



Reversing 'drift': changes in the
London diphthong system

Jenny Cheshire†, Sue Fox†, Paul Kerswill‡, Eivind Torgersen‡

†Queen Mary, University of London, ‡University of Lancaster

*Linguistic innovators: the English of
adolescents in London, 2004-7*

- ESRC funded (ref. RES 000 23 0680)
- Jenny Cheshire, Sue Fox, Paul Kerswill, Eivind Torgersen (Lancaster University, Queen Mary, University of London)
- www.lancs.ac.uk/fss/projects/linguistics/innovators/index.htm

'Drift' in New Zealand English

- Trudgill (2004): PRICE and MOUTH have 'diphthong-shifted' variants giving rise to pronunciations such as [ɔɪ] and [ɛə]
- NZE inherited the tendency towards diphthong shifting, not the forms themselves
- Among the oldest New Zealanders recorded, born 1850–69, 68% have at least some diphthong shifting, while for those born 1870–1889 the figure is 81%
- Phonetically, the shift gets more marked with the later-born informants

Diphthong Shift in London

- As a typologically similar variety, London English would be expected to parallel New Zealand English, hence:
- More diphthong shift in younger speakers
- If there is not more diphthong shift we would need to look for particular social motivations blocking it

Diphthong Shift

- According to Wells (1982), in diphthong shift, front closing diphthongs shift anti-clockwise, while back closing diphthongs shift clockwise:
- PRICE from [aɪ] to [ɔɪ]
- MOUTH from [aʊ] to [æʊ]

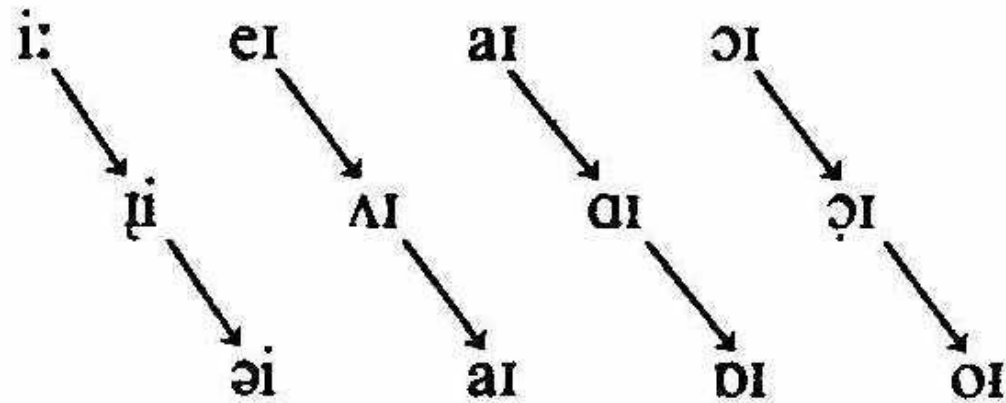
Diphthong Shift (Wells 1982: 308, 310)

