The employment of retroflex realisations in the production of the English phonemes [t], [d], and [r], by British Asian adolescents: A purposeful feature?

Maya Zara

2010

School of Languages, Linguistics, and Cultures

A dissertation submitted to the University of Manchester for the degree of Bachelor of Arts in the Faculty of Humanities

Contents Page

Copyright Statement

Copyright in text of this dissertation rests with the author. Copies (by any process) either in full, or of abstracts, may be made **only** in accordance with instructions given by the author. Details may be obtained from the appropriate Undergraduate office. This page must form part of any such copies made. Further copies (by any process) of copies made in accordance with such instructions may not be made without the permission (in writing) of the author.

The ownership of any intellectual property rights which may be described in this dissertation is vested in the University of Manchester, subject to any prior agreement to the contrary, and may not be made available for third parties without the written permission of the university, which will prescribe the terms and conditions for any such agreement.

Further information on the conditions under which disclosures and exploitation may take place is available from the Head of the School of Languages, Linguistics and Cultures.

Abstract

The paper confirms the findings of recent studies into the speech of British Asians (Lambert, Alam & Stuart-Smith, 2007), and (Heselwood and McChrystal 2000), that those belonging to Gen2 (Second generation), have a different realisation of English phonemes, than their white counterparts. The paper confirms the existence of a British Asian accent, and the use of more subtle, and weaker retroflex realisations of the English phonemes [t], [d], and [r], as an important guide in the identification of this accent. A strong correlation between the use of these features, and the command of a parent language was found, indicative of the transference of salient features from an L1 to an L2. A crucial finding of this study was that subjects reduced the retroflex variants of English phonemes in the context, where an economic motivation was present. Thus, subjects made an attempt to dilute their ethnic identity, and reduced the proportion of retroflex realisations, to achieve this.

Acknowledgements

My sincere thanks to Professor Yaron Matras for his many insightful suggestions and his support during the process of this project. I would also like to thank Dr. Maciej Baranowski for his help with the sound analysis, and advice on data collection techniques, and to Daniele Viktor Leggio for providing the sound device used for the research. My thanks to Michael Ramsammy for his advice on data collection methods. Of course, a great thanks to all participants in this study, who allowed me to carry out this research. Many thanks to Janet Elliot for providing the voice for parts of this research. Finally, a personal thank you to my parents, and brothers for helping me recruit participants, and for their support throughout this year.

Chapter one

1.1. Introduction

This paper discusses the variant realisations of the English dental stops [t], [d], and the alveolar tap [r] among the British Asians, of South Asian decent, in Blackburn. Research by Eckert (1987) examines the ways in which variables may contribute to the identification and consolidation of social identity. Thus the paper examines whether the retroflex realisations of English phonemes helps identify speakers as British Asian, and whether this acts as a tool for them, in expressing this aspect of their identity. The notion held is that extra linguistic factors correlate with linguistic variation, i.e., in addition to differences between speakers, differences are also found within the speech of a single speaker, as they systematically style shift across different contexts, (Bell, 1984), and the motivations behind these shifts are explored. Thus the range of variants used for each variable, [t], [d], and [r], will vary across a formal to informal style, consolidating the existence of a continuum ranging in the use of features, according to the style, (Bell, 1984, and Sebba, M, 1993). The paper proposes that the British Asian adolescents have a more retroflex realisation of these phonemes, which has been the subject of other recent studies (Lambert, Alam & Stuart-Smith, 2007), and (Sharma, and Sankaran, 2009). I argue that these features are present in the use of English by Gen2, although the realisation does not always correspond to

the feature as it is produced in the L1, i.e. there are weaker realisations of the retroflex feature in the production of the English phonemes. With the exception of the studies mentioned above, and few others, (Heselwood, and McChrystal, 2000), the concept has received a little attention in the research community, despite its saliency in speaker's perceptions of accent divisions, in modern urban society. Using data from ten British Asian adolescents, and seven British White adolescents in Blackburn, I will either confirm or disconfirm my research questions, one of which is whether the notion of a British Asian accent, does in fact exist.

First, I begin by clarifying some terminology used in this paper. The term adolescent refers here to those who are aged between eleven, and twenty one, following suit from prominent research on adolescents (Eckert, 1988). All British Asian subjects, with two exceptions[i] are of South-Asian origin, that is, they are the children of parents from South Asia, more specifically, Pakistan. Throughout the paper, these subjects are referred to as British Asian, as the term South Asian implies that they were born in South Asia. The term retroflex refers to a postalveolar realisation of a phoneme, that is, the tongue is curled back and is in contact with the roof of the mouth. Retroflex sounds are present in the L1 languages, which include Panjabi and Urdu. However this paper explores variations of this feature used within the L2. The retroflex features are referred to as salient. Salient features are those features associated with a particular accent, or dialect, and are often used in

attempts to mimic the variety, perhaps in the context of comedy shows. Salience, of course, refers to salience of the feature, for the hearer, (Sebba, 1993) i.e. the feature that is easy to 'hear, or pick up.' The use of retroflex realisations of the English phonemes [t], [d], and [r], is often imitated in shows such as *Goodness Gracious Me,* as noted by Lambert, Alam, and Stuart-Smith (2007).

1.2 Background

The 1950s experienced a wave of migration, from the Asian and South African continents into the Mill towns of England, particularly in the North West regions. The adult migrant generation were native speakers of languages including Panjabi, and Urdu. The English used by this generation exhibits many L1 transfer features, some of which have been retained by Gen2, many of whom are British born bilinguals. The Asians in Blackburn are mostly Diasporas from India and Pakistan, and some from South Africa, and Bangladesh. The UK Government Consensus, 2001, states that there are 69.22% White British, 14.31% Indian, and 11.45% Pakistanis, in this town.

Certain areas of the town consist of substantial minority populations. The areas identified by the subjects as predominantly Asian

include Audley Range, Whalley Range, and those identified as mostly White include Higher Croft, Shadsworth, and Mill Hill. The divisions also extend to schools, with some consisting of higher numbers of either British Asians, or British Whites. The divide in this town has both a direct and indirect linguistic consequence on the subjects' realisation of sounds, choice of language, and attitudes. All of these factors explain the existing social and ethnic boundary in the town, which is an important factor in explaining the retention of the retroflex features as a marker of British Asian identity. Fought (2004) emphasised the importance of the groups, and networks that embody different spatial relations, in addition to the social and cultural practices, which impact patterns of linguistic variation. The paper will explore this further, as the respondents will be asked to discuss these divisions within the town, to identify whether this influences style shifting towards more, or less retroflex features. Child (2000), in Fought (2004) identifies that a particular feature or set of features can differentiate one community from another, despite coexisting in a given area. Thus the informants may have a common, localised vowel system and phonological patterns characteristic of the Blackburn accent, but salient retroflex features from the heritage language may also be heard in their use of English. The variety of English spoken by British Asians is treated as an ethnolect, as opposed to a variation and change in a variety of English (Lambert, Alam & Stuart-Smith, 2007). In order to gain an insight into the speech patterns of

British Asian adolescents, a focus must be maintained on minority ethnic English in its own right.

1.3 Research to date

A recent study undertaken by Lambert, Alam, and Stuart-Smith, (2007), into British Asian Accent studies from Glasgow has shown that the notion of a perceived Glasgow Asian accent does in fact exist. Two small-scale studies of the Glasgow Asian accent were carried out. The accent study involved three phonetically trained listeners, and three naive listeners. In contrast my study involves eight naive listeners only, as the aim was to identify whether lay people within the town are receptive to retroflex realisations of English phonemes, and identify these as markers of British Asian English. The second study is of particular interest as variation was found to correlate with social practices among girls aged eighteen. Thus this study will attempt to identify if variation correlates with other factors, such as competence in a parent language, and attitudes towards divisions in the town.

Another valuable study on this area has been conducted by Heselwood & McChrystal (2000). The study investigates the voicing stops of ten year old Panjabi-English bilingual children in Bradford. The speech of monolingual children of the same age was also recorded. This study will also contrast the speech of the British Asian subjects with British

White subjects of a similar age. Gender is the single independent variable taken into consideration, thus most of the study involves a more descriptive approach to features employed and neglects possible causes for patterns that arise. The focus of my research is on various factors, including the command of a parent language, and topic of conversation, such as the attitudes context.

Fought (2006) covers general issues in ethnicity and language, and begins with the important aspect of defining ethnicity. This study focuses on British Asians, and not particular ethnicities such as Indian, Pakistani, Bangladeshi, and so on. Language is also described as a method of indexing multiple identities, which supports my view that features used can help flag, or dilute one's ethnic identity. The motivations behind such a choice will also be explored.

Chapter Two

2.1 Aims

The aim of this study is to identify whether there are retroflex features that are typical of the speech of British Asian adolescents in Blackburn that can be regarded as markers of social identity, and whether there is variation in the use of these markers according to style or setting. The importance of investigating the use of features in different styles and contexts is crucial for this study, as it is in many sociolinguistic studies (Labov; 2001, Milroy; 1980, Trudgill; 1977). An increase or decrease of the retroflex features according to style, or setting implies that at some level of awareness, speakers are conscious of this feature as a marker of their British Asian identity. A secondary aim is to identify whether there exists a British Asian Blackburn accent, that is, an accent typical of British Asians in this town, similar to the investigation into the existence of a Glaswegian Asian accent (Lambert, Alam & Stuart- Smith 2007). If it is the case that speakers are correctly identified as British Asian, but not from Blackburn than this may be indicative of a British Asian accent across Britain. A third aim of the study is to identify whether there is a correlation between the usage of these features and command of a parent language, other than English. The existence of such a correlation would support the notion that the features which are salient in the parent language are retained in the use of English.

2.2 Research Questions

Three main research questions are the focus of this paper. The first is to identify whether there is a different realisation of [t], [d], and [r], amongst British Asian adolescents in their use of English. The second question is to identify whether the use of these features are of emotional identification, that is, do they serve as a useful and purposeful tool for the expression of an individual identity as an Asian, and a shared identity with other British Asians. The third is whether there is a correlation between the use of the retroflex features, and economic aspiration, which was tested through a recorded message for the respondents' teacher, speaking about career aspirations. Thus, exploring whether subjects make an attempt to dilute their identity as British Asians due to economic motivations and aspirations, and whether they reduce the retroflex variant of the English phonemes [t], [d], and [r], to achieve this goal. Berthele (2002) identified that communicative goals can make people change the way in which they speak, and economic goals are in some respect, an extension of these goals.

2.3 Hypothesis

The author makes the hypothesis that there is a more retroflex realisation of the English phonemes [t], [d], and [r], amongst speakers of a South

Asian origin, and that the subjects are aware of the retroflex features as a marker of their identity as British Asian. Thus, the degree to which these are employed will correspond to an attempt to either flag, or dilute this identity, i.e. to sound more, or less Asian. In turn, the attempt to dilute their identity is perceived to be motivated by economic aspirations, thus the context of speaking about career aspirations in a message to the subjects' teacher, is hypothesised to yield a shift towards the use of the fewest retroflex features. A strong correlation between the command of a parent language and the use of these features is expected, as the view held is that these features are salient in the L1 and are therefore retained in the use of an L2. A final hypothesis is that speakers will be correctly identified as British Asian in the accent judgement test, although the region, i.e. Blackburn, may be less accurate, indicative of the existence of a British Asian accent across the country.

Chapter 3

Methodology

3.1 Subjects

The seven British White respondents consisted of five males, and two females. The male respondents are JH (Aged 18), L (17), Lm (17), JD (18), and KT (17). The female respondents are E (15) and S (17). The ten South Asian respondents consist of four networks in total. The first two networks consist of the respondents AA, F, A, RM, U, and RZ. The relationships are explained using Figure A below.

