What you mean, laa?

Scouse – dialect or accent?
**Abstract**

Liverpool English, also known as Scouse, is an easily distinguishable accent, but whether or not it contains enough regionally specific grammar and vocabulary to be considered its own dialect is another matter. This Bachelor’s thesis set out to investigate this using a combination of qualitative and quantitative methods on data consisting of informal interviews found on the website Youtube with people from Liverpool. These videos were selected based on the assumption that people with discernible accents are most likely to also speak with a dialect. The results of the research showed that discerning whether or not Scouse is a dialect is not as straightforward as it would seem. Depending on the judgment of how many regional features are enough, the conclusion of this project was that the appearance of any items is sufficient to claim that Scouse is indeed a dialect.

**Key words**

Dialect, accent, Liverpool English, Standard English, RP, Sociolinguistics, phonetics
# Table of Contents

1. **INTRODUCTION** .................................................................................................................. 2  
   1.1 Aim .................................................................................................................................. 2  
   1.3 Outline .............................................................................................................................. 2  
   1.4 Scope and delimitations ................................................................................................. 3  

2. **THEORETICAL BACKGROUND** ......................................................................................... 4  
   2.1 Dialect defined .................................................................................................................. 4  
   2.2 Scouse defined .................................................................................................................. 5  
   2.3 The origins of Scouse ....................................................................................................... 6  
   2.4 Speaker’s choices .............................................................................................................. 8  
   2.5 Sociolects .......................................................................................................................... 9  
   2.6 Received Pronunciation and Standard English .............................................................. 9  

3. **METHOD AND MATERIAL** .............................................................................................. 10  
   3.1 Method ............................................................................................................................ 10  
   3.2 Material ........................................................................................................................... 10  

4. **RESULTS** .......................................................................................................................... 11  
   4.1 Expected results ................................................................................................................ 11  
   4.2 Overview of the results .................................................................................................... 11  
   4.3 The results of the quantitative analysis ......................................................................... 13  
       4.3.1 Female 1 ....................................................................................................................... 13  
       4.3.2 Female 2 ....................................................................................................................... 14  
       4.3.3 Male 1 ........................................................................................................................... 14  
       4.3.4 Male 2 ........................................................................................................................... 15  
   4.4 Comparison ..................................................................................................................... 17  

5. **DISCUSSION** ...................................................................................................................... 18  

6. **CONCLUSION** ................................................................................................................... 21  

7. **REFERENCES** ..................................................................................................................... 23  

APPENDIX I ................................................................................................................................. 25  
APPENDIX II ............................................................................................................................... 26  
APPENDIX III ............................................................................................................................. 27  
APPENDIX IV ............................................................................................................................. 29
1. Introduction

"A language is a dialect with an army and navy" is the often quoted distinction between language and dialect. Others argue that the English language itself is a conglomerate of the various different varieties of British English, American English, Australian English and so forth. By also equating variety with dialect thus claiming that for instance British and American are simply dialects of the same version, this definition makes it even harder to define the national regional varieties such Birmingham’s dialect Brummie, Mancunian in Manchester or the Liverpudlian Scouse.

These too are commonly referred to as ‘dialects’. Presumably, they too then fulfill the requirements of a dialect i.e. having pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary that differs from the standard variety of language in the UK. Additionally, there are regional accents. An accent specifically concerns the phonological aspects distinctive of a region. Claiming that Scouse is a regional dialect and not only an accent of British English, this thesis sets out to prove that this is the case based on empirical research on authentic data and by reviewing literature on the subject.

1.1 Aim

The aim of this thesis is to investigate and report whether Scouse qualifies as a dialect or if it should be considered an accent only. Both quantitative and qualitative methods will be used in the process. These include a heuristic quantitative analysis of the frequency of dialect and accent specific items as well as qualitative research of literature and of the results from the quantitative analysis. The difference between accent and dialect is, as stated previously, that accent is only the phonological aspect of a differing language variety and dialects differ from the standard variety in pronunciation and grammar and vocabulary. Thus, the thesis sets out to uncover examples of how Scouse specific vocabulary and grammar in stretches of authentic speech differ from the usage in Standard British English. What is meant by “authentic” is that it is genuine Scouse speakers and not people copying or exaggerating Scouse without being Liverpudlians. The hypothesis is that Scouse is a dialect. The main question the essay intends to answer is whether or not Scouse qualifies as a dialect or an accent.

1.3 Outline

Firstly, there will be an introductory chapter describing aim, research question and presenting the data, method and scope of the study. Secondly, the theoretical background will present the
definition of dialect and Scouse in literature. Moreover, the history of how Scouse is most likely to have developed and diversified within Merseyside will be summarized in a brief section. There will also be a section about the Standard variety of British English. In the literary review the notion sociolect is also described. Thirdly, the BA thesis presents the chapter devoted to describing the methodology for analyzing this dialect, or accent. This chapter will also present the material used in the research. Thereafter, in chapter four, the results of the analysis will be presented. The fifth chapter will be the discussion of those results. Lastly, the concluding chapter will summarize what was discovered and what influence this can have on future research, if any.

1.4 Scope and delimitations
A drawback of studying dialects is that it can be hard to uncover the region specific vocabulary or grammatical differentiations. Investigating sources of Scouse accent is easy, even with only the faintest idea of where to look. However, researching authentic data of the Scouse dialect is a different matter. The problematic part is to find the dialect-specific terms, phrases and grammatical forms.

During examination of informal source material such as Wikipedia, Internet blogs and so called “dialect dictionaries”, several of the supposedly Scouse specific terms struck the researcher as general, used all over the UK and possibly also in other varieties of English in some cases. They would seem to be the sociolects, i.e. vocabulary and grammar of a social group such as in this case of certain young people or even slang, rather than actual dialect words. Wray et al (1998:103) refers to this as ‘national slang’.