1. Front-closing diphthongs

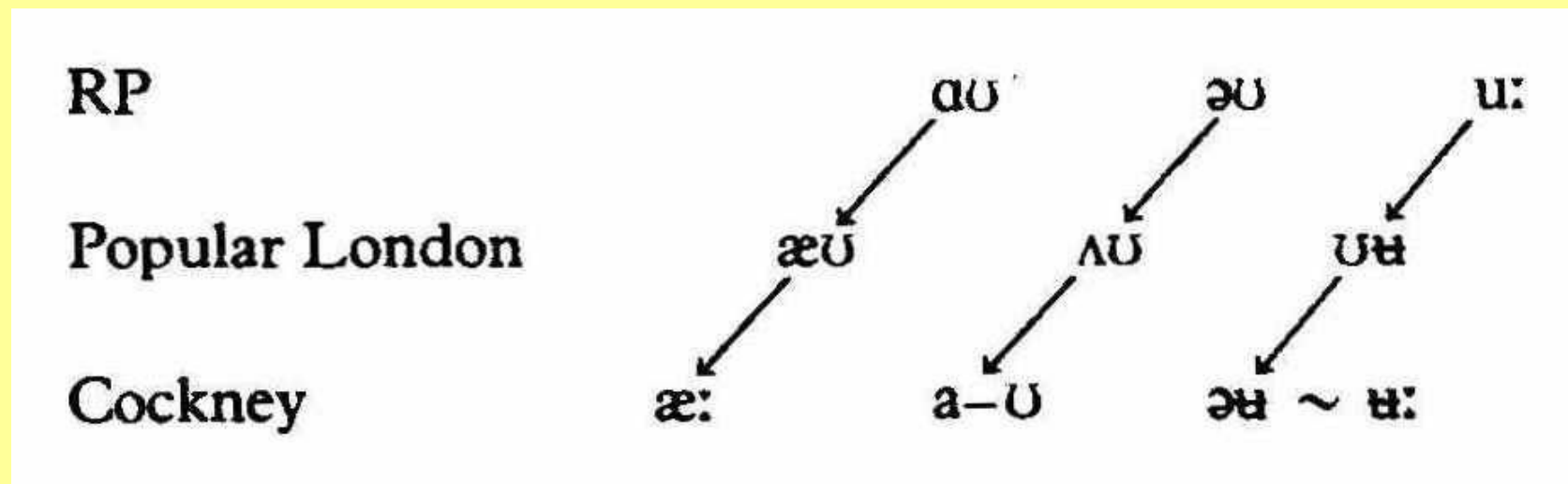
RP

Popular London

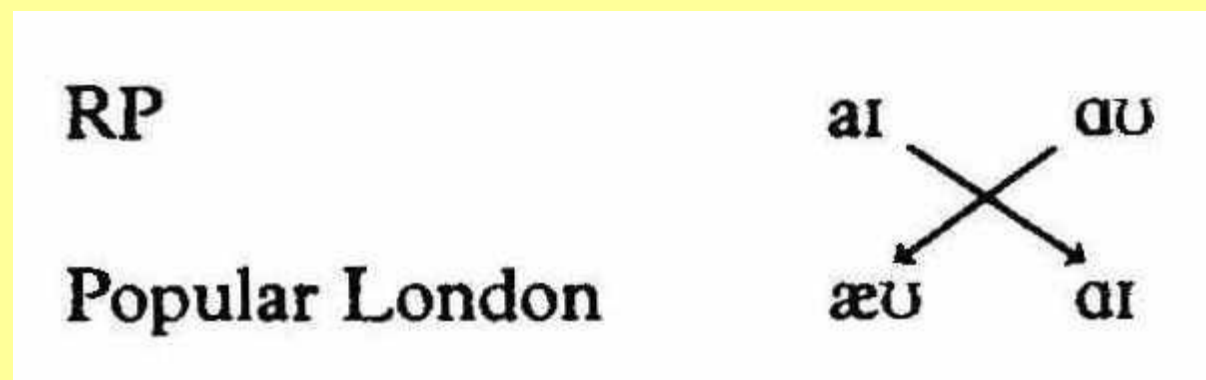
Cockney



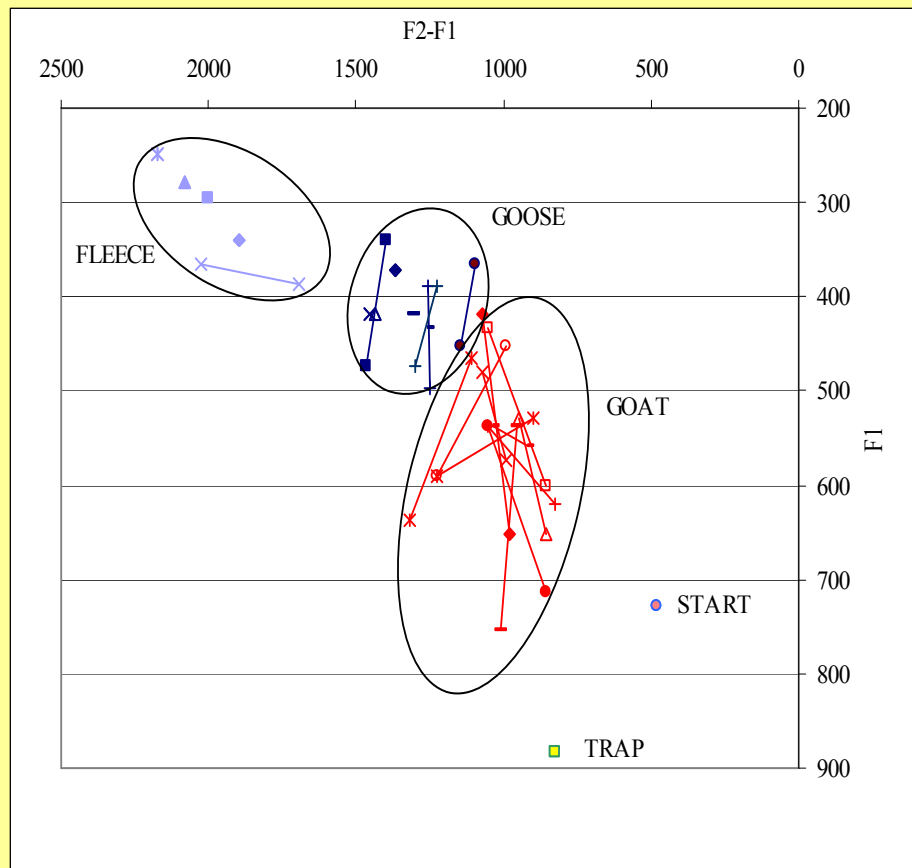
2. Back-closing diphthongs



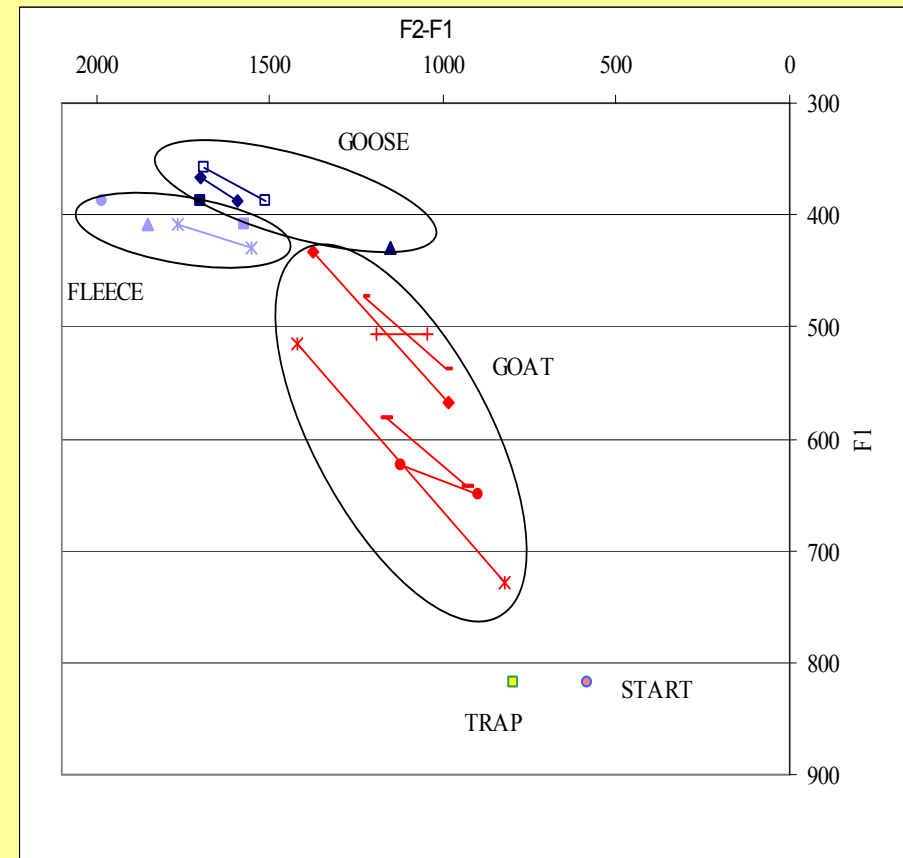
3. PRICE-MOUTH crossover



GOAT in Reading and Milton Keynes



Man, b1915, Reading



Boy, b1981, Reading

Percentage use of variants of /au/ (MOUTH),
Milton Keynes Working Class, interview style

	[ɛʊ ₊]	[ɛɪ]	[ɛ:]	[a:ə]	[æʊ]	[aʊ]
Survey of English Dialects (SED) informants, 1950-60s (Orton & Wakelin, 1968)	✓					
Elderly (2f, 2m)	63.2	25.6	9.8	0	1.2	0
Women age 25-40 (n=48)	0	0	11.7	17.2	38.6	31.5
Girls age 14/15 (n=8)	0	0	0	5.9	4.7	88.8
Boys age 14/15 (n=8)	0	0	0	12.3	3.8	83.1

Percentage use of variants of /au/ (MOUTH),
Reading Working Class, interview style

	[ɛʊ]	[ɛɪ]	[ɛ:]	[a:ə]	[æʊ]	[aʊ]
Survey of English Dialects (SED) informants, 1950-60s (Orton & Wakelin, 1968)	✓					
Elderly (2f, 2m)	53.5	38.1	3.3	0	4.1	0.7
Girls age 14 (n=8)	0	2.3	0	8.0	0	90.4
Boys age 14 (n=8)	3.8	3.2	0	5.7	0	87.1

- Replacement of both rural and urban local forms by an RP-like [aʊ] – perhaps a levelled, regionally and socially unmarked form
