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*The Geordie Shore* - dialectal features

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*The Geordie Shore* - dijalektalna obilježja

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## **Abstract**

Even though it may not be the most well-known of the English dialects, the Geordie or the Tyneside English of the city of Newcastle-upon-Tyne is without doubt one of the most well-preserved and impermeable dialects of north-eastern England. The aim of this thesis is to examine the rate of possible dialect-levelling based on the data analysis from a famous British reality show *The Geordie Shore*. The first part of the thesis consists of the necessary theoretical survey of the history, origins, social background and historical dialect continuum of Geordie that all influenced the Geordie dialect and its development and evolution throughout the years. The second part of the thesis contains empirical qualitative research of the Geordie features based on the speech of the five young adults featured in the reality show under consideration. This analysis will provide information about possible dialect-levelling on one hand and dialect retention on the other hand. Comparing the traditional dialect description and the most common linguistic features of the speech of the younger generations of speakers in their authentic and genuine conversations will serve as guidelines in establishing whether the dialect has changed significantly over the years.

Key words: Geordie dialect, Newcastle, Standard English, linguistic features, dialect-levelling

## 1 Introduction

Amongst the many dialects of England, *Geordie* is one of the most prominent ones. It is a variety of English spoken in the north-east of England, namely in the city of Newcastle, or Newcastle-upon-Tyne, and the whole Tyneside region of the country evolved from the northern form of Old/Middle English. The Geordie territory is situated near the border with Scotland, which is why some would argue that there are certain features closely related to Scottish English. The term was first coined in the 18th century during the period of King George I and associated with the working class of the region. It is still used today to describe the northern Tyneside dialect and the people living in that area. Differing from standard English in lexical, phonological and syntactic aspects, it is almost considered as a separate language and culture from the rest of England, with a strong feeling of *otherness* and a highlighted sense of regional and cultural identity. The following paper will provide some insight into the history and social background of Geordie and analyse its lexicon, grammar and phonetic and phonological characteristics by providing examples from an MTV reality show located in Newcastle, called *The Geordie Shore*. The purpose of this paper is to determine if the traditional description of the dialect is different from the language and the slang used by younger generations of Geordie speakers starring the show.

## 2 Historical and social background

Due to the enclosure of common land, the Industrial Revolution and the mechanisation of agriculture in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, people of Great Britain were massively moving from countryside into industrial cities. During this time, there was a growing awareness of differences and distinctive features of certain urban dialects which were at the time associated with the industrial working class. This mobility led to the acknowledgement of one of these distinctive dialects and the creation of a repertoire of its features in the 18th century. Furthermore, long before the population movements, the dialect of Northumberland was considered as one of the most distinctive ones in England. With the industrial boom and the flourishing of tourism in the 18th century, many Northerners went to London, seeking their fortune and a better life, and in their travels to the South, they were encountering more and more unambiguous comments about their dialect, acknowledging a different way of speaking and a different cultural tradition from what the more southern residents were used to. However, the term *Geordie* had not yet existed until the year of 1830, where the earliest written evidence that groups of people were actually called Geordies was first found.

During this period, people referred to as Geordies were sailors from the North East, involved in the North East's most important industries, the extraction and transportation of coal. At that time, a Geordie was a miner, recognisable by his miner's helmet and a giant leek which represented his favourite hobby of growing show leeks for competition popular among miners of the north-east of England. These miners soon became industrial icons of the region.

The exiles from the North East were aware of the differences between their speech and that of the people from more southern regions, which is why they wanted to reinforce their linguistic identity, through songs and performances in their own dialect. So until the middle of the 19th century a Geordie was either a miner or a sailor from the working class, but from the 1860s the term refers to North Easterners more generally. A Geordie was now anyone within forty miles from Newcastle, from the far south of County Durham to Northumberland's border with Scotland.

## 2.1 Origins of Geordie

In Newcastle, the first dialect glossaries and dictionaries were published in the 19th century, referring to the *North Country* or *Northumberland* and not yet using the term *Geordie*, which was first mentioned in the title of a dictionary as late as the 20th century. There are a couple of stories of the origin of the name *Geordie*. The most famous one connects *Geordie* with King George I, who was to succeed the throne of Great Britain and Ireland in 1714, but was opposed by Catholic supporters of James Stuart, the son of King James II and VI of England and Scotland, which led to a series of Jacobites' rebellions across England and Scotland. Every town in Northumberland was supposed to stand by the Jacobites, but Newcastle did not want to support the rebellion, because it claimed that its trade and business depended too much on royal approval and that it was not worth the risk. Because of their support for King George I, the Jacobites then referred to people of Newcastle as *Geordies*. This is one of the more plausible theories of the coinage of the name, because the term Geordie was here used only for the natives of Newcastle, while the others who originated from the North East were known as Tynesiders, Makems (from Sunderland), Sand Dancers (from South Shields), Northumbrians and Durhamites. However, some of the earliest published speculations about the origins of the term make no reference to King George, which is why some other theories about the origin of the name came to life. There are claims that the name originated because of the general popularity of the name *George* in the 19th century in England. This was especially true for the North East, seeing as its birth records suggest that it

was twice as common there as it was in the rest of England. And since men named George were hypocoristically called by the diminutive *Geordie*, it was very common to hear the name in the region. There is another theory that the name was taken from George Stephenson, a mining and railway engineer in the North East who invented the Geordie safety lamp for miners; however, it is argued that the residents of Newcastle had been called Geordies long before he invented the lamp, which is why this theory is not as compelling as the first two. Another theory worth mentioning has it that Geordies had gotten their name from Saint George, a Roman soldier who was sentenced to death because he did not want to renounce his Christian faith. He is the patron of Geordies, which is why Geordies often swear *by Geordie!*, referring to Saint George.