An example of this can be found in the MurTV interviews on Youtube with the two Scouse battle rappers used in this essay. Both of them have heavy accents yet the use of dialect specific words at first seems limited if any. The slang they use and especially the derogatory terms they use are more related to their communal field of interest, hiphop and rap, rather than to that of the regional area. The reason for choosing to use these interviews is that the music genre of battle rap is not as formal as for instance television interviews or public performances where the speakers are more likely to adjust their speech to the audience. Since linguistic variety is encouraged in battle rap the individuals might feel a lesser need to avoid using their natural dialects.

Aitchison (2001:83) discusses who are most likely to purposefully use language forms that deviate from the standard form. She suggests that in general it is young males that
use non-standard language; most likely, in order to be perceived as tough or cool by their peers (2001:83). This is another reason to focus on the language used by these rappers.

Another issue when actually finding an unconventional use is knowing whether it is a coincidence or a feature, which is best solved by finding the form used again and by others than the original speaker.

The scope, or delimitations of the study, is that focus lies on the features that constitute Scouse pronunciation, grammar and vocabulary: e.g. volar trills (the [x]sound), rhoticity, the omission of auxiliary verbs and alternate pronouns to the Standard Variety. In particular the features found in the heuristic analysis of the data will be of interest.

To avoid the project becoming unmanageably large certain areas will not be elaborated on in any depth. These include the full history of the development of Scouse, the specific features of the different varieties of Scouse within Liverpool, abbreviated forms like bevvy, use of kidda/lad suggested in informal descriptions of Scouse (ScouseDictionary [www]), and many of the interesting different phonetic structures such as the prosody.

2. Theoretical Background

2.1 Dialect defined
A dialect is usually defined as the specific vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation of a regional area. This is not to be confused with accent, which only regards the phonetic aspects of pronunciation. Everyone speaking English has an accent since everyone has to pronounce the words they say. Some people have more regional accents than others though (Trudgill, 1990:2).

Dialects in the UK do not have natural, clear boundaries. Instead, they fade over and into each other. For the sake of brevity and clarity Trudgill suggests, linguists divide the dialect continuum into boundaries at the places where the continuum most closely resembles the abrupt transition sought for (1990:6). He also means that Standard English, the variety regional dialects are usually compared to, is also a dialect since it has grammar that differs from the other varieties. Trudgill points out that although “probably no more than 12-15 per cent of the population of England are native speakers of Standard English” it is the variety written about in most grammars and dictionaries. Standard English is mainly used in written form (1990:2).

All languages change, and different changes occur in different places. A certain change might spread all over and become a part of national language use. However, a change
usually only spreads through a limited area. This builds up over time and regional dialects eventually differ from each other (Trudgill, 1990:9).

2.2 Scouse defined
Hughes and Trudgill state that the accent called Scouse in this thesis, occurs in Liverpool, adjoining areas and in towns facing Liverpool across the River Mersey. They point out that although it is generally Northern in character it differs from the surrounding Northern varieties in several aspects. Some of these differing aspects are likely to be due to the amount of Irish in-migrants to the Liverpool area during the last 100 years. In-migration is defined in Merriam-Websters Online Dictionary as “to move into or come to live in a region or community especially as part of a large-scale and continuing movement of population”, and TheFreeDictionary.com defines the term as “to move into a different region of the same country or territory” (TheFreeDictionary[www]) Trudgill specifies that it is from southern Ireland the heavy aspiration of consonants and [k] sounds being pronounced as [x] is likely to origin (Hughes & Trudgill, 1997:92).

The most distinguishing phonological features Hughes and Trudgill present of the Liverpool accent, which as stated previously only contains the pronunciation of a region, are:

- [u] or [u] is used instead of [ʌ].
- [æ] in grass
- [u:] in book
- [ə] usually becomes [ɛ]
- [k] becomes [x] or [kx]
- [ŋ] is pronounced [ŋg]
- Velar [r]

In Dialects of English, Trudgill never mentions the term Scouse but refers to the accent of Merseyside (Trudgill, 1990:69). In English Accents and Dialects there is only descriptions of the phonological aspects, that is to say, the accent aspects of Scouse and none of the dialect aspects (Hughes and Trudgill, 1997:92). Honeybone on the other hand, counters that with “Liverpool English may not be a ‘traditional dialect’ […], but we can still call it a dialect” (Honeybone 2007:2).
At the time of Trudgill writing *Dialects of English* which was published in 1990, he notices that the Merseyside accent is growing and overtaking usage of Lancashire, Northwest Midlands and Welsh accents among young people (Trudgill, 1990:70). He also claims that the glottal stop is least common in the Merseyside region (Trudgill, 1990:74). Subsequently he points out that the glottal stop usage is on the increase and that it will probably be common in the future.

### 2.3 The origins of Scouse

Scouse is often described as a dialect with strong Irish influences. It stands out in the Northern England dialect continuum. Dialect boundaries are almost never easy to discern since there is almost always interaction with neighboring dialects that influence the speaker’s language. Scouse does however have some aspects that are not found in neighboring dialects along the Lancashire isogloss. Isogloss is another word for the boundaries between dialects (Honeybone 2007:3). The problem is finding when the dialect specific aspects have occurred and from where they were influenced. For a deeper insight than this BA thesis have to offer, Honeybone has investigated this and presented his results in the article “New-dialect formation in Liverpool: a brief history of Scouse”. He points out that although some phonological features of Scouse are specific to Scouse in this region, other features occur in the neighboring accents as well. These features of Liverpool English, of Scouse, have been allowed to evolve endogenously and independently within Liverpool (ibid 2).