- Difficulties for diphthong shift interpretation:
 - Shift from [ɛʊ̥] to [aʊ] appears to reverse it
 - Evidence from Britain (2002) that [ɛʊ̥] may be a pre-shifted diphthong anyway, being widespread in rural C19 dialects

Percentage use of variants of /ai/ (PRICE), Milton Keynes Working Class, interview style

	[aɪ]	[ɑɪ]	[ɑɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[ʌɪ]	[ʌɪ]
Elderly age 70-80 (2f, 2m)	0	0	24.4	56.6	15.3	3.4
Girls age 14/15 (n=8)	25.4	44.6	29.2	0.5	0	0
Boys age 14/15 (n=8)	1.0	38.0	60.0	0	0	0

Percentage use of variants of /ai/ (PRICE),
Reading Working Class, interview style

	[a _ɪ]	[ɑ _ɪ]	[ɑɪ]	[ɔɪ]	[ʌ _ɪ]	[ʌɪ]
Elderly age 70-80 (2f, 2m)	0	12.4	47.8	21.8	1.7	15.7
Girls age 14/15 (n=8)	2.8	21.2	45.1	21.1	4.3	5.1
Boys age 14/15 (n=8)	0.6	19.1	63.7	13.7	2.7	0

- Replacement of widely stereotyped [ɔɪ] by a regionally and socially unmarked [ɑɪ]~[aɪ]
- Uncontroversially a reversal of diphthong shift

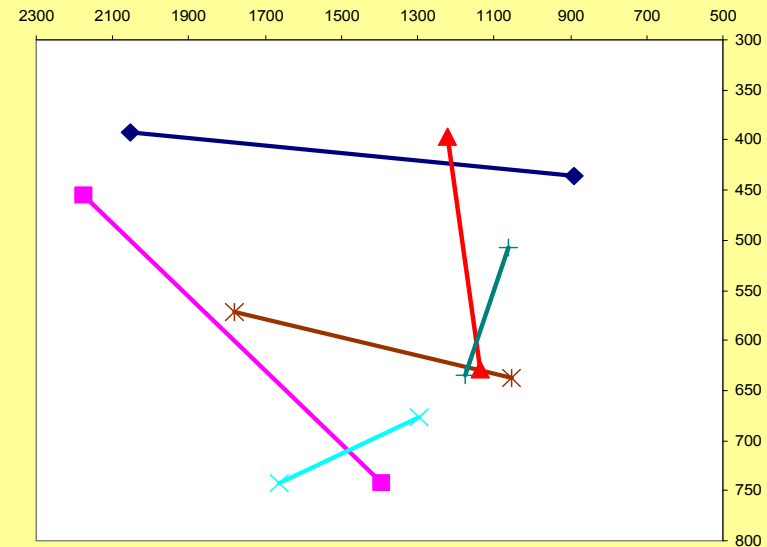
- change in MOUTH (onset being lowered and backed to a low-front position):

[ɛ̥ʊ] → [æʊ] → [aʊ]
 (rural S.E. → urban S.E. → ‘levelled southern’?)

