



Universidad del País Vasco  
Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea

LETREN  
FAKULTATEA  
FACULTAD  
DE LETRAS

INGELES ETA ALEMAN FILOLOGIA ETA ITZULPENGINTZA ETA  
INTERPRETAZIO SAILA  
DEPARTAMENTO DE FILOLOGIA INGLESA Y ALEMANA Y  
TRADUCCIÓN E INTERPRETACION  
DEPARTMENT OF ENGLISH, GERMAN AND TRANSLATION AND  
INTERPRETATION STUDIES

# **Attitudes towards accents in the United Kingdom: a sociophonetic analysis**

by  
Nadia Landívar Landa

**Degree in English Studies**

Department of English, German and Translation and Interpretation Studies  
Area of English

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Supervisor: Dr. María Luisa García Lecumberri

## **ABSTRACT**

The United Kingdom is widely known for having a large number of accents, but what is the social attitude towards them? In order to answer this question, we need to analyse the importance of accents on identity. Accents portray not only the speakers' region of origin but also the social class or cultural groups to whom they belong. This leads to the emergence of stereotypes and prejudices towards accents, which have been perpetuated through decades. This consolidated sociolinguistic perception of accents is reflected in society and has a huge impact on speakers. Accent discrimination is present in many areas of the labour market. Received Pronunciation is the model in teaching and the dominant accent in mass media. Furthermore, negative attitudes towards regional non-standard accents are still present in politics. Similarly, both the advertisement and translation industries take this sociolinguistic phenomenon into consideration in their creative processes. As a consequence, we can find different reactions among speakers of the least desirable accents: from feeling ashamed and accommodating to a more standardised accent, to feeling pride and celebrating the way they speak. Furthermore, as in recent years there has been an increase in awareness on this issue, some institutions have emerged with the aim of eliminating linguistic discrimination and promoting linguistic diversity. Taking this social background into consideration, we will present a phonetic analysis of audios by three Northern public figures who suffered accent discrimination. They display different profiles which vary in profession (politician, TV presenter, and influencer), and age. We will examine the presence or absence of features from the speakers' accents of origin in order to check if the accent discrimination they suffered generated a modification in their original accent. Results show different reactions to linguistic discrimination among the three speakers: from linguistic accommodation to pride and celebration of linguistic diversity. These results together with the literature review reveal that in recent years there has been an interesting development both in speakers' reactions towards their own accent and attitudes towards accents in the UK, which may develop into a great transformation in British society's attitudes towards accents in the following decades.

**Keywords:** accents, discrimination, linguistic accommodation, United Kingdom

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## 1. INTRODUCTION

In recent years there has been an increase in the awareness of attitudes towards accents in the United Kingdom. This issue has not only become of interest for sociolinguists, but also for the British population in general. As a consequence, some questions arise among which stands what the hierarchy on accent evaluations is like, what our accents say about us, or even if the way we speak can have a repercussion on our professional prospects.

In order to answer these questions, we will first explain what an accent is and how our accents are mirrors of our identity. After that, we will investigate prejudices towards accents, analysing data from different surveys conducted in the UK from the 1970s to the present and we will contextualise the current situation by a display of different news about accent preferences, discrimination, linguistic accommodation, or the importance of celebrating accent diversity. Once this general background is explained, we will focus on the presence of attitudes towards accents in different professional fields such as teaching, mass media, politics, translation, and the advertisement industry. After considering the existing prejudices towards accents among the British population we will explain some possible consequences: speakers' reaction towards their accents, linguistic accommodation, hypercorrection, or elocution training. To finish with the sociolinguistic background, we will mention some initiatives in the struggle against accent discrimination.

After that, we will centre on the phonetic analysis of audios by three Northern public figures who suffered accent discrimination: Steph McGovern, from Middlesbrough; Hayley Hughes, from Liverpool; and Joan Bakewell, from Stockport. This analysis consists of a phonetic study of four audios in which we will examine the presence or absence of features from the speakers' accents of origin in order to check if the accent discrimination they suffered generated a modification in their original accent. After analysing these data, we will reach a conclusion regarding different reactions to accent discrimination in the UK. Last but not least, we will speculate on future sociolinguistic behaviour in the British population.

When talking about attitudes towards accents in the UK and the repercussion of accents on identity, it is inevitable to mention *Pygmalion* (1912), a play by G.B. Shaw since this problem of accent discrimination is portrayed from the very beginning. Professor Higgins demonstrates his ability to identify the place of origin of anyone by the

way he or she speaks: “I can place any man within six miles. I can place him within two miles in London. Sometimes within two streets” (Shaw, 2005, p. 19). This statement reflects the powerful influence of accents on our identity. After that, Higgins makes several negative comments on the way working-class Londoners talk and especially on the speech of a flower girl, which will be later known as Eliza Doolittle:

“They want to drop Kentish Town; but they give themselves away every time they open their mouths” (Shaw, 2005, p. 19)

“A woman who utters such depressing and disgusting sounds has no right to be anywhere--no right to live. Remember that you are a human being with a soul and the divine gift of articulate speech: that your native language is the language of Shakespeare and Milton and The Bible; and don't sit there crooning like a bilious pigeon” (Shaw, 2005, p. 20)

“You see this creature with her kerbstone English: the English that will keep her in the gutter to the end of her days” (Shaw, 2005, p. 20)

Furthermore, he displays a patronising and superior behaviour: “Now I can teach them” (Shaw, 2005, p. 19). This idea will be later developed as the plot of the play, in which Professor Higgins try to make Liza, who has a strong Cockney accent, pass “as a duchess at an ambassador's garden party. [...] as lady's maid or shop assistant, which requires better English” (Shaw, 2005, p. 20) by instructing her in phonetics. Shaw's play (Shaw, 2005) offers a fictional scenario in which Londoners' accents portray the social class they belong to, making it possible to climb in the social ladder by adapting your speech to a higher status accent; but, is this so different from reality?

## **2. BACKGROUND**

### **2.1 What is an accent and how does having an accent affect us?**

Before analysing attitudes towards accents in the UK it is fundamental to understand the notion of accent and differentiate it from dialect. According to Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt (2012), an accent is a variation in pronunciation whereas a dialect is a language variety different from others in grammar and vocabulary. Accents and dialects are interlinked concepts. For example, Received Pronunciation (RP) is the accent more commonly associated with Standard English dialect; nevertheless, a person can portray any accent following the grammatical and lexical rules of this variety (Ashby, 2011). Accents are a fundamental component of identity since they behave as a “linguistic symbol of our regional origins” (Baratta, 2018, p. 169). However, accents are not only linked to geographical areas, but also portray allegiance to specific sociocultural groups

(Becker 2009; Foulkes and Docherty 1999; Trudgill 1986; as cited in Baratta, 2018). Apart from being a key factor in our identity's construction, accents also play an important role in how we construct the identity of others (Baratta, 2018). As a consequence, and as we will demonstrate later, this can lead to speakers modifying their accents in some contexts in order not to be judged negatively. However, as Baratta (2016; as cited in Baratta, 2018) states, modifying our own accent to please others, for example in a job interview, can generate a sense of 'linguistic selling out'. In regard to this matter, not only sociolinguists but also speakers of different English varieties in the United Kingdom show a general interest for a series of sociolinguistic phenomena such as the hierarchy on accent evaluation and how the perfect balance between linguistic accommodation and keeping the original accent can be reached.

## **2.2 Accents and prejudice**

Taking into consideration the previously mentioned role of accents as identity components, some prejudices associated with the different accents arise. As a consequence, people are "credited with different amounts of intelligence, friendliness, and other such virtues according to the way they speak" (Hudson, 1980, p. 193; as cited in Baratta, 2018, p. 171). Moreover, non-standard accents are generally perceived more negatively than standard ones, especially in relation to status or competence (Dixon, Mahoney, and Cocks, 2002). This may have a negative effect on speakers of certain accents in institutional contexts such as medical consultations, job interviews, or education (Kalin, 1982, in Dixon et al, 2002).

Going in-depth with accent prejudices, we can find some inherent connotations in the different accents of the UK. For example, Northern accents are related to the "unsophisticated mores of hard working labourers" (Wales, 2002; in Ranzato, 2019, p. 2), being 'Scouse' –the Liverpool accent– also related to aggression and thievery (Honeybone, 2001; as cited in Baratta, 2018). Similarly, the Brummie accent, which is spoken in Birmingham, the centre of industrialization in the UK, is rated more negatively in terms of likeability than rural regional accents or RP from early 1970s research onwards (Dixon et al., 2002). However, stereotypes do not only affect non-standard accents, but also standard ones (Paterson, 2018). For example, though Received Pronunciation was historically contemplated as spoken British English standard form, it is nowadays related to 'snobbery' and 'arrogance' (Hughes, Trudgill, & Watt, 2012; as cited in Baratta, 2017). It is fundamental to highlight that all these perceptions of the

different accents are not phonologically based (Baratta, 2018), but lead by sociocultural judgments.

### 2.2.1 SURVEYS

Attitudes towards accents has been researched in sociolinguistics from the 1970s onwards. In order to understand current social behaviour, it is always useful to go back to the past. Therefore, we will develop a comparison between accent perception in the UK from the 1970s to the present, analysing data from 1970, 2005, 2014, and 2019.

To start with the analysis, we will consider the results of Giles' study (1970; as cited in AccentBiasBritain, 2020), which shows a clear pattern of accent evaluation in which 'standard English accent' obtained the highest rates contrasting to non-standard urban vernaculars (as Cockney, Brummie or Scouse), which got the minimum score. In addition, Giles (1970; as cited in AccentBiasBritain, 2020) remarks on the high marking of 'an accent identical to your own' in terms of prestige in all participants.

Moving to 2005, we can find Bishop, Coupland, and Garrett's study, under the title *Voices* (2005), and in collaboration with the BBC. This study used the same variants as Giles' (1970; as cited in AccentBiasBritain, 2020), and results show a similar pattern as the one in 1970 since the highest rates were for 'Queen's English' and 'Standard English'; in opposition to 'Scouse' and 'Black Country' –both of which were rated slightly better than in 1970– and 'Brummie', which continued to be the worst-rated accent. On the other hand, similarly to the 1970's survey, 'an accent similar to your own' was rated considerably high in terms of prestige (Bishop, Coupland, and Garret, 2005; as cited in AccentBiasBritain, 2020).

After this study, Coupland and Bishop (2007) wrote an article analysing the results in which they highlight an interesting conclusion regarding age. In relation to 'Standard Accent', there was a progression on prestige rating from the oldest informant group, which rated the highest, to the younger participants, although the latter group was mainly positive too. Moreover, this younger informant group tended to have a less negative perception of 'stigmatized' varieties than older participants. This change of attitude in younger participants could suggest an ideological change over time (Coupland & Bishop, 2007).