Honeybone refers to Belchem, whom on the other hand does not agree that the Scouse accent is also part of a dialect. In the previous research based on public utterances Belchem had encountered, Honeybone states, features of specific grammar and vocabulary were virtually absent. Belchem presents some of the socio-economical influences that came to shape the Scousers, the speakers of Scouse. Belchem in turn also refers to George Chandler who claims that the Liverpool dialect in fact is completely devoid of regional characteristics; that Liverpool is phonetically neutral to fit its population of Scots, Welsh and Irish. Honeybone’s argument against both Belchem and Chandler is that some of the regional characteristics of Scouse can be too similar to the Standard variety of English for them to be apparent (Honeybone 2007:2).

To understand how Scouse came to be it is important to know that Liverpool is a port city that grew exponentially after the construction of the docks in the 1700s. During the 19th century the city population grew from about 53,000 in 1790 to about 518,000 in 1890.
Trade on the docks meant employment for many. The Irish Potato Famine in the 1840’s also forced many Irish people to relocate. The majority used Liverpool as a port to elsewhere but others stayed. Honeybone stresses that the in-migration to Liverpool from Ireland started before the famine, however. He refers to Knowles, who in an unpublished PhD dissertation presented that the most likely dates for the development of Scouse are between 1830 and 1889 (ibid 10). The stages of the development of Scouse according to Honeybone:

Stage 1: pre-19th century (no discernible Scouse noted)
Stage 2: mid-19th century (Scouse formation)
Stage 3: post-19th century (Scouse koineization)

Honeybone suggests *koineization* as one factor influencing the development of Scouse. Koineization is where speakers of several dialects come together, level out the most prominent features of their dialects to adjust to the others and these leveled out dialects then get inherited by the following generations. Eventually a new dialect is formed. Another probable approach is *swamping* where many dialect speakers get together and one dialect swamp the others (Honeybone 2007:5).

A third approach to new dialect formation presented by Honeybone is the *Founder* approach, where the first dialect at a settlement of many dialect speakers receives higher prestige which other speakers then aspire for. Stage 2 is the most interesting one for seeing what happened when. It contains three phases; phase i: adults accommodate and mix their dialects, phase ii: koineization where these mixed dialect features get inherited by the next generations, phase iii: the dialect mixture stables into a stable koine. This is interesting to compare to Aitchison’s (2001:65f) model for sound change:

Stage 1. A social group uses an aspect of speech that is different from the standard variety of language of the area.

Stage 2. A second social group that admires the first social group subconsciously adopts and exaggerates certain features of the first group’s language in order to be more like them.

Stage 3. Eventually the adopted speech features become norm in the second social group.
Stage 4. A third social group starts to model themselves and their speech on the second group, which now uses the linguistic innovation from the first group as norm. (Aitchison, 2001:65f).

A language never stops developing and evolving. Language change is always in progress.

2.4 Speaker's choices

People tend to adjust their speech to whom they are talking to. In formal situations in particular, people have tendencies to make an effort to speak slower and articulate more carefully. All sounds are pronounced with fewer of them being weakened or omitted completely as they can be in casual speech. In the casual speech situations the speed of pronunciation is more important to the speakers than articulation. Trudgill and Hughes stress that this more casual speech is not incorrect but merely more informal. However, some people are sensitive to which level of formality is used (Hughes and Trudgill 1997:7).

People change their language based on how they perceive the situation. Their judgment of formality depends on, for instance, perceived status of the receiver, how well they know them and the topic of the conversation (Trudgill and Hughes 1997:5). Freeborn claims that the choice of what accent to use can be a means of aligning yourself with social groups you wish to be part of as well as distinguishing yourself from other groups (Freeborn 1993:66) The notion that who people interact with influence their language choice is corroborated by Romaine (2000:83). She also suggests that in-group/out-group belonging can be equally or more important to speaker’s choices than the topic and setting of the speech situation (Romaine 2000:62).

When people are asked to rate accents, the ones from industrial cities tend to get more negative ratings Freeborn notes. It seems that people react to the social connotations of the area the accents are from rather than the accents themselves (Freeborn 1993:74). Successively he describes this social prejudice towards accents:

“A measured, linguistic consideration of people’s negative reactions to regional speech leads again and again to the view that, no matter what other reasons are put forward in explanation, the issue is really one of social prejudice. An objective study of accent can help to modify the instant reaction that we all tend to have towards an accent that is marked as socially inferior.” (Freeborn 1993:75)

Freeborn suggests that there is an inverse relationship between prominence of regional accent and social class. The higher the social class the fewer features of regional variation. There are less marked pronunciation features in professional occupations than in unskilled manual
labor. Gender is also an important factor. Within social classes, the women tend to use less marked accents and men use more (Freeborn 1993:75).

2.5 Sociolects
A sociolect is the manner of speaking a social group utilizes amongst themselves and to distinguish themselves from others. Simplified it can be described as social + dialect since it just like a dialect consists of the specific vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation used, but by a socially distinctive group of people rather than a regionally distinctive group. The factor that distinguishes one social group from another can be age, gender, class, profession, origins or field of interest, to mention a few. An example Romaine makes of sociolect can be how certain young British males of Caribbean descent deliberately exaggerates features of West Indian Creole in their speech in order to distinguish an in-group/out-group belonging separating them from their white peers (Romaine 2000:78).

The Merriam-Webster online dictionary defines the term sociolect as “a variety of a language that is used by a particular social group” (Merriam-Webster [www]) and the Macmillan Dictionary uses the definition “a type of language spoken by people in a particular social class or group” (MacMillan [www]).

