

A perceptual study of friendship networks in London





Contrary to expectations from the literature, dialect levelling does *not* originate in London!

- We find dramatic, mostly ethnic-minority and male-led innovations, particularly (though not only) on the phonetic level
- Some of the dialect levelling changes happening in the south-east *cannot* be traced back to London but are better understood within the context of post-WW2 sociohistorical changes in London and its hinterland (out-migration and mobility)

Multi-cultural London English

- A variety or set of varieties with shared:
 - Phonetic features
 - Grammatical features
 - Discourse features
 - Rhythm?
 - Voice quality?
- Being in a dense multi-cultural friendship group increases the number of MLE features

Research questions of MLE project

- ➤ Is it age-graded?
- Characterisation of the 'multiracial vernacular' of London: is it ethnically neutral?

- Are there differences between areas within London?
- How does it spread?
- Is it changing?
- Are there any effects of home language?

Project design: MLE project

- 4, 8, 12, 17 year olds and adults
- North London
- Female, male
- "Anglo" and "non-Anglo"
- Free interviews in pairs
- Phonological and grammatical analysis
- Perception tests

Perceptual dialectology

- A set of methodologies addressing different RQs:
 - What are speakers' (i.e. members') perceptions of the socially structured production variability which dialectologists uncover? Do members perceive the *same* structure?
 - What are members' attitudes to linguistic varieties?
 - Where is 'good' language X spoken?
 - Can members identify the differences which dialectologists describe?

• Methods:

- Geographical area labelling (no auditory stimuli)
- Attitudes/social evaluations of particular phonetic features (Labov's Subjective Reaction Test; U.S. Northern Cities Shift; diphthong merger in NZ)
- Holistic approach with authentic stimuli (testing auditory/perceptual boundaries of speech community membership)
- We will attempt the last of these

Research questions for the MLE perception study

- 1. Given our hypothesis that Multicultural London English is ethnically neutral, can we identify individuals (of differing ethnic backgrounds) whose accents do <u>not</u> reveal ethnic background?
- 2. Are some accents more ethnically identifiable than others?
- 3. If so, what are the ethnic and geographical parameters?
- 4. Are there sociolinguistic factors beyond ethnicity and geographical location which influence the degree of ethnic marking of an accent?

Perception tests

- Classification of real speech
 - 10 second sound clip per speaker
 - Examine effect of the sociolinguistic factor of friendship network on classification of ethnicity and geographical location of the speaker
 - All listeners from inner London
 - Listeners aged 12 or 17 (N=68)

Friendship network scores of speakers

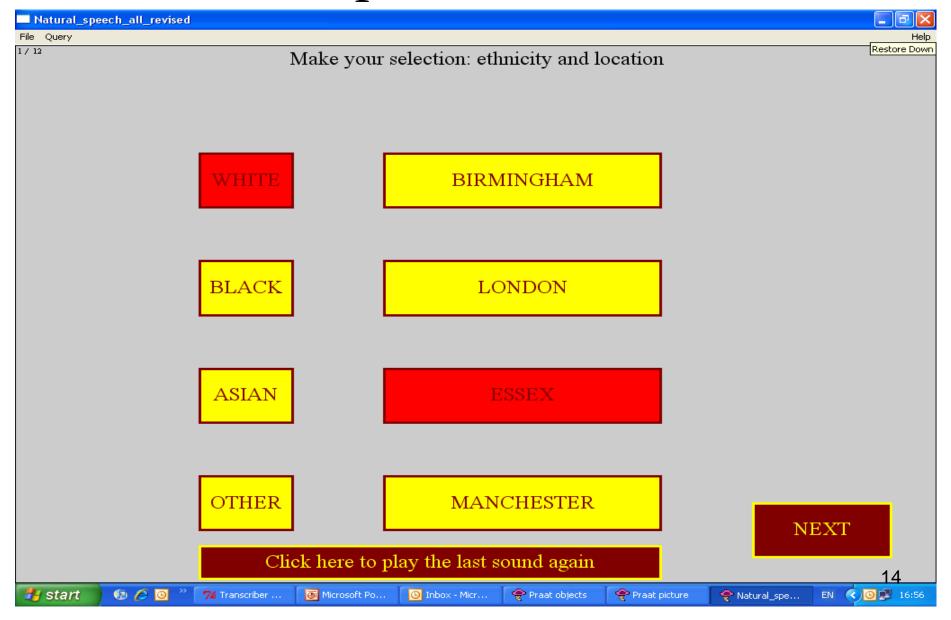
- 1: lower than 20% multi-ethnic network
- 2: between 20 and 40% multi-ethnic network
- 3: between 40 and 60% multi-ethnic network
- 4: between 60 and 80% multi-ethnic network
- 5: higher than 80% multi-ethnic network

