to influence the speech of Donald Trump in the context of Statement, while a lower degree of awareness towards mainstream linguistic conventions and the subsequent emergence of r-less pronunciation determine his speech in the contexts of Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South). In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that even though variant 2 is also commonly used by African Americans (Edwards 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982), it seems unlikely that Trump's increase in the usage of the non-mainstream variant – particularly in the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South)– was motivated by the aim of accommodating to an African American audience, as his political beliefs are racially charged.

On the whole, and despite the aforementioned fluctuations, Trump's total scores for R-Dropping still reveal a noticeable adherence to mainstream conventions (78.83%), being variant 2 used to a lesser extent (21.17%).

IV.2.4.e. T-Voicing

On the other hand, a slight fluctuation may be observed in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Donald Trump when it comes to T-Voicing. However, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in Trump's results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.8$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are not statistically significant neither in the contrast between Rallies ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.562$; $df = 1$), nor between Statement and Interview ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.266$; $df = 1$).

Particularly, the scores obtained for variant 1 ((t) = /d/) in the context of Statement (94.59%), Interview (97.06%), Rally (North) (94.44%) and Rally (South) (89.74%) reveal a predominant use of mainstream variant 1, being variant 2 ((t) = /t/) scarcely used in Trump's speech, as he obtained a score of 5.41% for this variant in the context of Statement, 2.94% in the context of Interview, 5.56% in the context of Rally (North) and 10.26% in the context of Rally (South) (see Figure IV.136). This predominance of (t) = /d/ may be explained by the tendency of General American English speakers to use variant 1 (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar 2004), together with the prestige acquired by neutralised realisations of the contrast between /t/ and /d/, which is preferred by educated American speakers (Wells 1982: 250; McDavid 1966; Kretzschmar 2004). In addition, the fact that the tendency of using variant 1 is spreadin across different areas of the U.S. might have also influenced the high percentages of use that Trump exhibits for this variant, as individuals from Northern and Southern regions commonly use variant 1 (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Consequently, Trump's overall sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to T-Voicing is characterised by a prominent adherence to mainstream conventions, as variant 1 (93.84%), is predominantly used over variant 2 (6.16%).

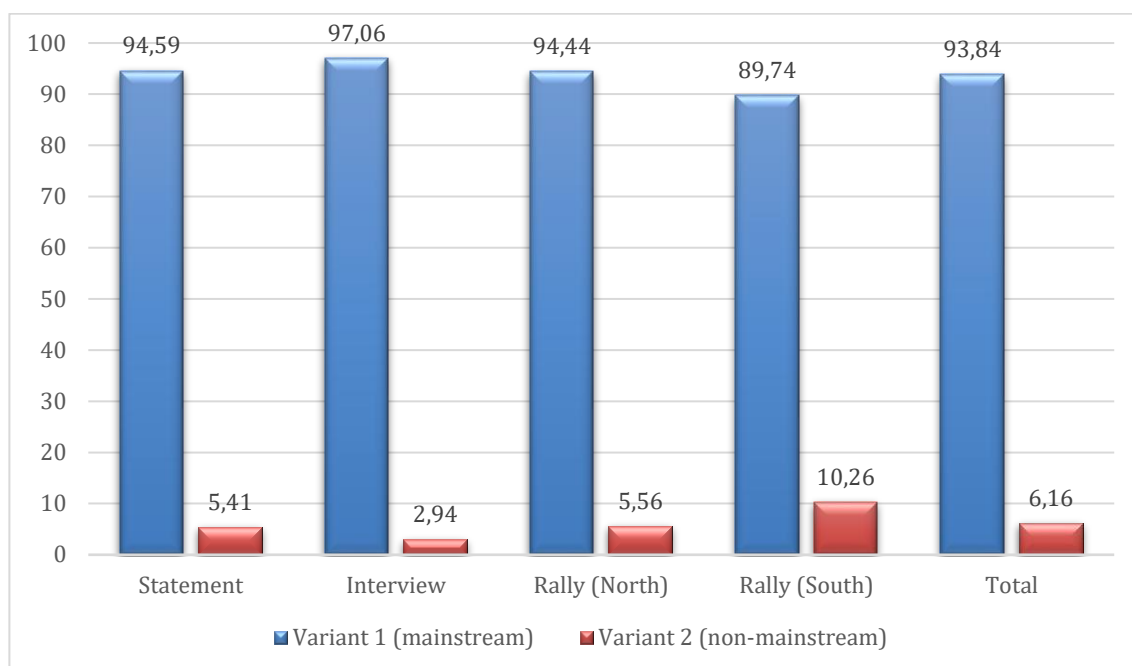


Figure IV.136. Donald Trump's use of T-Voicing across the different contexts.

IV.2.4.f. Yod-Dropping

On the other hand, Yod-Dropping is subject to experience certain fluctuations across the different contexts in which Trump operates (see Table IV.35 and Figure IV.137), although inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the contrast of the different sociolinguistic practices in his results for the different contexts is not significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.63$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant in the contrast between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.535$; $df = 1$), but not between Rallies (North-South) ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.131$; $df = 1$).

As for the context of Statement, the informant obtained a score of 83.33% for variant 1 ((j) = [u:]) –being this the highest score obtained for the mainstream variant out of the four contexts studied– and 16.67% for variant 2 ((j) = [ju:]). Considering that Donald Trump is originally from New York, the usage that he makes of variant 1 could be influenced by the variability that Yod-Dropping experiences in Eastern and South-Eastern areas of the U.S., as individuals from these regions may employ both variants (Wells 1982: 504). Also, the formality associated with this speech event and its national as well as international scope might also

have influenced a predominant use of variant 1, as it is commonly used in General American speech (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), although certain variability in the usage of this linguistic feature may also be observed in this prestigious variety.

On the other hand, a stark decrease in the usage of variant 1 (40.00%) and a subsequent increase in the usage of variant 2 (60.00%) can be observed in the context of Interview. This decrease in the usage of mainstream variant 1 could be motivated by the fact that individuals' attention to their own speech is often minimised in interviews (Labov 1972a, 1966/2006). Thus, influenced by a more relaxed and conversational tone, the informant could have lowered his mainstream awareness, which would have resulted in the emergence of non-mainstream variant 2. Despite the rather high score obtained for variant 2, and even though this variant is commonly used by Southern and African American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), a potential accommodation to this type of audience seems unfeasible due to the national and international scope of the interview and the racially charged political beliefs of the informant. Thus, as previously stated, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants in Statement and Interview are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.535$; $df = 1$).

In addition, if compared with the scores obtained in the context of Interview, a slight increase can be observed in the usage that Trump makes of variant 1 (68.75%) together with a subsequent decrease in his usage of variant 2 (31.25%) in the context of Rally (North). Thus, it seems that the informant is increasing again his usage of the mainstream variant under the influence of the formality associated with this speech event. In addition, it could be tentatively stated that Donald Trump is also accommodating to a Northern audience, as this speech event took place in Minneapolis, Minnesota, where variant 1 is commonly used –as well as in other Northern and Western regions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Yet, the percentage of use obtained for variant 2 is rather high if compared to that obtained in the context of Statement, which may be the outcome of Trump's relaxed and informal speech style. Precisely, as already stated, even though variant 2 is commonly used by Southern and African American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), a potential accommodation to this type of audience

seems unfeasible due to the absence of Southern individuals in the Northern rally, on the one hand, and the racially charged political beliefs of the informant, on the other.

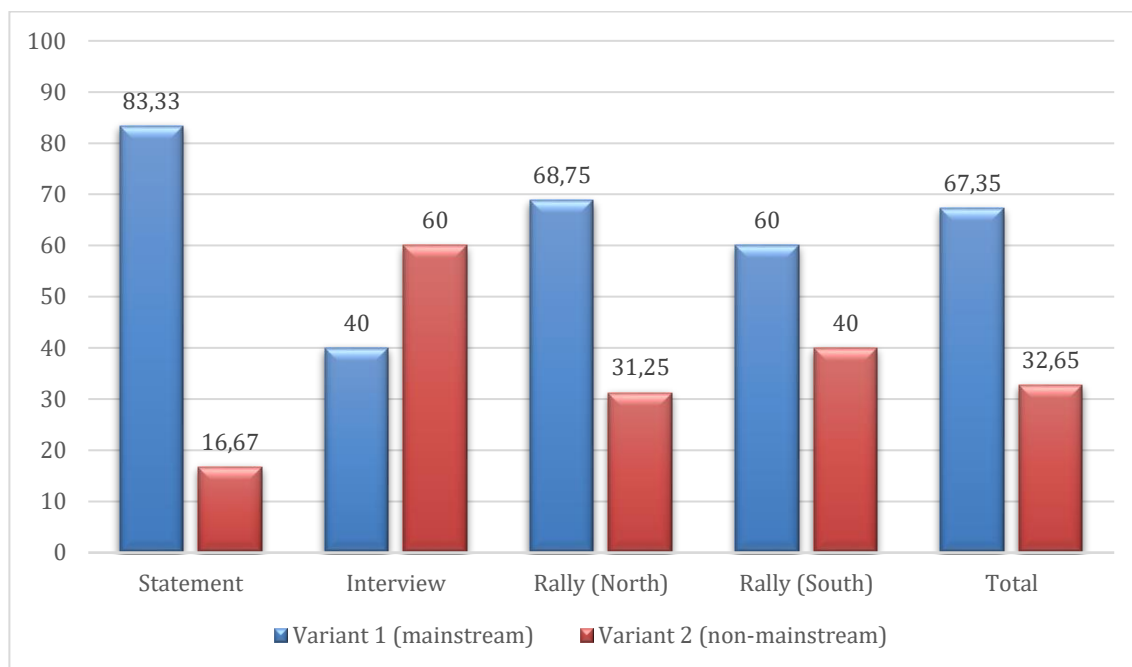


Figure IV.137. Donald Trump's use of Yod-Dropping across the different contexts.

On the other hand, the scores obtained by Trump in the context of Rally (South) –which took place in Huntsville, Alabama– evidence a noticeable decrease in the percentage obtained for variant 1 (60.00%) together with a modest increase in the percentage obtained for variant 2 (40.00%). This could be regarded as an attempt to accommodate to his Southern audience, since as Thomas (2014: 319) asserts, “[j] has persisted in the South longer than in any other part of the United States (though it still appears elsewhere as an affectation)”. Thus, it could be said that, whether consciously or unconsciously, Trump alters his usage of Yod-Dropping in this speech event, perhaps under the motivation of strengthening in-group linguistic connections and peer-group solidarity with his Southern audience (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), or just as a result of a lowered degree of awareness towards the realisation of mainstream forms, resulting in the emergence of non-mainstream variant 2. However, the score obtained for variant 1 in this context still evidences a predominant mainstream behaviour. This pervading adherence to the mainstream variant may be motivated by a recent

movement towards the loss of /j/ in the South (Thomas 2004), which would reduce the difference between the speech of the informant and the speech of his Southern audience, and therefore, would also reduce Trump's motivation of accommodating to a rather receding Southern linguistic feature. Thus, as already stated, the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both Rallies (North-South) are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.131$; $df = 1$).

Hence, it can be observed that Yod-Dropping is subject to certain degree of fluctuation across the different contexts in which Donald Trump operates. Of particular relevance are the scores obtained in the contexts of Statement and Interview, as the informant obtained the highest score for mainstream variant 1 in the former, while the latter is characterised by a relevant increase in the usage of variant 2, which may result from the conversational format of that speech event. In addition, Trump's fluctuation across contexts might also be motivated by the common use that General American English speakers make of variant 1 and the variability that is also found in this variety, since "the palatal glide /j/ remains firmly in place in words like *cure*, *music*, but in other words like *Tuesday*, *coupon*, *neurotic* it is frequently lost" (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). In addition, the fact that schoolteachers often prescribe variant 1 (Wells 1982) may also increase the variability with which General American speakers use this linguistic feature.

On the whole, and despite the aforementioned fluctuations, Trump's general sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to Yod-Dropping is characterised by a noticeable use of mainstream variant 1 (67.35%), being variant 2 used to a lesser extent (32.65%).

IV.2.4.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Donald Trump

As it can be observed in Figure IV.138, Trump tends to employ mainstream forms to a greater extent than non-mainstream forms, although certain variability may be observed in the treatment that this informant makes of certain variables. In this respect, those linguistic features that are subject to experience a relevant degree of fluctuation across contexts are those of Progressive consonant assimilation (50.00% for variant 1 versus 50.00% for variant 2), Yod-Dropping (67.35% for variant 1 versus 32.65% for variant 2) and R-Dropping (78.83%

for variant 1 versus 21.17% for variant 2), followed by PIN-PEN merger (91.82% for variant 1 versus 8.18% for variant 2) and PRICE vowel (88.03% for variant 1 versus 11.97% for variant 2). On the other hand, Trump exhibits a more stable use of T-Voicing (93.84% for variant 1 versus 6.16% for variant 2).

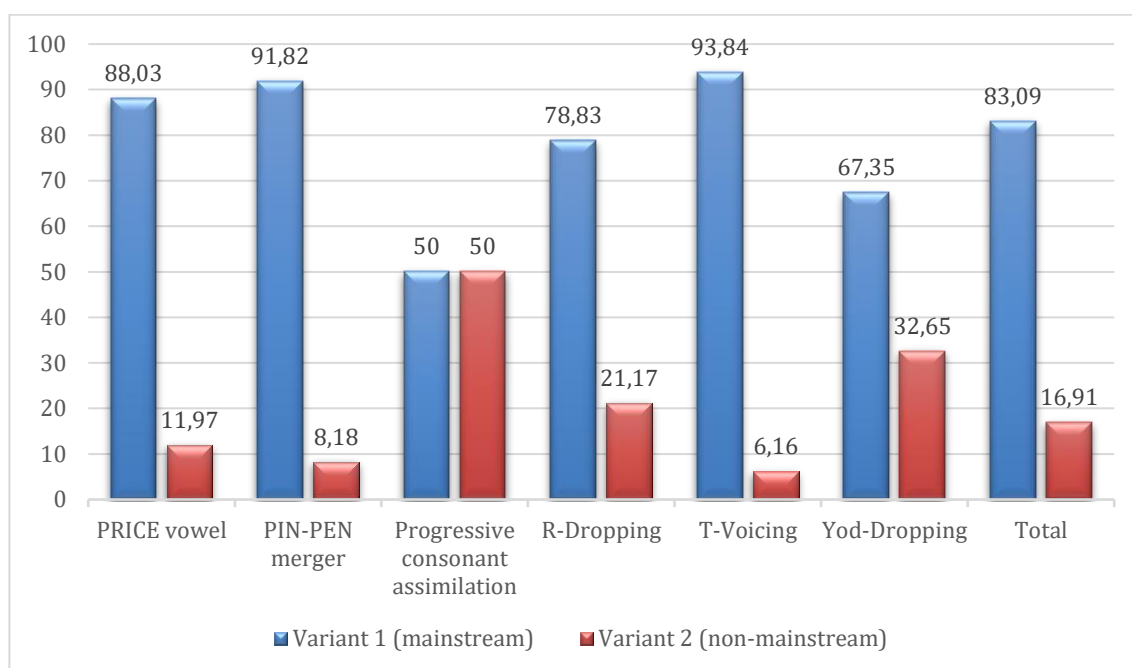


Figure IV.138. Total scores obtained by Donald Trump.

In terms of variability across contexts, and as it can be observed in Figures IV.139-IV.142, mainstream forms are generally used over non-mainstream realisations, being all contexts characterised by a noticeable mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour. Thus, Donald Trump employed a total percentage of 93.97 for mainstream forms and a percentage of 6.03 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Statement, 84.03 for mainstream forms and 15.97 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Interview, 81.29 for mainstream forms and 18.71 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (North) and 75.00 for mainstream forms and 25.00 for non-mainstream forms in the context of Rally (South). These figures evidence the different degree of fluctuation to which the variables studied are subjected. Thus, while the percentages obtained for certain variables reveal a rather stable mainstream behaviour (as in

the case of T-Voicing), other exhibit a great degree of fluctuation, just like R-Dropping, Yod-Dropping or Progressive consonant assimilation.

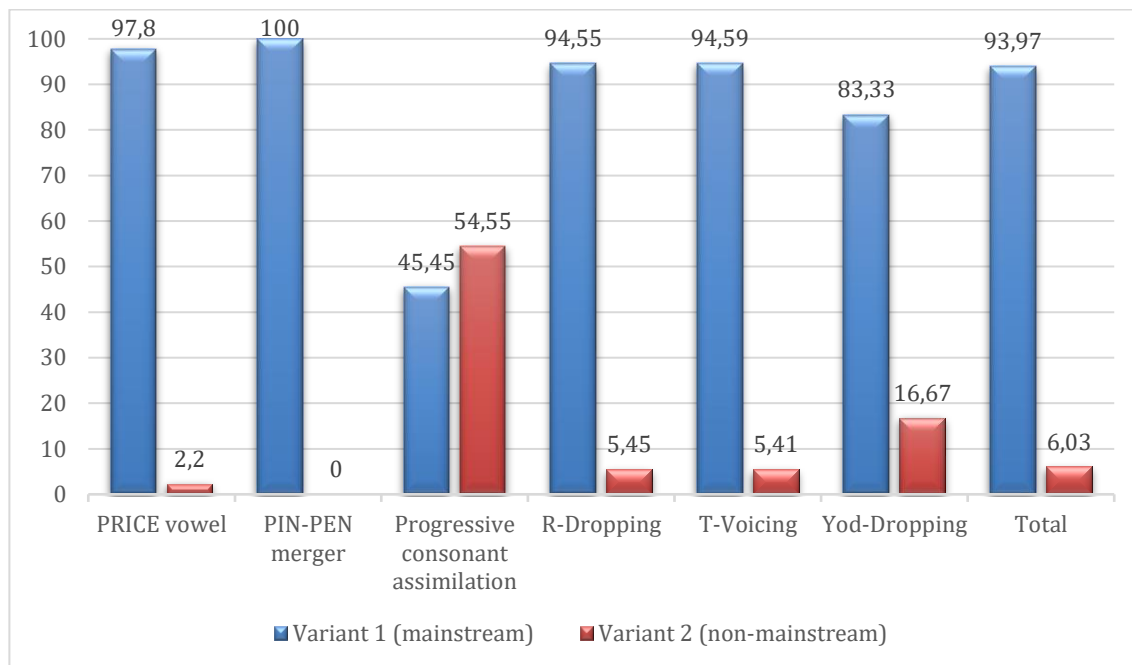


Figure IV.139. Total scores obtained by Donald Trump in the context of Statement.

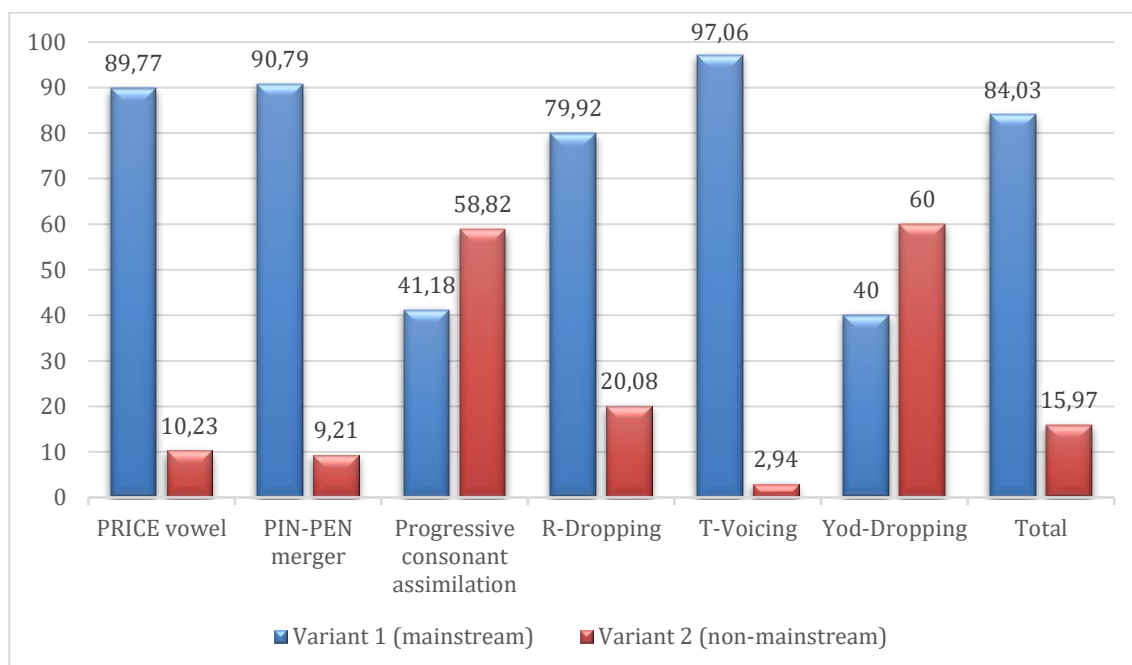


Figure IV.140. Total scores obtained by Donald Trump in the context of Interview.

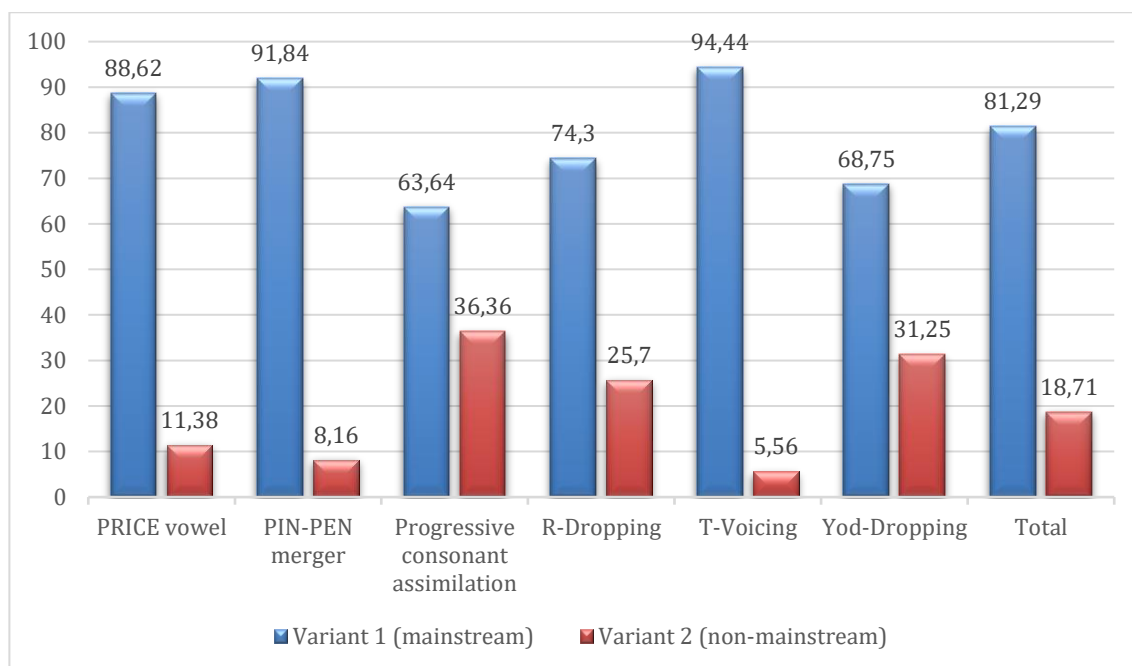


Figure IV.141. Total scores obtained by Donald Trump in the context of Rally (North).

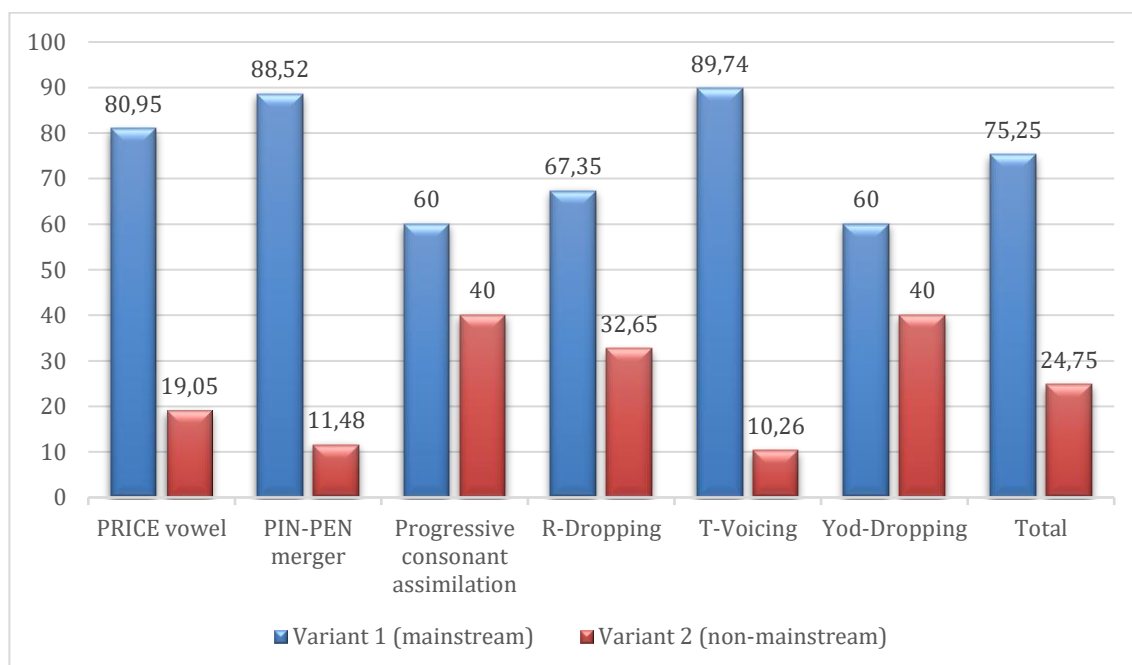


Figure IV.142. Total scores obtained by Donald Trump in the context of Rally (South).

As already indicated, Trump alters the usage of certain linguistic features across the different contexts studied under the influence of geographical, occupational, social status and formality aspects. In addition, it is noteworthy to mention that even though the informant might diverge from mainstream conventions in the treatment of certain variables, it seems unfeasible that this divergence might be motivated by a desire to accommodate to other ethnic communities, such as African American individuals. Precisely, due to the racial charge of his political beliefs, an attempt to accommodate to an African American audience, and therefore, to create and project an identity that would align himself with this ethnic group does not seem a real motivation for Donald Trump to alter his speech style.

In addition, the regions where both rallies took place are not characterised by a relevant population number of African American citizens. Thus, as shown in Figure IV.143, at the time in which Trump held his Northern rally, Minneapolis –where Rally (North) took place– had a large share of White citizens (63.64%), which contrasts with the scarce percentage of Black or African American individuals based in this area (19.30%). A similar pattern can be observed in Figure IV.144, as it evidences the prevalence of White citizens living in Huntsville, Alabama, at the time in which Trump’s Southern rally took place, which contrasts with the share of Black or African Americans based in this area: 62.25% versus 30.60%, respectively. Hence, it seems that due to the prevalence of White citizens in the regions where both rallies took place, together with Trump’s racially charged political beliefs and public interventions, ethnic identity factors do not appear to be conditioning factors of Trump’s speech style.

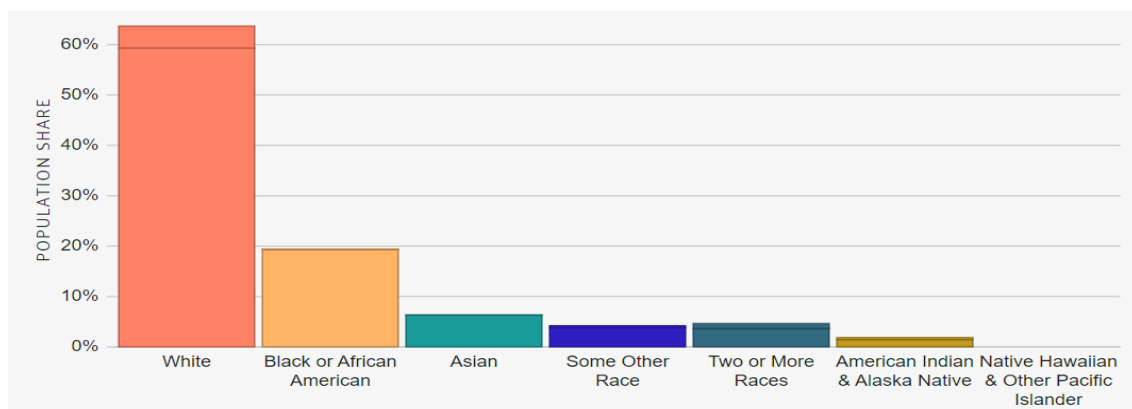


Figure IV.143. Race and ethnicity in 2018 in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Source: Data USA (n. d.) (<https://datausa.io/>).

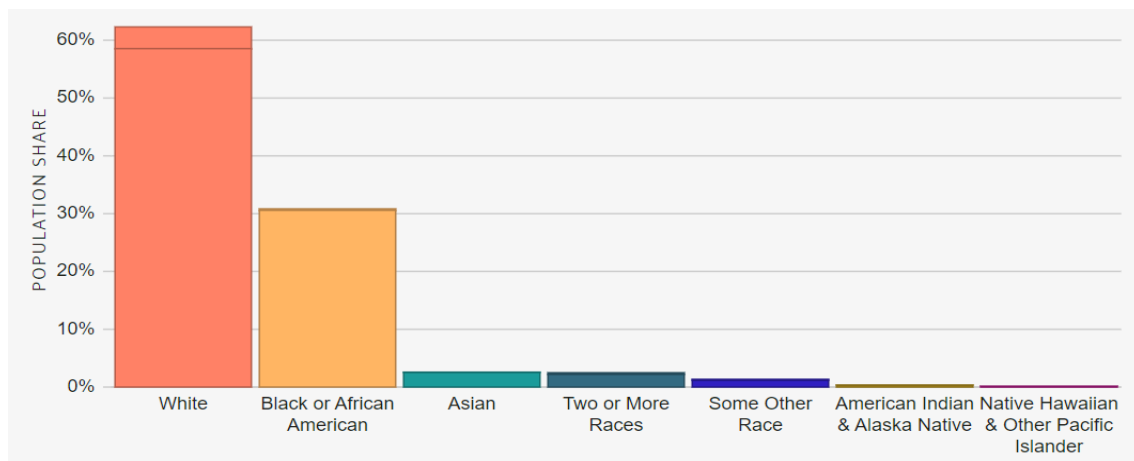


Figure IV.144. Race and ethnicity in 2017 in Huntsville, Alabama. Source: Data USA (n. d.). (<https://datausa.io/>).

On the other hand, it becomes of relevance the fact that, sometimes, Donald Trump clearly diverges from mainstream conventions without an apparent aim of accommodating to a Southern or Northern audience. This sociolinguistic behaviour has been perceived by experts and the media, and as a result, several newspapers' articles have addressed the linguistic behaviour of the president, such as *Donald Trump's accent, explained*, from the Washington post (Guo 2016), and *How a New York Accent Can Help You Get Ahead*, from The New York Times (Newman 2015). Both articles make interesting remarks that seem to mirror the electorate's perspective towards the president's speech style, such as:

1. Donald Trump's supporters often praise how the politician gives voice to harsh truths. But that voice itself, that unmistakable instrument, has been a noteworthy element of Trump's populist image. Though he grew up in privilege, eventually attending college at Wharton, Trump never shed his Queens accent. Today, that accent helps him summon the stereotype of the blunt, no-nonsense New Yorker (Guo 2016).
2. "He wants to sound macho," explains John Baugh, a linguistics professor at Washington University in St. Louis. "As part of his whole tough-guy persona, he adopts almost a working-class style of speech" (Guo 2016).

3. Accents activate stereotypes. People do not perceive the New York style of speaking as particularly attractive or high-status. But they do associate it with competence, aggressiveness and directness (Guo 2016).
4. “Democrat or Republican, in an age where trust in politicians is at a minimum, it is not hard to see the attraction of that blunt aspect of the New York image,” Michael Newman, a linguist at Queens College and CUNY’s Graduate Center, writes. “It’s a quality that can be profoundly appealing” (Guo 2016).
5. Polls show that Republicans don’t think Trump is likable, honest or compassionate. But they do consider him decisive and competent, which Republican voters say are the most important qualities in a presidential candidate. In this way, Trump’s New York accent is a perfect fit for his shark-like political persona (Guo 2016).
6. Trump’s working-class New York accent may also help the billionaire appear a bit more relatable on the stump. Though he is stratospherically wealthy, his average-Joe way of speaking makes him sound a little more down to earth (Guo 2016).
7. Other politicians with no hint of New York in their speech, such as Hillary Clinton and Jeb Bush, would likely love to have “telling it like it is” as part of their brand (Newman 2015).
8. Reality and image reinforce each other, and Americans have come to associate New Yorkers, and so New York accents, with saying what you mean, intense emotional talk and not worrying too much about whom you offend (Newman 2015).

This generalised evaluation towards Donald Trump’s accent and speech style is further explained by Sclafani (2018), who indicates that the electorate is more likely to vote according to the “likeability” and “authenticity” that a candidate instils in the audience, rather than to other aspects such as the candidate’s experience or political stance (Sclafani 2018: 6). This goes in line with the assumption that voters are more attracted by nice personae characterised by certain traits like approachability, folksiness, informality, and emotionality (Lakoff 2005; Sclafani 2018). Thus, it could be stated that by means of employing his New York accent and other non-mainstream linguistic variants, Donald Trump aims to create and project an identity for himself so that voters believe that he is the politician that would best represent

the Republican Party and the nation (Sclafani 2018: 11). Nevertheless, the sociolinguistic style of Donald Trump has generated positive as well as negative opinions, as some view him as a “strong, decisive, authentic leader”, while others claim that he is “incoherent and incompetent” (Sclafani 2018: 18).

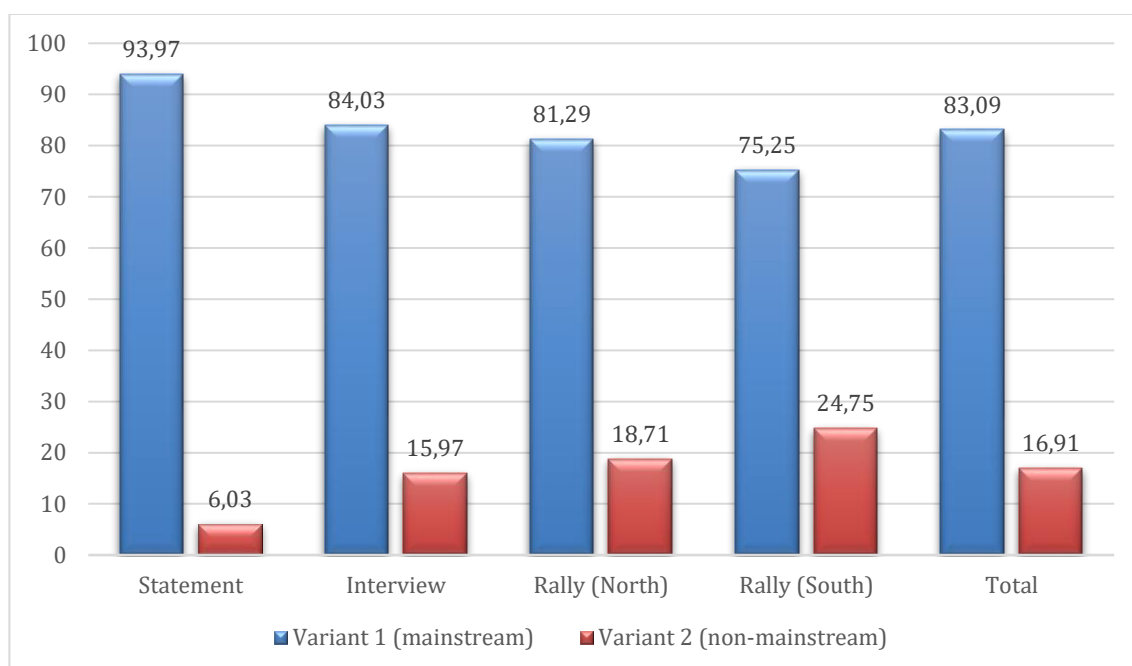


Figure IV.145. Total scores obtained by Donald Trump per context.

Yet, despite certain fluctuations in specific contexts (see Figure IV.145), the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of Donald Trump reveals a strong adherence to mainstream conventions (83.09%), being non-mainstream variants used to a much lesser extent (16.91%). Nevertheless, a steady decrease in the usage of mainstream forms can be observed across the different contexts, being that of Statement the one with the highest degree of mainstream realisations –which correlates with the formality of this speech event–, while Rally (South) is the context in which the lowest number of mainstream forms were employed. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance indicates that the different sociolinguistic practices in Trump’s global results for the different contexts did not occur by chance: the relationship is significant at $p \leq 0.01$ ($\chi^2 = 64.969$; $df = 3$). In addition, raw figures show that the differences in the use of mainstream (variant 1) and

non-mainstream (variant 2) forms are statistically significant both in the contrast between Rallies ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 75.392$; $df = 1$) and between Statement and Interview ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 24.534$; $df = 1$).

Precisely, as observed in Table IV.36 and Figure IV.145, a logistic regression indicates that the context of Statement is the one which most favours the usage of mainstream forms in Donald Trump's speech. On the contrary, the negative values obtained for the contexts of Interview, Rally (North) and Rally (South) indicate that these contexts are disavouring effects in Trump's usage of mainstream forms (see "Intercept" column). This is also evidenced by the probability values obtained for the "Centered factor weight", which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in the context of Statement, while non-mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Rally (South).

Table IV.36. Logistic regression of the contribution of contextual factors to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by Donald Trump. Fixed effects analysis: "Context" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.581	2088	0.831	—
Statement	0.91	448	0.94	0.714
Interview	-0.072	601	0.84	0.483
Rally (North)	-0.255	449	0.813	0.438
Rally (South)	-0.606	590	0.753	0.354
Misc. 1	N= 2088; df= 2; Intercept= 1.735; Overall proportion= 0.831; Centered input probability= 0.85.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -920.78; AIC= 1845.56; AICc= 1845.566; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.255; R2 fixed= 0; R2 random= 0.093; R2 total= 0.093.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

Overall, Trump's general sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with formality aspects – since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b)– as well as with those

strategies normally used by politicians operating in the public sphere in which mainstream variants are predominantly employed since persuasive aims are usually best accomplished if a “correct” and “educated” speech is used (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44).

IV.2.5. American Females

If the total usage levels that both female American informants obtained across the different contexts are analysed, a similar sociolinguistic behaviour in the treatment that Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin make of the variables studied will be appreciated (see Table IV.37 and Figure IV.146). In fact, a general predominance of mainstream variants is clearly observed if the sociolinguistic patterns of both informants are compared. Thus, despite of their different place of origin and their political career, no stark differences can be observed between the speech of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin. However, if evaluated closely, slight differences in the treatment that each informant makes of certain variables can be noticed.

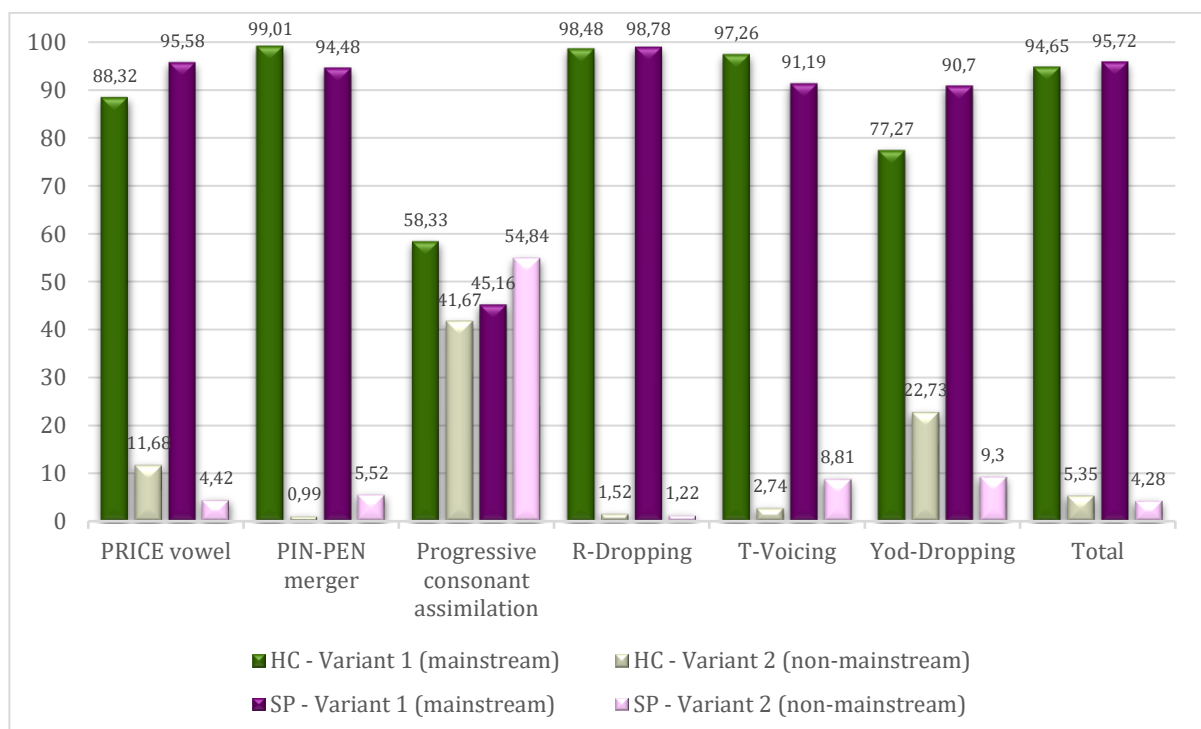


Figure IV.146. Total scores: Hillary Clinton (HC) versus Sarah Palin (SP).

Table IV.37. Totals per Gender: American Females					
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants		
			Hillary Clinton	Sarah Palin	Total
PRICE vowel	Variant #1: /aɪ/	%	88.32%	95.58%	91.59%
		#	416/471	368/385	784/856
	Variant #2: [a:]	%	11.68%	4.42%	8.41%
		#	55/471	17/385	72/856
PIN-PEN merger: /ɪ/-/ɛ/	Variant #1: No merging	%	99.01%	94.48%	96.87%
		#	200/202	171/181	371/383
	Variant #2: Merging	%	0.99%	5.52%	3.13%
		#	2/202	10/181	12/383
Progressive consonant assimilation	Variant #1: (nt) = /n/	%	58.33%	45.16%	52.24%
		#	21/36	14/31	35/67
	Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/	%	41.67%	54.84%	47.76%
		#	15/36	17/31	32/67
R-Dropping	Variant #1: (r) = /r/	%	98.48%	98.78%	98.63%
		#	975/990	894/905	1869/1895
	Variant #2: (r) = /ø/	%	1.52%	1.22%	1.37%
		#	15/990	11/905	26/1895
T-Voicing	Variant #1: (t) = /d/	%	97.26%	91.19%	94.10%
		#	142/146	145/159	287/305
	Variant #2: (t) = /t/	%	2.74%	8.81%	5.90%
		#	4/146	14/159	18/305
Yod-Dropping	Variant #1: (j) = [u:]	%	77.27%	90.70%	83.91%
		#	34/44	39/43	73/87
	Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]	%	22.73%	9.30%	16.09%
		#	10/44	4/43	14/87
Total	Variant #1	%	94.65%	95.72%	95.16%
		#	1788/1889	1631/1704	3419/3593
	Variant #2	%	5.35%	4.28%	4.84%
		#	101/1889	73/1704	174/3593

Precisely, a logistic regression applied to the data obtained by each informant evidences that Sara Palin is the female American informant who most favours the usage of mainstream forms (see Table IV.38). On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the “Intercept” column reveals that Hillary Clinton disfavours the usage of mainstream forms. Nevertheless, as evidenced by the values obtained for the “Centered factor weight” column, the sociolinguistic behaviour of both informants is not dissimilar to a relevant extent, since the probability of each informant to employ mainstream forms is quite similar.

Table IV.38. Logistic regression of the contribution of American females to the probability of using mainstream forms. Fixed effects analysis: "Informant" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.034	3593	0.952	—
Sarah Palin	0.01	1704	0.957	0.502
Hillary Clinton	-0.01	1889	0.947	0.498
Misc. 1	N= 3593; df= 2; Intercept= 2.979; Overall proportion= 0.952; Centered input probability= 0.952.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -696.53; AIC= 1397.061; AICc= 1397.064; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.057; R2 fixed= 0; R2 random= 0; R2 total= 0.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

IV.2.5.a. PRICE vowel

Regarding PRICE vowel, slight differences may be observed in the speech of both female informants. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both female informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 14.501$; $df = 1$). Thus, while Hillary Clinton obtained a global score of 88.32% for mainstream variant 1 (/aɪ/) and 11.68% for non-mainstream variant 2 ([a:]), Sarah Palin obtained a global score of 95.58% for variant 1 and 4.42% for variant 2. Thus, even though the global scores of both informants reveal a strict adherence to mainstream conventions, it can also be noticed that Sarah Palin employs this variable in a more mainstream way than Hillary Clinton does. This difference can be explained by the fact that Hillary Clinton exhibits a greater degree of variability when it comes to PRICE vowel (see Table IV.28 and Figure IV.93 in section IV.2.1.), as she tends to alter the usage of this variable depending on the audience of her speech events. Particularly, Clinton accommodated to her Southern and African American audience in the context of Rally (South), employing variant 2 to a greater extent, and therefore, deviating from the mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited in previous contexts. In this respect, it seems

that Hillary Clinton was aiming at strategically projecting a particular identity that would make her a relatable speaker for her audience. Contrarily, Sarah Palin tends to exhibit a more stable mainstream behaviour, which results in a lesser degree of variability in her usage of PRICE vowel across the contexts in which she operates. Hence, it seems that even though both female politicians make a predominant use of mainstream variant 1, Hillary Clinton is more prone to adapt her sociolinguistic behaviour to the audience of her speech events, especially under the motivation of ethnic identity aspects.

Apart from the strategies used by each informant, the different treatment that both politicians make of PRICE vowel might also be motivated by the exposure that Clinton and Palin have had to non-mainstream realisations. Thus, despite having spent her formative years in geographical areas where variant 1 is commonly used, Hillary Clinton has also spent long periods of time in Arkansas, which could have influenced her usage of variant 2, as monophthongal realisations are highly employed in Southern regions (Wells 1982; Trudgill & Hannah 2008). In fact, this variant is one of the most remarkable stereotypes associated with Southern accents (Thomas 2004: 311), and it is particularly linked with Southern culture (Boberg 2015). On the contrary, Sarah Palin never had such a close contact with the Southern culture, nor did she spend relevant periods of time in geographical areas where variant 2 is commonly used. Thus, this scarce contact with Southern accents may have influenced Palin's speech towards a predominant use of variant 1 over variant 2, resulting in a clear reluctance to considerably vary her usage of this variable.

In addition, apart from being associated with Southern accents, variant 2 is commonly used in African American speech (Wells 1982; Edwards 2004), being this the main reason why Hillary Clinton varied her treatment of PRICE vowel in the context of Rally (South), as the majority of the audience of this speech event consisted of African American individuals. However, even though Sarah Palin also gave speeches in certain geographical areas where African American individuals represent a large share of the population, and where variant 2 is commonly used, she did not alter her usage of this variable.

On the other hand, the percentages obtained by both informants for mainstream variant 1 are rather high, which means that globally, none of the female informants is willing

to considerably accommodate their speech to non-mainstream variant 2. In this respect, the fact that monophthongal realisations are commonly associated with the speech of working-class individuals might have precluded Clinton and Palin from adopting monophthongal pronunciations to a relevant extent. In fact, this type of pronunciation tends to be avoided by speakers who aim to achieve “upward white-collar mobility”, being this avoidance more common in the speech of individuals based in urban centres than in rural areas (Thomas 2004: 312). Thus, given the occupation and the social status of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin, the presence of stigmatised realisations in their speech would be rather unexpected.

Consequently, it seems that both informants strictly adhere to mainstream conventions, as they exhibit a predominant use of diphthongal (variant 1) over monophthongal (variant 2) realisations. This lack of accommodation to non-mainstream realisations on the part of both politicians could be motivated by their great awareness of the social significance of both variants, which correlates with their occupation and social status (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010). However, slight differences in the sociolinguistic behaviour of both politicians may also be observed, as Hillary Clinton seems to accommodate to the non-mainstream variant to a greater extent than Palin does, especially in the context of Rally (South).

IV.2.5.b. PIN-PEN merger

On the contrary, no stark differences can be observed in the treatment that both informants make of PIN-PEN merger. In fact, a prominent mainstream behaviour can be observed in the speech of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin, as the former obtained a score of 99.01% for mainstream variant 1 (No merging) and the latter obtained a score of 94.48% for the same variant. Thus, variant 2 (Merging) remains almost unused in the speech of Hillary Clinton (0.99%) and Sarah Palin (5.52%). Precisely, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both female informants are statistically significant, but to a rather low extent ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 6.468$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, the rather low degree of variation of both female informants across contexts may be motivated by the predominant use that General American speakers make of unmerged realisations (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982), together with the formality associated with the contexts in which Clinton and Palin operate. In addition, geographical aspects might also act as conditioning factors of the high frequency of use of variant 1 in the speech of both female politicians, as this variant is commonly employed in large areas of the U.S., being variant 2 usually restricted to Southern regions (Thomas 2004). Moreover, social issues seem to also influence the low frequency with which Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin use variant 2, as merged realisations are usually employed in African American speech (Edwards 2004; Wells 1982), being also this variant frequently associated with working-class speech (Thomas 2004: 312). As a result, despite being merged realisations one of the most prominent stereotypical linguistic features of Southern speech and often associated with a strong regional identity (Thomas 2004; Schneider 2006), Southern speakers have begun to differentiate PIN-PEN words (Thomas 2004: 316). Hence, it seems that this traditional linguistic feature is receding (Schneider 2006: 64), especially in large urban Southern areas (Tillery & Bailey 2004; Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008). Furthermore, merged realisations appear to be inversely correlated with education, as the speech of individuals with higher education is commonly associated with a higher use of variant 1 (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). Consequently, it seems that due to the geographical constrictions and the negative social evaluations associated with variant 2 together with its receding behaviour, no motivation may be found by Clinton and Palin to considerably alter their usage of PIN-PEN merger.

Nevertheless, though modest, the total score obtained by Sarah Palin for variant 1 reveals a lower use of the mainstream variant if compared with that of Hillary Clinton. This slight reduction in the usage of merged realisations on the part of Sarah Palin could be influenced by the scattered presence of variant 2 in the speech of individuals based in Midwestern and Western regions of the U.S., and the potential influence that these regional areas may have had on dialect formation processes in the Matanuska-Susitna Valley in Alaska, where Sarah Palin's hometown Wasila is located (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009; Gordon 2004a) (see section IV.2.2).

In addition, style strategies might also have played an important role in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Sarah Palin. As stated by Lippi-Green (2012: 137), by making use of non-mainstream variant 2, the informant would have made use of a strategically designed folksy style aiming at reinforcing her authenticity. Thus, it seems that Palin could have made use of non-mainstream and stigmatised variant 2 in order to project a particular identity towards her audience, touching upon several key factors such as “whiteness, rurality and poverty”, linking them with a backward and conservative viewpoint (Lippi-Green 2012: 138).