2.6 Received Pronunciation and Standard English
RP, or Received Pronunciation, is generally considered a “regionally neutral accent” of British English. (Freeborn 1993:62). RP only regards pronunciation, for grammar and vocabulary the most prestigious form is known as Standard Variety. This is the dialect of British English that dictionaries and school books are based on. Traditionally, regional dialects are compared to these to see how much they differ. Teachers tend to view differing regional features as mistakes in Standard English (Trudgill and Hughes 1997:13). “Standard English is the dialect used by educated people throughout the British Isles” (Trudgill and Hughes 1997:14). It is therefore often viewed as the most prestigious dialect of British English.

Pronunciation could be described as consisting of two layers. Firstly, the segmental features of pronunciation i.e. the vowels and consonants. Secondly, the features that include tempo, rhythm, stress, pitch, loudness of voice. These are known as supra-segmental or prosodic features. (Freeborn 1993:61)

The segmental pronunciation features are important, but so are the supra-segmental ones, i.e. the prosody, claims Freeborn (1993:70). However, in this essay a
conscious decision has been made to not investigate the prosody of Scouse.

3. Method and Material

3.1 Method
To answer the research question of whether Scouse is a dialect or an accent a qualitative search for diverging terms and forms will be conducted on data consisting of authentic Scouse, i.e. Scouse speakers’ natural, unadulterated speech. For this reason, data consisting of scripted readings will be disregarded. Thereafter a quantitative analysis of the discovered dialect forms will take place. The quantitative analysis will be conducted using heuristics; that is to say by not having presumptions beforehand about what to find when listening to the interviews. The results will then be divided into categories based on form and function.

The findings will be compared to the standard variety of British English. Certain terms might if there is time also be searched for in extracts of other dialects, specifically neighboring ones, to see if they are specific to the limited area of Liverpool and thereby Scouse, or if they are more widespread and thereby less likely to be Scouse. If they occur in other parts of the country they might be what Wray et al (1998:103) refers to as ‘national slang’. International Phonetic Alphabet (IPA) symbols will be used to describe the findings since phonetic symbols, as Freeborn points out, provide a solution to transcription and pronunciation description problems (Freeborn 1993:69).

In the chapter devoted to the theoretical background there will also be brief sections presenting where Scouse is spoken and the probable historical development of Scouse.

3.2 Material
The authentic data will be taken from Youtube and preferably only in cases where it can be verified that the speaker is a genuine Scouse speaker, a so called “Scouser”, and not copying the accent for whatever reason. Although Youtube can be considered a source of low academic value when used as a source of information, for the purpose of finding informal interviews with people speaking certain accents or dialect it is excellent in this case. However, the main method of verifying that the person is indeed from Liverpool will be believing what they claim is accurate and checking if they have specified their place of origin. If this is not something the individuals have done it might be a limitation to the research.

Four informal interviews will be used as the authentic data. Two of the
interviews are with young, male rappers and the other two are with young, female media profiles. The young women are also well-known for being married to famous footballers.

The males were chosen because of personal experience of listening to their music and rap battles where they on several occasions have referred to themselves as Scousers as well as to the accent they speak with. The interviews were then selected in the hope that the accent and possibly dialect would be apparent.

The females were selected using a different method. Instead of previous knowledge of their language use, they were found by listening to several people described as famous Liverpudlians on Youtube and choosing the ones with the most prominent accent. Some care also went in to finding interviews that did not appear scripted and that were an appropriate video length (between 3-10 minutes).

If a deviation reoccurs in more than one utterance by one person it might be common in everyday use as well. Since focus lies on the dialect and not the individuals’ language usage, their names will not be used in the essay. Instead, they will be described as Female 1, Female 2, Male 1 and Male 2. Female 1 is in her mid-twenties, and does not appear to currently live in Liverpool, Female 2 is in her late twenties, Male 1 is in his late twenties and a rapper, Male 2 is also a rapper and is in his mid-twenties.

4. Results

This is the section in which the results of the analysis will be presented. First to be presented is what was expected based on the hypothesis. Secondly is an overview of all the findings. This is followed by the results from each analyzed interview individually. Lastly in this chapter, the findings are summarized and compared.

4.1 Expected results

Before the analysis is initiated, the anticipated results will be summarized. What is expected to be found based on the hypothesis that Scouse is a dialect is at least some determinably regionally specific vocabulary items and grammatical items. Another expectation is that conclusive, scientifically viable results might be difficult to ascertain due to the extremely limited amount of data in the analysis.

4.2 Overview of the results

The expectations were more or less fulfilled. Although few in numbers, there were enough features of both accent and dialect to draw conclusions. The accounted for findings can be
divided into the following categories of items that can be interpreted as Scouse specific grammar and vocabulary; contraction, elision, fillers, addressing fillers, personal pronouns, possessive pronouns, omission, terms and phrases.

Features that reoccur in all four interviews are mostly phonetic. The few dialect items in grammar and vocabulary that reoccur are mostly contracted form of the word ‘something’, either [suntin] or with a glottal stop [suʔin], which are used interchangeably, and fillers such as so, and that or like. Three of the four individuals use alternate forms for possessive pronouns, i.e. me for the possessive form where Standard English would use the pronoun my.

Other terms that differ from Standard Variety use include contracted forms of verb phrases such as got to, want to, we would have which although not conventional in the formal contexts of prescriptive grammar, are common in informal, casual speech everywhere. Thus these features might be best regarded as ‘national slang’ rather than Scouse.

The males use the highest amount of non-standard forms with 0.7% of the total amount of words being deviant to standard variety. The females on the other hand use 0.4% and 0.1% dialect forms respectively.