Who are the speakers?

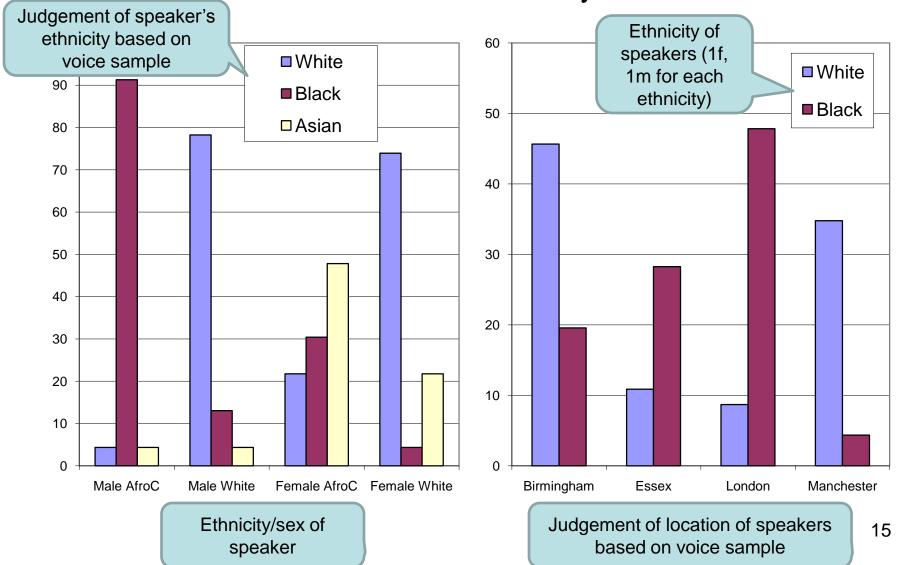
Megan	Hackney	Anglo	3 (mainly Anglo network)
Andrew	Hackney	Anglo	3 (mainly Anglo network)
Laura	Hackney	Anglo	5 (multiethnic network)
Ryan	Hackney	Anglo	5 (multiethnic network)
Sulema	Hackney	Non-Anglo ('other')	5 (multiethnic network)
Kirsty	Hackney	Non-Anglo ('Asian')	5 (multiethnic network)
Grace	Hackney	Non-Anglo ('black')	5 (multiethnic network)
Dom	Hackney	Non-Anglo ('other')	4 (multiethnic network)
Amjad	Hackney	Non-Anglo ('Asian')	5 (multiethnic network)
Chris	Hackney	Non-Anglo ('black')	5 (multiethnic network)
Kelly	Havering	Anglo	2 (mainly Anglo network)
Dale	Havering	Anglo	2 (mainly Anglo network)

- Plus four Birmingham voices:
 - 2 female, 2 male
 - One Afro-Caribbean, one White for each sex