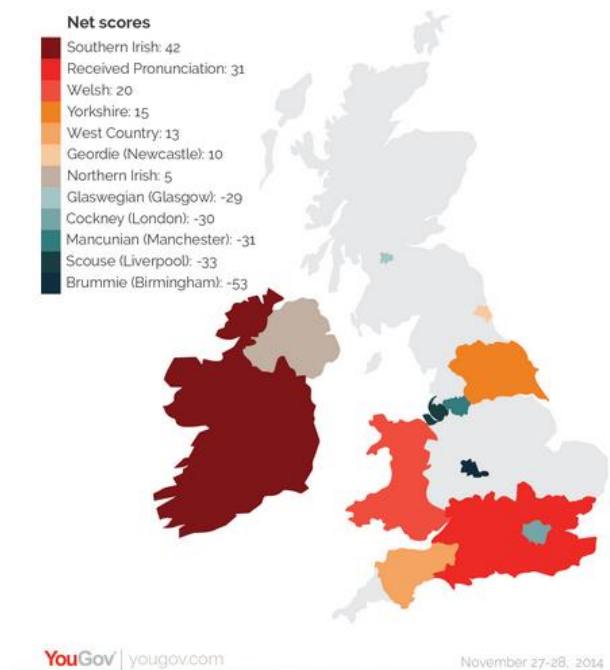
Some years later, in 2014, the British Internet based research and data analytics firm YouGov (Dahlgreen, 2014) developed an analysis of twelve of the main British Isles

accents. Results show that there was still a repercussion of accents on success and employment (Dahlgreen, 2014).

### Figure 1

*The most attractive accents in the British Isles-mapped.*

Dahlgreen, W. (2014). YouGov.



As we can see in this graph taken from the YouGov webpage, regarding the UK, RP continued to be the highest-rated accent and Brummie was the least likable one. (see Appendix 1 for further detail).

Moving on to the present, we will analyse AccentBiasBritain’s results in their 2019 survey, in which they included newer accents that have emerged over the past two decades as Estuary<sup>1</sup> English or Multicultural London English (AccentBiasBritain, 2020). Results show a continuation in the pattern of accent evaluation, in which ‘Standard accent’ continues in the highest level for prestige and urban lower-class accents such as Brummie, Scouse, and Cockney share the lowest rates. However, despite being accent perceptions in the present similar to those in previous studies, we can find a lower quantitative distance between highest and lowest rated accents between 1970, 2004, and

<sup>1</sup> Term used by some authors to refer to the greater London non-working-class accent.

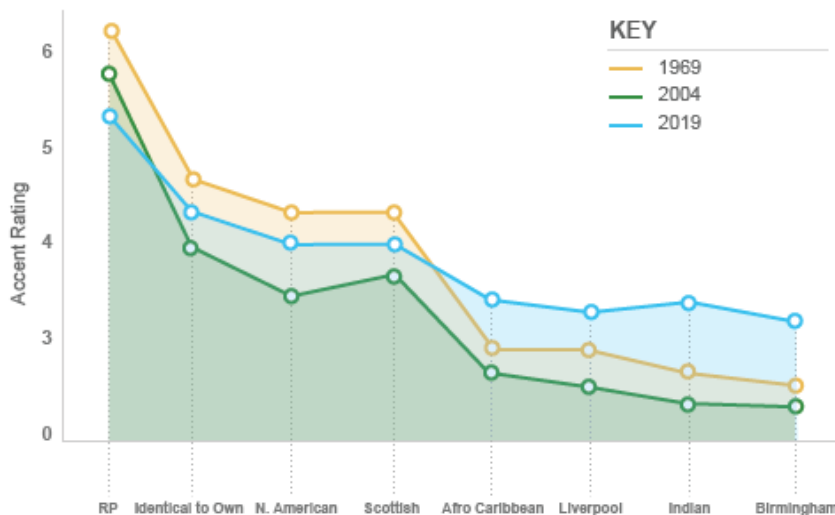


2019, which indicates that this gap between standard and non-standard forms is diminishing, as it is portrayed in the graphic below.

**Figure 2**

*Has public perception of accents changed over time?*

AccentBiasBritain. (2020)



Despite British society continuing to portray accent discrimination, there is an increase of awareness about this social attitude towards accents, which is increasingly being denounced in the last decade. This reaction is clearly reflected on the newspapers, in which in recent years there has been a considerable amount of news denouncing accent discrimination and promoting a change in society in this regard. (see Appendix 2).

As we can see, these attitudes towards accents have an effect on speakers of all accents but with more negative repercussions on the Southern non-standard and the Northern industrial urban accents. But what is the linguistic attitude towards this dilemma? Generally, as we have previously seen, sociolinguists demonstrated from the 1970s onwards that preconceptions and attitudes towards accents are not phonologically but socially based, meaning that there is nothing inherently negative or positive in any accent, from a linguistic point of view. However, as Peterson (2018) stands, there are cases of accent discrimination even among sociolinguists, which indicates that there is still a lot of progress to be made in this regard in British society.

### **2.2.2 Accents and jobs**

Taking into consideration the influential role of accents in the construction of other people's identities, we can state that accents have an influence both on job candidates' evaluation and on how they are treated throughout their career paths. This repercussion of accents can be seen in many professional fields. Below we will analyse its presence in teaching, mass media, politics, translation and the advertisement industry.

#### **I. Accents in teaching**

In order to start with the presence of accent discrimination in the labour market, we will analyse how accents are perceived and treated in teaching. We will focus on both teaching English as a Foreign language (EFL) and teaching in English as the first language. It is fundamental to make a distinction between them because "what may be a useful model for native speakers of a language will not necessarily be a useful model for learners of that language" (Stewart, 2018, p. 272).

##### **a. Accents and teaching English as a foreign language**

In contexts of teaching English as a foreign language (EFL), Received Pronunciation has been used as the model internationally; however, there is some debate about which accent is the most suitable one. Many scholars support the use of RP. One of the possible arguments for using RP in EFL is that it is not linked to any geographical area and it is understood in all the UK (Trudgill, 1999; as cited in Stewart, 2018, p. 273). Moreover, the use of RP in EFL could be a question of marketing, as a way of exploiting the "stereotype of a traditional, quintessential England as captured by films" (Stewart, 2018, p. 275). Furthermore, RP is the accent used in dictionaries and pronunciation manuals, so there are more teaching resources in this variety (Hughes, Trudgill, and Watt, 2013; as cited in Stewart, 2018).

However, some linguists consider that RP may not be the best accent to introduce in EFL and defend that students' exposure to a variety of different accents is crucial in order to familiarise students with the current English reality (Ballard, 2013; as cited in Baratta, 2018). Moreover, these scholars claim that the choice of RP as the standard in Europe is connected to non-linguistic issues and it is not phonetically based (Stewart, 2018). In fact, some accents could be considered more suitable phonetically than RP because they "have a more straightforward relationship between spelling and sounds than does the BBC accent [RP]; they have simpler vowel systems, and would therefore be

easier for most foreign learners to acquire” (Stewart, 2018, p. 264). In addition, there are some phonetic phenomena in RP in which students of English as a second language could find trouble, among which stands non-rhoticity, multiple orthographic variants corresponding to the sound /ɔ:/, linking /r/, intrusive /r/, the continuous presence of schwa as the most common vowel sound, unpredictable use of different phonemes for the letter ‘u’ (as /ʌ/ or /ʊ/) and the distinction between /ɑ:/ and /æ/ (Stewart, 2018, pp. 265-268). However, despite having some negative aspects, RP continues to be the variety used in EFL and it is tagged as the ‘norm’, and described by foreign students as ‘speaking proper’, which can make qualified teachers with less likable accents feel ‘disenfranchised’ (Baratta, 2018).

#### **b. Accents and teaching in English as first language**

This predominance of RP in the educational sphere is also present in teaching in English as a first language. As a consequence, many teachers are treated as if their accents were an obstacle in their lessons (Baratta, 2017). In regard to this, Baratta (2016, 2018; as cited in Baratta, 2017) conducted three studies about accent modification and identity in universities from the North and South of England. Studies two and three (Baratta, 2017) analyse the attitudes towards accents in English as the first language, showing two polarities: mentors’ view, which prioritise the avoidance of communication barriers by defending the use of RP; and teachers’ response, which defends that having a regional accent is not correlated to being incomprehensible. One of the many examples of this conflict is present in Janet’s testimony, a secondary-level Art teacher from South London who was said to have an ‘unprofessional language’ and asked to include ‘t’ in capital letters in her notes in order to avoid doing a glottal stop in words such as ‘water’, which is a phonological feature associated to regional accents (Baratta, 2017). Furthermore, those teachers who defend the use of regional accents in lessons consider that in some cases using a non-standard accent could be helpful as a tool for higher engagement with students who share this variety (Baratta, 2017). As Brady (2015; as cited in Baratta, 2017) suggests, this tension between teachers and mentors regarding accent use could be representing the potential discordance between their linguistic values since mentors defend the enforcement of dominant linguistic norms, with whom teachers disagree.

Taking all these ideas into consideration, we can deduce that establishing RP as the model for pronunciation in education is due to its positive connotations –fame and social status – rather than phonetically based advantages (Stewart, 2018, p. 276).

## **II. Accents and Mass Media**

Moving to another professional field, we will focus on mass media. Watching the news is a daily activity in almost every home and therefore, society and mass media belong together. As a consequence, by analysing TV and radio we can draw conclusions about social perceptions, such as attitudes towards accents. Since mass media is one of the most rapidly developed fields in the labour market, we would conduct a comparative analysis of accents presence in the BBC from the 1970s to the present. As Honey (1989; as cited in Kowalska, 2018) states, in the 1960-70s in the BBC, RP was highly present and regional accents were ignored. Despite the fact that there continues to be a predominance of RP in news readings and in national radio stations, nowadays a considerable amount of ‘glotally replaced tokens’ are present too (Kowalska, 2018, p. 119). Furthermore, we can find a selection of regional accents in sports news and entertainment programs, in which non-standard phonetic features are present (Kowalska, 2018, p. 119). As a consequence, we can conclude that despite RP continuing to be dominant, other regional non-standard accents are being introduced with the passage of time in British mass media, especially in less informal genres. However, as we will see later (see 3.2), there are still judgments and negative attitudes towards non-standard accents in some TV and radio stations.

## **III. Accents and Politics**

As we have previously described, accent prejudices affect some professions, such as teaching or journalism. As politics is part of our society, these attitudes have a repercussion on it too. Furthermore, since cultural and linguistic diversity is increasing gradually in political communities, politicians, as the rest of the citizens, sometimes face judgments on the way they speak, and in some cases, they are forced to standardise their accents in order to obtain political and social validation (Peled & Bonotti, 2019).