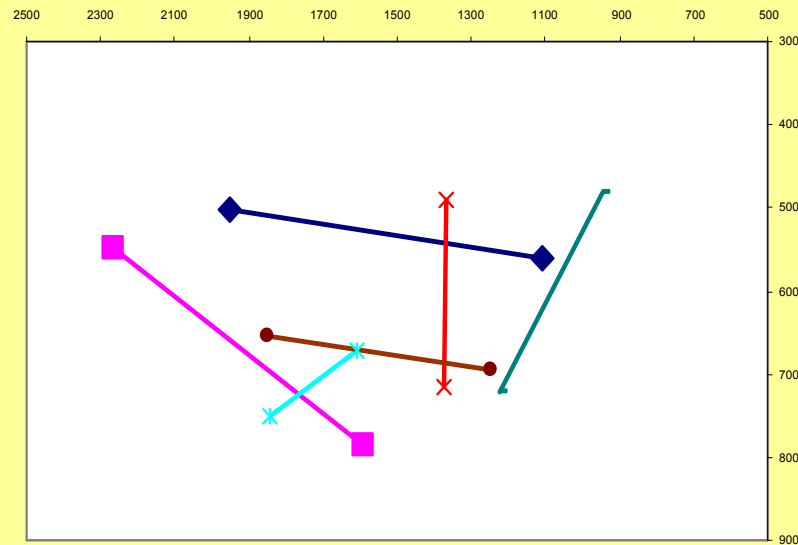
- change in PRICE: [ɔɪ] → [aɪ]
- stability in FACE – broad diphthong of the type [æɪ]

Diphthongs in new London data

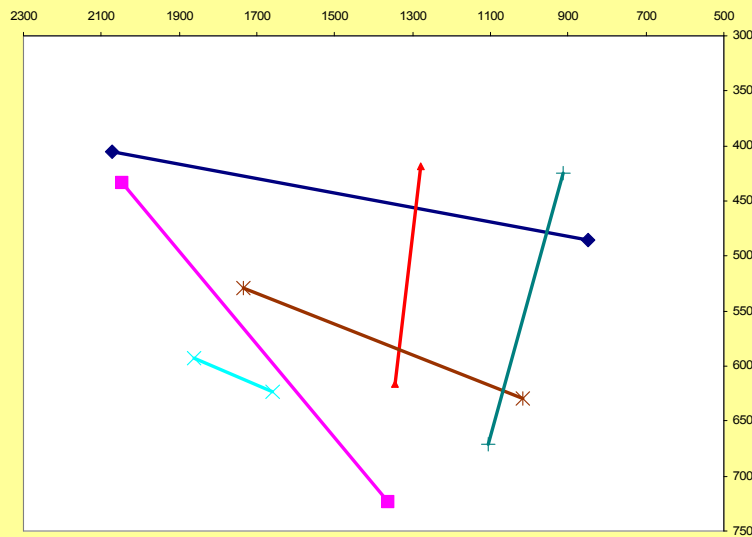
Elderly informants in Hackney and Havering