Figure A: Networks One and Two

One Street:	House One	House Two	House Three
	AA (Sisters) F	A (Sisters) RM	U (Brothers) RZ

All six respondents belonged to a very close, tight knit network, and lived in homes adjacent to one another. The importance of identifying social networks was emphasised by Milroy (1980). AA and F were the first cousins of U, and RZ. U and RZ are male, and AA, F, A and RM, are all female. All females in House one and two were very close, and thus grouped as belonging to one network. All six subjects can therefore be

regarded as a small speech community (Gumperz, 1996:362; cited in Patrick 2002: 581). The third network consisted of two males, M.R. and K, who were first cousins. The fourth network consisted of two females, who were sisters, RB, and Z, respectively.

A detailed insight into the subjects' background and life was considered crucial for the correlation of factors, as emphasised by Fought (2004). Thus factors including the ethnicity of friends, and languages spoken within the home were explored, as these were important in understanding their usage of retroflex variants, and patterns of style shifting. However, significant differences between the proportional uses of retroflex variants were only found between the fourth network, and all other networks, one, two, and three. The crucial difference between these networks is the birth place of their parents. Subjects Z and RB are monolingual speakers of English, as their father was born and raised in England. The mother of the two girls came to England, from South Africa, at the age of seven. Thus the decision was made to withdraw such detailed information, as particular social practices had a less significant impact on the results.

3.2 Elicitation

The elicitation of all data had two primary concerns. The first was to ensure that the linguistic features of interest were elicited. For example, in word list one (Appendix A, 1.1) which consisted of English words, all English phonemes [t], [d], and [r] were included. The same words were used in the reading passage. In word list two (Appendix A, 1.2) consisting of Hindi words, all retroflex features [ʈ], [ɖ], and [ɽ] were accounted for, and included. The other contexts could not control for this as they involved free speech. However, there were still a high number of tokens for each variable. The second concern in data elicitation was to ensure that various contexts were covered, which ranged in their degree of formality.

3.3 Data collection methods

Podesva (2007) stressed the importance of a minimum of three situations in order for the collection of data from a range of stylistic performances. Thus data was collected from various contexts, which were tailored to address the specific research questions. In order to address the first research question of whether there is a different realisation of the English phonemes [t], [d], and [r] among British Asian and British White adolescents, subjects from both groups participated in the reading of a word list (Appendix A, 1.1). Thus the variant realisations of each variable

were comparable for both sets of adolescents. Subjects were asked to read out the list, twice, thus eliciting a repeat pronunciation, with the aim of gaining careful speech. The same words were then embedded into a reading passage (Appendix A, 1.3), and subjects were asked to read this once, only. These two contexts allowed for the elicitation of a formal speech style, and the contrast between the realisations of these features between the two groups of adolescents. The second word list (Appendix A, 1.2) consisted of Hindi words, and was read by the British Asian subjects only. The aim of this was to elicit a retroflex realisation as produced in the L1, in order to compare the realisations to any weaker realisations of forms in English.

The fourth context was created to address the second research question. Thus it involved answering questions, and discussing the divide between Asians and Whites in the town, (Appendix A, 1.4). Only those subjects who were British Asian participated in this as the context was created to identify whether a discussion of 'us' (British Asians) and 'them' (British Whites), leads to an increase of the retroflex variant, which would indicate that it is a marker of emotional identification, and has a purposeful use. The subjects were provided with written questions, and all chose to read and answer the questions themselves, which had two advantages. The first was that they were more comfortable with the approach as it was suggested by them, and the second, was that they were not influenced by the interviewer. Thus accommodation did not

take place, that is, subjects did not adjust their speech in ways to sound more or less like the interviewer, (Giles and Smith, 1979). The subjects AA, F, and A asked each other the questions, which resulted in a wealth of information, personal narratives, and a very relaxed atmosphere. Rm was asked the questions by F, as they are friends and neighbours.

In order to identify whether a correlation exists between the command of a parent language and the use of retroflex features, for the English phonemes, [t], [d], and [r], all subjects with the exception of Z and Rb who are monolingual speakers of English, were interviewed in their L1. The interviewer was a native speaker of Panjabi and Urdu, and was of a similar age to the subjects parents. The author however was closer to the subjects' age, and as English is the language used when speaking to members of Gen2, it was beneficial to have an interviewer of a similar age to most Gen1 members. Furthermore, the author of this paper stood outside the room when these interviews were being undertaken as subjects were more comfortable. One key advantage of this method was that the subjects were familiar with the interviewer, as she was the nursery teacher of all of them, and for the younger siblings of most subjects, some of which attended the nursery, at the time of the interviews. Thus there was a level of ease in speaking in the parent language with this particular interviewer, which may not have been achieved with a complete stranger. The interview elicited personal narratives relating to the subjects last visit to Pakistan, which enabled

identification of whether the ergative construction is successfully formed in order to express past events. The subjects were later asked to rate their level of competence in the parent language, and their answer was compared with the actual level of competence achieved.

In order to identify whether the retroflex features are reduced in order to dilute the subjects' identity as a British Asian, due to economic motivations, an answer phone message context was created. Subjects were asked to pick a teacher for whom to leave a message, and asked to let the teacher know, a) What their favourite subject that particular year was, and why, (b) What their least favourite subject had been, and why, (c) What they would like to improve on for the following year, and (d) What they would like to be when they are older.

Biographical interviews were carried out in the L1 by the native speaker of Urdu, and Panjabi, with the parents. Thus a detailed insight into the families' history, and attitudes held towards work and education, were elicited. The interviews carried out in each context, followed a similar structure for all subjects. The reason for this was to ensure that precise linguistic comparisons can be made between informants, and their usage of retroflex variants, and style shifting patterns can be compared, as emphasised by Haugen (Clyne, 2003).

In addition to this, subjects were provided with questionnaires eliciting detailed information about their language uses, identification of their nationality, and whether they translate from English into the L1 for their parents, when outside of the home. Following suit from Edwards (1986) a questionnaire was used to elicit information about friendship patterns, and whether subjects had friends of different ethnicities, their musical interests, how often they visit Pakistan, and so on. The reasons for this were to identify whether a correlation between these factors and the usage of the retroflex features, exists. As, Lambert, Alam, and Stuart-Smith (2007) identified correlations between the uses of postalveolar variants of /t/ and /d/ often correlated with social practices, and topic of conversation. However, only those factors which had the greatest impact on the realisations produced have been presented in the results section, and discussed in the evaluation.

Initially subjects participated in an accent judgement test which involved two voices only, those of a British White woman, born in the UK, who is a middle class professional, and an Asian woman, who was not born in the UK. The recordings consisted of both women reading the same reading passage read by the subjects. Subjects were then asked to fill in a form about which features helped them identify the accent, and the existence of a British Asian accent, generally (Appendix D). However the drawback of this was that the research was interested in more subtle variations of the retroflex realisation of English phonemes, which exist in

the speech of L2. Thus, the recordings of some of the British White, and some British Asian subjects, in addition to those of the Asian and British White woman were transferred to a tape. Members of the public, in Blackburn, were approached, and asked to participate in an accent identification test. The test was referred to as 'Guess the Voice!' to give the appeal of a fun activity, and help recruit respondents. Respondents were played each voice twice, and had the option of selecting from the following four options: Asian, British Asian, British White, Other. The difference between Asian and British Asian was explained as some respondents were unclear of this. The option of four different geographical locations was then offered below, and the respondents were asked to identify whether the accent was from Manchester, Liverpool, Blackburn, or Birmingham. At the end of the test, respondents were asked (Verbally) to write down what helped them identify the accent, (Appendix D). Respondents consisted of both British Asian and British Whites, and due to their age (Under 25, most under the age of 16) they were recruited in groups. The results from this test helped identify whether a British Asian, Blackburn accent exists, and which features helped identify speakers as British Asian.

3.4 Data Analysis

All data was collected using a Marantz PMD620 recorder, and a Sony ECM-MS907, microphone. A Sony cassette recorder, model TCM- 939,

was used for playing the voices in the accent judgement test. All data was made subject to close auditory analysis, following suit from other studies (Heselwood & McChrystal, 2000), (Lambert, Alam, & Stuart-Smith, 2007). A detailed account of the auditory analysis is given in the data assessment method below.

3.5 Data assessment methods

The speech of each British Asian speaker was first transcribed and later subject, to close auditory analysis, following suit from Heselwood & McChrystal, 2000. Acoustic analysis of a burst spectrum can be used to give some indication of the degree of the retroflex sound. The method has not, to the authors knowledge, been used in the analysis of retroflex sounds employed in the use of English, but has been used in the identification of Malayalam stops (Karjig, V, Rao, P, Samudravijaya, K, 2007). Impressionistic data has been used in this study, although the burst spectrum method may prove useful for confirmation of these results, at a later date. After transcribing and listening to the recordings, four different variations of the English phonemes, [t], and [d], could be heard. The sounds were coded as 0, which corresponded to the absence of a retroflex sound, 1, which corresponded to a slight retroflex sound, 2, which corresponded to a stronger retroflex sound, and 3, which was a retroflex sound. In the case of the English alveolar tap [r], only three variations could be heard, again 0 referred to the absence of a retroflex

sound, 1 was slight, and 3 corresponded to a retroflex sound, as it can be heard in the L1. The occurrence of each of these variants in each word, for each context, and their respective variables was then coded, and checked twice. Thus, the speech of each speaker was coded in each stylistic context, allowing for the contrast of style shifting across all contexts, and a look at the differences for the various speakers. All data was placed in tables, calculations were carried out where appropriate, and relevant results, specific to the research questions, have been presented.

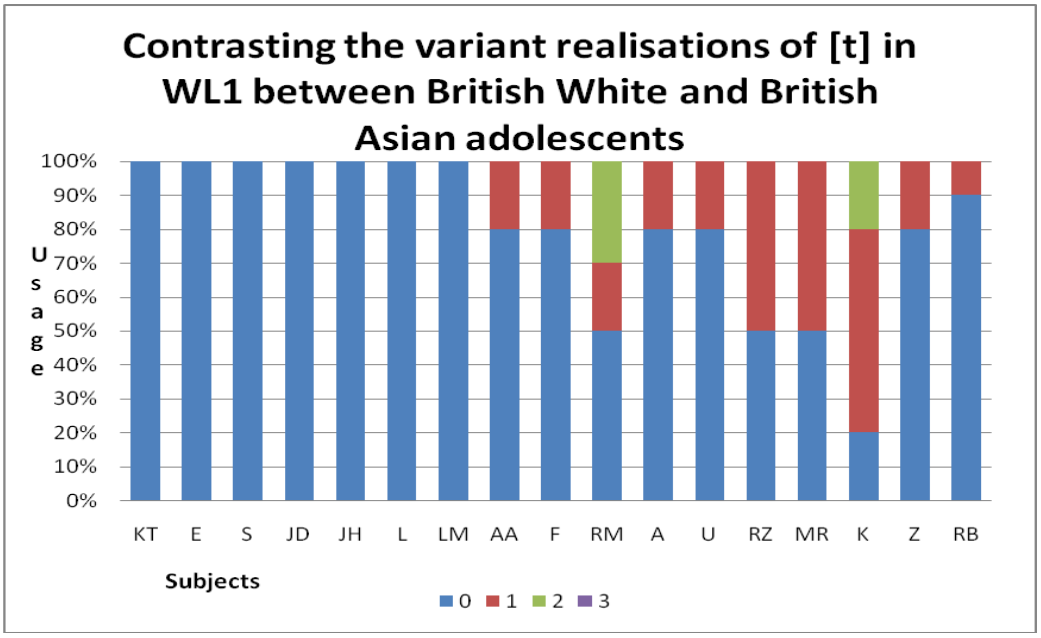
Chapter Four

Results

4.1 Research Question One:

Is there a different realisation between British Whites and British Asians for English phonemes?