To begin with the presence of prejudices towards accents in politics, we will analyse this brief passage in Margaret Thatcher’s biography:

“In 1936, she and Connie had elocution lessons together. From these [...] political attempts to improve her social standing, springs the cut-glass voice for which Margaret was later to be criticized. In those days, all elocution teachers tried to enforce a very precise, carefully enunciated version of received pronunciation, and for Margaret, who was already competing in declamation competitions, it would not have been possible to win without eliminating all traces (which seem any way to have been slight) of a Lincolnshire accent” (Moore, 2013, p.26).

This passage of Thatcher's biography clearly reflects the repercussions that having an accent different from RP entailed in the 1930s. Furthermore, this extract also reflects the fact that people who wanted to get certain positions in society or improve their social standing resorted to elocution lessons in order to eliminate their regional accents. After this brief comment on the perception of accents in politics in the 1930s, we will move on to the present.

Political opinion is divided with regard to attitudes towards accents in the current political sphere. Some politicians, as Ms. Lewell-Buck (Mason & D'Urso, 2018, July 18, para. 11), show a positive view, which defends that there is a huge variety of accents and regional voices representation that "it makes it more a vibrant Parliament", which sounds "like the country it represents a bit more". Furthermore, Mason & D'Urso (2018, July 18) defend that for a valid leader having a non-standard regional accent could even be useful as an image of the essence of modernity and new politics. Moreover, negative attitudes towards accents are criticised nowadays. One clear example is the social response to Dehenna Davison, a conservative MP, after her comment on Richard Leonard's accent as the cause of his failure in the leadership of the Scottish Labour Party (Ross, 2020, September 6).

On the other hand, negative attitudes towards accents are still believed to be present in politics. This can be portrayed in Leanne Wood's experience. Wood, the leader of the Welsh Independence Party was asked in an email in 2017 to moderate her Welsh accent when speaking in public (BBC News, 2017; as cited in Peled & Bonotti, 2019). This incident portrays "significant implications for democratic life" since these prejudices towards accents can "seriously hinder the realization of key democratic values" such as equality, liberty, inclusivity, and reciprocity (everyone has the right to be heard during democratic debate regardless of his or her accent) (Peled & Bonotti, 2019, p. 411). Furthermore, these attitudes can lead to "serious forms of epistemic injustice" (Fricker, 2007; as cited in Peled & Bonotti, 2019, p. 411), which refers to the misattribution of higher or lower degrees of qualities such as trustworthiness, intelligence, or credibility based on somebody's accent rather than on the content of their speech. In a response to this reality, it is essential that democratic theorists take this issue seriously and analyse its implications so that key democratic values are applied (Peled & Bonotti, 2019). Other possible solutions to tackle this problem are a 'listening-oriented model of democracy', which normalises the use of different accents, and the inclusion of metalinguistic awareness topics in the political agenda (Peled & Bonotti, 2019).

#### **IV. Accents and Translation**

To continue with the presence of prejudices towards accents in jobs, we will focus on the translation industry, which offers us a different perspective since these attitudes are not necessarily applied in the industry, but they are present as a challenge. In this area of the labour market, we can find a reflection of society's attitudes and perceptions of accents since literature and audio-visual content generally portray our society's ideals. As a consequence, translation has to find the way to spread these ideas from one language to another. In this regard, it is a challenge in the translation of literary and audio-visual narratives to portray the sociolinguistic effects conveyed through the phonetic features from the original to the target language (Ranzato, 2019). For example, in a British series, such as *Downton Abbey*, which uses the contrast between the Northern non-standard accents of the servants and the RP accents of the wealthy characters, the translator needs to take into consideration this social background and the effect of using these accents and transmit it to the target language.

#### **V. Accents and Advertisement**

Following with the review, we will now focus on the presence of accents in marketing, as a tool for credibility and trustworthiness. One of the main goals in marketing is to generate relatability in the customers. In order to do so, marketing specialists develop a series of strategies among which stands accent selection since "there is ample evidence that accent has a detrimental general effect on consumer attitude and purchase intentions" (Mai & Hoffmann, 2014, p. 141). While choosing an accent in audio-visual marketing campaigns they normally select an accent close to the one of the target audience (Ciccarelli, 2019). However, a study conducted by the Central Office of Information (COI) in the UK found that despite generally hearing advertisements in consumer's native accent is preferred; in some places of the UK, such as Bristol or Birmingham, the use of RP in advertisements is favourable (Ciccarelli, 2019). According to Mai and Hoffmann (2014), business interactions are affected by accents in different ways, portraying different effects such as 'the social identity effect' by which the speaker is ascribed to a specific social group or 'the activation of stereotypes effect', which has an impact on the evaluation of the salesperson's speech, the company and the product. Furthermore, not only the salesperson's accent has a huge impact on the client attitude, but also company representatives' accents, which have an effect on the corporate image (Mai & Hoffmann, 2014). As a result, it is highly advantageous to use target clients' non-

standard regional accents in order to generate a feeling of trust by creating bounds as common group membership (Mai & Hoffmann, 2014).

The effect of accents on advertisement is also analysed in Adams' experiment (2019) in Tayside, East Scotland, in which she analysed the "relationship between implicit and explicit attitudes to British accents in enhancing the persuasiveness of children's oral health campaigns" (Adams, 2019, p. 1). Six British accents were analysed and results show that Estuary English is the most persuasive accent in the experiment, and therefore, it is more useful in generating attitude change. The rest of the accents analysed are not as persuasive as Estuary English due to some prejudices such as social and ethnic stigmas like low education, violence, and immigration (Multicultural London English); or lack of standardness (Dundee English, Yorkshire English, and Irish English) (Adams, 2019). Moreover, Estuary English was considered more persuasive than RP because despite both of them being considered as 'standard English' by the participants, RP was linked to negative feelings such as snobbery, elitism, and poshness (Adams, 2019). As a consequence, despite taking more time and expense to recreate the same advertisement for each region, it is demonstrated to be more effective, and ultimately profitable, to do so (Ciccarelli, 2019).

### **2.3 Speaker reactions to accent prejudice**

All these attitudes towards accents have a direct impact on speakers, who are aware of the prejudices around some accents. On the one hand, linguistic discrimination leads to speakers of least likable accents trying to change the way they speak in order to avoid negative judgements and fit in certain environments or situations. On the other hand, some speakers of least desirable accents find this behaviour as treachery (Baratta, 2018) and they portray the opposite attitude by enhancing their accent as a gesture of pride about their origins.

#### **2.3.1 Embarrassment or pride: speakers' attitudes towards their own accents**

There is a debate about whether speakers of less prestigious accents show negative attitudes towards the way they speak. On the one hand, some linguists as Wilkinson (1965; as cited in Thorne, 2005) state that some accents, such as 'Brummie', are not only disliked outside their places of origin, but also by their speakers, who show negative attitudes towards the way they speak. This idea is also supported by Trudgill (1974; as

cited in Thorne, 2005), who reports on the underestimation of their own accent compared to more prestigious forms in speakers of stigmatized variants such as the Norwich accent. Similarly, further examples of this behaviour are found in Cardiffians and Northern Irish speakers (Coupland et al., 2007).

However, contrary to this idea, some linguists defend that data may have been misinterpreted and these negative self-evaluations could be led by wider macro-social structures, which depreciates these accents (Thorne, 2005). Moreover, speakers of least desirable accents defend the way they speak with pride, which is reflected in a survey conducted by Thorne (2005). The results show that the majority of Birmingham speakers who were asked if they like their accent displayed a positive response, several of them using the word ‘pride’ to justify their view (Thorne, 2005). As a consequence, “the decision to modify one’s accent can be regarded by some speakers as problematic” (Baratta, 2018, p.165). Furthermore, speakers of Celtic countries’ accents such as Scottish, Welsh, and Irish, portray a more positive attitude towards their accent than the rest of the UK (Coupland et al., 2007). Speakers from these areas also portray a more negative attitude towards Received Pronunciation (Coupland et al., 2007), which could be explained by the higher rates of ingroup loyalties due to their nationalist heritage.

### **2.3.2 Linguistic accommodation**

Previously mentioned negative attitudes towards non-standard varieties develop into linguistic accommodation by which the natural speech is modified to suit the context of the conversation (Garrett, 2010; Giles, 1973; Labov, 1966; as cited in Baratta, 2018). This linguistic phenomenon is generally present as an attempt to sound more similar to those with whom the speaker is having the conversation (Baratta, 2018). Furthermore, accommodation tends to involve upward convergence (Giles, 1973; as cited in Baratta, 2018), which means that the aim of the accommodation process is to sound less regional and closer to a more prestigious variety. Linguistic accommodation is generally an automatic and unconscious phenomenon; nevertheless, it is also present as a conscious choice to avoid negative judgements (Baratta, 2018). In this context, it is fundamental the figure of accent reduction professionals, who instruct speakers to modify their accents, as we have previously seen in Margaret Thatcher’s experience (see 2.2.2 III), and as we will see below in Jane Bakewell (see 3.4). Another interesting profession regarding linguistic accommodation is the figure of ‘voice coaches’, who are required in some professions



such as acting. Their role is to instruct the actors and actresses to modulate their accents in order to sound consistent with the characters they interpret.

In situations when a speaker is accommodating his or her accent to a more standardised variant, we can find instances of hypercorrection. This concept is defined by Trudgill (2003; as cited in Przedlacka & Ashby, 2019, p. 16) as “a form of hyper adaptation in which speakers of a lower prestige variety, in attempting to adopt features of a higher prestige variety, incorrectly analyse differences between the two varieties and overgeneralize on the basis of observed correspondences”. There are two different types of hypercorrection: Qualitative and Quantitative or Labov-hypercorrection. The latter consists of collective behaviour in which members of a social group use an element with a different frequency than the social group they are trying to imitate (Jand & Auger, 1992; as cited in Przedlacka & Ashby, 2019). On the other hand, the term Qualitative Hypercorrection refers to an individual rather than a collective behaviour. Wells (1982) exposes examples of qualitative hypercorrection, such as the one of a hypothetical Northerner who accommodates to RP and includes the *strut* vowel  $-/\Lambda/-$  to his pronunciation and overgeneralises the rule by replacing  $/\upsilon/$  to  $/\Lambda/$  phoneme in words such as ‘put’ or ‘cushion’.

To conclude this section, it is important to mention the current struggle against these negative attitudes towards certain accents. As a response to linguistic discrimination, some associations, such as *The Accentism Project* and *Manchester Voices*, have emerged. Their main goal is to intervene in public discourse and institutional contexts with the intention of generating awareness on prejudices and discrimination towards certain accents and dialects. Furthermore, both these projects plan to participate in A-Level English Language through talks and workshops, as an attempt to promote the celebration of linguistic diversity and raise awareness among the younger generations (Paterson, 2018).