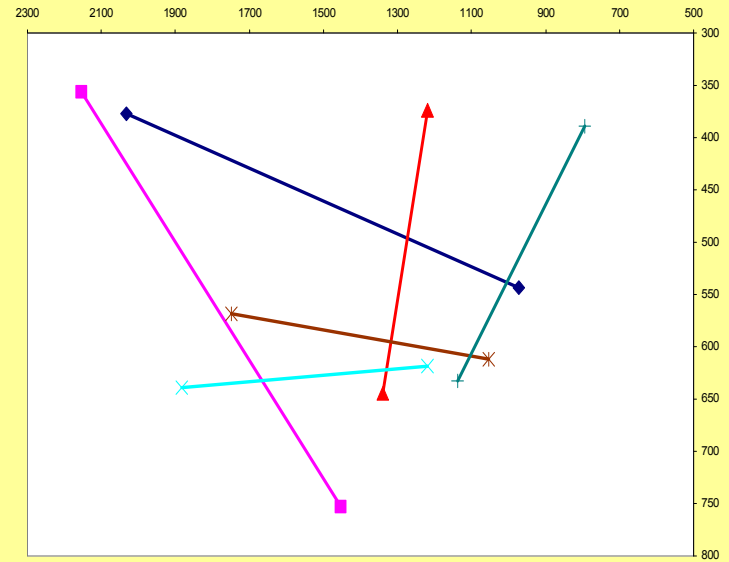
Mr D, b1918, Hackney



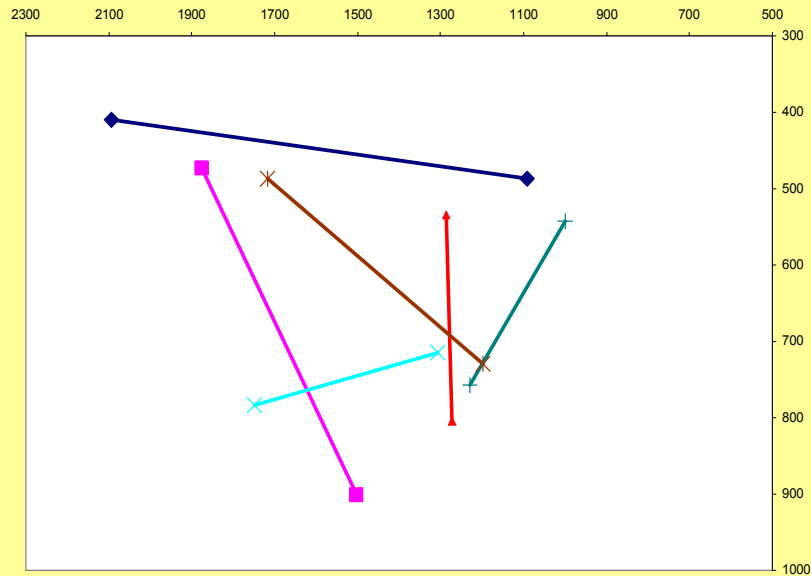
Mrs E, b1928, Hackney



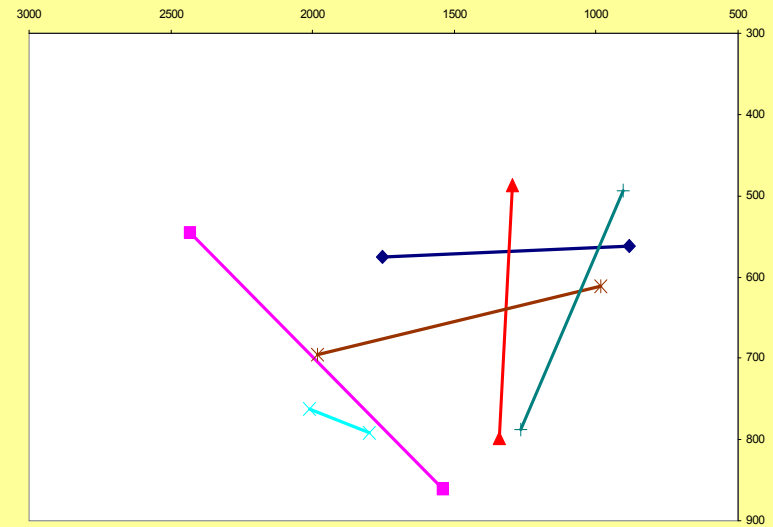
Mr J, b1938, Hackney



Mr S, b1927, Havering

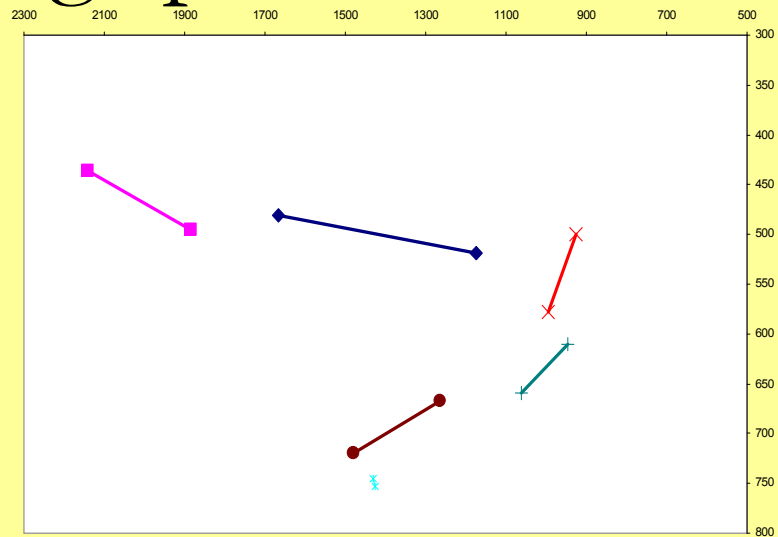
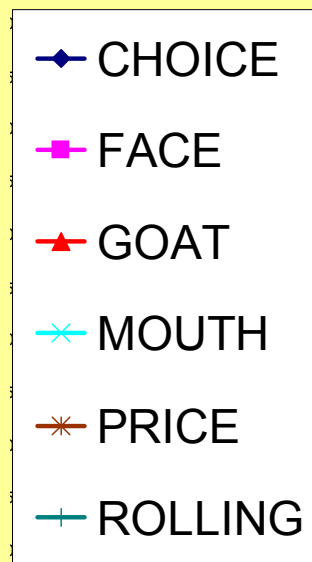