## 2.2 Social and regional identity: Geordie Nation

There is a vast majority of differences between Northerners and Southerners regarding dialects and culture. Geordies often mark themselves out as distinct from people from other parts of the region, which is why the term *Geordie Nation* was first used in 1994 by Sir John Hall, the Chairman of Newcastle United Football Club, when talking about the South East as the enemy when it comes to football, which Geordies are unanimously passionate about. He used this term in its Native American sense, suggesting that Geordies have a unique language and culture and are threatened and exploited by the South East. Geordies feel isolated from the political decision-making process and the dominant culture. This feeling of isolation and *otherness* exists because of the geographical division and the gravitational pull of Newcastle which greatly influences the whole region. Another unifying factor is the fact that there is a common sense of identity between middle- and working-class citizens of Geordie Nation, meaning that there is no class discrimination. The region is united in terms of football, class, government and culture and Geordies are proud of their heritage, their land and their differences from the rest of England. However, although Geordies feel this way towards their dialect, and even though Geordie is quite popular today, the attitude of the rest of the country was not always as favourable as it is today. According to Beal (1999), surveys reported by Giles and Powesland in the past showed that Geordie was rated as unpopular among many other English accents, mainly because of its possible unintelligibility, its rigidity and rough pronunciation and prosody. However, this is not the case anymore, seeing as more recent studies, such as the *Bella* survey and the article in the *Newcastle Evening Chronicle* (Beal, 1999), show that Geordie is one of the highest-rated English accents, which is why Newcastle is today one of the most popular city-break destinations in England and why Geordies are

considered friendly by other inhabitants of the country. Seeing that the stereotype of Geordie is so positive, it is not expected to see accent-levelling when it comes to Geordies. They would want to keep the language features that mark their level of amicability. They are keener on preserving some stereotypical pronunciations and specific lexicon to maintain these positive aspects of the Geordie stereotype, which are friendliness and the sense of pride and regional identity. However, it is nearly impossible for a dialect not to evolve over time, which is why some of its features will probably disappear, while others will be fossilised, lexicalised or levelled, at the least, whilst keeping a distinctive voice and feeling of the Geordie Nation.

### 2.3 Geordie today

Although the Geordie territory extended over the area within forty miles from Newcastle, towards the end of the 19th century, the geographical range of Geordies started narrowing down. Tyneside and Newcastle are now widely regarded as the economic and cultural capital of the region. Newcastle and the Tyne are the core areas of the dialect, with the Geordie territory extending further north of the river than to the south. Beyond Newcastle, Geordies can be found throughout Northumberland, however, for many local people, a Geordie must be born in Newcastle, and not anywhere else in the North East (cf. Pearce, 2014). For the most deep-rooted Geordies, a Geordie is someone who lives within three miles from the bank of the Tyne. The boundaries are evident, sharply and strictly defined and not open for discussion. Geordies are extremely territorial and they can easily get offended if people call themselves Geordie and not fit the requirements. Even though the distinction between the urban Geordie and a Northumbrian in terms of language identity is not completely clear, if anybody mistakes a person from the slightly more southern towns of Sunderland or Middlesbrough for a Geordie, they have made an "... unforgivable social gaffe." (Beal, 1999:34). Outsiders might encounter problems when referring to Geordies more often, considering that they are not aware of the nuances of the differences in dialect and culture; furthermore, outsiders' perception of the region is mainly influenced by media representations, which are not always correct and true.

In the second half of the 20th century, the Geordie dialect started being mentioned in commercial products, folk dictionaries and souvenirs. It quickly became a recognisable brand associated with the Tyne, Newcastle and the miners. Today we can find many commodities bearing slogans or having the *Geordieland* logo, selling authenticity. Geordieland is a term used in the tourist industry which refers to souvenirs carrying slogans in Geordie in order to

delight visitors. The heart of the Geordie Nation and the capital of Geordieland is most certainly the city of Newcastle, locally called *the Toon*, based on the Tyneside pronunciation of the word *town*.

### **3 Representation of Geordie in *The Geordie Shore* - Data Analysis**

Geordie, also known as Tyneside English, or TE, is a conservative dialect, only very lightly affected by external influences. Historically, it has been almost unusually stable and not really pervious to change. Some would even argue that it is older than the supposed standard variety of English, seeing as its form is closest to the original form of Anglo-Saxon that was once spoken throughout England. However, describing the dialect as linguistically and demographically static and homogeneous would perhaps be inaccurate (cf. Watt, 2002). Namely, it is apparent that it stems from a dialect mixture through contact. Watt claims that, because Tyneside is so close to the Scottish border and the Scottish populous *central belt*, a high number of the region's incomers have originated in Scotland. It is also important to say that these two dialects, Geordie and Scottish English, share a common origin, which is why Lowland Scots exerts the strongest influence on the dialect of Tyneside (cf. Beal, 1993). The continuing close relationship between Scots and Northumbrians is the reason for the maintenance and the reinforcement of the linguistic similarities between these dialects. Another point that Watt (2002) makes is that, besides Scotland, the Irish community has also influenced the Geordie dialect, since there is a small, but significant percentage of Irish-born Newcastle citizens who exercise their influence with the distinctiveness and the strength of their traditions. Still, the Irish influence was not as strong as that of the expatriate Scots, since the Irish were less integrated in the workforce. Being so closely connected with the Scots and the Irish, it is no wonder that Newcastle folk feel remoteness from and a lack of identity with southern England. The region shares as many characteristics with Scotland as with the rest of England and they feel much closer to Scotland than to other parts of England, which is also why there are so many linguistic differences between Geordie and Standard English, that is, differences concerning phonology, morphology, syntax and vocabulary.

Tyneside English seems to be more stable and less likely to succumb to Standard English than some other English dialects, which is why there is no apparent reason to consider dialect levelling and its eroding under the southern influence. Nevertheless, there have always seemed to exist some differences among different generations of speakers. Older speakers tend to use traditional dialect features and regionally marked variants, while younger speakers

use them more rarely, which is precisely the topic of this paper's research. The paper will analyse the differences between the standard, more traditional Geordie dialect and the dialect of young Geordie speakers featured in the reality show called *The Geordie Shore*.

*The Geordie Shore* is a British reality television series broadcast on MTV and situated in Newcastle, broadcast since 2011 and one of the most popular British MTV series. It is a UK spin-off of the popular American series *Jersey Shore* and it features 8 to 12 young people from north-eastern England who share a house and display out-of-control behaviour by drinking, partying, fighting and sleeping with each other. Although some of the cast are not actually Geordies, but from various parts of North East England, the majority of them are indeed from Newcastle, and since this is a reality show, their dialect is completely authentic. This is the speech on which this paper will concentrate, analysing their phonological, grammatical and lexical features and comparing them to the standard and traditional description of the Geordie dialect.