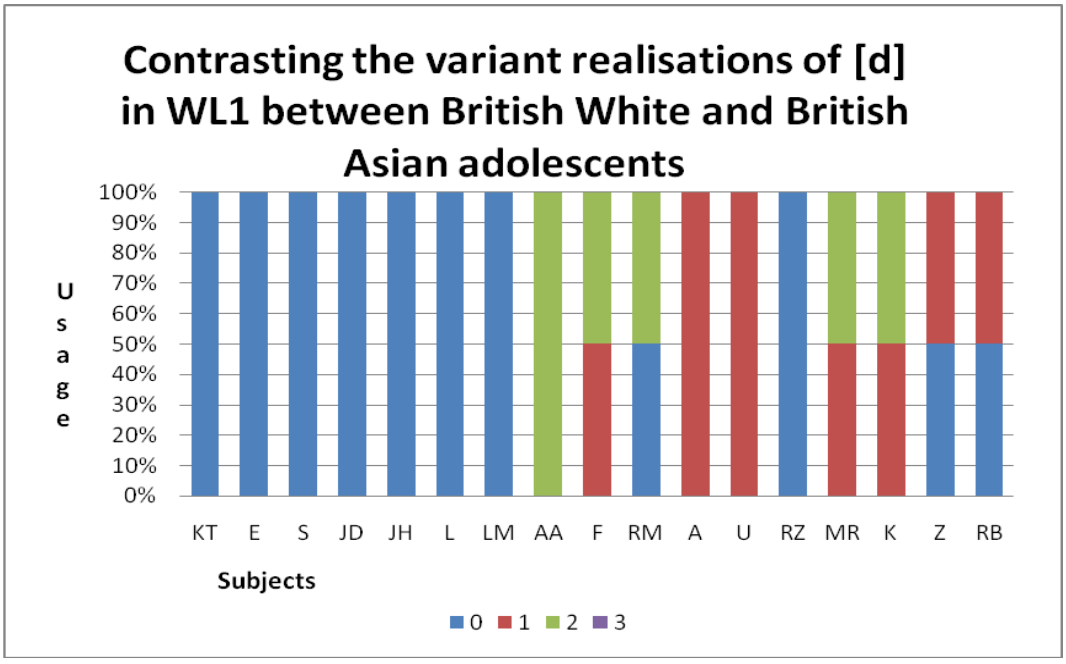
Graph 1: Variant realisations of [t] in the context of Word List One



Graph One gives a clear indication that a different realisation of the English phoneme [t] was present between British White and British Asian respondents. All respondents from KT through to LM were British White, and realised the variable [t] as 0, that is, as a dental stop, with no

presence of a retroflex. In contrast, all British Asians, from AA through to RB, had at least two variants of the English phoneme [t], in this context.

Graph 2: Variant realisations of the English phoneme [d]



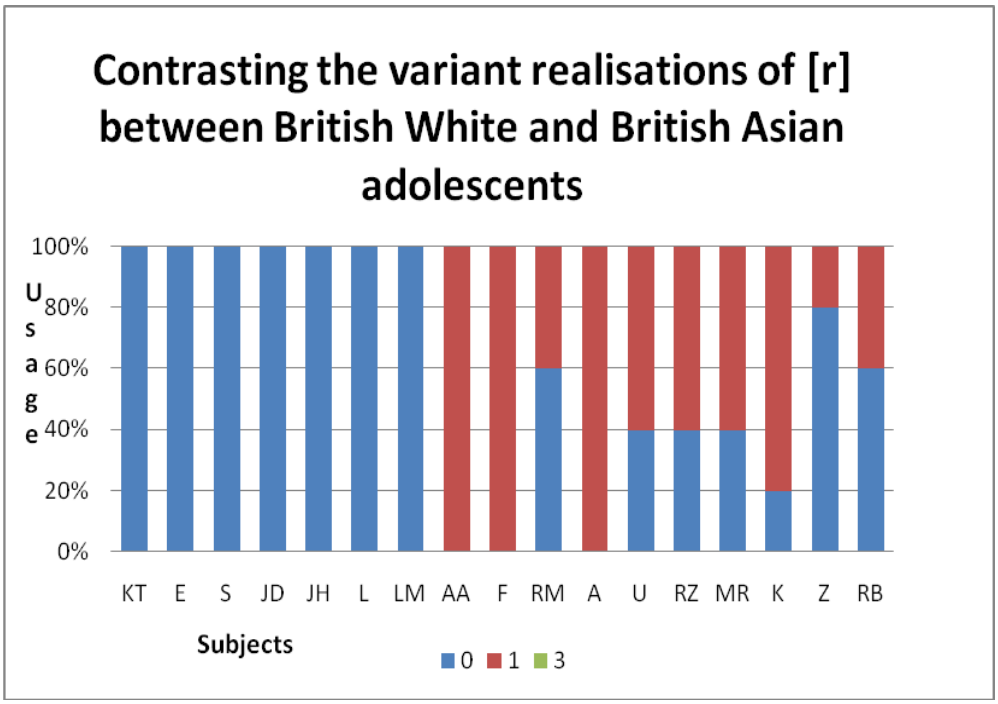
All British White subjects, from KT, through to LM, all had realisations of the English phoneme [d] which corresponded to a 0 in the coding used, i.e. a retroflex was absent in all realisations. In contrast, the British Asian subjects had at least three variants of the variable [d], in this formal context alone. One hundred percent of AAs realisations corresponded to a strong retroflex, i.e. coded as 2. No uses of a full retroflex, coded as 3, were present in this formal speech style. Note that one hundered percent of RZs realisations were realised as a non retroflex, similar to the British White subjects.

Table 2: Realisations of the variable [d] in Word List One

Phoneme	Variants				Total
[d]	0	1	2	3	Total
KT	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
E	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
S	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
JD	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
JH	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
L	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
LM	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
AA	0%	0%	100%	0%	100%
F	0%	50%	50%	0%	100%
RM	50%	0%	50%	0%	100%
A	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
U	0%	100%	0%	0%	100%
RZ	100%	0%	0%	0%	100%
MR	0%	50%	50%	0%	100%
K	0%	50%	50%	0%	100%
Z	50%	50%	0%	0%	100%
RB	50%	50%	0%	0%	100%

RZ, who had realised 50% of the [t] variable as 0, and 50% as 1, appeared to be more conscientious of his realisation of the [d] variable, as he realised all of them as 0, i.e. the same as the British White respondents. In contrast, all other British Asians were more lax in their realisations of the [d] variable, and exhibited more weaker and stronger retroflex realisations, i.e. coded as 1, and 2.

Graph 3: Variant realisations of the [r] variable in WL1



All British White subjects had only one realisation of the [r] variable, which was coded as 0, i.e. no retroflex was present. The British Asian subjects had only three variants for the [r] variable, in contrast to four for [t] and [d]. Fifty percent of Rm's realisations of [t] were coded as 0, and the other 50% as 1. In contrast, 50% of Rm's realisations of [d] were coded as 0, and the other 50% as 2, that is, a strong retroflex. Thus, indicative of less attention paid to the realisation of the [d] variable. The highest proportion of Rms 0 variants were for the variable [r], with 60% coded as 0, and 40% coded as 1, i.e. a weak retroflex. Most subjects display a similar pattern, and were more sensitive to their realisations of the variable [r]. The corresponding table can be found in the appendices (Appendix B, Table 2).

4.2 Does a British Asian Accent exist?

Accent Identification Test: Results

Table A: The Respondents

Respondent	Ethnicity	Age Range	Gender	Town/City
One	White	15-18	F	Liverpool
Two	White	11-15	F	Blackburn
Three	White	15-18	F	Blackburn
Four	White	15-18	F	Blackburn
Five	British -Indian	19-25	M	Blackburn
Six	British- Indian	19-25	M	Blackburn
Seven	British- Pakistani	11-15	F	Blackburn
Eight	British-Pakistani	11-15	F	Blackburn

The identity of each subject, i.e. that of the voice played, is shown in Table B, on the following page.

Table: B Actual Identity of each voice[ii]

Voice	Nationality	Subject
One	British White	**A**
Two	Asian	**B**
Three	British Asian	**C**
Four	British Asian	U
Five	White	**D**
Six	British Asian	Rm
Seven	British Asian	Z
Eight	British Asian	Rb
Nine	British Asian	K
Ten	British Asian	MR

A: British White female **B:** Asian female **C:** British Asian female

D: British White male

(All other codes, correspond to the subjects, e.g. U brother of RZ)

The results of this test are shown in graphs 4 and 5 below, after Table D.

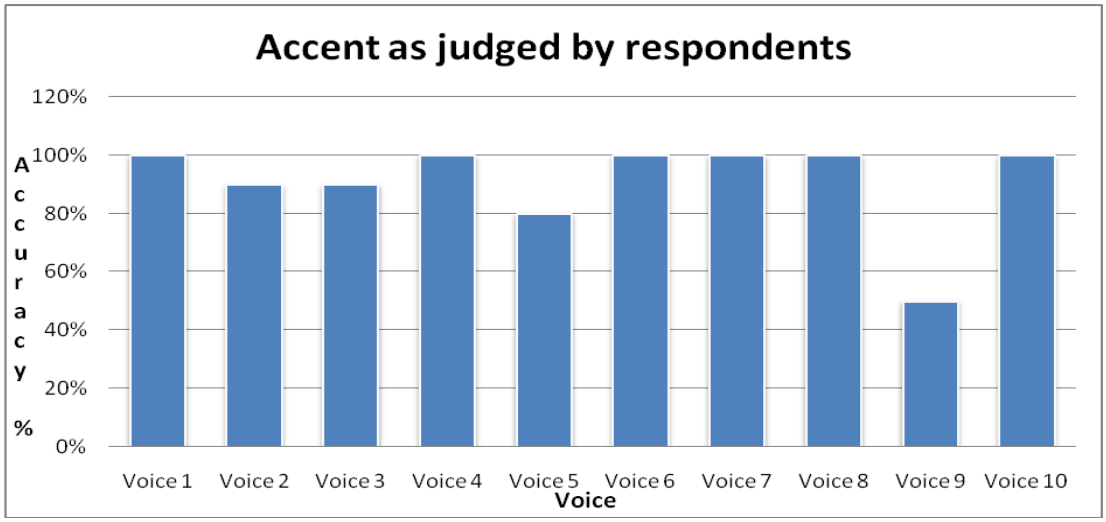
Table D: The respondents' written replies to the question: *What helped you to identify the accent?*

Respondent	Comment
One	Curry, water
Two	Curry
Three	Curry, water
Four	Water, curry
Five	Names, river
Six	The way they said names
Seven	The accent and the words that they were struggling with
Eight	The things that helped me decide was the accents and the words

All British White respondents wrote that the word *curry,* helped identify the accent as British Asian. The word consisted of a slight retroflex realisation of the English [r] phoneme by all British Asian speakers, and a more approximant realisation, [ɹ], by British White speakers. Respondents seven and eight wrote that the accent helped identify speakers as British Asian, thus adding strength to the notion of a British Asian accent. Two subjects noted that the pronunciation of names was indicative of whether the speaker was British Asian, or not. Most of the realisations of [t] and [d] in *Ted*, the name used in the reading passage, were coded as either weak, or strong retroflex phonemes or [r] in *Mary*

was coded as a slight retroflex in most uses. The results of this test are presented in Graphs 4 and 5, below.