Mrs S, b1935, Havering

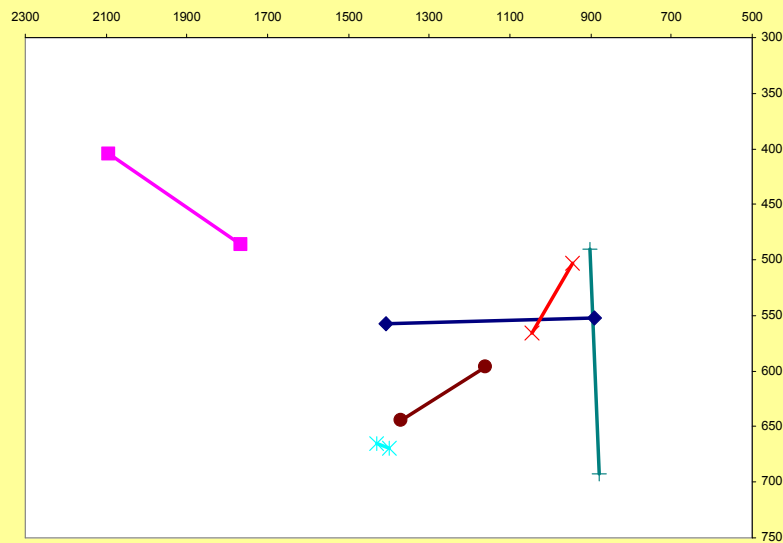


Mrs W, b1943, Havering

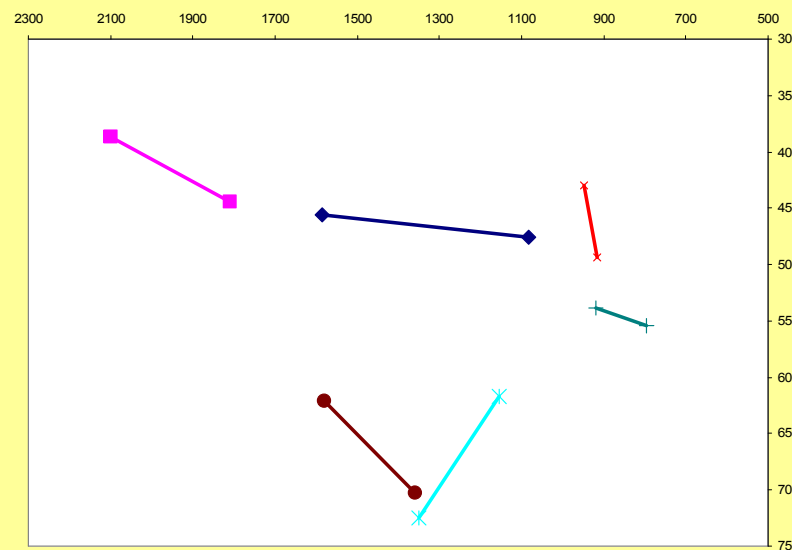
Hackney young speakers



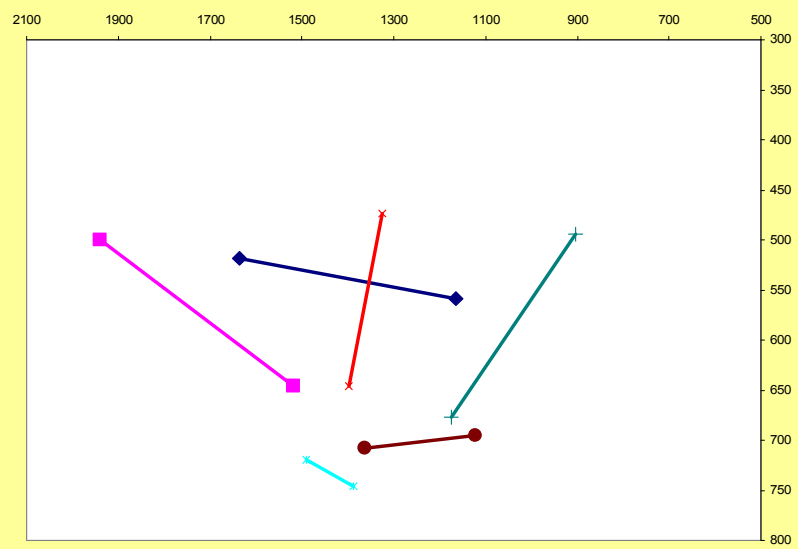
Brian, Caribbean



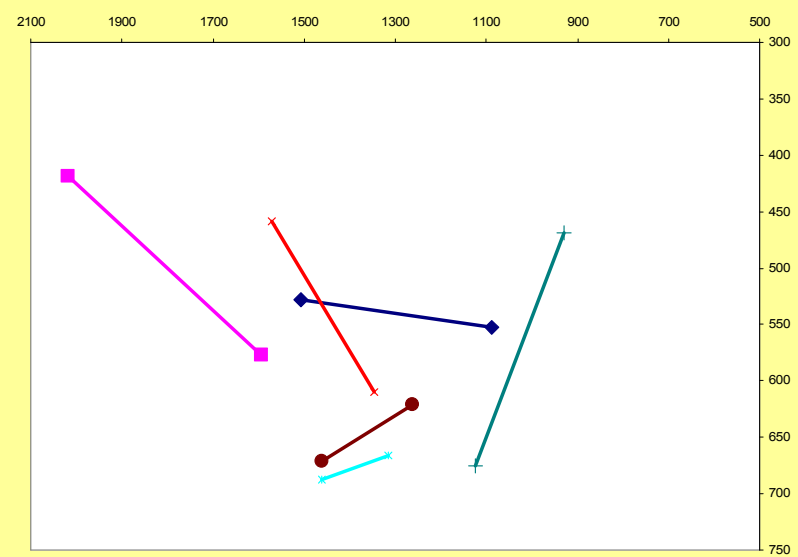
Alan, Middle Eastern



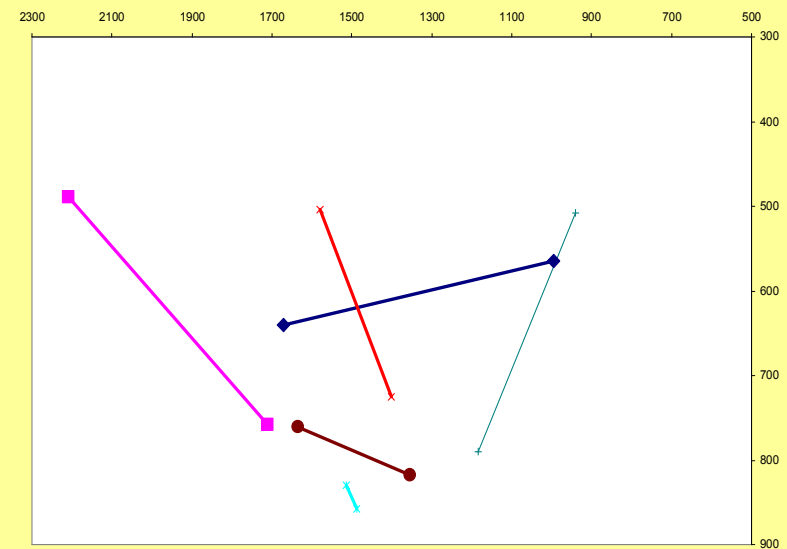
Adam, West African



Jack, white British

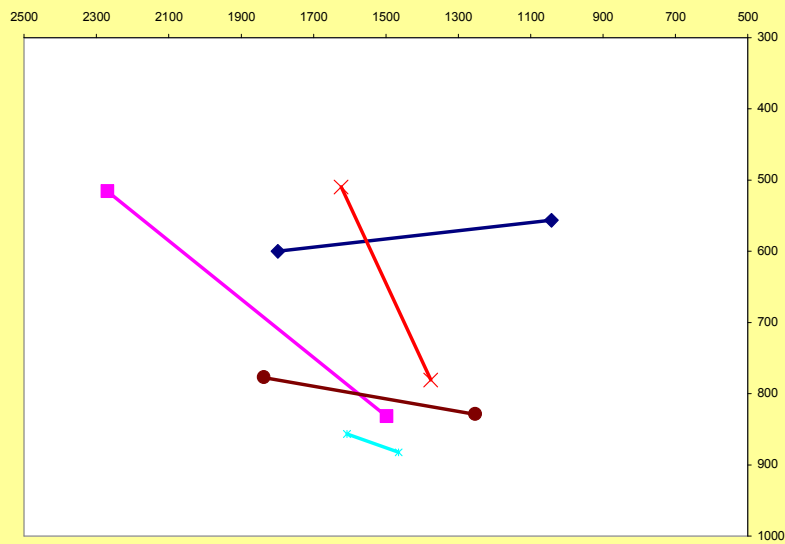
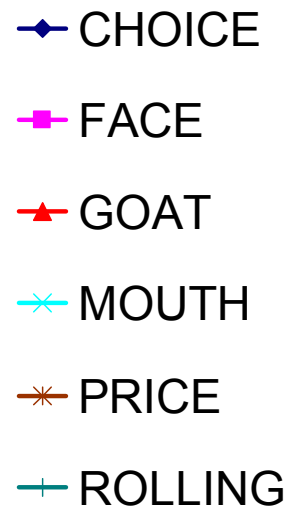