The paper will analyse the first episode of the 13th season of the show, henceforth abbreviated as E1, and some YouTube videos where each of the housemates talks about their experience in the Geordie Shore house, which will be abbreviated as YT1, YT2, YT3, YT4, and YT5. The paper will analyse the speech of five of the roommates, Marty (M), Aaron (A), Scott (S), Chloe (Chl) and Chantelle (Cha), which will possibly show differences in the speech habits of each of the genders. It is important to mention that they are classified as people from the working class. They commonly use slang in their speech and are young adults in the age range of 20 to 28.

### 3.1 Phonetics and phonology

There are a number of distinct phonological features which distinguish Geordie from Standard English. First we will look at the vowels, then the consonants, and lastly, we will discuss the intonation and prosody in general.

#### 3.1.1 Vowels

Geordie being a non-rhotic variety, like some other accents of English, in words that end in *-er* or *-ar*, the *-er* or *-ar* ending is pronounced with a vowel, which is /a/, rather than /ə/, (cf. Wells, 1982) which can indeed be seen in the following examples:

A: Gaz and Char were back *təʒədə* (together). (E1, 00:37)

Cha: I'm gonna wrap the lads around me little ***fɪŋgə*** (finger). (E1, 2:26)

M: Me ***ban?ə*** (banter) is pure naughty! (E1, 2:34)

S: What a fuckin' ***belte*** (belter)! (E1, 3:18)

S: Here's fthe start of a wicked ***soma*** (summer) (E1, 8:23)

This can be seen throughout the episode and is present in the speech of each of the five individuals. It is important to mention that this feature is not restricted to the Tyneside area, but is widespread in other non-rhotic dialects.

Beal (2009) and Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005) claim that this final *er/ar* is pronounced by Geordies as *or*, (for example, *beggar* becomes *beggor* and is pronounced as /ɔ:r/), but there are no examples of this in the show.

According to Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005), in the continuous verb forms (and some adverbs), the final *-ing* is pronounced as /ɪn/, which is also apparent and present throughout the episode in their speech as well:

M: The biggest parties of wur ***fokɪn*** (fucking) lives! (E1, 1:22)

Cha: ***bozɪn*** (buzzing). (E1, 3:59)

A: We are ***ronɪn*** (running) through the house (...). (E1, 8:03)

Chl: You're a ***fokɪn*** (fucking) ***lajɪn*** (lying) prick! (E1, 21:17)

One of the noticed features in the show is the pronunciation of the personal first person pronoun *I*. However, there are no sources that can confirm whether this phenomenon exists in the traditional Geordie description. Nevertheless, in the series, instead of the usual pronunciation /aɪ/, the pronoun is monophthongized and simply pronounced as /a/, :

M: ***ə*** (I) cannot be arsed with this, like. (E1, 39:35)

Chl: But so do ***ə*** (I). (EP1, 12:07)

Cha: ***ə*** (I) don't see why not. (EP1, 10:15)

A: ... ***ə*** (I) don't wanna pull anyone else... (E1, 13:01)

S: ***əm*** (I'm) gonna text that bunch of radgies... (E1, 3:25)

It is worth noting that this kind of pronunciation is not present in other cases of the /aɪ/ diphthong. It is not present in the entire lexical set and it is not a common dialectal feature. Here are some examples from the series of other words with the /aɪ/ diphthong, pronounced standardly:

M: The biggest parties of wur fuckin' **laɪvz** (lives)! (E1, 1:22)

Chl: I'm totally crackers, me **laɪk** (like). (E1, 2:30)

A: ...and we **traɪd** (tried) to make a go of it... (E1, 6:09)

S: Which rascal has the fuckin' nerve to ring me at this **taɪm** (time)? (E1, 2:50)

One of the most important characteristics of Geordie and the northern local accents in general is "the absence of the FOOT-STRUT Split, that is, the lack of a phonemic opposition between the vowels of FOOT and STRUT." (Wells, 1982:351). In other words, this shows a distinction between the /ʌ/ sound and the /ʊ/ sound. For example, the word *love*, usually pronounced as /lʌv/ in Standard English, would now be pronounced as /lʊv/. This is evident in the speech of the five housemates:

S: Which rascal has the **fʊkɪn** (fucking) nerve to ring me at this time? (E1, 2:50)

S: I'm gonna text that **bʊnɪf** (bunch) of radgies... (E1, 3:25)

M: How the **fʊk** (fuck) can you misspell Geordie? (E1, 7:10)

M: I cannot wait to get **stʊk** (stuck) in Magaluf! (E1, 7:53)

M: Predrinks are **dʊn** (done)! (E1, 17:09)

Cha: ...even if it hasn't got a **pʊls** (pulse). (E1, 8:15)

A: At times like this, I **lʊv** (love) bein' part of this family. (E1, 8:40)

A: I let Marnie go in front of **ʊs** (us). (E1, 27:54)

Chl: One **hʊndrəd** (hundred) and million percent. (YT5, 1:16)

Chl: Makes me look l'a proper **mʊg** (mug)! (E1, 22:21)

One of the most prominent phonological differences between Geordie and Standard English is the way in which Geordies pronounce the sound /eɪ/ in the FACE words. As

described by Beal (2009), in the late 20th century, the sound /eɪ/ was pronounced as /ɪə/, as if the spelling of *face* was *fyes*. Watt (2002) extended this claim by noting that this feature became subject to levelling after the 20th century. Wells (1982) also discusses this feature, claiming that the /ɪə/ diphthongs are nowadays archaic and old-fashioned. It is therefore interesting to see that this feature can still be noticed in this group of young speakers, but tends to be variable, probably because of the inevitable levelling. However, most of the time, although mostly with the male speakers, the /eɪ/ sound is indeed pronounced as /ɪə/:

A: It's a ***fɪə*** (shame) Gaz and Charlotte didn't work out. (E1, 5:22)

A: ... and scenes of a sexual ***nɪəʃə*** (nature) from the outset and throughout. (YT3, 0:04)

A: I don't ***blɪə*** (blame) 'er. (E1, 21:30)

M: ... I cannot ***wɪə*** (wait) to see what's gonna happen. (E1, 6:42)

M: The ***plɪəs*** (place) looks fuckin' ***amɪəzɪŋ*** (amazing). (E1, 5:52)

M: I'm ***tʌkɪn'*** (taking) a chance with Chloe... (E1, 29:44)

S: Does this girl ever fuckin' ***tʌk*** (take) a ***brɪə*** (break)? (E1, 17:05)

S: The ***ɡɪə*** (gate) won't open... (E1, 27:45)