Graph 4: Results of the Accent test

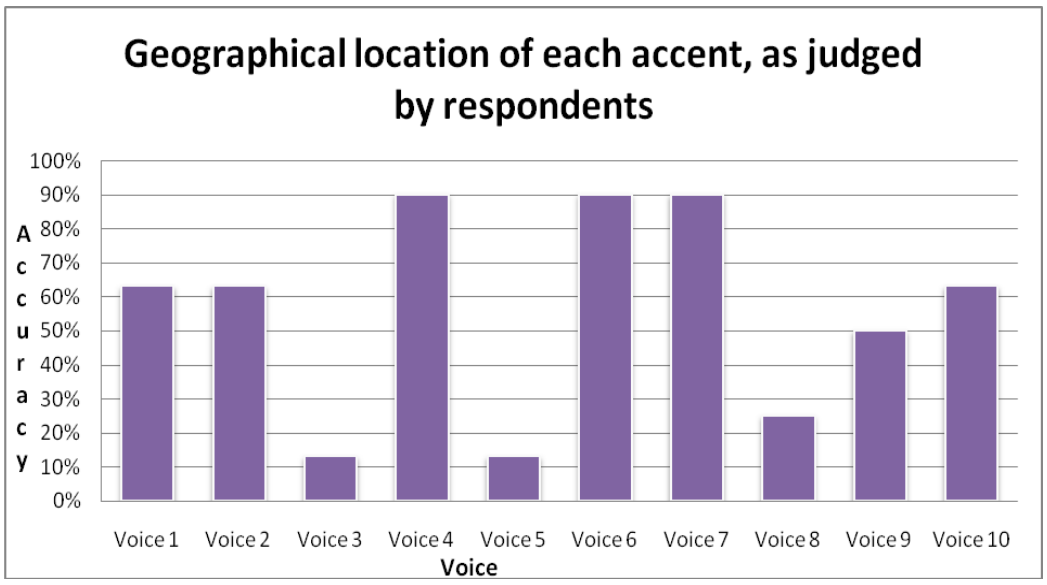


The identity of almost all subjects was accurately guessed as either Asian, British Asian, British White, or other. A British Asian respondent identified an Asian speaker with very few retroflex features, as British White, although surprisingly all other respondents accurately identified this speaker as British Asian. Rb and Z, were correctly identified as British Asian in all cases, despite very few retroflex features. Anecdotal evidence from respondents, referred to British Asians who sounded *more White*. Thus indicative of an awareness that British Asians may have a more, or less retroflex realsiation of English phonemes.

Table E: The percentage of accurate identification

Voice 1	Voice 2	Voice 3	Voice 4	Voice 5	Voice 6	Voice 7	Voice 8	Voice 9	Voice 10
100%	90%	90%	100%	80%	100%	100%	100%	50%	100%

Graph 5: Identification of the geographical location of the speakers



The results demonstrate a higher level of inaccuracy in the identification of the geographical location of each voice, by both British White, and British Asian respondents. Thus these results are indicative of a British Asian accent across Britain, and not a phenomena true of Blackburn alone.

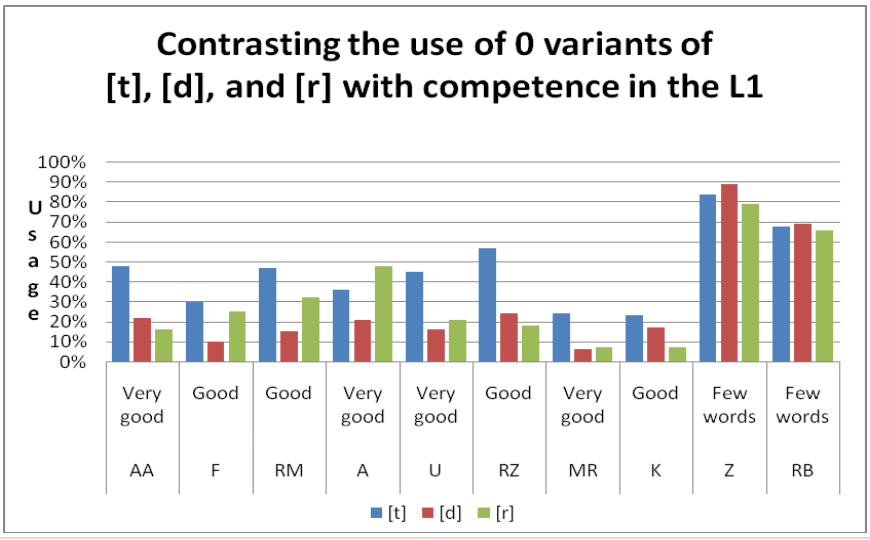
Table F: Percentage of accuracy of the geographical location for each voice

Voice 1	Voice 2	Voice 3	Voice 4	Voice 5	Voice 6	Voice 7	Voice 8	Voice 9	Voice 10
63%	63%	13%	90%	13%	90%	90%	25%	50%	63%

MR, (Voice 10) was accurately judged as British Asian, but his accent was accurately judged only 63%. Thus supporting the earlier notion that the correct identification of the identity of a speaker as British Asian, does not entail the correct judgement of the accent.

4.3 Correlation beween command of the parent language, and the proportion of variants used

Graph 6: A comparison of the speakers competence, and the proportion of their 0 variants



The graph demonstrates that the use of 0 variants is significantly marked for those speakers who's competence is rated as limited to a few words. The use of 0 variants for [t], [d], and [r] are all above 60% for Z and RB. In contrast the majority of the remaining speakers have a usage ranging from 10- 50%. Of all three variables, [t] has the highest proportion of 0 variants, for most speakers.

Table G: Table showing the level of competence, and the poportion of 0 variants used, for each variable. The results are for the 0 variant of each variable only, and therefore do not total to 100%.

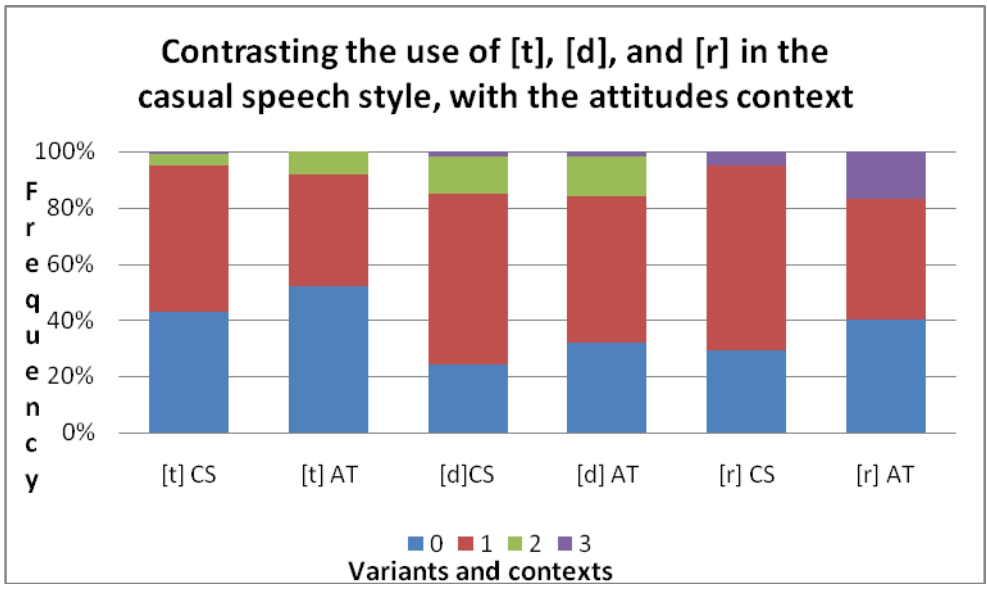
Speaker	Competence	[t]	[d]	[r]
AA	Very good	48%	22%	16%
F	Good	30%	10%	25%
RM	Good	47%	15%	32%
A	Very good	36%	21%	48%
U	Very good	45%	16%	21%
RZ	Good	57%	24%	18%
MR	Very good	24%	6%	7%
K	Good	23%	17%	7%
Z	Few words	84%	89%	79%
RB	Few words	68%	69%	66%

The table further consolidates the patterns displayed in graph 6. Z and Rb had significantly high proportions of the 0 variants, ranging from 66% to 89%, and had the lowest level of competence in the parent language. No clear correlation between a *good,* or *very good* level of competence, and a speakers' proportion of 0 variants exist. Thus, if the level of competence is strikingly low, than one can assume that the proportion of 0 variants will be much higher, for all three variables, [t], [d], and [r]. The results addressing the second research question are shown on the following page.

4.4 Research Question Two:

Does the use of a retroflex variant flag a speaker's identity as British Asian, and are these used to flag their identity?

Graph 7: Contrasting the use of the variant realisations of the English phonemes, [t], [d], and [r], in the casual speech style, with the attitudes context.



The total number of the features [t], [d], and [r] for all British Asian subjects were added, and of these, the proportion which were 0, 1, 2, 3, is reflected above, for both the casual speech, and attitude contexts. The graph demonstrates a clear increase in the use of the 0 realisation of [t], [d], and [r], in the attitudes context. Thus, indicative of an attempt, on the part of the subjects, to dilute their identity as British Asians as they

discuss attitudes between British White and British Asians in the town. The use of the full retroflex [d] and [r] in the attitudes context were predominantly constrained to the words [ʌɽɖuː] and [gɔːɽeɪ], a non offensive term used to refer to British Whites, meaning 'fair skinned'. Of the three variables, speakers exhibit the most sensitivity to their realisation of [r], perhaps indicative that this is the most salient to speakers of English as a marker of British Asian speech.

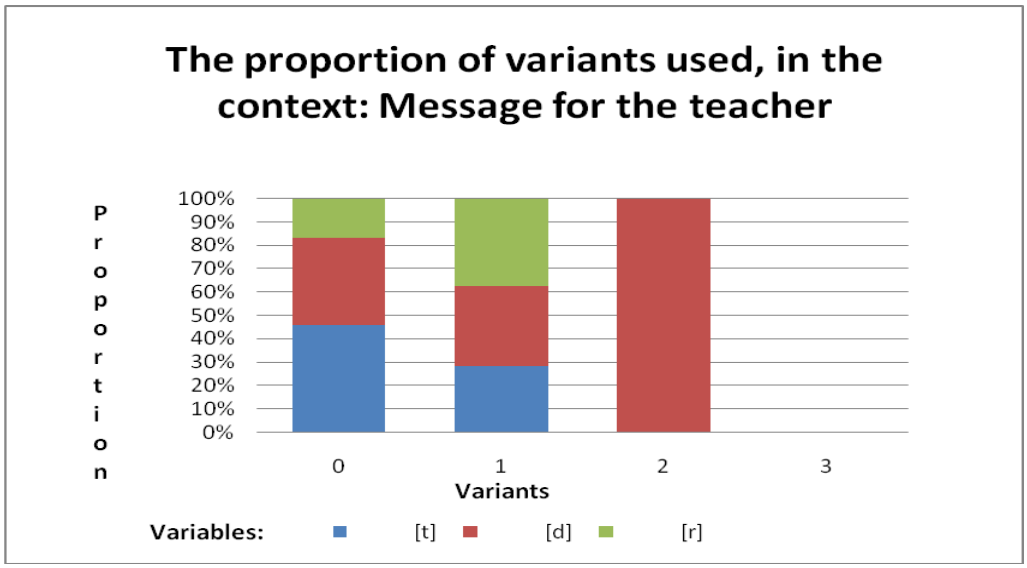
Table H: Table contrasting the proportion of the 0, 1, 2, and 3 variants, used for each variable, [t], [d], and [r] in the casual speech context and the attitudes context.

Variant	CS [t]	AT [t]	CS [d]	AT [d]	CS [r]	AT [r]
0	43%	52%	24%	32%	29%	40%
1	52%	40%	61%	52%	66%	43%
2	4%	8%	13%	14%	0%	0%
3	1%	0%	2%	2%	5%	17%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

The table demonstrates an increase in the use of weaker retroflex realisations, coded as 1, for all three English phonemes. The greatest style shifts, can be seen in the use of the variants coded as 0, and 1.

4.5 Research Question Three: Is there an attempt to dilute one's identity as a British Asian, due to economic motivations, and is the reduction of more retroflex features used to achieve this goal.

Graph 8: The proportion of each variant (0, 1, 2, and 3) used for each variable, [t], [d], and [r] in the 'Message to a teacher' context.