Thus, Table IV.37 and Figure IV.146 show that even though Hillary Clinton spent several years in the South, she refuses to considerably adapt her speech style to the rather stigmatised variant 2, revealing instead a strong adherence to mainstream variant 1, which is associated with the speech of educated individuals belonging to high social statuses. This sociolinguistic behaviour is rather similar to that of Sarah Palin, although she obtained a slightly lower percentage of use for the mainstream variant. In this respect, it seems that Palin seeks to employ this stigmatised variant in an attempt to project a particular identity towards the electorate and create a public and folksy persona that would represent her political beliefs (Lippi-Green 2012: 137). Nevertheless, the overall behaviour that both informants make of this variable could be regarded as generally mainstream, as a prominent use of variant 1 is made over variant 2.

IV.2.5.c. Progressive consonant assimilation

On the other hand, certain differences can be observed in the usage that both female informants make of Progressive consonant assimilation. Thus, Hillary Clinton obtained a 58.33% for variant 1 ((nt) = /n/) and 41.67% for variant 2 ((nt) = /nt/), while Sarah Palin obtained a 45.16% for variant 1 and 54.84% for variant 2. Overall, the percentages obtained by both informants are rather similar, as variant 1 and 2 are used to a relevant extent in the speech of Clinton and Palin. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both female informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.158$; $df = 3$).

Particularly, the treatment that both politicians make of this variable might be influenced by certain geographical factors. Firstly, Southern speech tends to be characterised by a frequent use of variant 1 (Wells 1982), which might have influenced Clinton's speech, as she has spent long periods of time in the South. On the other hand, Northern accents tend to preserve the distinction between pairs of words such as *winter* and *winner* words (Wells 1982: 252), which might also have influenced Clinton's speech –as she has also spent long periods of time in Northern regions of the U.S.– as well as Palin's speech, since, even though she is based in Alaska, the accent that is employed in that region has been influenced by the speech of migrants from Northern, Midwestern and Western areas of the U.S.

Apart from geographical factors associated with this variable, mainstream conventions might have also shaped the speech of both informants, as /t/ tends to be deleted from /nt/ cluster in General American speech (Kretzschmar 2004; Wells 1982), being this variety regarded as the prestigious one. Thus, given the social status and the occupation of both informants, a relevant use of mainstream forms could be expected in their sociolinguistic behaviour.

Consequently, it could be tentatively stated that both informants tend to include both variants in their speech styles, resulting in a (conscious or unconscious) partial accommodation to Southern as well as Northern speakers, while also adhering to mainstream and non-mainstream conventions. Thus, even though variant 1 is commonly used in General American speech, the total percentages of obtained by Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin for this variable do not show a predominant mainstream behaviour, but a rather balanced usage when it comes to both mainstream and non-mainstream variants.

IV.2.5.d. R-Dropping

Similarly, no stark differences can be observed in the treatment that Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin make of R-Dropping, as both informants make a rather invariable use of this linguistic feature. Thus, Hillary Clinton obtained a score of 98.48% for variant 1 ((r) = /r/), and a score of 1.52% for variant 2 ((r) = /ø/). Similarly, Sarah Palin obtained a score of 98.78% for variant 1 and 1.22% for variant 2. Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a

non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both female informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.314$; $df = 3$).

This predominant use of variant 1 over variant 2 may be influenced by the prestige that rhotic realisations enjoy in the U.S., being non-rhotic forms rather stigmatised and commonly associated with the speech of working-class individuals, particularly in New York City (Labov 1966/2006; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Gordon 2004b; Boberg 2015). In addition, the fact that rhoticity increases with formal and careful speech might have also influenced the rather high scores obtained for mainstream variant 1 by both informants, as they operate in public formal contexts, where rhotic pronunciations are generally preferred (Wells 1982: 490; Thomas 2004). Hence, even though both informants gave speeches in Southern regions—where variant 2 is commonly used, especially in the Lower South (Schneider 2006; Trudgill & Hannah 2008)—, no significant accommodation to non-rhotic pronunciations can be observed neither in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton nor in the one of Sarah Palin.

On the other hand, ethnicity aspects neither appear to influence the speech of both female informants, as both informants strongly adhere to the mainstream convention, revealing a clear reluctance to adopt non-rhotic forms, which are frequently used by African American speakers (Edwards 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982).

Consequently, as it can be observed in Figure IV.146, both informants tend to prominently use the mainstream variant when it comes to R-Dropping. In addition, it seems that apart from revealing their geographical origins by means of employing a significant percentage of use of rhotic forms, they are also projecting an identity associated with a prestigious, careful, educated and mainstream speech together with a rather high social status.

IV.2.5.e. T-Voicing

Similar results can also be found in the usage that both informants make of T-Voicing, although inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance

indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both female informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 5.042$; $df = 1$), but to a rather low degree.

In fact, the overall score obtained by Hillary Clinton for variant 1 ((t) = /d/) (97.26%) is rather similar to that obtained by Sarah Palin for the same variant (91.19%). Subsequently, the percentages obtained by Clinton (2.74%) and Palin (8.81%) for variant 2 ((t) = /t/) remain scarcely used. This predominant use of variant 1 over variant 2 may be explained by the common use that General American English speakers make of variant 1, together with the prestige acquired by neutralised realisations of the contrast between /t/ and /d/, which is preferred by educated American speakers (Wells 1982: 250; McDavid 1966; Kretzschmar 2004). Consequently, by means of exhibiting a strict adherence to mainstream conventions, Clinton and Palin are projecting an identity associated with a rather high educational and social class background.

IV.2.5.f. Yod-Dropping

Regarding Yod-Dropping, certain differences can be observed in the scores obtained by Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin, although inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both female informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.903$; $df = 3$). Yet, while Clinton obtained a score of 77.27% for variant 1 ((j) = [u:]) and a score of 22.73% for variant 2 ((j) = [ju:]), Palin obtained a score of 90.70% for variant 1 and 9.30% for variant 2.

Thus, Table IV.37 and Figure IV.146 reveal a predominant use of mainstream variant 1 in the speech of Sarah Palin, which may be influenced by a strong adherence to the tendency of General American speech of deleting /j/ (Wells 1982). In addition, the fact that variant 1 is extensively used by speakers from Western and Northern regions of the U.S. might have also influenced Sarah Palin's speech, as she grew up in a geographical region that was resettled by migrants coming from Western and Northern areas –among other regions– (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009). Hence, considering that variant 2 is commonly used in Southern speech (Thomas 2004: 319), and that Palin has not had any close contact with Southern accents, the total scores obtained by this informant were

rather expected, and they evidence Palin's reluctance to vary her usage of Yod-Dropping when operating in different contexts.

On the contrary, the total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton reveal a greater usage of variant 2. Thus, as it can also be observed in Table IV.37 (see also section IV.2.1.), Hillary Clinton's use of Yod-Dropping is subject to fluctuate depending on the context in which she operates, as she is prone to adjust her sociolinguistic behaviour to a New Yorker, Northern, Southern and/or African American audience. In addition, this noticeable use of variant 2 may result from the close contact that Clinton has had with Southern accents, as she spent several years in Arkansas, where [ju:] forms are extensively used –just as in other Southern regions (Thomas 2004: 319). However, the still noticeable prevalence of variant 1 in Clinton's speech might be explained by the common use that Northern speakers make of this variant (Trudgill & Hannah 2008), which might also have influenced the sociolinguistic behaviour of the informant, as she spent her formative years in the North.

Overall, despite the different degrees of accommodation exhibited by both informants, the percentages of use obtained by Clinton and Palin still indicate a predominant use of variant 1 over variant 2, which could be motivated by the prestige associated with variant 1, as it is frequently used in General American speech (Wells 1982). Yet, it must be taken into account that certain variability might be encountered in General American speech when it comes to Yod-Dropping, as both [u:] and [ju:] pronunciations may be used by General American speakers (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). In fact, schoolteachers tend to prescribe [ju:] forms (Wells 1982), which clearly contrasts with the steady movement in Southern regions towards the loss of [j] (Thomas 2004).

IV.2.5.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American female informants

Consequently, if the sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin is compared, certain differences as well as clear similarities will be observed. On the one hand both informants exhibit a different treatment of PRICE vowel and Yod-Dropping, as Hillary Clinton is more prone to accommodate her speech style to her different audiences by means of deviations from mainstream conventions, while Sarah Palin exhibits a rather stable usage of

both variables. On the other hand, both informants employ a similar usage of PIN-PEN merger, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping and T-Voicing. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that differences in frequencies of use for mainstream and non-mainstream variants between both female informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.196$; $df = 3$).

Precisely, Clinton and Palin seem to employ mainstream and non-mainstream forms to a similar extent, as they tend to use mainstream forms (94.65% and 95.72%, respectively) over non-mainstream variants (5.35% and 4.28%, respectively). This strict adherence to mainstream variants may be motivated by the prestige associated with these pronunciations, which are commonly used in General American speech –the prestigious variety in the U.S. In this respect, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin correlate with their social status and occupation (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44), as well as with the formality associated with the contexts in which they operate (Labov 2001a, 2001b). Similarly, the sociolinguistic behaviour of both informants correlates with gender expectations, since it tends to be assumed and expected that women are more prone to adhere to mainstream conventions (Trudgill 1972). In fact, deviations from mainstream conventions may originate negative evaluations on the audience, as it was the case of Hillary Clinton and here non-mainstream use of PRICE vowel and Yod-Dropping, especially when giving speeches in Southern regions of the U.S. and/or directing her speech towards an African American audience. For this reason, Clinton's speech style and communicative strategies have been rather criticised, as non-mainstream speech seems to have connotations of masculinity because of its association with the roughness and toughness of the vernacular world and culture, being these masculine attributes not positively evaluated in women's speech, as refinement and sophistication are much conventionally preferred (Coupland & Jaworski 2009).

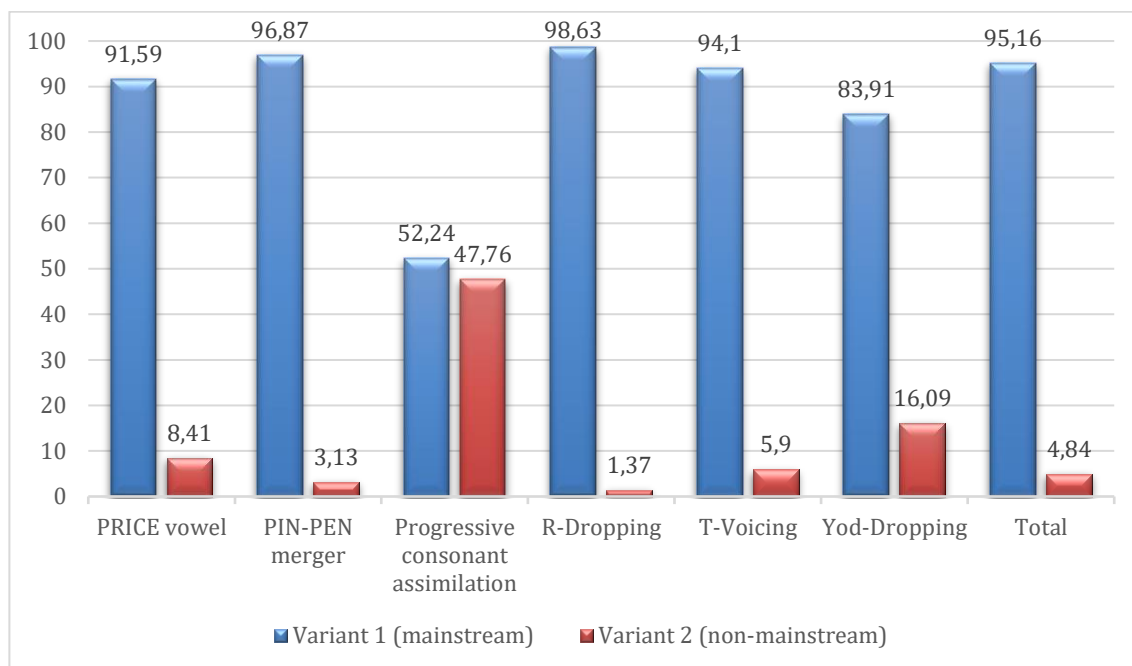


Figure IV.147. Total scores obtained by American females.

Lastly, even though certain differences can be observed in the scores obtained by both informants in some of the variables studied –such as PRICE vowel or Yod-Dropping–, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of both American females is characterised by a relevant use of mainstream variants (95.16%), being non-mainstream forms used to a scarce extent in their speeches (4.84%) (see Figure IV.147). Particularly, the only variant that seems to elicit a rather low frequency of use of mainstream forms is that of Progressive consonant assimilation, while the remaining variables tend to be predominantly realised with mainstream variants. This prevalence of mainstream forms in the speech of Clinton and Palin may be explained by the strong adherence of both informants to prestigious conventions, which are commonly associated with the speech of Northern regions of the U.S., as well as with a careful and formal speech style and a high social status and educational background.

IV.2.6. American Males

If the total usage levels that both male American informants obtained across the different contexts are analysed, a similar sociolinguistic behaviour in the treatment that Barack Obama and Donald Trump make of the variables studied will be appreciated (see Table IV.39 and Figure IV.148). In fact, a general predominance of mainstream variants is clearly observed in the sociolinguistic pattern of both informants. However, if evaluated closely, slight differences in the treatment that each informant makes of certain variables will also be observed.

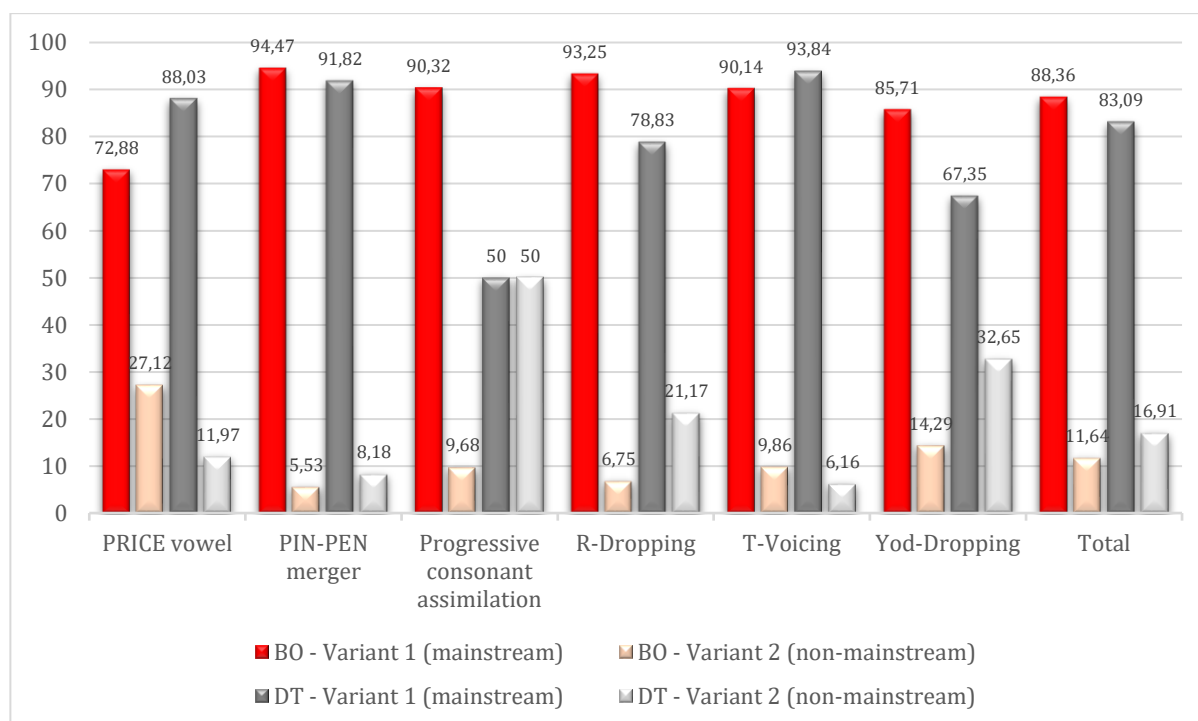


Figure IV.148. Total scores: Barack Obama (BO) versus Donald Trump (DT).

Table IV.39. Totals per Gender: American Males					
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants		
			Barack Obama	Donald Trump	Total
PRICE vowel	Variant #1: /aɪ/	%	72.88%	88.03%	81.47%
		#	344/472	544/618	888/1090
	Variant #2: [a:]	%	27.12%	11.97%	18.53%
		#	128/472	74/618	202/1090
PIN-PEN merger: /ɪ/-/ɛ/	Variant #1: No merging	%	94.47%	91.82%	93.14%
		#	205/217	202/220	407/437
	Variant #2: Merging	%	5.53%	8.18%	6.86%
		#	12/217	18/220	30/437
Progressive consonant assimilation	Variant #1: (nt) = /n/	%	90.32%	50.00%	66.67%
		#	28/31	22/44	50/75
	Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/	%	9.68%	50.00%	33.33%
		#	3/31	22/44	25/75
R-Dropping	Variant #1: (r) = /r/	%	93.25%	78.83%	86.62%
		#	1106/1186	797/1011	1903/2197
	Variant #2: (r) = /ø/	%	6.75%	21.17%	13.38%
		#	80/1186	214/1011	294/2197
T-Voicing	Variant #1: (t) = /d/	%	90.14%	93.84%	92.01%
		#	128/142	137/146	265/288
	Variant #2: (t) = /t/	%	9.86%	6.16%	7.99%
		#	14/142	9/146	23/288
Yod-Dropping	Variant #1: (j) = [u:]	%	85.71%	67.35%	76.53%
		#	42/49	33/49	75/98
	Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]	%	14.29%	32.65%	23.47%
		#	7/49	16/49	23/98
Total	Variant #1	%	88.36%	83.09%	85.73%
		#	1853/2097	1735/2088	3588/4185
	Variant #2	%	11.64%	16.91%	14.27%
		#	244/2097	353/2088	597/4185

Precisely, a logistic regression applied to the data obtained by each informant evidences that Barack Obama is the male American informant who most favours the usage of mainstream forms (see Table IV.40). On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the “Intercept” column reveals that Donald Trump disfavours the usage of mainstream forms. Nevertheless, as indicated by the values obtained for the “Centered factor weight” column, the sociolinguistic behaviour of both informants does not differ to a relevant extent column, as the probability of each informant to employ mainstream forms is quite similar.

Table IV.40. Logistic regression of the contribution of American males to the probability of using mainstream forms. Fixed effects analysis: “Informant” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.208	4185	0.857	—
Barack Obama	0.198	2097	0.884	0.55
Donald Trump	-0.2	2088	0.831	0.45
Misc. 1	N= 4185; df= 2; Intercept= 1.808; Overall proportion= 0.857; Centered input probability= 0.859.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1706.342; AIC= 3416.684; AICc= 3416.687; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.108; R2 fixed= 0; R2 random= 0.013; R2 total= 0.013.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

IV.2.6.a. PRICE vowel

Regarding PRICE vowel, noticeable differences can be observed in the usage that both informants make of this linguistic feature. Thus, while Obama obtained a total score of 72.88% for variant 1 (/aɪ/) and 27.12% for variant 2 ([a:]), Trump obtained a score of 88.03% for variant 1 and 11.97% for variant 2. Thus, even though the global scores obtained by both informants reveal a strict adherence to mainstream conventions, it can also be noticed that Donald Trump employs this variable in a more mainstream way than Barack Obama does. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 40.654$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, the noticeable use that Obama makes of monophthongal forms can be explained by the fact that variant 2 is one of the most remarkable stereotypes associated with Southern and African American accents (Thomas 2004: 311), and particularly linked with Southern culture (Boberg 2015). In fact, this informant exhibits a relevant degree of variability in his speech (see Table IV.32 in section IV.2.3), as he tends to alter the usage of this linguistic

feature depending on the audience of his speech events. Particularly, he accommodated to his Southern and African American audience in the context of Rally (South), employing variant 2 to a great extent, and therefore, deviating from the mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited in other contexts and with other linguistic variables. In this respect, it seems that Barack Obama was aiming at strategically projecting a particular identity that would make him a relatable speaker for his audience (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). Contrarily, Donald Trump tends to exhibit a more stable mainstream behaviour than Barack Obama, which results in a lesser degree of variability across contexts in the speech of the former informant. Hence, it seems that even though both politicians make a predominant use of mainstream variant 1, Barack Obama is more prone to adapt his sociolinguistic behaviour to the audience of his speech events, especially under the motivation of ethnic identity aspects, which correlates with his bidialectal behaviour (Lippi-Green 2012).

Yet, the percentages obtained by both informants for mainstream variant 1 are rather high, which may be influenced by the frequency with which General American English speakers employ this variant, together with certain social factors associated with variant 2. In this respect, the fact that monophthongal realisations are commonly associated with the speech of working-class individuals might have precluded Obama and Trump from adopting variant 2 pronunciations to a greater extent. In fact, this type of pronunciation tends to be avoided by speakers who aim to achieve “upward white-collar mobility”, being this avoidance more common in the speech of individuals based in urban centres than in rural areas (Thomas 2004: 312).

Consequently, considering the social status and the occupation of both informants, and due to the negative social evaluations associated with the non-mainstream variant, it could be expected a reluctance on the part of Barack Obama and Donald Trump to adopt monophthongal realisations in their public speech events. However, even though the overall scores obtained by both informants for this variable indicate a rather mainstream use, Barack Obama exhibits a higher score for non-mainstream variant 2 than Donald Trump. Thus, Obama is more prone to adjust his sociolinguistic behaviour depending on the context in which he operates, being ethnic identity a triggering factor in his use of variant 2.

IV.2.6.b. PIN-PEN merger

Even though Donald Trump exhibits a more irregular use of PIN-PEN merger than Barack Obama, the overall scores obtained by both male informants for this variable reveal a strong adherence to mainstream conventions. Thus, Obama obtained a score of 94.47% for mainstream variant 1 (No merging) and 5.53% for non-mainstream variant 2 (Merging), and Trump obtained a score of 91.82% for variant 1 and 8.18% for non-mainstream variant 2. Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.202$; $df = 3$).

This predominant use of variant 1 may be motivated by the frequency with which General American speakers employ unmerged realisations (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982), being this type of pronunciation regarded as mainstream and prestigious pronunciations, as well as by the formality associated with the contexts in which Obama and Trump operate. In addition, geographical aspects might also influence the high frequency of use of variant 1 in the speech of both male politicians, as it is commonly employed in large areas of the U.S., being variant 2 usually restricted to Southern regions (Thomas 2004). Moreover, social issues seem to also influence the low frequency with which Barack Obama and Donald Trump use variant 2, as this variant is frequently associated with working-class speech (Thomas 2004: 312). As a result, despite being merged realisations one of the most prominent stereotypical linguistic features of Southern speech and often associated with a strong regional identity (Thomas 2004; Schneider 2006), speakers have begun to differentiate PIN-PEN words (Thomas 2004: 316). Consequently, this traditional linguistic feature seems to be receding, especially in large urban Southern areas (Schneider 2006: 64; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008). Furthermore, merged realisations appear to be inversely correlated with education, as the speech of individuals with higher education is commonly associated with a higher use of variant 1 (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). Hence, it seems that due to the geographical constrictions and the negative social evaluations associated with variant 2 together with its receding behaviour, no motivation may be found by Obama and

Trump to considerably alter their usage of PIN-PEN merger, and therefore, to accommodate to a Southern and/or African American audience.

In fact, Obama's reluctance to adopt non-mainstream variant 2 becomes of relevance, as merged realisations are usually employed by African Americans (Edwards 2004; Wells 1982). Thus, not only Obama does not accommodate to his Southern and African American audience in his Southern rally, but he also exhibits an even more mainstream use of PIN-PEN merger than Trump. Hence, both Obama and Trump refuse to alter their speech to a considerable extent by means of making use of a rather stigmatised variant. As a result, the sociolinguistic behaviour of both male American informants when it comes to PIN-PEN merger reveals a strong adherence to mainstream conventions, being variant 1 –which is associated with the speech of educated individuals belonging to high social statuses– predominantly used over variant 2.

IV.2.6.c. Progressive consonant assimilation

However, more marked differences can be observed in the treatment that both male informants make of Progressive consonant assimilation. Thus, while Barack Obama obtained an overall score of 90.32% for variant 1 ((nt) = /n/), Donald Trump obtained a score of 50.00% for the same variant. Therefore, variant 2 ((nt) = /nt/) is scarcely used by Obama (9.68%) but highly used in the speech of Trump (50.00%). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 13.306$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, Obama's scores for Progressive consonant assimilation were rather expected, since /t/ tends to be deleted from /nt/ cluster in General American speech (Kretzschmar 2004; Wells 1982), being this variety regarded as rather prestigious. Thus, a prominent use of mainstream variant 1 in Obama's speech would correlate with his social status and occupation.

However, considering that Southern speech tends to be characterised by a frequent use of variant 1 (Wells 1982), and that Northern accents tend to preserve the distinction

between pairs of words such as *winter* and *winner* words (Wells 1982: 252), the scores obtained by Trump were rather unexpected. Nevertheless, it has been evidenced that Donald Trump tends to employ non-mainstream linguistic variants so as to create and project a likeable and informal identity for himself (Sclafani 2018: 11).

Overall, while Obama clearly adheres to mainstream conventions, Trump exhibits a rather equilibrated use of both variants of Progressive consonant assimilation.

IV.2.6.d. R-Dropping

As for R-Dropping, a clear difference in the usage that both informants make of this variable can be observed. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 97.931$; $df = 1$).

Particularly, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite Barack Obama being bidialectal and able to shift into African American or General American English on occasion (Lippi-Green 2012: 144), and being variant 2 ((r) = /ø/) commonly used in African American speech, he exhibits a lower percentage of use for this variant (6.75%) than Donald Trump (21.17%). Hence, Obama is more prone to use mainstream variant 1 ((r) = /r/) (93.25%) than Donald Trump (78.83%).

On the other hand, the fact that Donald Trump is originally from New York, a geographical area that has traditionally been characterised by an extensive use of non-rhotic realisations by individuals from all social classes (Collins & Mees 2013), might have influenced the relevant use that he makes of variant 2, being non-rhotic realisations one of the most remarkable stereotypes of New Yorkers' speech (Gordon 2004b). In fact, it is noteworthy to mention that Trump tends to employ his New York accent and to diverge from mainstream conventions quite often (Sclafani 2018). Precisely, as previously stated, Trump may strategically employ non-mainstream forms associated with his New York accent in an attempt to project a political identity characterised by certain traits, such as approachability, folksiness, informality, and emotionality (Lakoff 2005; Sclafani 2018).

Nevertheless, the still predominant use that both politicians make of variant 1 may be motivated by prestigious and formal aspects. On the one hand, rhotic realisations enjoy a relevant degree of prestige in the U.S., being non-rhotic forms rather stigmatised (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 52). In this respect, New Yorkers are increasing their usage of mainstream variant 1, especially those individuals belonging to high social class groups (Trudgill & Hannah 2008: 52). In fact, this linguistic feature has become a strong class marker, which has led to a significant stigmatisation –as showed in Labov’s study (1966/2006)–, being non-rhotic realisations commonly associated with lower and working-class speakers (Gordon 2004b: 288; Labov 1966/2006). In addition, even though rhotic and non-rhotic realisations can still be encountered in the speech of New Yorkers (Fowler 1986), the trend towards rhoticity seems to be progressing while the prestige associated with r-lessness forms has reversed (Gordon 2004b; Boberg 2015). In a similar vein, non-rhotic forms –a long-standing traditional Southern feature (Schneider 2006; Trudgill & Hannah 2008)– appear to be also receding in Southern areas (Lippi-Green 2012; Wells 1982), perhaps under the influence of stigmatised associations with r-less realisation, which has led urban Southern speakers to increase rhotic pronunciations, especially in formal situations (Wells 1982). Consequently, formality issues appear to also influence the usage that Obama and Trump make of rhotic or non-rhotic pronunciations (Lippi-Green 2012), being rhotic realisations commonly preferred in careful speech (Wells 1982).

Consequently, the noticeable use that both informants make of rhotic realisations correlates with their occupation, education and social status, together with the formality associated with the speech events in which they operate. However, it becomes of relevance the fact that while Barack Obama does not employ the variant that is commonly used by the ethnic group to which he identifies, Donald Trump’s non-rhotic New Yorker stereotypical marker arises to a greater extent in certain contexts, revealing in this way the accent that characterises his region of provenance. As a result, whether consciously or unconsciously, Donald Trump tends to use variant 2 to a greater extent than Obama, being geographical aspects relatively crucial in the speech style of Trump, while ethnic factors appear to not influence Obama’s sociolinguistic behaviour.

IV.2.6.e. T-Voicing

Regarding T-Voicing, both male informants exhibit a rather similar sociolinguistic behaviour. Even though Barack Obama and Donald Trump make certain use of variant 2 ((t) = /t/), a predominant use of variant 1 ((t) = /d/) can be observed in their speech styles. Thus, Obama obtained a score of 90.14% for variant 1 and 9.86% for variant 2, and Trump obtained a score of 93.84% for variant 1 and 6.16% for variant 2. Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 1.337$; $df = 3$).

This predominant use of variant 1 over variant 2 may be explained by the common use that General American English speakers make of variant 1 (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar 2004), together with the prestige acquired by neutralised realisations of the contrast between /t/ and /d/, which is preferred by educated American speakers (Wells 1982: 250; McDavid 1966; Kretzschmar 2004).

Thus, certain factors such as the relevant spread that variant 1 has experienced across the U.S., its associations with a prestigious and careful speech and the social status and the occupation of both informants, might have influenced the sociolinguistic behaviour of Barack Obama and Donald Trump towards a mainstream use of T-Voicing (Wells 1982; McDavid 1966; Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010).

IV.2.6.f. Yod-Dropping

However, the treatment that Barack Obama and Donald Trump make of Yod-Dropping reveals certain differences in the sociolinguistic behaviour of both informants: while Obama uses to a relevant extent mainstream variant 1 ((j) = [u:]) (85.71%), Donald Trump uses this variant to a more moderate extent (67.35%). Consequently, non-mainstream variant 2 ((j) = [ju:]) is more frequently used by Trump (32.65%) than by Obama (14.29%). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 4.602$; $df = 1$).

As it can be observed in Table IV.39 and Figure IV.148, both informants tend to use variant 1 over variant 2, which correlates with the common use that not only New Yorkers, but also Western and Northern individuals make of this variant (Trudgill & Hannah 2008), being pronunciations realised with variant 2 ([j] = [ju:]) often perceived as affected (Wells 1982: 504). In addition, the formality associated with the speech events in which both informants operate and their national as well as international scope might have also influenced a predominant use of variant 1, as it is preferred by General American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), although certain variability in the usage of this linguistic feature may be observed.

Nevertheless, it becomes of relevance the usage that both informants make of non-mainstream variant 2. On the one hand, even though variant 2 is commonly used by Southern and African American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), and despite Barack Obama having identified himself as a bidialectal African American, his degree of adjustment to the non-mainstream variant is lesser than that of Trump. In this respect, even though African Americans tend to be more conservative in the adoption of innovative features, Obama's pervading adherence to the mainstream variant may be motivated by a recent movement towards the loss of /j/ in the South (Thomas 2004), which would reduce the difference between the speech of the informant and the speech of his Southern audience, and therefore, potential motivations to adopt such a receding linguistic feature.

On the other hand, the scores obtained by Donald Trump reveal a greater usage of the non-mainstream variant, which might be motivated by an attempt to accommodate to a Southern audience, as "[j] has persisted in the South longer than in any other part of the United States (though it still appears elsewhere as an affectation)" (Thomas 2014: 319). In addition, Trump's strategy to employ a non-mainstream speech style in order to project the image of an approachable, folksy, informal and emotional politician could have played a determinant role in the treatment that he makes of Yod-Dropping (Lakoff 2005; Sclafani 2018).

Thus, even though mainstream variant 1 remains frequently used in the speech of Barack Obama and Donald Trump, relevant differences in the usage that both informants make of this variable can also be observed, as Trump tends to employ a greater use of non-

mainstream variant 2 than Obama. In addition, certain fluctuation when it comes to using variant 1 or 2 can be noticed in the speech of both politicians. This fluctuation across contexts might also be motivated by the common use that General American English speakers make of variant 1 and the variability that is also found in this variety, since “the palatal glide /j/ remains firmly in place in words like *cure*, *music*, but in other words like *Tuesday*, *coupon*, *neurotic* it is frequently lost” (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). Lastly, the fact that schoolteachers often prescribe variant 1 may also increase the variability with which speakers employ this linguistic feature (Wells 1982).

IV.2.6.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American male informants

Consequently, certain differences as well as similarities arise if the sociolinguistic behaviour of Barack Obama and Donald Trump is compared. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between both male informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 23.763$; $df = 1$).

On the one hand, both informants exhibit a similar usage of PIN-PEN merger and T-Voicing, revealing in this sense a predominant mainstream behaviour in the treatment of both variables. As for PRICE vowel, slight differences can be observed in the percentages of use obtained by Obama and Trump, being the latter the one that employs to a great extent the mainstream variant. On the contrary, stark differences are evident when it comes to Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping and Yod-Dropping, being in this case Barack Obama the informant that employs the mainstream variant to a greater extent. On the other hand, Donald Trump exhibits a non-mainstream behaviour in the treatment of these three variables, which might be motivated by a political strategy in order to construct and project a public persona that would seem approachable, folksy, informal and emotional to the electorate (Lakoff 2005; Sclafani 2018). In fact, as previously stated, his New Yorker accent – which is commonly associated with masculine speech (Labov 1966/2006)– might play a relevant role in the construction of his political identity, as people usually associate New York accent with a competent, aggressive and direct style of speaking (Guo 2016).

Particularly, the treatment that both informants make of R-Dropping becomes of relevance, since even though Barack Obama has identified himself as a bidialectal African American, he does not deviate from mainstream conventions to a great extent in order to adjust to a Southern and African American audience, being his percentage of use for the non-mainstream variant rather low. In contrast, Donald Trump deviates to a greater extent from mainstream conventions, significantly employing the non-rhotic New Yorker stereotypical marker in certain contexts. Thus, it seems that geographical aspects associated with variant 2 influence to a relevant extent Trump's speech style, while ethnic aspects do not appear to determine the sociolinguistic behaviour of Obama.

Nevertheless, despite the differences already mentioned, Obama and Trump tend to employ mainstream and non-mainstream forms to a similar extent (see Figure IV.148). In fact, Barack Obama and Donald Trump tend to use mainstream forms (88.36% and 83.09%, respectively) over non-mainstream variants (11.64% and 16.91%, respectively) (see Figure IV.148). This strict adherence to mainstream conventions may be motivated by the prestige associated with those pronunciations that are frequently used in General American speech, which is regarded as the prestigious variety in the U.S. In this respect, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Obama and Trump correlates with their social status and occupation (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44), as well as with the formality associated with the contexts in which they operate (Labov 2001a, 2001b). Precisely, deviations from mainstream conventions may originate negative evaluations on the audience, as it has been the case of Barack Obama and his non-mainstream use of certain linguistic features associated with African American speech.

Lastly, even though certain differences can be observed in the scores obtained by both informants in some of the variables studied, such as PRICE vowel, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping and Yod-Dropping, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American male informants is characterised by a relevant use of mainstream variants (85.73%), being non-mainstream forms used to a scarce extent in their speeches (14.27%) (see Figure IV.149). Particularly, the only variant that seems to elicit a rather low frequency of use of mainstream forms is that of Progressive consonant assimilation, while the remaining variables tend to be

predominantly realised with mainstream variants. This prevalence of mainstream forms in the speech of male American informants may be explained by their strong adherence to prestigious conventions, which are commonly associated with the speech of Northern regions of the U.S., as well as with a careful and formal speech and a high social status and educational background.

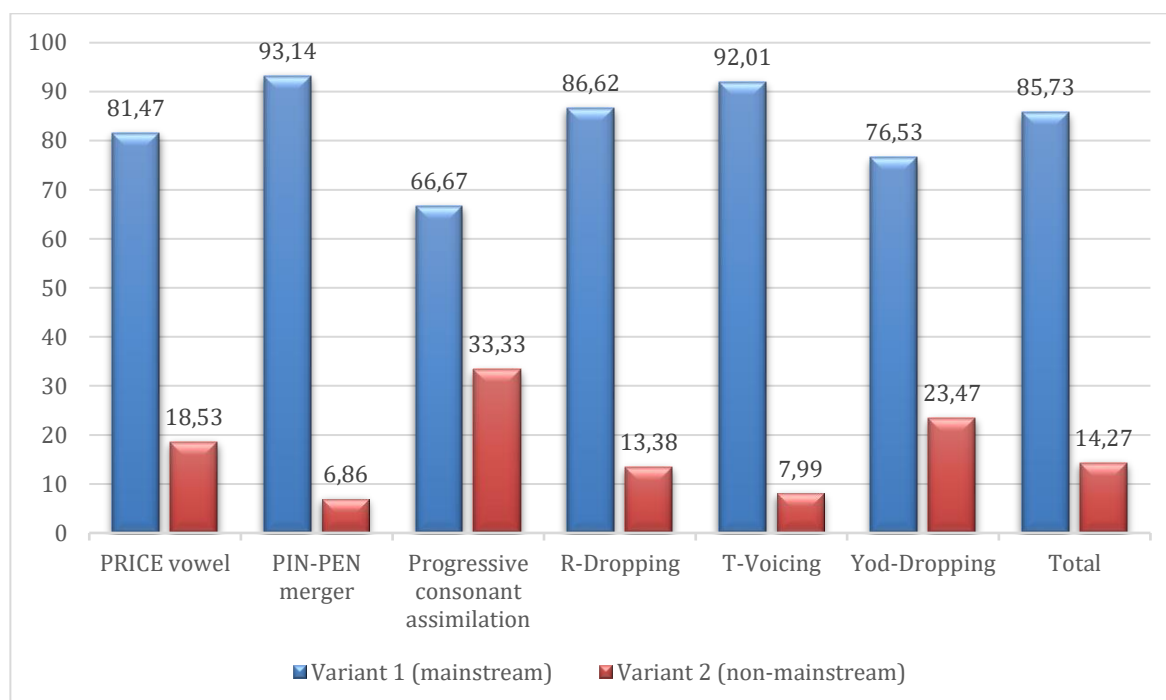


Figure IV.149. Total scores obtained by American males.

IV.2.7. American Informants: Overall

Table IV.41 shows the total usage levels of the four American informants for the variables studied. As it can be appreciated, several similarities in the usage of certain linguistic features are shared by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump, as in the case of PIN-PEN merger and T-Voicing. Nevertheless, considerable differences can also be observed in the speech of the four informants when it comes to the remaining variables.

Table IV.41. American Informants: Totals							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants				
			Hillary Clinton	Sarah Palin	Barack Obama	Donald Trump	Total
PRICE vowel	Variant #1: /aɪ/	%	88.32%	95.58%	72.88%	88.03%	85.92%
		#	416/471	368/385	344/472	544/618	1672/1946
	Variant #2: [a:]	%	11.68%	4.42%	27.12%	11.97%	14.08%
		#	55/471	17/385	128/472	74/618	274/1946
PIN-PEN merger: /ɪ/-/ɛ/	Variant #1: No merging	%	99.01%	94.48%	94.47%	91.82%	94.88%
		#	200/202	171/181	205/217	202/220	778/820
	Variant #2: Merging	%	0.99%	5.52%	5.53%	8.18%	5.12%
		#	2/202	10/181	12/217	18/220	42/820
Progressive consonant assimilation	Variant #1: (nt) = /n/	%	58.33%	45.16%	90.32%	50.00%	59.86%
		#	21/36	14/31	28/31	22/44	85/142
	Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/	%	41.67%	54.84%	9.68%	50.00%	40.14%
		#	15/36	17/31	3/31	22/44	57/142
R-Dropping	Variant #1: (r) = /r/	%	98.48%	98.78%	93.25%	78.83%	92.18%
		#	975/990	894/905	1106/1186	797/1011	3772/4092
	Variant #2: (r) = /ø/	%	1.52%	1.22%	6.75%	21.17%	7.82%
		#	15/990	11/905	80/1186	214/1011	320/4092
T-Voicing	Variant #1: (t) = /d/	%	97.26%	91.19%	90.14%	93.84%	93.09%
		#	142/146	145/159	128/142	137/146	552/593
	Variant #2: (t) = /t/	%	2.74%	8.81%	9.86%	6.16%	6.91%
		#	4/146	14/159	14/142	9/146	41/593
Yod-Dropping	Variant #1: (j) = [u:]	%	77.27%	90.70%	85.71%	67.35%	80.00%
		#	34/44	39/43	42/49	33/49	148/185
	Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]	%	22.73%	9.30%	14.29%	32.65%	20.00%
		#	10/44	4/43	7/49	16/49	37/185
Total	Variant #1	%	94.65%	95.72%	88.36%	83.09%	90.09%
		#	1788/1889	1631/1704	1853/2097	1735/2088	7007/7778
	Variant #1	%	5.35%	4.28%	11.64%	16.91%	9.91%
		#	101/1889	73/1704	244/2097	353/2088	771/7778

IV.2.7.a. PRICE vowel

The sociolinguistic behaviour of the four American informants differs to a certain extent when it comes to their usAGe of PRICE vowel (see Figure IV.150). Precisely, even though a general mainstream behaviour can be observed, the percentages obtained for mainstream variant 1 (/aɪ/) by Hillary Clinton (88.32%), Sarah Palin (95.58%), Barack Obama (72.88%) and Donald Trump (88.03%) are less homogeneous than those obtained for PIN-PEN merger and T-Voicing. Consequently, variant 2 ([a:]) is noticeably used by Hillary Clinton (11.68%) and

Donald Trump (11.97%), while it is scarcely used by Sarah Palin (4.42%). Contrarily, Barack Obama is the informant that most uses variant 2 out of the four American politicians (27.12%). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 100.567$; $df = 3$).

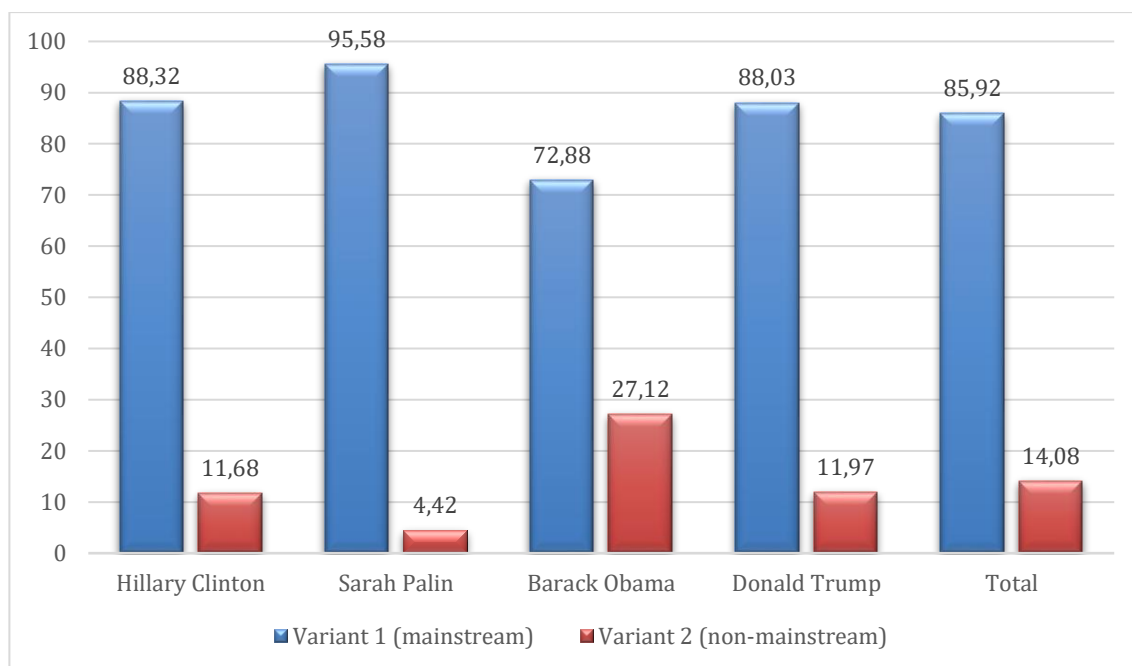


Figure IV.150. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of PRICE vowel across the different contexts.

On the one hand, considering that variant 2 is one of the most remarkable linguistic stereotypes associated with Southern accents (Thomas 2004: 311; Lippi-Green 2012: 214), and particularly linked with Southern culture (Boberg 2015), the score obtained by Sarah Palin for the monophthongal variant was rather expected, as she has not had close contact with Southern accents.

As with Donald Trump, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite having not had any close contact with Southern accents (just like Sarah Palin), he exhibits a greater use of the non-mainstream variant than Palin does, being his sociolinguistic behaviour rather similar to that of Hillary Clinton, who actually has had close contact with Southern accents. Particularly,

this unexpected usage of monophthongal realisations on the part of Trump may be motivated by the tendency of this informant to adopt non-mainstream forms in his speech so as to project an approachable, folksy and informal identity to the electorate (Lakoff 2005; Sclafani 2018). Hence, it could be tentatively stated that PRICE vowel is used by Trump as a device in identity construction processes (Sclafani 2018: 11). Yet, his sociolinguistic behaviour is still characterised by a –rather expected– prominent use of mainstream variant 1.

On the other hand, Clinton's scores for PRICE vowel also reveal certain usage of monophthongal realisations, which clearly contrasts with the sociolinguistic behaviour of Sarah Palin, who exhibits an almost complete use of the mainstream variant. In fact, a similar pattern of use can be observed if Clinton and Trump scores are taken into account, since even though both informants predominantly use variant 1 over variant 2, a relevant percentage of monophthongal realisations is evident in their speech styles. However, it seems that Clinton's tendency to adopt variant 2 would be more expected, as she has spent several years in the South and has had close contact with Southern accents.

Nevertheless, as showed in Table IV.28, it seems that apart from accommodating to a Southern audience, Hillary Clinton is also adjusting her usage of PRICE vowel under the influence of a specific ethnic community. Precisely, apart from being highly characteristic of Southern speech (Thomas 2004: 311; Boberg 2015), variant 2 is also commonly used by African American speakers (Wells 1982). Hence, it could be tentatively stated that Hillary Clinton accommodates to a Southern as well as to an African American audience –especially when performing in her Southern rally–, projecting in this sense an identity that would adjust to the context and the audience at issue. In order to do so, the informant engages in the creation of certain acts of identity by means of employing specific patterns of sociolinguistic behavior that are characteristic of the targeted audience, ultimately aiming at establishing a connection with a specific group to which she wishes to be identified (whether Southern or African American individuals). Consequently, it could be tentatively stated that Hillary Clinton is attempting to strengthen in-group linguistic connections with her audience by means of using the non-mainstream monophthong [a:] (Le page & Tabouret-Keller 1985).

On the other hand, the scores obtained by Barack Obama contrast with those obtained by Hillary Clinton, Donald Trump and Sarah Palin, as he is the informant who obtained the highest percentage of use for variant 2. Even though Obama has not had a close contact with Southern accents (just like Sarah Palin and Donald Trump), his relevant usage of monophthongal realisations can be explained by the fact that he has identified himself as a bidialectal African American, which means that he masters General American and African American English (Lippi-Green 2012). Thus, since African American speech is characterised by a common use of variant 2 (Wells 1982), Obama seems to employ variant 1 in certain contexts while he accommodates to variant 2 when performing in front of an African American audience. Consequently, it could be said that Barack Obama strategically increases his usage of non-mainstream variant 2 depending on the context, which could be understood as an attempt to reinforce his African American identity towards his potential African American audience, which ultimately evidences his objective of strengthening in-group connections (Le Page and Tabouret-Keller 1985; Edwards 2009).

Nevertheless, despite of the different treatment that the four informants make of PRICE vowel, a predominant mainstream behaviour can still be observed in the speech of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump. This prevalence of mainstream variant 1 may be motivated by the common use that General American speakers make of this prestigious form (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), perhaps under the influence of the national –as well as international– scope of the speech events in which the four informants participated, together with the high degree of formality associated with these contexts. Also, geographical aspects might also foster a predominant use of variant 1, as monophthongal realisations are usually restricted to the speech of Southern individuals, being Hillary Clinton the only informant that has ever had close contact with Southern speech. In addition, apart from being geographically restricted, the rather low usage of non-mainstream variant 2 also appears to be influenced by social factors. Precisely, even though monophthongal realisations may be observed in the speech of White and Black educated Southerners, this variant has traditionally been associated with the speech of working-class individuals, which has led many upper-middle class speakers to avoid it (Thomas 2004: 312), being this avoidance more

prevalent in urban than in rural areas. Hence, non-mainstream variant 2 is subject to negative social evaluation, being this realisation rejected by young, urban speakers, especially women (Boberg 2015: 245).

Consequently, due to geographical constrictions and the stigmatisation associated with variant 2, on the one hand, and the social status and the occupation of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump, on the other, certain predominance of variant 1 over variant 2 could be expected in the public speech events of the four informants. Nevertheless, as Table IV.41 shows, these constrictions did not totally preclude Clinton, Obama and Trump from diverging from mainstream conventions in order to project and reinforce their particular public identity (Coupland 2011; Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985). In contrast, Palin is the only informant that does not alter her usage of PRICE vowel, revealing a strong adherence to the mainstream convention.

Overall, and despite the aforementioned differences in the speech of Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants regarding their usage of PRICE vowel evidences a prominent use of mainstream (85.92%) over non-mainstream forms (14.02%), which correlates with social status, educational, occupational and mainstream conventions (see Figure IV.150).

IV.2.7.b. PIN-PEN merger

As for PIN-PEN merger, and as it can be observed in Figure IV.151, the four American informants tend to exhibit a rather mainstream behaviour. In fact, variant 1 (No merging) is predominantly employed by Hillary Clinton (99.01%), Sarah Palin (94.48%), Barack Obama (94.47%) and Donald Trump (91.82%). Thus, variant 2 (Merging) remains scarcely used in the speech of American informants, being Hillary Clinton the politician that obtained the lowest percentage of use for this variant (0.99%), followed by Sarah Palin (5.52%), Barack Obama (5.53%) and Donald Trump (8.18%). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 11.47$; $df = 3$).

On the one hand, the high score obtained by Sarah Palin and Donald Trump for variant 1 was rather expected, as variant 2 is commonly associated with a strong Southern regional identity and none of these politicians has never had close contact with Southern accent (Schneider 2006). Hence, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Palin and Trump goes in line with the general trend of Northern speakers of using variant 1 in their speech (Trudgill & Hannah 2008).