Chl: I ***fɪəld*** (failed) me test ten times! (E1, 4:30)

In other cases where the sound is not pronounced as /ɪə/, the sound is monophthongized and is replaced by /e:/, as stated by Wells (1982), by both male and female housemates. Again, this is the case of variability:

Chl: It looked like th'would ***te:k*** (take) it to th'next level. (E1, 00:29)

Chl: Charlotte might not be here, but we need to ***me:k*** (make) the most of it. (E1, 6:32)

Chl: I feel ***ame:zɪn'*** (amazing) 'bout it. (YT5, 1:19)

S: I'm fresh as a ***de:zi*** (daisy). (E1, 2:56)

M: It's my first time ***awe:*** (away) with this bunch of knackers. (E1, 6:40)

M: I just wanna get ye ***ne:kɪd*** (naked)... (E1, 33:53)

Cha: Chloe's gonna ***ste: awe:*** (away) from Scott. (E1, 9:58)

Cha: This could be a bit of a **holide:** (holiday) romance. (E1, 10:11)

A: This video **conte:ns** (contains) strong language... (E1, 0:04)

Moreover, Wells (1982) observes that in the Geordie dialect, the vowel /ɔ:/, in words such as *talk* is pronounced as /a:/ or /æ/, which can be confirmed only by occasional examples from Scott and Marty:

S: We got a mission 'round **a:l** (all) the party islands! (E1, 1:05)

S: I've **a:lwe:s** (allways) knew... (E1, 9:02)

M: **a:l** (all) you need to do is look in your quiff. (YT1, 0:23)

M: First things first, I **wa:k** (walk) into the house. (YT2, 0:25)

One of the pronunciation features of Geordie that Wells (1982) and Beal (2009) discuss is that the vowel /ɜ:/ in the lexical set NURSE sounds like /ɔ:/, like in the lexical set NORTH. However, this feature is seen only in one example in Scott's speech, showing variability, once again:

S: Which rascal has the fucking **nɜ:v** (nerve) to ring me at this time? (E1, 2:50)

In other housemates' cases, the sound /ɜ:/ is pronounced in the same way as is in Standard English:

M: I've never been this honest with a **bɜ:d** (bird) in my fuckin' life. (E1, 29:42)

As Wells (1982) observes, the MOUTH vowel, that is, the sound /aʊ/, may be commonly pronounced as /u:/, in words such as *house* or *crown*, which then sound like *hoos* and *croon*. The perfect example for this is the way people of Newcastle refer to their own city - the Toon - which reflects a characteristic Tyneside pronunciation of the word *town*. However, this kind of pronunciation is mostly not true for the speakers in the show; Wells (1982) also notices that the sound may usually remain the same as in Standard English, as shown in the examples below:

A: We are runnin' through the **haʊs** (house) like fuckin' lunatics. (E1, 8:03)

A: We're hangin' **araʊnd** (around) the pool... (E1, 8:39)

Cha: **naʊ** (now) that you're bi, how would that, like, affect you and Aaron? (E1, 12:13)

S: He got the boot **aut** (out) the Geordie Shore **haus** (house). (YT4, 0:37)

Chl: Me entering the **haus** (house). (YT5, 0:14)

But on the other hand, even though the rest of the cast do not show any difference from Standard English, there is an exception; Marty is the only one who repeatedly pronounces the vowel sound as /u:/:

M: Have you ever been struggling for money for a taxi after a night **u:t** (out)? (YT1, 0:20)

M: Quiff can sort that **u:t** (out). (YT1, 0:47)

M: If you're on a night **u:t** (out), and you need something... (YT1, 1:00)

M: First things first, I walk in the **hu:s** (house). (YT2, 0:25)

As described by Wells (1982), in Geordie, the GOAT vowel has been merged so that it is pronounced as /ø:/, instead of /əʊ/. This seems to be one of the most distinctive phonological features of the group from the series:

Cha: **bø:t** (boat) parties! (E1, 1:17)

Cha: I'm just gonna **gø:** (go) with the **flø:** (flow). (E1, 10:12)

A: Fuckin' here we **gø:** (go). (E1, 3:42)

A: ... **sø:kin'** (soaking) up some sun. (E1, 8:39)

S: Happy to oblige, **thø:** (though). (E1, 9:04)

S: It's me **hø:m** (home). (YT4, 1:58)

M: Me and Chloe are really **klø:s** (close). (E1, 11:20)

M: There's gonna be **fi?lø:dz** (shitloads) of buckin'! (E1, 1:31)

Chl: I'm supposed to be lookin' after me new **nø:z** (nose). (E1, 4:06)

Chl: It was just a **dʒø:k** (joke). (E1, 16:23)

Chl: God **nø:z** (knows) what Holly thinks of us. (E1, 22:00)

In the series, there are two instances in which signs of variability can be seen. Namely, the diphthong /əʊ/ sounds like /u:/:

M: Let's just **hu:p** (hope) the past doesn't come up. (E1, 11:00)

Cha: Chloe, is Scott, like, out the **windu:** (window)? (E1, 9:51)

Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005) note that, just as in Scottish English, words which in Received Pronunciation have /əʊ/ in Tyneside English may have /a:/. For example, the word *know* is often pronounced as /na:/, Corrigan, Moisl and Mearns (2014) say that this is usually more common for the oldest generation of Geordie speakers and that it is lexically restricted to some words, *know* being one of them. However, even though favoured by older speakers, this feature can still be seen in Scott's and Marty's speech:

S: But no one even **na:z** (knows) what the fuck's gan on w'them two. (E1, 00:34)

M: I don't **na:** (know), babe. (YT1, 0:39)

M: And I **na:** (know) Chantelle's only doin' this to piss Chloe off. (E1, 17:48)

Usually, this pronunciation is common for other words that end in <ow> as well, but in the series, this is noticeable only with the word *know*. Each time Scott and Marty pronounce the word in this manner, it is stressed and almost exaggerated, so as to bring attention to the peculiar pronunciation.