### **3.ANALYSIS**

#### **3.1 Methodology**

After contextualizing the outgoing situation regarding attitudes towards accents in the UK, we will analyse the accents of Steph McGovern, Hayley Hughes, and Joan Bakewell. The three of them are public figures who had been criticised because of their accents and in one case, as we will see, the speaker has accommodated her accent completely to RP. As we will show later, this analysis consists of a phonetic study of

audios (see their transcriptions in appendices 4, 5 and 6), in which we will highlight the presence or absence of features from the speakers' original accents. Furthermore, we will remark potential realisations of features from their original accents that are articulated in a more standardised way.

## **3.2 Case analysis: speaker 1**

### **3.2.1 Prejudices towards the speaker's accent**

The first speaker of our analysis is Steph McGovern, a BBC presenter and journalist from Middlesbrough<sup>2</sup>. Steph McGovern, as we will demonstrate later, has a clear Northern accent, which has been criticised several times. This criticism started really early in her career; as she states in an interview for the Sunday Express Magazine (Gage, 2014, para. 2), when she first appeared on screen was said by her editor: 'I don't want you to Google yourself for a bit or look at your emails because when we put you on, there's likely to be a lot of audience feedback'. Furthermore, she even received one letter with £20 for correction therapy for her 'terrible affliction', referring to her accent (Gage, 2014).

Moreover, almost two decades later, she continues receiving similar comments. This can be seen in the following tweet that she posted, which had a photo of an email she received that day attached (see Appendix 3). As we can see, despite the sender displays a polite attitude "Please don't get me wrong, I like you and think you do a very good job" (McGovern. 2019, para. 4), he is asking McGovern to change her accent "Just say the word as it's meant to be said" (McGovern. 2019, para. 5), which shows a standard accent-centred mentality. Apart from this, he shows complete ignorance and lack of awareness of linguistic diversity in the UK, which is reflected in his words: "Your accent doesn't bother me apart from one word that you mangle. "Here". You say "heyah"". (McGovern, 2019, paras. 4-5)

Despite these negative attitudes, McGovern shows a clear position regarding her accent. In her tweet, she displays a humorous reaction to the email (McGovern, 2019). Furthermore, before her big debut in *Steph's Packed Lunch*<sup>3</sup> she declared: "Middlesbrough might statistically be the 'worst place to grow up as a girl' but it made me who I am" (Williams, 2020, para. 5). Afterward, she explained: "I wouldn't be where

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<sup>2</sup> A small city in North Yorkshire.

<sup>3</sup> Daily programme of Channel 4.

I am if I didn't grow up there", which was reinforced by the use of the tag "#proudBorolass", meaning that she is proud of being raised in Middlesbrough (Williams, 2020, paras. 6-8). Going back to our section on misidentification, we can conclude that Steph does not show a negative attitude towards her accent; on the contrary, she celebrates the way she speaks, which she has kept on screen.

However, not only does McGovern publicly denounce the way some viewers react to her accent, but also the way she is treated in the mass media market, and especially in the BBC. In fact, she claims that her accent conditioned her to lower salaries than posher colleagues in the BBC, "who are paid a hell of a lot more" for similar roles (Pidd, 2018, para. 7). With this statement, McGovern opens the debate about the inclusion of working-class people into broadcasting (Pidd, 2018).

### 3.2.2 Analysis of the speaker's audios

After presenting Steph McGovern and some situations in which she has been judged negatively because of her accent as well her own attitude towards it, we will analyse two audios (Hyde, 2015<sup>4</sup>; Hyde, 2015<sup>5</sup>) in which we can find several of the features of Middlesbrough accent, which are described by Hughes et al (2012). One of the clearest features of the Northern accent, and of course typical of the Middlesbrough accent, is the lack of phoneme /ʌ/, which is substituted by /ʊ/. This feature is present all over McGovern's speech in both the first audio – 'pumpkin', 'up', 'but', 'just' – and the second one – 'cut', 'public', 'unemployment', 'numbers', 'update', and 'budget'. Another interesting feature from the Middlesbrough accent is the use of monophthong /ɛ:/ for diphthong /eɪ/, which is present in the first audio in 'make', 'made', 'making', 'face' and 'amazing'. Similarly, in the second audio, this feature is portrayed in 'UK', 'April', 'game', 'update', and 'today'. We can also find diphthong /əʊ/ monophthongization typical from Middlesbrough in which it is substituted by /ɔ:/ in words such as 'Picasso' (see audio 1 transcription in Appendix 4), 'below' (see audio 2 transcription in Appendix 4), and 'bingo' (see audio 2 transcription in Appendix 4). The diphthongization of /i:/ into /eɪ/ is also present in 'me', which is uttered in both audios. Another interesting feature from the Middlesbrough accent which is present in audio number one is the affrication of /k/ to /x/ in 'chicken'. As we can see, Steph McGovern

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<sup>4</sup> *Steph McGovern Shows Off Her Pumpkins Bbc Breakfast 30/10/15* (audio 1).

<sup>5</sup> *Steph McGovern "Bingo" Accent Bbc Breakfast 18/3/15* (audio 2).

portrays a considerable amount of Middlesbrough and Northern features, which clearly reveals her origins. Despite living in London for many years due to her job in the BBC, she has kept all these features that differentiate her from her colleagues, as we can hear in the first audio.

### **3.3 Case analysis: speaker 2**

#### **3.3.1 Prejudices towards the speaker's accent**

Following our analysis, we will focus on Hayley Hugues's speech. She is a Liverpoolian influencer who became famous for her participation in the fourth edition of the British dating reality *Love Island*. Despite the fact that exposure to the public eyes generally implies receiving judgments, her presence in the show created a wave of *Love Island*'s followers criticising the way she speaks through comments about her voice sounding "annoying" or "cringe worthy", making your "skin crawl" (Howley, 2018, para. 5). Apart from these inappropriate comments, even Hughes' intelligence is questioned by some of the reality's followers, who wrote the following Tweets:

"What level of education does this girl have" because "it's so difficult listening to [her] speak". (Howley, 2018, para. 6)

"#loveisland Hayley is an absolute snake. She's so fake and completely vile and has now been found out haha. Girl is thick as pig shit and can't even speak actual sentences properly. Go get yourself an education your embarrassing". (Howley, 2018, para. 7)

Furthermore, as Setter, a British phonetician, mentions in *The Mail* (Setter, 2019), Hughes' early departure from the show and the insistent negative criticism she received could be explained by her origins, since she was considered to have an 'ugly' accent (Setter, 2019). Furthermore, Setter (2019) offers an interesting view based on a survey conducted by a dating agency which reveals that the most desirable accents among those who are looking for a relationship are RP and Edinburgh accents because they suggest that the candidate is educated and has a 'good' job. Taking this into consideration, we can understand Hughes' short stay in the reality and the flood of criticism she received.

#### **3.3.2 Analysis of the speaker's audio**

Once we have contextualised the attitudes towards Hayley Hughes' accent we will develop an analysis of her first YouTube video (Hugues, 2020) (see audio 3 transcription in Appendix 5), which was uploaded two years after her participation in *Love Island*. We will evaluate if this negative criticism had an effect on her accent or not. In order to do

so, we will look for potential Scouse features in her speech and study if she performs them. One of the most distinctive features in the North in general and of course in Liverpool accent is the lack of *foot-strut* (/ʊ/-/ʌ/) split (Watson, 2007). This feature is present all through Hughes speech in words such as ‘just’, ‘but’, ‘up’, ‘love’, ‘come’, ‘something’, ‘cut’, ‘done’, ‘such’, ‘running’, ‘upwards’, ‘young’, ‘other’, ‘until’, ‘makeup’, ‘stuff’ and ‘cut’, in which /ʊ/ is articulated as an alternative to a /ʌ/, which is the typical realisation in RP and other standard accents. Following with Watson’s list of features in the Scouse accent (2007), we will highlight the realisation of /ɛ:/ instead of RP /ɛə/ in ‘there’ or /ɜ:/ in ‘first’, ‘turn’, ‘work’, ‘birthday’, ‘person’, ‘girls’, ‘thirty’, ‘best’. Furthermore, we can also find an alteration in *near* diphthong (/ɪə/), which is articulated as /iɛ/ (Watson, 2007) in ‘really’ and ‘experience’. Similarly, the *goose* vowel (/u:/) tends to be diphthongal [iü ~ iɔ] (Wells, 1982), as in ‘move’, ‘cool’ or ‘soon’. Moreover, we can find instances of glottalisation of medial /t/ –‘getting’, ‘bottom’, ‘little’, ‘important’, ‘starting’– and final /t/ –‘but’, ‘lot’, ‘fact’, ‘apart’, ‘what’, ‘get’–, which are typical features from the local accents of London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Southern rural areas but which are spreading to other regional accents throughout England (Wells, 1982). By analysing the presence of many features of Scouse accent in Hughes’ speech, we can conclude that she has not changed her accent after the criticism she received in social media after her stay in *Love Island*.

### 3.4 Case analysis: speaker 3

#### 3.4.1 Prejudices towards the speaker’s accent

Last but not least, we will analyse Joan Bakewell’s speech. She is an English television presenter, journalist, and member of the Labour Party. She was born in Stockport, a small city in Greater Manchester and therefore she was raised with a Stockport accent (Times Radio, 2020). However, she decided to change her accent due to her knowing that it would not serve her well in the high-status community of Cambridge University (BBC, n.d.<sup>6</sup>), where she was a student. In regard to this, Bakewell explains:

“my colleagues at Numen were the children of Bloomsbury[...], they had quite plummy voices, as a matter of fact [...]. I was enormously in awe of absolutely everyone including them and their voices and so I tried to get rid of my uh Stockport accent and remembered the lessons from my elocution”.  
(Times Radio, 2020, 05:10)

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<sup>6</sup> *Accents: Joan Bakewell and voice coach Barbara Berkery. BBC News.*

Referring back to those days, she tells one of the situations which made her adopt an “Ealing comedy kind of posh”, which “was completely bogus” (BBC, n.d.<sup>7</sup>, 00:44). Despite the fact that she states that “it was rather sad that I should be so intimidated” (Times Radio, 2020, 05:38), she still displays some prejudices against the Stockport accent when she is asked about the accent she had before receiving elocution lessons: “it was quite heavy and it's not a pretty accent; it's not like Liverpool or Geordie” (Times Radio, 2020, 04:38). Furthermore, she explains that the decision to change her accent was motivated by her mother’s wish for Bakewell to succeed in life, who made her attend elocution lessons (BBC, n.d.<sup>8</sup>, 00:40). In regard to this, Bakewell states that her parents “were aspirational [...]. They wanted to get on in the world and so they better themselves [...] in the class system of the British people” (Times Radio, 2020, 04:04). She insists that “it has to do with class, this idea of which layer you come from” (BBC, n.d.<sup>9</sup>, 02:32).