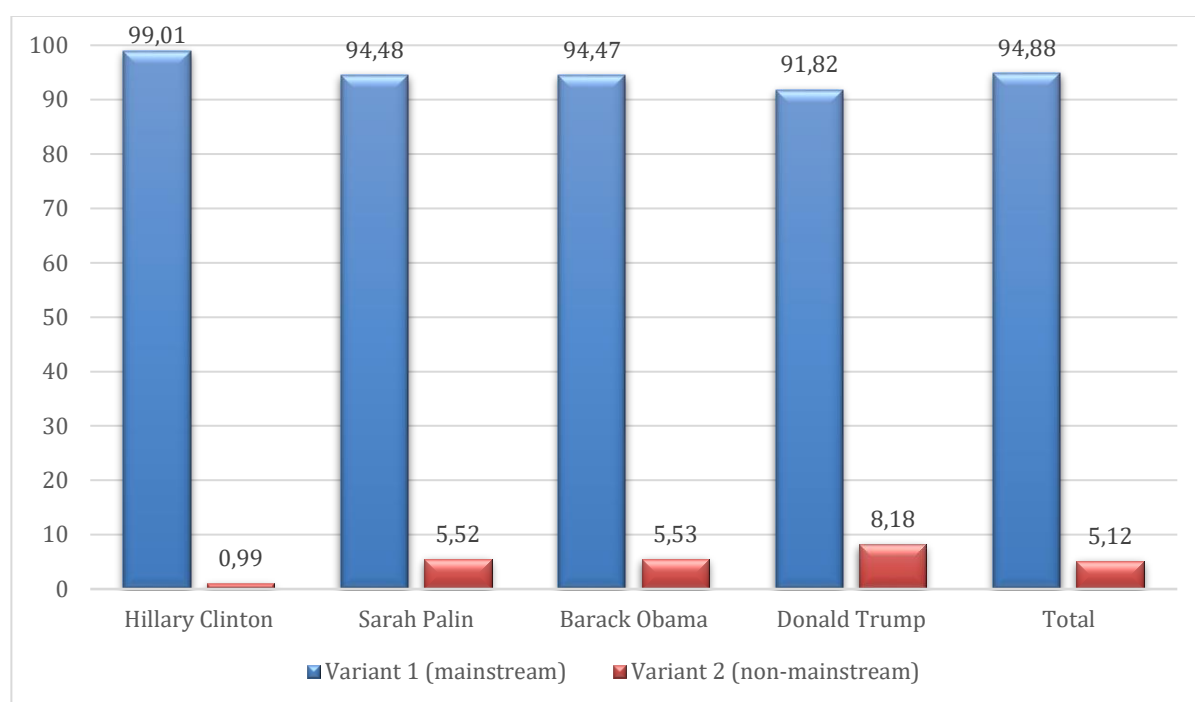


Figure IV.151. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of PIN-PEN merger across the different contexts.

However, it becomes of relevance the fact that neither Hillary Clinton nor Barack Obama accommodate to merged realisations across the different contexts in which they operate. Firstly, despite having spent several years in the South –where variant 2 is frequently used–, Hillary Clinton does not use this variant to a significant extent, as she employs an almost complete mainstream use of this variable. A similar reluctance to adopt variant 2 can be observed in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Barack Obama. Precisely, despite having identified himself as a bidialectal African American (Lippi-Green 2012), he does not

accommodate to variant 2 to a significant extent when performing in front of Southern and African American individuals, as variant 2 is not only used in Southern accents but also in African American speech (Thomas 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982). Hence, it seems that Obama does not adjust his sociolinguistic behaviour neither to a Southern audience nor to the African American ethnic group with which he identifies, which means that he does not use non-mainstream variant 2 as a device in the projection and reinforcement of his African American identity (as he does with other variables).

As previously stated, this generalised reluctance of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama to adopt non-mainstream variant 2 despite having had close contact with Southern (as in the case of the former) and African American accents (as in the case of the later) may be motivated by the stigmatisation that is commonly associated with merged realisations (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004), which has led speakers to differentiate PIN-PEN words (Thomas 2004: 316). In this respect, Thomas (2004: 316) confirms that: “today, however, some Southerners, largely under the influence of schools, have begun to distinguish PIN and PEN”. As a result, this traditional Southern feature is starting to lose ground in the South, particularly in large urban areas (Schneider 2006; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008). Consequently, it can be tentatively stated that due to the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 and its receding behaviour, no motivation may be found by Clinton and Obama in order to alter their usage of PIN-PEN merger. However, it must be mentioned that African American individuals seem to be more conservative than Whites, as this receding behaviour is not that frequent in African American speech, which further evidences Obama’s reluctance to deviate from mainstream conventions.

Thus, the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 and its receding behaviour may result in a scarce motivation for the four politicians to alter their usage of this linguistic feature, even for Hillary Clinton –who has had close contact with Southern accents– and Barack Obama –who also speaks African American. Thus, PIN-PEN merger is subject to a rather low degree of fluctuation across the contexts studied in the speech of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump. Another motivation that might have also influenced the scarce use of merged realisations by American informants may be the fact that the speech

of individuals with higher education is commonly associated with a higher use of variant 1 (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006).

Hence, the different geographical areas where the informants operate do not seem to determine a mainstream or non-mainstream use of PIN-PEN merger, as all the informants tend to exhibit a rather stable and mainstream speech style when it comes to this linguistic feature. Similarly, ethnic identity aspects do not considerably influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump, as they neither accommodate to African American audiences. Instead, social status, educational and mainstream conventions appear to influence the speech style of these politicians towards a mainstream use of PIN-PEN merger, resulting in a general mainstream behaviour in which mainstream variant 1 (94.88%) is predominantly used over non-mainstream variant 2 (5.12%) (see Figure IV.151).

IV.2.7.c. Progressive consonant assimilation

On the other hand, noticeable differences can be observed in the speech of the four informants when it comes to their use of Progressive consonant assimilation (see Figure IV.152). Thus, even though a similar treatment of variant 1 ((nt) = /n/) and variant 2 ((nt) = /nt/) can be observed in the speech of Hillary Clinton (58.33% and 41.67%, respectively), Sarah Palin (45.16% and 54.84%, respectively) and Donald Trump (50.00% and 50.00%, respectively), the sociolinguistic behaviour of Barack Obama evidences a completely different use of both variants, as he obtained a score of 90.32% for variant 1 and 9.68% for variant 2. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 16.575$; $df = 3$).

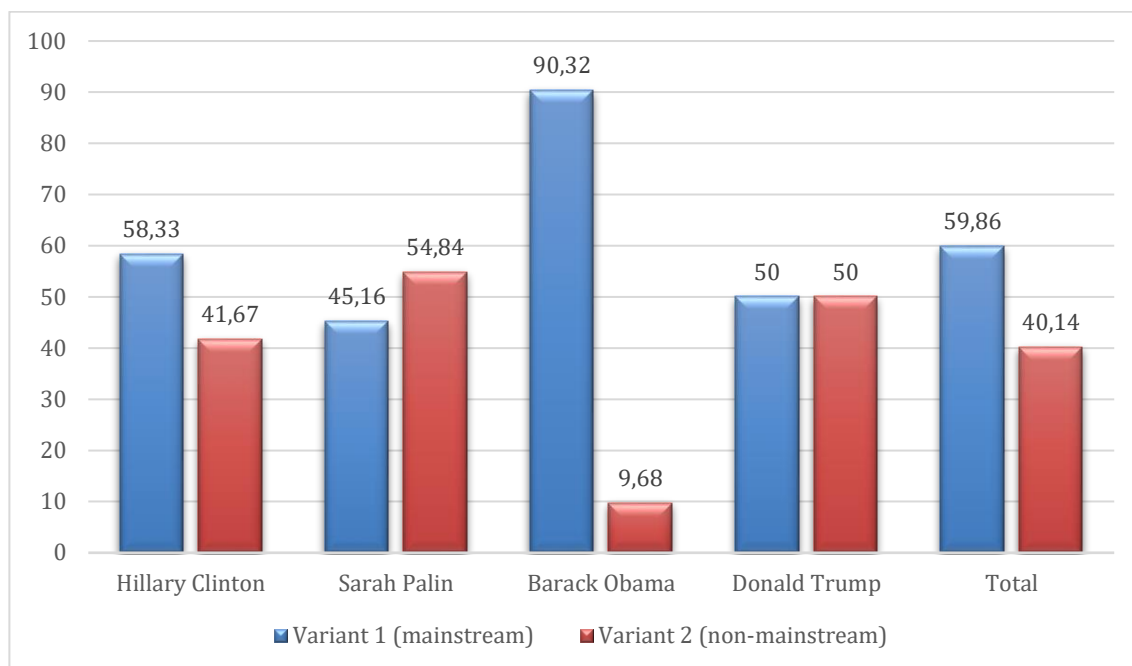


Figure IV.152. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of Progressive consonant assimilation across the different contexts.

On the one hand, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Donald Trump is characterised by certain adherence to the General American mainstream convention of deleting /t/ in /nt/ cluster (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar: 2004: 267), together with the presence of non-mainstream variant 2 realisations, perhaps in an attempt to employ a more folksy and informal speech style. In addition, considering that these three informants have been based in Northern regions for long periods of time and have had close contact with Northern accents, the relevant use that they make of variant 2 could be explained by the fact that Northerners tend to preserve a clear distinction between words such as *winter* and *winner* (Wells 1982: 252)

However, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite Barack Obama having spent long periods of time in Northern regions, he does not use variant 2 to a great extent, which contrasts with the speech style of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Donald Trump. Instead, Obama exhibits a rather different use of this variable, being variant 1 predominantly used over variant 2, which correlates with mainstream conventions (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar: 2004: 267). As a result, whether consciously or unconsciously, apart from being

the informant that exhibits the highest percentage of use for mainstream variant 1, Obama is the informant that most accommodates to the speech of Southern individuals, as speakers from Southern regions also tend to delete /t/ in this environment (Wells 1982: 252).

Consequently, Figure IV.152 evidences the rather low usage that the four American informants make of Progressive consonant assimilation, being mainstream variant 1 (59.86%) and non-mainstream variant 2 (40.14%) used to a similar extent.

IV.2.7.d. R-Dropping

Another variable that might reveal certain differences in the speech of the four American informants is that of R-Dropping (see Figure IV.153). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 361.105$; $df = 3$).

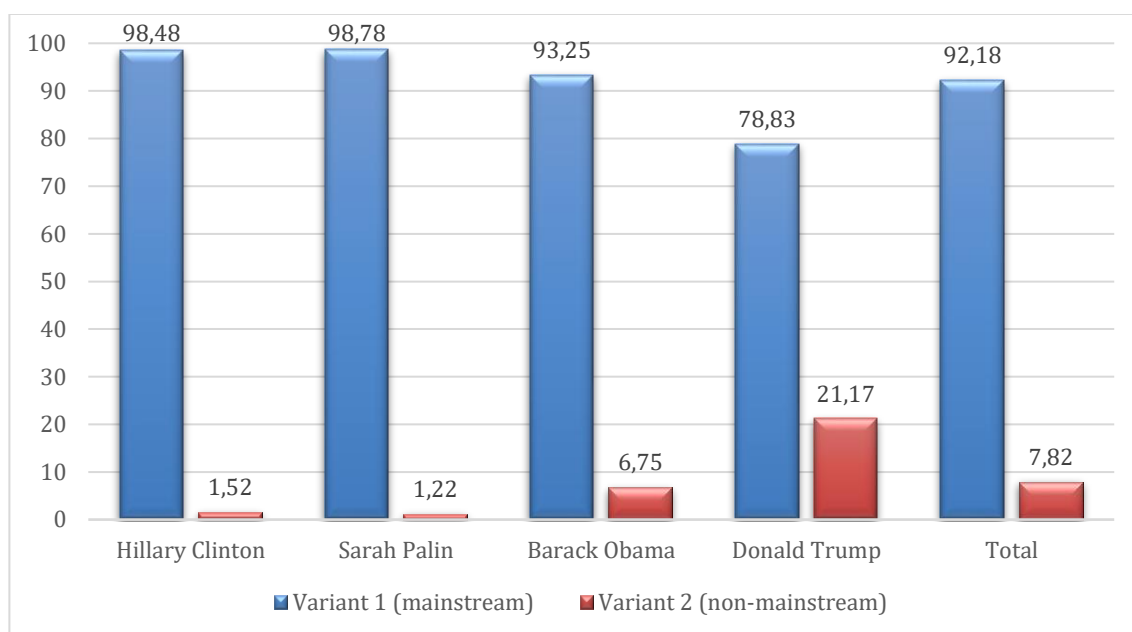


Figure IV.153. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of R-Dropping across the different contexts.

On the one hand, Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin exhibit a similar sociolinguistic behaviour in the treatment of variant 1 ((r) = /r/) (98.48% and 98.78%, respectively), remaining

variant 2 ((r) = /ø/) almost unused in their speech (1.52% and 1.22%, respectively). Consequently, both female informants employ a predominant mainstream use of this variable, which enjoys overt prestige and is preferred careful speech (Wells 1982: 490; see also Labov 1966/2006).

Nevertheless, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite having spent several years in the South and being non-rhotic realisations rather common in this geographical area (Schneider 2006; Trudgill & Hannah 2008), Hillary Clinton does not accommodate to a relevant extent to her Southern audience. Instead, the speech style of this informant reveals a strong adherence to mainstream conventions. Particularly, this lack of motivation to adopt rhotic realisations may be motivated by the prestige that rhotic realisations are acquiring in Southern speech (McDavid 1948; Levine & Crockett 1966; Harris 1969), which would reduce the difference between Clinton's speech style and that of her Southern audience. As a result, Clinton's sociolinguistic behaviour correlates with formality conventions, as rhotic realisations are preferred in formal style (Thomas 2004: 318), being non-prestigious and stigmatised realisations avoided in formal contexts. Nevertheless, this prestige model acquired by rhotic realisations in several U.S. regions does not apply to the speech of African American speakers, who still retain non-rhotic pronunciations (Thomas 2004). In this respect, despite the general tendency in African American speech to delete postvocalic /r/ (Edwards 2004: 388), neither Hillary Clinton nor Sarah Palin accommodate to this ethnic group. Hence, neither geographical nor ethnic aspects seem to influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of both female informants, as they exhibit a strong adherence to the mainstream variant regardless of the context in which they operate.

Similarly, even though Barack Obama identifies himself as a bidialectal African American, his sociolinguistic behaviour is characterised by a prominent use of variant 1 (93.25%) and a modest use of variant 2 (6.75%). Particularly, if compared with the scores obtained by Clinton and Palin, Obama's increase in the usage of non-rhotic realisations may be motivated by an attempt to slightly accommodate to an African American audience rather than to adjust to a Southern speech style. Nevertheless, it can be clearly observed that Obama is not prone to strategically use R-Dropping as a linguistic device in identity creation processes,

which contrasts with the treatment that he makes of other linguistic variables, which are used to a relevant extent in order to reinforce his African American identity –just as PRICE vowel. This reluctance to accommodate to a Southern or African American audience by means of employing non-rhotic realisations might be motivated by the prestige that rhotic pronunciations have acquired (McDavid 1948; Levine & Crockett 1966; Harris 1969), the frequency with which rhotic realisations are used in formal style (Thomas 2004:318), and a strong adherence to the mainstream behaviour motivated by the occupation and the social status of the informant and the formality associated with the contexts in which he operates.

On the other hand, a remarkable decrease in the usage of variant 1 and a subsequent increase in the score obtained for variant 2 may be observed in the total scores obtained by Donald Trump, which contrast with the sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Barack Obama. Due to the lack of contact with Southern accents and the occupation of the informant, a higher percentage of use of mainstream variant 1 would be expected in his speech; however, Donald Trump was the informant who obtained the highest percentage of use for variant 2. This treatment of the non-mainstream variant may be influenced by the common use that speakers from New York –where he is originally from– make of variant 2. Nevertheless, despite being variant 2 commonly used by New Yorkers of all social levels, non-rhotic realisations have begun to be associated with working-class speakers, becoming this variant a strong class marker in New York City (Gordon 2004b: 288; Labov 1966/2006). Hence, due to the stigmatisation associated with variant 2, New Yorkers have begun to use variant 1, which might also explain the relatively high percentage of use of that Donald Trump exhibits for rhotic realisations.

Consequently, while Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin exhibit a strong adherence to mainstream conventions regardless of the context in which they operate, Barack Obama shows a modest accommodation to the non-mainstream variant, perhaps under the influence of ethnic identity aspects associated with his African American audience. On the contrary, Donald Trump employs the highest percentage of use for non-rhotic realisations, which could be explained by the emergence of his New York accent in certain contexts. This sociolinguistic behaviour could be regarded as a strategy employed by Trump in order to appear more

informal, folksy and approachable to the electorate, as New York accent is commonly associated with a franc and masculine speech style, resulting in a positive evaluation on the part of the audience (Labov 1966/2006; Guo 2016).

Overall, despite the aforementioned differences between the speech style of Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump, the general sociolinguistic behaviour of the four American informants when it comes to R-Dropping reveals a prominent use of rhotic forms (92.18%), being non-rhotic realisations used to a rather scarce extent (7.82%).

IV.2.7.e. T-Voicing

On the other hand, the four American informants tend to make a similar use of T-Voicing (see Figure IV.154). Thus, the total scores of Hillary Clinton (97.26%), Sarah Palin (91.19%), Barack Obama (90.14%) and Donald Trump (93.84%) reveal a prominent mainstream behaviour, which is characterised by a relevant use of variant 1 ((t) = /d/). Consequently, variant 2 (t) = /t/ remains scarcely used by Clinton (2.74%), Palin (8.81%), Obama (9.86%) and Trump (6.16%). Thus, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 6.877$; $df = 3$).

This predominant use of variant 1 over variant 2 may be motivated by the high frequency with which General American English speakers employ variant 1 and the subsequent prestige acquired by neutralised realisations of the contrast between /t/ and /d/, which is preferred by educated American speakers (Wells 1982: 250; McDavid 1966; Kretzschmar 2004; Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar 2004).

Thus, certain factors such as the relevant spread that variant 1 has experienced (Wells 1982; McDavid 1966), its associations with a prestigious and careful speech, and the social status and the occupation of the four informants might have influenced their sociolinguistic behaviour towards a mainstream use of T-Voicing (93.09%), being non-mainstream variant 2 scarcely used (6.91%).

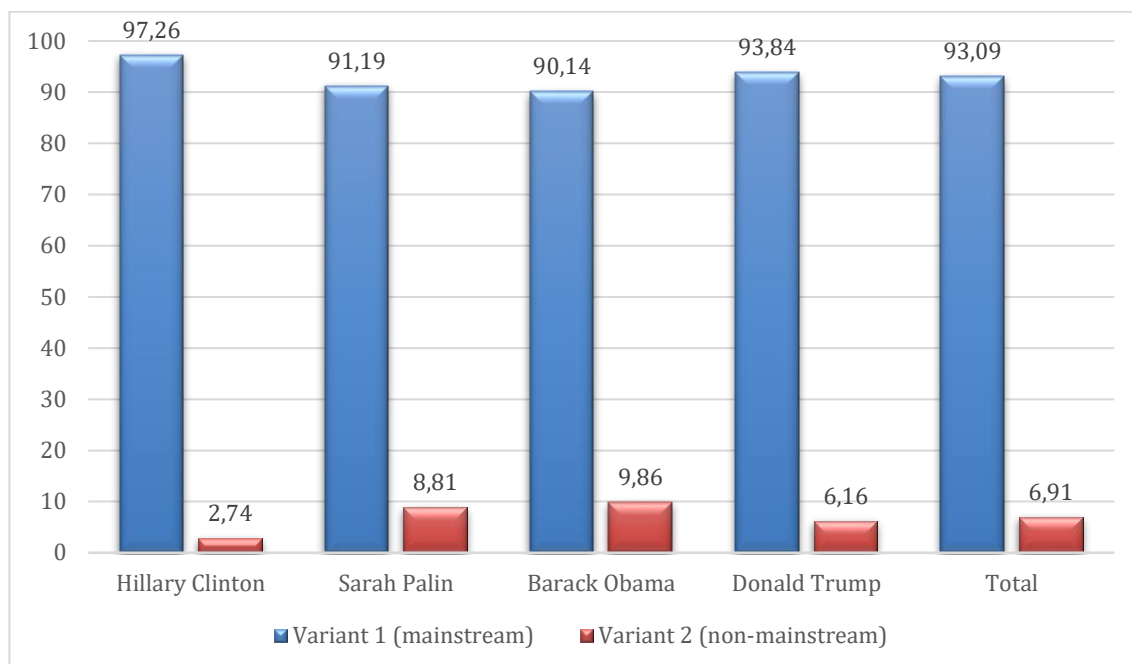


Figure IV.154. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of T-Voicing merger across the different contexts.

IV.2.7.f. Yod-Dropping

Concerning Yod-Dropping, evident differences may be observed in the treatment that the four American informants make of this variable (see Figure IV.155). Thus, while Sarah Palin exhibits a predominant use of variant 1 ((j) = [u:] (90.70%)) over variant 2 ((j) = [ju:] (9.30%)), Barack Obama and Hillary Clinton use variant 1 to a slightly lesser extent (85.71% and 77.27%, respectively), subsequently increasing their scores obtained for variant 2 (14.29% and 22.73%, respectively). On the contrary, Donald Trump is the informant that displays the lowest score for variant 1 (67.35%) and the highest score for variant 2 (32.65%). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 9.183$; $df = 3$).

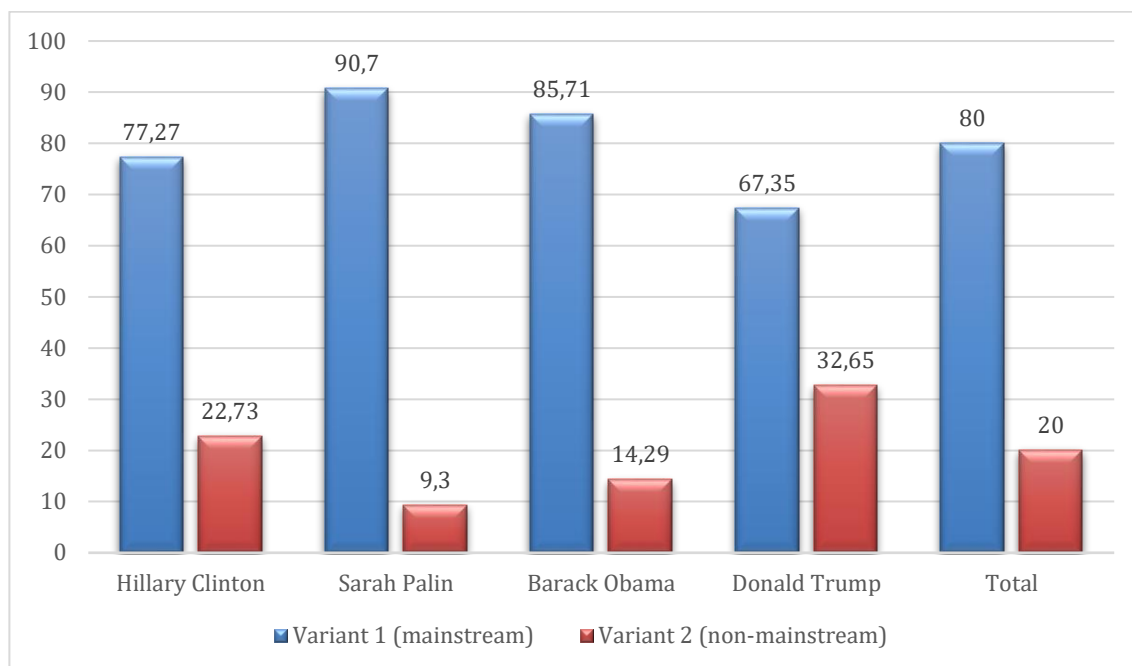


Figure IV.155. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of Yod-Dropping across the different contexts.

On the one hand, Sarah Palin is the informant that exhibits the highest percentage of use for variant 1, which goes in line with the mainstream linguistic behaviour employed by General American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). This strict adherence to variant 1 could be motivated by the fact that the geographical area where Palin has spent long periods of time (the Matanuska-Susitna Valley, in Alaska) was re-settled by individuals from depressed areas from Upper Midwestern and Northern regions, who brought with them the linguistic features that characterised their dialect. Consequently, the process of dialect formation that took place in the Matanuska-Susitna Valley could have shaped the speech of Sarah Palin (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009: 349-340), who exhibits a predominant use of variant 1 over variant 2, as many Western and Northern speakers do (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Thus, it can be observed how the informant strongly adheres to the mainstream variant, showing a clear reluctance to accommodate to the non-mainstream variant across the different contexts in which she operates.

Barack Obama also exhibits a relevant use of mainstream variant 1 over variant 2, which may be explained by the fact that he has had close contact with Northern accents –

which are characterised by a frequent use of variant 1 (Trudgill & Hannah 2008)—, as he has been based in Chicago, Illinois, for long periods of time. Nevertheless, a slight increase in the usage of variant 2 can be noticed if compared with the score obtained by Sarah Palin for this variant. This noticeable use of variant 2 could be regarded as an attempt to accommodate to a Southern audience, as speakers from Southern areas tend to use variant 2 to a great extent (Thomas 2004: 319). However, taking into account the fact that Obama is a bidialectal African American, it seems more likely that he might be attempting to accommodate to his African American audience, as variant 2 is also commonly used by African American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). Hence, it could be tentatively stated that though modestly, Obama alters his usage of Yod-Dropping so as to adjust his sociolinguistic behaviour to Southern and/or African American audiences aiming at reinforcing his ethnic and public political identity (Coupland 2011).

On the other hand, if compared to the previous informants, a more noticeable decrease in the usage of mainstream variant 1 can be observed in the total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton. Nevertheless, the still high percentage of use obtained for variant 1 may be motivated by the high frequency with which speakers from Northern regions employ this variant (Trudgill & Hannah 2008), as Clinton spent her formative years in the North and has had close contact with Northern accents. In addition, another factor that might have influenced Clinton's prominent use of variant 1 might be the fact that she served as Senator from New York, a geographical area where variant 1 is commonly used, being variant 2 realisations often perceived as affected (Wells 1982: 504). However, the slight increase perceived in her usage of variant 2 may be motivated by the influence that Southern accents might have had in her sociolinguistic behaviour, as she also spent several years in the South, where variant 2 has persisted longer than in any other region of the United States (Thomas 2004: 319). Consequently, it seems that because of previous close contact with Southern accents, Hillary Clinton is more prone to adjust her speech style to a relevant extent to the Southern audience of her speech events.

Nevertheless, an even more evident increase in the usage of variant 2 can be observed in the total scores obtained by Donald Trump, which clearly contrast with the mainstream use

that General American speakers make of variant 1 (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). It becomes of relevance the fact that despite having spent several years in New York, a geographical area where variant 1 is commonly used (Wells 1982: 504), Donald Trump does not exhibit a prominent use of this variant over variant 2. Precisely, the relevant use of the non-mainstream variant exhibited in Trump's speech may be motivated by an attempt to accommodate to his Southern audience, although it seems that rather than just accommodating to a portion of his electorate, the informant is trying to employ a non-mainstream speech style so as to project an approachable, folksy, and non-elitist identity.

Hence, even though certain differences can be spotted in the usage that the four American informants make of this variable, mainstream variant 1 is commonly preferred in their speech events, perhaps under the influence of General American speech conventions, as variant 1 is commonly used in this prestigious variety (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). In addition, this predominant use of the mainstream variant may also be motivated by a constant movement of [j] loss in the South, particularly in urban areas (Thomas 2004), which may have precluded American informants from adopting a rather receding linguistic feature, especially when holding their Southern rallies. In this respect, the also prevalent use of variant 2 in the speech of Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump may be explained by the variability associated with this linguistic feature in General American speech, being the palatal glide /j/ present in certain words but absent in others (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). On the whole, American informants tend to employ mainstream variant 1 (80.00%) to a greater extent than non-mainstream variant 2 (20.00%).

IV.2.7.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants

Regarding the overall treatment made by American informants of the variables studied, Figure IV.156 evidences that PIN-PEN merger is the variable that is realised with the highest number of mainstream realisations (94.88%), being its non-mainstream variant used to a scarce extent (5.12%). Similarly, American informants tend to prominently employ mainstream realisations when it comes to T-Voicing (93.09% for variant 1 versus 6.91% for variant 2) and R-Dropping (92.18% for variant 1 versus 7.82% for variant 2). However, this sociolinguistic pattern begins

to vary if other variables are considered. In this respect, if compared with the scores obtained for previous variables, the general treatment that the four politicians make of PRICE vowel evidences a decrease in the usage of mainstream forms (85.92%), being variant 2 used to a more noticeable extent (14.08%). Similarly, a relevant decrease in the usage of mainstream forms in the speech of the four American informants is evidenced in their treatment of Yod-Dropping (80.00% for mainstream variant 1 versus 20.00% for variant 2). Lastly, the variable that is employed in the least mainstream form by the four American informants is that of Progressive consonant assimilation, as a global score of 59.86% was obtained for mainstream variant 1, being variant 2 used to a noticeable extent (40.14%). As previously indicated, these scores may be influenced by geographical, educational, formality, social status and ethnic identity aspects, as well as by mainstream linguistic conventions encompassed by General American speech, which is regarded as the prestigious variant in the U.S.

On the whole, the sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants appears to be characterised by a relevant use of mainstream forms of the variables studied (90.09%), being non-mainstream variants used to a much lesser extent (9.91%).

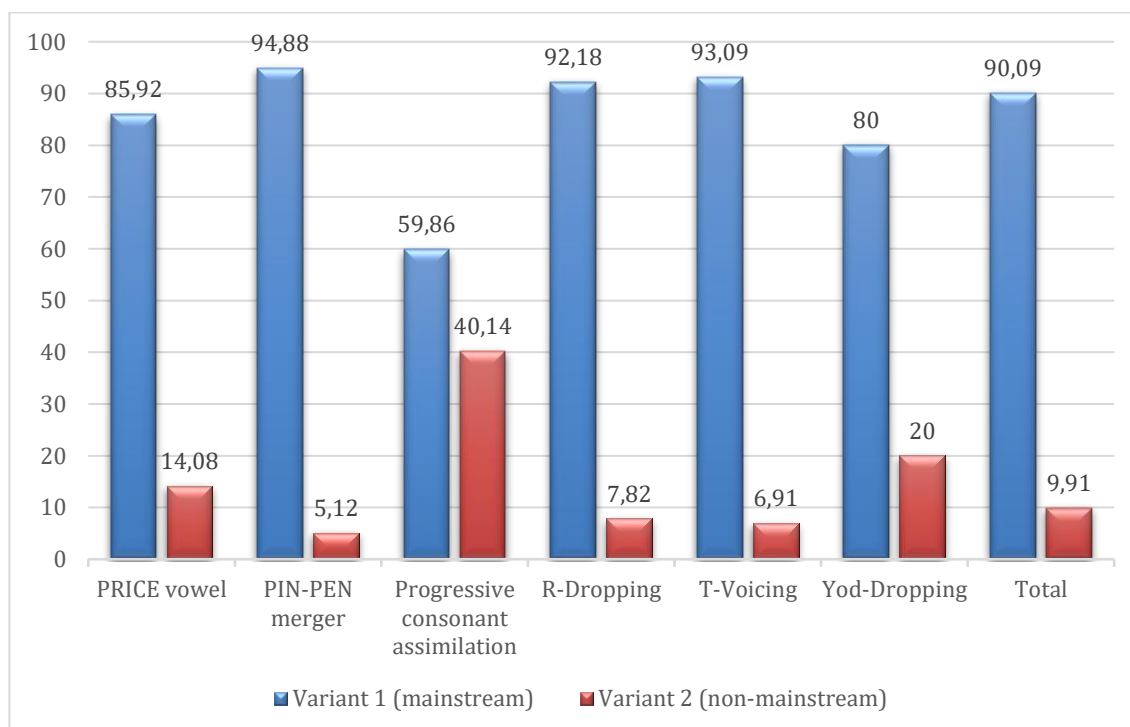


Figure IV.156. Total scores obtained by American informants.

In addition, if the general sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump is compared, several similarities as well as relevant differences will be observed. Thus, while similar sociolinguistic behaviours are exhibited by the four informants in their usage of PIN-PEN merger and T-Voicing, slight differences are also observed when it comes to PRICE vowel and Yod-Dropping. On the other hand, stark differences in the speech of the four informants are revealed regarding their usage of Progressive consonant assimilation and R-Dropping. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 225.883$; $df = 3$).

Thus, if the total scores obtained by each informant are considered, it becomes of relevance the fact that Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin tend to employ a greater use of the mainstream variant (94.65% and 95.72% respectively) than Barack Obama and Donald Trump (88.36% and 83.09% respectively); being Sarah Palin the informant that exhibits the highest percentage of use for mainstream forms and Donald Trump the informant who obtained the lowest score for mainstream variants (see Figure IV.157).

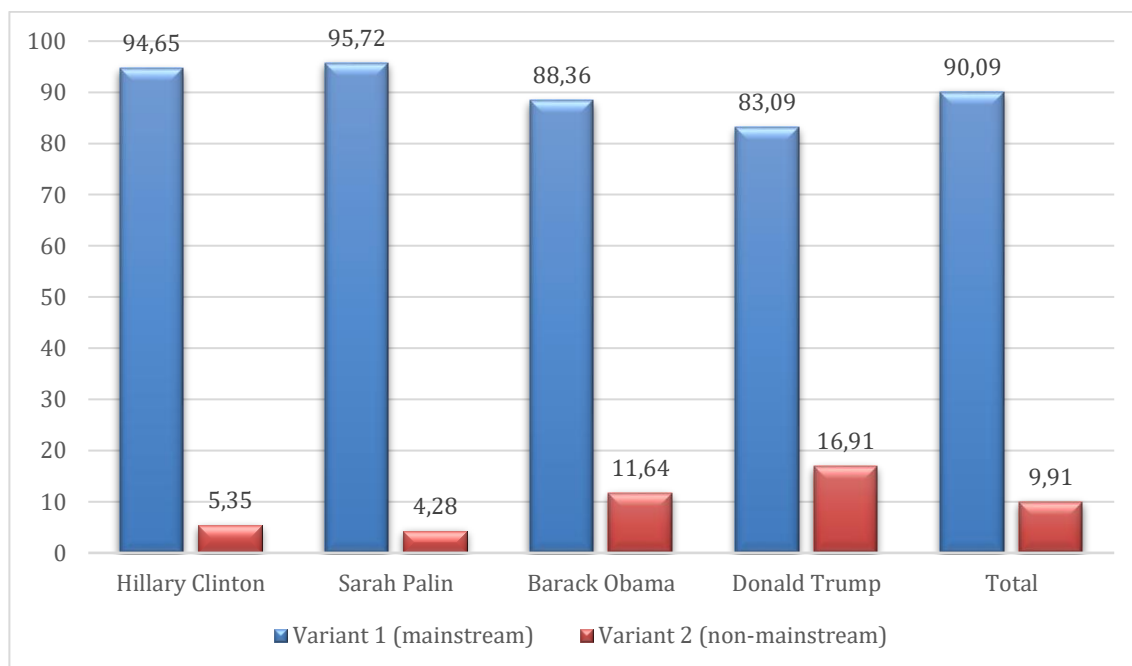


Figure IV.157. Total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump.

Moreover, as it can be observed in Table IV.42, sex ($2.32e-46 < 0.05$) appears to be a significant factor when it comes to American informants' speech style, as female informants tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms while male informants favour the usage of non-mainstream forms. On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the "Logodds" column indicates that male informants tend to disfavour the usage of non-mainstream forms. This tendency is further evidenced by the values obtained for the "Centered factor weight" column, which reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for female than male informants.

Table IV.42. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being used by American informants (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Female	0.592	3593	0.952	0.644
	Male	-0.592	4185	0.857	0.356
Misc. 1	N= 7778; df= 2; Intercept= 2.386; Overall proportion= 0.901; Centered input probability= 0.916.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -2411.335; AIC= 4826.67; AICc= 4826.672; Dxy= 0.262; R2= 0.096.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.43 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, sex ceases to be such a significant factor ($0.00174 > 0.05$). In fact, Barack Obama is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms regardless of the context, followed by Sarah Palin. On the contrary, the negative values obtained in the "Intercept" column indicate that both Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump disfavour the usage of mainstream forms, being Trump the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream realisations out of the four American informants. This is further evidenced by the data obtained for the "Centerd factor weight" column, which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Barack Obama's speech, while Donald Trump

is the informant that is more likely to employ non-mainstream forms in his speech. Yet, the similar scores obtained for these probability values also indicate that differences in mainstream use between the four American informants are not stark.

Table IV.43. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by American informants. Fixed effects analysis: “Informant” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.165	7778	0.901	—
Barack Obama	0.189	2097	0.884	0.548
Sarah Palin	0.078	1704	0.957	0.52
Hillary Clinton	-0.083	1889	0.947	0.48
Donald Trump	-0.191	2088	0.831	0.453
Misc. 1	N= 7778; df= 3; Intercept= 2.398; Overall proportion= 0.901; Centered input probability= 0.917.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -2403.391; AIC= 4812.782; AICc= 4812.785; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.311; R2 fixed= 0.095; R2 random= 0.007; R2 total= 0.102.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

With this in light, and as it can be observed in Figure IV.157 and Table IV.42, the sociolinguistic behaviour of female American informants is clearly characterised by a prominent use of mainstream forms, which correlates with gender expectations. Even though male American informants also employ mainstream forms to a prominent extent, it has been possible to prove that sex differentiation takes place in the linguistic communities of complex urbanised societies on the basis of sociolinguistics investigations. In fact, in his study in Norwich, Trudgill (1972) found out that women make much higher use of mainstream features in their speech than men. As similar results have been obtained in studies carried out all over the world, especially in industrialised Western urban places, different explanations to females’

mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour have been given from different perspectives. Some of the most relevant ones relate are related to appropriateness and politeness notions:

[L]inguistic sex differentiation is a reflection of a much wider tendency for men to be relatively more favourably regarded than women if they act tough, rough and break the rules. Women, on the other hand, are encouraged to a much greater extent to be correct, discreet, quiet and polite in their behaviour (Chambers & Trudgill 2004: 85).

Also, women may exhibit greater linguistic politeness through the use of mainstream language than men because of deference and subservience. Other series of explanations for linguistic sex differentiation are based on sociological findings that suggest that women are, generally speaking, more status-conscious than men, and therefore, are more aware of the social significance of linguistic variables (Trudgill 1983a: 167-168):

- (a) Women are more closely involved with child-rearing and the transmission of culture, and are therefore more aware of the importance, for their children, of the acquisition of (prestige) norms.
- (b) The social position of women in our society has traditionally been less secure than that of men. It may be, therefore, that it has been more necessary for women to secure and signal their social status linguistically and in other ways, and they may for this reason be more aware of the importance of this type of signal.
- (c) Men in our society have traditionally been rated socially by their occupation, their earning power, and perhaps by their other abilities -in other words, by what they do. Until recently, however, this has been much more difficult for women, and indeed women continue to suffer discrimination against them in many occupations. It may be, therefore, that they have had to be rated instead, to a greater extent than men, on how they appear. Since they have not been rated, to the same extent that men have, by their occupation or by their occupational success, other signals of status, including speech, have been correspondingly more important.

A final explanation has to do with masculinity connotations associated with working-class speech:

... WC speech, like other aspects of WC culture, appears, at least in some western societies, to have connotations of masculinity [...], probably because it is associated with the roughness and toughness supposedly characteristic of WC life which are, stereotypically and to a certain extent, often considered to be desirable masculine attributes. They are not, on the other hand, considered to be desirable feminine characteristics. On the contrary, features such as refinement and sophistication are much preferred. (Trudgill 1972: 183)

In addition, these explanations also support the total scores obtained by Donald Trump, as it has been suggested that this informant tends to strategically employ non-mainstream realisations in his speech in order to create a “Nice personae” (Sclafani 2018; Lakoff 2005). Particularly, Lakoff (2005) states that even though the correlation between niceness and masculinity is commonly accepted by the audience, the connection of niceness with femininity arises more controversy for women in leadership roles, since “nice” and “powerful” are “mutually exclusive character traits for a woman to aspire to project in the public sphere” (Sclafani 2018: 7). This double bind might also explain the negative opinions that the electorate has towards Hillary Clinton’s speech despite having a more mainstream behaviour than Donald Trump, as she has sometimes deviated from mainstream conventions.

On the other hand, even though Barack Obama and Donald Trump exhibit a similar sociolinguistic behaviour, Obama’s deviations towards African American speech have also been criticised by the electorate, while Trump’s usage of non-mainstream forms –often associated with a New York accent– have not provoked such criticism. As claimed by Cole and Pellicer (2012: 450), this contradiction emanates from the enregisterment of dialectal differences in U.S. English. Hence, if a speaker has inherited a linguistic variety –other than the mainstream one– which reveals a racially or ethnically marked identity, this speaker will be expected and encouraged to master the mainstream variety in public speech as well as to adhere to the unmarked identity that characterises mainstream varieties. Nevertheless, this does not apply to the opposite case. Those individuals that usually employ the mainstream variety –characterised by a racially unmarked identity– will be discouraged from employing non-mainstream varieties in public speech. These opposed situations lead to the differentiation between having a “willingness to assimilate” or being “inappropriate” (Cole & Pellicer 2012: 450):

[r]epertoire expansion of the first type (from others to include Standard) is evaluated as a “willingness to assimilate” or as a necessary if unfortunate process that politically and economically disadvantaged people undergo to gain access to national and global resources [...]. Meanwhile, the performance of a repertoire expansion of the second type (from Standard to include others) can be variously evaluated as “inappropriate”, “inauthentic”, “condescending”, “mocking”, “racist” or as a failure to recognize group boundaries.

Nevertheless, despite noticeable differences in the usage of certain variables, the total scores obtained by the four American informants evidence a prevalent use of mainstream (90.09%) over non-mainstream variants (9.91%), which may be determined by the occupation and social status of the informants, together with the formality of the contexts in which they operate.

IV.2.8. American Informants: Statement

Regarding the different contexts, Table IV.44 shows the percentages of use of each informant for each variable studied in the context of Statement. As already mentioned in section III.2.2.b.ii, the speech event of Hillary Clinton under the label of “Statement” took place in New York right after having won the elections for Senator of New York. On the other hand, the speech event of Sarah Palin under the label of “Statement” consisted in her acceptance speech for the nomination of Vice President of the United States at the 2008 Republican National Convention. Particularly, this speech event took place in St. Paul, Minnesota, in the framework of the 2008 United States Presidential elections. Regarding Barack Obama and Donald Trump, the intervention that both male politicians made in the U.S. congress known as State of the Union was examined and identified as a Statement context.

As for the scores obtained by each informant in this context, relevant similarities can be observed in the treatment that Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump make of the majority of the variables studied, as it is the case of PRICE vowel, R-Dropping, PIN-PEN merger, Progressive consonant assimilation and T-Voicing; although slight variations can be observed when it comes to the percentages obtained for the last three linguistic variables. In addition, the only linguistic feature that is subject to a relevant fluctuation depending on the informant studied is that of Yod-Dropping.

Table IV.44. American Informants: Context - Statement							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants				
			Hillary Clinton	Sarah Palin	Barack Obama	Donald Trump	Total
PRICE vowel	Variant #1: /aɪ/	%	94.55%	97.41%	93.52%	97.80%	95.76%
		#	104/110	113/116	101/108	89/91	407/425
	Variant #2: [a:]	%	5.45%	2.59%	6.48%	2.20%	4.24%
		#	6/110	3/116	7/108	2/91	18/425
PIN-PEN merger: /ɪ/-/ɛ/	Variant #1: No merging	%	100.00%	100.00%	97.87%	100.00%	99.32%
		#	34/34	33/33	46/47	34/34	147/148
	Variant #2: Merging	%	0.00%	0.00%	2.13%	0.00%	0.68%
		#	0/34	0/33	1/47	0/34	1/148
Progressive consonant assimilation	Variant #1: (nt) = /n/	%	57.14%	50.00%	66.67%	45.45%	53.33%
		#	4/7	3/6	4/6	5/11	16/30
	Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/	%	42.86%	50.00%	33.33%	54.55%	46.67%
		#	3/7	3/6	2/6	6/11	14/30
R-Dropping	Variant #1: (r) = /r/	%	98.53%	98.96%	96.42%	94.55%	96.87%
		#	201/204	191/193	323/335	243/257	958/989
	Variant #2: (r) = /ø/	%	1.47%	1.04%	3.58%	5.45%	3.13%
		#	3/204	2/193	12/335	14/257	31/989
T-Voicing	Variant #1: (t) = /d/	%	100.00%	97.50%	91.67%	94.59%	95.97%
		#	36/36	39/40	33/36	35/37	143/149
	Variant #2: (t) = /t/	%	0.00%	2.50%	8.33%	5.41%	4.03%
		#	0/36	1/40	3/36	2/37	6/149
Yod-Dropping	Variant #1: (j) = [u:]	%	56.25%	100.00%	89.29%	83.33%	81.16%
		#	9/16	7/7	25/28	15/18	56/69
	Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]	%	43.75%	0.00%	10.71%	16.67%	18.84%
		#	7/16	0/7	3/28	3/18	13/69
Total	Variant #1	%	95.33%	97.72	95.00%	93.97%	95.41%
		#	388/407	386/395	532/560	421/448	1727/1810
	Variant #1	%	4.67%	2.28%	5.00%	6.03%	4.59%
		#	19/407	9/395	28/560	27/448	83/1810

IV.2.8.a. PRICE vowel

Concerning PRICE vowel (see Figure IV.158), an overall mainstream linguistic behaviour in the usage of variant 1 (/aɪ/) can be observed in the speech of Hillary Clinton (94.55%), Sarah Palin (97.41%), Barack Obama (93.52%) and Donald Trump (97.80%). Thus, non-mainstream variant 2 ([a:]) remains scarcely used by Clinton (5.45%), Palin (2.59%), Obama (6.48%) and Trump (2.20%). Hence, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in

frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 3.456$; $df = 3$). This generalised reluctance to adopt monophthongal realisations and to consequently adhere to diphthongal forms may be motivated by the common use that General American speakers make of variant 1 (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). Hence, the social status and the occupation of the four informants, together with the national –as well as international– scope of these speech events and the high degree of formality associated with the interventions under the label of “Statement” may have fostered a prominent use of the mainstream variant in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump.

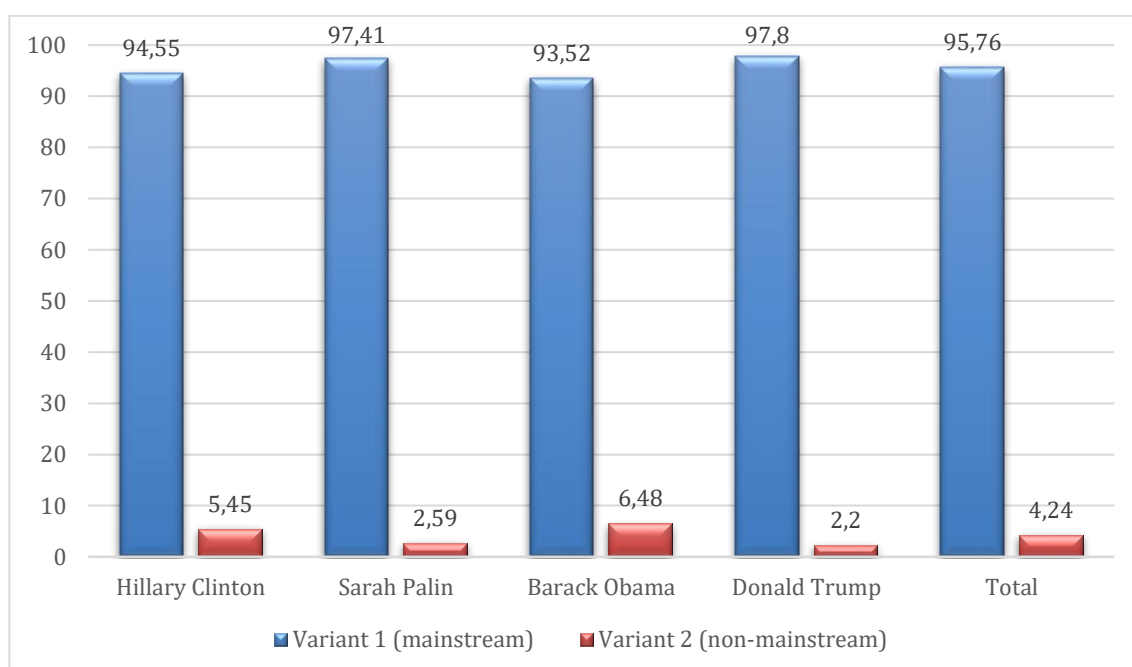


Figure IV.158. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump’s use of PRICE vowel in the context of Statement.

On the one hand, considering that variant 2 is one of the most remarkable stereotypes associated with Southern accents (Thomas 2004: 311; Lippi-Green 2012: 214), and particularly linked with Southern culture (Boberg 2015), the scores obtained by Sarah Palin and Donald Trump for this variant were rather expected, as they have not had close contact with Southern accents. In fact, the sociolinguistic behaviour of these two informants is practically the same.

However, the percentages obtained by Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama evidence a modest increase in the usage of non-mainstream variant 2. In this sense, Clinton's moderate increase in the percentage of use of monophthongal realisations might be influenced by the close contact that this informant has had with Southern accents, as she spent several years in the South. On the other hand, Obama's use of variant 2 may be influenced by the frequency with which African Americans use monophthongal realisations for PRICE vowel in their speech (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982), as he has identified himself as a bidialectal African American, which means that he masters General American and African American English (Lippi-Green 2012). In fact, this might be the reason why Obama is the informant who obtained the highest percentage of use for non-mainstream variant 2 in this context.

Even though slight differences may be observed in the treatment that the four informants make of this variable, a predominant mainstream behaviour prevails in the speech of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump. As previously indicated, these scores may be influenced by a strict adherence to mainstream conventions encompassed by General American English, as well as by geographical and ethnic identity aspects. In addition, the informants' use of variant 2 may also be influenced by social factors, as monophthongal realisations for PRICE vowel have traditionally been associated with the speech of working-class individuals, which leads to the avoidance of this type of pronunciation by many upper-middle class speakers, particularly in urban areas (Thomas 2004: 312). As a result, variant 2 is usually subject to negative social evaluations, being this realisation rejected by young, urban speakers, especially by women (Boberg 2015: 245).

Consequently, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of the four American informants analysed regarding their usage of PRICE vowel reveals a prominent adherence to mainstream and prestigious conventions (95.76%), being non-mainstream variant 2 used to a much lesser extent (4.24%). On the whole, it appears that geographical and ethnicity factors do not seem to influence to a great extent the usage that the informants make of this variable, as all of them strongly adhere to the mainstream and prestigious variant in the context of Statement, which correlates with the social status and the occupation of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump.

IV.2.8.b. PIN-PEN merger

The scores obtained by each informant for PIN-PEN merger in the context of Statement also reveal a predominant mainstream behaviour, as Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Donald Trump obtained a 100% of realisations for mainstream variant 1 (No merging), being non-mainstream variant 2 (Merging) completely absent from their speech. In a similar vein, Obama obtained a rather high score for variant 1 (97.87%), although a slight percentage of use for variant 2 (2.13%) was present in the speech of the former president (see Figure IV.159). Thus, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.164$; $df = 3$). This strong adherence to the mainstream variant on the part of American informants could be influenced by the stigmatisation that is associated with merged realisations, as a high use of variant 2 inversely correlates with education, being the speech of high educated individuals associated with a lesser use of merged forms (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006).

On the one hand, the scores obtained by Sarah Palin and Donald Trump for variant 1 were rather expected, as both politicians have never had close contact with Southern or African American accents (Thomas 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982), which are characterised by a predominant use of merged realisations. Nevertheless, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite Hillary Clinton having spent several years in the South and being merged realisations commonly associated with a strong Southern regional identity (Schneider 2006), the sociolinguistic behaviour of this informant evidences a clear reluctance to adjust to variant 2 in this context.

A similar sociolinguistic behaviour is observed in the speech of Obama: despite having identified himself as a bidialectal African American (Lippi-Green 2012), he does not significantly accommodate to variant 2, which is also frequently used by this ethnic community (Thomas 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982). Thus, it seems that Obama does not strategically use the non-mainstream variant of PIN-PEN merger as a device in order to reinforce and project his African American identity (as he does with other variables).