As Wells (1982) states, it is often the case with PRICE words which once had a velar fricative, that is, words with the <igh> spelling, such as *night* or *right*, to be pronounced (and spelled) as *neet* and *reet*, instead of /naɪt/ and /raɪt/. This difference between /aɪ/ and /i:/ can only be seen in Marty's and Scott's speech, albeit not all the time:

M: Chloe looks pure wicked **təni:t** (tonight). (E1, 14:44)

S: **Ri:t** (right), I'm gonna text that bunch of radgies... (E1, 3:25)

All the other housemates (including Marty and Scott, on occasion) pronounce these words standardly, as in Standard English, which shows variability:

M: And **tənaɪt**, I wanna have a proper laugh with her. (E1, 11:25)

M: Have you ever been strugglin' for money for a taxi after a **naɪt** out? (YT1, 0:20)

A: *tənaɪt* is the first *naɪt* out in Maga. (E1, 13:52)

S: Let's have a naughty *naɪt* out, like! (E1, 32:57)

According to Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005), in lexical sets TRAP and BATH, words like *dance* and *daft* have /a/, instead of /æ/ or /a:/. This seems to be the case in the show as well. For example, for the word *back*, we hear them pronounce it as /bak/, and not as /bæk/, as well as in some other examples down below:

A: Gaz and Charlotte were *bak* (back) together. (E1, 00:37)

Chl: Aaron and Marnie finally *band* (banged). (E1, 00:25)

A: *Pak* (pack) your *bags* (bags) for Magaluf today! (E1, 3:50)

Cha: I'm not *krakin'* (cracking) on if it means another fight between me and Chloe. (E1, 9:50)

S: Let's *hav* (have) a naughty night out, like! (E1, 32:57)

M: ...and do things in that *fagpad* (shagpad). (E1, 33:54)

### 3.1.2 Consonants

One of the Geordie characteristics confirmed by the speech of the housemates is the presence of the clear alveolar /l/. According to Wells (1982) and Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005), /l/ is clear in all environments and positions. There is no alternation between the dark /l/ and the clear /l/, and this is also true in the series.

The next typical characteristic that Wells (1982) and Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005) mention is the glottalization of the /p, t, k/ sounds. In either the syllable-final position or intervocalically, each of these three sounds is realized as a glottal stop. Instead of producing the /p, t, k/ sounds, the speakers make a hard pause, that is, a full glottal stop, producing a gap or a period of laryngealized voice. For example, the word *city* may be transcribed [sɪʔi:]. In the series, glottalization is most common with the /t/ sound, but there are a couple of examples of the /p/ and /k/ glottalization as well:

Cha: *Bo:ʔ* (boat) *paʔiz* (parties)! (E1, 1:17)

A: There's gonna be pool *paʔiz* (parties)! (E1, 1:16)

M: And you need *somʔin* (something)... (YT1, 1:00)

M: Then I got pure *mɔ:ʔl* (mortal)... (YT2, 1:00)

S: *ʃanʔel* (Chantelle)'s kickin' off again! (E1, 17:02)

Chl: Welcome to the girls' room, you *liʔl* (little) radge-pocket! (E1, 2:12)

Chl: Yous, I'm dead *iksaiʔad* (excited), ya know! (E1, 6:52)

Chl: I *bɛʔa* (better) get *paʔin* (packing)! (E1, 4:02)

Chl: Makes me look I'a *proʔa* (proper) mug! (E1, 22:21)

Since the 18th century, one of the distinctive features of Northumbrian speech was the so-called *burr* - a uvular trilled /r/. This is a feature that Beal (1999 and 2009) Wells (1982) and Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005) identify. It is regarded as a defect in the speech, where the /r/ does not have a trill, but is pronounced as *w* or *oau*, which is called a glide. However, based on the present analysis, this is no longer apparent in the Geordie dialect, seeing as all the housemates pronounce the /r/ sound standardly, as they would in Standard English.

### 3.1.3 Suprasegmentals

Firstly, it is important to mention the intonation in the Geordie dialect. Intonation patterns are quite distinctive and prominent. According to Wells (1982), at the end of a declarative sentence, it is very easy to notice a rising intonation, as if it were a question. This tendency to rise at the end of sentences is sometimes called *Upspeak*, describing an upward intonation. This is evident in all the housemates' speech. Most of their declarations sound like questions, but the context is crucial for understanding their thoughts.

Moreover, Beal (1999) states that Geordies tend to speak really fast, which is, along with extensive glottalization, one of the reasons why they are sometimes unintelligible. For outsiders, it is often hard to understand them. This is also true for the speakers in the show. In their casual conversations, all housemates speak very fast and are sometimes hard to follow.

As Beal (1999) mentioned, Geordies often speak very aggressively and emphatically. Their accent can seem rough and crude not only due to the extensive glottalization, but also because they frequently overemphasize words and syllables. In the series, there are certain instances where this happens, either intentionally or unintentionally. It is important to mention that even when they are not doing it intentionally and to such an extent, they still seem to be speaking aggressively and exaggeratedly each time they talk. The following sentences will provide examples where this exaggeration is at the highest level:

Cha: Me and Scott left on really good terms last *tajim* (time). (E1, 5:50)

A: Me and Marnie finally banged last *tajim* (time). (E1, 6:06)

Chl: Charlotte might not be *hija* (here), but we need to make the most of it. (E1, 6.32)

M: Chloe looks *pjoa*(pure) wicked toneet. (E1, 14:44)

M: ... so me vision went from *klja* (clear) to not *klja* (clear). (YT2, 1:00)

M: And this is my draw my life Geordie Shore *ikspi:rijans* (experience) (YT2, 1:21)

S: ...absolutely *biza:k* (berserk)! (E1, 32:58)

Wells (1982) does mention the quality of NEAR and CURE words and their sounds in Tyneside English, /ia/ and /ua/, but in the cases above, these sounds are pronounced particularly emphatically.

Among the five housemates being analysed, some of the features such as emphasis, roughness and archaic grammatical rules, pronunciation and words are more evident in the speech of the male speakers. Labov (1990) summarizes that female speakers tend to lean more towards the standard type of pronunciation, whereas the male ones more frequently keep the conservative and fossilised characteristics of the dialect, regardless of their young age. Some of these features are only seen in some of the housemates' speech, while there is no trace of them in the speech of the others. These may be idiosyncratic features, but the differences are evident and easily recognised. Labov's theory is confirmed by the examples in this paper. According to him, male speakers are more inclined to express solidarity with the nation they belong to, which is why they use more local dialectal features and non-standard variants. Contrary to this, Labov (1990) states that female speakers are more likely to adhere to standard linguistic descriptions, to use fewer stigmatised forms and to be more sensitive than men to the prestige pattern.

### 3.2 Grammar and morphological features

There are certain unique grammatical features in the Geordie dialect that make it so different from Standard English.