Table 1. Comparison dialect categories

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Category</th>
<th>Female 1</th>
<th>Female 2</th>
<th>Male 1</th>
<th>Male 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contraction</td>
<td>gotta</td>
<td>lotsa</td>
<td>gotta, gonna, wanna</td>
<td>wanna, we’d’a</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Elision of syllables</td>
<td>suntin</td>
<td>suntin</td>
<td>dunno, suntin/suʔin</td>
<td>suntin/suʔin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fillers</td>
<td>so</td>
<td>so, like</td>
<td>like, and that</td>
<td>and that, like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fillers, addressing</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>lad</td>
<td>man, mate, kid, lad, laa, kidda</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Personal pronouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>ye</td>
<td>ye</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Possessive pronouns</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>me</td>
<td>me</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Omission of auxiliary verb</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>what you mean</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terms</td>
<td>suntin/suʔin</td>
<td>suntin/suʔin</td>
<td>deffo, suntin/suʔin, laad</td>
<td>laa, kidda, suntin/suʔin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrases</td>
<td>I’m only short I’ve wore</td>
<td></td>
<td>what you mean like?</td>
<td>what’s happenin?</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3 The results of the quantitative analysis

4.3.1 Female 1

The first interview is with a model and media figure, who is also married to a football player that does not currently live in Liverpool. The video was uploaded on Youtube in June 16, 2011. It is 4.29 minutes long including short music interludes besides Female 1’s answers. The interview is about a photo shoot she had done recently. Since this BA thesis sets out to investigate the Scouse dialect and not the idiolects of specific people, there is no need to know more about Female 1. The total number of words spoken in this interview is 666. The number of dialect features that differ from Standard variety English: 7. The number of accent features: 42. This gives a dialect percentage of 0.1% per total amount of words used.

Most frequent dialect features:

Table 2. Female 1’s dialect features.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Contraction</th>
<th>Got to-&gt; gotta</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Elision of syllables</td>
<td>Going to -&gt; gonna, Something -&gt; suntin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fillers</td>
<td>so</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Phrases</td>
<td>I’ve wore, I’m only short</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most frequent accent features:

Table 3. Female 1’s accent features.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scouse</th>
<th>Received Pronunciation</th>
<th>Example word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>speckled -&gt; [spɛkld]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>[ʌ]</td>
<td>lovely -&gt; [lʌvlɪ]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>[ æ ]</td>
<td>shirt -&gt; [ʃi:t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[eu:]</td>
<td>[ou]</td>
<td>coat -&gt; [kou:t]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u:]</td>
<td>[u:]</td>
<td>look -&gt; [lʊ:k]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[h]</td>
<td></td>
<td>have -&gt; [əv]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>something -&gt; [ˈsʌmpθɪŋ]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.3.2 Female 2
The second interview is with Female 2, who is also the wife of a football player. It is an audio only interview. There are no details as to when and where it was conducted. The interview is 3.42 minutes long and contains only Female 2’s answers. It was uploaded on Youtube on September 28, 2008. The number of words she speaks in the interview (including laughter and fillers such as “ehm”) is 591. The number of dialect features that diverge from Standard English use is 23. The number of phonetic features that differ from Received Pronunciation is 65. Converted to percentage that is 0.4% dialect forms out of the total number of words.
Most frequent dialect features:

Table 4. Female 2’s dialect features.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Possessive pronouns</th>
<th>my -&gt; me</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Contraction</td>
<td>got to-&gt; gotta, lots of -&gt; lotsa,</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Contraction with elision</td>
<td>want to -&gt; wanna, something-&gt; suntin</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>End of statement fillers</td>
<td>so, like</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vocabulary</td>
<td>girl -&gt; gel</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Most frequent accent features:

Table 5. Female 2’s accent features.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scouse</th>
<th>Received Pronunciation</th>
<th>Example word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>weekend -&gt; [wi:xend]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>[ʌ]</td>
<td>done -&gt; [dʌn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[e]</td>
<td>[ə]</td>
<td>girls -&gt; [ɡɛls]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u:]</td>
<td>[u:]</td>
<td>food -&gt; [fu:d]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>[h]</td>
<td>he’s -&gt; [i:s]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>bit -&gt; [br?]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.3 Male 1
The third interview is with Male 1. As previous, it is deemed unnecessary to know more about the individual than his approximate age and origins. It seems to have been conducted in a pub which adds to the informality of the interview situation. Although it is not stated when the
interview took place, it was uploaded on Youtube on August 11, 2010. It is 7.17 minutes long including both Male 1’s answers and the interviewer’s questions. The total number of words including laughing and hesitancy fillers: 934. Number of dialect features: 62. Number of hip hop related sociolect terms: 5. Number of accent features: 247. This gives a percentage of 0.7% dialect, disregarding the sociolect terms. The most frequent categories of dialect and accent are presented in Table 6 and Table 7 respectively.

Table 6. Male 1’s dialect features.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>End of statement fillers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
</table>

like, and that, lad

Contractions

| gonna, gotta, wanna, dunno/donno, deffo, suʔin/suntin |

Personal pronouns

| you-> ye |

Possessive pronouns

| my -> me |

Vocabulary items

| lad, deffo, suʔin/suntin |

Phrase with auxiliary verb omitted

"what you mean?"