As previously stated, this reluctance of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama to adopt non-mainstream variant 2 despite having had close contact with Southern (as in the case of the former) and African American accents (as in the case of the later) may be motivated by the stigmatisation that is commonly associated with merged realisations (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004), which has led Southern speakers to differentiate PIN-PEN words (Thomas 2004: 316). In this respect, Thomas (2004: 316) stated that: “today, however, some Southerners, largely under the influence of schools, have begun to distinguish PIN and PEN”. As a result, this traditional Southern feature is starting to lose ground in the South, particularly in large urban areas (Schneider 2006; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008). Consequently, it can be tentatively stated that due to the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 and its receding behaviour, no motivation may be found by Clinton and Obama in order to alter their usage of PIN-PEN merger. However, it must be mentioned that African American individuals seem to be more conservative than Whites, as this receding behaviour is not that frequent in African American speech. This fact further evidences Obama’s reluctance of to accommodate to his African American audience to a relevant extent.

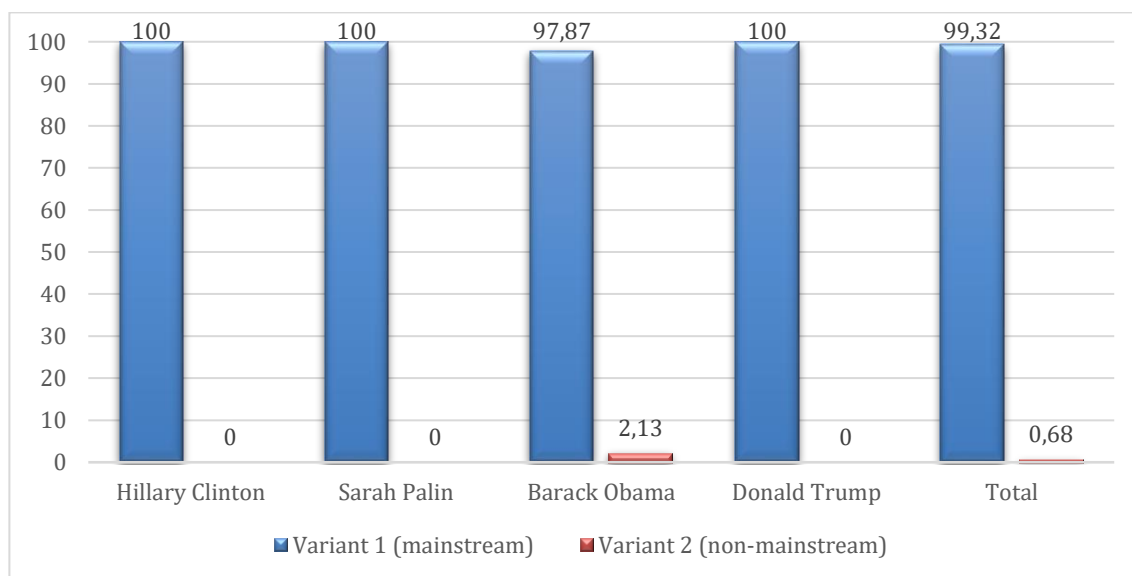


Figure IV.159. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump’s use of PIN-PEN merger in the context of Statement.

Thus, the influence of geographical constraints, the stigmatisation associated with variant 2, and its receding behaviour, may result in a scarce motivation for the four politicians to alter their usage of this linguistic feature towards the rather stigmatised non-mainstream variant. Consequently, PIN-PEN words tend to be realised with mainstream variant 1 in the context of Statement, as the speech of the four informants is characterised by a predominant use of unmerged (99.32%) over merged (0.68%) forms, being Obama the only informant who slightly diverges from the mainstream convention.

IV.2.8.c. Progressive consonant assimilation

On the other hand, a relevant decrease in the percentages of use for mainstream variant 1 can be observed when it comes to Progressive consonant assimilation (see Figure IV.160). Given that General American English is characterised by the mainstream convention of deleting /t/ from /nt/ cluster (Gramley & Pätzold 2004), it becomes of relevance the rather low frequency with which American informants use variant 1, being Barack Obama the only informant who exhibits a relatively high percentage of use for variant 1 ((nt) = /n/) (66.67%) and the lowest percentage of use for variant 2 ((nt) = /nt/) (33.33%). These scores contrast with Donald Trump's sociolinguistic behaviour, as he obtained the lowest score for variant 1 (45.45%) and the highest score for variant 2 (54.55%) out of the four informants. On the other hand, Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin exhibit a middle-ground sociolinguistic behaviour, as the former obtained a score of 57.14% for variant 1 and 50.00% for variant 2, and the latter obtained a score of 42.86% for variant 1 and 50.00% for variant 2. Yet, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.771$; $\chi^2 = 4.405$; $df = 3$).

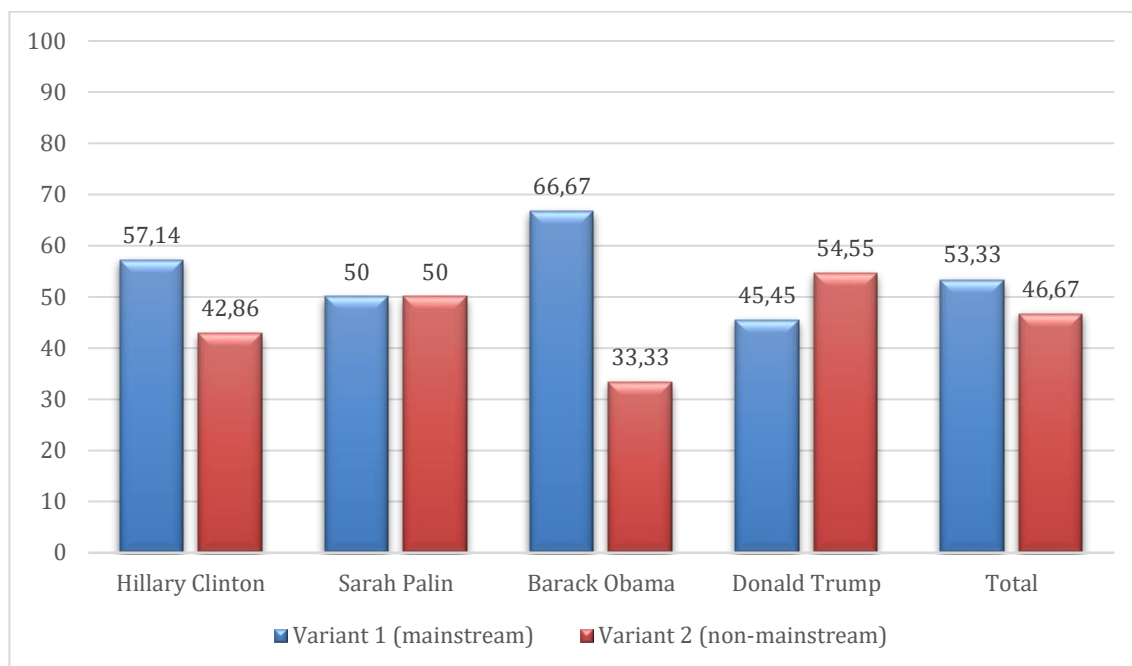


Figure IV.160. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of Progressive consonant assimilation in the context of Statement.

On the other hand, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants regarding their use of Progressive consonant assimilation is characterised by the absence of a predominant use of mainstream variant 1 and a rather equilibrated use of variant 1 (53.33%) and 2 (46.67%). This almost equal use of both variants in the speech of the American informants could be influenced by certain factors. Firstly, variant 1 is also commonly used in Southern accents (Wells 1982), which could have influenced the sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton, as she has had close contact with Southern accents. Secondly, variant 2 is often preserved in the speech of Northern individuals (Wells 1982), which could have determined the prominent use of this variant in the speech of Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump, as they have had close contact with Northern accents for long periods of time. Hence, it could be tentatively stated that since no significant stigmatisation is associated with the usage of variant 1 or 2 of Progressive consonant assimilation, American informants seem to enjoy a greater degree of freedom when it comes to using this variable, which may result in the emergence of non-mainstream variants in formal contexts.

IV.2.8.d. R-Dropping

Similarly, no stark differences can be observed in the total scores obtained by the four informants if R-Dropping is considered, as all of them employ a predominant use of mainstream variant 1, which enjoys overt prestige in the U.S. and is preferred careful speech (Labov 1966/2006; Wells 1982: 490). Yet, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 9.408$; $df = 3$), but to a rather low extent.

On the one hand, Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin exhibit an almost equal sociolinguistic behaviour in the treatment of this variable, as both informants strictly adhere to mainstream conventions encompassed by General American speech. Thus, Clinton obtained a 98.53% of realisations for variant 1 ((r) = /r/) and 1.47% of realisations for variant 2 ((r) = /ø/), and Palin obtained a score of 98.96% for variant 1 and 1.04% for variant 2. While the scores obtained by Sarah Palin were rather expected, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite having spent several years in the South and being non-rhotic realisations rather common in Lower Southern regions (Schneider 2006; Trudgill & Hannah 2008), Hillary Clinton does not employ a significant use of variant 2 in this context, which means that she does not accommodate to her Southern audience. This reluctance to adopt non-rhotic forms in such a formal context may be motivated by the fact that her audience consisted of New York citizens, as well as by the prestige associated with rhotic forms both in New York and the U.S. (McDavid 1948; Levine & Crockett 1966; Harris 1969).

On the other hand, Barack Obama exhibits a slight decrease in the percentages of use obtained for variant 1 (96.42%), together with a modest increase in the score obtained for variant 2 (3.58%). Even though Obama identifies himself as a bidialectal African American – being the speech of this ethnic group characterised by a frequent deletion of postvocalic /r/ (Edwards 2004: 388; Wells 1982: 557) –, he exhibits a prominent use of variant 1, revealing a scarce motivation when it comes to accommodating to his African American audience. Thus, even though a modest increase in Obama's use of non-rhotic realisations may be observed if compared to the scores obtained by Clinton and Palin, it could be tentatively stated that

Obama is not strategically using R-Dropping as a device in identity creation processes, which contrasts with the treatment that he makes of other linguistic variables that are used to a greater extent so as to reinforce his African American identity. This reluctance to accommodate to an African American audience might be motivated by the prestige that rhotic realisations have acquired and the high frequency with which rhotic realisations are used in formal style (McDavid 1948; Levine & Crockett 1966; Harris 1969; Thomas 2004). In fact, the fact that this prestige model acquired by rhotic realisations in several U.S. regions does not apply to the speech of African American speakers further evidences Obama's clear reluctance to adopt non-mainstream variant 2 in this context (Thomas 2004).

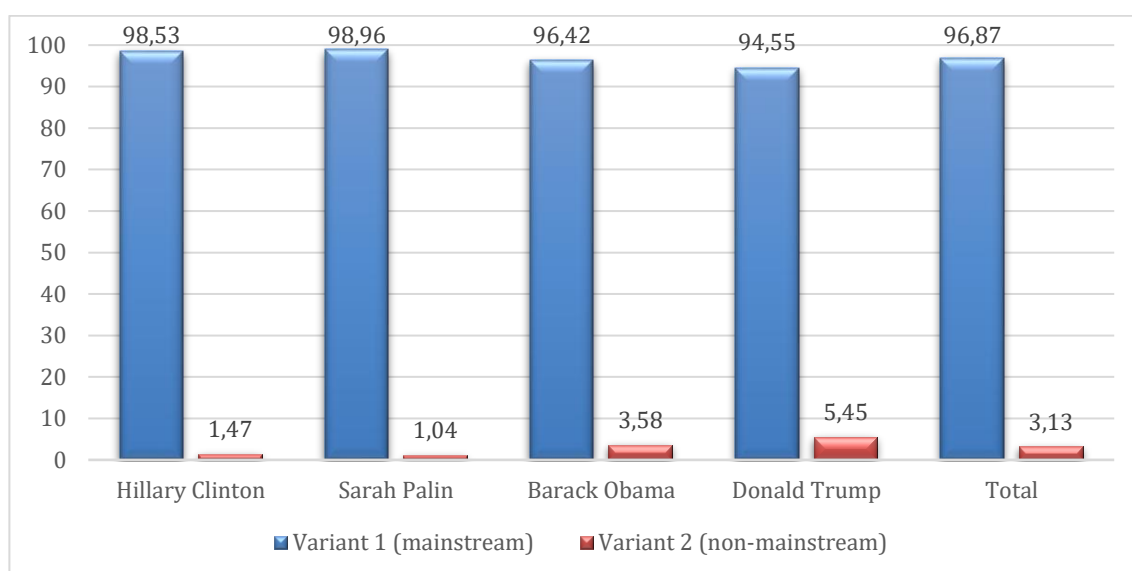


Figure IV.161. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of R-Dropping in the context of Statement.

Lastly, Donald Trump is the informant that exhibits the lowest score obtained for mainstream variant 1 (94.55%) and the highest percentage of use obtained for non-mainstream variant 2 (5.45%). Given that Trump has not had close contact with Southern or African American speech, the still high score obtained for variant 1 was rather expected. Nevertheless, his usage of non-rhotic realisations may be influenced by the common use that speakers from New York –where he is originally from– traditionally made of this variant, which was regarded as one of the most remarkable linguistic features of this geographical area

(Wells 1982: 503). Nevertheless, even though variant 2 was commonly used by New Yorkers belonging to all social levels, at some point it began to be regarded as a stigmatised linguistic feature (Labov 1966/2006), as non-rhotic realisations started to be associated with working-class speakers, which eventually led to the transformation of this variant into a strong class marker (Gordon 2004b: 288; Labov 1966/2006). Hence, even though variant 2 is used to a certain extent in the speech of Donald Trump as a result of a modest emergence of his New York accent, no predominant use can be perceived in the speech of this informant in the context of Statement, perhaps, under the strong stigmatisation associated with non-rhotic forms.

Overall, despite the aforementioned slight differences in the scores obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump, Table IV.44 and Figure IV.161 evidence the prominent mainstream use that American informants make of R-Dropping in the context Statement, being variant 1 (96.87%) predominantly used over variant 2 (3.13%). As previously stated, this strong adherence to mainstream conventions may be influenced by the prestige associated with variant 1 and its common use in General American English, which correlates with the occupation and the social status of the four informants, as well as with the formality associated with this context.

IV.2.8.e. T-Voicing

T-Voicing is another variable that reveals considerable similarities in the treatment that the four informants make of variant 1 ((t) = /d/) and variant 2 ((t) = /t/) (see Figure IV.162). In fact, even though slight differences might be observed in the speech of the American informants studied, all of them exhibit a predominant use of variant 1. Thus, Hillary Clinton obtained a score of 100% for variant 1, Sarah Palin obtained a score of 97.50%, Barack Obama obtained a score of 91.67% and Donald Trump obtained a score of 94.59%. Hence, variant 2 remains scarcely used in the speech of Sarah Palin (2.50%), Barack Obama (8.33%) and Donald Trump (5.41%), while it is completely absent from the speech of Hillary Clinton. Given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the

four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 3.661$; $df = 3$). This predominant use of variant 1 over variant 2 may be explained by the frequency with which General American English speakers employ variant 1 and the prestige acquired by neutralised realisations of the contrast between /t/ and /d/, which is preferred by educated American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar 2004; Wells 1982: 250; McDavid 1966).

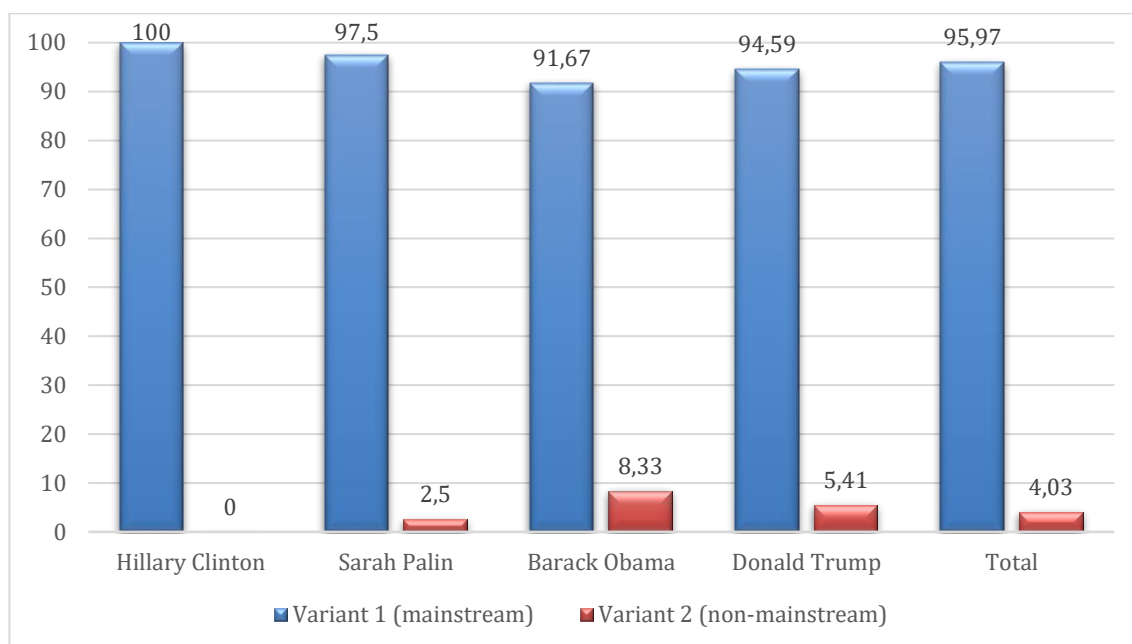


Figure IV.162. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of T-Voicing in the context of Statement.

Thus, certain factors such as the relevant spread across the different dialectal areas of the U.S. that variant 1 has experienced (Wells 1982; McDavid 1966), its associations with a prestigious and careful speech, and the social status and the occupation of the four informants might have influenced the sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump towards a mainstream use of T-Voicing. In fact, the total scores obtained for this linguistic variable in the context of Statement reveal a prominent adherence to mainstream conventions (95.97%), being variant 2 scarcely used (4.03%).

IV.2.8.f. Yod-Dropping

Even though similar linguistic patterns can be identified in the analysis of the scores obtained by each informant for the previous variables, stark differences can be observed in the speech of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump in the context of Statement when it comes to their usage of Yod-Dropping (see Figure IV.163). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 9.382$; $df = 3$).

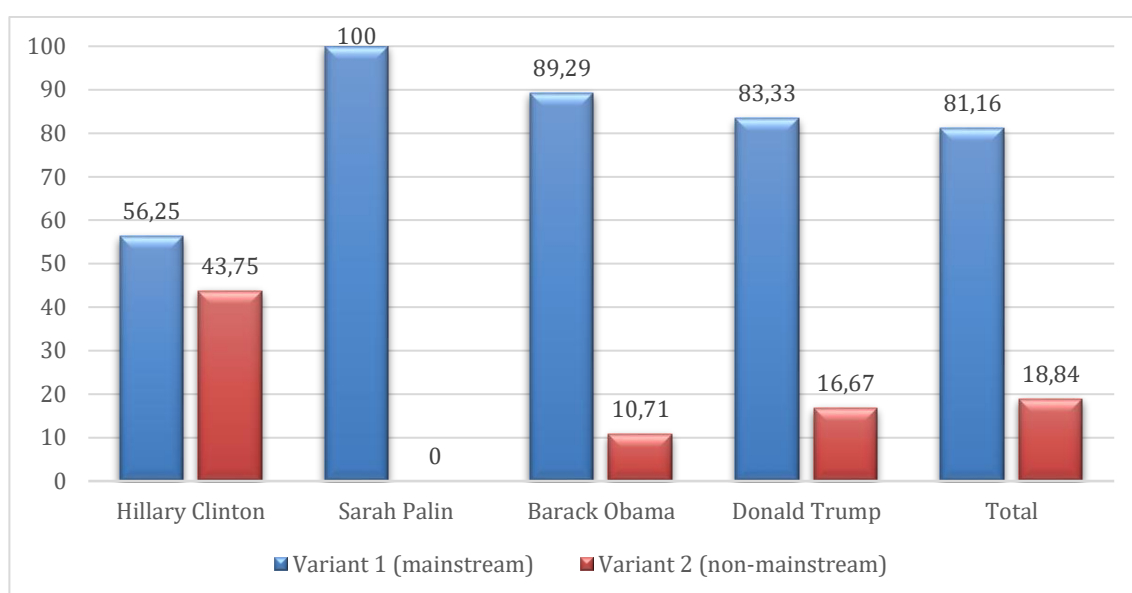


Figure IV.163. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of Yod-Dropping in the context of Statement.

On the one hand, Sarah Palin is the only informant who exhibits a complete use of variant 1 (100%), which goes in line with the mainstream convention employed by General American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). This prominent use of variant 1 could be explained by the fact that the geographical area where Palin spent her formative years (the Matanuska-Susitna Valley, in Alaska) was re-settled by individuals from depressed areas from Upper Midwestern and Northern regions, who brought with them the linguistic features that characterised their dialect. Thus, the subsequent processes of dialect formation

that took place in the Matanuska-Susitna Valley could have influenced the speech of Sarah Palin (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009: 349-340), who exhibits a predominant use of variant 1 ((j) = [u:]) over variant 2 ((j) = [ju:]), as many Western and Northern speakers do (Trudgill & Hannah 2008).

In addition, a rather high score for variant 1 can be observed in the speech of Barack Obama and Donald Trump. As for Barack Obama, his relevant use of variant 1 (89.29%) over variant 2 (10.71%) may be explained by the fact that he has had close contact with Northern accents –which are characterised by a frequent use of variant 1 (Trudgill & Hannah 2008)–, as he has been based in Chicago, Illinois, for long periods of time. Nevertheless, a slight increase in the usage of variant 2 can be observed in his speech style if compared to the score obtained by Sarah Palin for this variant. This noticeable use of variant 2 could be regarded as an attempt to accommodate to a Southern audience, as speakers from Southern areas tend to use variant 2 to a great extent (Thomas 2004: 319). However, taking into account the fact that Obama is a bidialectal African American, it seems more likely that he might be attempting to accommodate to his African American audience, as variant 2 is commonly used by African American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). Hence, it could be said that, though modestly, Obama alters his usage of Yod-Dropping, perhaps in an attempt to adjust his speech style to African American individuals aiming at reinforcing and projecting his ethnic identity (Coupland 2011). Similarly, Donald Trump exhibits a relevant use of mainstream variant 1 (83.33%), which may be influenced by the common use that speakers from New Yorke make of this variant, as he is originally from this geographical area (Wells 1982: 504). Thus, slight deviations from mainstream conventions may be observed in the speeches of Obama and Donald Trump.

On the contrary, Hillary Clinton exhibits a far more different behaviour in the usage of this variable, as she obtained a score of 56.25% for variant 1 and 43.75% for variant 2. The rather equal treatment of both variants in the speech of this informant could be influenced by several factors. Firstly, a noticeable use of variant 1 would be expected in Clinton's speech, as this linguistic feature is commonly used in Northern regions, where she spent her formative years (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). In addition, it is noteworthy to mention the fact that the

speech event of Hillary Clinton that took place in the context of Statement consisted in a public speech in New York, where variant 1 is commonly used (Wells 1982: 504). Nevertheless, a relevant use of variant 2 is evident in Clinton's speech, which could be influenced by the close contact that she has had with Southern accents, as she spent several years in the South, where variant 2 is frequently used (Thomas 2004: 319).

Taking into account the rather different scores obtained by each informant for Yod-Dropping, it must be reminded that there is certain variability associated with this linguistic feature in General American speech, being the palatal glide /j/ present in certain words but absent in others (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). With this into account, and considering the total scores obtained by American politicians in the context of Statement, it can be stated that Yod-Dropping tends to be realised with its mainstream variant (81.16%), although non-mainstream variant 2 tends to be noticeably used in this context (18.84%).

IV.2.8.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants in the context of Statement

Regarding the overall treatment made by American informants of the variables studied in the context of Statement, Figure IV.164 reveals that PIN-PEN merger is the linguistic feature that tends to be realised with mainstream variant 1 the most (99.32% for variant 1 versus 0.68% for variant 2). In addition, PRICE vowel, R-Dropping and T-Voicing are treated in a similar fashion, being their mainstream variants (95.76%, 96.87% and 95.97%, respectively) predominantly used over their non-mainstream forms (4.24%, 3.13% and 4.03%, respectively). However, it seems that American informants lower their usage of mainstream forms in their treatment of Yod-Dropping, although variant 1 (81.16%) is still predominantly used over variant 2 (18.84%). Lastly, Progressive consonant assimilation is the variable that is realised with the lowest percentage of use of mainstream variant 1 (53.33%), being variant 2 used to a similar extent (46.67%).

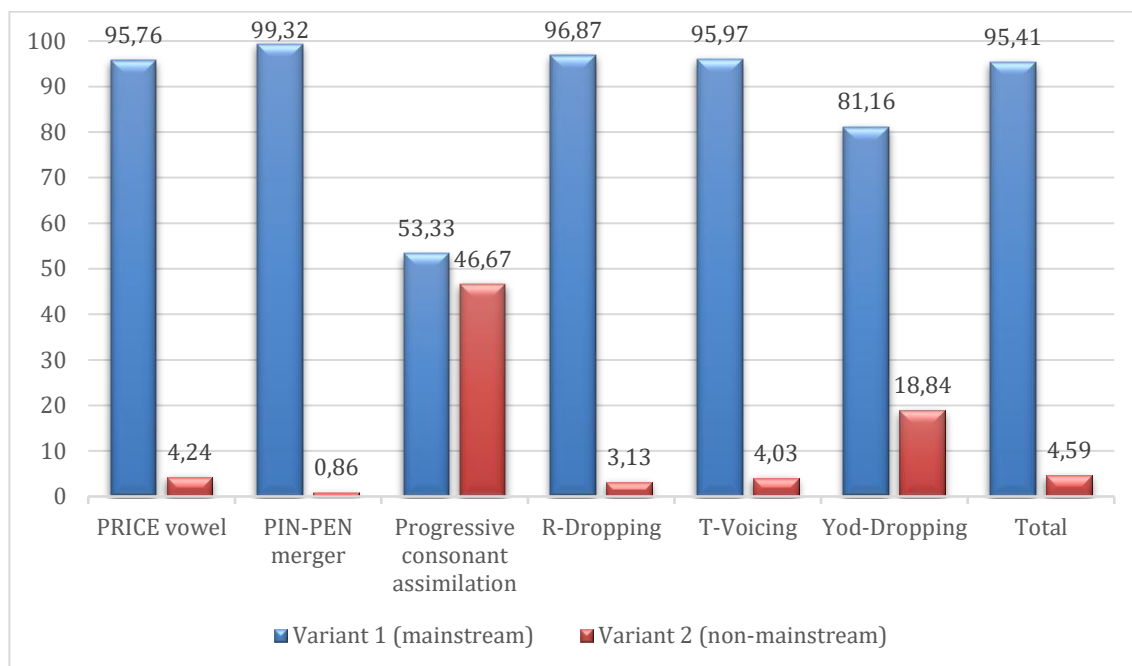


Figure IV.164. Total scores obtained by American informants in the context of Statement.

On the whole, relevant similarities can be observed when comparing the sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump in the context of Statement, which may be influenced by geographical as well as mainstream conventions associated with the linguistic features studied. In this respect, even though certain differences can be observed in the treatment that the informants make of certain linguistic features such as Progressive consonant assimilation and Yod-Dropping, an almost equal linguistic pattern can be observed in the treatment of the remaining variables. This results in a prominent mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited by Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump in the context of Statement, which might be influenced by the social status and the occupation of the informants, as well as by the high degree of formality and the national and international scope associated with these speech events.

In fact, it can be clearly observed that there is general tendency shared by the four informants which consists in predominantly using variant 1 (95.41%) over variant 2 (4.59%) in this context. Particularly, Sarah Palin is the informant that exhibits a greater use of mainstream forms (97.72%), followed by Hillary Clinton (95.33%) and Barack Obama (95.00%), being Donald Trump the informant who obtained the lower percentage of use for mainstream

realisations (93.97%) (see Figure IV.165). Thus, non-mainstream forms remain scarcely used by Clinton (4.67%), Palin (2.28%), Obama (5.00%) and Trump (6.03%). Thus, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 7.158$; $df = 3$).

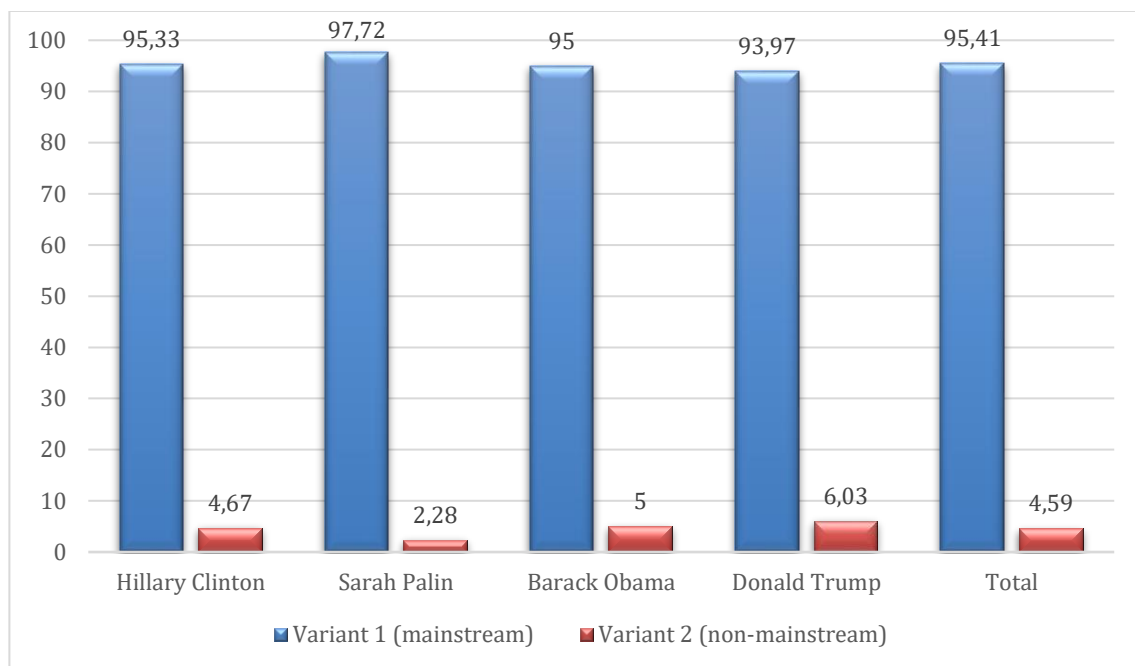


Figure IV.165. Total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump in the context of Statement.

In addition, as it can be observed in Table IV.45, sex ($0.0446 < 0.05$) is not a clear significant factor when it comes to Americans informants' speech style in the context of Statement, as there is not a relevant difference in the probability of use of mainstream forms between female and male American informants (see "Centered factor weight" column). Yet, the negative value obtained in the "Logodds" column indicates that male informants tend to disfavour the usage of mainstream forms to a greater extent than female informants.

Table IV.45. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being used by American informants in the context of Statement (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Female	0.234	802	0.965	0.558
	Male	-0.234	1008	0.945	0.442
Misc. 1	N= 1810; df= 2; Intercept= 3.086; Overall proportion= 0.954; Centered input probability= 0.956.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -334.876; AIC= 673.751; AICc= 673.758; Dxy= 0.111; R2= 0.016.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

In fact, Table IV.46 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, sex ceases to be a significant factor ($0.0701 > 0.05$). Thus, as observed in “Intercept” column, all American informants tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms in the context of Statement. This is further evidenced by the data shown in the “Centered factor weight” column, which indicates that the probability of the American informants studied to favour the usage of mainstream forms is exactly the same.

Table IV.46. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by American informants in the context of Statement. Fixed effects analysis: “Informant” as random variable

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0	1810	0.954	—
Hillary Clinton	0	407	0.953	0.5
Sarah Palin	0	395	0.977	0.5
Barack Obama	0	560	0.95	0.5
Donald Trump	0	448	0.94	0.5
Misc. 1	N= 1810; df= 3; Intercept= 3.086; Overall proportion= 0.954; Centered input probability= 0.956.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -334.876; AIC= 675.751; AICc= 675.765; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.111; R2 fixed= 0.016; R2 random= 0; R2 total= 0.016.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

IV.2.9. American Informants: Interview

Regarding the different contexts, Table IV.47 shows the percentages of use of each informant for each variable studied in the context of Interview. As already mentioned in section III.2.2.b.ii, the speech event of Hillary Clinton under the label of “interview” took place in the White House, in the framework of Bill Clinton’s second mandate. Sarah Palin’s interview took place in New York, in the framework of the 2008 U.S. Presidential Elections, as she was the Republican Party nominee for the Vice Presidency of the United States. Regarding Barack Obama, his interview took place in Washington D.C. at the beginning of his second mandate. Finally, Donald Trump’s interview took place in Davos (Switzerland), at the World Economic Forum event. All the interviews were broadcasted at a national level.

As for the scores obtained in this context, relevant similarities can be observed in the sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants when it comes to their usage of PIN-PEN merger. In addition, slight differences can be observed in the treatment that Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump make of R-Dropping, T-Voicing and PRICE vowel, while more stark dissimilarities are appreciated in the usage that the four politicians make of Progressive consonant assimilation and Yod-Dropping.

Table IV.47. American Informants: Context – Interview							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants				
			Hillary Clinton	Sarah Palin	Barack Obama	Donald Trump	Total
PRICE vowel	Variant #1: /aɪ/	%	90.83%	94.23%	76.61%	89.77%	87.92%
		#	109/120	98/104	95/124	193/215	495/563
	Variant #2: [a:]	%	9.17%	5.77%	23.39%	10.23%	12.08%
		#	11/120	6/104	29/124	22/215	68/563
PIN-PEN merger: /ɪ/-/ɛ/	Variant #1: No merging	%	94.59%	92.68%	92.73%	90.79%	92.34%
		#	35/37	38/41	51/55	69/76	193/209
	Variant #2: Merging	%	5.41%	7.32%	7.27%	9.21%	7.66%
		#	2/37	3/41	4/55	7/76	16/209
Progressive consonant assimilation	Variant #1: (nt) = /n/	%	85.71%	66.67%	100.00%	41.18%	65.00%
		#	6/7	6/9	7/7	7/17	26/40
	Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/	%	14.29%	33.33%	0.00%	58.82%	35.00%
		#	1/7	3/9	0/7	10/17	14/40
R-Dropping	Variant #1: (r) = /r/	%	98.10%	97.31%	98.05%	79.92%	93.07%
		#	155/158	217/223	302/308	199/249	873/938
	Variant #2: (r) = /ø/	%	1.90%	2.69%	1.95%	20.08%	6.93%
		#	3/158	6/223	6/308	50/249	65/938
T-Voicing	Variant #1: (t) = /d/	%	94.12%	94.12%	87.50%	97.06%	92.80%
		#	16/17	32/34	35/40	33/34	116/125
	Variant #2: (t) = /t/	%	5.88%	5.88%	12.50%	2.94%	7.20%
		#	1/17	2/34	5/40	1/34	9/125
Yod-Dropping	Variant #1: (j) = [u:]	%	100.00%	80.00%	78.57%	40.00%	72.34%
		#	3/3	16/20	11/14	4/10	34/47
	Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]	%	0.00%	20.00%	21.43%	60.00%	27.66%
		#	0/3	4/20	3/14	6/10	13/47
Total	Variant #1	%	94.74%	94.43%	91.42%	84.03%	90.37%
		#	324/342	407/431	501/548	505/601	1737/1922
	Variant #1	%	5.26%	5.57%	8.58%	15.97%	9.63%
		#	18/342	24/431	47/548	96/601	185/1922

IV.2.9.a. PRICE vowel

Concerning PRICE vowel, noticeable differences can be appreciated in the usage that Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump make of this variable (see Figure IV.166). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 20.479$; $df = 3$).

On the one hand, the highest percentage of use for mainstream variant 1 (/aɪ/) was obtained by Sarah Palin (94.23%), who subsequently obtained the lowest percentage of use

for non-mainstream variant 2 ([a:]) (5.77%). This scarce use of variant 2 may be motivated by the high frequency with which General American speakers employ variant 1 (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), together with the little influence that Southern accents may have had in Palin's sociolinguistic behaviour, as this variant is commonly used in Southern regions (Thomas 2004: 311).

Similarly, Hillary Clinton also exhibits a predominant use of mainstream variant 1 (90.83%) over non-mainstream variant 2 (9.17%). However, if compared to the scores obtained by Sarah Palin, a slight decrease in the usage of diphthongal realisations can be observed in Clinton's speech. This modest increase in the usage of variant 2 may be outcome of certain influence of the Southern accent in Clinton's speech, as she spent several years in the South, where variant 2 is one of the most remarkable stereotypes (Thomas 2004: 311; Lippi-Green 2012: 214), and particularly linked with Southern culture (Boberg 2015). Nevertheless, Clinton's strong adherence to the mainstream variant may be influenced by the stigmatisation associated with monophthongal forms, as variant 2 has traditionally been associated with the speech of working-class individuals, which has led many upper-middle class speakers to avoid this type of pronunciation (Thomas 2004: 312). Thus, given the association of variant 1 with the mainstream and prestigious speech of individuals from Northern regions—where Clinton has also spent several periods of time—the social status and the occupation of the informant, the formality of this speech event, and the negative social evaluation to which variant 2 is subjected, a prominent use of variant 1 over variant 2 could be expected in Clinton's speech in this context

On the other hand, similar percentages of use as those obtained by Hillary Clinton can be observed in Trump's speech, as he obtained a score of 89.77% for variant 1 and 10.23% for variant 2. As with previous informants, such relevant adherence to the variant 1 might be motivated by the prestige associated with diphthongal forms, which are commonly used in General American English (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), being monophthongal realisations avoided by many upper-middle classes (Thomas 2004: 312). On the other hand, since this informant has not had close contact with Southern accents, the slight increase in the usage of monophthongal realisations in Trump's speech could be motivated by his

tendency to strategically employ non-mainstream variants in an attempt to project a political identity that would be associated with a relatable, folksy, informal and emotional persona (Lakoff 2005; Sclafani 2018).

Nevertheless, an even more noticeable decrease in the percentage of use of mainstream variant 1 can be observed in the speech of Barack Obama, as he obtained the lowest percentage of use for variant 1 (76.61%) and subsequently obtained the highest percentage of use for variant 2 (10.23%) out of the four informants. Particularly, Obama's sociolinguistic behaviour is characterised by a relevant adherence to the prestigious and mainstream variant together with a noticeable use of non-mainstream variant 2. In fact, the usage of monophthongal forms might be motivated by an attempt to project and reinforce his African American identity, since variant 2 is frequently used by Southern as well as African American speakers (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982; Thomas 2004). Hence, considering that he has identified himself as a bidialectal African American –which means that he masters General American and African American English (Lippi-Green 2012)– it would be less of a surprise to encounter monophthongal realisations in his speech. In addition, the fact that speakers tend to lower the degree of awareness towards their own speech in interviews might also have fostered the emergence of such vernacular forms in Obama's speech when operating in this context (Labov 1972a, 2001a, 2001b).

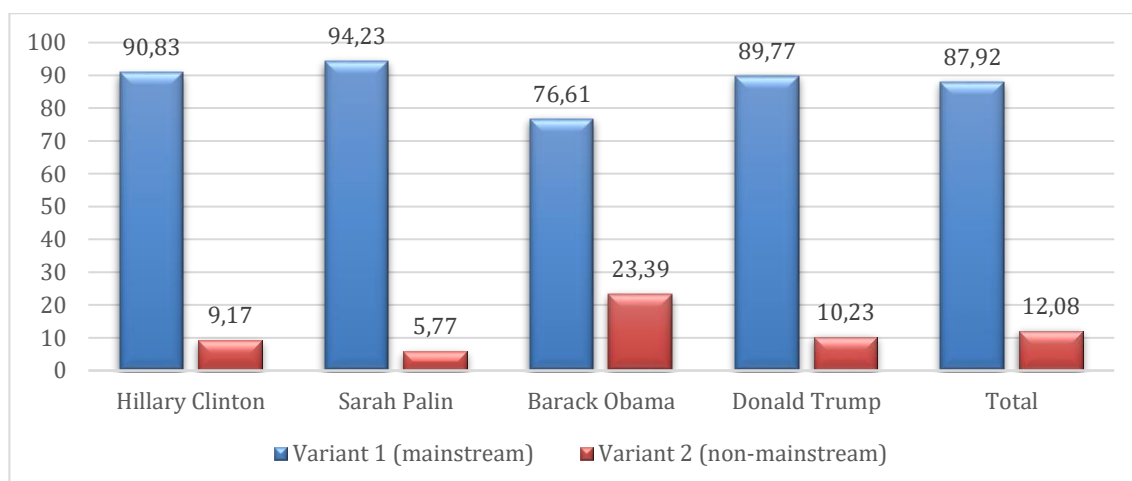


Figure IV.166. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of PRICE vowel in the context of Interview.

Overall, a clear difference can be appreciated between the usage that Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Donald Trump, on the one hand, and Barack Obama, on the other, make of PRICE vowel, as Obama slightly diverges from the mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour exhibited by Clinton, Palin and Trump. Nevertheless, a general mainstream behaviour can still be observed in the scores obtained by the four American informants in this context, being mainstream variant 1 (87.92%) predominantly used over non-mainstream variant 2 (12.08%). Hence, it seems that several factors such as the degree of formality of this context, the national scope of the interviews, the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 and the social status of the four informants influence their sociolinguistic behaviour towards a rather mainstream behaviour, being ethnic identity aspects also prone to condition Obama's speech style.

IV.2.9.b. PIN-PEN merger

Regarding PIN-PEN merger, a rather similar sociolinguistic behaviour may be observed in the treatment that the four informants make of this variable in the context of Interview, as the scores obtained for variant 1 (No Merging) reveal a predominant adherence to mainstream conventions (see Figure IV.167). Hillary Clinton is the informant that exhibits a greater use of variant 1 (94.59%), followed by Barack Obama (92.73%) and Sarah Palin (92.68%), being Donald Trump the informant who obtained the lowest score for variant 1 (90.70%). As a result, variant 2 (Merging) remains scarcely used in the speech of Clinton (5.41%), Obama (7.27%), Palin (7.32%), and Trump (9.21%). This overuse of variant 1 could be motivated by the stigmatisation associated with merged realisations, as a higher use of variant 2 inversely correlates with education, being the speech of higher educated individuals associated with a lesser use of merged forms (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006). Hence, given the categorical use of variants, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 0.543$; $df = 3$).

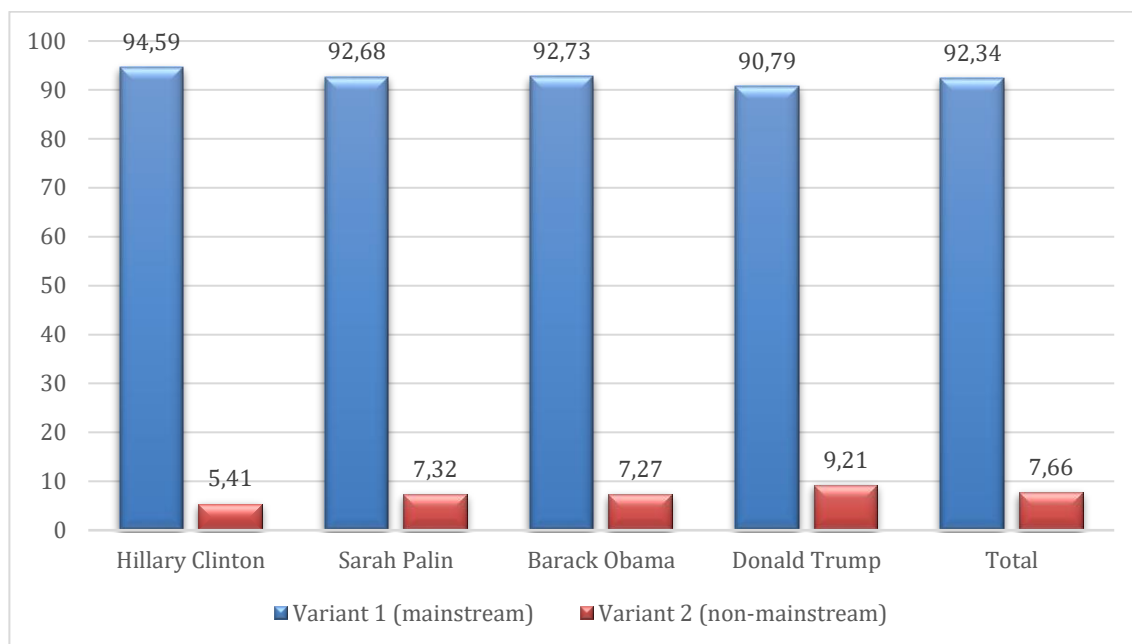


Figure IV.167. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of PIN-PEN merger in the context of Interview.

On the one hand, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite Hillary Clinton having been based in the South for a relevant period of time, and being merged realisations commonly associated with a strong Southern regional identity (Schneider 2006), this informant shows a clear reluctance to adopt variant 2 in this context, showing a strong adherence to mainstream variant 1.

Similarly, even though Barack Obama has identified himself as a bidialectal African American (Lippi-Green 2012), he does not significantly accommodate to variant 2, which is also frequently used by African American speakers (Thomas 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982). Hence, it seems that Obama is not making a strategic use of PIN-PEN merger in order to reinforce and project his African American identity, as he does with other variables and in other contexts.

As previously stated, this reluctance of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama to adopt non-mainstream variant 2 despite having had close contact with Southern (as in the case of the former) and African American accents (as in the case of the later) may be motivated by the stigmatisation that is commonly associated with merged realisations (Wells 1982; Thomas

2004), which has led speakers to differentiate PIN-PEN words (Thomas 2004: 316). As stated by Thomas (2004: 316), “today, however, some Southerners, largely under the influence of schools, have begun to distinguish PIN and PEN”. As a result, this traditional Southern feature is starting to lose ground in the South, particularly in large urban areas (Schneider 2006; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008). Consequently, it can be tentatively stated that due to the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 and its receding behaviour, no motivation may be found on the part of Clinton in order to alter her usage of PIN-PEN merger. However, it must be mentioned that African American individuals seem to be more conservative than Whites in their usage of PIN-PEN merger, as this receding behaviour is not that frequent in African American speech. This further evidences Obama’s clear reluctance to adopt merged realisations in this context.

On the other hand, Palin’s and Trump’s scores were rather expected, as none of these two politicians has never had close contact with Southern or African American accents (Thomas 2004; Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982).

Thus, certain factors such as the formality of this speech event, certain geographical constraints, the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 and its receding behaviour, the social status of the informants and the national and international scope of these interviews may result in a scarce motivation for Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump to alter their usage of PIN-PEN merger. Consequently, the four informants show a general tendency in their speeches to predominantly use mainstream and prestigious variant 1 (92.34%) in the context of Interview, being this variant highly characteristic of Northern speech (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). As a result, variant 2 tends to be scarcely used by American informants in this context (7.66%).

IV.2.9.c. Progressive consonant assimilation

In contrast, an evident disparity can be observed in the scores obtained by each informant in the context of Interview when it comes to their usage of Progressive consonant assimilation (see Figure IV.168). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both

variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 9.342$; $df = 3$).

On the one hand, it becomes of relevance the fact that Barack Obama is the only informant who exhibits a complete use of variant 1 ((nt) = /n/) (100%), which goes in line with the current tendency of deleting /t/ from /nt/ in General American speech (Kretzschmar 2004: 267).

In a similar vein, Hillary Clinton also exhibits a rather high score for variant 1 (85.71%), being variant 2 used to a certain extent (14.29%) in her speech. It seems that both Northern as well as Southern linguistic features could have influenced her sociolinguistic behaviour, as she spent her formative years in Northern regions –where variant 2 is commonly used–, but also spend several years in the South –where variant 1 is more frequent (Wells 1982). Yet, even though vernacular forms seem to arise in the speech of Clinton, she still exhibits a prominent use of the mainstream variant.

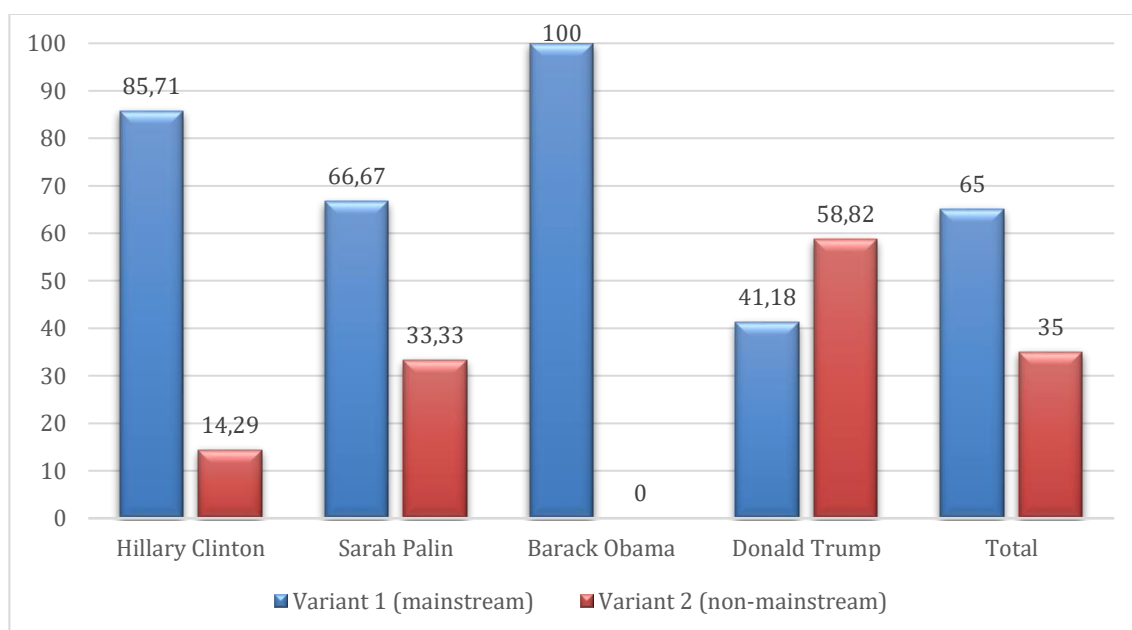


Figure IV.168. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of Progressive consonant assimilation in the context of Interview.

However, if compared with the scores obtained by Obama and Clinton, it can be seen how Sarah Palin considerably decreases her variant 1 realisations (66.67%) and subsequently increases variant 2 forms (33.33%) in her speech. This increase in variant 2 may be motivated by the common use that Northerners make of variant 2 (Wells 1982), since despite this informant being from Alaska, Western and Northern linguistic features shaped her accent due to the migration phenomenon of Northerners and Westerners to the Matanuska-Susitna Valley (the regional area where her hometown is based) (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009: 349-340). In addition, this relevant use of variant 2 might also be motivated by the supposed strategy employed by Palin in order to design and project a folksy style towards the electorate in order to emphasise her authenticity (Lippi-Green 2012).

On the contrary, Donald Trump obtained the lowest score for variant 1 (41.18%) and the highest score for variant 2 (58.82%) out of the four informants. This relevant increase in variant 2 forms may be influenced by the common use that Northern speakers make of this variant (Wells 1982), as he has been based most of his life in Northern regions. Hence, it seems that his regional origin surpasses the General American trend of deleting /t/ from /nt/ clusters (Kretzschmar 2004: 267), which goes in line of Trump's tendency to employ non-mainstream forms in order to project a political identity that would be associated with a relatable, folksy, informal, and nice emotional persona (Lakoff 2005; Sclafani 2018).