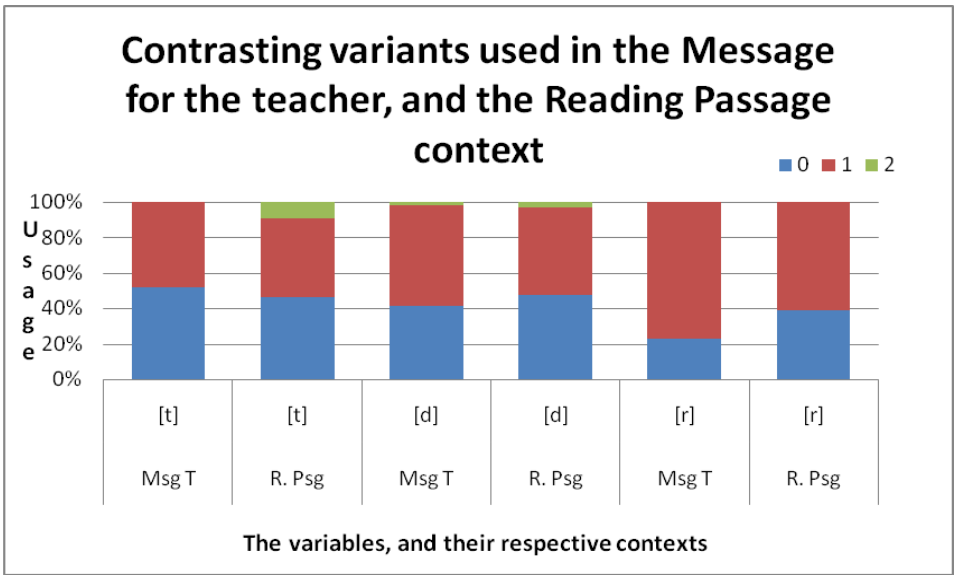


The use of the 0 variant, i.e. the absence of a retroflex, is the highest for the [t] variable, and the [r] variable. The variable [d] was the only variable to be realised as a strong retroflex, although this was only 2% of the time, which is better represented by the table below:

Table I: Proportion of each variant, for each variable, in the context of leaving a message for a teacher.

Variant	[t]	[d]	[r]
0	52%	43%	19%
1	48%	59%	64%
2	0%	2%	0%
3	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%

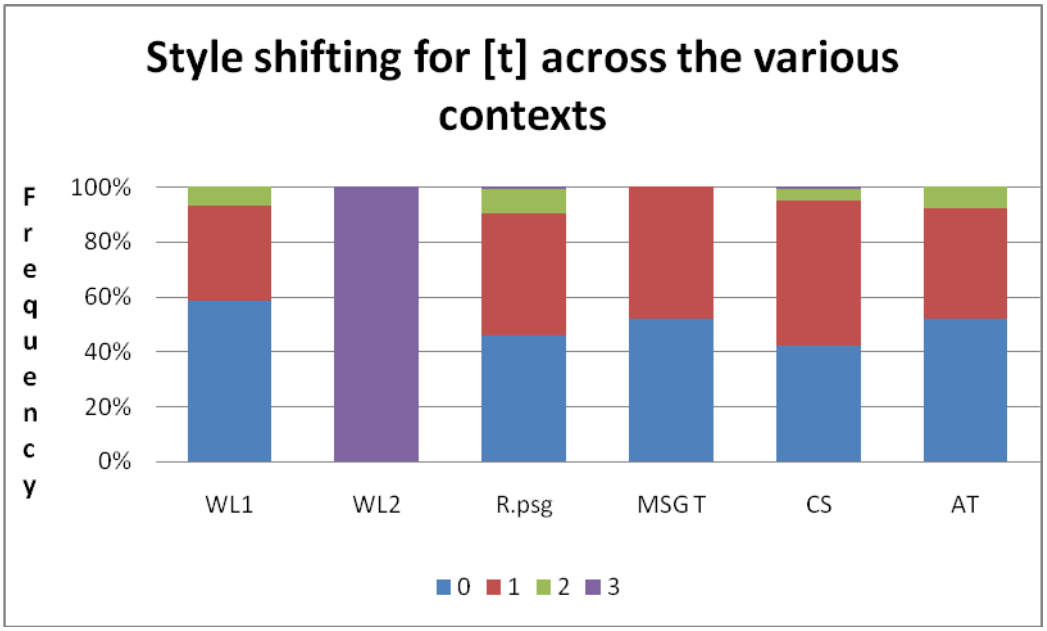
Graph 9: Contrasting the proportion of variants used in the context of leaving a message for the teacher, and the reading passage context.



The graph above illustrates that fewer retroflex variants are used in the context of a message for a teacher, than the reading context, despite

both being formal types of speech. A higher proportion of 0 variants for the [t] variable are present in the message for the teacher, than the reading passage. Although the 0 variant for the [d] variable is less, proportionally, in the message context than the reading passage, the latter exhibits more strong retroflex variants, coded as 2. Thus, in the context where there is an economic motivation to decrease the use of retroflex features, higher proportions of the 0 variants exist.

Graph 9: Style shifting patterns for the [t] variable, across contexts



The graph supports the findings thus far, as the proportion of 0 variants in Word list one is the highest, due to the most attention being paid to speech. Interestingly, the usage of the 0 variant is equally as high in the context of leaving a message for a teacher, and the attitudes context. In both, a motivation must exist for the use of more 0 variants, and the

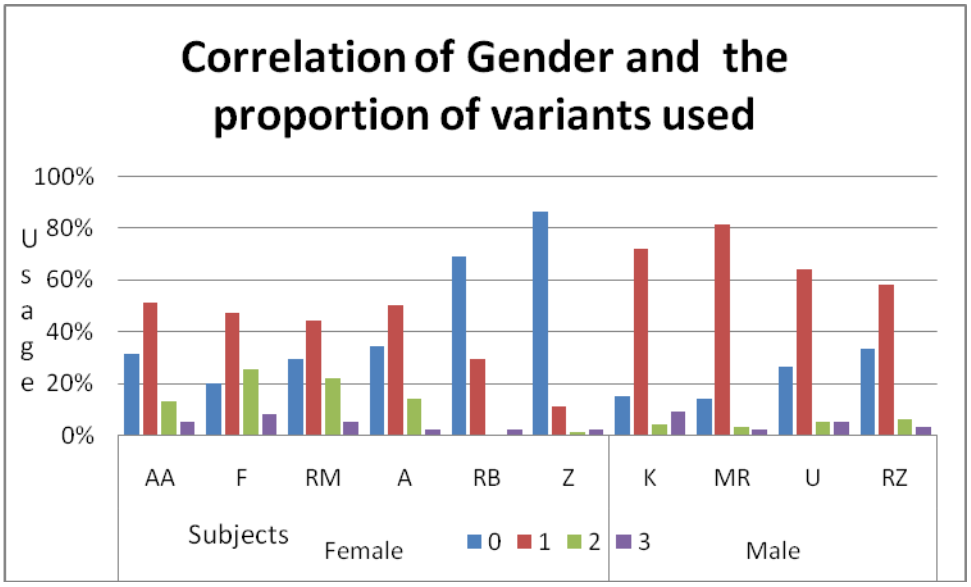
reduction of more retroflex variants. The variant 2, corresponding to a strong retroflex, but not quite a full retroflex (3), is used in all contexts involving the use of English, except, in the message for a teacher. Thus, it is in this context that the greatest attempt is made to dilute one's ethnicity, through the use of less retroflex variants. The individual style shifting patterns for each speaker have not been included, as all style shift to a similar extent, and the only marked differences are for Rb and Z, as they are monolingual speakers of English.

Table J: Table showing the proportion of [t] variants, used across the stylistic contexts.

[t]	WL1	WL2	R.psg	MSG T	CS	AT
0	58%	0%	46%	52%	42%	52%
1	34%	0%	44%	48%	53%	40%
2	75%	0%	9%	0%	4%	8%
3	0%	100%	1%	0%	1%	0%

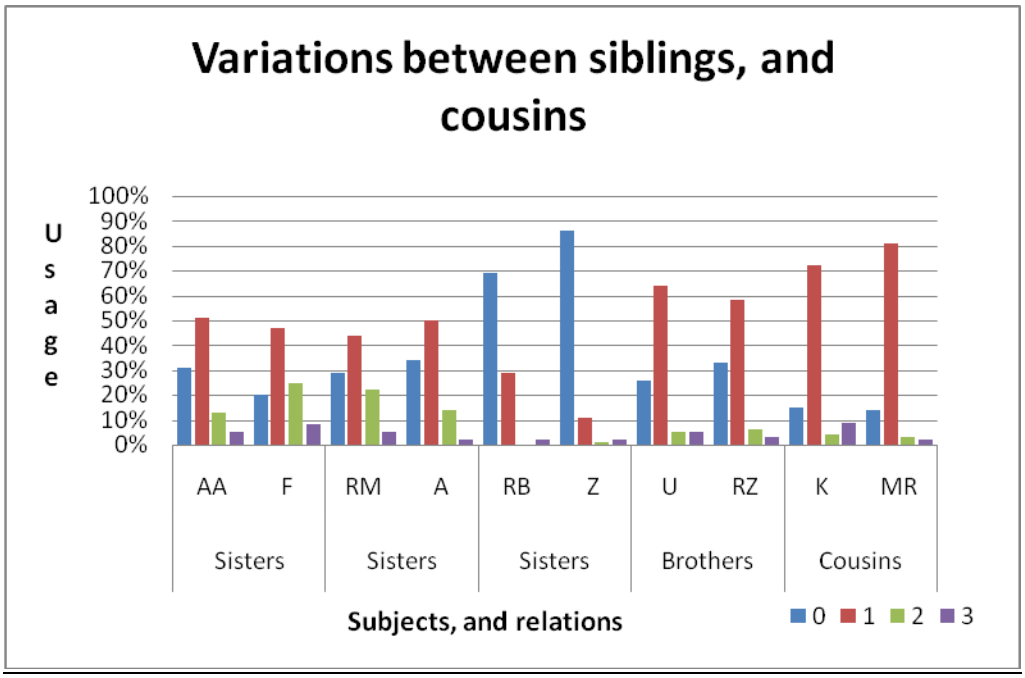
4.6 Additional correlations

Graph 10: The correlation of the independent variable Gender and the proportion of variants used.



The graph displays a striking, and significant correlation between the gender of a subject, and the proportion of the variants used. The female speakers are also more balanced in their usage of strong retroflex realisations, as shown by the green bars. In contrast, the males all had a greater proportion of the weak retroflex variants than any other variant, and this was greater than a thirty percent margin in all cases, but often even greater.

Graph 11: The different uses of each variant between siblings, and cousins



The graph demonstrates that the older sibling, in each female pair was more conservative in her usage of retroflex realisations, for the English phonemes, than her younger sibling. For example A had a higher proportion of 0 and 1 variants, than RM, and a lower usage of both strong variants, coded as 2, and full retroflex features. The reverse of this is true for males, the older brother or cousin in each pair has a higher proportion of more retroflex realisations of English phonemes, than the younger brother, or cousin. The corresponding table is presented below.

Table K: Variation between siblings, and their proportional usage of each variant

Relation	Subjects		0	1	2	3	Total
Sisters	AA	**O**	31%	51%	13%	5%	100%
	F	**Y**	20%	47%	25%	8%	100%
Sisters	RM	**Y**	29%	44%	22%	5%	100%
	A	**O**	34%	50%	14%	2%	100%
Sisters	RB	**Y**	69%	29%	0%	2%	100%
	Z	**O**	86%	11%	1%	2%	100%
Brothers	U	**O**	26%	64%	5%	5%	100%
	RZ	**Y**	33%	58%	6%	3%	100%
Cousins	K	**Y**	15%	72%	4%	9%	100%
	MR	**O**	14%	81%	3%	2%	100%

Code

0: Older Sibling **Y: Younger Sibling**

The table further supports the notion that older females, such as AA are more conservative in their use of retroflex variants than their younger sibling. For example, Zs usage of the 0 variant, i.e. the absence of a retroflex, is 17% greater than her younger sister, Rb, and her usage of the weak retroflex, coded as 1, is 18% less than Rb. In contrast, older males have a higher proportion of retroflex variants, and fewer 0 variants, than their younger brother, or cousin, in the case of MR and K. Although, the differences between the proportions of variants used, are slight, in the

case of some variants. The evaluation of all of the results, are presented in the following chapter.