Table 7. Male 1’s accent features.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scouse</th>
<th>Received Pronunciation</th>
<th>Example word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[x]</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>like -&gt; [laɪk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[kx]</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>can’t -&gt; [kɑːnt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>[ʌ]</td>
<td>done -&gt; [dʌn]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[ɛ]</td>
<td>[æ]</td>
<td>work -&gt; [wek]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u:]</td>
<td>[u:]</td>
<td>Liverpool -&gt; [ˈlɪvərpuːl]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[h]</td>
<td></td>
<td>happen -&gt; [æpən]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>?</td>
<td>[t]</td>
<td>what -&gt; [wɒt]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

4.3.4 Male 2
The fourth interview is with Male 2, a rapper in his mid-twenties. It is still not the individual that is of interest but what regional specific terms he uses because of where he is from. This interview was conducted at the same event as the one with Male 1 and is also 7.17 minutes
long including the interviewer’s questions. The interview was uploaded on Youtube on August 11, 2010.

The total number of words including speech disfluency in the interview was 1142. Number of dialect features: 75. Number of terms specific to his field of interest: 19. There are also three unusual phrases that from the context seemed to be either dialect or sociolect. In this analysis they were counted as dialect. The number of accent features: 289. The percentage of dialect forms per total amount of words used is 0.7% disregarding the terms and phrases that appear to be more related to hip hop and rap. Items that are sociolect rather than dialect include phrases such as *for days* and *for time*, as well as expletives and derogatory terms.

The categories of the most frequent items of dialect and accent are presented in Table 8 and Table 9 respectively.

**Table 8. Male 2’s dialect features.**

- **Personal pronoun**
  - you -> *ye*
- **Possessive pronoun**
  - my -> *me*
- **Contraction**
  - want to -> *wanna*, we would have -> *we’d*
- **Contraction by elision**
  - something -> *suntin/su*ʔ*
- **Term of address fillers**
  - *man, mate, kid, lad, laa, kidda*
- **End of statement fillers**
  - *and that, like*
- **Vocabulary items**
  - *laa, kidda*

**Most frequent accent features:**

**Table 9. Male 2’s accent features.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Scouse</th>
<th>Received Pronunciation</th>
<th>Example word</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>[ʌ]</td>
<td>[k]</td>
<td>week -&gt; [ʌɪk]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[o]</td>
<td>[ʌ]</td>
<td>cut -&gt; [kʌt]</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>[u:]</td>
<td>[u:]</td>
<td>do -&gt; [dʌ:]</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
4.4 Comparison

Features that reoccur in all four interviews are mostly phonetic. The [v], [x], [ɛ], [ʔ] as well as h-dropping occurred to some degree in them all. Another reoccurring phonetic aspect is aspiration, where the speakers increase the airflow past the vocalizing organs. Next aspect of phonetics that have not been brought up previously is the use of rhoticity and the pronunciation of [r]. Although Scouse is a non-rhotic accent there is a distinctive manner certain [r] sounds within words are pronounced. Where RP would use an alveolar approximant [j] that is to say, a frictionless continuant, Scouse often uses a fricative, also known as an alveolar trill [r]. However, Trudgill’s description of a use of velar [R], i.e. the /r/ sound from French, is not corroborated anywhere in the analyzed material.

Dialect items in grammar and vocabulary that all four use in the interviews are: contracted form of the word ‘something’, either [suntɪn] or with a glottal stop [suʔɪn], where an individual could use either form interchangeably; contracted verbs such as gonna and wanna instead of the Standard Variety forms going to and want to and lastly all four use fillers such as so, and that or like. Three of the four use alternate forms for possessive pronouns, i.e. me for the possessive form where Standard English would use the pronoun my, The two males also change second person singular pronoun to a distinctive ye or occasionally even ya instead of RP and Standard English you.

There is definitely a Scouse accent, which can be heard in for instance the [x] phoneme, the [z] phoneme becoming [ɛ], leading to ‘word’ being pronounced as ‘werd’ for instance. However, due to the extremely limited amount of data researched, it cannot be conclusively stated that these findings apply generally. They apply to these selected individuals and thereby possibly also on other persons with the same backgrounds affecting their linguistic choices. Preliminarily the analysis confirms that Scouse is an accent, as
Trudgill and Hughes claim. Additionally, Honebone’s claim that Scouse specific language forms in grammar and dialect can be too similar to standard variety English seems valid.

5. Discussion

In this chapter the results of the analysis will be discussed. These will be compared to what was suggested from the literary review. Also the most noticeable features of the data and what might be the reason behind the deviations will be discussed.

Most of what the literature brought up as typical accent features of the region reappears in the data. [u] or [u] is used instead of [A] throughout the data. The data also supported the use of [æ] where RP would have [a:]. However, the phoneme [a] was more frequent than Trudgill’s suggested [æ]. The literatures descriptions of the uses of [u:], [3] becoming [ε] and [k] often being pronounced with a volar trill was corroborated by the data. The [ε] and [x] phonemes are the most frequent and noticeable features and they do occur in all four of the analyzed interviews.

Additionally there are differences from what is stated by previous linguists. Although the literature suggests that [ŋ] becomes[ŋg], there are several instances in the speech of both male 1 and male 2 where they use the ending [in] instead of [iŋ] which is likely to be a result from influence from other language varieties. However, [ŋg] is not completely absent, for instance Male 2 pronounces the word ‘thing’ as [θɪŋg] twice.