Thus, clear differences in the usage of Progressive consonant assimilation can be observed in the speech of the four American informants for the context of Interview. While Obama and Clinton exhibit a rather mainstream behaviour, Palin and Trump employ a relevant use of the non-mainstream variant. Hence, it could be tentatively stated that since no significant stigmatisation is associated with the usage of Progressive consonant assimilation, the four informants seem to enjoy a greater degree of freedom when it comes to using variant 1 or variant 2, which results in the emergence of the non-mainstream variant. As a result, the total sociolinguistic behaviour of the four American informants is characterised by a noticeable use of both variant 1 (65.00%) and variant 2 (35.00%).

IV.2.9.d. R-Dropping

In addition, certain similarities as well as clear differences can be appreciated in the treatment that the four informants make of R-Dropping (see Figure IV.169). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 91.034$; $df = 3$).

Thus, while Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Barack Obama exhibit a predominant use of mainstream variant 1 ((r) = /r/) (98.10%, 97.31% and 98.05%, respectively), remaining variant 2 ((r) = /ø/) scarcely used (1.90%, 2.69% and 1.95%, respectively), Donald Trump is the informant that obtains the lowest percentage of use for variant 1 (79.92%), and therefore, the highest percentage of use for variant 2 (20.08%). This predominance of rhotic forms in the speech of the four American informants goes in line with mainstream conventions that characterise General American English speech, as variant 1 enjoys overt prestige and is preferred in careful speech (Labov 1966/2006; Wells 1982: 490).

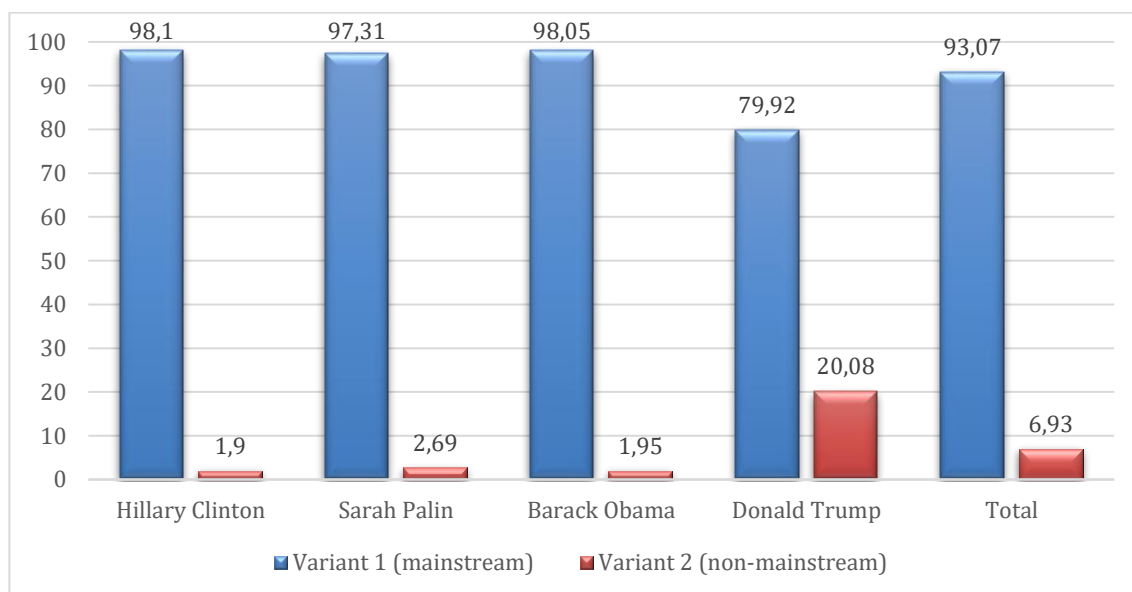


Figure IV.169. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of R-Dropping in the context of Interview.

On the one hand, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Barack Obama evidences a strong adherence to variant 1 together with a clear reluctance to significantly adopt non-mainstream variant 2. In addition, while the scores obtained by Sarah Palin were rather expected, it becomes of relevance the fact that neither Hillary Clinton nor Barack Obama diverged from variant 1 to a great extent. Particularly, despite having spent several years in the South and being non-rhotic realisations rather common in Lower Southern regions (Schneider 2006; Trudgill & Hannah 2008), Hillary Clinton did not employ a significant use of variant 2. Similarly, considering that Obama identifies himself as a bidialectal African American and that this ethnic group tends delete postvocalic /r/ more frequently than Southern Speakers (Edwards 2004: 388), this informant neither accommodated to non-rhotic forms in this context; instead, he exhibited a prominent use of variant 1. Thus, it could be tentatively stated that Obama is not strategically using R-Dropping as a device in identity creation and projection process, which contrasts with the treatment that he makes of other linguistic variables in other contexts, which are used to a greater extent so as to reinforce his African American identity.

Thus, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though Hillary Clinton and Obama have had Southern (as in the case of the former) as well as African American influences (as in the case of the latter) in their speech, none of them are prone to adopt non-rhotic realisations in this context. In this sense, Clinton's reluctance to accommodate to a Southern audience may be motivated by the prestige that rhotic realisations are acquiring in Southern speech and the frequency with which rhotic realisations are used in formal style (McDavid 1948; Levine & Crockett 1966; Harris 1969; Thomas 2004:318). However, this prestige model acquired by rhotic realisations and the subsequent receding behaviour of non-rhotic forms in several U.S. regions does not apply to the speech of African American speakers (McDavid 1948; Levine & Crockett 1966; Harris 1969), who tend to retain variant 2 pronunciations to a greater extent than other speakers (Thomas 2004). This further evidences Obama's reluctance to adopt non-mainstream variant 2 in this context.

On the other hand, Donald Trump is the informant who exhibits the lowest score for mainstream variant 1 and the highest score for variant 2 in this context. His usage of the non-

mainstream variant may be influenced by the fact that he is originally from New York, where variant 2 has traditionally been regarded as one of the most remarkable accentual features (Wells 1982: 503). In addition, another aspect that might have fostered a noticeable use of non-rhotic realisations could be the minimised attention that individuals tend to pay to their own speech in interviews (Labov 1972a, 1966/2006), which could have resulted in the emergence of a linguistic feature that is characteristic of the informant's regional accent. Nevertheless, the still prominent use of mainstream variant 1 in Trump's speech may be motivated by the fact that even though variant 2 was commonly used in New York by speakers belonging to all social levels, at some point it began to be regarded as a stigmatised linguistic feature (Labov 1966/2006), as non-rhotic realisations started to be associated with working-class speakers, becoming this variant a strong class marker (Gordon 2004b: 288; Labov 1966/2006).

Overall, a clear difference can be appreciated between the usage that Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Barack Obama make of this variable, on the one hand, and that of Donald Trump, on the other. However, even though variant 2 might be present in the speech of Donald Trump to a relevant extent as a result of a modest emergence of his New York accent provoked by a decrease in the awareness towards his own speech, a predominant use of variant 1 can still be perceived in the scores obtained by Trump in this context, perhaps under the influence of the stigmatisation associated with non-rhotic forms.

Overall, Figure IV.169 evidences a general mainstream behaviour in the scores obtained by American informants for R-Dropping in the context of Interview. Thus, mainstream variant 1 (93.07%) tends to be employed over non-mainstream variant 2 (6.93%), which correlates with the social status and occupation of the informants, as well as with the mainstream and prestigious convention that characterises General American speech.

IV.2.9.e. T-Voicing

Regarding T-Voicing, slight differences can also be observed in the treatment that the four American informants make of this variable (see Figure IV.170). Nevertheless, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the

differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.737$; $df = 3$).

On the one hand, Donald Trump exhibits an almost complete use of variant 1 ((t) = /d/) (97.06%), being variant 2 ((t) = /t/) almost unused (2.94%) in his speech. Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin show an identical sociolinguistic behaviour, as both informants obtained a score of 94.12% for variant 1 and 5.88% for variant 2. Lastly, Barack Obama is the informant that obtained the lowest percentage of use for variant 1 (87.50%) and the highest percentage of use for variant 2 (12.50%).

This predominant use of variant 1 over variant 2 may be explained by the frequency with which General American English speakers employ this variant and the prestige acquired by neutralised realisations of the contrast between /t/ and /d/, which is preferred by educated American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar 2004; Wells 1982: 250; McDavid 1966; Kretzschmar 2004). As a result, the general sociolinguistic behaviour of the four American informants when it comes to their usage of T-Voicing in the context of Interview is characterised by a strict adherence to mainstream conventions (92.8%), being variant 2 scarcely used in their speech (7.20%).

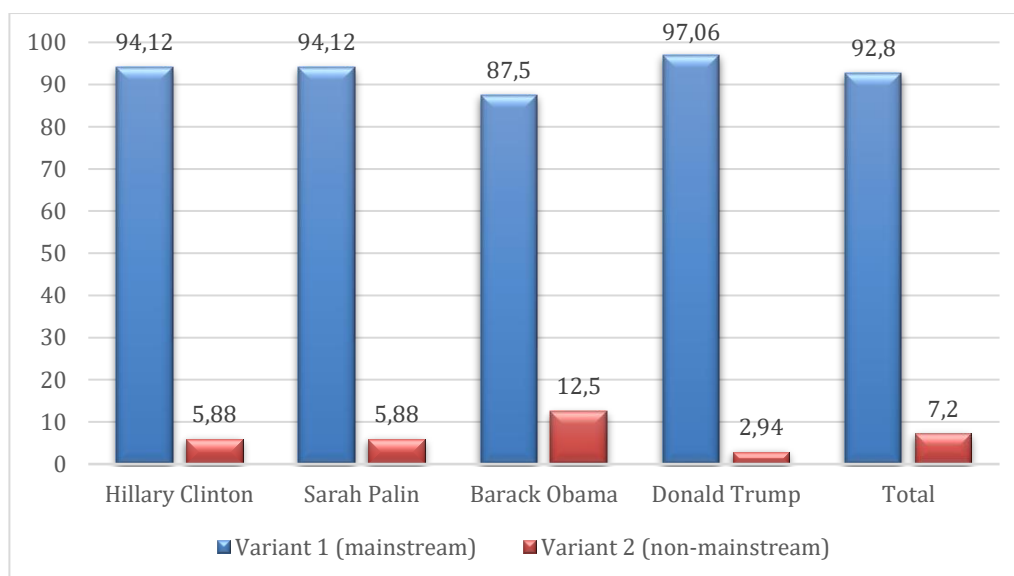


Figure IV.170. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of T-Voicing in the context of Interview.

IV.2.9.f. Yod-Dropping

On the other hand, certain differences can be observed in the usage that the four informants make of Yod-Dropping (see Figure IV.171), although inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 7.232$; $df = 3$).

Firstly, Hillary Clinton is the only informant who obtained a complete use of variant 1 ((j) = [u:]) (100%). In fact, this sociolinguistic behaviour goes in line with the tendency of General American English speakers of using variant 1 to a prominent extent (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). In addition, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite having spent several years in the South –where variant 2 is frequently used (Thomas 2004: 319)– no trace of variant 2 realisations ((j) = [ju:]) can be observed in her speech. Instead, she exhibits a prominent use of variant 1, which is characteristic of Northern and Western regions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Precisely, the tendency of North American speakers to evaluate variant 2 as affected might have also precluded the informant from using it (Wells 1982: 504). Hence, it seems that since this speech event took place in the White House at a time in which she was the First Lady of the United States, no attempt on the part of the informant was made to accommodate her speech style towards the adoption of a non-mainstream variant. On the contrary, it could be said that the informant's objective was to project a rather mainstream behaviour that would suit her social status and occupation and that would correlate with mainstream conventions encompassed by General American speech (Kretzschmar 2004).

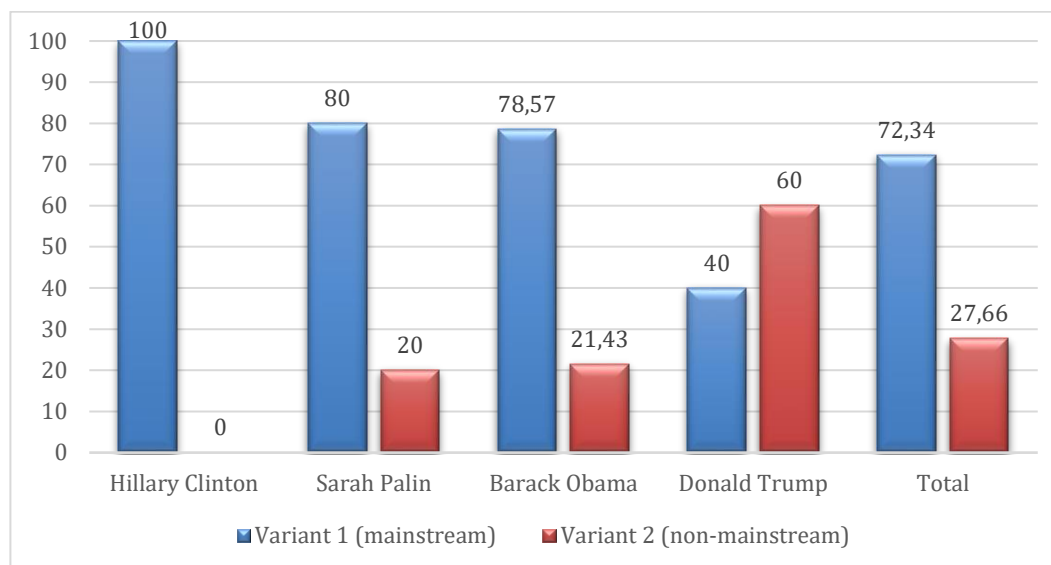


Figure IV.171. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of Yod-Dropping in the context of Interview.

However, a relevant decrease in the usage of variant 1 can be observed in the scores obtained by Sarah Palin and Barack Obama, as both informants employed a rather similar sociolinguistic behaviour. Thus, Palin obtained a score of 80.00% for variant 1 and 20.00% for variant 2, and Obama obtained a score of 78.57% for variant 1 and 21.43% for variant 2. This still predominant use of variant 1 could be explained by the prominent use that Northern as well as Western speakers make of this variant (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). In this respect, even though Sarah Palin is originally from Alaska, the geographical area where she spent her formative years and where she is actually based (the Matanuska-Susitna Valley, in Alaska) was re-settled by individuals from depressed areas from Upper Midwestern and Northern regions, who brought with them the linguistic features that characterised their dialect. Consequently, this process of dialect formation may have influenced the speech of Sarah Palin (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009: 349-340), who exhibits a predominant use of variant 1 over variant 2, as many Western and Northern speakers do (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Nevertheless, Palin's relevant use of variant 2 might be motivated by the supposed strategy employed by this informant in order to design and project a folksy style so as to emphasise her authenticity (Lippi-Green 2012).

Regarding Obama, the predominance with which variant 1 is used in the speech of Northern individuals might have influenced his accent, as he has spent several years in the North. Nevertheless, his noticeable use of variant 2 could be regarded as an attempt to accommodate to a Southern audience, as speakers from Southern areas tend to use variant 2 to a great extent (Thomas 2004: 319). However, taking into account the fact that Obama is a bidialectal African American, it seems more likely that he might be attempting to accommodate to his African American audience, as variant 2 is also commonly used by African American speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). Hence, it could be said that though modestly, Obama alters his usage of Yod-Dropping so as to adjust his sociolinguistic behaviour to African American audiences aiming at reinforcing and projecting his ethnic identity (Coupland 2011).

However, the scores obtained by Donald Trump clearly contrast with those obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Barack Obama. In fact, despite being originally from New York, where variant 1 is commonly used (Wells 1982), a rather low score for variant 1 (40.00%) and a subsequent high score for variant 2 (60.00%) can be observed in Trump's speech in the context of Interview. As previously stated, this usage of variant 2 might be motivated by Trump's tendency to employ non-mainstream forms in an attempt to project a political identity that would be associated with a relatable, folksy, informal, emotional and nice persona (Lakoff 2005; Sclafani 2018).

Taking into account the rather different scores obtained by each informant for Yod-Dropping in this context, it must be reminded that there is certain variability associated with the usage of this linguistic feature in General American speech, being the palatal glide /j/ present in certain words but absent in others (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). As a result, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants in their usage of Yod-Dropping reveals a prominent use of mainstream variant 1 (72.34), being variant 2 also used to a noticeable extent (27.66%).

IV.2.9.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants in the context of Interview

Regarding the overall treatment made by American informants of the variables studied in the context of Interview, Figure IV.172 reveals that certain linguistic features tend to be prominently realised with their mainstream variants, as it is the case R-Dropping (93.07% for variant 1 versus 6.93% for variant 2), T-Voicing (92.80% for variant 1 versus 7.20% for variant 2) and PIN-PEN merger (92.34% for variant 1 versus 7.66% for variant 2), followed by PRICE vowel (87.92% for variant 1 versus 12.08% for variant 2). However, it seems that American informants lower their usage of mainstream forms in their treatment of Yod-Dropping (72.34% for variant 1 versus 27.66% for variant 2) and Progressive consonant assimilation (65.00% for variant 1 versus 35.00% for variant 2). Particularly, some of the informants exhibited a rather non-mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour in the treatment of the aforementioned variables, which might be motivated by the tendency of lowering the awareness degree of one's speech in the context of Interview, resulting in the emergence of non-mainstream forms in this context (Labov 1972a, 2001a, 2001b).

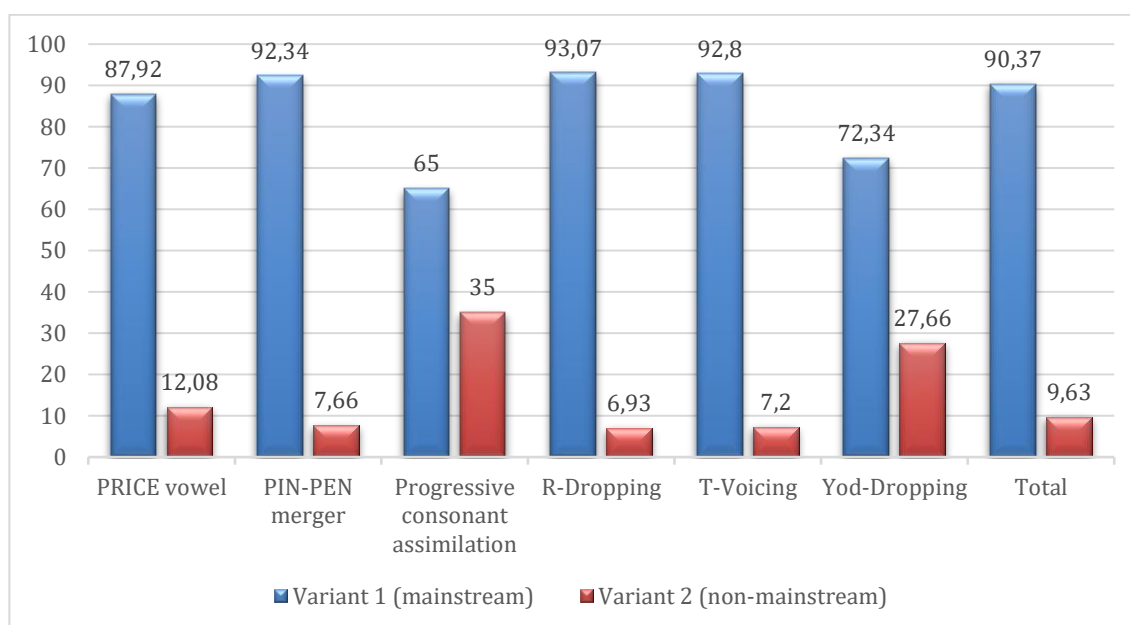


Figure IV.172. Total scores obtained by American informants in the context of Interview.

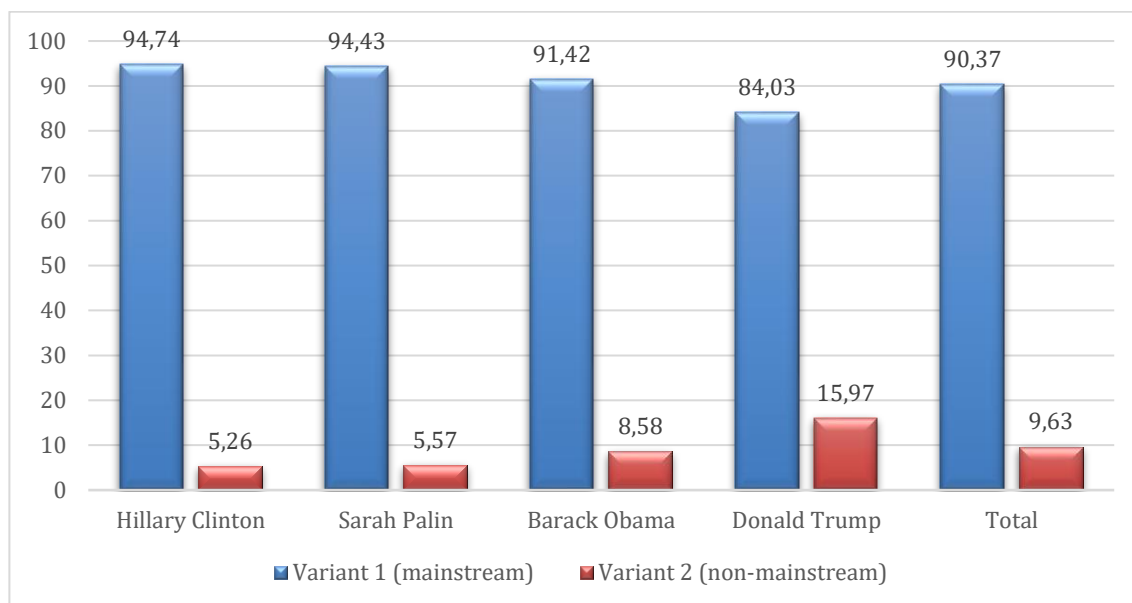


Figure IV.173. Total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump in the context of Interview.

Moreover, if the different sociolinguistic behaviours of the four American informants are compared, several differences will be observed (see Figure IV.173). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 44.17$; $df = 3$).

Precisely, Hillary Clinton obtained a percentage of 94.74 for variant 1, which is rather similar to the total score obtained by Palin for the same variant (94.43%). However, and in a similar fashion as in the context of Statement, a slight decrease in the usage of variant 1 can be observed in the total scores obtained by Obama (91.42%) and Trump (84.03%). As previously stated, the fact of Clinton and Palin employing more mainstream forms than Obama and Trump reinforce Trudgill's (1972, 1983a) correlates with the claim that women tend to make much higher use of mainstream and prestigious features in their speech than men.

In fact, as it can be observed in Table IV.48, sex ($1.24e-07 < 0.05$) appears to be a significant factor when it comes to Americans informants' speech style in the context of Interview, as female informants tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms. On the

contrary, the negative value obtained in the “Logodds” column indicates that male informants tend to disfavour the usage of mainstream forms. Precisely, the values of the “Centered factor weight” column reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for female than male American informants.

Table IV.48. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being used by American informants in the context of Interview (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Female	0.453	773	0.946	0.611
	Male	-0.453	1149	0.876	0.389
Misc. 1	N= 1922; df= 2; Intercept= 2.404; Overall proportion= 0.904; Centered input probability= 0.917.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -594.859; AIC= 1193.717; AICc= 1193.723; Dxy= 0.194; R2= 0.057.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.49 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, sex ceases to be a significant factor ($0.0286 > 0.05$). In fact, Barack Obama is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms in the context of Interview, followed by Hillary Clinton. On the contrary, the negative values obtained in the “Intercept” column indicate that Sarah Palin disfavors the usage of mainstream forms, being Donald Trump the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream realisations out of the four American informants in this context. This is also evidenced by the probability values obtained for the “Centerd factor weight” column, although the difference in the probability of the four American informants to use mainstream forms in their speech when performing in the context of Interview is not dissimilar to a relevant extent.

Table IV.49. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by American informants in the context of Interview. Fixed effects analysis: “Informant” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.238	1922	0.904	—
Barack Obama	0.267	548	0.914	0.568
Hillary Clinton	0.01	342	0.947	0.504
Sarah Palin	-0.022	431	0.944	0.496
Donald Trump	-0.274	601	0.84	0.433
Misc. 1	N= 1922; df= 3; Intercept= 2.433; Overall proportion= 0.904; Centered input probability= 0.919.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -591.416; AIC= 1188.832; AICc= 1188.845; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.271; R2 fixed= 0.052; R2 random= 0.016; R2 total= 0.068.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

On the whole, as it can be observed in the total scores obtained in this context (see Figure IV.173), despite the aforementioned differences in the treatment of certain variables, it seems that the general trend followed by the American informants in the context of Interview consists in using mainstream variants (90.37%) over non-mainstream realisations (9.63%), which could be influenced by the pressure of mainstream conventions encompassed by General American speech, as well as the national scope of the interviews, the formality of these speech events and the social status and occupation of the four American informants.

IV.2.10. American Informants: Rally (North)

Regarding the different contexts, Table IV.50 shows the percentages of use obtained by each informant for each variable studied in the context of Rally (North). As already mentioned in section III.2.2.b.ii, the speech event of Hillary Clinton under the label of “Rally (North)” took place in Cincinnati, Ohio, in the framework of the 2016 U.S. Presidential Elections. Similarly,

Sarah Palin's rally in Ames, Iowa, was selected for the context of Rally (North). Particularly, this rally took place in the framework of the 2016 U.S. Presidential Elections, and its main aim was to endorse Republican candidate Donald Trump. Regarding Barack Obama, a rally for Democratic Party candidates that took place in Chicago, Illinois, in the framework of the 2010 midterm elections was analysed. Lastly, the speech event of Donald Trump under the label of "Rally (North)" took place in Minneapolis, Minnesota, in the framework of the 2020 U.S. Presidential Elections.

Table IV.50. American Informants: Context – Rally (North)							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants				
			Hillary Clinton	Sarah Palin	Barack Obama	Donald Trump	Total
PRICE vowel	Variant #1: /aɪ/	%	93.04%	95.73%	74.53%	88.62%	88.29%
		#	107/115	112/117	79/106	109/123	407/461
	Variant #2: [a:]	%	6.96%	4.27%	25.47%	11.38%	11.71%
		#	8/115	5/117	27/106	14/123	54/461
PIN-PEN merger: /ɪ/-/e/	Variant #1: No merging	%	100.00%	89.83%	95.08%	91.84%	94.49%
		#	67/67	53/59	58/61	45/49	223/236
	Variant #2: Merging	%	0.00%	10.17%	4.92%	8.16%	5.51%
		#	0/67	6/59	3/61	4/49	13/236
Progressive consonant assimilation	Variant #1: (nt) = /n/	%	50.00%	50.00%	100.00%	63.64%	70.45%
		#	5/10	4/8	15/15	7/11	31/44
	Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/	%	50.00%	50.00%	0.00%	36.36%	29.55%
		#	5/10	4/8	0/15	4/11	13/44
R-Dropping	Variant #1: (r) = /r/	%	99.38%	99.14%	93.21%	74.30%	93.21%
		#	321/323	344/347	261/280	159/214	1085/1164
	Variant #2: (r) = /ø/	%	0.62%	0.86%	6.79%	25.70%	6.79%
		#	2/323	3/347	19/280	55/214	79/1164
T-Voicing	Variant #1: (t) = /d/	%	100.00%	89.83%	87.88%	94.44%	92.73%
		#	37/37	53/59	29/33	34/36	153/165
	Variant #2: (t) = /t/	%	0.00%	10.17%	12.12%	5.56%	7.27%
		#	0/37	6/59	4/33	2/36	12/165
Yod-Dropping	Variant #1: (j) = [u:]	%	90.00%	100.00%	100.00%	68.75%	85.71%
		#	9/10	13/13	3/3	11/16	36/42
	Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]	%	10.00%	0.00%	0.00%	31.25%	14.29%
		#	1/10	0/13	0/3	5/16	6/42
Total	Variant #1	%	97.15%	96.02%	89.36%	81.29%	91.62%
		#	546/562	579/603	445/498	365/449	1935/2112
	Variant #1	%	2.85%	3.98%	10.64%	18.71%	8.38%
		#	16/562	24/603	53/498	84/449	177/2112

As for the scores obtained by the informants, certain similarities can be observed in the usage that Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump made of PRICE vowel, PIN-PEN merger, R-Dropping and T-Voicing. However, starker differences in the percentages of use obtained by the four politicians are evident when it comes to Yod-Dropping and Progressive consonant assimilation.

IV.2.10.a. PRICE vowel

Regarding PRICE vowel, certain differences can be observed in the treatment that some of the informants make of this variable. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 28.194$; $df = 3$). Yet, an overall mainstream behaviour can be appreciated in the scores obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump, as variant 1 (/aɪ/) is generally used to a greater extent in their speech events than variant 2 ([a:]) (see Figure IV.174). This relevant use of diphthongal forms goes in line with the prestige associated with this variant, as it is commonly employed in General American English, which is regarded as the mainstream and prestigious variety in the U.S. (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982).

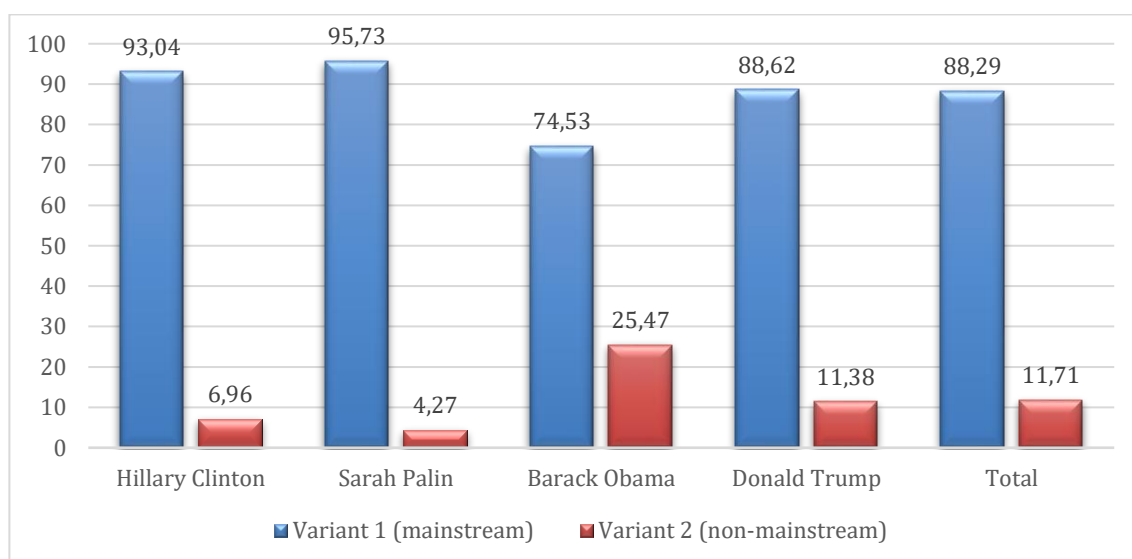


Figure IV.174. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of PRICE vowel in the context of Rally (North).

Particularly, a rather similar usage of PRICE vowel can be observed in the Northern rallies held by Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin, as the former obtained a score of 93.04% for variant 1 and 6.96% for variant 2 and the latter obtained a score of 95.73% for variant 1 and 4.27% for variant 2. Regarding Sarah Palin's sociolinguistic behaviour, a predominant use of variant 1 could be expected, as variant 2 is one of the most remarkable stereotypes of Southern speech and this informant has never had close contact with Southern accents (Thomas 2004; Lippi-Green 2012; Boberg 2015). In fact, despite being based in Alaska, Northern as well as Western accents have influenced Palin's speech, as the Matanuska-Susitna Valley (the region where her hometown is located) experienced a considerable re-settlement of Upper Midwestern immigrants, who brought with them those linguistic features that characterised their speech (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009: 349-340). This, together with the geographical constrictions of variant 2 –usually restricted to Southern areas–, may foster a prominent use of diphthongal rather than monophthongal realisations in Palin's speech. As for the scores obtained by Hillary Clinton, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite having spent several years in the South, she does not use variant 2 to a great extent in her rally, although a slight increase in the usage of variant 2 can be observed in Clinton's speech if compared with the scores obtained by Sarah Palin. Moreover, it is noteworthy to mention that apart from being geographically restricted, variant 2 has traditionally been associated with the speech of working-class individuals, and therefore, many upper-middle class speakers tend to avoid this type of pronunciation (Thomas 2004: 312), which results in a clear avoidance of this variant, even by Southern speakers. Thus, it seems that not only geographical factors but also certain stigmatisation associated with variant 2 may have fostered a strong adherence to mainstream variant 1 on the part of Clinton and Palin in this context.

In addition, despite monophthongal realisations for PRICE vowel being also rather common in the speech of African Americans (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982), no relevant trace of an accommodation to this vernacular variety can be observed neither in Clinton's, nor in Palin's speech. Hence, it can be observed how both female informants strictly adhere to the mainstream variant in their Northern rallies, evidencing a clear rejection to

linguistically accommodate towards a Southern or an African American audience, and therefore, avoiding the usage of stigmatised and non-mainstream forms.

Similarly, Donald Trump also exhibits a prominent use of variant 1 (88.62%) over variant 2 (11.38%), which indicates a relevant adherence to mainstream conventions. Nevertheless, a noticeable increase can be observed in the score obtained for the non-mainstream variant if compared with the scores obtained by Clinton and Palin, which could be regarded as a modest accommodation to a potential Southern or African American audience (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982). However, rather than to accommodate to the aforementioned speech communities, the fact that variant 2 is often associated with the speech of working-class individuals might have influenced the usage that Trump makes of this variant to a greater extent, as it has been stated that this informant often employs non-mainstream forms in order to produce a rather informal speech style aiming at projecting a political identity that would be associated with an approachable and folksy persona (Sclafani 2018).

On the other hand, Barack Obama is the informant who obtained the lowest score for variant 1 (74.53%) and the highest score for variant 2 (11.38%) out of the four informants in this context. This relevant increase in the usage of variant 2 in front of a present Northern audience may be motivated by two aspects. Firstly, the possibility of Obama making a slight accommodation to a potential and absent Southern audience that could watch that rally could be considered, as variant 2 is commonly used in Southern regions (Thomas 2004: 311; Lippi-Green 2012: 214). However, given that a large portion of the audience of this rally consisted of African American individuals and that monophthongal realisations for PRICE vowel are rather common in the speech of this ethnic community (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982), it could be tentatively stated that, whether consciously or unconsciously, Barack Obama engaged in identity projections process in order to reinforce and his African American identity by making use of non-mainstream variant 2, as he has already identified himself as a bidialectal African American, which means that he masters General American and African American English (Lippi-Green 2012).

Thus, certain differences can be observed in the speech of the four informants studied when performing in the context of Rally (North) and employing PRICE vowel. While Clinton and Palin exhibit a prominent use of mainstream variant 1, a slight deviation is evident in Trump's speech. In addition, Obama clearly diverges from the tendency exhibited in the speech of his American counterparts, as he noticeably employs non-mainstream variant 2 in this context, perhaps under the influence of the common use that African American speakers make of monophthongal forms. Nevertheless, despite these differences, the overall treatment that Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump exhibit of PRICE vowel in this context points to the direction of a relevant use of variant 1 (88.29%) over variant 2 (11.71%). As already stated, this predominance of diphthongal over monophthongal realisations may be motivated by geographic, mainstream, social and ethnic identity factors, as variant 2 is usually restricted to the speech of Southern and/or working-class individuals and/or African American speakers.

IV.2.10.b. PIN-PEN merger

When it comes to PIN-PEN merger (see Figure IV.175), even though certain fluctuation may be observed in the scores obtained by the four informants, a general tendency towards a predominant use of variant 1 (No merging) over variant 2 (Merging) is evident in the speech of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump in the context of Rally (North). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 7.073$; $df = 3$). This strong adherence to the mainstream variant on the part of all the American informants could be influenced by the stigmatisation that is associated with merged realisations, as a higher use of variant 2 inversely correlates with education, being the speech of high educated individuals associated with a lesser use of merged forms (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006).

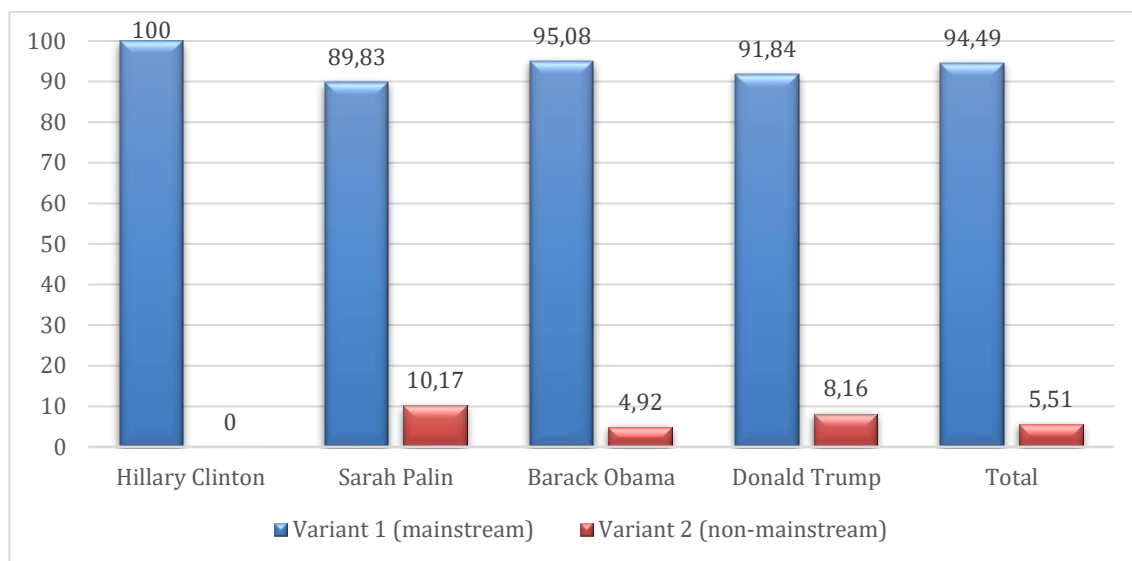


Figure IV.175. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of PIN-PEN merger in the context of Rally (North).

On the one hand, it becomes of relevance the fact that Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama are the informants who obtained rather high percentages of use for variant 1 despite having had a closer contact with accents that are characterised by a common use of variant 2 than Sarah Palin and Donald Trump. In fact, Hillary Clinton is the only informant who exhibited a complete use of mainstream variant 1 (100%) in the context of Rally (North). This score clearly indicates that despite having spent several years in the South, where variant 2 is regarded as one of the most salient accentual characteristics (Lippi-Green 2012: 214; Schneider 2006), the informant strictly adheres to mainstream variant 1, which is frequently used by Northern speakers (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). In addition, despite being variant 2 quite frequent in the speech of African American individuals (Thomas 2004: 315), no accommodation can be observed towards this ethnic community in Clinton's speech. Similarly, a rather high percentage of use for variant 1 (95.08%) was employed by Barack Obama, who scarcely used variant 2 (4.92%). As in the case of Hillary Clinton, even though variant 2 is commonly used by African American speakers (Thomas 2004; Thomas 2004: 315; Wells 1982), it becomes of relevance the fact that Obama does not exhibit a prominent accommodation to his African American audience. Nevertheless, a prominent use of variant 1 could be expected

in his speech, as this variant is frequently used in Northern regions, where he has spent long periods of time (Trudgill & Hannah 2008).

This clear reluctance in the usage of non-mainstream realisations may be motivated by the stigmatisation that is commonly associated with merged realisations (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004), which has led Southern speakers to differentiate PIN-PEN words (Thomas 2004: 316). In fact, as stated by Thomas (2004: 316), “today, however, some Southerners, largely under the influence of schools, have begun to distinguish PIN and PEN”. As a result, this traditional Southern feature is starting to lose ground in the South, particularly in large urban areas (Schneider 2006; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008). Consequently, it can be tentatively stated that due to the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 together with its receding behaviour, no motivation may be found on the part of Clinton and Obama in order to alter their usage of PIN-PEN merger to a significant extent. However, it must be mentioned that African American individuals seem to be more conservative than Whites, as this receding behaviour is not that frequent in African American speech, which further evidences Obama’s reluctance to accommodate to this speech community.

Similarly, Donald Trump obtained a rather high score for variant 1 (91.84%) and a low score for variant 2 (8.16%). Just as with Clinton and Obama, there are no signs of a clear accommodation to Southern or African American audiences in Trump’s speech, as he employs the variant that is frequently used by Northern speakers (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). This sociolinguistic behaviour could be expected, as this informant has not had close Southern or African American influences in his speech. However, the increase in the usage of non-mainstream variant 2 clearly contrasts with the scores obtained by Clinton and Obama. In this respect, it could be tentatively stated that this increase in the usage of merged realisations may be explained by the tendency of this informant to employ non-mainstream forms in order to produce a rather informal speech style so as to project a political identity that would be associated with an approachable and folksy persona (Sclafani 2018).

A similar sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the speech of Sarah Palin, which at the same time slightly contrasts with the scores obtained by Hillary Clinton and Barack

Obama. In fact, even though Palin still employs a predominant use of the mainstream variant (89.83%), she obtained the highest score for variant 2 (10.17%) out of the four informants. Rather than accommodating to Southern or African American audiences, it seems that this increase in the usage of non-mainstream variant 2 could be motivated by a strategy consisting in employing non-mainstream forms in her speech with the objective of projecting a white, rural and folksy identity (Lippi-Green 2012).

Thus, while Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama exhibit an almost complete mainstream behaviour, the scores obtained by Sarah Palin and Donald Trump reveal a slight increase in the usage of merged forms. In this respect, even though Clinton and Obama have had a closer contact with Southern and/or African American audiences, they exhibit a lesser usage of merged forms than Palin and Trump. However, rather than accommodating to Southern and/or African American individuals, it seems that Palin and Trump are strategically using non-mainstream forms in order to project a political identity that would be associated with a folksy and approachable persona (Lippi-Green 2012).

Nevertheless, despite the aforementioned differences, the four American informants exhibit a general tendency towards the employment of merged (94.49%) rather than unmerged realisations (5.51%) in this context, which evidences a strict adherence to mainstream conventions encompassed by General American English. As previously indicated, geographical as well as social factors might have fostered a prominent use of variant 1 in the speech of American informants, as merged realisations are commonly used by Southern (as well as African American) and working-class or uneducated individuals.

IV.2.10.c. Progressive consonant assimilation

On the other hand, the scores obtained by the four informants for Progressive consonant assimilation differ to a relevant extent (see Figure IV.176). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 10.154$; $df = 3$).

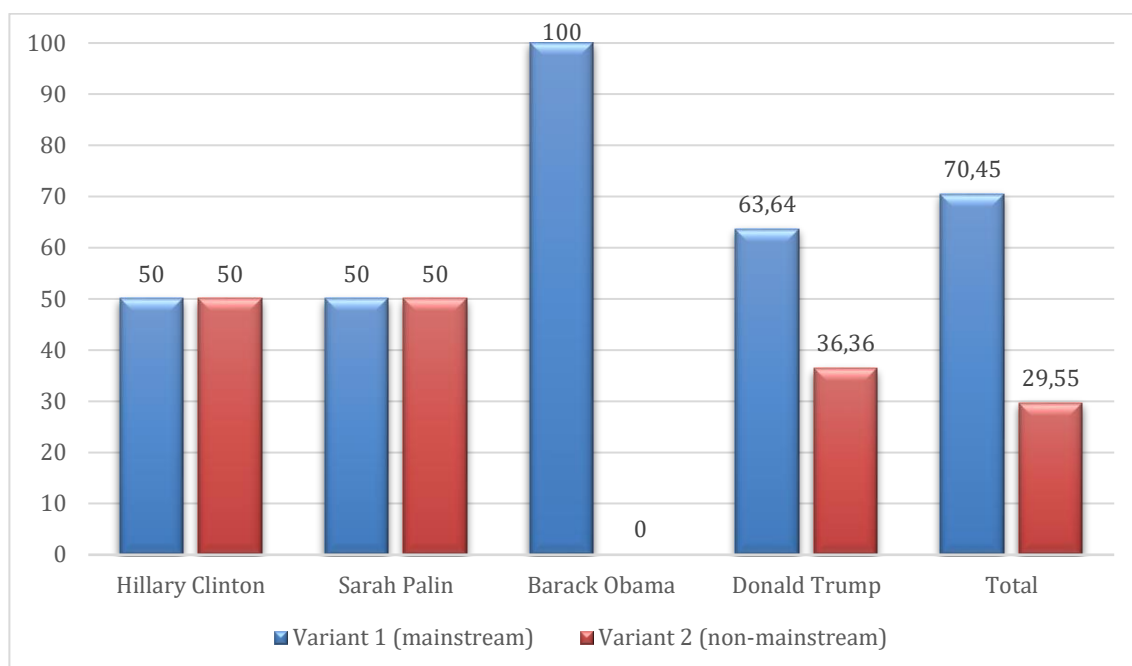


Figure IV.176. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of Progressive consonant assimilation in the context of Rally (North).

On the one hand, Barack Obama exhibits a complete use of variant 1 ((nt) = /n/), following the trend of General American English speakers of deleting /t/ from /nt/ clusters (Kretzschmar 2004). However, a stark decrease in the usage of variant 1 can be observed in the score obtained by Donald Trump (63.64%), being variant 2 ((nt) = /nt/) used to a relevant extent (36.36%). In addition, more noticeable differences are evident if the scores obtained by Obama are compared to those obtained by Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin, as both female informants employ the lowest percentage of use for variant 1 (50.00% each one) in this context. Thus, it could be said that the only informant that strictly adheres to the mainstream conventions is Barack Obama, since Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Donald Trump exhibit a similar usage of this linguistic feature, which is characterised by a mixture of mainstream and non-mainstream forms

Consequently, due to the disparity found in the sociolinguistic behaviour of the four informants when it comes to Progressive consonant assimilation, the total scores obtained for this variable in the context of Rally (North) are the lowest ones if compared to the linguistic variables previously analysed. Hence, even though the total usage of variant 1 (70.45%) still

surpasses that of variant 2 (29.55%), a considerable use of non-mainstream variant 2 is observed in this context. Hence, it could be tentatively stated that since no significant stigmatisation is associated with the usage of variant 1 or 2 of Progressive consonant assimilation, the four informants seem to enjoy a greater degree of freedom when it comes to using this variable, which results in the emergence of non-mainstream variants.

IV.2.10.d. R-Dropping

As for R-Dropping, the scores obtained by the four informants reveal a prominent use of variant 1 ((r) = /r/), which enjoys overt prestige and is preferred in careful speech (Labov 1966/2006; Wells 1982: 490); being variant 2 ((r) = /ø/) used to a lesser extent (see Figure IV.177). However, it becomes of relevance the fact while Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin exhibit an almost complete use of the mainstream variant, Donald Trump is the informant who obtained the lowest percentage of use for the mainstream variant and the highest percentage of use for non-mainstream variant 2. Barack Obama also exhibits a prominent mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour, although his percentage of use for rhotic realisations is slightly lower than those obtained by Clinton and Palin. Precisely, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 159.673$; $df = 3$).

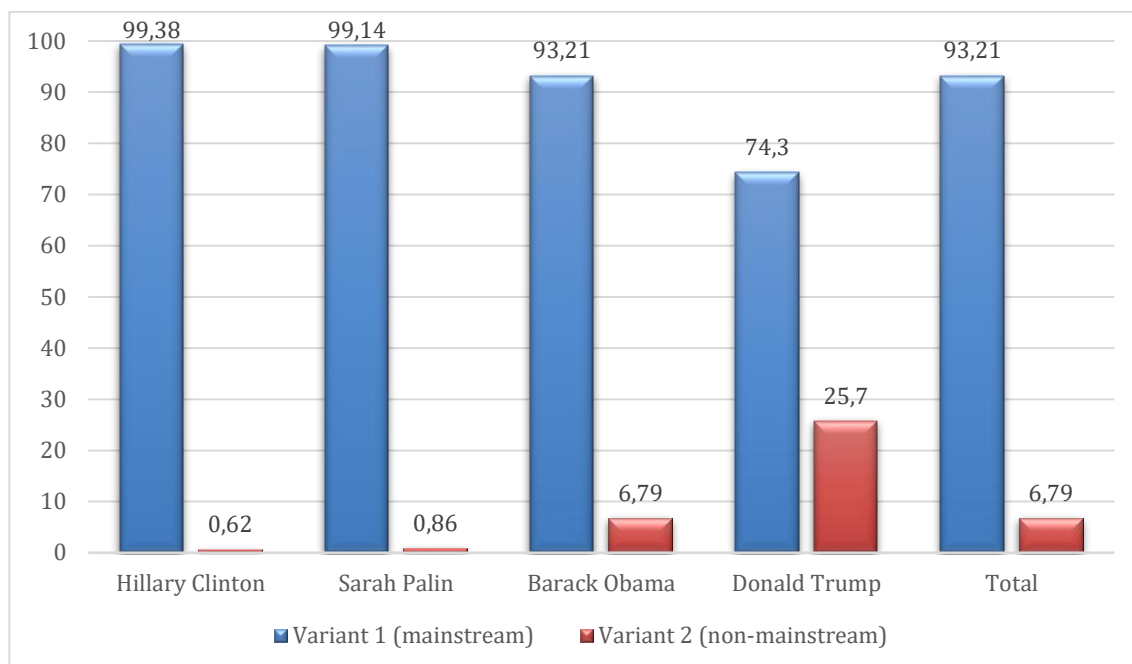


Figure IV.177. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of R-Dropping in the context of Rally (North).

Hence, Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin exhibit an almost identical sociolinguistic behaviour when it comes to their usage of R-Dropping in the context of Rally (North), as the former informant obtained a score of 99.38% for variant 1 and 0.62% for variant 2, and the latter obtained a score of 99.14% for variant 1 and 0.86% for variant 2. However, while the scores obtained by Sarah Palin were rather expected, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite having spent several years in the South and being non-rhotic realisations rather common in Lower Southern regions (Schneider 2006; Trudgill & Hannah 2008), Hillary Clinton did not employ a significant use of variant 2 in this context, which might be motivated by the geographical constrictions of this variable. In addition, this reluctance to adopt non-rhotic forms in such a formal context may be motivated by the receding behaviour that variant 2 is experiencing in Southern speech (McDavid 1948; Levine & Crockett 1966; Harris 1969), together with the stigmatisation associated with non-rhotic forms. Hence, it seems that both female informants strictly adhere to the mainstream and prestigious variant, in accordance to their social status, occupation, and their Northern audience.

Similarly, Barack Obama exhibits a prominent use of variant 1 (93.21%), although a slight increase in the percentage of use of variant 2 (6.79%) can be observed if compared with the scores obtained by Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin. This increase in the usage of non-rhotic realisations may be motivated by an attempt to slightly accommodate to an African American audience (Wells 1982: 557; Edwards 2004: 388), as this ethnic group tends to delete postvocalic /r/ more frequently than Southern Speakers (Edwards 2004: 388). However, even though Obama identifies himself as a bidialectal African American, his prominent use of variant 1 reveals a scarce motivation when it comes to accommodating to his African American audience by means of employing non-rhotic forms. Hence, it could be tentatively stated that Obama is not strategically using R-Dropping as a device in identity creation processes, which contrasts with the treatment that he makes of other linguistic variables in other contexts so as to reinforce and project his African American identity. This reluctance to accommodate to an African American audience might be motivated by the frequency with which rhotic realisations are used in formal style (Thomas 2004:318), together with the common use that Northern individuals make of variant 1, which might have influenced his speech as he has been based in the North for long periods of time.