Mark, mixed race

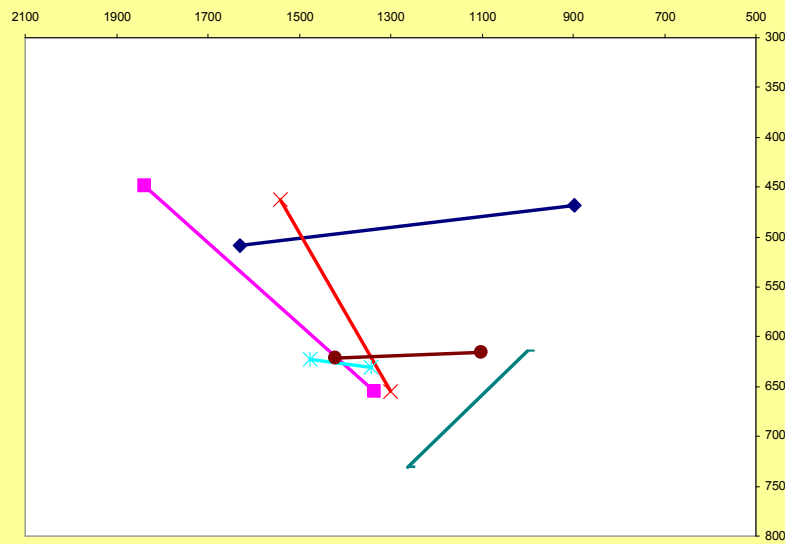


Laura, white British

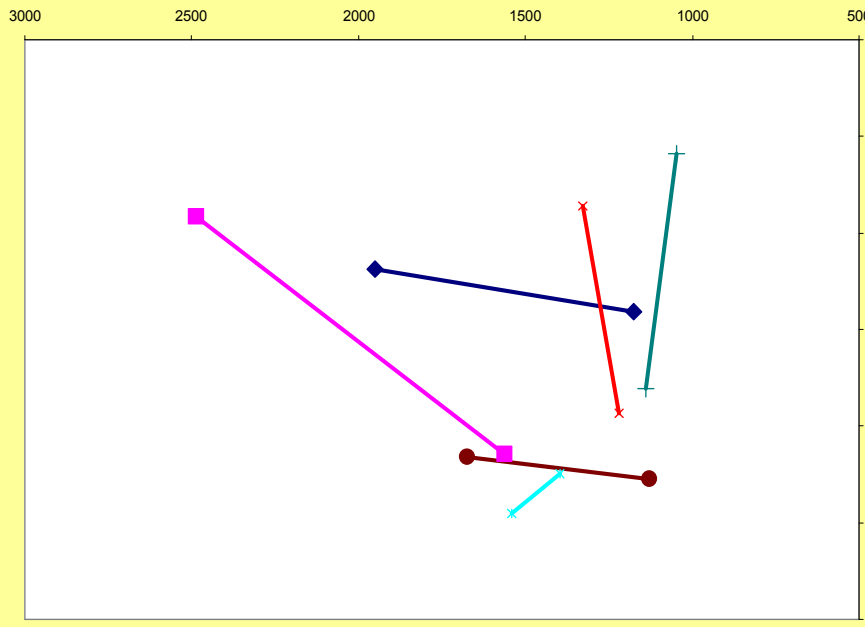
Havering young speakers



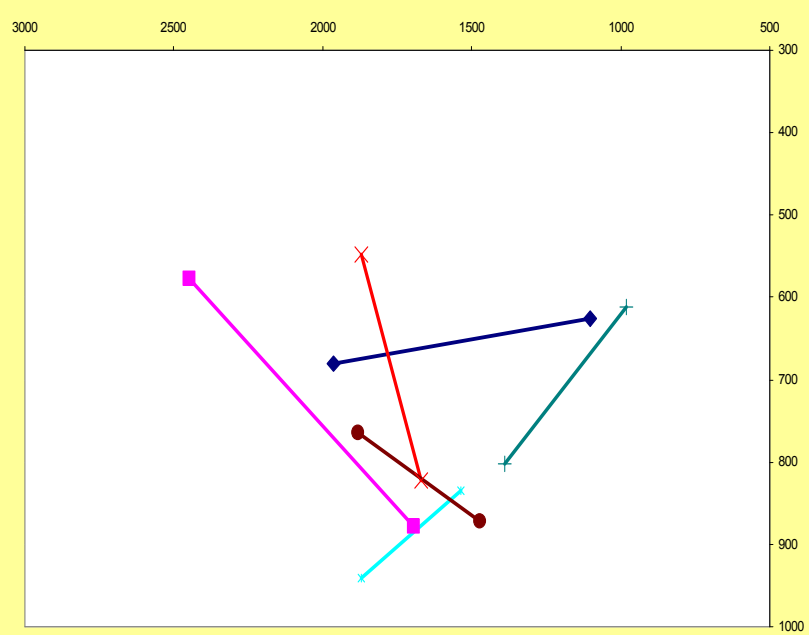
Ollie, mixed race



Carl, white British



Donna, white British



Chloe, white British

Summary of recent London vowel changes

- PRICE: fronting and lowering of onset among Hackney and Havering youth - reversal of diphthong shift
- Also, PRICE often a near-monophthong among Hackney young people, especially non-white
- MOUTH: remains low-front near-monophthong for all speakers – stability of diphthong-shifted variant over time and across ethnicities. Little sign of levelled southeastern [aʊ]
- FACE: reversal of diphthong shift to a front closing diphthong, most strongly among non-white
- GOAT: fronted offset ('Milton Keynes' variant) OR a back close monophthong

In detail I: ethnicity and gender

- GOAT
 - fronted offset among girls and in Havering across ethnicities
 - Hackney boys: monophthongisation (non-white), fronted offset (white) or ‘traditional’ non-fronted diphthong (white)
- FACE onsets
 - high-front (non-white boys)
 - half-open (the rest)
 - open (elderly)
- PRICE
 - monophthong front onset (non-white boys)
 - diphthong low-central onset (Havering youth)
 - diphthong raised-back onset (elderly)

General pattern

- Non-white boys in Hackney are in the lead in the reversal of diphthong shift
- White boys follow closely behind
- Girls and white Havering boys bring up the rear
- Girls and Havering speakers tend to use levelled 'Milton Keynes' variants, though not [aʊ] for MOUTH

In detail II: types of changes

	FACE	PRICE	MOUTH	GOAT
Monophthongisation	Hackney NW	Hackney NW	Hackney Havering Elderly	Hackney NW
Onset raising	Hackney W Havering			
Onset fronting		Hackney W		
Onset lowering		Havering MK/Reading	MK/Reading	
Offset fronting				MK/Reading Havering Hackney girls

W=white

NW=non-white

Innovation

Anti-drift

Levelling

Conclusion

- For FACE, PRICE and GOAT, the reversal of diphthong shift is more advanced in Hackney than in Havering
- Non-white boys seem to be strongly in the lead
- Developments in London and in the South East differ, but most run counter to the idea of ‘drift’
- All these developments lead to:
 - divergence/innovation in inner London
 - levelling in the periphery – Havering, Reading, MK
 - the outer periphery, e.g. MK, in the lead in levelling

Bibliography

- Andersen, H. (1988). Center and periphery: adoption, diffusion and spread. In Fisiak, J. (ed.) *Historical dialectology: regional and social*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 39-85.