Chapter Five

Evaluation

5.1 Evaluation of the realisation of the English phonemes, [t], [d], and [r]

The first research question asked whether there is a different realisation of the English phonemes [t], [d], and [r], amongst British Asians, in Blackburn. The close auditory analysis conducted, proves that there is a distinct, more retroflex realisation of these phonemes by British Asian adolescents. Graphs 1, 2, and 3, all demonstrate that British White adolescents produced the variant 0, 100% of the time for the English phonemes [t], [d], and [r]. The variant 0 refers to the absence of a retroflex. In addition to the 0 variant, British Asian subjects were coded as having a further three variations for the variables [t] and [d]. The particular variations were coded as 1 (weak), 2 (strong), and 3 (A full retroflex as produced in the L1). The English phoneme [r] had two retroflex variations which were coded as 1 (weak), and 3 (A full retroflex). The British White adolescents did not produce a retroflex realisation in any context. The distinction between the two realisations of British White and British Asian adolescents extends further than the presence or

absence of a retroflex realisation of English phonemes, and is more complex than the graphs would suggest. A close auditory analysis revealed that the 0 variant was distinct between the two groups. This is further discussed in the evaluation of the accent judgement test.

5.2 Evaluation of the Accent Judgement Test

The results of the accent judgement test confirm that a British Asian accent does exist. Graph 4 illustrates that the majority of the British Asian speakers were correctly identified.[iii] Similarly, the study carried out by Lambert, Alam, and Stuart-Smith (2007) proved the existence of a Glasgow Asian accent, and that this accent consisted of phonetic features which were not found in the speech of monolinguals. The retroflex features were useful in identifying an accent as British Asian, which is supported by comments provided by those participating, (Table D, in the results chapter). For example, in response to the written question: *What helped you identify the accent?* All British White respondents wrote the words *curry* and *water,* due to the realisation of the English phonemes [t], and [r] with slight, or strong retroflex realisations. One British Asian respondent wrote the word *river*, due to the realisation of [r] as a weak retroflex, i.e. corresponding to 1, and two respondents identified the names as a guide in determining the accent. In response to the above question, two British Asian respondents wrote 'The accents' and made reference to 'words', or 'words they were struggling with' which gives

further support to the hypothesis that a British Asian accent does exist (Table D, respondents 7, and 8). The important point to make here is that the speech played to respondents was extracted from the Formal speech style context, and yet accuracy levels were very high in identifying the speakers as British Asian.

The increase or decrease of the variants, 0, 1, 2, and 3, for the English phonemes [t], [d], and [r] implies that the forms have a meaning in particular communities of practice (Eckert and McConnell- Ginet, 1992). This is supported by the increase of the 0 variants in contexts such as the attitudes context, and the message for a teacher, as the speaker attempts to dilute their identity. Similarly, the reduction of the retroflex in these contexts implies that the meaning of these is that it symbolises their identity as British Asians. Thus, as the attempt to dilute their identity as British Asians, the subjects increase their use of 0 variants. The awareness of the variant retroflex features [t], [d], and [r], as markers of their identity, and the subsequent employment of weaker forms, may be a linguistic outcome, due to linguistic contact with British Whites, (Sankoff, 2002).

The presence or absence of a retroflex feature alone does not provide a concrete basis for the correct identification of a speaker as British Asian, or British White. The results from the accent judgement test showed that all respondents accurately judged Rb and Z as British Asian, despite them having the fewest retroflex realisations, (Table E). Data

from white counterparts shed more light into this, as the realisation of [r] was, in the majority of cases, realised as an alveolar approximant [ɹ], and the dental [t] was more aspirated, and realised as [t^h], (CD One). Thus it would seem that although the British Asian respondents are aware of the retroflex feature as a marker of their ethnic identity, most have not fully perceived the precise realisation of these phonemes, by their white counterparts. U, RZ, Z and RB, did however produce the aspirated dental [t^h], and the alveolar approximant [ɹ], in the context of leaving an answer phone message for their teacher, which may be because all four have friends who are white, and have thus accessed this linguistic knowledge through contact.

In addition to the different realisations of these phonemes, other features were used to identify the speakers. The word *water* was also stated as a useful guide in determining the accent as British Asian (Table D), by all British White subjects. However all subjects realised the sound corresponding to the letter <t> as a glottal stop, [wɔː ʔə], which could not have been indicative of ethnicity as it was not a retroflex feature. A contrast of the auditory analysis between the two groups of adolescents, shed light on this. The sound which corresponded to the letter <t> in *water* was realised as a dental stop [t], by all subjects, and the vowel corresponding to the letter <a> was realised as either [aː] or [æ], although the latter was slightly longer in duration. Thus, differences in the realisation of vowels, and variant realisations of other English

phonemes also help in accent identification, including the presence or absence of retroflex [ɭ] (Shackle, 1972), and the realisation of word initial /b/ (Lambert, Alam, and Stuart-Smith, 2007), amongst others. The presence of retroflex features is the most salient, and conclusive indicator of all.

The accent of British Asians in urban societies is therefore identifiable by the presence of retroflex features in their realisation of English phonemes. However the exact urban location has proved to be more of a challenge to identify. Both the British Asian and the British White respondents failed to accurately identify the geographical location of all subjects (Graph 5, and Table F), which is indicative of the existence of a British Asian accent across Britain and not true of Blackburn alone, confirming the corresponding earlier hypothesis.

5.3 Evaluation of the correlation between the command of a parent language, and the proportion of variants used

Addressing the secondary aim, the results confirm the existence of a strong correlation between the usage of the retroflex features [ʈ], [ɖ], and [ɽ], or weaker variations of these, and the command of a parent language. The two sisters Rb and Z are monolingual speakers of English and know very few words in Panjabi, and their rate of retroflex features is the lowest

of all subjects. Graph 6, and the corresponding table, Table G, illustrate that Rb and Z have the highest proportion of 0 variants, than all other subjects. The two sisters have the lowest level of competence in the parent language. Although, their speech does have variations of the retroflex, these tend to be of a weaker form, i.e. corresponding to 1 in the code used. The use of this form may be due to the school attended by both girls, as it consisted of a high number of ethnic minority students, most of which are fluent in English and an additional language, either Panjabi or Urdu.

The results of the Urdu/Hindi word list adds strength to the notion of the command of a parent language and the usage of retroflex features, as Z's use of the feature sounded like an attempt at the correct realisation of the phonemes (CD Three, 'Z'). A retroflex was produced, but a real effort at producing these can be heard for the words *daal* 'lentils', *roti* 'chappati', *bindi* 'okra', and to a certain extent also for *garam masala* . However Z's younger sister, Rb, realised the sounds without such an effort having been made, it is not entirely clear why this may be the case. However, one potential reason for this may be due to increased contact with the paternal grandmother in recent years, who is a native speaker of Panjabi. Even if this is the case, it is still unclear as to why Z struggles in producing a retroflex for the above words and not [ɖɪl], *heart,* [ʈʌm] *second person pronoun, you,* [ɽɔːʃniː] *light*.

All subjects, with the exception of the two monolingual subjects Z and Rb, were interviewed in their parent language, and later asked to rate their proficiency in the L1. All subjects accurately judged their competence as *very good,* which may reflect the fact that there is little motivation to either under, or over estimate ones' own proficiency in the parent language. Although the majority of subjects had a good command of the parent language, their usage patterns vary, as it is often used to speak with parents, but English is used to speak with siblings. Thus, as Khan (1991: 33) notes, Urdu emerges as having greater currency for first generation speakers. Thus the use of Urdu, and Panjabi, may become the focus of language loss, and maintenance in future years.

5.4 Evaluation of the use of retroflex variants of English phonemes, as purposeful

The second research question sought to identify whether the retroflex features are purposeful. The notion of these features being purposeful relies on speakers adopting them in contexts where they serve a purpose. For example, when speaking about divisions within the town, or when talking amongst other British Asians in order to affirm their common identity, and would not be expected to be found in formal speech contexts. The features were however used in the formal speech context of a reading passage, and in the formal context of leaving a message for their teacher (CD 1, and 2). In the context of the reading

passage all respondents, with the exception of RB and Z, produced a retroflex coded as 2, i.e. a strong retroflex and all respondents, with the exception of Z, produced the dental stop [t] as a slight retroflex, i.e. corresponding to 1 in the coding applied. Thus the use of the retroflex realisations is not entirely to flag their identity, but rather is inherent in their use of English, to varying extents. Thus, the English phonemes [t], [d] and [r] are not entirely markers of emotional identification of one's own identity and affirmation with a larger community.

The attitude held towards divisions in the town, corresponded with the frequency of retroflex features used. For example, in his casual speech U's usage of a slight retroflex in the realisation of the English phoneme [t] was 52%, he had 2% usage of a strong retroflex and in 43% of his realisations a retroflex was absent (Table 5, Appendix A). This is almost the reverse of his realisations in the attitudes context, as in 54% of realisations a retroflex was absent, 44% corresponding to slight retroflex features, and 2% as strong retroflex features (Table 6, Appendix A). Thus, the results show an attempt to dilute his ethnic identity, and interestingly, it is in this context of discussing attitudes that U reiterates that there is 'no difference' i.e. between British Asians and British Whites, and that whether one had friends with a British Asian, or a British White it is 'the same thing'.

Thus the results would suggest that British Asians are more likely to decrease their usage of retroflex realisation of the English phonemes, when discussing divisions between British Whites, and themselves. Language is therefore used as a meaningful tool, to emphasise that there is little divide between the two groups, by reducing the proportion of retroflex variants in their speech. An interview conducted with MR (Appendix C, 1.1, lines 10- 12) indicated that British Asian sometimes speak like British Whites, when in their company, and also that the reverse also occurs, with British Whites making an attempt to sound Asian. Thus research into mixed groups of the two, may lead to insightful information about the extent to which each group, either adopts, or reduces retroflex realisations of English phonemes.

5.5. Evaluation of whether there is a correlation between the use of retroflex variants of the English phonemes [t], [d], and [r], and economic aspiration

The third research question was whether economic motivations cause British Asian speakers to reduce the retroflex realisations of English phonemes, in an attempt to dilute their ethnic identity. The Graph 8 demonstrates that the use of the 0 variant, i.e. the absence of a retroflex, is the highest for the [t] variable, and the [r] variable. The results displayed by Graph 9 support the existence of this correlation as the usage of 0 variants, for all three variables, is highest in the context of the message to a teacher than the reading passage, despite both eliciting a

formal speech style. The reasons behind this may be that as children of migrants, the subjects have learned, first hand, at the disadvantages caused by the lack of a proficient level of English. Although they are proficient in English, the subjects are clearly aware that certain features act as markers of their identity, as demonstrated by the reduction of retroflex features. Thus, they reduce these in contexts to dilute their ethnic identity, anecdotal evidence from a group of investment bankers in their late twenties, supports this. The group discussed having a *work voice,* and proceeded by speaking with the complete absence of any retroflex features. Subjects who took part in this study, also shared these sentiments, as AA expresses (Appendix C, 1.2). AA makes the point that, in order to mix in with British Whites at work, one must also speak like them. Interestingly, AAs mother emphasised the importance of proficiency in English, to achieve educational success, and a good job. Thus, the results would suggest that proficiency has two different meanings to the Gen1 and Gen2. Proficiency in English means to be able to speak it effectively, achieve both communicative goals, and economic goals. However, the Gen2 is more receptive of subtle differences in their phoneme realisations in contrast to those of British White adolescents, and thus proficiency means the reduction of more retroflex variants, and the adoption of more 0 variants. Reasons why the Gen2 feel the need to do this would require much further research into the backgrounds, and attitudes held.

The conclusions to this study are presented on the following page.