In addition, starker differences can be observed if the scores obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Barack Obama are compared with those obtained by Donald Trump. In fact, Trump is the informant who obtained the lowest score for variant 1 (74.30%) and the highest score for variant 2 (25.70%). Given that Trump has not had previous close contact with Southern and/or African American accents, the still high score obtained for mainstream variant 1 was rather expected. Nevertheless, his usage of non-rhotic realisations may be explained by the fact that he is originally from New York, a geographical area that has traditionally been characterised by a prominent use of variant 2 (Gordon 2004b; Wells 1982). However, even though variant 2 was commonly used by New Yorkers belonging to all social levels, at some point it began to be regarded as a stigmatised linguistic feature (Labov 1966/2006), as non-rhotic realisations started to be associated with working-class speakers, becoming this variant a strong class marker (Gordon 2004b: 288; Labov 1966/2006). Hence, although variant 2 is present in the speech of Donald Trump –perhaps as a result of a relevant

emergence of his New York accent–, the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 might have precluded the informant from using non-rhotic forms to a greater extent.

Overall, a clear tendency towards a prominent use of mainstream variant 1 (93.21%) of R-Dropping can be observed in the speech of the four American informants in the context of Rally (North), being variant 2 scarcely used (6.79%). However, certain differences can also be observed, as Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin tend to exhibit an almost complete mainstream behaviour while Barack Obama slightly lowers his usage of the mainstream variant. In contrast, Donald Trump significantly uses non-mainstream variant 2 in his speech, which might be the outcome of the emergence of his New York accent. In addition, it seems that neither geographical nor ethnicity factors influence to a relevant extent the speech of Clinton and Obama, as even though both informants have had a close contact with Southern (as in the case of the former) and African American accents (as in the case of the latter), they predominantly use variant 1 over variant 2. Instead, it could be tentatively stated that the stigmatisation associated with non-rhotic forms and mainstream conventions encompassed by General American speech are relevant factors that influence the speech of the four informants the most.

IV.2.10.e. T-Voicing

Regarding T-Voicing, even though certain fluctuation can be observed in the scores obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump in the context of Rally (North), all the informants exhibit a predominant use of variant 1 ((t) = /d/) over variant 2 ((t) = /t/) (see Figure IV.178). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 4.944$; $df = 3$).

This tendency goes in line with the common use that General American English speakers make of variant 1 (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar 2004) and the prestige acquired by neutralised realisations of the contrast between /t/ and /d/, being variant 1 usually preferred by educated American speakers (Wells 1982: 250; McDavid 1966;

Kretzschmar 2004). Hence, Hillary Clinton obtained a score of 100% for variant 1, Donald Trump obtained a score of 94.44% for variant 1 and 5.56% for variant 2, Sarah Palin obtained a score of 89.83% for variant 1 and 10.17% for variant 2, and Barack Obama obtained a score of 87.88% for variant 1 and 12.12% for variant 2.

Thus, certain factors such as the relevant spread that variant 1 has experienced across different regions of the U.S. (Wells 1982; McDavid 1966), its associations with a prestigious and careful speech and the social status and the occupation of the four might have influenced the sociolinguistic behaviour of Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump towards a mainstream use of T-Voicing in this context (92.73%), being variant 2 scarcely used (7.27%).

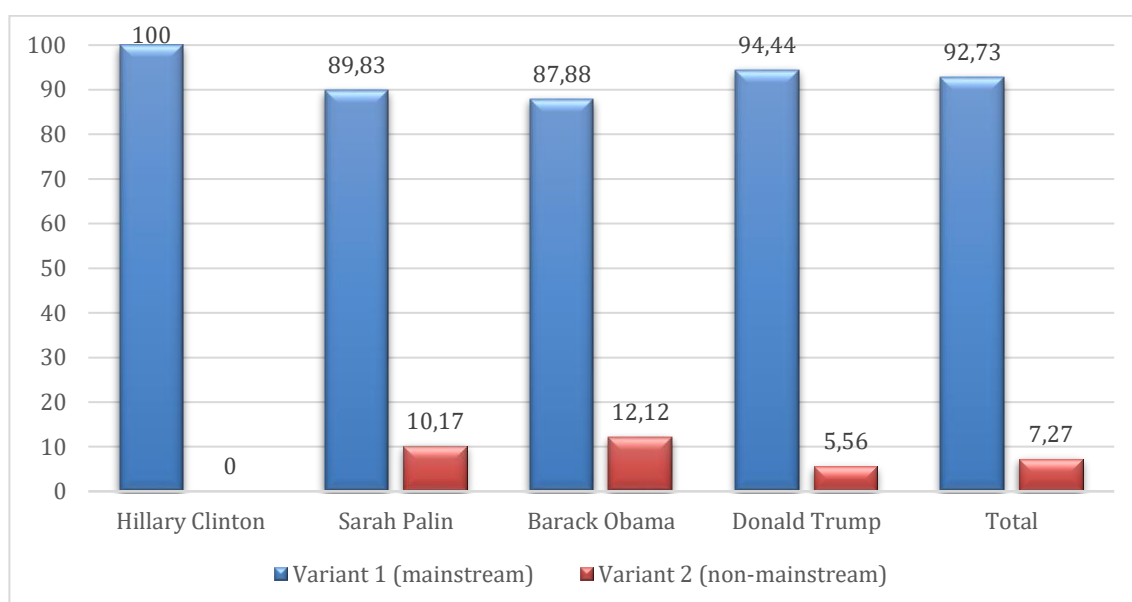


Figure IV.178. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of T-Voicing in the context of Rally (North).

IV.2.10.f. Yod-Dropping

When it comes to Yod-Dropping, a similar pattern can be observed in the scores obtained by American informants in this context (see Figure IV.179). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 6.577$; $df = 3$).

On the one hand, Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Barack Obama exhibit a predominant use of variant 1 ((j) = [u:]) (90.00%, 100% and 100%, respectively) over variant 2 ((j) = [ju:]) (10.00%, 0.00% and 0.00%, respectively). This sociolinguistic behaviour goes in line with mainstream conventions employed by General American English speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), together with the common use that Northerners make of this variable (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Gramley & Pätzold 2004).

Particularly, while the scores obtained by Sarah Palin and Barack Obama were rather expected due the scarce contact that both informants might have had with Southern accents, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though Hillary Clinton spent several years in the South –where variant 2 is commonly used (Thomas 2004: 319)– she did not employ this variant to a greater extent.

On the other hand, the percentage of use obtained by Donald Trump clearly contrast with those obtained by Clinton, Palin and Obama, as Trump obtained the lowest score for variant 1 (68.75%) and the highest percentage of use for variant 2 (31.25%) out of the four informants. In fact, Trump's scores were rather unexpected, as he did not use variant 1 to a relevant extent, despite being this linguistic feature rather characteristic of New York speech (Wells 1982: 504). Nevertheless, the noticeable use that this informant makes of variant 2 might be explained by a designed strategy aiming at using a non-mainstream speech style so as to project an image of an approachable, folksy, informal and emotional persona (Lakoff 2005; Sclafani 2018).

On the whole, Figure IV.179 evidences that while Clinton, Palin and Obama employ a prominent use of variant 1, Trump clearly diverges from mainstream conventions. Nevertheless, it must be taken into account that certain variability might occur in General American English speech when it comes to Yod-Dropping, as “the palatal glide /j/ remains firmly in place in words like *cure*, *music*, but in other words like *Tuesday*, *coupon*, *neurotic* it is frequently lost” (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). In addition, the fact that school teachers often prescribe /j/ sounds (Wells 1982) might also favour the usage variability of this linguistic feature. Yet, despite the aforementioned differences, the four American informants tend to use variant 1 (85.71%) over variant 2 (14.29%) in the context of Rally (North).

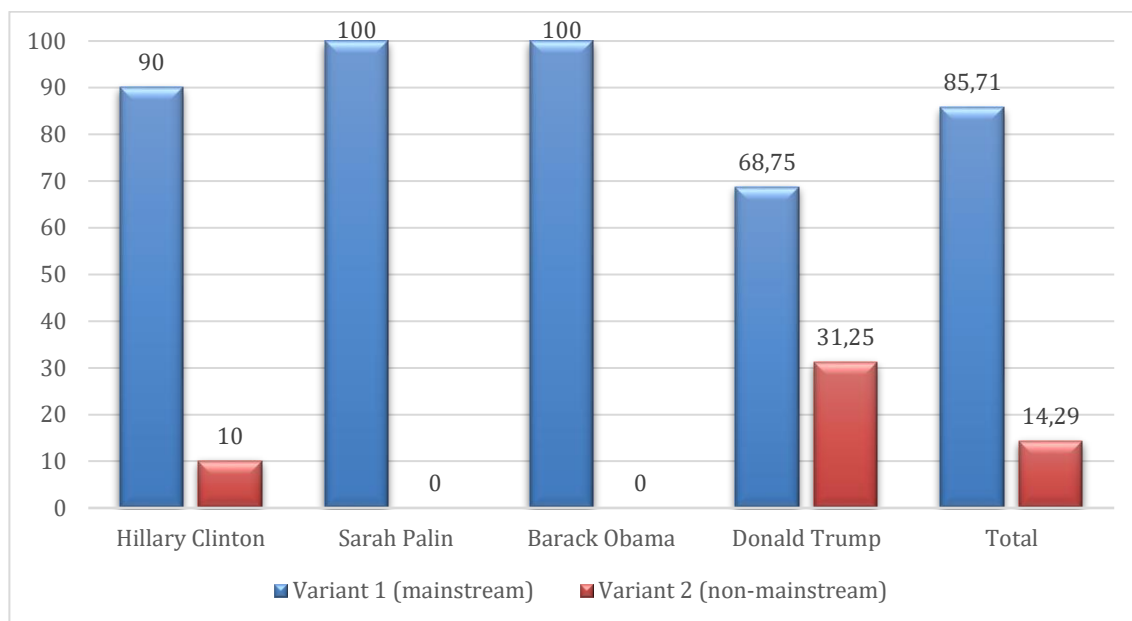


Figure IV.179. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of Yod-Dropping in the context of Rally (North).

IV.2.10.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants in the context of Rally (North)

Regarding the overall treatment made by American informants of the variables studied in the context of Rally (North), Figure IV.180 reveals that certain linguistic features tend to be prominently realised with their mainstream variants, as it is the case of PIN-PEN merger (94.49% for variant 1 versus 5.51% for variant 2), R-Dropping (93.21% for variant 1 versus 6.79% for variant 2) and T-Voicing (92.73% for variant 1 versus 7.27% for variant 2), followed by PRICE vowel (88.29% for variant 1 versus 11.71% for variant 2) and Yod-Dropping (85.71% for variant 1 versus 14.29% for variant 2). However, it seems that American informants tend to lower their usage of mainstream forms in their treatment of Progressive consonant assimilation (70.45% for variant 1 versus 29.55% for variant 2).

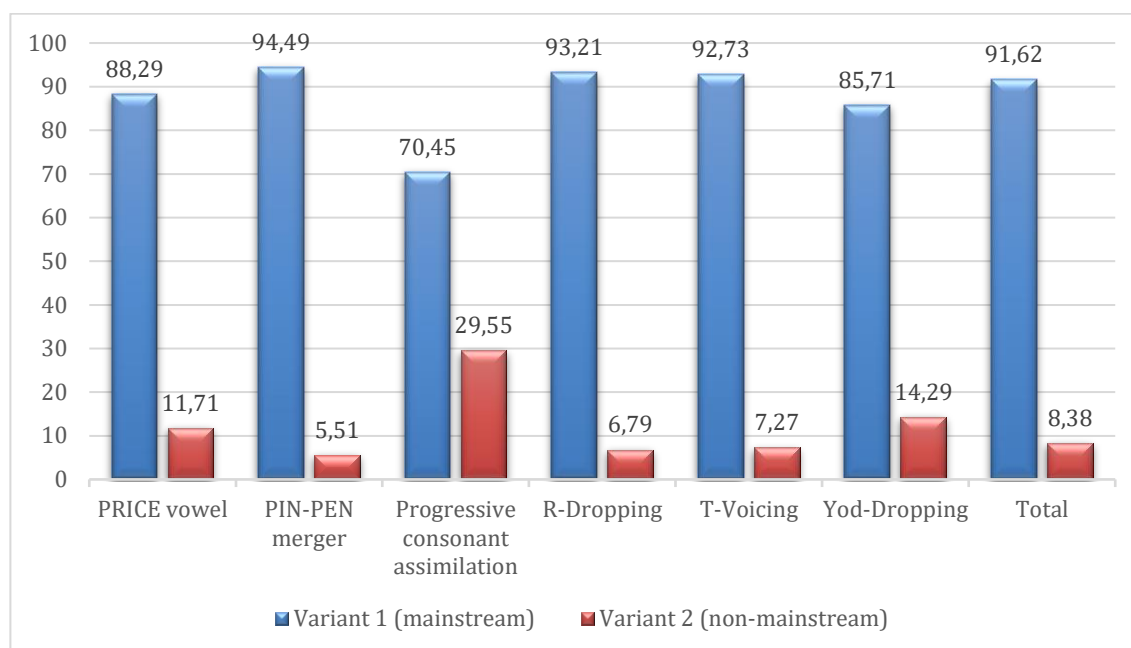


Figure IV.180. Total scores obtained by American informants in the context of Rally (North).

Overall, if the sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump is compared, relevant similarities as well as certain differences will be observed when it comes to the usage of certain variables. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 103.309$; $df = 3$).

As previously indicated, these differences in the usage of the variables studied might be motivated by ethnicity factors –particularly in the case of Obama and his treatment of PRICE vowel, as his sociolinguistic behaviour evidences certain linguistic accommodation to an African American audience–, the emergence of the informant's original accent features – particularly in the case of Trump and his treatment of R-Dropping variable, as he employs a relevant use of New Yorkers' characteristic non-rhotic forms–, together with the strategic use of non-mainstream forms in order to project a particular identity.

On the whole, it seems that despite the aforementioned differences, the four American informants tend to employ mainstream variant 1 to a greater extent than variant 2 in the context of Rally (North). Particularly, Hillary Clinton obtained a score of 97.15% for

variant 1 and 2.82% for variant 2, which is rather similar to the total scores obtained by Palin (96.02% for variant 1 versus 3.98% for variant 2). However, and in a similar fashion as in the contexts of Statement and Interview, a slight decrease in the usage of variant 1 and a subsequent increase in the usage of variant 2 can be observed in the total scores obtained by Obama (89.36% for variant 1 versus 10.64% for variant 2) and Trump (81.29% for variant 1 versus 18.71% for variant 2). As previously stated, the fact that Clinton and Palin employ more mainstream forms than Obama and Trump reinforces Trudgill's (1972, 1983a) claim that women tend to make much higher use of mainstream and prestigious features in their speech than men.

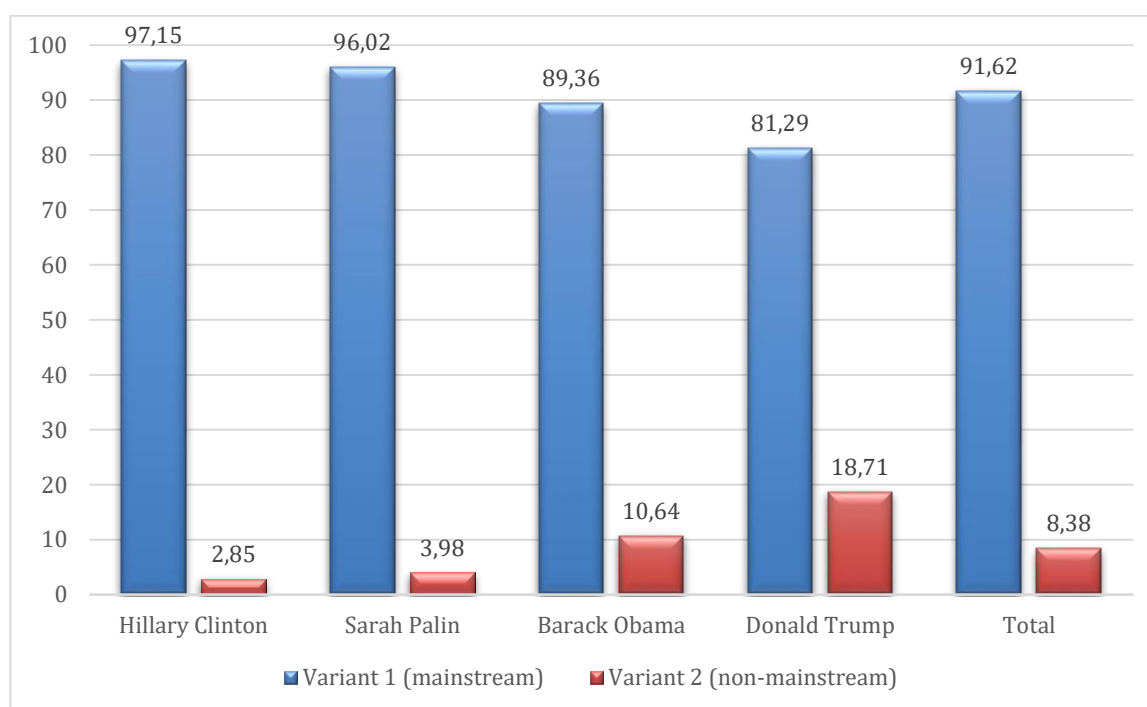


Figure IV.181. Total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump in the context of Rally (North).

In this respect, and as it can be observed in Table IV.51, sex ($2.74e-20 < 0.05$) appears to be a significant factor when it comes to Americans informants' speech style in the context of Rally (North), as female informants tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms. On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the "Logodds" column indicates that male informants

tend to disfavour the usage of mainstream forms. This is further evidenced by the values obtained for the “Centered factor weight” column, which reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations in the context of Rally (North) is higher for female than male informants.

Table IV.51. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being used by American informants in the context of Rally (North) (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Female	0.78	1165	0.966	0.686
	Male	-0.78	947	0.855	0.314
Misc. 1	N= 2112; df= 2; Intercept= 2.557; Overall proportion= 0.916; Centered input probability= 0.928.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -565.608; AIC= 1135.217; AICc= 1135.222; Dxy= 0.355; R2= 0.155.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.52 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, sex ceases to be such a significant factor ($0.00328 > 0.05$). In fact, Barack Obama is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms in this context, followed by Hillary Clinton. On the contrary, the negative values obtained in the “Intercept” column indicate that Sarah Palin and Donald Trump disfavour the usage of mainstream forms, being Trump the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream realisations out of the four American informants in the context of Rally (North). This is also evidenced by the data obtained for the “Centerd factor weight” column, which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Barack Obama’s speech, while Donald Trump is the informant who is more likely to employ non-mainstream forms in his speech.

Table IV.52. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by American informants in the context of Rally (North). Fixed effects analysis: "Informant" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.235	2112	0.916	—
Barack Obama	0.246	498	0.894	0.562
Hillary Clinton	0.082	562	0.972	0.522
Sarah Palin	-0.095	603	0.96	0.478
Donald Trump	-0.253	449	0.813	0.438
Misc. 1	N= 2112; df= 3; Intercept= 2.573; Overall proportion= 0.916; Centered input probability= 0.929.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -562.733; AIC= 1131.466; AICc= 1131.477; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.419; R2 fixed= 0.153; R2 random= 0.014; R2 total= 0.167.			

Intercept: is the log odds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

On the whole, as it can be observed in the total scores obtained by Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump in this context (see Figure IV.181), and despite the aforementioned differences in their treatment of certain variables, it seems that the general trend followed by American informants in the context of Rally (North) consists in using mainstream variants (91.62%) over non-mainstream realisations (8.38%), which could be influenced by mainstream conventions encompassed by General American speech, as well as by geographical, social status, formality, occupational and ethnic identity aspects.

IV.2.11. American Informants: Rally (South)

Table IV.53 shows the percentages of use of each informant for each variable studied in the context of Rally (South). As already mentioned in section III.2.2.b.ii, the speech event of the four American politicians under the label of “Rally (South)” took place in the Southern state of Alabama. Particularly, the rallies held by Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama took place in Selma, Trump’s rally took place in Huntsville and Palin’s rally took place in Montgomery.

Table IV.53. American Informants: Context - Rally (South)							
Linguistic Variable (dependent)			Independent Variable: Informants				
			Hillary Clinton	Sarah Palin	Barack Obama	Donald Trump	Total
PRICE vowel	Variant #1: /aɪ/	%	76.19%	93.75%	51.49%	80.95%	73.04%
		#	96/126	45/48	69/134	153/189	363/497
	Variant #2: [a:]	%	23.81%	6.25%	48.51%	19.05%	26.96%
		#	30/126	3/48	65/134	36/189	134/497
PIN-PEN merger: /ɪ/-/ɛ/	Variant #1: No merging	%	100.00%	97.92%	92.59%	88.52%	94.71%
		#	64/64	47/48	50/54	54/61	215/227
	Variant #2: Merging	%	0.00%	2.08%	7.41%	11.48%	5.29%
		#	0/64	1/48	4/54	7/61	12/227
Progressive consonant assimilation	Variant #1: (nt) = /n/	%	50.00%	12.50%	66.67%	60.00%	42.86%
		#	6/12	1/8	2/3	3/5	12/28
	Variant #2: (nt) = /nt/	%	50.00%	87.50%	33.33%	40.00%	57.14%
		#	6/12	7/8	1/3	2/5	16/28
R-Dropping	Variant #1: (r) = /r/	%	97.70%	100.00%	83.65%	67.35%	85.51%
		#	298/305	142/142	220/263	196/291	856/1001
	Variant #2: (r) = /ø/	%	2.30%	0.00%	16.35%	32.65%	14.49%
		#	7/305	0/142	43/263	95/291	145/1001
T-Voicing	Variant #1: (t) = /d/	%	94.64%	80.77%	93.94%	89.74%	90.91%
		#	53/56	21/26	31/33	35/39	140/154
	Variant #2: (t) = /t/	%	5.36%	19.23%	6.06%	10.26%	9.09%
		#	3/56	5/26	2/33	4/39	14/154
Yod-Dropping	Variant #1: (j) = [u:]	%	86.67%	100.00%	75.00%	60.00%	81.48%
		#	13/15	3/3	3/4	3/5	22/27
	Variant #2: (j) = [ju:]	%	13.33%	0.00%	25.00%	40.00%	18.52%
		#	2/15	0/3	1/4	2/5	5/27
Total	Variant #1	%	91.70%	94.18%	76.37%	75.25%	83.14%
		#	530/578	259/275	375/491	444/590	1608/1934
	Variant #1	%	8.30%	5.82%	23.63%	24.75%	16.86%
		#	48/578	16/275	116/491	146/590	326/1934

As for the scores obtained by the informants, it becomes of relevance the fact that out of the remaining contexts, the context of Rally (South) presents the most relevant differences among the sociolinguistic behaviours of the four politicians. Precisely, while certain similarities can be observed in the treatment that Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump make of PIN-PEN merger and T-Voicing, starker differences are evident in the scores obtained for PRICE vowel, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping and Yod-Dropping. Also, it is noteworthy to remark that the four American informants exhibited their highest frequency of use of non-mainstream variants in this context.

IV.2.11.a. PRICE vowel

On the one hand, marked differences are evident in the usage that Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump make of PRICE vowel (see Figure IV.182). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 48.692$; $df = 3$).

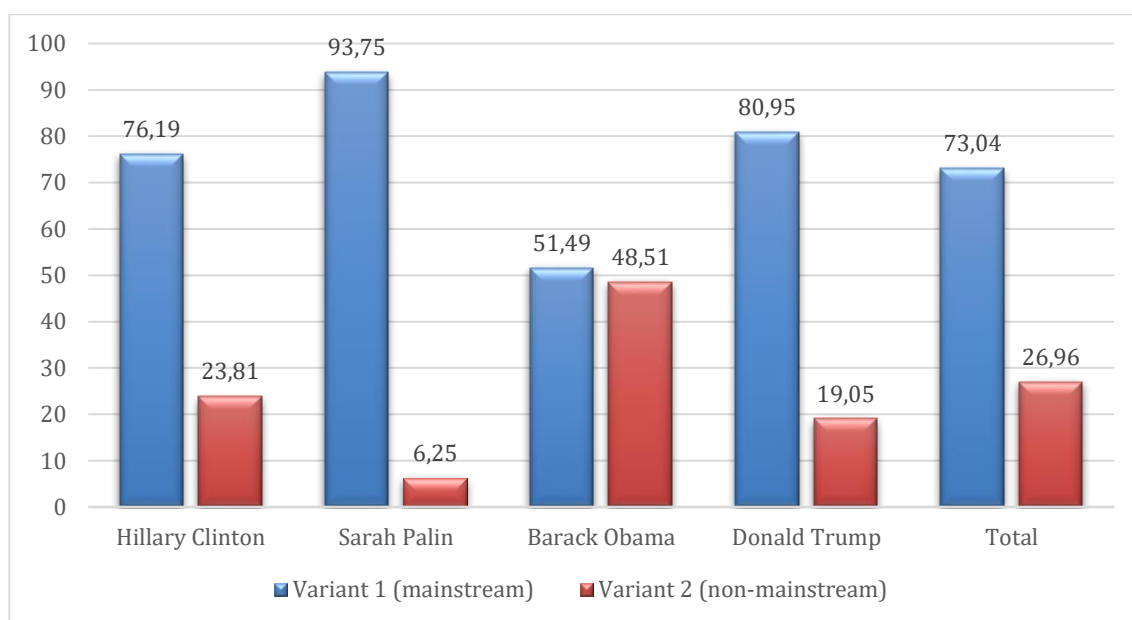


Figure IV.182. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of PRICE vowel in the context of Rally (South).

Particularly, Palin is the informant who obtained the highest percentage of use for mainstream variant 1 (/aɪ/), followed by Trump and Clinton. Nevertheless, although to a much lesser extent, these informants also used variant 2 ([a:]) in their speech. Yet, this relevant use of diphthongal forms evidences the prestige associated with variant 1, as it is commonly employed by General American English speakers (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982). In contrast, the scores obtained by Barack Obama reveal a sharp increase in his use of variant 2, subsequently obtaining the lowest score for variant 1 out of the four informants, which evidences a clear divergence from mainstream conventions.

As indicated above, Sarah Palin is the informant that exhibits the highest percentage of use for variant 1 (93.75%) and the lowest percentage of use for variant 2 (6.25%). Even though variant 2 is one of the most remarkable stereotypes associated with Southern accents (Thomas 2004: 311; Lippi-Green 2012: 214), and particularly linked with Southern culture (Boberg 2015), Palin does not accommodate to her Southern audience to a relevant extent. This predominant use of the mainstream variant and the subsequent rejection to employ variant 2 may be motivated the fact that she has never had a close contact with Southern accents, as she spent her formative years in Wasilla, Alaska, a region which experienced a considerable re-settlement of Upper Midwestern immigrants, who brought with them the linguistic features that characterised their speech (Purnell, Raimy & Salmons 2009: 349-340). Thus, the linguistic features that are characteristic of the geographical area of provenance of Sarah Palin, together with mainstream conventions associated with variant 1, might have influenced Palin's sociolinguistic behaviour to a greater extent than the geographical region in which the rally took place, as no signs of accommodation can be observed in her speech style.

Donald Trump also exhibits a prominent use of variant 1 (80.95%), although a slight increase can be observed in the score that he obtained for variant 2 (19.05%) if compared with the scores obtained by Sarah Palin. On the one hand, this strong adherence to variant 1 may be motivated by geographical aspects, as he has been based in Northern regions of the U.S. for long periods of time –where variant 1 is commonly used–, being variant 2 usually restricted to Southern areas (Trudgill & Hannah 2008). Nevertheless, his noticeable use of variant 2 could

be regarded as a modest accommodation to his Southern audience, or, more generally, to a non-mainstream speech style, which may be regarded as a common strategy employed by this informant, which consists in using non-mainstream forms in order to produce a rather informal speech style aiming at projecting a political identity that would be associated with an approachable and folksy persona (Sclafani 2018).

However, a more relevant degree of accommodation to a Southern audience can be observed in the speech event of Hillary Clinton, and particularly, in that of Barack Obama. Firstly, it can be clearly seen how Hillary Clinton significantly lowers her percentage of use for variant 1 in the context of Rally (South) if compared with the scores obtained by Palin and Trump, obtaining a score of 76.19% and subsequently increasing her usage of non-mainstream variant 2 (23.81%). Hence, even though she is also adhering to mainstream conventions, which are commonly used in Northern regions –where she is originally from–, Clinton clearly accommodates to her Southern audience, being variant 2 one of the salient markers of Southern speech (Wells 1982; Lippi-Green 2012). This accommodation could be influenced by the close contact that Clinton has had with Southern accents, as she spent several years in the South. In addition, the fact that the audience of her rally mainly consisted of African American individuals could have also motivated a greater use of variant 2 in her speech style, as monophthongal realisations are commonly used by African Americans (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982).

On the other hand, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Barack Obama in this context reveals a clear divergence from the mainstream convention and a greater degree of accommodation to the audience of his speech event if compared with the sociolinguistic behaviour of his American counterparts. Thus, Obama significantly lowers his percentage of use of mainstream variant 1 (51.49%), increasing in this way variant 2 realisations (48.51%). This relevant increase in the usage of variant 2 may be motivated by two aspects. Firstly, he could be accommodating to a Southern audience, as variant 2 is commonly used in Southern regions (Thomas 2004: 311; Lippi-Green 2012: 214). Secondly, given that a large share of the audience of his rally consisted of African American individuals and that monophthongal realisations of PRICE vowel are rather common in the speech of this ethnic speech community

(Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982), it could be tentatively stated that Barack Obama engaged in linguistic accommodation movements towards his audience, which would reinforce and project his own African American identity, as he has already identified himself as a bidialectal African American, which means that he masters General American and African American English (Lippi-Green 2012). Thus, it seems that the informant is strategically using variant 2 as a device in identity creation and projection processes. As a result, Obama manages to use mainstream variant 1 while also accommodating to his Southern and African American audience and reinforcing and projecting his African American identity.

On the whole, certain differences can be observed in the speech of the four informants studied when performing in the context of Rally (South) and employing PRICE vowel. On the one hand, while Sarah Palin strictly adheres to the mainstream convention, Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton significantly lower their usage of diphthongal realisations. It is noteworthy to mention that the still prominent use of variant 1 in the speech of Palin, Trump and Clinton may be motivated by the constrictions associated with variant 2, since monophthongal realisations are geographically as well as socially constricted, as it is commonly employed by Southern speakers and working-class individuals (Thomas 2004: 312). Consequently, negative evaluations associated with variant 2 may foster a clear avoidance of monophthongal forms, even by Southern speakers themselves. Contrarily, Obama is the informant that most diverges from mainstream conventions, and therefore, the one that most adapts to the speech style of his audience, as he manages to accommodate to his Southern and African American audience as well as to project and reinforce his African American identity while also employing a significant use of the mainstream variant.

As a result, it could be tentatively stated that geographical and ethnic identity aspects may influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of Barack Obama to a considerable extent. In addition, these factors seem to affect to a certain extent the speech style of Clinton and Trump, while the sociolinguistic behaviour of Sarah Palin remains unaffected. Consequently, it seems that there is a general tendency in the speech of American informants when operating in the context of Rally (South) and employing PRICE vowel, which consists in using

mainstream variant 1 (73.04%) to a relevant extent, while making a noticeable use of variant 2 (26.96%).

IV.2.11.b. PIN-PEN merger

Regarding PIN-PEN merger (see Figure IV.183), even though certain fluctuation may be observed in the scores obtained by the four informants, a general tendency towards a predominant use of variant 1 (No merging) over variant 2 (Merging) is evident in the speech of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump when operating in the context of Rally (South). Nevertheless, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 9.708$; $df = 3$).

Thus, Hillary Clinton obtained a 100% for variant 1, Sarah Palin obtained a 97.72% for variant 1 and 2.08% for variant 2, Barack Obama obtained a 92.59% for variant 1 and 7.41% for variant 2, and Donald Trump obtained an 88.52% for variant 1 and 11.48% for variant 2. This strong adherence to the mainstream variant on the part of the four American informants could be influenced by the stigmatisation that is associated with merged realisations, as a higher use of variant 2 inversely correlates with education, being the speech of higher educated individuals associated with a lesser use of merged forms (Labov, Ash & Boberg 2006).

On the one hand, it becomes of relevance the fact that Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama obtained rather high percentages of use for variant 1 despite having had a close contact with Southern (as in the case of the former) and African American accents (as in the case of the latter). As for Hillary Clinton, despite having spent several years in the South and having had close contact with Southern accents, she does not use variant 2 at all, which is one of the most salient characteristics of Southern accents (Lippi-Green 2012: 214). In addition, considering that her audience consisted of a religious community of African American speakers, it is quite noticeable how she neither accommodates to her African American audience, as variant 2 is also frequently used by African American speakers (Thomas 2004:

315). Instead, she reveals a strong adherence to mainstream variant 1, which is commonly used in Northern regions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008).

Similarly, Barack Obama exhibits a prominent mainstream behaviour, although he uses variant 2 to a greater extent than Hillary Clinton, which may be explained by the fact that he has identified himself as a bidialectal African American (Lippi-Green 2012). Thus, this slight increase in the usage of non-mainstream variant 2 could be regarded as a modest accommodation to the African American audience that attended his rally, as variant 2 is frequently used by African Americans, and also by Southerners (Thomas 2004). Yet, a predominant use of the mainstream variant can still be appreciated in Obama's speech style, which could be motivated by the frequency with which unmerged forms are used in Northern regions, where Obama has been based for long periods of time (Trudgill & Hannah 2008).

This clear reluctance to predominantly use non-mainstream realisations in the context of Rally (South) may be motivated by the stigmatisation that is commonly associated with merged forms (Wells 1982; Thomas 2004), which has led Southern speakers to differentiate PIN-PEN words (Thomas 2004: 316): "today, however, some Southerners, largely under the influence of schools, have begun to distinguish PIN and PEN" (Thomas 2004: 316). As a result, this traditional Southern feature is starting to lose ground in the South, particularly in large urban areas (Schneider 2006; Tillery & Bailey 2004; Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008). Consequently, it can be tentatively stated that due to the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 and its receding behaviour, no motivation may be found on the part of Clinton and Obama in order to alter their usage of PIN-PEN merger to a significant extent. However, it must be mentioned that African American individuals seem to be more conservative than Whites when it comes to their use of PIN-PEN merger, as this receding behaviour is not that frequent in African American speech, which further confirms the evident reluctance of Clinton and Obama to accommodate to their Southern and African American audience by means of employing merged realisations.

Similarly, Sarah Palin exhibits a predominant use of mainstream variant 1 over non-mainstream variant 2. This predominant use of unmerged realisations could be explained by the influence that Western as well as Northern linguistic features have had in Palin's speech –

as these regional areas are characterised by a common use of variant 1 (Trudgill & Hannah 2008)—, together with the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 (Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008). Thus, just as with Clinton and Obama, no relevant accommodation can be perceived in Palin’s speech event.

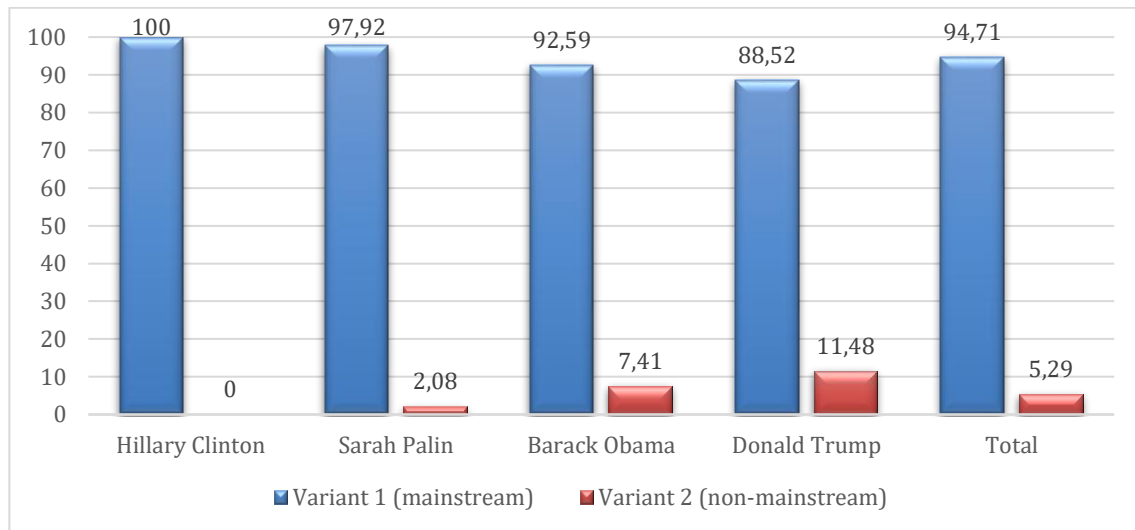


Figure IV.183. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump’s use of PIN-PEN merger in the context of Rally (South).

Lastly, Donald Trump is the informant who obtained the lowest score for variant 1 and the highest score for variant 2 in the context of Rally (South). Thus, even though he has not had close contact with Southern accents, and that variant 2 forms could arise negative opinions in the audience due to the stigmatisation associated with merged forms (Koops, Gentry & Pantos 2008), Donald Trump is the informant that most accommodates to his Southern audience, whether consciously or unconsciously. Nevertheless, a still prominent adherence to the mainstream variant can be observed in his speech style.

On the whole, no relevant accommodation can be observed in the speech of the four informants when it comes to their usage of PIN-PEN merger in the context of Rally (South), although Donald Trump is the speaker that most diverges from mainstream conventions. Of particular relevance is the reluctance of Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama to accommodate to their audiences, as the former spent several years in the South and the latter could have projected his own African American identity by means of making a noticeable use of variant

2, as he usually does with other variables and/or in other contexts. Thus, the overall sociolinguistic behaviour of the four informants evidences a generalised mainstream use of this variable (94.71%), being non-mainstream variant 2 scarcely used (5.29%).

IV.2.11.c. Progressive consonant assimilation

On the other hand, certain differences between the sociolinguistic behaviour of the American informants also emerge if their treatment of Progressive consonant assimilation is analysed (see Figure IV.184). Yet, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 4.555$; $df = 3$).

On the one hand, Barack Obama and Donald Trump obtained a similar score for variant 1 ((nt) = /n/) (66.67% and 60.00%, respectively) and for variant 2 ((nt) = /nt/) (33.33% and 40.00%, respectively). Thus, a relevant use of variant 1 can be observed in the speech events of both informants, being this variant commonly used in Southern regions and by General American speakers (Wells 1982). This prominent use of variant 1 clearly contrasts with the common trend of maintaining /t/ in Northern regions, where Obama and Trump are originally from (Wells 1982). Thus, it seems that whether consciously or unconsciously, both informants accommodate to a relevant extent to their Southern audience and/or to mainstream conventions.

On the other hand, the scores obtained by Hillary Clinton reveal an equal treatment of both variants, as she obtained a score of 50.00% for variant 1 and 50.00% for variant 2. Hence, even though this informant does not clearly opt for variant 1 or 2, she manages to use variant 1 –which frequently employed in Southern regions– and variant 2 forms –which are commonly used by speakers from Northern regions.

On the contrary, Sarah Palin exhibits a clear reluctance to accommodate to her Southern audience, as she obtained a 12.50% of realisations for variant 1 and a score of 87.50% for variant 2 –which is commonly used by Northern speakers (Wells 1982). Hence, it

seems that the informant is reinforcing her own regional linguistic features, rather than accommodating to her Southern audience, and therefore, using the mainstream variant.

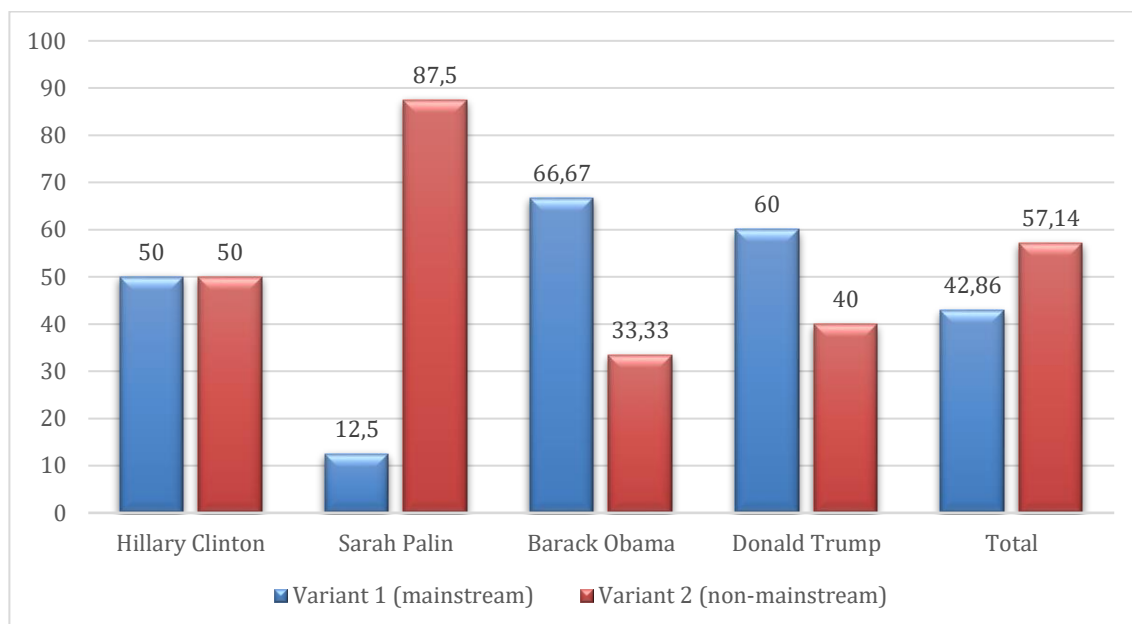


Figure IV.184. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of Progressive consonant assimilation in the context of Rally (South).

Overall, it can be seen how Barack Obama and Donald Trump tend to accommodate to their Southern audience to a greater extent than Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin. Particularly, Clinton manages to accommodate to her Southern audience and employ mainstream realisations while also using the linguistic feature that is characteristic of her regional area of provenance. On the contrary, Sarah Palin shows a clear reluctance to accommodate to her audience, as she predominantly uses variant 2 over variant 1. Because of the disparity found in the sociolinguistic behaviour of the four informants when it comes to Progressive consonant assimilation, the total scores obtained for this variable evidence the lowest percentage of use for mainstream variant 1 (42.86%) and the highest percentage of use for non-mainstream variant 2 (57.14%) out of the six variables studied in this context. Hence, it could be tentatively stated that since no significant stigmatisation is associated with the usage of variant 1 or 2 of Progressive consonant assimilation, Clinton, Palin, Obama and

Trump seem to enjoy a greater degree of freedom when it comes to employing this variable in the context of Rally (South).

IV.2.11.d. R-Dropping

As for R-Dropping, several differences can be observed in the usage that the four informants make of this variable (see Figure IV.185). In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 138.86$; $df = 3$).

On the one hand, Sarah Palin exhibits a complete use of variant 1 ((r) = /r/), as she obtained a 100% of rhotic realisations, remaining variant 2 ((r) = /ø/) completely absent from her speech. In this respect, Palin is strictly adhering to mainstream conventions, as rhotic realisations enjoy overt prestige in U.S. English (Labov 1966/2006), and are therefore frequently used in General American speech (Kretzschmar 2004). As previously stated, and apart from mainstream pressures, Palin's strict adherence to variant 1 may be influenced by the fact that rhotic pronunciations are commonly used in her regional area of provenance. Consequently, a clear reluctance to accommodate to her Southern and/or African American audience could be expected in Palin's sociolinguistic behaviour, as variant 2 is commonly used in Southern regions—especially in the Lower South (Schneider 2006; Trudgill & Hannah 2008)—as well as by African American speakers (Wells 1982: 557; Edwards 2004: 388).

Similarly, Hillary Clinton employs a prominent use of mainstream variant 1 (97.70%), which may be influenced by the high frequency with which speakers from Northern regions employ variant 1, as she has been living in Northern areas during large periods of time. Thus, non-mainstream variant 2 is scarcely used by Clinton in this context (2.30%). Hence, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite having spent several years in the South and her audience being an African American community of Selma, the informant does not accommodate to this ethnic community to a relevant extent by means of employing a non-rhotic pronunciation (Edwards 2004).

This evident reluctance of Palin and Clinton to adopt non-rhotic forms in this context may be motivated by the receding behaviour that variant 2 is experiencing in Southern speech (McDavid 1948; Levine & Crockett 1966; Harris 1969), the stigmatisation associated with non-rhotic forms –as this variant is usually associated with the speech of individuals belonging to working classes (Labov 1966/2006)–, and the prestige associated with variant 1 (Kretzschmar 2004), which is commonly used in Western and Northern regions.

Regarding Barack Obama, even though he makes use of a rather high percentage of rhotic realisations (83.65%), a slight accommodation to variant 2 (16.35%) can also be observed in his speech. This modest accommodation may be motivated by an attempt to align himself with his Southern and African American audience (Wells 1982: 557; Edwards 2004: 388), as this ethnic group tends delete postvocalic /r/ more frequently than Southern Speakers (Edwards 2004: 388). However, even though Obama identifies himself as a bidialectal African American, his prominent use of variant 1 reveals a scarce motivation when it comes to accommodating to his African American audience by means of employing non-rhotic forms. Hence, it could be tentatively stated that Obama does not use R-Dropping to a great extent as a device in identity creation and projection processes, which contrasts with the treatment that he makes of other linguistic variables so as to reinforce his African American identity. Particularly, this reluctance to accommodate to an African American audience might be motivated by the frequency with which rhotic realisations are used in formal style and the subsequent prestige associated with this variant (Thomas 2004:318).

In addition, starker differences can be observed if the scores obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Barack Obama are compared with those obtained by Donald Trump. In fact, Trump is the informant who obtained the lowest score for variant 1 (67.35%) and the highest score for variant 2 (32.65%) in this context. Thus, even though he has not had close contact with Southern and/or African American accents –just as Clinton and Obama have had– he is the informant that, whether consciously or unconsciously, most accommodates to his Southern audience in the context of Rally (South). Particularly, his relevant use of rhotic forms may be motivated by the fact that he is originally from New York, a geographical area that has traditionally been characterised by an extensive use of non-rhotic realisations by individuals

from all social classes (Gordon 2004b). However, at some point, it began to be regarded as a stigmatised linguistic feature (Labov 1966/2006), as non-rhotic realisations started to be associated with working-class speakers, becoming this variant a strong class marker (Gordon 2004b: 288; Labov 1966/2006). Hence, although variant 2 is present in the speech of Donald Trump –perhaps as a result of a relevant emergence of his New York accent–, the stigmatisation associated with variant 2 might have precluded the informant from using non-rhotic forms to a greater extent.

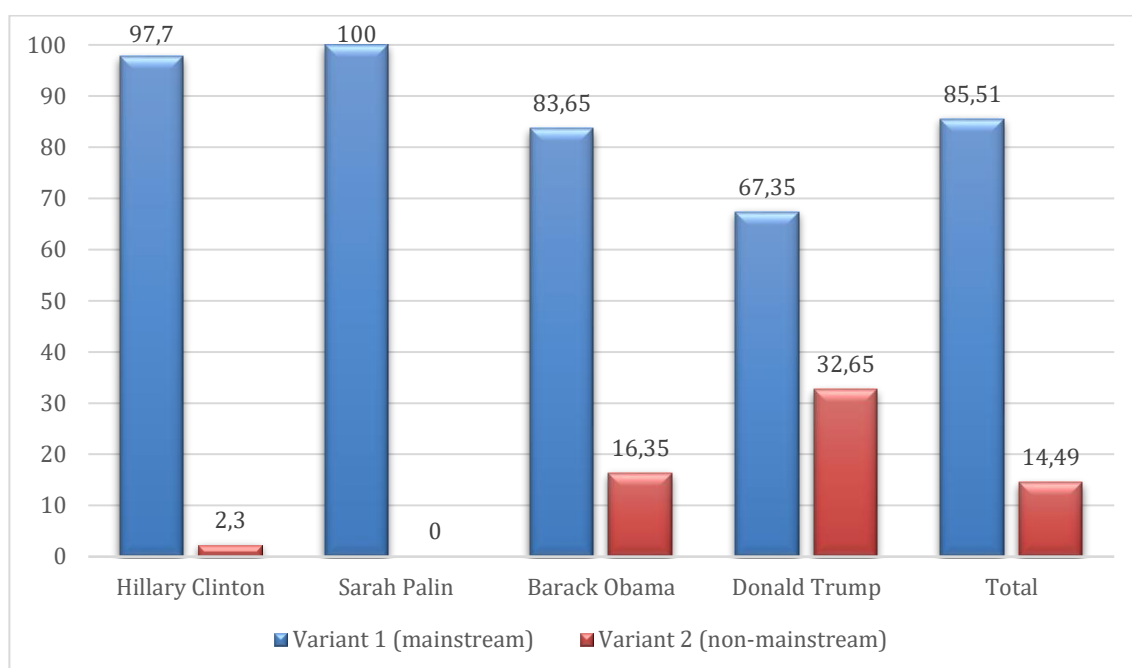


Figure IV.185. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump’s use of R-Dropping in the context of Rally (South).

On the whole, it can be observed that while Sarah Palin and Hillary Clinton show a clear reluctance to adopt non-mainstream variant 2 in the context of Rally (South), Barack Obama slightly accommodates not only to Southern, but also to African American speech. In addition, Donald Trump is the informant that most accommodates to a Southern audience, which clearly contrasts with the prominent mainstream behaviour exhibited by his female counterparts and Obama.

Thus, mainstream conventions and geographical and ethnic identity factors appear to influence differently the sociolinguistic behaviour of the four informants. Regarding Clinton and Obama, even though both informants have had a close contact with Southern (in the case of the former) and African American accents (in the case of the latter) they predominantly use variant 1 over variant 2, although Obama tends to use non-mainstream variant 1 to a greater extent than Clinton does. On the other hand, Palin clearly exhibits a strong adherence to mainstream conventions, which contrasts with Trump's significant use of non-mainstream variant 2 in his speech, which might be influenced by the emergence of his New York accent.

Hence, it could be tentatively stated that the stigmatisation associated with non-rhotic forms might be a prominent conditioning factor for American informants to use variant 2, as the formality of these speech events, together with the social status and the occupation of the four informants directly correlate with a prominent use of variant 1. Overall, despite the differences that can be observed in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump, the total scores obtained by the four informants when it comes to R-Dropping in the context of Rally (South) show a general prevalence of mainstream variant 1 (85.51%) over non-mainstream variant 2 (14.49%).

IV.2.11.e. T-Voicing

On the other hand, noticeable similarities can be observed in the scores obtained by the four informants when it comes to their usage of T-Voicing (see Figure IV.186). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 4.61$; $df = 3$).

Thus, Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump exhibited a predominant use of variant 1 ((t) = /d/) (94.64%, 80.77%, 93.94% and 89.74%, respectively), being variant 2 used to a far more lesser extent. This sociolinguistic behaviour may be influenced by the common use that American English speakers make of variant 1 (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Kretzschmar 2004), together with the prestige acquired by neutralised

realisations of the contrast between /t/ and /d/, which is preferred by educated American speakers (Wells 1982: 250; McDavid 1966; Kretzschmar 2004).