- Andersen, H. (1989). Understanding linguistic innovations. In Breivik, L. E. & Jahr, E. H. (eds.) *Language change. Contributions to the study of its causes*. Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 5-29.
- Baker, P. & Eversley, J. (eds.) (2000). *Multilingual capital. The languages of London's schoolchildren and their relevance to economic, social and educational policies*. London: Battlebridge.
- Britain, D. (2002). The British history of New Zealand English? *Essex Research Reports in Linguistics* 41: 1-41.
- Cheshire, J. (fc). Syntactic variation and beyond: gender and social class variation in the use of discourse-new markers.
- Cheshire, J., Kerswill, P. & Williams, A. (2005 fc). On the non-convergence of phonology, grammar and discourse. In P. Auer, F. Hinskens & P. Kerswill (eds.) *Dialect change: Convergence and divergence in European languages*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

- Docherty, G. & Foulkes, P. (eds.) (1999). *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*. London: Arnold.
- Gordon, E., Campbell, L., Hay, J., Maclagan, M., & Trudgill, P. (2004). *New Zealand English: its origins and evolution*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Kerswill, P. & Williams, A. (2000). Creating a new town koine: children and language change in Milton Keynes. *Language in Society* 29: 65-115.
- Kerswill, P. & Williams, A. (2005). New towns and koineisation: linguistic and social correlates. *Linguistics* 43: 1023-1048.
- Marshall, J. (2004). *Language change and sociolinguistics. Rethinking social networks*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Orton, H. & Wakelin M. F. (1967). *The Survey of English Dialects, Volume 4*. Leeds: Arnold.
- Røyneland, U. (2005). *Dialektnivellering, ungdom og identitet. Ein komparativ analyse av språkleg variasjon og endring i to tilgrensande dialektområde, Røros og Tynset*. PhD thesis, University of Oslo.

- Torgersen, E. & Kerswill, P. (2004). Internal and external motivation in phonetic change: dialect levelling outcomes for an English vowel shift. *Journal of Sociolinguistics* 8: 23-53.
- Trudgill, P. (1999). 'Norwich: endogenous and exogenous linguistic change'. In Foulkes, P. and Docherty, G. (eds.) *Urban Voices*, London: Arnold, 124-140.
- Trudgill, P. (2004). *New-dialect formation. The inevitability of colonial Englishes*. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press.
- Wells, J. (1982). *Accents of English*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Williams, A. & Kerswill, P. (1999). Dialect levelling: change and continuity in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull. In Foulkes P. & Docherty G. (eds.) *Urban Voices*, London: Arnold, 141-162.