### 3.4.2 Analysis of the speaker’s audio

Once we have contextualised Joan Bakewell’s experience with regards to her accent, we will continue with the analysis of her intervention in Times Radio (2020), in which she was interviewed about several topics, among which stands her first political experiences and her accent change, which is the fragment of the interview on which we will focus (see audio 4 transcription in Appendix 6). In order to carry out our analysis, we will be based on features from Stockport accent, and mainly the ones affecting consonants. H-dropping in both function words and lexical words is one the main characteristics “in nonstandard dialects throughout almost all of England” (Heybone and Watson, 2013, p. 319). Stockport is not an exception, and therefore, Bakewell’s original accent is expected to drop initial /h/. However, as we can hear in the audio she repeatedly pronounces it in both lexical –‘house’, ‘homes’– and function words –‘have’, ‘had’–. Furthermore, as indicated in Hugues et al. (2012, p. 116), /t/-glottalling in pre-consonantal, pre-pause, and intervocalic positions is very common; nevertheless by analysing potential words in which it could be present –‘inviting’, ‘tittles’, ‘complicated’, ‘party’, ‘matters’, ‘better’, ‘British’, ‘got’, ‘pretty’, ‘get’, and ‘daughters’– we conclude that Bakewell does not articulate this feature, and opts for a standard pronunciation. Another feature characteristic from the Stockport accent is nasal relocation, which is a

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<sup>7</sup> *The Matter of the North - Joan Bakewell: Why I dropped my northern accent - BBC Sounds.*

<sup>8</sup> *Accents: Joan Bakewell and voice coach Barbara Berkery. BBC News.*

<sup>9</sup> *Accents: Joan Bakewell and voice coach Barbara Berkery. BBC News.*

phonological phenomenon by which final sequence VNC (vowel, nasal, consonant) becomes a ‘nasalized vowel + consonant’, especially when the last consonant is a voiceless stop (Shockey, 2003). We can find some words in the audio which could fulfil the conditions to suffer nasal relocation – ‘went’, ‘meant’, ‘accent’, ‘sent’ – however, the speaker does not articulate the nasal relocation. Another common feature in the Stockport accent is the pronunciation of /l/ without tongue contact, in which “the absence of phonetic [d] is possible in final ‘ld’ clusters when followed by another consonant” (Shockey, 2003, pp. 39-40); however, Bakewell does pronounce /d/ in ‘child during’ and ‘child to’. Last but not least, initial /ð/ tends to be assimilated to a previous alveolar consonant (Shockey, 2003); however, the phoneme in – ‘in the’, ‘but that’, ‘had this’, ‘but then’ – in Bakewell’s speech corresponds to /ð/. Taking into consideration the absence of previously described features in Bakewell’s speech we can conclude that she has disposed of all Stockport accent’s features and as we have explained before she reached an RP-like pronunciation through elocution lessons.

#### **4. GENERAL DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS**

Taking all the previously mentioned ideas into consideration, we can state that accents have an enormous repercussion on our identity. This leads to judgements and stereotypes towards speakers of all accents, but especially the regional non-standard ones, with the Northern urban and Southern rural ones having the most negative repercussions. This solidly established perception of accents in the UK is known to exist from the 1970s onwards. However, it is fundamental to remark that these judgements are socially-based rather than linguistically-based since there is nothing inherently positive or negative in any accent.

Unfortunately, these prejudices are consolidated in society, having an impact not only on speakers’ social relationships but also in their job prospects. There are many areas of the labour market in which accent discrimination is present. For example, in education, teachers with strong regional accents are asked to modify the way they speak. Furthermore, despite regional accents have been introduced to mass media, RP continues to be dominant. Similarly, negative attitudes towards accents are still believed to be present in politics, which clearly reflects the necessity of including metalinguistic awareness in the political agenda. The advertisement industry also takes these perceptions into consideration in their campaigns and finally translation faces challenges to transmit the sociolinguistic effect of different accents from one language to another.

As a consequence of these judgments on accents, speakers of least likable accents display different attitudes, from feeling ashamed and accommodating to a more standardised accent, to feeling pride in their accent and their place of origin and celebrating the way they speak. Furthermore, as in recent years there has been an increase in awareness of this issue, some institutions have emerged with the aim of promoting the celebration of linguistic diversity and eliminating linguistic discrimination.

These previously mentioned reactions from the speakers of least desirable accents are also present in the three analyses we have conducted. Despite the three speakers coming from places which are relatively near one another in England, and whose accents are similar in many ways, we can find a noticeable difference in Bakewell's accent in contrast to the ones from McGovern and Hughes. As it has been mentioned in the contextual description of the three speakers, all of them had found themselves in situations in which having a Northern accent exposed them to criticism or discrimination. However, we can see two distinctive ways of dealing with this problem. On the one hand, Bakewell found accommodating to a more standard and posher accent to be the solution. On the other hand, both Hughes and McGovern decided to continue with their accents, with the latter speaker taking an active role in the defence and celebration of nonstandard working-class accents.

As we can observe, despite the increasing awareness about this issue and the struggle against linguistic discrimination, there is still a lot of progress to be made in this regard in British society. However, since the gap between the most and least positively rated accents is diminishing not only from the 1970s to nowadays, but also from older to younger generations, we can conclude that there might be an ideological change over time and if this tendency continues, prejudices towards accents might be reduced or even vanished in the future. It could be interesting to establish a progressive analysis on attitudes towards accents in the UK so that we can observe how British population evolves in this regard.



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# 6. APPENDICES

## APPENDIX 1

### YouGov Survey Results

Sample Size: 2018 GB Adults  
Fieldwork: 27th - 28th November 2014

Total	Westminster VI				2010 Vote		Gender		Age				Social Grade		Region					
	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	UKIP	Con	Lab	Lib Dem	Male	Female	16-24	25-39	40-59	60+	ABC1	C2DE	London	Rest of South	Midlands & Wales	North	Scotland
2018	486	551	108	245	575	523	420	995	1019	176	398	874	570	1342	676	281	821	405	441	270
Unweighted Sample	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%

For each of the following accents, please say how attractive or unattractive you think they are...

**Liverpool (Scouse)**

Very attractive	5	4	6	2	5	3	6	3	6	4	8	5	5	3	5	5	6	2	5	7	7
Fairly attractive	19	18	23	15	17	18	20	22	17	21	15	19	18	23	20	19	20	17	22	19	22
<b>TOTAL ATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>29</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>25</b>
Fairly unattractive	27	29	28	27	24	26	29	27	25	29	25	23	27	32	27	27	28	26	28	26	33
Very unattractive	30	36	25	38	38	39	25	28	33	27	31	34	32	24	32	28	27	33	30	31	23
<b>TOTAL UNATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>56</b>	
Neither attractive nor unattractive	14	10	14	16	11	11	15	17	14	13	12	13	14	14	13	14	11	17	11	14	12
Don't know	5	2	3	2	5	3	5	4	5	5	9	7	3	3	3	7	7	5	5	3	4

**Manchester (Mancunian)**

Very attractive	3	4	3	2	2	3	3	3	4	3	3	4	4	3	3	4	3	2	3	6	3
Fairly attractive	18	17	25	18	15	18	21	21	17	19	15	17	15	24	19	16	22	17	21	16	16
<b>TOTAL ATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>15</b>
Fairly unattractive	33	35	29	41	33	35	30	30	31	34	31	32	33	34	36	29	34	31	31	32	41
Very unattractive	15	23	16	20	25	24	16	15	21	16	20	20	21	14	17	21	16	23	16	17	11
<b>TOTAL UNATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>52</b>
Neither attractive nor unattractive	20	16	22	17	18	16	22	24	21	20	17	20	22	21	20	22	16	20	19	24	19
Don't know	7	5	5	6	6	5	7	6	7	7	13	8	6	6	5	10	9	7	8	5	9

**Birmingham (Brummie)**

Very attractive	2	2	4	1	1	3	3	2	2	3	1	2	3	3	2	3	2	2	5	2	2
Fairly attractive	12	9	14	19	12	10	14	15	12	12	10	11	11	15	11	13	8	11	18	12	6
<b>TOTAL ATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>17</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>15</b>	<b>11</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>10</b>	<b>13</b>	<b>23</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>8</b>
Fairly unattractive	23	32	30	34	23	30	29	33	28	30	22	26	31	33	31	26	32	28	26	31	38
Very unattractive	38	42	36	33	45	43	34	32	38	38	43	43	38	31	40	34	38	39	35	40	34
<b>TOTAL UNATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>74</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>73</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>66</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>70</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>72</b>
Neither attractive nor unattractive	13	11	13	11	12	10	15	14	14	12	14	10	14	14	12	15	11	16	11	12	13
Don't know	5	3	3	2	7	4	5	4	5	6	11	7	4	3	4	7	9	5	5	4	7

**West Country**

Very attractive	7	6	6	9	10	7	5	9	7	7	2	4	7	10	6	7	6	8	7	6	3
Fairly attractive	37	44	41	42	37	45	39	34	37	37	20	26	39	53	39	34	35	39	40	35	32
<b>TOTAL ATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>35</b>
Fairly unattractive	21	22	22	26	23	22	22	23	22	20	21	25	22	17	21	21	20	20	20	23	23
Very unattractive	10	10	6	6	11	9	10	7	9	10	18	14	9	3	9	10	12	8	10	11	11
<b>TOTAL UNATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>34</b>
Neither attractive nor unattractive	17	14	18	16	14	13	17	20	18	16	18	19	17	15	17	17	16	18	15	17	21
Don't know	8	4	6	1	6	4	7	6	7	9	20	12	5	3	7	10	11	6	8	8	10

**Cockney**

Very attractive	3	3	5	2	3	3	5	2	3	4	3	2	4	4	3	3	8	3	3	2	2
Fairly attractive	22	22	25	20	22	24	23	24	18	26	15	22	20	28	22	22	23	27	22	16	19
<b>TOTAL ATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>21</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>21</b>
Fairly unattractive	36	32	32	36	29	32	30	30	28	32	27	29	30	31	32	27	32	28	29	29	37
Very unattractive	25	28	22	25	28	24	23	25	29	21	29	26	27	21	26	24	15	20	27	35	26
<b>TOTAL UNATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>63</b>
Neither attractive nor unattractive	15	13	13	16	15	13	14	15	16	13	15	13	17	13	14	16	13	17	13	14	11
Don't know	5	4	3	1	4	4	5	5	6	5	10	9	3	2	4	7	9	5	6	3	5