However, it can be observed that while Hillary Clinton and Barack Obama scarcely use non-mainstream variant 2 (5.36% and 6.06% respectively), Donald Trump slightly increases his usage of variant 2 (9.09%) and Sarah Palin uses it to a greater extent (19.23%). Thus, Palin is the informant who obtained the highest percentage of use for the non-mainstream variant. In this respect, even though Trump and Palin also exhibit a predominant use of the mainstream variant, it could be argued that both informants might have strategically employed the non-mainstream variant in an attempt to project an identity that would emphasise their approachable and folksy persona (Lippi-Green 2012: 137).

Nevertheless, despite the aforementioned differences, the total scores obtained by the four informants for the variables studied in the context of Rally (South) show a clear predominance of mainstream variant 1 (90.91%) over non-mainstream variant 2 (9.09%).

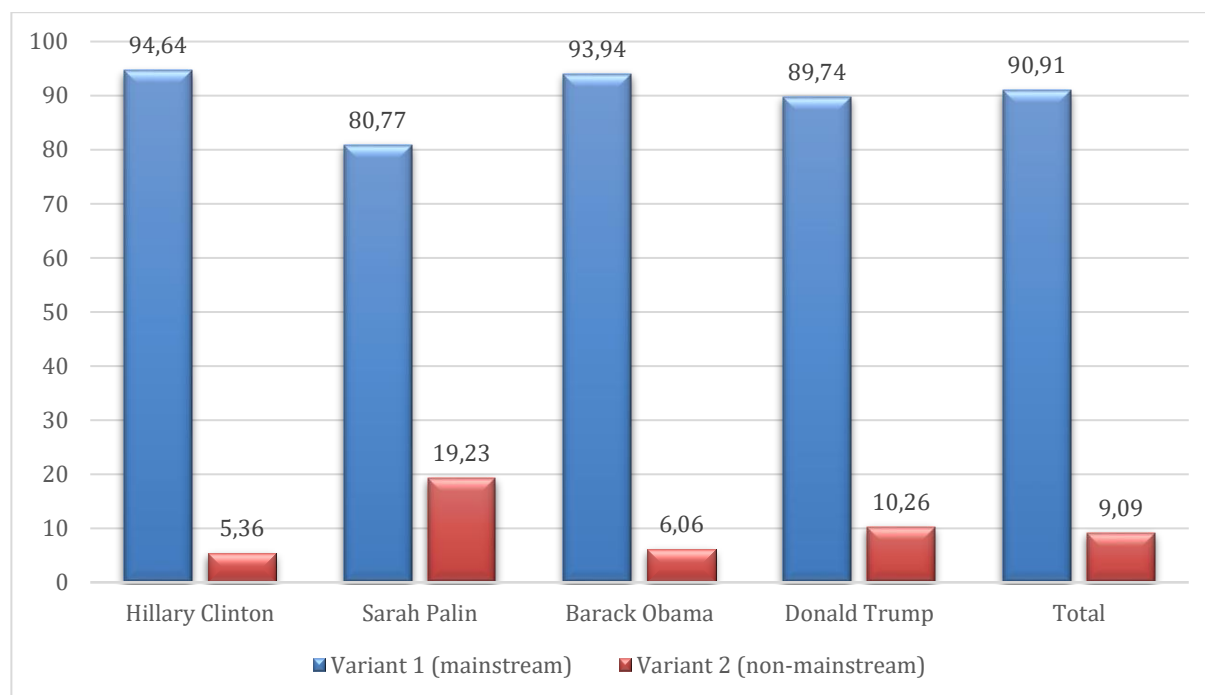


Figure IV.186. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of T-Voicing in the context of Rally (South).

IV.2.11.f. Yod-Dropping

If Yod-Dropping is considered, several differences can also be observed in the speech of the four informants. In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance suggests that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are not statistically significant ($p \geq 0.05$; $\chi^2 = 2.59$; $df = 3$).

On the one hand, and just like in her treatment of PRICE vowel and R-Dropping, Sarah Palin is the informant that presents the highest percentage of use for variant 1 ((j) = [u:]) (100%), remaining variant 2 ((j) = [ju:]) completely absent from her speech. Consequently, she is not accommodating to her Southern audience, as variant 2 is commonly used in Southern accents (Thomas 2004: 319). Contrarily, she adheres to variant 1, which goes in line with the mainstream convention that characterises General American English speech (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), being this variant frequently used in Northern regions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Gramley & Pätzold 2004).

Similarly, Hillary Clinton also exhibits a relevant use of variant 1 (86.67%), which may be motivated by mainstream conventions (Gramley & Pätzold 2004; Wells 1982), as well as by the frequency with which this variable is used in Northern regions –where she is originally from– (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Gramley & Pätzold 2004). Nevertheless, the noticeable use that Clinton makes of variant 2 (13.33%) might be influenced by the close contact that she has had with Southern accents, as she spent several years in the South, where variant 2 is commonly used (Thomas 2004: 319).

On the other hand, it seems that despite having had less contact with Southern accents, Barack Obama accommodates to a greater extent to his Southern audience than Hillary Clinton does. Thus, a clear decrease in the usage of variant 1 (75.00%) and a subsequent increase in the percentage obtained for variant 2 (25.00%) can be appreciated in Obama's speech style if compared with the scores obtained by Clinton and Palin. Thus, while exhibiting a still relevant use of the mainstream and prestigious variant, Obama seems to be slightly accommodating to his Southern audience.

In addition, as with PIN-PEN merger, R-Dropping and T-Voicing, Donald Trump is again the informant that exhibits the lowest score for mainstream variant 1 (60.00%) and the highest score for non-mainstream variant 2 (40.00%). This relevant use of variant 2 can be clearly regarded as a deviation from mainstream conventions and a subsequent accommodation to his Southern audience (Thomas 2004: 319), as this linguistic feature is not commonly used in Northern regions (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Gramley & Pätzold 2004). In fact, Trump's scores were rather unexpected, as he did not use variant 1 to a relevant extent, despite being this linguistic feature rather characteristic of New York and other Northern regions, where he has been based for long periods of time (Wells 1982: 504). Nevertheless, the noticeable use that this informant makes of Yod-Dropping might be explained by a designed strategy aiming at projecting an image of an approachable, folksy, informal and emotional persona by means of using non-mainstream forms in his speeches (Lakoff 2005; Sclafani 2018).

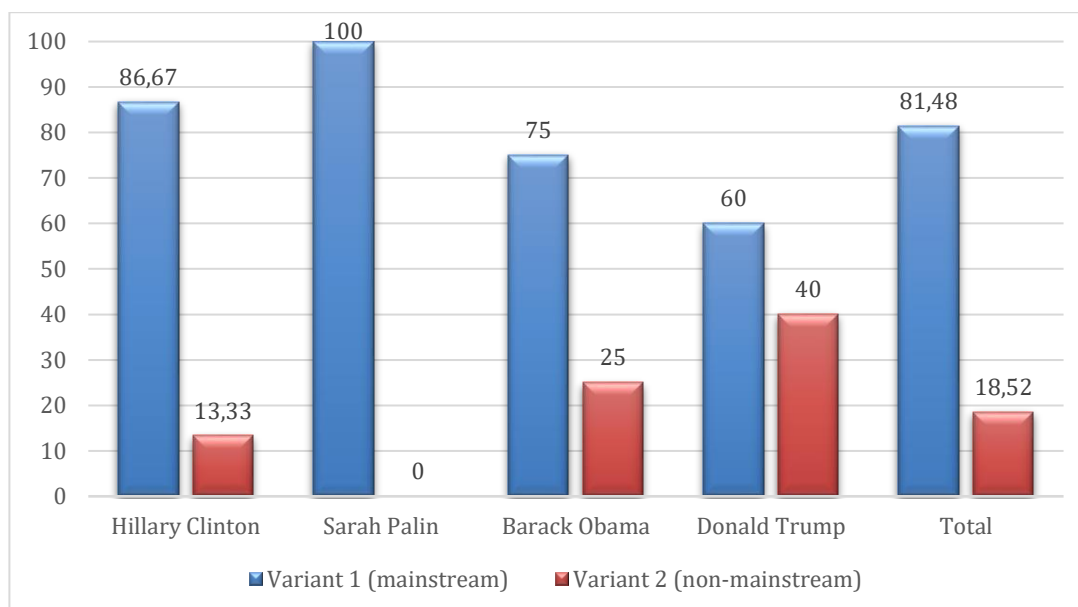


Figure IV.187. Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump's use of Yod-Dropping in the context of Rally (South).

On the whole, while Barack Obama and Donald Trump exhibit a relevant degree of accommodation to their Southern audiences by increasing their usage of non-mainstream

variant 2, Sarah Palin reveals a complete mainstream behaviour. In addition, it becomes of relevance the fact that despite having spent several years in the South, Hillary Clinton does not accommodate to a greater extent to her Southern audience, as she also exhibits a rather prominent mainstream behaviour.

Nevertheless, it must be taken into account that certain variability might occur in General American English speech, as “the palatal glide /j/ remains firmly in place in words like cure, music, but in other words like Tuesday, coupon, neurotic it is frequently lost” (Kretzschmar 2004: 267). In addition, the fact that school teachers often prescribe /j/ sounds (Wells 1982), together with the steady movement towards [j] loss that is taking place in Southern regions (Thomas 2004), may have also favoured a heterogeneous use of this linguistic feature in the speech of American informants when operating in this context.

Overall, despite the differences observed in the scores obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump, the total scores obtained by the four informants for Yod-Dropping in the context of Rally (South) still evidence a relevant use of mainstream variant 1 (81.48%), being non-mainstream variant 2 used to a lesser extent (18.52%).

IV.2.11.g. Overall sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants in the context of Rally (South)

Regarding the overall treatment made by American informants of the variables studied in the context of Rally (South), Figure IV.188 reveals that certain linguistic features tend to be prominently realised with their mainstream variants, as it is the case of PIN-PEN merger (94.71% for variant 1 versus 5.29% for variant 2) and T-Voicing (90.91% for variant 1 versus 9.09% for variant 2), followed by R-Dropping (85.51% for variant 1 versus 14.49% for variant 2) and Yod-Dropping (81.48% for variant 1 versus 18.52% for variant 2). However, it seems that American informants lower their usage of mainstream forms in their treatment of PRICE vowel (73.04% for variant 1 versus 26.96% for variant 2) and Progressive consonant assimilation (42.86% for variant 1 versus 57.14% for variant 2).

On the other hand, if the sociolinguistic behaviour of Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump is compared, relevant similarities as well as certain differences will be observed when it comes to the usage of certain variables, which may be influenced by mainstream conventions encompassed by General American speech, as well as by geographical, social status, formality, occupational and ethnic identity aspects. Precisely, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the four American informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 96.324$; $df = 3$).

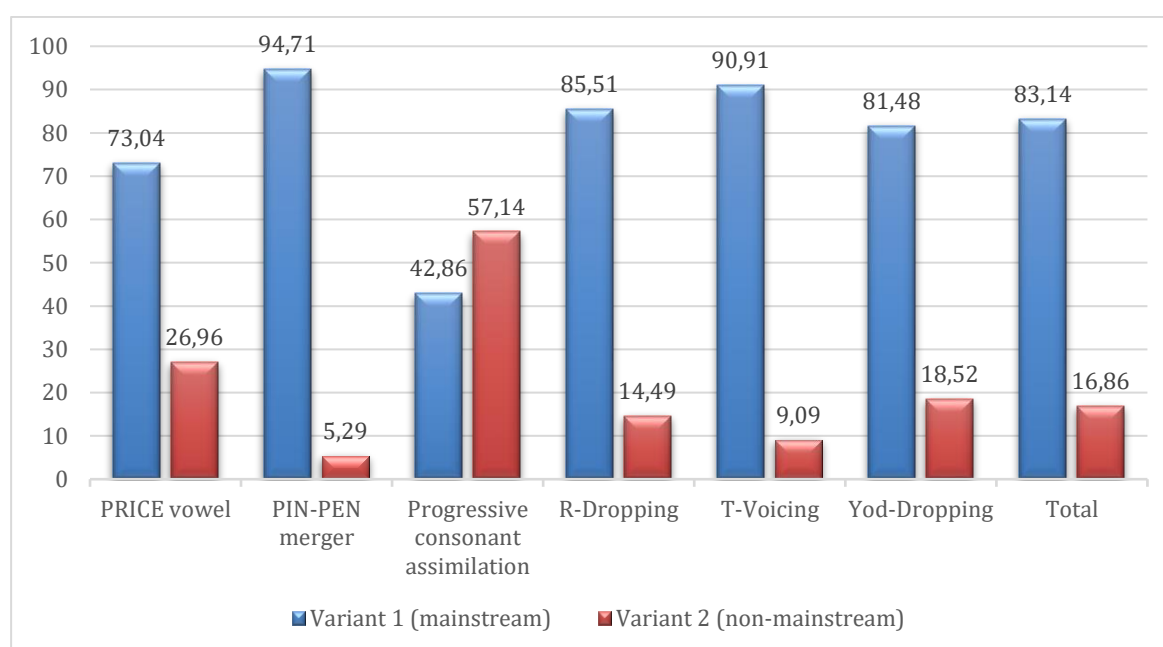


Figure IV.188. Total scores obtained by American informants in the context of Rally (South).

For instance, American informants tend to differ in their treatment of PRICE vowel, Progressive consonant assimilation, R-Dropping and Yod-Dropping in the context of Rally (South). In addition, some informants accommodate their speech style to a greater extent than others, as in the case of Obama and his treatment of PRICE vowel, or Donald Trump and his treatment of R-Dropping. Precisely, and as it can be observed in Figure IV.189, American male informants tend to diverge from mainstream conventions and to accommodate their speech style to a greater extent than their female counterparts. Thus, while Hillary Clinton

(91.70% for variant 1 versus 8.30% for variant 2) and Sarah Palin (94.18% for variant 1 versus 5.82% for variant 2) exhibit a strict adherence to mainstream variants, the sociolinguistic behaviour of Barack Obama (76.37% for variant 1 versus 23.63% for variant 2) and Donald Trump (75.25% for variant 1 versus 24.75% for variant 2) evidences a more noticeable use of non-mainstream forms. In fact, these scores correlate with gender expectations, since it has been shown, at least in the industrialised Western world, that women's speech tends to be more mainstream than that of men (Trudgill 1972): while working class (non-mainstream) speech seems to have connotations of masculinity because of its association with the roughness and toughness of the vernacular world and culture, these masculine attributes are not positively evaluated in women's speech, being refinement and sophistication much conventionally preferred (Coupland & Jaworski 2009).

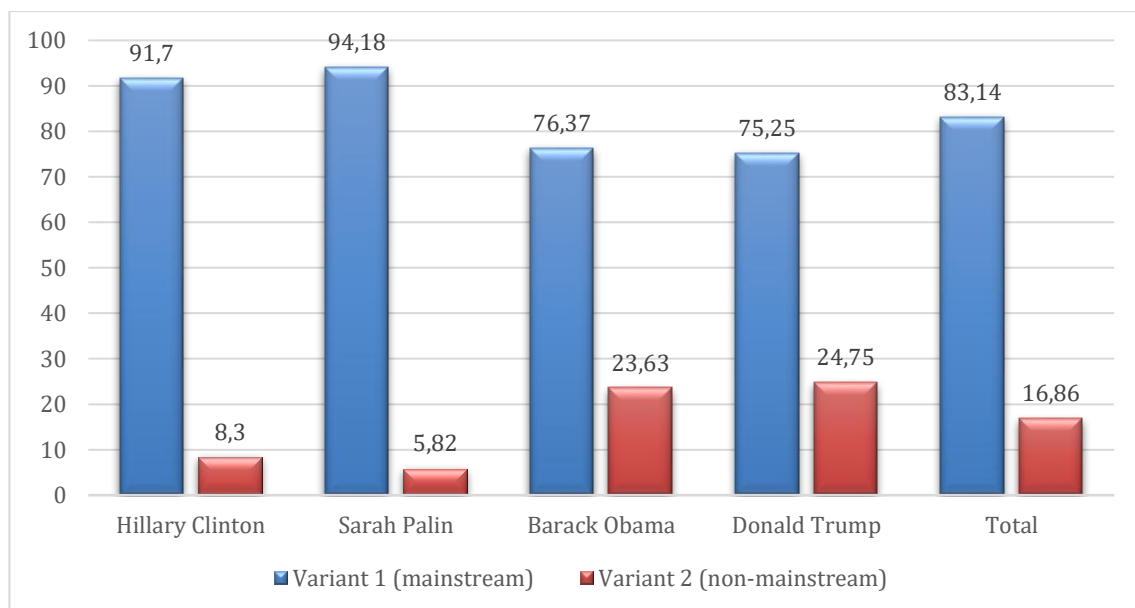


Figure IV.189. Total scores obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump in the context of Rally (South).

In this respect, as it can be observed in Table IV.54, sex ($4.01e-24 < 0.05$) appears to be a significant factor when it comes to Americans informants' speech style in the context of Rally (South), as female informants tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms. On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the "Logodds" column indicates that male informants tend to disfavour the usage of mainstream forms. This is further evidences by the values obtained for the "Centered factor weight" column, which reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for female than for male informants.

Table IV.54. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being used by American informants in the context of Rally (South) (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Female	0.686	853	0.925	0.665
	Male	-0.686	1081	0.758	0.335
Misc. 1	N= 1934; df= 2; Intercept= 1.826; Overall proportion= 0.831; Centered input probability= 0.861.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -825.94; AIC= 1655.881; AICc= 1655.887; Dxy= 0.294; R2= 0.124.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.55 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, sex ceases to be such a significant factor ($8.79e-05 < 0.05$). Thus, as observed in the "Intercept" column, all American informants tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms in the context of Rally (South), being this is further evidenced by the data shown in the "Centered factor weight" column, which indicates that the probability of the American informants studied to favour the usage of mainstream forms in this context is exactly the same.

Table IV.55. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by American informants in the context of Rally (South). Fixed effects analysis: "Informant" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0	1934	0.831	—
Hillary Clinton	0	578	0.917	0.5
Sarah Palin	0	275	0.942	0.5
Barack Obama	0	491	0.764	0.5
Donald Trump	0	590	0.753	0.5
Misc. 1	N= 2112; df= 3; Intercept= 2.573; Overall proportion= 0.916; Centered input probability= 0.929.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -562.733; AIC= 1131.466; AICc= 1131.477; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.419; R2 fixed= 0.153; R2 random= 0.014; R2 total= 0.167.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

On the whole, the total scores obtained by Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump for the variables studied in the context of Rally (South) reveal a clear predominance of mainstream variants (83.14%) over non-mainstream forms (16.86%). Thus, although relevant accommodative behaviours may take place in certain cases, the general sociolinguistic behaviour of American informants points to the direction of a prevalent use of mainstream forms.

IV.3. Dialectal and Sociolinguistic Behaviour of British and American Informants

Regarding the sociolinguistic behaviour of British and American informants, several similarities as well as certain differences may be observed. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson's Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the eight informants are statistically significant ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 1.051.602$; $df = 3$).

As observed in Tables IV.56, and IV.57 and Figure IV.190, there is a general tendency in both British and American informants to employ mainstream forms encompassed by variant 1 than non-mainstream realisations encompassed by variant 2 in their public communicative

engagements. However, this tendency does not apply to British informant Emma Lewell-Buck, as a clear usage of non-mainstream (78.11%) over mainstream forms (21.89%) can be observed in her speech style. This clearly contrasts with the general mainstream behaviour exhibited by Theresa May (83.63% of realisations for variant 1 versus 16.37% of realisations for variant 2), Jeremy Corbyn (80.13% of realisations for variant 1 versus 19.87% of realisations for variant 2), Boris Johnson (80.73% of realisations for variant 1 versus 19.27% of realisations for variant 2), Hillary Clinton (94.65% of realisations for variant 1 versus 5.35% of realisations for variant 2), Sarah Palin (95.72% of realisations for variant 1 versus 4.28% of realisations for variant 2), Barack Obama (88.36% of realisations for variant 1 versus 11.64% of realisations for variant 2) and Donald Trump (83.09% of realisations for variant 1 and 16.91% of realisations for variant 2). Thus, Palin is the informant who exhibits the greatest use of mainstream forms out of the eight informants, followed by Clinton, Obama, May, Trump, Johnson and Corbyn, being Lewell-Buck at the other end of the mainstream-non-mainstream scale.

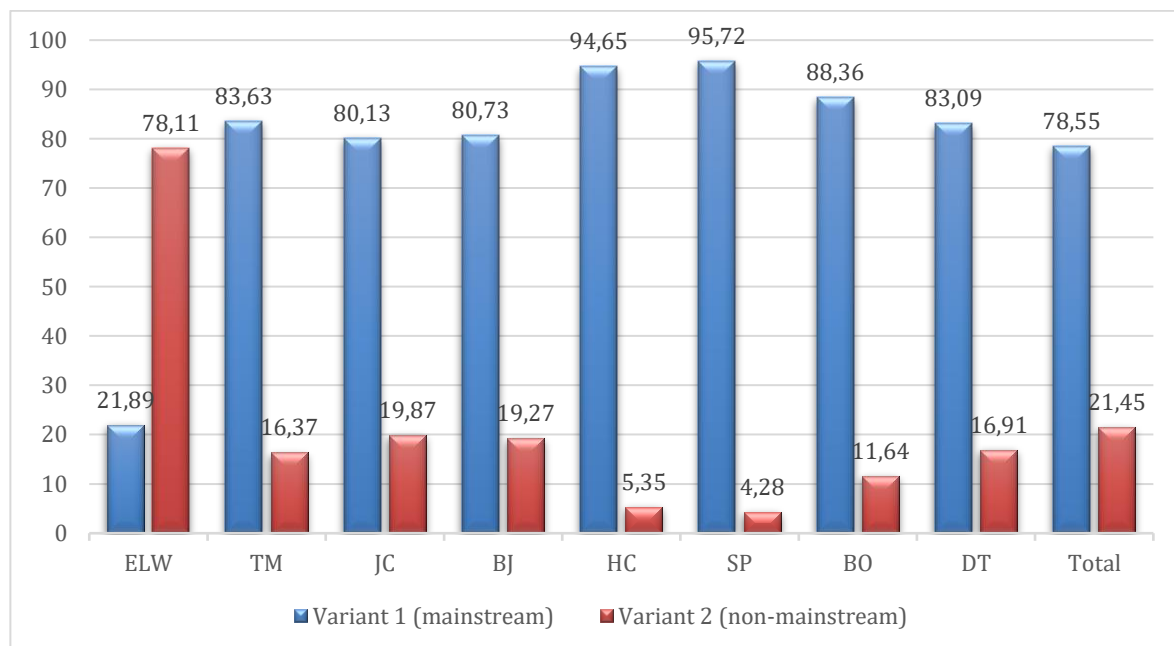


Figure IV.190. Total scores obtained by British and American informants: Emma Lewell-Buck (ELW), Theresa May (TM), Jeremy Corbyn (JC), Boris Johnson (BJ), Hillary Clinton (HC), Sarah Palin (SP), Barack Obama (BO) and Donald Trump (DT).

Table IV.56. Contrast British & American Informants: Totals					
Independent Variable: Informants		Linguistic Variable (dependent)			
		Variant #1		Variant #2	
		%	#	%	#
British Informants	Emma Lewell-Buck	21.89%	449/2051	78.11%	1602/2051
	Theresa May	83.63%	2508/2999	16.37%	491/2999
	Subtotal	58.55%	2957/5050	41.45%	2093/5050
	Jeremy Corbyn	80.13%	2021/2522	19.87%	501/2522
	Boris Johnson	80.73%	2703/3348	19.27%	645/3348
	Subtotal	80.48%	4724/5870	19.52%	1146/5870
	Total	70.34%	7681/10920	29.66%	3239/10920
American Informants	Hillary Clinton	94.65%	1788/1889	5.35%	101/1889
	Sarah Palin	95.72%	1631/1704	4.28%	73/1704
	Subtotal	95.16%	3419/3593	4.84%	174/3593
	Barack Obama	88.36%	1853/2097	11.64%	244/2097
	Donald Trump	83.09%	1735/2088	16.91%	353/2088
	Subtotal	85.73%	3588/4185	14.27%	597/4185
	Total	90.09%	7007/7778	9.91%	771/7778
Totals		78.55%	14688/18698	21.45%	4010/18698

Table IV.57. Contrast British & American Informants: Gender & Context

Independent Variable: Informants		Linguistic Variable (dependent)																	
		Statement						Interview						Rally (North)					
		Variant #1			Variant #2			Variant #1			Variant #2			Variant #1			Variant #2		
		%	#	%	%	#	%	%	#	%	%	#	%	%	#	%	%	#	%
British Informants	E.Lewell-Buck	25	105 /420	75	315 /420	238 /1246	80.9	19.1	26	77 /296	219 /296	73.9	29	32.5	60 /89	67.4	449 /2051	78.1	1602 /2051
	Theresa May	91.4	779 /852	8.5	73 /852	648 /862	24.8	75.1	87.1	738 /847	109 /847	12.8	343	78.3	95 /438	21.6	2508 /2999	16.3	491 /2999
	Subtotal	69.5	884 /1272	30.5	388 /1272	886 /2108	57.9	42	71.3	815 /1143	328 /1143	28.7	372	70.5	155 /527	29.4	2957 /5050	41.4	2093 /5050
	Jeremy Corbyn	86.7	392 /452	13.2	60 /452	362 /494	26.7	73.2	81.6	670 /821	151 /821	18.3	597	79	158 /755	20.9	2021 /2522	19.8	501 /2522
	Boris Johnson	88.3	647 /732	11.6	85 /732	470 /618	23.9	76	78.3	907 /1157	250 /1157	21.6	679	80.7	162 /841	19.2	2703 /3348	19.2	645 /3348
American Informants	Subtotal	87.7	1039 /1184	12.2	145 /1184	832 /1112	25.1	74.8	79.7	1577 /1978	401 /1978	20.2	1276	79.9	320 /1596	20	4727 /5870	19.5	1146 /5870
	Total	78.3	1923 /2456	21.7	533 /2456	1718 /3220	46.6	53.3	76.6	2392 /3121	729 /3121	23.3	1648	77.6	475 /2123	22.3	7681 /10920	29.6	3239 /10920
	Hillary Clinton	95.3	388 /407	4.6	19 /407	324 /342	5.2	94.7	97.1	546 /562	16 /562	2.8	530	91.7	48 /578	8.3	1788 /1889	5.3	101 /1889
	Sarah Palin	97.7	386 /395	2.2	9 /395	407 /431	5.5	94.4	96.	579 /603	24 /603	3.9	259	94.1	16 /275	5.8	1631 /1704	4.2	73 /1704
	Subtotal	96.5	774 /802	3.4	28 /802	731 /773	5.4	94.5	96.5	1125 /1165	40 /1165	3.4	789	92.5	64 /853	7.5	3419 /3593	4.8	174 /3593
American Informants	Barack Obama	95	532 /560	5	28 /560	501 /548	8.5	91.4	89.3	445 /498	53 /498	10.6	375	76.3	116 /491	23.6	1853 /2097	11.6	244 /2097
	Donald Trump	93.9	421 /448	6	27 /448	505 /601	15.9	84	81.2	365 /449	84 /449	18.7	444	75.2	146 /590	24.7	1735 /2088	16.9	353 /2088
	Subtotal	94.5	953 /1008	5.4	55 /1008	1006 /1149	12.4	87.5	85.5	810 /947	137 /947	14.4	819	75.7	262 /1081	24.2	3588 /4185	14.2	597 /4185
	Total	95.4	1727 /1810	4.5	83 /1810	1737 /1922	9.6	90.3	91.6	1935 /2112	177 /2112	8.3	1608	83.1	326 /1934	16.8	7007 /7778	9.9	771 /7778
	Totals	85.5	3650 /4266	14.4	616 /4266	3455 /5142	32.8	67.1	82.6	4327 /5233	906 /5233	17.3	3256	80.2	801 /4057	19.7	14688 /18698	21.4	4010 /18698

In addition, as it can be observed in Table IV.58, sex ($4.61e-52 < 0.05$) and geographical region of origin ($2.76e-251 < 0.05$) appear to be significant factors when it comes to the speech style of both British and American informants, as male informants from USA tend to favour the most the usage of mainstream forms. On the contrary, the negative values obtained in the “Logodds” column indicate that female informants from UK tend to disfavour the usage of mainstream forms. This is further evidenced by the values obtained for the “Centered factor weight” column, which reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for male American informants, being non-mainstream realisations more prone to emerge in the speech of female British informants.

Table IV.58. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex and geographical region of origin to the probability of mainstream forms being used by British and American informants (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Male	0.28	10055	0.827	0.569
	Female	-0.28	8643	0.738	0.431
Geographical region of origin	USA	0.679	7778	0.901	0.664
	UK	-0.679	10920	0.703	0.336
Misc. 1	N= 18698; df= 3; Intercept= 1.538; Overall proportion= 0.786; Centered input probability= 0.823.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -9037.254; AIC= 18080.51; AICc= 18080.51; Dxy= 0.371; R2= 0.138.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.59 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, the geographical region of origin ceases to be such a significant factor ($0.0386 < 0.05$) and sex ($0.966 > 0.05$) becomes non-significant. Thus, Theresa May is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms regardless of the context, followed by Sarah Palin, Boris Johnson, Jeremy Corbyn and Hillary Clinton. On the contrary, the negative values obtained for the “Intercept” column reveal that Barack Obama,

Donald Trump and Lewell-buck disfavour the usage of mainstream forms, being Emma Lewell-Buck the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream realisations out of the eight informants studied. This is also evidenced by the data obtained for the “Centerd factor weight” column, which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Theresa May’s speech, while Lewell-Buck is the informant who is more likely to employ non-mainstream forms in her speech.

Table IV.59. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex and geographical region of origin to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by British and American informants. Fixed effects analysis: “Informant” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.952	18698	0.786	—
Theresa May	0.846	2999	0.836	0.7
Sarah Palin	0.709	1704	0.957	0.671
Boris Johnson	0.62	3348	0.807	0.651
Jeremy Corbyn	0.581	2522	0.801	0.642
Hillary Clinton	0.482	1889	0.947	0.619
Barack Obama	-0.386	2097	0.884	0.405
Donald Trump	-0.82	2088	0.831	0.306
Emma Lewell-Buck	-2.048	2051	0.219	0.114
Misc. 1	N= 18698; df= 4; Intercept= 1.599; Overall proportion= 0.786; Centered input probability= 0.832.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -7736.666; AIC= 15481.33; AICc= 15481.33; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.509; R2 fixed= 0.13; R2 random= 0.188; R2 total= 0.318.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

Hence, as previously stated, while May, Corbyn, Johnson, Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump strictly, adhere to formality and occupational expectations, Lewell-Buck exhibits a divergent sociolinguistic behaviour. Particularly, Lewell-Buck diverges from formality expectations, since individuals from different social status tend to increase the usage of mainstream forms as the speech event in which they are participating becomes more formal (Labov 2001a, 2001b). In addition, her sociolinguistic behaviour also diverges from the strategies normally used by politicians operating in the public sphere, as they usually employ mainstream variants in their public speeches, since persuasive aims are usually best accomplished if a “correct” and “educated” speech is used (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). Moreover, politicians tend to have greater awareness when it comes to the social significance of linguistic variables and a greater control of mainstream and prestigious forms over non-mainstream realisations (Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schilling-Estes 2010: 44). Also, if compared with her female counterparts, apart from occupation and social class conventions, Emma Lewell-Buck also violates gender expectations, as Sociolinguistic studies have demonstrated that the role of sex is a determinant factor in the differentiation of the speech of men and women in urbanised societies. In fact, since it has been evidenced that, at least in the industrialised Western world, women’s speech tends to be more mainstream than that of men (Trudgill 1972): while working class (non-mainstream) speech seems to have connotations of masculinity because of its association with the roughness and toughness of the vernacular world and culture, these masculine attributes are not positively evaluated in women’s speech, being refinement and sophistication much conventionally preferred (Coupland & Jaworski 2009). This pattern applies to American informants, as Clinton and Palin obtained higher percentages of use for mainstream variants than Obama and Trump did. However, if British informants are considered, relevant differences will be observed between the sociolinguistic behaviour of May and Lewell-Buck. while the former obtained higher percentages of use for mainstream variant 1 than Corbyn and Johnson did, the latter is the informant who exhibited the least mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour out of the eight informants analysed, being her speech style characterised by the presence of local and regionally marked forms.

In addition, it becomes of relevance the fact that even though Lewell-Buck is not the only informant that exhibits regionally marked features, she is the only one who shows a clear reluctance when it comes to adopting more prestigious forms across the different contexts in which she operates. In this respect, she does not alter her sociolinguistic behaviour to a relevant extent under the influence of formality, occupation or gender expectations. As previously stated, it seems that rather than strategically making use of mainstream realisations, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to the majority of the linguistic features associated with the geographical area from where she originally is, perhaps, in an attempt to reinforce and project her North-eastern identity.

On the other hand, it is noteworthy to mention that the total scores obtained for mainstream variant 1 by Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson might be slightly lower than those obtained by Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump. This slight difference might be motivated by the fact that even though the sociolinguistic behaviour of May, Corbyn and Johnson falls within the description of RP accent, which is the most prestigious and mainstream accent that an individual belonging to their same background and operating in the same contexts could use, several phonetic, phonological and sociolinguistic changes have re-shaped over the generations the way RP speakers employ and perceive certain linguistic features (Trudgill 2008). Particularly, RP accents have acquired locally marked and less prestigious forms mainly from South-east England areas. This is the case of Glottalisation of consonant /t/, since even though this linguistic feature was originally associated with the speech of working-class individuals from the South-east and North-east of England (Altendorf & Watt 2004; Wells 1982; Llamas 2007), it has experienced a relevant spread to almost all urban areas in Britain (Beal 2004: 128). As described by Trudgill (1999: 136), this has been “one of the most dramatic, widespread and rapid changes to have occurred in British English in recent times”. As a consequence, even though glottalised realisations have traditionally been associated with the speech of working-class individuals, this type of pronunciation can now be heard in RP accents in words like *Gatwick* or *Luton*. These pronunciations may be avoided in careful speech, but used to a certain extent in conversations (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013). Nevertheless, social status aspects still may

influence the usage that speakers make of the voiceless stops, as glottalised realisations tend to be avoided by Upper-middle-class speakers while working-class speakers tend to use glottalised forms to a greater extent (Altendorf & Watt 2004). Yet, it seems that the stigmatisation that originally characterised this variable and its subsequent social as well as geographical constrictions are diminishing over the years, which is evidenced by the noticeable use of glottalised forms in the speech of May, Corbyn and Johnson. In fact, as stated by Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 44): “it seems probable that in coming decades the stigmatisation of /t/ glottalling even in pre-vocalic contexts in the speech of younger RP speakers will recede to the point where its use is no longer remarked upon”, which means that “the stigma of ugliness, inarticulacy and ‘sloppiness’” is becoming to recede (Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013: 67). In this respect, Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2013: 67) indicate that:

[t]he fact that prominent public figures such as the former Prime Minister Tony Blair and certain younger members of the British royal family can be heard to use glottal stops in pre-consonantal, pre-nasal and even word-final pre-vocalic positions suggests that this stigma is receding,

Regarding the different contexts studied, several similarities as well as differences can be observed in the sociolinguistic behaviour of British and American informants (see Figures IV.191-IV.194). As for British informants, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson tend to employ the highest percentage of use of mainstream variants in the context of Statement out of the four contexts studied (91.43%, 86.73% and 88.39% respectively). This relevant use of mainstream variants may be motivated by the fact that this context could be regarded as one of the most formal ones in which a British politician would operate. Thus, the percentages obtained by these informants for non-mainstream variants are the lowest out of the four contexts studied (8.57%, 13.27% and 11.61% respectively). On the contrary, May, Corbyn and Johnson tend to employ their lowest percentage of use of mainstream variants (75.17%, 73.28% and 76.05%, respectively) and subsequently, their higher percentage of use of non-mainstream forms (24.83%, 26.72% and 23.95%, respectively) in the context of Interview, which may result from the conversational format of this speech event. Nevertheless, Emma Lewell-Buck does not adopt the same sociolinguistic behaviour as her British counterparts in

the context of Statement, as she strictly adheres to non-mainstream conventions, obtaining a score of 25.00% for mainstream variants and 75.00% for non-mainstream variants. However, she exhibits a similar behaviour to that of May, Corbyn and Johnson in the context of Interview, as she obtained her lowest percentage of use of mainstream forms (19.10%) and her highest percentage of use of non-mainstream variants (80.90%) out of the four contexts studied. As previously stated, the considerable decrease in the usage of mainstream forms on the part of the four British informants in the context of Interview (especially in the case of Glottalisation of /t/) might be motivated by the fact that while T-Glottalisation tends to be avoided in careful speech, this linguistic feature is used to a certain extent in conversational contexts (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013).

Table IV.60. Contrast British & American Informants: Gender & Context - Statement					
Independent Variable: Informants		Linguistic Variable (dependent)			
		Variant #1		Variant #2	
		%	#	%	#
British Informants	Emma Lewell-Buck	25.00%	105/420	75.00%	315/420
	Theresa May	91.43%	779/852	8.57%	73/852
	Subtotal	69.50%	884/1272	30.50%	388/1272
	Jeremy Corbyn	86.73%	392/452	13.27%	60/452
	Boris Johnson	88.39%	647/732	11.61%	85/732
	Subtotal	87.75%	1039/1184	12.25%	145/1184
	Total	78.30%	1923/2456	21.70%	533/2456
American Informants	Hillary Clinton	95.33%	388/407	4.67%	19/407
	Sarah Palin	97.72%	386/395	2.28%	9/395
	Subtotal	96.51%	774/802	3.49%	28/802
	Barack Obama	95.00%	532/560	5.00%	28/560
	Donald Trump	93.97%	421/448	6.03%	27/448
	Subtotal	94.54%	953/1008	5.46%	55/1008
	Total	95.41%	1727/1810	4.59%	83/1810
Totals		85.56%	3650/4266	14.44%	616/4266

Table IV.61. Contrast British & American Informants: Gender & Context – Interview					
Independent Variable: Informants		Linguistic Variable (dependent)			
		Variant #1		Variant #2	
		%	#	%	#
British Informants	Emma Lewell-Buck	19.10%	238/1246	80.90%	1008/1246
	Theresa May	75.17%	648/862	24.83%	214/862
	Subtotal	42.03%	886/2108	57.97%	1222/2108
	Jeremy Corbyn	73.28%	362/494	26.72%	132/494
	Boris Johnson	76.05%	470/618	23.95%	148/618
	Subtotal	74.82%	832/1112	25.18%	280/1112
	Total	53.35%	1718/3220	46.65%	1502/3220
American Informants	Hillary Clinton	94.74%	324/342	5.26%	18/342
	Sarah Palin	94.43%	407/431	5.57%	24/431
	Subtotal	94.57%	731/773	5.43%	42/773
	Barack Obama	91.42%	501/548	8.58%	47/548
	Donald Trump	84.03%	505/601	15.97%	96/601
	Subtotal	87.55%	1006/1149	12.45%	143/1149
	Total	90.37%	1737/1922	9.63%	185/1922
Totals		67.19%	3455/5142	32.81%	1687/5142

Concerning the American informants, no relevant differences can be observed in the treatment that the four politicians make of the variables studied in the contexts of Statement and Interview, as all the informants make a relevant use of mainstream variants in both contexts. Hence, Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump tend to exhibit high percentages of use of mainstream variants in the context of Statement (95.33%, 97.72%,

95.00% and 93.97%, respectively), remaining non-mainstream forms scarcely used (4.67%, 2.28%, 5.00% and 6.03%, respectively). Similarly, a prominent use of mainstream forms can be observed in the speech of Clinton (94.74%), Palin (94.43%), Obama (91.42%) and Trump (84.03%) in the context of Interview. However, while non-mainstream forms remain scarcely used in the speech of Clinton (5.26%), Palin (5.57%) and Obama (8.58%) in the context of Interview, Trump slightly increases his usage of non-mainstream variants (15.97%) if compared with his scores obtained in the context of Statement.

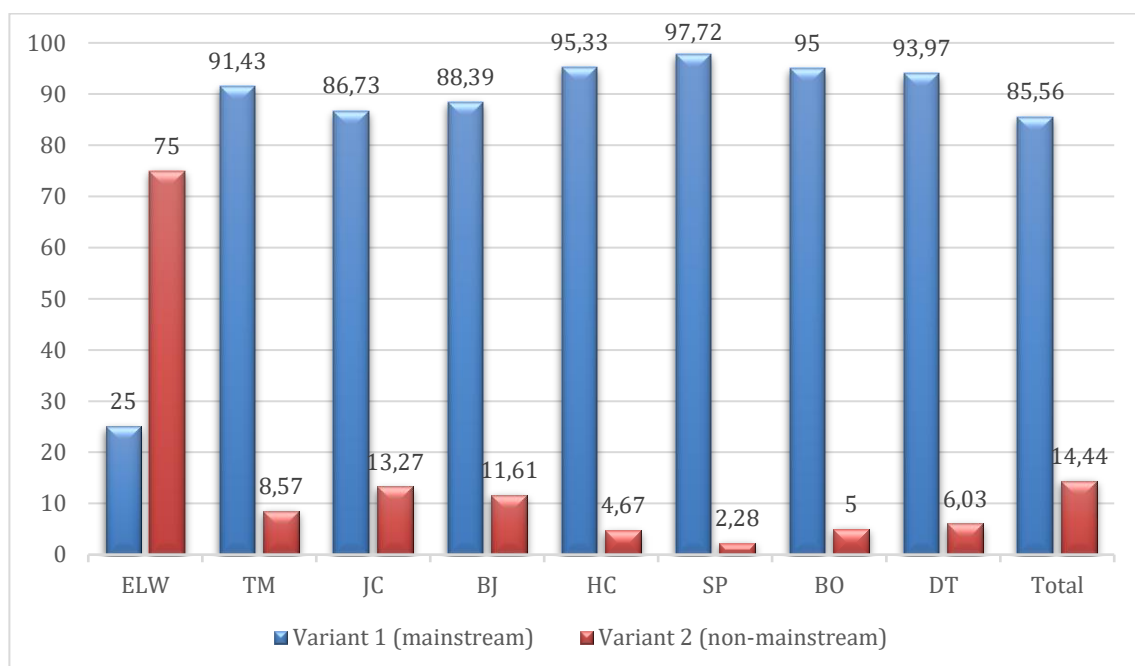


Figure IV.191. Total scores obtained by British and American informants in the context of Statement: Emma Lewell-Buck (ELW), Theresa May (TM), Jeremy Corbyn (JC), Boris Johnson (BJ), Hillary Clinton (HC), Sarah Palin (SP), Barack Obama (BO) and Donald Trump (DT).

Regarding the context of Statement, and as it can be observed in Table IV.62, sex ($8.5e-21 < 0.05$) and geographical region of origin ($6.15e-59 < 0.05$) appear to be significant factors when it comes to the speech style of both British and American informants, as male informants from USA tend to most favour the usage of mainstream forms. On the contrary, the negative values obtained in the “Logodds” column indicate that female informants from UK tend to disfavour the usage of mainstream forms. This is further evidenced by the values

obtained for the “Centered factor weight” column, which reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for male American informants, being non-mainstream realisations more prone to emerge in the speech of female British informants.

Table IV.62. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex and geographical region of origin to the probability of mainstream forms being used by British and American informants in the context of Statement (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Male	0.431	2192	0.909	0.606
	Female	-0.431	2074	0.799	0.394
Geographical region of origin	USA	0.859	1810	0.954	0.703
	UK	-0.859	2456	0.783	0.297
Misc. 1	N= 4266; df= 3; Intercept= 2.211; Overall proportion= 0.856; Centered input probability= 0.901.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1577.91; AIC= 3161.819; AICc= 3161.825; Dxy= 0.454; R2= 0.226.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.63 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, the geographical region of origin ceases to be such a significant factor ($0.0291 < 0.05$) and sex ($0.577 > 0.05$) becomes non-significant. Thus, Theresa May is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms in the context of Statement, followed by Sarah Palin, Boris Johnson, Jeremy Corbyn and Hillary Clinton. On the contrary, the negative values obtained for the “Intercept” column reveal that Barack Obama, Donald Trump and Lewell-Buck disfavour the usage of mainstream forms, being Emma Lewell-Buck the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream realisations out of the eight informants in this context. This is also evidenced by the data obtained for the “Centerd factor weight” column, which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Theresa May’s speech, while Lewell-Buck is the informant who is more likely to employ non-mainstream forms in her speech.

Table IV.63. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex and geographical region of origin to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by British and American informants in the context of Statement. Fixed effects analysis: "Informant" as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	1.004	4266	0.856	—
Theresa May	1.257	852	0.914	0.781
Sarah Palin	0.753	395	0.977	0.683
Boris Johnson	0.523	732	0.884	0.631
Jeremy Corbyn	0.37	452	0.867	0.595
Hillary Clinton	0.088	407	0.953	0.525
Barack Obama	-0.373	560	0.95	0.411
Donald Trump	-0.563	448	0.94	0.366
Emma Lewell-Buck	-2.164	420	0.25	0.104
Misc. 1	N= 4266; df= 4; Intercept= 2.212; Overall proportion= 0.856; Centered input probability= 0.901.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1276.417; AIC= 2560.833; AICc= 2560.843; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.612; R2 fixed= 0.171; R2 random= 0.195; R2 total= 0.366.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

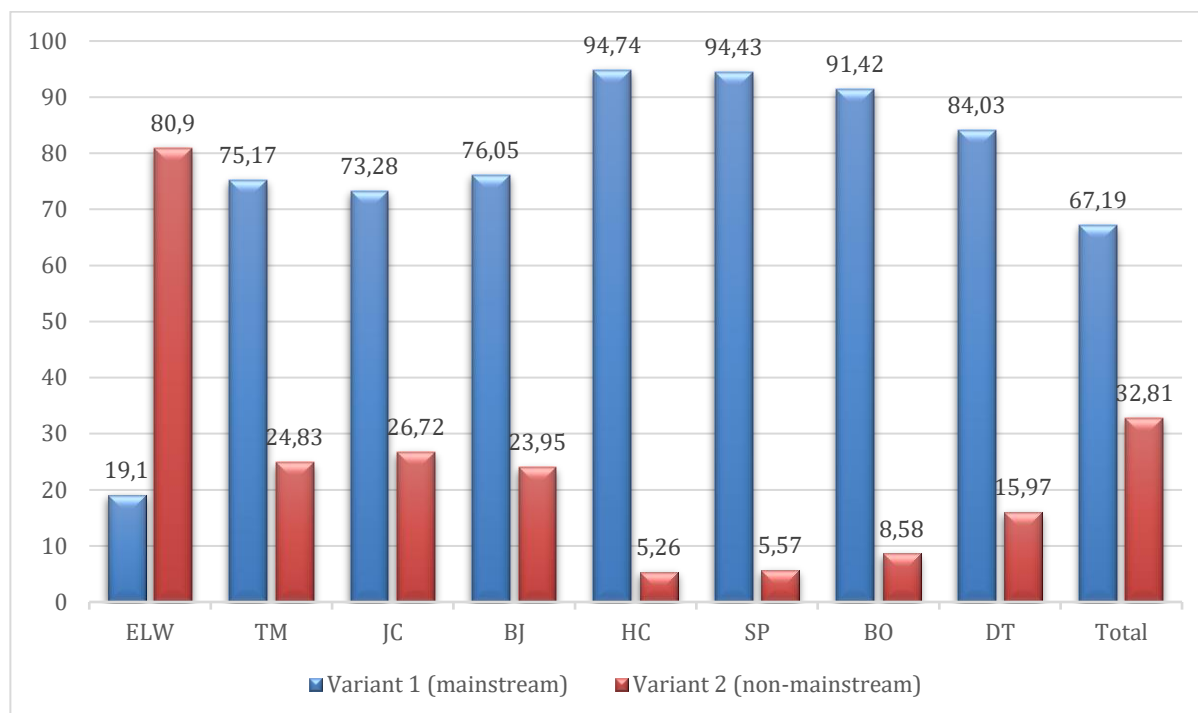


Figure IV.192. Total scores obtained by British and American informants in the context of Interview: Emma Lewell-Buck (ELW), Theresa May (TM), Jeremy Corbyn (JC), Boris Johnson (BJ), Hillary Clinton (HC), Sarah Palin (SP), Barack Obama (BO) and Donald Trump (DT).

As for the context of Interview (Figure IV.192), and as it can be observed in Table IV.64, sex ($3.51e-44 < 0.05$) and geographical region of origin ($5.6e-145 < 0.05$) appear to be significant factors when it comes to the speech style of both British and American informants in this context, as male informants from USA tend to most favour the usage of mainstream forms. On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the “Logodds” column indicates that female informants from UK tend to disfavour the usage of mainstream forms. This is further evidenced by the values obtained for the “Centered factor weight” column, which reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for male American informants, being non-mainstream realisations more prone to emerge in the speech of female British informants.

Table IV.64. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex and geographical region of origin to the probability of mainstream forms being used by British and American informants in the context of Interview (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Male	0.477	2261	0.813	0.617
	Female	-0.477	2881	0.561	0.383
Geographical region of origin	USA	0.971	1922	0.904	0.725
	UK	-0.971	3220	0.534	0.275
Misc. 1	N= 5142; df= 3; Intercept= 1.265; Overall proportion= 0.672; Centered input probability= 0.78.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -2736.329; AIC= 5478.657; AICc= 5478.662; Dxy= 0.514; R2= 0.287.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.65 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, the geographical region of origin ceases to be such a significant factor ($0.009 < 0.05$) and sex ($0.726 > 0.05$) becomes non-significant. Thus, Theresa May is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms in the context of Interview, followed by Boris Johnson, Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin and Jeremy Corbyn. On the contrary, the negative values obtained for the “Intercept” column reveal that Barack Obama, Donald Trump and Emma Lewell-Buck disfavour the usage of mainstream forms, being Emma Lewell-Buck the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream realisations out of the eight informants studied. This is also evidenced by the data obtained for the “Centerd factor weight” column, which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Theresa May’s speech, while Lewell-Buck is the informant who is more likely to employ non-mainstream forms in her speech.

Table IV.65. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex and geographical region of origin to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by British and American informants in the context of Interview. Fixed effects analysis: “Informant” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.847	5142	0.672	—
Theresa May	0.752	862	0.752	0.681
Boris Johnson	0.585	618	0.761	0.644
Hillary Clinton	0.518	342	0.947	0.628
Sarah Palin	0.472	431	0.944	0.617
Jeremy Corbyn	0.439	494	0.733	0.61
Barack Obama	-0.172	548	0.914	0.459
Donald Trump	-0.869	601	0.84	0.297
Emma Lewell-Buck	-1.78	1246	0.191	0.145
Misc. 1	N= 5142; df= 4; Intercept= 1.447; Overall proportion= 0.672; Centered input probability= 0.81.			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -2324.781; AIC= 4657.562; AICc= 4657.57; Dxy fixed= 1; Dxy total= 0.647; R2 fixed= 0.196; R2 random= 0.144; R2 total= 0.34.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

Overall, the sociolinguistic behaviour of the eight informants analysed differ to a certain extent, both in the context of Statement and Interview. In this respect, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the eight informants are statistically significant in the contexts of Statement ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 247.101$; $df = 3$) and Interview ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 748.281$; $df = 3$)

In addition, if the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South) are considered, certain similarities can also be observed in the speech of some of the informants, as the majority of them tend to use mainstream forms to a greater extent in Northern rather than in Southern rallies. This tendency applies to Theresa May (87.13% for variant 1 versus 78.31% for variant 2), Jeremy Corbyn (81.61% for variant 1 versus 79.07% for variant 2), Hillary Clinton (97.15% for variant 1 versus 91.70% for variant 2), Sarah Palin (96.02% for variant 1 versus 94.18% for variant 2), Barack Obama (89.36% for variant 1 versus 76.37% for variant 2) and Donald Trump (81.29% for variant 1 versus 75.25% for variant 2).