Chapter Six: Conclusion

In conclusion, the results of this research confirm that there is a different, and more retroflex realisation of the English phonemes, [t], [d], and [r], by British Asian adolescents, most of whom were of South Asian origin. The retroflex realisations of English pronouns are salient features of their speech, and are salient to the extent that these mark them out as British Asian, and are used to identify a speaker as such. The results of the accent judgement test confirms the existence of a British Asian accent, and indicates the possibility that this may not be true of Blackburn alone, but rather exists across Britain. Similarly, Lambert, Alam, and Stuart-Smith (2007) found that the notion of a Glaswegian Asian accent did in fact exist. British Asian speakers may possess the localised vowel systems of their local accent, e.g. the Blackburn accent. However, the use of the salient retroflex features flags their identity. The command of a parent language was found to be the most significant factor in determining whether British Asian speakers will possess, and employ the use of retroflex phonemes.

Additional questions revealed a particularly striking result, illustrated by Graph 11. Gender interacts with age, and can help predict usage patterns. The graph shows that if a subject is female, and older, she is likely to be more conservative in her usage of retroflex variants, than her younger sibling. In contrast, male subjects displayed a higher

propotional usage of retroflex variants, the older they are. The reason for this may be that the males use the retroflex variants as a flag of their identity as British Asian, similar to patterns found by Labov (2001) in relation to the increase of non- standard variants, as these features may be used to demonstrate a tough, macho asian image.

Interestingly, in a context where one would assume speakers to want to flag their identity, i.e. in the attitudes context, the reverse was found. Speakers increased their usage of the 0 variants, in an attempt to dilute their identity, which was found to correlate with a positive attitude held. The greatest motivation behind the choice to use more 0 variants, and fewer retroflex variants, was an economic motivation. The correlations would benefit from a deeper analysis, as it may be the case that children were receptive of shifts in the parents' speech when communicating with agencies, such as schools, (Canagarajah, 2008). The pattern to style shift in such contexts may have therefore be learned. Speakers are also aware of these realisations as salient markers of their identity. The use of varying realisations of English phonemes, in different stylistic contexts, may be reflective of the formation of a mosaic, British Asian identity. Thus both the absence of retroflex realisations of English phonemes, and the presence of these represent different parts of their identity. Thus, this mosaic identity makes British Asians similar in this respect, to the American Jews in New York (Levon, 2006).

Setbacks and Learning Points

An inital sample of seventeen people were recruited, all of which belonged to one extended social network. Subjects were informed of a mock interview context, which had no repercussions, i.e. no such job actually existed. A mock job profile was composed, with information about a company, and the role of a Sales Assistant, within this company, (Appendix A, 1.5 and 1.6). The interviews were due to be carried out in school to enhance the formal aspect. Schools were contacted, and kindly supported the research. However, subjects got in touch, the day before the interview was due to be carried out, and pulled out of the entire study. The repurcussion of this was that there was now a sense of unease within the entire network, which resulted in all seventeen being lost. Upon reflection, the age of the subjects was perhaps too young to participate in a mock job interview. Thus the context of leaving a message for a teacher was created.

Perhaps it would be beneficial for other students carrying out research involving participants, to be aware of these situaitons, where subjects may be repeatedly putting off a date as they do not wish to participate, but do not wish to say this, openly. Thus a bit more vigilance may be necessary so that the back up can be approached earlier, in case subjects pull out.

Since writing this dissertation a brief PowerPoint presentation has been composed, and made available for the Dissertation lectures for final year students. Thus, allowing for guidance in such matters should they arise.

[i] The father of the two sisters, RB and Z, was British born, and their mother was born in South Africa to South Asian parents, and came to Britain at the age of seven.

[ii] All, but two, of the voices played were of people from Blackburn. Voice one was of a female who has lived in various parts of the country, although most time has been near Blackburn. Voice two is of a female who came from Pakistan at a young age.

[iii] K was incorrectly identified as Asian, i.e., of Gen1, by all British White respondents. However this was because he was struggling to read passage. All British Asian subjects accurately identified K as British Asian.

Reference List

Bell, A. (1984). 'Language style as audience design.' *Language in Society*. 13: 145- 204.

Canagarajah, Suresh, A. (2008). 'Language Shift and the family: Questions from the Sri Lankan Tamil Diaspora.' *Journal of Sociolinguistics.* 12:2.143- 176.

Clyne, M. (2003). Dynamics of Language Contact: *English and Immigrant Languages.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Clyne, M. (1969). 'Transference and Triggering.' *Observations on the Language of Post-War speaking migrants in Australia.* The Hague. The Netherlands.

Eckert, P. (1987). 'The relative value of variables.' In Keith M. Denning, Sharon Inkelas, Faye Mc Nair- Knox and John Rickford (eds.) *Variation in language: Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual Conference on New Ways of Analysing Variation.* Stanford. California. 101-110.

Eckert, P, and McConnell Ginet. (1992). 'Think practically and think locally.' Language and Gender as a community based practice. *Annual review of Anthropology* 21: 461-490.

Edwards, V. (1986). *Language in a Black community.* Clevedon (Avon). Multilingual Matters Ltd.

Fought, C. (2004). 'Sociolinguistic Variation.' *Critical Reflections.* Oxford University Press. New York

Fought, C. (2006). 'Language and Ethnicity.' Cambridge University Press. New York.

Giles, H, and Smith, P. (1979). 'Accommodation Theory.' Optimal levels of convergence. In Giles, H, and R. N. St. Clair (eds). *Language and Social Psychology.* Oxford. Blackwell.

Gumperz. (1996). 'The speech community.' *In Patrick, P.L. 2002.* In *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change.* Chambers, J,K, Trudgill, P, and Schilling-Estes (eds.) 573- 597. Oxford. Blackwell

Heselwood, B, Mc Chrystal, L. (2000). 'Gender, accent featured and voicing in Panjabi-English bilingual children.' *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics* 8, pp. 45-70.

Karjig, V, Rao, P, Samudravijaya, K. (2007). 'Investigation of Acoustic Attributes of Marathi unvoiced stops for classification.' *Proceedings of Frontiers of research on Speech and Music. (FRSM).* Mysore. India.

Khan, F. (1991). 'The Urdu Speech Community.' In Alladinas and Edwards, V. (eds). *Multilingualism in the British Isles, Volume 2: Africa, The Middle East and Asia.* Harlow, Longman.

Labov, W. (2001). The anatomy of style-shifting. *In Eckert, P, and Rockford, J.* (eds). *Style and Sociolinguistic Variation.* Cambridge. U.K. 85-108.

Lambert, K, Alam, F and Stuart- Smith, J. (2007). 'Investigating British Asian accents: Studies from Glasgow.' *Proceedings of the XVIth International Congress of Phonetic Sciences,* Saarbrücken, pp. 1509-11.

Levon, E. (2006). 'Mosaic Identity and style: Phonological variation among Reform American Jews.' *Journal of Sociolinguistics,* 10/2: 181- 204.

Milroy, L. (1980). *Language and Social Networks.* Oxford. Blackwell.

Podesva, R. (2007). 'Phonation type as a stylistic variable: The use of falsetto in constructing a persona.' *Journal of Sociolinguistics.* 11.4:478-504.

Sankoff, G. (2002). 'Linguistic Outcomes of Language Contact.' In Chambers, J, K, Trudgill, P, and Schilling- Estes, N. (eds.) *The Handbook of Language Variation and Change.* Oxford: Blackwell. *pp. 638- 668.*

Sebba, M. (1993). *London Jamaican: Language Systems in Interactions.* New York: Longman.

Shackle. C. (1972). *Panjabi: A complete course for beginners.* New York. Hodder.

Sharma, D, and Sankaran, L. (2009). *Retroflexion in first and second generation Panjabi London English.* (In Review).

Trudgill, P. (1974). *The Sociolinguistic Differentiation of English in Norwich.*
Cambridge. U.k.: Cambridge University Press.

Trudgill, P. (1983). *Sociolinguistics.* Harmondsworth: Penguin.

Appendices

Appendix A

1.1: Word List One

Door

River

Toast

Water

Tea

Roast

Den

Ring

Curry

Bridge

Cottage

1.2: Word List Two

Daal *lentils*

Roti *chapatti*

Pindi *Place in Pakistan*

Garam Masala

Dil *heart*

Tum *second person pronoun 'you'*

Roshnee *sunlight*

1.3: Reading Passage

Ted lived in a cottage by the river. Mary went to visit Ted one day. She drove over the hill, over the bridge, and parked her car near the den. Ted opened the door and Mary could smell curry and roast potatoes. The curry was too hot for Mary, and she needed lots of water. Afterwards they had a cup of tea and talked. Mary told Ted all about her grandmothers' ring.

1.4: Questions used in the Attitudes context

- Do you think there is a divide between Asians and Whites in Blackburn?

- How would you describe Blackburn, in terms of Asians and Whites?

- What do you think of the BNP, and how they might affect people in Blackburn, and generally?

- What are the Asians who hang-out with Whites like?
- Do you have any words to describe them?

- Do you ever speak Panjabi/ Urdu outside your home?

- -In what situations
- -With whom? (*Who with* was used, due to the informal nature of this context)

The questions were used to introduce each sub-topic and developed into further detailed discussion, in some cases.

1.5: Mock job Interview Company and role description (Later abandoned)

Herring's

Work Experience 2009/10

Our Store: Here at Herring's we provide high quality service for all our customers. We are the UKs third largest retail store, stocking clothes, accessorizes, household goods, and more.

Position: Sales assistant

Responsibilities: A Sales Assistant is required to represent the store at all times, by having a professional approach, being helpful, approachable, and ensuring the customer's needs is met. You will be expected to help with stock checks when required, and work well as part of a team. You will help customers with their purchase, and ensure that they have a pleasant time shopping at Herring's.

Career opportunities: Your time spent here on work experience can lead to a permanent job, if you work well.

Interview Process: You will be asked a series of questions by an interviewer, via a pre-recorded tape. Please answer the question with as many examples as you can, and with as much detail as you can.

Good luck and we hope to see you soon!

1.6: Interview Questions

Herring's

1. Tell me about a time that you worked well as part of a team to help complete a task?

2. What qualities do you feel that you can bring to this role?

3. How would you deal with a customer who is rude, and aggressive towards you?
   -Who would you call for assistance?
   -How would you respond to them?

4. How would work experience in our store help you for the future?

Appendix B

1.1 Results from the Accent judgement test

R	Voice One		Voice Two		Voice Three		Voice Four		Voice Five		Voice Six		Voice Seven		Voice Eight		Voice Nine		Voice Ten	
	NT	GL	NT	GL	NT	GL	NT	GL	NT	GL	NT	GL	NT	GL	NT	GL	NT	GL	NT	GL
1	BW	M	A	BG	BA	B	BA	B	O	BG	BA	B	BA	B	BA	M	A	M	BA	B
2	BW	M	A	_	BA	_	BA	B	_	BG	BA	_	BA	B	BA	_	A	_	_	_
3	BW	B	A	B	BA	M	BA	B	BW	BG	BA	B	BA	B	BA	B	A	M	BA	B
4	BW	M	A	B	BA	BG	BA	B	BW	BG	BA	B	BA	B	BA	M	A	BG	BA	B
5	BW	B	A	BG	BA	M	BA	B	BW	M	BA	B	BA	B	BA	M	BA	B	BA	B
6	BW	B	BA	B	BA	M	BA	B	BW	B	BA	B	BA	B	BA	B	BA	B	BA	B
7	BW	B	A	B	BW	BG	BA	B	BW	L	BA	B	BA	BG	BA	M	BA	B	BA	M
8	BW	B	A	B	BA	BG	BA	M	BW	L	BA	B	BA	B	BA	M	BA	B	BA	BG

Abbreviations for NT (Nationality)

A: Asian

BA: British Asian

BW: British White

O: Other

Abbreviations for Geographical Location)[iii]

B: Blackburn

L: Liverpool

M: Manchester

BG: Birmingham

The table above consists of the results of the accent judgement test, and geographical location, as provided by respondents. Due to the quantity of information condensed into this table, the results were represented through the use of graphs 4 and 5, in the Results section, making the information more accessible.