According to Beal (1993), one of the most prominent features is the usage of the usually plural pronoun *us* for the objective case of the first person singular, *me*. However,

according to Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005), this is not a specifically Geordie feature. It is common in the informal style even in Standard English, that is, it is one of the characteristic features of the colloquial style and a stylistic variation within Standard British English. This feature is confirmed multiple times by the group from the show, it is a recurring phenomenon in their speech:

Chl: I hate it when Marnie springs a surprise at *us*. (EP1, 11:45)

Chl: I'm sure Scott's flirting with *us*. (E1, 14:14)

Chl: God knows what Holly thinks of *us*. (E1, 22:00)

Chl: I'm dead relieved that Holly believes *us*. (E1, 26:43)

A: I let Marnie go in front of *us*. (E1, 27:54)

A: I thought you wanted to pull *us*. (E1, 34:55)

A: ... why she didn't wanna get with *us*. (E1, 41:04)

M: But at least she doesn't gan radge at *us*... (E1, 38:51)

M: You're just gonna make *us* look like a divvy anyway. (E1, 29:37)

M: And she better not let *us* down. (E1, 29:45)

However, there are still some occasions where this is not the case, i.e., it is variable:

S: Which rascal has the fuckin' nerve to ring *me* at this time? (E1, 2:50)

Cha: ... I'm not crackin' on if it means another fight between *me* and Chloe. (E1, 9:50)

Chl: ... Makes *me* look l'a proper mug. (E1, 22:21)

Chl: She's gonna go pure radge with *me*. (E1, 23:59)

Beal (1993) states that Geordies also tend to reverse the case of the first person plural pronouns, that is, to say *we* instead of *us* and the other way around. Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005) also mention this as a general dialectal feature. For example, instead of saying *We'll come by!*, they would say *Us'll come by!*, or, for another example, instead of saying *Tell us the truth!*, they would say *Tell we the truth!*. However, in the present analysis, this can be seen only twice, in Scott's speech:

S: ... let *we* get this fuckin' party started! (E1, 8:23)

S: Let *we* gan radge! (E1, 5:46)

In all the other cases, there is no reversion:

S: Let's have a naughty night out, like. (E1, 32:57)

A: Fuckin' here *we* go! (E1, 3:42)

Chl: ... but *we* need to make the most of it. (E1, 6:32)

Cha: *We* left on good terms. (E1, 10:13)

M: Oh, here *we* gan. (E1, 38:27)

As Beal (1993) and Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005) observe, in Tyneside English, there is a clear difference between the second person singular and the second person plural forms. Instead of *you*, when they are expressing the plural, Geordies say *yous*. This is widespread, which is proven in the examples below. In all the cases where the housemates mention the second person plural, they are using the form *yous*, without an exception:

Chl: *Yous*, I'm dead excited... (E1, 6:52)

M: Are *yous* busy, like? (YT2, 0:16)

Furthermore, Beal (1993) states that Geordies, just like some other English northerners, use the old forms of the second person personal pronouns and some auxiliaries. Instead of *you* and *yous*, they tend to say *ye* and *yees*, and instead of the verb *do*, they say *dee*. *Ye* and *yees* (and also *dee* for the auxiliary *do*) are archaic forms still existent in some northern English dialects. This is a general dialectal feature not restricted to the Tyneside. In a few instances, this is true for the speakers being analysed, especially for Marty, who pronounces it in this manner almost every time:

M: Have *ye* (you) ever been strugglin' for money for a taxi after a night out? (YT1, 0:20)

M: All *ye* (you) need t'*dee* (do) is look in your quiff. (YT1, 0:23)

M: What can *ye* (you) *dee* (do)? (YT1, 0:51)

M: I'm gonna draw my life... for *yees* (yous). (YT2, 0:19)

M: I just wanna get *ye* (you) naked and *dee* (do) things in that shagpad. (E1, 33:54)

A: As *ye* (you) can see,... (YT3, 2:04)

Cha: He's gonna tell *yees* (yous) that he said that. (E1, 16:01)

In other instances, the housemates use the standard forms of these pronouns and the auxiliary, which shows variability:

S: What d' *you* mean, what's happenin', like? (E1, 3:09)

Chl: *Yous*, I'm dead excited... (E1, 6:52)

Cha: I *do* like him... (E1, 9:50)

A: I thought *you* wanted to pull us. (E1, 34:55)

M: ...and all *you* need is a straw for your drink... (YT1, 0:30)

As for possessive determiners, Beal (1993) notes another general dialectal feature: the first person singular, *my*, is replaced by the objective case of the personal pronoun *me*. This is often seen in the speech of all the housemates:

Chl: I'm supposed to be lookin' after *me* new nose. (E1, 4:06)

Chl: But *me* mam still has to sit in the passenger seat. (E1, 4:27)

Chl: I failed *me* test ten times. (E1, 4:30)

A: I'm just gonna enjoy *me* night. (E1, 12:53)

M: ... so *me* vision went from clear to not clear. (YT2, 1:00)

S: Probably *me* fuckin' D! (E1, 2:59)

However, sometimes they still use the possessive determiner to mark possession:

M: It's *my* first time away with this bunch of knackers. (E1, 6:42)

M: i'm gonna draw *my* life. (YT2, 0:19)

A: I'm sweatin' *my* balls off, let's get in that fuckin' pool! (E1, 8:29)

Likewise, Beal (1993) mentions that the possessive determiner for the first person plural, *our*, gets replaced by *wor*. There is only one example of this in Marty's speech:

M: The biggest parties of *wor* fuckin' lives! (E1, 1:22)

Another general dialectal non-standard grammatical feature that Beal (1993) and Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005) discuss is the use of the pronoun *what* as an alternative to the relative pronoun *that* that can have both personal and non-personal antecedents. In the show, this is seen only in a couple of cases in Chloe's speech:

Chl: ...over a rumour *what's* not true. (E1, 23:59)

Chl: I just wanna forget about everyth' *what* happened last night. (E1, 27:08)

As far as verbs, Beal (1993) states that the past participle of irregular verbs does not take the *-en* suffix, but stays the same as the simple past tense of the verb. This is another general non-standard dialectal feature not restricted to Geordie that Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005) discuss. For example, the speakers would not say *I have taken it*, but *I have took it*. However, the evidence of this occurrence is not apparent in the series. The past participle stays as it is in the Standard English:

Chl: It's really early and Holly's just *woken* us up. (E1, 23:51)

M: I *haven't* really *spoken* t'her... (E1, 11:16)

There is a difference between Geordie and Standard English in the form of the negated auxiliary *don't*. Beal (2009) shows that its non-standard alternative form is *divvent*. This is both a morphological and a lexical feature of the dialect. It is the result of the lenition of the intervocal stop and is also a general dialectal feature. However, it seems that this feature was subject to levelling, since there is no sign of it in the speech of the housemates. They only use the *don't* form:

Cha: I *don't* see why not. (E1, 10:15)

A: I *don't* understand. (E1, 41:03)

Similar to this, Beal (1993) agrees that Geordies tend to use the form *winnit* for the auxiliary *wouldn't*, but this is also not the case in the speech of our subjects. They only exclusively use *wouldn't*:

Chl: He *wouldn't* go near her anyway. (E1, 16:51)

Finally, the word *cannot* (and *can't*) sounds a bit different in Geordie. Namely, as confirmed by Beal (2004), they say *cannet*, and it is also spelled differently, with an <e>. In the series, this form is only used by Marty:

M: ... and I *cannet* wait to see what's gonna happen. (E1, 6:42)

M: I *cannet* handle her when she's this mortal. (E1, 38:31)

M: I *cannet* work out what is gan on in that lass' head.

At other times, other housemates use the standard traditional form of the auxiliary:

A: To be honest, I *can't* be arsed tryin' to pull her. (E1, 18:20)

Cha: She *can't* help herself. (E1, 31:52)

### 3.3 Lexical features

Geordie vocabulary is full of unique words which help to make this dialect distinctive. Some of them are formed just by sound changes, but there are also some that are completely unfamiliar and new.

According to Graham (2003), as in many other British dialects, Geordies tend to address men, or more specifically, boys, as *lads*, and women, or girls, as *lasses*. Here are a couple of examples from the show:

A: Four single *lads* and a gay *lad*. (E1, 10:22)

Chl: *Lads* and *lasses* havin' sex. (YT4, 0:03)

Some of the commonly used words are the variants *gan*, *ganna* and *ganning*, which are the equivalents of the words *go*, *gonna* and *going*. This phenomenon is mentioned by Beal (1993); however, in the show, it is used only by Marty (and once by Scott):

M: How am I *ganna* get yem?

M: I wanna, like, *gan* home with you a little bit. (E1, 29:59)

M: Oh, here we *gan*. (E1, 38:27)

M: But at least she doesn't **gan** radge at us... (E1, 38:51)

S: Let we **gan** radge! (E1, 5:46)

Other housemates, including Marty and Scott at times, do not use this alternate form, but the conventional one:

M: I'm **gonna** draw my life... (YT2, 0:19)

S: Where we're **goin'**? (E1, 3:11)

A: ... and we tried to make a **go** of it... (E1, 6:09)

Cha: I'm just **gonna go** with the flow. (E1, 10:12)

Chl: He wouldn't **go** near her anyway! (E1, 16:51)

As stated by Graham (2003), when Geordies want to say *come on* or *Are you serious?*, they use the word *howay* or the phrase *howay, man*, regardless of whether they are talking to a man or a woman. Sometimes they will even only use *man* for this purpose. This can be seen throughout the show:

Cha: **Howay, man**, Chloe. You'd literally shag anything, even if it hasn't got a pulse. (E1, 8:11)

M: **Howay**, Chloe. I just wanna get you naked... (E1, 33:54)

A: Marnie, **man**. Why are you makin' this so difficult? (E1, 34:53)

Graham (2003) says that Geordies often use adjectives and adverbs such as *canny*, *pure*, *class*, *mint* and *wicked* when referring to something good, great or pleasant. Furthermore, in its adverb form, *canny* and *pure* mean *very* or *really*, and this can all be seen in a few examples from the show:

Cha: And he's lookin' **canny** nice. (E1, 5:51)

Chl: The sun is **pure** beemin'! (E1, 7:04)

Chl: She's gonna go **pure** radge with me. (E1, 23:59)

M: Then I got **pure** mortal. (YT2, 1:00)

M: Chloe looks *pure wicked* toneet. (E1, 14:44)

S: Anyway, here's fthe start of a *wicked* summer, again! (E1, 8:23)

S: That'd be *class*.

A: This place is fuckin' *mint*. (E1, 8:36)

Also, Graham (2003) mentions that when stating that something is excellent or great, Geordies often say *lethal* or *belter*. Here are a couple of examples from the show:

S: To be fair, the villa is fuckin' *lethal*! (E1, 7:57)

S: Magaluf? What a fuckin' *belter*! (E1, 3:18)

As Graham (2003) observes, older generations of Geordies would often say *yem* instead of *home*. This form of the word is present only in Marty's speech, since it has probably been subject to dialect levelling:

M: How am I gonna get *yem*? (YT1, 0:21)

Graham (2003) claims that, when referring to a person they consider an *idiot*, Geordies tend to use the word *knacker*, *divvy* or *dafty* (from the word *daft*, meaning *stupid*), which can be seen in the series in the following examples:

Cha: What a two-faced *knacker*! (E1, 15:59)

M: It's my first time away with this bunch of *knackers*! (E1, 6:40)

M: You're just gonna make us look like a *divvy* anyway. (E1, 29:37)

S: Who has the fuckin' nerve to ring me at this time, the *dafty*? (E1, 2:50)

Furthermore, Graham (2003) observes that, when referring to a mad, angry or crazy person, they use the word *radgie*, stemming from the word *radge* which is the Geordie equivalent of the adjective *mad*, *angry* or *crazy*, depending on the context. This term is used very often throughout the whole series by all the housemates:

S: I'm gonna text that bunch of *radgies*... (E1, 3:25)

S: Let we gan *radge*! (E1, 5:46)

Chl: Magaluf with these *radgies*, I better get packin'! (E1, 4:02)

Chl: She's gonna go pure *radge* with me. (E1, 23:59)

M: But at least she doesn't gan *radge* at us... (E1, 38:51)

M: ... she's gan on like a pure *radgie*! (E1, 39:34)

In cases where they are overly drunk or referring to someone that is, according to Graham (2003), the words *mortal* and *pissed* are frequently used, especially in the speech of the young housemates:

Ch: Let's get fuckin' *mortal*! (E1, 2:03)