**Received Pronunciation (BBC English)**

Very attractive	14	19	13	16	16	18	14	12	13	14	11	13	14	15	16	11	24	17	8	11	8
Fairly attractive	39	44	38	52	39	41	34	42	36	41	41	36	38	41	43	34	37	41	41	36	32
<b>TOTAL ATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>54</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>58</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>40</b>
Fairly unattractive	11	13	15	11	12	14	15	12	15	13	14	12	15	14	11	12	16	11	12	16	14
Very unattractive	8	5	8	3	10	6	9	6	9	6	9	7	7	9	5	11	5	6	8	12	9
<b>TOTAL UNATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>14</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>19</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>20</b>	<b>22</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>27</b>	<b>16</b>	<b>18</b>	<b>26</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>30</b>
Neither attractive nor unattractive	19	17	21	18	16	16	21	22	19	19	19	16	23	18	19	19	15	19	16	24	22
Don't know	6	4	4	1	7	4	7	5	7	6	10	10	5	4	4	9	8	5	8	5	8

**Newcastle (Geordie)**

Very attractive	10	12	9	10	6	9	12	9	10	10	6	9	12	9	10	10	9	6	10	14	9
Fairly attractive	36	38	39	41	33	37	37	39	36	36	31	28	37	43	38	33	33	33	38	37	41
<b>TOTAL ATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>48</b>	<b>51</b>	<b>50</b>
Fairly unattractive	21	20	23	24	21	20	21	22	19	22	24	24	18	21	22	19	20	20	24	24	22
Very unattractive	15	15	13	10	25	19	11	11	15	15	19	15	15	13	13	17	18	19	14	11	11
<b>TOTAL UNATTRACTIVE</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>34</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>36</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>33</b>
Neither attractive nor unattractive	14	12	13	14	10	12	14	15	14	13	10	16	14	12	13	14	11	15	12	14	13
Don't know	5	3	3	1	5	3	5	4	6	5	9	8	3	3	4	7	9	5	7	3	4

**Glasgow (Glaswegian)**

Very attractive	6	4	7
-----------------	---	---	---

## APPENDIX 2



The screenshot shows the top of a news article on the Mirror website. The header features the Mirror logo, a search icon, and a notification that the daily paper is free for 6 weeks. Below this is a navigation bar with categories like COVID-19, Football, News, etc. The main headline reads "Brits love plummy accents like Sir David Attenborough and Stephen Fry the most". A sub-headline explains that a plummy tone was named as the most preferred accent for the Queen's English. Below the headline are social sharing icons and a comment count of 8. The author is identified as Richard Jenkins, with a byline date of 00:01, 7 DEC 2020.

**Mirror** Get The Daily Mirror delivered FREE for 6 weeks

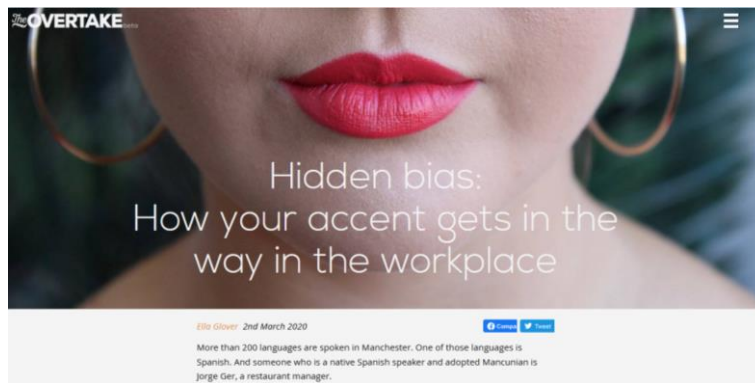
COVID-19 FOOTBALL NEWS CELEBS TV POLITICS SPORT FILM ROYALS WEIRD NEWS TI

### Brits love plummy accents like Sir David Attenborough and Stephen Fry the most

A plummy tone was named as the accent people could listen to for the longest, with the Queen's English also the preferred voice to hear on the radio or TV, research reveals

SHARE 8 COMMENTS

By **Richard Jenkins**  
00:01, 7 DEC 2020



The screenshot shows a video player for a video titled "Hidden bias: How your accent gets in the way in the workplace" from "The Overtake" series. The video features a close-up of a woman's mouth with bright red lipstick. Below the video, there is a caption by Ella Glover dated 2nd March 2020, stating that more than 200 languages are spoken in Manchester and mentioning a native Spanish speaker named Jorge Ger, a restaurant manager. Social sharing icons for Facebook and Twitter are also visible.

**THE OVERTAKE**

Hidden bias:  
How your accent gets in the way in the workplace

Ella Glover 2nd March 2020

More than 200 languages are spoken in Manchester. One of those languages is Spanish. And someone who is a native Spanish speaker and adopted Mancunian is Jorge Ger, a restaurant manager.



The screenshot shows an article on The Guardian website. The header includes the "Support the Guardian" banner, navigation links for News, Opinion, Sport, Culture, and Lifestyle, and a search bar. The article is categorized under "Higher education" and has a warning that it is more than 5 months old. The headline is "'It's had a lasting impact': students on being bullied over their accents". The sub-headline reads "Past and present university students talk about their experiences of being made to feel out of place". A secondary headline states "UK's top universities urged to act on classism and accent prejudice". The author is Nazia Parveen, a North of England correspondent, with a byline date of Sat 24 Oct 2020 07:00 BST. The article has 1,835 shares. A small video thumbnail is visible at the bottom right of the article.

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Education Schools Teachers Universities Students

**Higher education** This article is more than 5 months old

### 'It's had a lasting impact': students on being bullied over their accents

Past and present university students talk about their experiences of being made to feel out of place

- UK's top universities urged to act on classism and accent prejudice

**Nazia Parveen** *North of England correspondent*  
#naziaparveen  
Sat 24 Oct 2020 07:00 BST

1,835



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# Accent Discrimination – The Detrimental Effects Of Criticizing Someone’s Language

By Anni Tikkala | January 11, 2020 | No Comments

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## Teacher changes accent to avoid 'village idiot' tag

By **Hannah Richardson**  
BBC News education and social affairs reporter

23 February 2017

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IN DEPTH | PSYCHOLOGY

#### What does your accent say about you?

[Twitter](#) [Facebook](#) [LinkedIn](#)

(image credit: BBC)



By **Melissa Hogenboom** | 9th March 2018

Accents can be subject to subtle forms of prejudice, but does that mean some are more appealing and trustworthy than others? BBC Future takes a look.





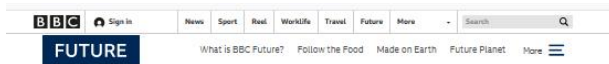
# There needs to be a more diverse range of voices reading the news

Huw Edwards is a rare regional voice on British television



By [Dr Laura Wright](#)

Published: Tuesday, 9th January 2018 at 12:15 pm



IN DEPTH | PSYCHOLOGY

## How hard is it to fake an accent?



By [Melissa Hogenboom](#) 19th March 2018

Our accent says a lot about our identity, but can also make us prone to stereotypes. As a result, many people want to change theirs – but how hard is it, and does it ever help, asks Melissa Hogenboom.

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## UK students: Have you been ridiculed over your accent or background?

We'd like to hear from students at UK universities who have been mocked over their regional accent or background by other students or staff



▲ Durham, County Durham, England. University graduates queuing to enter the cathedral prior to their graduation ceremony. Photograph: David Tomlinson/Alamy Stock Photo

Guardian community team

THE CONVERSATION

Rigor académico, oficio periodístico

COVID-19 Ciencia + Tecnología Cultura Economía Educación Medicina + Salud Medioambiente + Energía Política

## Accentism is alive and well – and it doesn't only affect the north of England

29 octubre 2020 13:43 CET





Guardian Careers

## Does your accent really hinder your job prospects?

More than a quarter of British people feel discriminated against because of the way they speak. But will it really harm your career? **Matt Dathan** explores



▲ Bristolians auditioning for roles in the new Star Wars film were warned to "disguise their accents" by David Prowse, who played Darth Vader in the original movies. Photograph: Cine Text/Alistar/Sportsphoto Ltd./Alistar

**Matt Dathan**

Fri 22 Nov 2013 10:59 GMT

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
### 28% of Britons feel discriminated against due to accent

TONIGHT | Wednesday 25 September 2013, 8:00pm

**Penny Marshall**  
Africa Correspondent

## APPENDIX 3:



← **Thread**

 **Steph McGovern**   
@StephLunch


This email has really made me laugh.

Two thoughts:  
1) Can anyone say the word 'here' with one syllable? Try it. I'm curious.  
2) Despite what Trev thinks, how I say the word 'here' IS all about my accent so he can one syllable off.  
[#syllablejunkie](#)

← **Inbox**

From: **Trevor**   
To: **Stephanie McGovern** >  **TA**  
[Hide](#)

**Pronunciation**  
Today at 21:27

Hi Steph  
Please don't get me wrong, I like you and think you do a very good job and I'm not being patronising there. Your accent doesn't bother me apart from one word that you mangle. "Here." You say "heyah."  
Sorry, but could you please just say here as one syllable. You don't have to put on a posh accent. Just say the word as it's meant to be said.  
Thank you  
Trevor   
Sent from my iPhone

## APPENDIX 4

### AUDIO 1 TRANSCRIPT: Steph McGovern Shows Off Her Pumpkins BBC Breakfast 30/10/15

00:01 [Very well, thanks. Did you just say the artful Dodgers? Yeah, well, what have you brought in with you, Steph? Well, you're just boasting. Now, look what you've done]<sup>10</sup>

00:09 It's given the challenge by Nagger  
00:11 earlier could I make a pumpkin in half  
00:12 an hour.  
00:13 This is my crea... actually (the) ones by me  
00:16 I'm the one with the face  
00:17 modelled on a mix of all of the breakfast  
00:19 presenters. And then, this one was made by  
00:21 my producer Harry. [So which one are  
00:24 you saying is yours?] The face, this one  
00:26 [it's got wonky teeth and you say that's a mixture of presenters]. Yeah  
00:32 that is what... it's a kind of Picasso  
00:33 style inspired. I am just making things  
00:37 up now [and then the one next to it obviously is Harry, your producer did that]. Yes, he did. [just in case anyone didn't know what side they were watching, yeah that job gives you that very good Steph but] I've tough work. My hand

00:50 stink of pumpkins [stay that side  
00:53 could be worse mm-hmm Steph thank you very much I don't know why I said that really no]

00:59 Thank you, Charlie. Okay, thank you [see  
01:02 some others] yeah because they're a lot  
01:03 better than mine. Let's have a look at them  
01:05 while we compose ourselves [Have a look uh... Steve has been busy and look what Steve has come up with]

01:11 That's amazing [Look at that] Look at the teeth on  
01:14 that  
01:15 [Loren Humphrey and they have made this Mexican day of the dead and here are three pumpkin pups. Oh Becky, I know, like pigs, a bit as well but they're great. They're fantastic. They're by Lisa Rowe all that work and you just, you just no, no, no, no, no, crazy. Thanks, I, this morning all about this one]

01:37 How do you do that then? [Tom in Kingsland. What'd you do Steph? is you... into right even and then you put some stuff in the middle. A normal person would]

01:46 But it's not made a  
01:47 pumpkin as well the bits in the middle  
01:48 no that's chicken [and we've got one which is a little worse for wear perhaps them to me we got worries it's from Nathan and Abbey in Leeds I love that one that's the best one that's perhaps how you might feel after a Halloween party hopefully not. Thanks for them. Those in this morning set thank you for your work if it was yours; I'm still not convinced]

02:08 I totally just did that

---

<sup>10</sup> [ ] used to indicate the intervention of another speaker different from the one we are analysing

02:10 I can verify it let's.. not, right, I'm good  
02:12 [Okay, fine, someone whose voice is instantly recognizable for and it helped prep...]