1.2: Results for [t] in Word List One by South-Asian adolescents

Raw Numbers

Variants	Subjects																			
	AA		F[1]		RM		A[1]		U		RZ		MR		K		Z[1]		RB	
	IP	RP	IP	RP	IP	RP	IP	RP	IP	RP	IP	RP	IP	RP	IP	RP	IP	RP	IP	RP
0	4	4	3	2	3	5	5	3	4	4	3	4	3	4	1	1	4	6	5	6
1	2	2	1	1	2	1	0	2	2	2	3	2	3	2	4	5	2	0	1	0
2	0	0	1	2	1	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	0	0	0
3	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	6	6	6	5	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6	6

IP: Initial pronunciation **RP**: Repeat Pronunciation

All respondents style shift towards a less retroflex realisation of the [t] variable in their repeat pronunciation. The exceptions to this, which include F and A, are perhaps because the repeat pronunciations for these subjects were elicited at a later date. Z and RB have at least one

pronunciation, either the initial, or repeat, in which all realisations of the variable are coded as 0, i.e. a retroflex of any degree, is absent. The repeat pronunciation results in increased attention paid to the speech, which reduces a more retroflex realisation. The realisations of the variable [d] and [r] in this context, also elicit less retroflex variants in the repeat pronunciation.

1.3: Results for [t] in the Reading Passage for South Asian adolescents

Raw Numbers

Variant	Subject									
	AA	F	RM	A	U	RZ	MR	K	Z	RB
0	8	7	9	8	9	3	2	4	17	8
1	7	5	5	7	6	12	12	10	0	8
2	1	2	2	1	2	1	3	2	0	0
3	0	2	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total[1]	16	16	16	16	17	16	17	16	17	16

1.4: Results for [d] in the Reading Passage for South Asian adolescents

Raw Numbers

Variants	Subjects									
	AA	F	RM	A	U	RZ	MR	K	Z	RB
0	6	5	4	6	8	6	3	7	14	9
1	9	7	10	8	8	8	8	9	0	5
2	1	1	0	0	0	0	3	0	0	0
3	0	1	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total[1]	16	14	14	14	16	14	14	16	14	14

1.5: Results for [t] in Casual Speech by South-Asian adolescents:

Percentages

Variants	Subjects									
	AA	F	RM	A	U	RZ	MR	K	Z	RB
0	48%	21%	41%	22%	43%	67%	23%	25%	81.30%	66%
1	41%	49%	50%	73%	52%	28%	73%	65%	17.30%	34%
2	9%	30%	9%	4%	3%	3%	4%	2.50%	1.40%	0%
3	2%	0%	0%	1%	2%	2%	0%	7.50%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

1.6: Results for [t] in the Attitudes Context by South Asian adolescents

Percentages

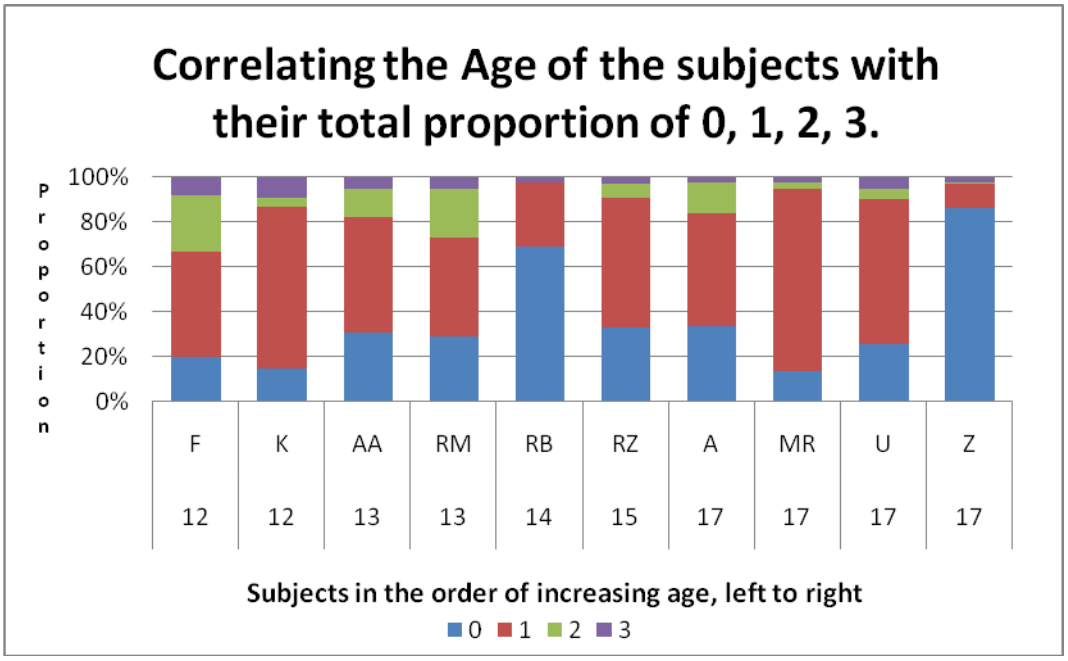
Variant	Subjects								
	AA	F	RM	A	U	RZ	MR	Z	RB
0	46%	100%	50%	47%	54%	35%	40%	100%	93%
1	52%	0%	50%	34%	44%	65%	52%	0%	7%
2	2%	0%	0%	19%	2%	0%	8%	0%	0%
3	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

Table 2: The realisations of the variable [r] in Word List One

Subjects	Variant realisations		
	0	1	3
KT	100%	0%	0%
E	100%	0%	0%
S	100%	0%	0%
JD	100%	0%	0%
JH	100%	0%	0%
L	100%	0%	0%
LM	100%	0%	0%
AA	0%	100%	0%
F	0%	100%	0%
RM	60%	40%	0%
A	0%	100%	0%
U	40%	60%	0%
RZ	40%	60%	0%
MR	40%	60%	0%
K	20%	80%	0%
Z	80%	20%	0%
RB	60%	40%	0%

The results in the table demonstrate that for most of the British Asian respondents, which are AA through to RB, there is a greater realisation of the [r] variable as a slight retroflex, i.e. 1, than 0, in this formal context. The exceptions to this are Z and Rb, who have a higher proportion of the 0 variant, i.e. the retroflex is absent.

Graph A: Correlation of the independent variable Age, and the proportion of each variant used.



The graph represents the proportion of variants, 0,1, 2, and 3, for all three English varaibles, [t], [d], and [r]. The results show that the independent variable, age, does not correlate with the proportion of variants used across all stylistic contexts. For example, K and MRs speech, consist of below 20% usage of the 0 variant, and there is a gap of five years between them. In contrast, RB, aged fourteen, and Z, aged seventeen, have higher proportions of 0 variants, than all other subjects, either younger, or older.

Thus age has not shown to be a significant factor in the realisation of the English phonemes, [t],[d], and [r], as more, or less retroflex variants.

Appendix C

1.1 Transcript of M.R. 'Attitudes in Blackburn'

M.R:

ə tɪŋk bi:. ɛn. pi:. wɪl – n – n – – ə. tɪŋk bi: ɛn pi: wɪl nɒʔ bi: ɪn pauwə
bɪkʌz – ə – – ə bi:– ə – brɪtɪʃ næʃənəl pa:ti: hæz nɛvə bi:n. i:ðə
kɒnsɜ:vətri: en lɪbrəl dɛməkrærs – – – ə ðɪŋk ðeə reɪsɪst ən ðeə djus wən
ɪŋlənd tu: bi: fɪld wɪð waɪ p4i:pəl ən neu mɔ: eɪɜənz – – – – – ɔ:l
eɪɜənz ə ɒfɛndɪd baɪ ðɪs bi:kʌz ðeə bɪli:v ðeɪ hæv ə raɪʔ tu: ɜ:n ə lɪvɪŋ – –
– əndə ðeɪ ə lɛʔ daun – ðæʔ. sʌmpi:. ðeə hæv bi:n lɛʔ daun baɪ eə
kʌmjunəti: Θinkin ðæʔ sʌməv dɛm du: wʌn əm gɒn wɛn ðeə bi:ɪŋ naɪs tu:
ðeə feɪsɪs – – – – – – – – – – ə Θɪŋkɜ: eɪɜənz du: tɛnd tu: tʃɪlauʔ. tɛnd
tu: hæŋ auʔ mɔ: wɪð eɪɜənz laɪk ðeə ɔ:n kaɪnd dɛn waɪts– ɪn blækbɜ:n –
bʌʔ ə du: ɒn ʌkeɪɜən si: waɪʔs hæŋɪn raund wɪd eɪɜənz – – hauwɛvə – – –
– – wɛn – wɛn– eɪɜənz ə wɪd waɪʔ pi:pəl – – ðeə tɛnd tu: spi:k laɪk dɛm
dɛn ðəmsɛlvz – – – ən wɛn sʌmtaɪmz. ə i:vən si: waɪʔs traɪjɪŋ tu: tɔ:k laɪk
eɪɜənz wɛn ðeə kɔ:nt – – – – – – ə – – ə spi:k pʌndja:bi: auʔsaɪd – – bʌʔ
nɛvə uɽɖu: – ə – wɛn əm wɪd frɛnds – – djus laɪk djɛnrəli: tɔ:kiŋ – – – – –
I: What about in Blackburn, as a whole, do you think Asians and goray are
separate, or M.R: ɪn sʌmpəʔs əv blækbən eɪɜənz ə sɛpəreɪʔɪd frəm waɪʔ
pi:pəl – bʌʔ – – ðeəz ə əlɒʔəv pleɪsɪs ðæs. ɪn blækbən dæʔ əv bi:n tu:. jea.
dæʔ ə si: lɔ:dzə eɪɜənz hæŋɪn raud wɪd waɪʔ pi:pəl əz wɛl – – –

19 I: In terms of areas like Audley, Whalley Range, and then you have
20 Shadsworth and Mill Hill. MR: jeə. nɔ: – jeə. jeə. ju: hæv ʃæd. jeə ju: du: –
21 ju: du: hæv. Ju: du: geʔ dæʔ bʌʔ əm – – – ɪn – ɪn ɔdli: jeə. Ju: si: kwi:nz
22 pɔ:k eərɪəz ən stʌf. I: Oh yeah. M.R: ənd ɪn wəli: reɪndʒ ju: dəun ri:li: si:
23 dæʔ mɛni:. I: no. M.R: kʌz ðɛz laɪk – wɒli: reɪndʒ ɪz laɪk mɔ: əv laɪk – ɪʔs
24 fʌl – laɪk eɪʒən pɔ:təv blækbən. ðə fʌl eɪʒən pɔ:rəv blækbən – – – – ənd
25 ʒ: – – ʃædzwʒ:ð wɛl ɪʃs mɔ: fɪld wɪð laɪk – gɔ:ɽeɪ – laɪk waɪʔ pi:pəl əndə
26 seu ɪz mɪl. mɪlhɪl ɪz weə məstəv ðə reɪsɪst pi:pəl. reɪsɪst waɪʔ pi:pəl lɪv –
27 – – – dæs weə nɪk grɪfɪn lɪvz––gʌd –

1.2 Transcript of (Part of) AA 'Attitudes context'

A:

1 bʌʔ seɪ ɪf juː laɪk – wʒːkɪn ɪnə ʃɒp – laɪkə suːpəmaːkɪʔ – ɔː laɪk
2 ðæʔ– juː hæv tuː mɪksɪn wɪd də gɔːɽeɪ əzwɛl ən staːʔ taːkɪn laɪk ə lɪʔəl
3 bɪʔ laɪk ðeə duː əzwɛl

- All transcripts were carried out using David Crystals', 'Notes and Discussions.' *Things to remember when transcribing speech.* http://www.davidcrystal.com/DC_articles/Clinical28.pdf [Accessed 4/06/04]