Perception test screen



Forced-choice judgements of Birmingham voices in terms of ethnicity and location



Perceptions of the London voices

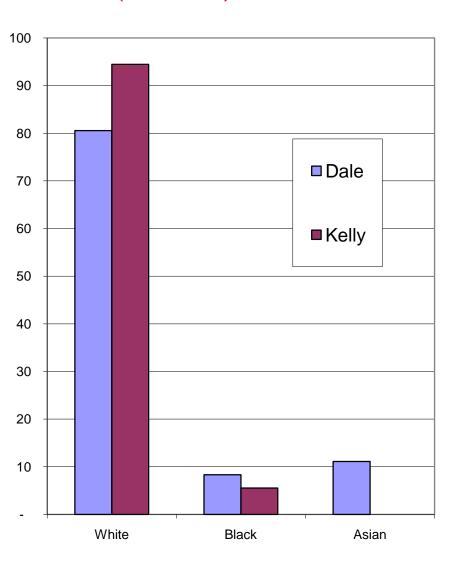
- Only the London and Havering (Essex) voices are included in the main analysis
- We examined effects of listener age, sex and ethnicity on making correct responses
- We examined effects of speaker sex and friendship network on making correct responses

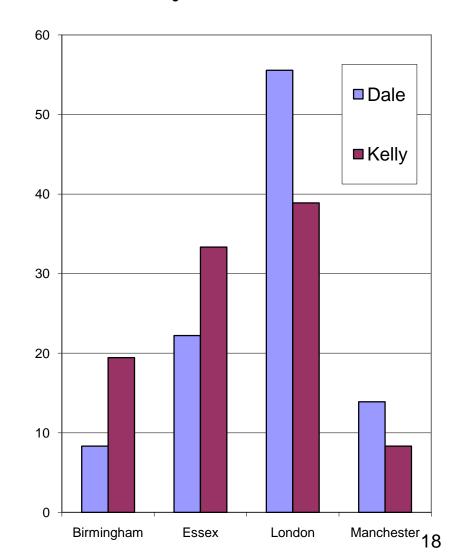
Significant effects

Only speaker's friendship network had a significant effect on identifications of speaker ethnicity and location

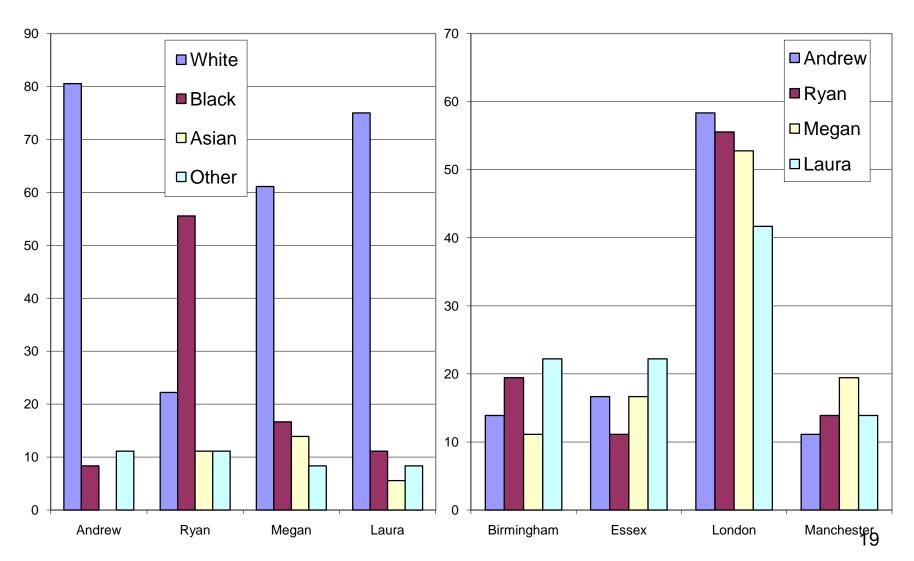
- Speaker sex was not significant
- Listener age, sex and ethnicity were not significant

Forced-choice judgements of Havering ('Essex') Anglo (score 2) voices in terms of ethnicity and location