The largest difference from the literature regards the pronunciation of /r/. Velar /r/, also known as uvular /r/ and guttural /r/ is the phoneme produced at the back of the mouth using the roof of the tongue. One of the easiest ways to explain it though, might be calling it French /r/ which uses the IPA symbol [R]. RP, as well as most varieties of standard Englishes, uses a frictionless [J]. This /r/ is usually pronounced with the tip of the tongue bent backwards making what is called a retroflex approximant. In for instance Swedish, the /r/ that is most commonly used is a fricative continuant, also known as a trill, where the tip of the tongue vibrates against the ridge behind the front teeth. The phonetic symbol for this pronunciation is [r].
These different types of pronouncing the /r/ phoneme are important to present at least briefly in order to explain the situation in Scouse. Trudgill and Hughes claim that the velar /r/, i.e. [R], is common in the Scouse accent. This would be similar to what Johansson and Rön Hedal (1993) refer to as the ‘Northumbrian burr’. They additionally point out that the use of this /r/ seems to be on the decline. (Johansson & Rön Hedal 1993:171). The results of the data analysis did not present a single instance of the velar /r/ suggested by Hughes and Trudgill. The pronunciation of the /r/ phoneme was conspicuous in the data, however it never occurred as Hughes and Trudgill’s velar [R] but as RPs standard retroflex approximant [ɾ] or especially as fricative trills [r] or taps [ɾ].

It should be noted that some of the literature this BA thesis has used as a basis is in some cases less current than could be desired, since all instances of language including dialects are constantly undergoing changes. However, the literature used is still valid as a source of information. Additionally there seem to be surprisingly few descriptions of the Scouse Dialect in literature apart from by these selected authors. Contrastively, there are also advantages with using older resources. For instance it is very interesting to see how Trudgill points out that the use of glottal stops in the Merseyside region appear to be increasing during his time of research, which presumably was in the late 1980’s or early 1990’s. The glottal stop was one of few features which during the analysis was found to be a dialect item that occurred in the use of all four research subjects, some twenty years later than Trudgill’s observations.

Female 1 has almost no discernible dialect and many common features of the Scouse accent are also missing in her language. This might be because she is a media figure and therefore have trained to speak with less of an accent. Another reason for her milder accent might be her social status, as suggested by Trudgill and Hughes (1997:5), Romaine (2000:62) and also by Freeborn (1993:66). Thirdly, her female gender might be the cause (Romaine 2000:78; Aitchison 2001:83). She might never have had heavier accent or dialect than she does now that she appears on television. There is also a possibility that although it does not seem like it, she is reading from a script. This can be suspected since there are relatively few language disfluencies; the hesitancies, false starts and fillers that occur in natural, casual speech. Her face is not always in screen as she is talking so it cannot be certain that it is not a voice-over.

Female 2 has a higher frequency of accent and dialect features than Female 1, but it is difficult to deduce whether some of them are regional variations or individual
idiosyncrasies, or even merely coincidental mistakes due to the informal interview situation. It is important to consider idiolects, even if they are not the desired focus of this research. Certain vocabulary or grammar items might be specific to an individual usage rather than a regional one.

Male 1 is a typical example of someone where it is particularly hard to tell if he is speaking dialect or if it is his habit of speaking that way. He uses like after a noticeable portion of his utterances. Male 2 does too, to a certain extent, but not in the quantities that Male 1 does.

Male 2 is the one with the highest frequency of vocabulary and grammar items that appear to be regional. However, since one way of corroborating this is to compare it mainly to Male 1, who seem to be his personal friend these features might be due to them adjusting their speech to each other, and not regional influence. Comparing the use to that of Female 1 and Female 2 as well, does give a few indications of which features are genuinely dialect, though. All speakers adjust their language to their perceived receivers. Female 1 might have considered that the video was intended for everyone interested in the clothes of the photo shoot, which is likely to be people from all over the UK, at least, and thereby would have selected to use a register that would be easily perceived by anyone. Male 1 and Male 2 can have been adjusting their speech to the interviewer who is from another city and therefore might have had difficulties understanding their answers had they used their broadest dialects.

Additionally, all four of the individuals chosen as data are able to travel; subsequently they come into contact with other language varieties and this is something that is likely to influence their language choices.

As previously mentioned, social class can have a significant influence on dialect prominence (Freeborn 1993:75). This might be particularly applicable to the selected data of this BA thesis. The two females may have grown up in lower social classes but are now wealthy media figures and this is likely to affect their language use. The males are musicians who might not be very well-known outside the battle rap community.

A majority of the features noted in the interviews that differ from what is decreed in Standard English, are common in everyday casual speech all over the UK. Thus, they are probably safe to assume to be what Wray et al (1998:103) refers to as ‘national slang’ or at least that they are part of the national usage. Others are likely to be part of the individual’s sociolect.

Prosody is important in distinguishing the speech of one region from that of
another. Listening to samples of Liverpudlian speakers and choosing the ones with the most discernible accents was the method of data selection. It was also something that was largely based on the prosody during the brief samples rather than listening to the vocabulary used. Heavy accent was assumed to mean a higher probability of dialect. However, this was not actually realized until later in the research, that the rhythm was one of the most notable features of the accent. Otherwise, it might not have been excluded in the delimitations.

As to the main question of this research, whether Scouse is a dialect or an accent, it is clear that just as is supported by Hughes and Trudgill (1997:92) it is an accent. Some of the researched data contain elements in grammar and vocabulary that do differ from Standard Variety British English. A difficulty recently discovered is that although several sources state that the difference between accent and dialect is that dialect contains its own grammar and vocabulary as well as phonology, none of them give any directions as to how much grammar and vocabulary is needed.

The results from the data analysis of this BA thesis can be interpreted as there might be levels of dialect, and that in this case the investigated individuals do speak with some features of dialect yet not at the deepest level with the highest amount of dialectal elements. No literature stating how few or how many features of dialect are required for a dialect to qualify, thus the findings of any can be considered sufficient. In that case the few vocabulary items such as *laa*, *suntin* and the phrase *what you mean* with the auxiliary verb do omitted is enough to constitute as proof that Scouse is indeed a dialect.