**AUDIO 2 TRANSCRIPT: Steph McGovern "Bingo" Accent BBC Breakfast  
18/3/15**

00:00 Of everything which we make, produce and  
00:02 sell in the UK. But, it is still going up  
00:06 and it's expected to hit 81 percent of  
00:10 GDP next year. This means the books still  
00:16 aren't balanced. There's a deficit of 41  
00:19 billion pounds. So, let's have a look at  
00:21 what's worked and what hasn't. Let's  
00:24 start with spending. Back in 2010, the  
00:27 government said it was going to cut  
00:29 public spending by 90 billion pounds by  
00:32 April this year and it has. Bingo.  
00:36 Then, there's growth predicted to be 2.7  
00:40 percent this year. We're not quite there  
00:42 with that one, but we're not far off. But  
00:45 the big winner has been unemployment.  
00:47 That was predicted to be 6.1 percent  
00:50 this year and it's actually fallen below  
00:54 that. Bingo. The other thing that George  
00:57 Osborne's been right about is inflation  
00:59 falling. Bingo. This is a big numbers game  
01:04 and it's hard to predict exactly what's  
01:06 going to happen with the economy every  
01:08 year. But, the Chancellor George Osborne  
01:11 can't call House in the Commons just yet.  
01:14 So, we'll get an update of course on  
01:17 those figures today and also any plans  
01:20 in the budget to try and bring down that  
01:21 deficit more. I 'll tell you what else I  
01:23 notice filming, that is how northerners  
01:25 sound when they say bingo [when you say what? Say that again] Bingo [how  
01:34 else would you pronounce it?] Bingo. Let  
01:35 me tell you as well, of course if you  
01:37 want all the details on the budget that  
01:39 will be on BBC 2 today from half-past  
01:42 eleven and of course there will be  
01:44 rolling coverage on the BBC News  
01:46 challenge. [You're going actually playing  
01:48 that that game]. Yes, tomorrow I'll be in a  
01:51 bingo hall talking to experts about what  
01:53 we've heard in the budget today. So,  
01:54 more from me [I look forward today  
01:55 let's explain it all for us please] that's  
01:57 right [thanks Steph time now to get news travel and weather where you are.  
Bingo. You said it the posh way]

## APPENDIX 5

### AUDIO 3 TRANSCRIPT: My first ever YouTube video!! Q & A :)

00:00 You can tell I'm new to this. Take, take, take. Okay.  
00:11 Hi guys, so welcome to my first ever  
00:13 YouTube video.  
00:14 I've literally been saying for I don't  
00:16 know how long that I'm going to start a  
00:17 YouTube channel. I'm just  
00:19 not getting around to doing it, but we're  
00:20 here. We're finally making our first  
00:22 YouTube video,  
00:24 so we move. You'll probably notice  
00:26 throughout this video I tend to say  
00:28 'literally' and 'we move' a lot but I'm  
00:30 going to try and stop myself from saying  
00:32 because even I find it so, so, so, annoying.  
00:36 So, today's first video is going to be a  
00:38 Q and A as it seems to be the most popular  
00:39 requested video on  
00:40 my Instagram last week. So, I put a  
00:43 question box up a lot of viewers wrote  
00:44 questions that you wanted to be answered.  
00:47 So, I wish I could get through as many  
00:49 questions as I could but obviously I  
00:50 would be here  
00:51 forever. Okay, so I'm going to get  
00:54 straight to the questions and get  
00:55 answering them because I feel like a  
00:57 major wait  
00:58 long enough. So, the first question is if  
01:00 you didn't go on Love Island or do  
01:01 modelling what would you do?  
01:02 This is so random, but I actually wanted  
01:05 to be a midwife. Yeah, a midwife; which I  
01:08 literally  
01:09 don't know why because anyone that knows  
01:10 me knows that I hate anything to do with  
01:12 blood,  
01:13 needles, just anything hospital related.  
01:14 It makes me feel  
01:15 so squeamish like I just feel so  
01:18 lightheaded. It comes to the point even  
01:20 when I'm watching something on the telly  
01:23 if there's anything, blood operations or  
01:24 anything like that involved, I've got to  
01:26 turn over or cover my eyes.  
01:27 It just makes me feel physically sick. So  
01:31 yeah,

01:32 I thank to Lord that that it didn't work out  
01:34 because I doubt you'd want me as your  
01:36 midwife at the bottom of the bed.  
01:38 Okay, how many times have I said  
01:39 literally? Literally, literally, literally.  
01:42 It needs to stop. But, moving on to the  
01:43 second question...  
01:46 So, the second question is: how did you  
01:47 get into modelling?  
01:49 So, I always get asked this question. So,  
01:52 to cut a long story short I've done my  
01:54 first beauty pageant which was called  
01:55 miss British Isles, which I did go on to  
01:57 win  
01:59 and there was like a modelling agency in  
02:00 the crowd which scouted me. I think I  
02:02 stayed with them for about  
02:03 four months and then I moved on and the  
02:06 agency that I moved on to  
02:08 I'm now still with them today they're  
02:09 based in Manchester. I literally  
02:10 love them. They're such a lovely little  
02:12 agency to work for.  
02:14 And then, I've also done miss Liverpool,  
02:17 which I come  
02:18 running up in that. So, I kind of done  
02:20 Miss British Isles, got  
02:21 scouted, and went with a modelling agency,  
02:23 done miss Liverpool,  
02:25 and then done some modelling jobs and  
02:27 went on to Love Island. So, it was kind of  
02:29 just upwards from there, really.  
02:31 What is the age gap between you and your  
02:32 mum? So, I always get asked  
02:36 so many questions about my mum. So, the  
02:39 age gap between me and my mom  
02:40 is 18 years. She had me when she was so  
02:43 young.  
02:45 My mom actually had me the day before  
02:46 her birthday so she was actually 17 at  
02:49 the time and she turned  
02:50 the next day so my birthday is the 27th of  
02:53 June and my mum's is the 28th of June.  
02:56 So there's a little cool fact for you as well.  
02:58 So it's actually  
02:59 a day apart between us but not actually  
03:02 a day apart but a day apart our birthdays,  
03:05 you know what I mean.  
03:06 What is your dream job? To be honest, what  
03:08 I do now is my dream job. I love that.

03:10 Every single day is different. You get to  
03:12 work with amazing people.  
03:14 I literally wouldn't change what I do  
03:16 for anything. How come you and Georgia  
03:18 didn't like each other when you first  
03:19 met?  
03:20 Okay, so me and Georgia love this story.  
03:23 We always tell people this story when we  
03:24 have a drink.  
03:25 But, em, so I'm gonna cut this a long  
03:28 story short all along.  
03:30 I'm gonna cut this. I'm gonna cut a  
03:32 long story short on this story also.  
03:35 But basically when Georgia come in the  
03:36 village she arrived like a day later  
03:38 and when she come in I thought she is  
03:40 just too large for me because Georgia is  
03:42 like a quite large bubbly person  
03:44 so I thought I'm not gonna like her. So, I  
03:46 just like put it out there because we  
03:47 were kind of clashing and stuff so I  
03:49 just said: "I don't like you". She said: "I  
03:51 don't like you".  
03:52 So I was like cool that's fine we didn't  
03:54 really see eye to eye for the first few  
03:55 days.  
03:56 Then, in Love Island, like the girls  
03:57 should all get ready in the same  
03:59 place not that you'd have to get ready  
04:01 there but because she was kind of used  
04:03 to getting ready there automatically you  
04:05 just go to that spot where you got ready  
04:06 the night before.  
04:07 So me and Georg would get ready next to  
04:09 each other and this one day she had this  
04:11 gorgeous lip gloss on that I literally  
04:13 loved so I said to her: "Oh, can I borrow  
04:15 your lip gloss?". And she was like:  
04:16 "'course babe", which I think is actually  
04:19 kind of cheeky that I had the cheek to  
04:21 ask to borrow her lip gloss after  
04:22 telling the girl that I didn't like her.  
04:24 But yeah, that was that and then from  
04:26 there like our friendship has just  
04:27 grown and like Georgia is a really,  
04:30 really, good friend of mine. So  
04:32 thank God that I asked for that lip  
04:34 gloss. Did you think Love Island was  
04:35 gonna accept you when you applied?  
04:38 So, I never actually applied for Love

04:40 Island I was scouted and my process of  
04:43 going on Love Island was so quick I  
04:45 didn't really have a chance to think of  
04:47 what was actually going on.  
04:48 So within four weeks I met the producers,  
04:51 done me press stuff and then  
04:52 I was in the villa basically or within  
04:55 four weeks. It was so  
04:56 quick moving but it was the best thing  
04:58 that I could have ever done. Like I've  
05:00 met  
04:00 so many amazing people from the show.  
05:02 I've gained so many  
05:03 amazing opportunities as well from the  
05:05 show and I'm forever thankful that I've  
05:07 done it.  
05:08 Like it's absolutely mental like you  
05:10 can't explain;  
05:12 you can't explain the experience until  
05:14 you actually  
05:15 do it kind of thing. I don't think, I  
05:18 think I was a bit of a bitch on it which  
05:19 I can  
05:20 recognize now. So, please, you know.  
05:24 Would you recommend getting your boobs  
05:25 done? Okay,  
05:26 so I've actually had my boobs done and I,  
05:29 I'm happy that I've got my boobs done as  
05:31 long as you're getting your boobs done  
05:32 for yourself and you're not feeling  
05:34 pressured.  
05:35 Like, through social media or anything as  
05:37 if you're like social media I can paint  
05:39 a picture where it makes you feel  
05:40 pressured because you're seeing all  
05:41 these unreal girls on Instagram  
05:43 they all look amazing. But you need to  
05:45 remember that on Instagram you can edit  
05:47 your pictures you can put a filter on it  
05:49 everything is not real  
05:50 like what you see. So, as long as you're  
05:53 getting your boobs done for you,  
05:54 for yourself, for your confidence, to be  
05:56 happier; then, yeah,  
05:57 totally. But also, please, please, please,  
06:00 make sure  
06:01 you research, like a lot, because there's  
06:03 all different type of surgeons and  
06:05 there's pros and cons as well.  
06:07 So make sure you look into who you're