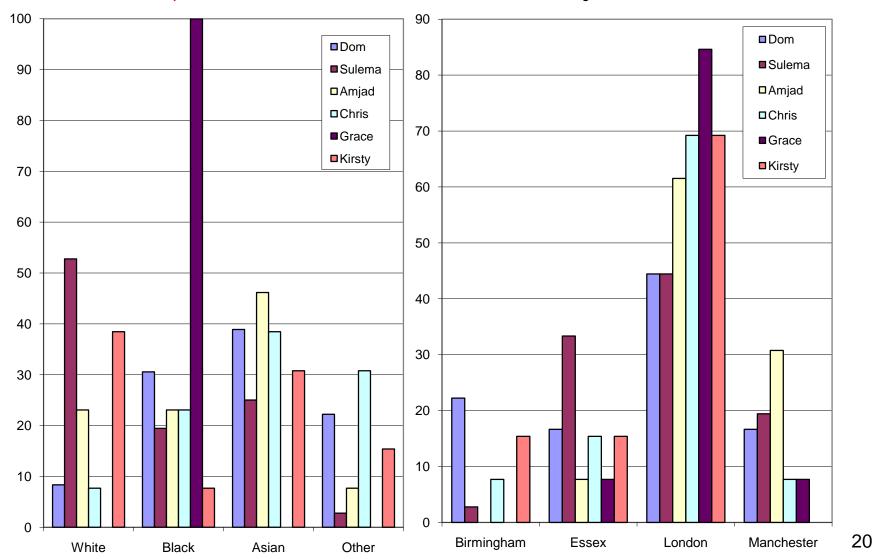




Forced-choice judgements of Hackney Anglo voices (score 3 and 5) voices in terms of ethnicity and location



Forced-choice judgements of Hackney non-Anglo (score 4 and 5) voices in terms of ethnicity and location



Results: ethnicity

- Anglos from Havering (Essex) with Network Score 2 are overwhelmingly identified as 'white'
- Anglos from Hackney with Network Score 3 are identified as 'white', but less consistently than Network score 2
- Anglos from Hackney with Network score 5 are least often identified as 'white'
- Non-Anglos from Hackney with Network score 4 and
 5 are identified in disparate ways
- This suggests lack of <u>specific</u> ethnic marking among Non-Anglos

Results: location

- Listeners can distinguish between local and nonlocal voices
- Birmingham 'white' voices are classified as coming from Birmingham fairly well – but Havering voices are not reliably classified as Havering and Essex
- Birmingham 'black' voices were more often heard as coming from London
- Lack of familiar geographical marking = heard as coming from London

Acoustic features

- Differences in formants structure can explain differences between Anglo and non-Anglo
- Male non-Anglo speakers have slightly higher F0 than Anglo speakers
 - But Ryan has a very low F0
- Rhythm and intonation?

Voice quality

- No clear patterns for voice quality (jitter, shimmer, H/N ratio)
- All sound 'hoarse'! (low H/N ratio)

Summary

- Perception test results from North London correspond to production results from Hackney
- Inner London speech is more ethnically neutral than outer London speech
- Hard to find any patterns in formant structure and voice quality

Research questions REVISITED

- 1. Can we identify individuals whose accents do <u>not</u> reveal ethnic background?
 - A: Speakers of all ethnicities are potentially hard to identify: particularly true of the Non-Anglos, and the Anglos in Hackney. But there is great variation, and on the whole White and Black ethnicities are likely to be 'correctly' identified
- 2. Are some accents more ethnically identifiable than others?
 - A: Probably. We will try to characterise these
- 3. If so, what are the ethnic and geographical parameters?
 - A: White' in Essex is the easiest ethnic/geographical combination to positively identify. 'Black' everywhere has the potential to be easily identified
- 4. Are there sociolinguistic factors beyond ethnicity and geographical location which influence the degree of ethnic marking of an accent?
 - A: Ethnic composition of social network