S: Then I got pure *mortal*, so me vision went from clear to not clear. (E1, 1:00)

A: I'm just gonna enjoy me night and get *pissed*. (E1, 12:58)

Finally, as in many other British dialects, Hughes, Trudgill and Watt (2005) state that young British and Irish people tend to use words such as *like* as pause or gap fillers, focus markers or the *quotative* like, just to round up a sentence. This is an age-related variation feature and is associated with younger generations. The case of *like* (and *me*) as a pause filler can be seen on numerous occasions in the show:

Chl: I'm totally crackers, *me like*. (E1, 2:30)

Chl: Yeah, I'm tellin' Marty, *me*. (E1, 38:10)

S: Anna, what type bikini's that, *like*? (E1, 3:01)

S: What d'you mean, what's happenin', *like*? (E1, 3:09)

M: Are yous busy, *like*? (E1, 0:16)

## 4 Conclusion

The present paper shows that Geordie is a dialect not easily subject to change and dialect-levelling. Its pride and conservative nature managed to preserve most of its authentic and specific language features over the time. The sense of otherness towards the rest of the country makes their distinctiveness even more significant than it may seem.

Other than its tradition, culture and the common patriotic sense, Geordie is quite unique because of its linguistic features and phonological, grammatical and lexical specialities. Due to the strength of their attachment to their history, identity and authenticity, their dialect hardly succumbs to change over the years and it is more common than not to see some seemingly archaic pronunciation, words or syntax even in today's generations' speech, which is actually displayed in the data analysis in this paper.

*The Geordie Shore* series is a very good example of this dialect retention. Of course, not all traditional features are still being used in the speech of Geordie young adults, but there is a large quantity of characteristics which are still prominent and commonly heard in today's everyday conversations.

This analysis proves that some features used by young speakers in the series are the same as in the traditional dialect description, that in some cases, there are signs of variability, and that in other cases, the features are completely different or non-existent.

The analysis confirmed: that the *-er* ending is pronounced as /a/, rather than /ə/; that the final *-ing* is pronounced as /ɪn/; that there exists a lack of a phonemic opposition between the vowels of FOOT and STRUT; that in FACE words, there are instances of pronouncing the sound /eɪ/ as /ɪə/ and as /e:/, which confirmed variability that exists in the traditional description; that the word *know* is commonly pronounced as /na:/; that in lexical sets TRAP and BATH, the vowel is pronounced as /a/ instead of /æ/ or /a:/; that there is no alternation between the dark and the clear l; that there is glottalization of the sounds /p, t, k/; that the Geordies speak with a characteristic rising intonation (whereas the majority of other dialects use falling patterns) and that their pronunciation is emphatic and often sounds aggressive. As for grammar and lexical features, it is confirmed that Geordies clearly differentiate between the second person singular and plural forms (you and yous), that they use words such as *lads, lasses, howay, canny, pure, class, mint, wicked, lethal, belter, knacker, dafty, divvy, radge, radgie, mortal* and *pissed*, and that they indeed often use words such as *like* as gap fillers.

Signs of variability between the traditional description and the speech of young housemates are shown in these examples: the vowel /ɔ:/, in words such as *talk* is in some instances pronounced as /a:/, by Scott and Marty, and in other cases it is pronounced as /ɔ:/; the vowel /ɜ:/ in the lexical set NURSE should sound like /ɔ:/, which is shown only in one example of Scott's speech, and in other cases, the vowel is pronounced standardly as /ɜ:/; the MOUTH vowel should be pronounced as /u:/, which is only confirmed by Marty's speech, and

in other cases, it is pronounced standardly as /aʊ/; the GOAT vowel is pronounced as /ø:/, instead of /ɔʊ/, but there are two cases of variability in the series where this sound is pronounced as /u:/; PRICE words with the <igh> spelling should be pronounced as /i:/, which is shown only a couple of times by Scott and Marty, and in other cases, the sound is pronounced as /aɪ/; the northern speakers should use the usually plural pronoun *us* for the objective case of the first person singular, *me*, which often happens in the speech of young housemates, however, not all the time; furthermore, there should be a shift between the first person plural pronouns, that is, the speakers should say *we* instead of *us*, but this only happens twice, in Scott's speech; the speakers should use archaic forms of pronouns and auxiliaries, such as *ye* and *dee*, but this does not happen every time in the series; the possessive first person pronouns, *my* and *our*, should be replaced by the pronouns *me* and *wor*, but this is not always the case; the relative pronoun *that* should be replaced by the pronoun *what*, but this happens only twice in Chloe's speech; the word *cannot* should be replaced by *cannet*, but this is only apparent in Marty's speech; and instead of the words *go* and *home*, the speakers should use the words *gan* and *yem*, but this does not happen all the time. These variabilities are not described in the traditional dialect description, but are noticed in the speech of the young housemates.

There are also some differences from the traditional dialect description found in the present analysis: the final *er* should be pronounced by Geordies as *or*, but this is not the case with the speakers from the show; in their speech, the pronoun *I* is monophthongized and pronounced as /a/, even though there are no signs of this feature in the traditional description; the Northumbrian burr, that is, a uvular trilled /R/, is not noticed in the speech of the housemates, even though it is mentioned in the traditional description; as in many non-standard dialects, there should be a strong tendency to bring the irregular verbs in the line with regular ones, especially in past tenses, however, this does not happen in the speech of the housemates; and the speakers should use the forms *divvent* and *winnit* instead of *don't* and *won't*, but there is no sign of this in the analysis.

In the paper, it is apparent that male speakers tend to sound more emphatically and that they tend to use more localised and regional variants than female speakers who tend to adhere to standard forms. This analysis confirmed the findings of Labov (1990) that there are indeed sociolinguistic differences between female and male speakers.

In conclusion, the speech of the young adults observed in the present paper partially confirms the hypothesis that the Geordie dialect is a sturdy and conservative English variety not easily subject to dialect levelling, keeping sometimes even the most archaic linguistic attributes even in the speech of younger generations. However, some features simply no longer exist, because of the unavoidable external influences, such as the pull of the accents surrounding the region and the somewhat unescapable need to adapt and standardise.

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**Internet resources**

YT1: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=Aha-uDkX5xs>

YT2: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=McYaPUlhm10>

YT3: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=gd6s8KYSR2k>

YT4: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=0haxkVhHdBw>

YT5: <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nPT2fkF9s3Y>