06:08 going to,  
06:09 look up at the pros and cons also. But  
06:12 I'm happy that I got mine done.  
06:15 What is your five-year plan?  
06:17 So, I'm 24 now so in five years I will be  
06:25 20, 29. I'll be 29 so I'd like to have a  
06:28 business of my own.  
06:29 I think the like four main, important  
06:31 things are happiness, wealth,  
06:32 success and health. Like, as long as  
06:35 you've got them four things, you are  
06:36 winning at life.  
06:38 But, to, like, get your goals you have  
06:40 to be consistent. Consistency is key.  
06:42 But I'm very motorized people like  
06:43 if I put my mind to something I can  
06:45 manifest it and I will get it.  
06:47 So, um, I'd also like to be living in my  
06:51 dream home and also be starting a family  
06:53 of my own by then. I've ever said I'd  
06:55 like to start a family  
06:56 by the age of 29-30 and  
07:00 that's just the age I'd like to start.  
07:02 Like, right now I'm just too busy living  
07:04 life I'm just doing everything  
07:05 for myself. I'm definitely not ready for  
07:08 any kids anytime soon.  
07:10 So guys, I'm gonna make this, me final  
07:12 question.  
07:13 So the final question is: do you have any  
07:15 sisters or brothers?  
07:17 No, I actually don't have any sisters or  
07:18 brothers. There is only me,  
07:21 which I absolutely love. I love being an  
07:24 only child because you just get all the  
07:26 attention  
07:27 on you. I couldn't even imagine having a  
07:28 sister or brother, to be honest. But I've  
07:30 always grew up in a really, really, close  
07:32 knitted family.  
07:34 So, my family is quite a big family but  
07:36 we're all really, really,  
07:40 we're all really close especially like  
07:41 me and  
07:43 well me and my cousins growing up  
07:45 were around the same age.  
07:47 So I've never felt lonely ever like we've  
07:50 always growing up playing together,  
07:52 having sleepovers together, going on  
07:54 holidays together...

07:55 So, it's been amazing. So, I'm gonna stop  
07:57 there guys because I didn't realize how  
08:00 long  
08:01 it takes to film your first YouTube  
08:03 video. Obviously, I'm new to it so please,  
08:05 please, please, be kind.  
08:06 But we got there in the end and we have  
08:09 smashed the best YouTube video.  
08:10 So, hopefully you'll be seeing a lot more  
08:12 of me. So, if you like what you see  
08:13 make sure you give it a like and comment  
08:15 down below what you'd like to see  
08:17 next. Um, I know a lot of you have said a  
08:19 makeup tutorial, so I think  
08:21 that will be my next YouTube video. So  
08:24 hopefully you loved watching this video  
08:26 guys and you'll be seeing me again very  
08:28 soon.  
08:30 Thanks for watching.

## APPENDIX 6

### AUDIO 4 TRANSCRIPT: Dame Joan Bakewell: I was assaulted by a member of the government

00:00 [Joan Bakewell, thank you very much for joining us to do your personality politics]  
00:04 Thank you very much for inviting me.  
00:06 [I can't call you baroness and I can't call you dame].  
00:08 I think of myself as a working  
00:10 journalist. I'm still working. I'm still  
00:12 broadcasting. I've got a series coming up  
00:14 in the autumn, which is going out I do it  
00:16 on lapt, on my laptop,  
00:18 um, and I think of myself as a journalist  
00:19 though I take my role in  
00:21 the House of Lords quite, since um, quite  
00:24 seriously.  
00:25 But, that's, um, that's nothing to do with  
00:27 the titles.  
00:29 [How is like being a working baroness journalist?]  
00:32 A working baroness journalist, yes. It  
00:34 sounds completely phony. [It doesn't trip  
00:36 off the tongue, does it? Let's talk about your politics. Let's go back to where it all began; do you remember your political awakening? What was your first political memory?]  
00:46 Well, I was a child during the war and  
00:49 the war itself  
00:50 was very complicated for a child to live  
00:53 through.  
00:54 And I do remember rejoicing after the  
00:56 war in the labour  
00:58 victory and I remember that we had a  
01:00 school,  
01:01 um, election, a mock election at school. I  
01:04 was about 12  
01:05 and the um that, we all took  
01:09 sides and, uh, I, I took sides with the  
01:12 most popular girls in the class  
01:14 who were tory and so I voted tory and  
01:17 the, and, the  
01:18 and the school election went forward and  
01:20 I came home and I said to my parents we  
01:22 had this mock election  
01:23 and I voted tory and they both jumped on  
01:25 me and said: "no, no, no,  
01:27 we're labour" So, I went around, I went back  
01:30 next day and I explained to the school  
01:32 that I'd made a gross error  
01:33 and then in fact I was labour. I didn't

01:35 know what any of it meant.  
01:36 [what happened to the election results at  
01:38 school?] Nobody really  
01:40 knew, uh, what it was about. I mean the  
01:42 toriests thought they were  
01:43 rewarding Churchill for winning the war  
01:46 and labour  
01:47 was sort of thinking it was time for a  
01:48 change and that was about  
01:50 what it amounted to. But then, of course,  
01:52 that's probably what it amounted to in  
01:53 the nation too because  
01:54 Churchill certainly expected to win and  
01:57 was hugely disappointed  
01:59 all the people who wanted change were  
02:02 surprised that they  
02:03 achieved it. So, it was a very, very,  
02:06 cataclysmic election.  
02:08 [When did you actually personally uh identify with a political party then?]  
02:12 My parents were, they were labour  
02:14 voting but they didn't take very much  
02:15 interest  
02:16 in it. But we came from a family. I mean,  
02:18 both my grandparents had been  
02:20 factory workers. My grandmother had died,  
02:24 you know, prematurely from tb because we  
02:27 couldn't afford a doctor.  
02:28 So they were a family that were growing  
02:31 up in  
02:31 working-class Manchester without any  
02:34 sort of facilities. Really modest homes,  
02:37 no health insurance, and so on. So, we're  
02:40 naturally inclined to the benefits of  
02:41 the welfare state.  
02:43 And as the 40s went on, it became clear  
02:46 that these were very good things that  
02:47 were happening.  
02:48 So, in a sense, I very slowly and as I  
02:51 grew  
02:51 into my sixth form, where I studied  
02:54 history, began to take sides with  
02:57 social justice. It was social justice  
02:59 that really  
03:00 locked me into the labour party strategy.  
03:03 [You didn't think you could be a social justice campaigner and vote  
conservative]  
03:06 No, the people who were really active for  
03:08 social justice,  
03:09 I think this is still true, um, is the  
03:11 labour party.

03:13 And this is social justice that matters  
03:14 to me very much. I care about things like  
03:17 the economy. I have studied economics at  
03:19 Cambridge, but there, I studied with the  
03:20 Keynesians  
03:21 and I became a Keynesian and I remain a  
03:23 Keynesian. So  
03:25 it all tended to follow the same  
03:27 trajectory.  
03:29 I was interested in what, um,  
03:31 conservatives voted for because I had  
03:33 many conservative friends at Cambridge.  
03:35 But I was basically, I mean my tutor in  
03:37 Cambridge was Eric Hobsbawm  
03:39 so that was [celebrated Marx's thinker, of  
03:42 course, for anyone who isn't aware].  
03:43 He also taught me to question things not  
03:46 to just accept.  
03:47 Um, he would always say: where's the  
03:49 evidence? You're saying all this,  
03:50 give me the evidence", and I thought that  
03:52 was, that's very good training for a  
03:54 historian or indeed for absolutely  
03:55 anyone, really.  
03:56 [So you grew up in a family in Manchester. Did you ever have a northern  
accent, a Manchester accent?] I  
04:02 had a Stockport accent. I grew up because  
04:04 my part, my parents were aspirational, you  
04:06 see. From these  
04:07 rather modest background they wanted to  
04:10 get on in the world  
04:11 and so they better themselves in a  
04:12 modest degree.  
04:14 So they moved from terrace houses into a  
04:17 semi-detached and I've always regarded  
04:19 that as the biggest social leap you can  
04:21 make, make,  
04:22 in the class system of the, of the  
04:24 British people.  
04:25 I grew up in Cheshire and went to a  
04:27 grammar school. I passed the 11 plus,  
04:29 got a grammar school education, and  
04:32 became wedded to, uh, what education could  
04:36 do for people.  
04:37 [What happened to your Stockport accent?]  
04:38 It was quite heavy and it's  
04:40 not a pretty accent. It's not like  
04:42 Liverpool or Geordie. And my parents, in  
04:45 their aspirational way,  
04:46 wanted me to get on and they sent me to

04:49 elocution lessons.  
04:51 They weren't very successful. My teacher  
04:53 gave me very poor marks,  
04:54 but when I got to Cambridge, of course, I  
04:57 went to  
04:58 one of the two women's colleges and my  
05:01 contemporaries there were all very  
05:03 largely  
05:04 from private schools and from  
05:07 comfortable backgrounds. I mean Numen. In  
05:10 a sense, many of my colleagues at Numen  
05:12 were the children of Bloomsbury, the  
05:14 bright daughters who'd gone to some  
05:16 polls and  
05:17 places like that. And they had enormously,  
05:20 they had quite  
05:20 plummy voices, as a matter of fact. They'd  
05:22 sound rather  
05:24 marked today but I, I was enormously  
05:27 in awe of absolutely everyone including  
05:29 them and their voices.  
05:30 And, so I tried to get rid of my, uh,  
05:33 Stockport accent and remembered the  
05:35 lessons from my elocution.  
05:36 [do you regret that?] Though, well, I can see  
05:38 that it was  
05:39 rather sad that I should be so  
05:41 intimidated,  
05:42 but nonetheless you have to be true to  
05:44 the facts and, indeed, I was,  
05:46 I didn't, I wanted to belong, I wanted to  
05:49 be one of them,  
05:50 which I clearly wasn't. In any social  
05:53 background  
05:54 though, um, you know that they treated me  
05:56 as equals