However, slight variations can be observed in the scores obtained by Emma Lewell-Buck and Boris Johnson. As for Lewell-Buck, she exhibits an opposite sociolinguistic behaviour, while she obtained a lower score for mainstream forms in the context of Rally (North) (26.01%), she increased her score for mainstream variants in the context of Rally (South) (32.58%). A similar sociolinguistic pattern can be observed in the speech of Boris Johnson, although the difference between the scores that he obtained in both contexts is rather subtle: while he obtained a score of 78.39% for mainstream forms in his Northern rally, he employed a percentage of use of 80.74 in his Southern rally.

Moreover, it becomes of relevance the fact that while British informants exhibit their lowest percentages of use for mainstream variants, and subsequently, their highest scores for non-mainstream forms, in the context of Interview, the American informants exhibit their lowest scores for mainstream forms and their highest scores for non-mainstream variants in the context of Rally (South). Hence, it seems that the context of Interview –perhaps because of its conversational format– tends to be considered by British informant as the “least” formal, and therefore, the one which favours the emergence of less mainstream forms. On the contrary, Rally (South) appears to be considered as the “least” formal context by American informants, and therefore, the one in which non-mainstream forms could be used to a greater extent. This American sociolinguistic pattern may be motivated by the fact that Southern individuals are often stereotyped as ignorant and less educated than their Northern counterparts: “in contrast to the Northern construction of intelligence which is closely linked to a high level of education, there is a construction of Southern intelligence that has more to

do with common sense and life experience” (Lippi-Green 2012: 223). Thus, it can be observed how the four American informants lower their percentage of use of mainstream forms in the context of Rally (South), although the decrease in the usage of variant 1 is more striking in the speech of Obama and Trump than in the speech of Clinton and Palin. Hence, although both American females employ a lower use of mainstream forms, the difference between their total scores obtained in the context of Rally (South) and the scores obtained in the remaining contexts is not as relevant as in the case of Obama and Trump.

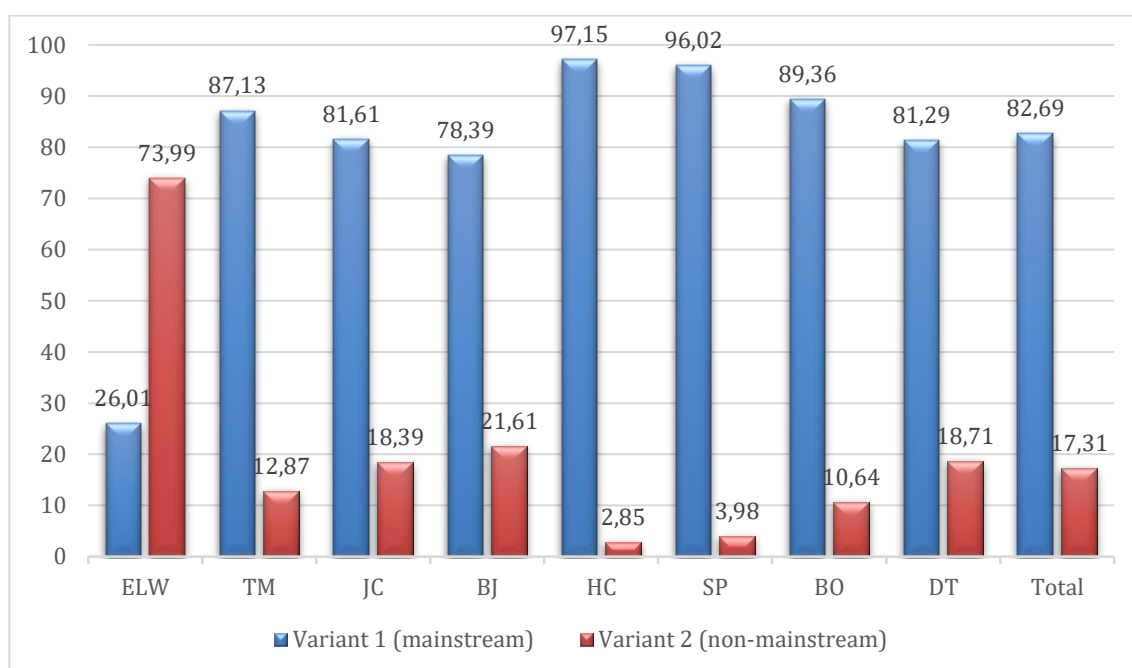


Figure IV.193. Total scores obtained by British and American informants in the context of Rally (North): Emma Lewell-Buck (ELW), Theresa May (TM), Jeremy Corbyn (JC), Boris Johnson (BJ), Hillary Clinton (HC), Sarah Palin (SP), Barack Obama (BO) and Donald Trump (DT).

Particularly, Table IV.66 indicates that when it comes to the context of Rally (North), sex ($0.795 > 0.05$) is not a significant factor, as there is not a relevant difference between the usage that male and female informants tend to make of mainstream forms in this context. This is evidenced by the values obtained for the “Centered factor weight” column, which reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is practically the same for male and female informants. Nevertheless, the negative value obtained in the “Logodds” column

indicates that, although in a rather modest extent, male informants from USA tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms. On the contrary, the geographical region of origin ($3.33e-47 < 0.05$) appears to be the factor that most determines the speech style of British and American informants in this context, since as indicated by the negative value obtained in the “Logodds” column, USA informants tend to favour the usage of mainstream forms, while UK informants will disfavour such pattern. This is further evidenced by the values obtained for the “Centered factor weight” column, which reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for American informants, being non-mainstream realisations more prone to emerge in the speech of British informants.

Table IV.66. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex and geographical region of origin to the probability of mainstream forms being used by British and American informants in the context of Rally (North) (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Male	0.01	2925	0.816	0.502
	Female	-0.01	2308	0.841	0.498
Geographical region of origin	USA	0.604	2112	0.916	0.646
	UK	-0.604	3121	0.766	0.354
Misc. 1	N= 5233; df= 3; Intercept= 1.789; Overall proportion= 0.827; Centered input probability= 0.857.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -2304.625; AIC= 4615.249; AICc= 4615.254; Dxy= 0.269; R2= 0.096.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.67 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, the geographical region of origin ceases to be such a significant factor ($0.0391 < 0.05$), while sex ($0.677 > 0.05$) continues to be non-significant. Thus, Theresa May is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms in the context of Rally (North), followed by Hillary Clinton, Jeremy Corbyn, Boris Johnson and Sarah Palin. On the contrary, the negative values obtained for the “Intercept” column reveal that Barack

Obama, Donald Trump and Lewell-buck disfavour the usage of mainstream forms, being Emma Lewell-Buck the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream realisations out of the eight informants in this context. This is also evidenced by the data obtained for the “Centerd factor weight” column, which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Theresa May’s speech, while Lewell-Buck is the informant who is more likely to employ non-mainstream forms in her speech.

Table IV.67. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex and geographical region of origin to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by British and American informants in the context of Rally (North). Fixed effects analysis: “Informant” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.985	5233	0.827	—
Theresa May	0.839	847	0.871	0.7
Hillary Clinton	0.754	562	0.972	0.682
Jeremy Corbyn	0.714	821	0.816	0.673
Boris Johnson	0.516	1157	0.784	0.628
Sarah Palin	0.437	603	0.96	0.609
Barack Obama	-0.298	498	0.894	0.428
Donald Trump	-0.949	449	0.813	0.281
Emma Lewell-Buck	-2.073	296	0.26	0.112
Misc. 1	N= 5233; df= 4; Intercept= 1.749; Overall proportion= 0.827; Centered input probability= 0.852			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -2069.613; AIC= 4147.226; AICc= 4147.234; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.459; R2 fixed= 0.146; R2 random= 0.195; R2 total= 0.341.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

Table IV.68. Contrast British & American Informants: Gender & Context – Rally (North)					
Independent Variable: Informants		Linguistic Variable (dependent)			
		Variant #1		Variant #2	
		%	#	%	#
British Informants	Emma Lewell-Buck	26.01%	77/296	73.99%	219/296
	Theresa May	87.13%	738/847	12.87%	109/847
	Subtotal	71.30%	815/1143	28.70%	328/1143
	Jeremy Corbyn	81.61%	670/821	18.39%	151/821
	Boris Johnson	78.39%	907/1157	21.61%	250/1157
	Subtotal	79.73%	1577/1978	20.27%	401/1978
	Total	76.64%	2392/3121	23.36%	729/3121
American Informants	Hillary Clinton	97.15%	546/562	2.85%	16/562
	Sarah Palin	96.02%	579/603	3.98%	24/603
	Subtotal	96.57%	1125/1165	3.43%	40/1165
	Barack Obama	89.36%	445/498	10.64%	53/498
	Donald Trump	81.29%	365/449	18.71%	84/449
	Subtotal	85.53%	810/947	14.47%	137/947
	Total	91.62%	1935/2112	8.38%	177/2112
Totals		82.69%	4327/5233	17.31%	906/5233

Table IV.69. Contrast British & American Informants: Gender & Context – Rally (South)					
Independent Variable: Informants		Linguistic Variable (dependent)			
		Variant #1		Variant #2	
		%	#	%	#
British Informants	Emma Lewell-Buck	32.58%	29/89	67.42%	60/89
	Theresa May	78.31%	343/438	21.69%	95/438
	Subtotal	70.59%	372/527	29.41%	155/527
	Jeremy Corbyn	79.07%	597/755	20.93%	158/755
	Boris Johnson	80.74%	679/841	19.26%	162/841
	Subtotal	79.95%	1276/1596	20.05%	320/1596
	Total	77.63%	1648/2123	22.37%	475/2123
American Informants	Hillary Clinton	91.70%	530/578	8.30%	48/578
	Sarah Palin	94.18%	259/275	5.82%	16/275
	Subtotal	92.50%	789/853	7.50%	64/853
	Barack Obama	76.37%	375/491	23.63%	116/491
	Donald Trump	75.25%	444/590	24.75%	146/590
	Subtotal	75.76%	819/1081	24.24%	262/1081
	Total	83.14%	1608/1934	16.86%	326/1934
Totals		80.26%	3256/4057	19.74%	801/4057

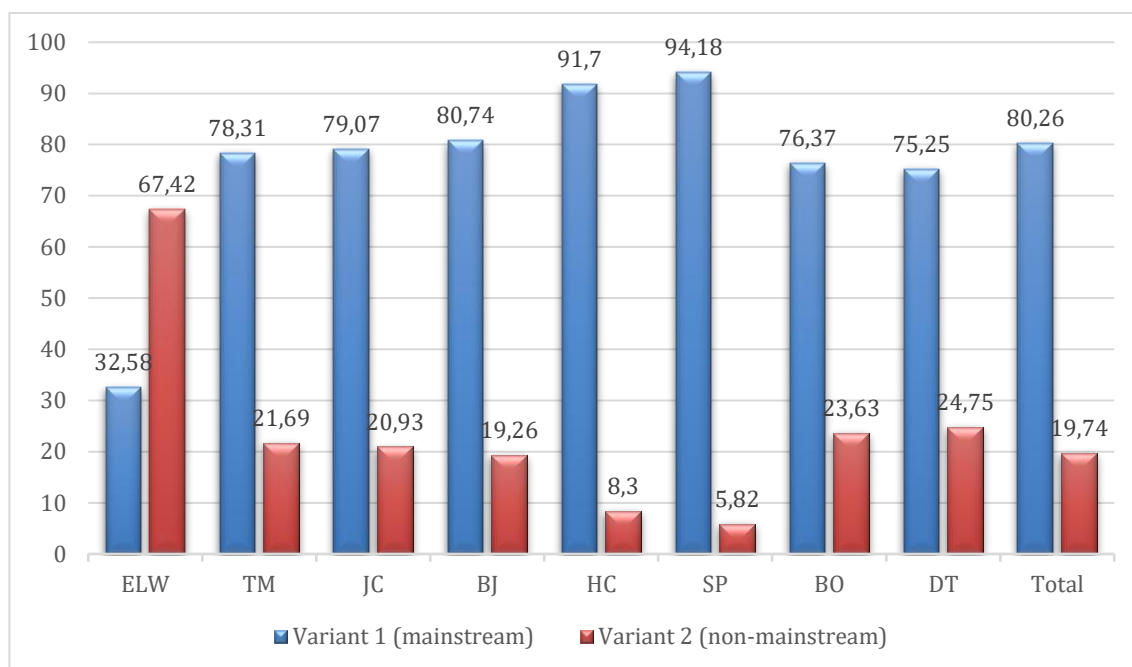


Figure IV.194. Total scores obtained by British and American informants in the context of Rally (South): Emma Lewell-Buck (ELW), Theresa May (TM), Jeremy Corbyn (JC), Boris Johnson (BJ), Hillary Clinton (HC), Sarah Palin (SP), Barack Obama (BO) and Donald Trump (DT).

Regarding the context of Rally (South), and as it can be observed in Table IV.70, sex ($0.000211 < 0.05$) and geographical region of origin ($0.000324 < 0.05$) appear to be significant factors when it comes to the speech style of both British and American informants in this context, as female informants from USA tend to most favour the usage of mainstream forms. On the contrary, the negative value obtained in the “Logodds” column indicates that male informants from UK tend to disfavour the usage of mainstream forms. This is further evidenced by the values obtained for the “Centered factor weight” column, which reveal that the probability to employ mainstream realisations is higher for female American informants, being non-mainstream realisations more prone to emerge in the speech of male British informants.

Table IV.70. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex and geographical region of origin to the probability of mainstream forms being used by British and American informants in the context of Rally (South) (fixed effects analysis).

Variable (extralinguistic)	Variants	Logodds	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Sex	Female	0.163	1380	0.841	0.541
	Male	-0.163	2677	0.783	0.459
Geographical region of origin	USA	0.146	1934	0.831	0.536
	UK	-0.146	2123	0.776	0.464
Misc. 1	N= 4057; df= 3; Intercept= 1.478; Overall proportion= 0.803; Centered input probability= 0.814.				
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1998.984; AIC= 4003.968; AICc= 4003.974; Dxy= 0.093; R2= 0.016.				

Logodds: strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

However, Table IV.71 reveals that if the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of each informant is taken into account, the geographical region of origin ($0.103 > 0.05$) and the sex of the informants ($0.749 > 0.05$) become non-significant. Thus, Sarah Palin is the informant that most favours the usage of mainstream forms in the context of Rally (South), followed by Boris Johnson, Jeremy Corbyn, Hillary Clinton and Theresa May. On the contrary, the negative values obtained for the “Intercept” column reveal that Barack Obama, Donald Trump and Lewell-buck disfavour the usage of mainstream forms, being Emma Lewell-Buck the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream realisations out of the eight informants in this context. This is also evidenced by the data obtained for the “Centerd factor weight” column, which indicate that mainstream forms are more prone to emerge in Sarah Palin’s speech, while Lewell-Buck is the informant who is more likely to employ non-mainstream forms in her speech.

Table IV.71. Logistic regression of the contribution of sex and geographical region of origin to the probability of mainstream forms being employed by British and American informants in the context of Rally (South). Fixed effects analysis: “Informant” as random variable.

Variable	Intercept	N	Uncentered factor weight	Centered factor weight
Standard deviation	0.792	4057	0.803	—
Sarah Palin	0.757	275	0.942	0.682
Boris Johnson	0.661	841	0.807	0.661
Jeremy Corbyn	0.558	755	0.791	0.637
Hillary Clinton	0.436	578	0.917	0.608
Theresa May	0.329	438	0.783	0.583
Barack Obama	-0.583	491	0.764	0.359
Donald Trump	-0.645	590	0.753	0.345
Emma Lewell-Buck	-1.55	89	0.326	0.176
Misc. 1	N= 4057; df= 4; Intercept= 1.357; Overall proportion= 0.803; Centered input probability= 0.795			
Misc. 2	Log likelihood= -1928.321; AIC= 3864.642; AICc= 3864.652; Dxy fixed= 0; Dxy total= 0.255; R2 fixed= 0.066; R2 random= 0.149; R2 total= 0.215.			

Intercept: is the logodds of the dependent variable if $x=0$, and it indicates the strength of the relationship between a factor and the dependent variable. A negative value indicates a negative correlation between the variables. If it is above 0, the correlation is positive. The higher the value the stronger the correlation. **N:** total number of tokens. **Uncentered factor weight:** indicates individual probability. **Centered factor weight:** reports the same information as logodds but within the range of 0 - 1.00. If the factor weight value is close to 0.50 the correlation is almost neutral.

Overall, the sociolinguistic behaviour of the eight informants analysed differ to a certain extent, both in the context of Rally (North) and Rally (South). In fact, inferential statistics through a non-parametric Pearson’s Chi-square test of significance indicates that the differences in frequencies of use for both variants between the eight informants are statistically significant in the contexts of Rally (North) ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 197.372$; $df = 3$) and Rally (South) ($p \leq 0.01$; $\chi^2 = 19.445$; $df = 3$)

Regarding variability aspects, similar patterns can be identified in the sociolinguistic behaviour of the informants studied, as well as certain differences (see Tables IV.60, IV.61, IV.68, IV.69, as well as Figures IV.191, IV.192, IV.193 and IV.194). On the one hand, if the influence that T-Glottalisation may have in the speech of British informants is not taken into account, no relevant variation across contexts can be observed in the speech of Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn and Boris Johnson. Thus, Lewell-Buck remains faithful to her North-eastern and non-mainstream speech style without adjusting her sociolinguistic behaviour towards mainstream forms, not even in the context of Statement. Precisely, even though a slight increase in the usage of mainstream variants can be observed in the context of Rally (South), her total scores for this context still indicate a rather non-mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour. Similarly, May, Corbyn and Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream conventions and show a clear reluctance to adopt non-mainstream forms, even in the contexts of Rally (North) and Rally (South), which could foster the emergence of regionally marked forms. Thus, none of the British informants reveal a clear intention to accommodate to the audience targeted in each speech event.

On the other hand, a similar sociolinguistic behaviour can be observed in the case of female American informants, as Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin predominantly use mainstream variants over non-mainstream forms across the different contexts in which they operate. In addition, even though slight variations might be observed –particularly in the context of Rally (South)–, their total scores reveal a prominent adherence to mainstream forms. However, this pattern does not apply to male American informants, as Barack Obama and Donald Trump show a more heterogeneous use of the variables studied if compared not only with the sociolinguistic behaviour of Clinton and Palin, but also with that of Lewell-Buck, May, Corbyn and Johnson. Thus, the scores obtained for mainstream variants by Obama across the different contexts range from a 95.00% in the context of Statement, 91.42% in the context of Interview, and 89.36% in the context of Rally (North) to a 76.37% in the context of Rally (South). Similarly, the scores obtained for mainstream variants by Trump across the different contexts range from a 93.97% in the context of Statement, 84.03% in the context of Interview, and 81.29% in the context of Rally (North) to a 75.25% in the context of Rally (South). Hence,

a steady increase in the usage that both male American informants make of non-mainstream forms can be observed as the contexts change.

Consequently, even though Hillary Clinton and Sarah Palin also make use of several linguistic features that are regarded as non-mainstream and non-prestigious, Obama and Trump employ these locally marked features to a greater extent than their female counterparts. Particularly, and as previously stated, the emergence of non-mainstream features in the speech of Obama in the context of Rally (South) might be motivated by the fact that the audience targeted at this speech event consisted of an African-American community, which could have fostered a greater use of African-American forms in Obama's speech, as he has acknowledged that he is bidialectal –which means that he can easily switch from African American to General American English and vice versa. As for Trump, given that he is originally from New York –an area that has traditionally been characterised by a relevant use of non-rhotic forms–, it could be tentatively stated that since Southern states tend to also employ non-rhotic forms, the presence of a Southern audience could have fostered a greater use of his non-rhotic New-York accent. Thus, it can be observed how American male informants tend to accommodate their speech depending on the context in which they operate to a greater extent than their female counterparts.

Thus, the sociolinguistic pattern exhibited by British informants is not the same as the one exhibited by American informants when operating in similar public political contexts. This difference might be motivated by the socio-cultural model that characterises British and American societies, as social factors are as relevant as geographical aspects in the phenomenon of linguistic variation (Trudgill 1974). As previously stated, certain dimensions within stratified systems may be distinctly understood by different societies. Consequently, as stated by Hernández-Campoy (1993: 153), “some of the most important contrasts between American and European systems of stratification are the evident lack of corporate or militant class consciousness in America (Mayer 1967), on the one hand, and the lack of 'embourgeoisement' of the British working class (Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963), on the other”. Accordingly, while British class system is characterised by a clear demarcation between different classes, American society is commonly regarded as a less rigid and more

flexible stratified system –although evident differences between classes are present in both societies. This difference may explain the reluctance of British informants to alter their sociolinguistic behaviour across the different contexts in which they operate, as they could betray their social status position. This means that social status is a determinant factor in language use in the British societal system, being mainstream and prestigious forms associated with individuals' social status rather than with specific geographical areas. As a result, "RP accent" tends to be regarded as the most mainstream and prestigious British accent, as it is associated with a high social status, being regionally marked forms absent from RP individuals' speech style (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Agha 2003: 200).

On the other hand, this strong correlation of language and social status is not that evident in the American society, which may result in a greater degree of fluctuation across contexts due to a lack of stigmatised connotations associated with the variables studied, although connotations regarding speakers' education and social class may be associated with certain linguistic features. In fact, mainstream and prestigious forms in North American English are associated with specific regions, particularly those in Northern areas of the U.S. Precisely, the variety spoken in those areas is known as "General American" (Wells 1982; Trudgill & Hannah 2008), and it is regarded as the most mainstream and prestigious variety in the U.S., as it refers to a type of pronunciation that is commonly used by educated speakers in formal contexts (Kretzschmar 2004: 257). In addition, this variety differs across regions and between individuals, since as stated by Kretzschmar (2004: 257): "speakers from different circumstances in and different parts of the United States commonly employ regional and social features to some extent even in formal situations". This sociolinguistic situation contrasts with that of England, where accents are regionally and socially marked, which implies that regional linguistic features tend to be deleted from the speech of British individuals belonging to a high social status, while regional origins are revealed as we go down the social-class ladder. Hence, there is not such a supra-regional accent equivalent in the U.S., where individuals belonging to high social status tend to exhibit accentual features associated with their geographical areas of provenance. Thus, mainstream linguistic conventions in U.S. appear to be associated with geographical areas, rather than to socio-economic positions.

Consequently, it could be tentatively stated that due to the association of mainstream speech and prestigious forms with geographical areas rather than to individuals' social status, American speakers might enjoy a greater degree of freedom than British speakers when it comes to engaging in accommodation strategies. However, as previously stated, American males tend to accommodate to their audiences to a greater extent than American females, perhaps under the influence of gender conventions regarding the usage of mainstream forms in formal and public speech interactions (Trudgill 1972, 1983a).

Thus, it could be tentatively stated that each of the informants studied strategically designs his or her political and public identity by making use of different linguistic resources (Eckert 2008, 2012; Coupland 1985; Sclafani 2018): while some politicians chose to adjust their sociolinguistic behaviour under the influence of certain aspects, others remain faithful to their non-mainstream or mainstream speech style. Thus, the situational context, the audience targeted at each speech event, ethnic identity aspects and the geographical origin, educational background, social status position and/or gender of each informant as well as the way in which the societal system to which he or she belongs operates, appear to be relevant factors that have the potential to influence the speech style of Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn, Boris Johnson, Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama and Donald Trump. Consequently, the different degree of influence of the aforementioned factors will result in a greater or lesser degree of variation in the speech style of each informant across the different contexts studied.

Chapter 5

Conclusion

V.1. Theoretical conclusion

The present study has aimed to contribute to the understanding of style-shifting phenomena in public political contexts from a multidimensional and third-wave approach to the study of the social meaning of stylistic variation in Sociolinguistics. In order to do so, the sociolinguistic behaviour of four British and four American politicians across different contexts was examined (i.e.: a political statement, a political interview, a political rally in a Northern region and a political rally in a Southern region), paying attention to their treatment of several phonological variables as well as to the potential effect that some extralinguistic factors might have on their speech style (i.e.: the societal systems within which the informants operate, their geographical region of provenance, educational background, socio-economic status, gender, occupation and the socio-contextual features surrounding the speech events analysed).

On the one hand, the analysis of the usage of mainstream versus non-mainstream forms by British informants has revealed that:

- The usage of mainstream conventions encompassed by the supra-regional accent of RP tends to correlate with the educational background and the socio-economic status of the informant. Considering that accents are regionally and socially marked in England, and given the occupation of the informants, linguistic features revealing

regional origins would be expected to be deleted from the speech of Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jermey Corbyn and Boris Johnson. Yet, Lewell-Buck (who is from the North-east of England) is the only informant that deviates from mainstream conventions, revealing her North-eastern identity by means of a deliberate non-mainstream use of most of the phonological variables selected for the present analysis. Contrarily, May, Corbyn and Johnson exhibit a strict adherence to mainstream conventions, although they are originally from Southern regions of England, where the usage of certain non-mainstream and locally marked forms is also rather characteristic. Thus, it could be tentatively stated that even though the four British informants share the same occupation, their degree of public and political repercussion is not the same, and neither are their educational background and socio-economic status, which could have determined their degree of adherence to mainstream linguistic conventions: while May, Corbyn and Johnson tend to avoid those linguistic features that would reveal their geographical origin of provenance, Lewell-Buck exhibits a general non-mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour that is characterised by the predominant presence of regionally marked accentual features.

- Gender appears to be a non-significant factor in the usage of mainstream and non-mainstream linguistic features by British politicians: while Lewell-Buck's speech is characterised by a prominent use of non-mainstream forms, May, Corbyn and Johnson strictly adhere to mainstream conventions. Thus, it seems that instead of accommodating her speech style to formality conventions under the influence of regular sociolinguistic patterns that characterise individuals' linguistic behaviour –at least in the industrialised Western world–, Lewell-Buck is attempting to project a “persona” or “self” that would align with her North-eastern identity and highlight her political and non-elitist beliefs (Eckert 2012: 94; Eckert 2018: 118; see also Coupland 2007). Hence, in this case, it could be tentatively stated that politicians may deviate from sociolinguistic patterns of gender when engaging in bricolage processes of identity creation and projection in communicative interactions within the public-political sphere (Eckert 2012, 2018; Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2010).

- Generally, and with the exception of Glottalisation of /t/, the degree of intra-speaker variation, and, subsequently, of accommodation to the audience targeted at the different speech events analysed is rather low in the speech style of British informants. Yet, the informant that reveals the highest degree of stylistic variation across contexts is Emma Lewell-Buck, as she tends to manage a non-mainstream and mainstream use of the phonological variables selected.
- Particularly, the context of Interview is the one which most favours a high degree of stylistic variation in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Lewell-Buck, May, Corbyn and Johnson, as it seems to foster a deliberate use of glottalised forms in the speech of the four British informants. This may be explained by the fact that even though this type of pronunciations tends to be avoided in careful speech, they are used to a greater extent in conversational contexts (Fabricius 2002b; Hughes, Trudgill & Watt 2013).

On the other hand, the analysis of the usage of mainstream versus non-mainstream forms by American informants has revealed that:

- In contrast with the sociolinguistic situation that characterises the United Kingdom, accents are not socially marked in the U.S. Thus, individuals belonging to a high social status tend to exhibit accentual features associated with their geographical areas of provenance, which means that there is not a supra-regional accent equivalent in the U.S. Instead, mainstream linguistic conventions encompassed by General American English speech tend to be associated with geographical areas –mainly located in Northern regions– rather than to socio-economic positions.
- The usage of mainstream conventions encompassed by General American English correlate with the socio-economic status of the informant, but they are subject to change under the influence of geographical and ethnic identity factors, which evidences the greater degree of freedom enjoyed by American politicians when it comes to engaging in stylistic moves and creating different acts of identity (Le Page & Tabouret-Keller 1985), although further evaluations of the audience may determine the efficiency of such practices. Particularly, Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama

and Donald Trump tend to exhibit a rather mainstream sociolinguistic behaviour across the different speech events analysed, although their treatment of certain linguistic features in specific contexts may reveal a relevant divergence from mainstream conventions. This is mainly exemplified in Clinton's use of Southern and non-mainstream linguistic variants –revealing in this way the great influence that Southern accents have had in her speech style–, Trump's use of non-rhotic pronunciations – which have traditionally characterised the speech style of the region from where he originally is (i.e.: New York)–, and Obama's usage of certain linguistic features that are frequently used by African American speakers –revealing in this way his African American identity. Consequently, it appears that the phonological variables selected for the present study can be strategically used by American politicians in order to elicit different types of identities. Hence, the political and/or public repercussion that Clinton, Palin, Obama or Trump may have does not act as a condition factor, as non-mainstream forms are equally used by all American informants.

- Gender appears to be a non-significant factor in the usage of mainstream and non-mainstream linguistic features by American politicians, since Palin is the informant that most adheres to mainstream conventions, closely followed by Obama and Hillary. However, Trump is the informant that most favours the usage of non-mainstream forms.
- Particularly, the context of Rally (South) is the one which most favours a high degree of stylistic variation in the sociolinguistic behaviour of Clinton, Palin, Obama and Trump, as it seems to foster a relevant use of non-mainstream forms in the speech of American informants. This may be explained by the common association of a less mainstream speech with Southern regions in the U.S. (Trudgill & Hannah 2008; Wells 1982).

Lastly, a British-American comparison regarding the usage of mainstream or non-mainstream forms by all the politicians selected for the present study has revealed that:

- British and American politicians operate to a different extent in public political speech events: while British informants tend to exhibit a rather stable sociolinguistic behaviour –only altered to a noticeable degree by the presence of Glottalisation of /t/ in the context of Interview–, American informants appear to enjoy more freedom when it comes to using mainstream and non-mainstream forms across the different contexts in which they operate, being some factors such as the region in which the speech event takes place, the ethnicity and the geographical origin of provenance of the informant of outmost importance in the engagement of style-shifting practices and in the creation and projection of identities.
- Precisely, the different societal systems in which British and American politicians operate may have strongly influenced their sociolinguistic behaviour, since it has been acknowledged that certain dimensions within stratified systems may be distinctly understood by different societies, being these different understandings reflected in consumption patterns, voting patterns, types of education, speech, manners, dress, tastes and further cultural features, among other aspects (Bottero 2005: 39; Mayer 1967: 8; Burrage 2008): “some of the most important contrasts between American and European systems of stratification are the evident lack of corporate or militant class consciousness in America (Mayer 1967), on the one hand, and the lack of 'embourgeoisement' of the British working class (Goldthorpe & Lockwood 1963), on the other” (Hernández-Campoy 1993: 153). Thus, the rather fixed and constricting British societal system might preclude British politicians from engaging in stylistic practices to a greater extent, while the American societal system seems to provide more freedom to American politicians, who actively participate in stylistic moves depending on the context in which they are operating. Therefore, even though British informants may engage in rather modest stylistic practices, American informants tend to enjoy a greater degree of creative freedom regarding the usage of the variables selected.

Consequently, regarding the objectives established at the beginning of this analysis, the present study has allowed to:

1. Provide evidence of the existence of identity creation processes in the form of strategical moves on the part of politicians operating in public contexts. Yet, not every informant tends to employ such strategies to the same extent. Thus, some of the informants opt for a more variable sociolinguistic style, being different identity dimensions made more salient than others in their speech depending on the different contexts in which they operate. However, others prefer to exhibit a less changeable speech style.
2. Provide evidence of the agentivity of politicians as informants when it comes to persona presentation and stance-taking strategies across the different political contexts in which they operate.
3. Approach the individual sociolinguistic behaviour of British and American informants in micro contexts from a multidimensional perspective of intra-speaker variation (Speaker Design) within the framework of a third-wave approach so as to uncover social motivations in style-shifting phenomena, being it possible to extrapolate their acts of identity and stylistic moves to a macro level.
4. Verify the indexical mutability of phonological sociolinguistic variables and how these are used in meaning-making practices in public political speech events.
5. Confirm that –although to a different extent– the sociolinguistic behaviour of the informants selected is influenced by several extra-linguistic factors, such as the societal system within which they operate, their geographical region of provenance, educational background, socio-economic status, gender, occupation and the socio-contextual features surrounding the speech events analysed.
6. Confirm that, from an overall perspective, the political contexts selected foster a different use of the linguistic variables selected in the speech style of British and American informants. Thus, while the context of Interview favours a greater variability in the speech style of British informants, that of Rally (South) has the same effect in the speech style of American informants.

7. Evidence that, among other factors, British and American societal systems influence the sociolinguistic behaviour of British and American informants to a different extent: while British politicians tend to strictly adhere to their own idiolect –exhibiting a rather low degree of sociolinguistic variation across the different contexts in which they operate–, American informants seem to enjoy a relatively higher degree of freedom when it comes to making use of the linguistic variables selected.

V.2. Methodological conclusion

The present analysis operates within the framework of third wave approaches to the study of style-shifting phenomena in Sociolinguistics, placing emphasis on stylistic practices by means of addressing British and American politicians as stylistic agents that are engaged in continuous self-construction and differentiation processes rather than passive and stable elements that make use of different dialects. Precisely, and from a socio-constructionist perspective, ideology has proven to be a key element in the construction and projection of social meaning, which corroborates the fact that style has an ideological foundation, and that different stylistic forms act as carriers of social meaning (Eckert 2012). Thus, identity creation and projection processes, stance-taking, and therefore, style-shifting practices must be regarded as continuous bricolage processes in which the social meaning of a linguistic feature has a variable nature (Eckert 2008, 2012, 2018; Soukoup 2018). Therefore, linguistic variation must be conceived as the outcome of speakers' agency, being variation not only a reflection but also a resource in the construction of social meaning.

Hence, in order to operate with linguistic features in this type of analyses, it will be of outmost importance to regard social meaning as a constellation of different meanings that can be indexed by speakers at different times and under the influence of different factors (Eckert 2008, 2012, 2018). In this respect, a third-wave approach has proven to be crucial for the design of the present analysis, as it has been possible to evidence that: (i) the meanings associated with the sociolinguistic variables selected for the present study are not fixed; (ii) these meanings are gained and shaped by contexts of style; and (iii) different degrees of saliency will be assigned to sociolinguistic variables depending on the contexts in which they are uttered (Eckert 2012).

In addition, considering the disadvantages associated with the implementation of participant approaches, mass media has proven to be a rather useful source of data gathering for the present study. Particularly, recorded speech events of British and American informants performing in different public political contexts were employed as resources in the data gathering process. These speech events were available on YouTube or in the websites of official organisations –such as UK Parliament, CNN or C-SPAN, among others–, and have been crucial to:

- (i) eliminate the researcher's participation and effect in the data collection process,
- (ii) have access to a wide range of public political communicative interactions,
- (iii) ease the gathering and manageability of data,
- (iv) account for the stylistic strategies that may be used by a speaker when performing across different contexts, and
- (v) compare the stylistic strategies used by different informants in similar contexts.

Several studies have already followed this methodological procedure, evidencing in this respect the usefulness of mass media sources in the study of stylistic variation (Bell 1982a, 1982b, 1984, 1991b; Coupland 1985, 1996; Cutillas-Espinosa 2001; Cutillas-Espinosa & Hernández Campoy 2006, 2007; Cutillas-Espinosa, Hernández-Campoy & Schillin-Estes 2010; Hall-Lew, Starr & Coppock 2012; Hernández-Campoy & Cutillas-Espinosa 2010; Hernández-Campoy & Jiménez-Cano 2004; Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr & Lewis 2012; Sclafani 2018; Soukup 2011, 2012; Strand 2012; Van de Velde, Gerritsen & Van Hout 1996; Van de Velde, Van Hout & Gerritsen 1997; Zhang 2012, among others).

This methodological procedure contrasts with traditional sociolinguistic analyses, which used to rely on the obtention of spontaneous and vernacular speech in conversations. In this respect, even though data obtained from spontaneous, everyday conversations can be effective in the examination of certain sociolinguistic aspects, it cannot be assumed that the usage of this type of data will be the best methodological option in other studies. Consequently, other types of data may be used in sociolinguistic research as a complement or even as an alternative to conversational data.

On the other hand, and under the premise that social meanings are enacted in social interactions, in order to properly analyse the sociolinguistic behavior of a speaker, more

attention must be paid to social, political, cultural and economic aspects, as they have the potential to foster the emergence of ideological, identity and attitudinal implications, and therefore, of the usage of different linguistic features (Milroy 2004).

In addition, integrationist perspectives regarding the use of quantitative and qualitative methodologies have proven to be relevant in order to approach stylistic practices from the socio-constructionist perspective that characterises third-wave studies, as data yielded from qualitative approaches can be complemented by data yielded from quantitative ones and vice versa (Milroy & Gordon 2003; Greene, Caracelli & Graham 1989; Beaufort 2000; Tashakkori & Teddlie 2003; Litosseliti 2003; Harrington, Litosseliti, Sauntson, & Sunderland 2008; Angouri 2010; Litosseliti 2010).

In this respect, the use of *RStudio* has proven to be crucial in the generation of valuable quantitative information, which has been used to complement qualitative data. Yet, empirical studies are not enough to address social relations, being qualitative approaches crucial in such task. Thus, qualitative and quantitative methodologies can be combined so as to approach language as a carrier of social meaning, since social practices involve both symbolic aspects and measurable elements (Coupland 2001a; Flick 2009; Levon 2010; Holmes 2007; Lazaraton 2005).

On the whole, it has been evidenced that there has been a shift from deterministic and system-oriented analyses to more social constructionist and speaker-oriented ones in the study of the social meaning of variation in Sociolinguistics. In this respect, third-wave studies have placed the focus on the sociolinguistic behaviour of the individual, moving away from collective approaches within stylistic variation research, emphasising in this sense the central role of speaker's agency in the proactive usage of language. As a result, speakers are regarded as stylistic agents that actively engage in stylistic practices. Precisely, speakers' agency is mirrored in stylistic variation, as individuals have at their disposal a wide array of stylistic resources in order to foreground different identities and ideologies depending on the communicative interaction in which they are participating, which take the form of social position and stance-taking movements. This is possible thanks to the acknowledged indexical mutability of linguistic features, which are crucial in the conveyance of meaning.

Consequently, given that style is a multidimensional phenomenon, and that identities and ideologies are enacted in social interaction, the study of identity and ideological

foundations of style-shifting is crucial for a proper account of how speakers strategically design their speech style in order to position themselves in communicative contexts.

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Appendix

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Resumen en Español

Esta tesis doctoral constituye un estudio del fenómeno de cambio de estilo en contextos públicos políticos. Se aborda el significado social de la variación estilística en Sociolingüística desde una perspectiva multidimensional, correspondiente a los últimos enfoques y estudios de esta disciplina, que se sitúan dentro de la “tercera oleada” (Eckert 2008, 2012). Concretamente, el presente estudio trata de identificar posibles diferencias estratégicas relacionadas con la gestión de identidad que puedan ser utilizadas por políticos británicos y americanos cuando operan en contextos parecidos, particularmente, en declaraciones políticas, entrevistas políticas, mítines en zonas del norte y en mítines en zonas del sur. Además, este análisis pretende dar explicación a las estrategias de estilo empleadas por políticos atendiendo a los principios establecidos por Nikolas Coupland (1985, 1996, 2001a, 2001b, 2007) en su modelo de Diseño de Hablante (Speaker Design), que entiende la variación estilística intra-hablante como decisiones estilísticas que toman los hablantes de manera deliberada con el fin de construir una identidad y proyectar una imagen en concreto en interacciones comunicativas.

Para ello, se han utilizado medios de comunicación online como recursos en la obtención del habla de políticos británicos y americanos, tales como YouTube, UK Parliament, CNN, C-SPAN, y otros sitios web oficiales. De hecho, al considerar las desventajas que implicarían la implementación de otras técnicas en la obtención de estos datos, los medios de comunicación online destacan por diversas razones:

- (i) Nos permiten eliminar la participación del investigador y su consiguiente efecto en el proceso de obtención de datos;
- (ii) Nos permiten acceder a una gran variedad de contextos públicos políticos;
- (iii) Nos facilitan la obtención, así como el manejo de datos;
- (iv) Nos brindan la posibilidad de analizar distintas estrategias de estilo que un mismo político pueda utilizar través de los distintos contextos en los que opera;
- (v) Nos permiten comparar las estrategias de estilo utilizadas por distintos políticos en contextos parecidos.

Este proceso metodológico contrasta con los análisis sociolingüísticos tradicionales, que solían basarse en la obtención del habla espontánea y vernácula en contextos conversacionales. En este sentido, si bien los datos obtenidos de conversaciones espontáneas y cotidianas pueden ser efectivos a la hora de examinar determinados aspectos sociolingüísticos, no se puede asumir que el uso de este tipo de datos sea la mejor opción metodológica en otros estudios. Por lo tanto, dependiendo del objeto a estudiar, otros tipos de datos pueden utilizarse en la investigación sociolingüística como complemento o incluso como alternativa a los datos conversacionales.

En este sentido, el proceso metodológico que sigue el presente análisis ya ha sido utilizado en otros estudios, y ha puesto de manifiesto la gran utilidad de los medios de comunicación como fuentes a la hora de obtener el habla de informantes en estudios de variación estilística (véanse Bell 1982a, 1982b, 1984, 1991b; Coupland 1985, 1996; Cutillas-Espinosa 2001; Cutillas-Espinosa y Hernández Campoy 2006, 2007; Cutillas-Espinosa,

Hernández-Campoy y Schillin-Estes 2010; Hall-Lew, Starr y Coppock 2012; Hernández-Campoy y Cutillas-Espinosa 2010; Hernández-Campoy y Jiménez-Cano 2004; Podesva, Hall-Lew, Brenier, Starr y Lewis 2012; Sclafani 2018; Soukup 2011, 2012; Strand 2012; Van de Velde, Gerritsen y Van Hout 1996; Van de Velde, Van Hout y Gerritsen 1997; Zhang 2012, entre otros).

La investigación de las relaciones entre lenguaje y sociedad mediante la correlación de factores extralingüísticos (variables sociodemográficas y/o contextuales) y componentes lingüísticos, está permitiendo que la Sociolingüística explique la variación en el lenguaje (Labov 1972a: 237). Los puntos de intersección de la variación sociolingüística dentro de la simetría existente entre la variación social y la variación lingüística, describen la lógica de la variabilidad en la ordenada heterogeneidad de los sistemas lingüísticos. En este sentido, la investigación sociolingüística ha evidenciado la existencia de tres elementos clave en la variación (socio) lingüística: las características sociales y biológicas de los hablantes, el contexto situacional en el que ocurren las variaciones y el entorno lingüístico que caracteriza a la variable objeto de estudio (Labov 1994, 2001a, 2010). En este sentido, Rickford y Eckert (2001: 1) enfatizaron la posición central del estilo en el comportamiento sociolingüístico de los hablantes, lo que motivó la diferenciación entre la variación inter-hablante (o social) y la variación intra-hablante (o estilística) (Bell 1984: 145), así como la aparición de diferentes modelos teóricos que intentarían dar explicación al fenómeno de variación estilística (Bell 1982, 1984; Coupland 1985, 1996,).

De hecho, desde los orígenes de la Sociolingüística como campo de investigación en la década de los 60, el significado social de la variación sociolingüística se ha abordado desde diferentes perspectivas mediante tres generaciones u oleadas diferentes de supuestos teóricos y prácticas analíticas (Eckert 2012). A lo largo de los años, cada ola ha ido afinando ciertos postulados teóricos y/o aspectos metodológicos establecidos por enfoques previos (Eckert 2018: xi), involucrando así el paradigma de la Sociolingüística en un proceso evolutivo continuo. Esto implica, a su vez, la reformulación y redefinición de conceptos teóricos paralelos a desarrollos epistemológicos en términos de renovaciones de métodos de investigación, técnicas de recolección de datos y análisis estadísticos, en lo que a enfoques cuantitativos se refiere (Hernández-Campoy 2016: 185; ver también Hernández-Campoy 2014, 2018).

Así, los enfoques de la primera ola tenían como objetivo correlacionar categorías sociodemográficas con patrones de variación lingüística a fin de evidenciar la existencia de patrones o universales sociolingüísticos predecibles mediante la aplicación de métodos matemáticos (ver Labov 1963, 1966/2006, 1972a), quedándose así la acción social de los hablantes bastante desatendida por este tipo de estudios. Por otro lado, los supuestos de la segunda ola optaron por el empleo de una metodología etnográfica con el fin de analizar el funcionamiento de la variación a nivel local mediante la correlación de las dinámicas sociales que originan categorías locales con el uso de variables lingüísticas (Eckert 2012: 87). Se asumía que el habla y el repertorio estilístico de los individuos estaban determinados por las configuraciones sociales que caracterizan las redes de los hablantes (ya sean densas o múltiples) (Milroy 1980; Milroy 1992; Eckert 2012; Tagliamonte 2012). Esto implicó un paso adelante en el estudio de la acción social de los hablantes, ya que pasó a ser considerada como un medio para expresar aspectos de identidad local y de clase. Por último, los enfoques de la tercera ola representan los estudios más actualizados sobre la variación del lenguaje y el cambio en Sociolingüística. A diferencia de la primera y la segunda oleada, estas prácticas están poniendo énfasis en la variación estilística mediante el tratamiento de los hablantes como agentes estilísticos individuales. Estos participan en procesos continuos de autoconstrucción y diferenciación que consisten en la interpretación, combinación y recombinación de variables con el fin de producir un estilo distintivo y presentar un yo o una persona en particular (Eckert 2012; Schilling 2013; Soukup 2018; Coupland 2007). Así, la variación se considera ahora como un recurso lingüístico clave empleado por los hablantes con el objetivo de situarse en el ámbito social mediante prácticas estilísticas (Eckert 2012; Soukup 2018; Coupland 2007). Precisamente, los enfoques del significado social de la tercera ola parten del supuesto de que el significado de las variables se adquiere y moldea en contextos de estilo (Eckert 2012; Jaffe 2009b; Coupland 2007; Silverstein 2003). En este sentido, y desde una perspectiva socioconstruccionista, los enfoques de la tercera ola han evidenciado el papel relevante de los aspectos ideológicos en la construcción y proyección del significado social, y por lo tanto, en los procesos de gestión de identidad y posicionamiento social. Estos procesos ocurren constantemente cada vez que un hablante participa en una comunicación interactiva, y toman la forma de procesos de bricolaje continuo (Eckert 2008, 2012, 2018; Soukoup 2018).

Sin embargo, no todos los individuos evaluarán, gestionarán y participarán en un movimiento estilístico de manera similar. Es muy probable que surjan diferentes evaluaciones, distinciones y atribuciones de significado cuando los individuos que pertenecen a diferentes comunidades de habla participan en interacciones comunicativas (Eckert 2008: 455), ya que el sistema social en el que están imbuidas las comunidades de habla condiciona en última instancia los aspectos ideológicos del lenguaje.

En base a la justificación de este estudio, se examinó el comportamiento sociolingüístico de cuatro políticos británicos (Emma Lewell-Buck, Theresa May, Jeremy Corbyn y Boris Johnson) y cuatro políticos americanos (Hillary Clinton, Sarah Palin, Barack Obama y Donald Trump) en diferentes contextos, prestando atención a la frecuencia de uso que cada informante hace de las variables fonológicas objeto de estudio. Del mismo modo, se abordó el efecto potencial que algunos factores extralingüísticos pueden tener en su estilo de habla, tales como: sistemas sociales dentro de los cuales operan los informantes, región geográfica de procedencia, antecedentes educativos, estatus socioeconómico, género, ocupación y las características socio-contextuales que rodean los contextos públicos políticos analizados.

En particular, este estudio consta de cinco capítulos principales:

El Capítulo 1 (Antecedentes teóricos) proporciona una descripción de las tres generaciones u oleadas diferentes de prácticas analíticas con respecto al tratamiento de la variación estilística en Sociolingüística. Además, se aborda el significado social del estilo, siendo explorados los fundamentos ideológicos, psicológico-sociales y de identidad, con el fin de abordar la variación estilística desde una perspectiva de tercera ola y socioconstruccionista.

Teniendo esto en cuenta, el capítulo 2 (Objetivos) presenta una descripción general de estudios previos sobre variación estilística que han sido cruciales en el diseño del presente estudio. En este capítulo también se abordan los posibles elementos extralingüísticos e intralingüísticos que pueden condicionar el estilo de habla de los informantes, que toman la forma de patrones socioculturales, dialectológicos y sociolingüísticos.

El Capítulo 3 (Metodología) proporciona una descripción de los procedimientos seguidos en la realización de este estudio. Comienza con una presentación de las posibles variedades del inglés americano y británico que pueden ser utilizadas por los informantes seleccionados, así como con una breve información de cada informante en términos de aspectos biográficos, dialectales y sociolectales. Además, también se explican las variables

dependientes e independientes empleadas en el presente estudio, así como el procedimiento de recolección de datos y los instrumentos empleados para su análisis.

Los resultados y las interpretaciones de los datos se presentan en el Capítulo 4 (Resultados y análisis). Esta parte se divide en tres secciones: (i) en primer lugar, se proporcionan los resultados obtenidos a partir de la observación del discurso de los políticos británicos en los diferentes contextos públicos políticos seleccionados y las correspondientes interpretaciones; (ii) después, se presentan los resultados e interpretaciones emanadas de la observación del comportamiento sociolingüístico de los políticos americanos; (iii) la última sección consiste en una comparativa general entre el comportamiento sociolingüístico de los políticos británicos y americanos. Se presta atención al estilo de habla de los dos grupos de informantes en términos del tratamiento que hacen de las variables fonológicas seleccionadas para el presente estudio, así como al efecto potencial que los ya indicados factores extralingüísticos podrían tener en su estilo de habla. Además, en esta etapa se aplican análisis tanto cuantitativos (en concreto, pruebas de chi-cuadrado y regresiones logísticas con RStudio) como cualitativos.

Por último, el Capítulo 5 (Conclusión) presenta un resumen de las principales conclusiones teóricas y metodológicas extraídas del presente análisis. En este sentido, se concluye que la acción social de los políticos británicos y americanos se refleja mediante el uso proactivo del lenguaje, ya que los hablantes tienen a su disposición un amplio abanico de recursos estilísticos a la hora de crear, manejar y proyectar distintas identidades e ideologías en función de la interacción comunicativa en la que participan. Estos procesos toman la forma de posicionamientos sociales o postureos, que son posibles debido a la mutabilidad indexical de los rasgos lingüísticos, que a su vez, son cruciales en la transmisión del significado social a través del lenguaje. Además, ha sido posible evidenciar la distinta forma en la que el sistema social británico y americano influye en el comportamiento de sus respectivos políticos (Mayer 1967; Goldthorpe y Lockwood 1963; Hernández-Campoy 1993). Mientras que la rigidez del sistema social británico hace que sus políticos participen de manera muy modesta en prácticas estilísticas, la fluidez y flexibilidad del sistema social americano hace que sus políticos disfruten de un mayor grado de libertad creativa con respecto al uso de las variables seleccionadas dependiendo del contexto en el que están operando.

En consecuencia, dado que el estilo es un fenómeno multidimensional, y que las identidades e ideologías se representan en la interacción social, el estudio de la identidad y

los fundamentos ideológicos del cambio de estilo es crucial para una explicación adecuada de cómo los hablantes diseñan estratégicamente su estilo de habla a la hora de posicionarse socialmente en contextos comunicativos.

Palabras clave: significado social; cambio de estilo; posicionamiento social; acción social; gestión de identidad; posturo; mutabilidad indexical; identidad; ideología; contextos públicos políticos.