6. Conclusion

Scouse is definitely a discernible accent, but whether it is a dialect or not is not as easy to discover as it seems. Although this essay has used a very limited amount of data to base its analysis on it has been enough to determine that some people do indeed, speak with a Scouse Dialect. Dialects and accents are highly individual linguistic choices and based on the data chosen for this research some people do speak with a Scouse dialect. Even though there is not a very high amount of dialect specific items in either vocabulary or grammar they are discernibly there. This also makes for an interesting topic for future researchers on dialects; to investigate if there exists a minimum amount of regionally specific items to qualify as dialect.

The conclusions of the analysis is that Scouse can be a dialect depending on what choices the Liverpudlian individual makes regarding his or her speech. This then
confirms the hypothesis stated early in the research, that Scouse qualifies as a dialect, based on previous research and an empirical investigation.

A matter that is not really a problem as much as a small hindrance, is conducting research on a regional dialect away from that specific region. Physically being in the region facilitates access to both literature on the subject and research data. A result of this was that there never was time to investigate whether terms reoccur in neighboring dialects.

Another realization is that a great part of what distinguishes accents from each other lays in the prosody, i.e. the melody resulting from intonation, stress and speed of an utterance, which was also the largest aspect this research chose not to investigate. This is something that might be interesting to investigate in future research.
7. References

**Bibliographic**


**Electronic**


[http://scousedictionary.blogspot.com/] “last accessed on 28 December 2011”


Data

Female 1 [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=iymBl291Z_A] “last accessed on 28 December 2011”

Female 2 [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=8G0_zXZDxMM] “last accessed on 3 December 2011”


Male 2 [http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=H1yFPyI_33U] “last accessed on 28 December 2011”
Appendix I

_Transcription of Female 1_

Today we’re at the shoot for my autumn-winter 2011 collection, we’ve got lots if lovely outfits and I’m gonna talk you through a few of them.

The best part of being a starlet at Littlewoods is just talking about fashion, new trends that are coming in and out and it’s suntin that I’ve always been interested in so to werk with Littlewoods an the team who are lovely it’s just a dream job. I’ve always wanted to be involved in fashion and at the end of the day to have my own collection that is really a dream come true.

If I had to describe my collection in a few words I would say it’s fun, colorful, feminine and on trend.

Looking back at the outfits that I’ve wore today on the shoot my favorites are the black flared jeans with the cream shirt. I think it’s got that seventies inspired trend, euhm, I really like the shirt because again it’s feminine, it’s lovely print, it’s got like little dots speckled all over it and also the sleeves give it that su’tin different. The skinny flares look great because I’m only short and they lengthen my legs so they’ll do wonders for anyone out there. I accessorized that outfit with a tan belt and tan peep toe shoes. I think it made it just a little bit softer.

We also shot the same outfit today but with the different blouse and this blouse is one of my favorite pieces out of the whole collection because I really love the print. It adds a bit of color to the collection and also the shirt is just a great shape tucked into the flared jeans.

The third outfit I wore today was the skinny jeans with the zips at the sides, they give a great shape to the leg and I teamed them with the black peep toes. I think EVERY girl should have black peep toes in the wardrobe because you look great all year round. An I had the camel coat on with the jeans and the shoes. I love the color of the coat, euhm, it’s great for autumn-winter, an also the cape effect looks fantastic with the long sleeves. I think the coat is really versatile because you can wear it tightly belted, you could wear the belt tied at the back so there’s lots of ways you could wear it depending on what shape you are.

My advice for looking and feeling great about your shape is to feel comfortable in what you’re wearing because if you’re comfortable you feel confident and also, find things that flatter your figure so emphasize the best parts of your bodi. Euhm, I think sometimes you see things in pictures an you think that oh that’s not gonna suit me, I do exactly the same but I think you gotta try on as much as you can because until you try it you don’t actually know what it looks like.

The final outfit I wore today on the shoot was the silver and grey dress. The fabric on this dress is gorgeous. It’s... looks really expensive, it’s a heavy fabric with a silver thread running through so it gives it that extra sparkle. Euhm, you could wear this for all occasions, you could wear it to a night out, you could wear it to maybe a winter wedding an you could also team it with some great tights which will look really nice. The shoes I teamed the dress with today was the black slingblacks. They’ve got a full toe-in so they’re great to wear with tights.
Looking back at the shoot today there’s loads of key pieces for autumn winter but my favorites were the black peep toe shoes which I think every girl should have in the wardrobe, they go with lots of things an also the camel coat. For autumn winter you need a good warm heavy coat and that’s stylish and on trend.

Appendix II

_Transcription of Female 2_

... weekend is.. if Steven’s got a game or... ‘e’s away, I like to meet up with me friends and go for suntin to eat or go shopping, but if Steven’s at home then we go for a nice meal. Chinese. I like Chinese food, hehehe.

Everytime I’m seen I have got shopping bags but that’s just because the photographers are always by the shops out. It’s just everytime I come into Liverpool it’s where the photographers are. I’ve always got the kids so I’m always busy and I always got things to do around the house eh, I’m never really bored. If I get like a spare like day (I want all of us meet?) me friends or... go an see me mum or... me family.

I don’t really follow football I just support Steven when ‘e plays so if ‘e plays at home I always go support ‘im an.. gives me a chance to catch up with the other gelfriends an... I usually watch it on the television with the kids, if he’s playing away. If it’s an England game, if it’s close to home I’ll go, but if it’s like, out of England or far away, I’ll... watch on telly at home. Except (????) an it’s a big tournament like that. It’s different to watch him play England game because the atmosphere is totally different. It’s brilliant. Different gerls there so you meet the other gerls an you don’t really see them often. All the gerls get on very well. We don’t really keep in touch but when we see eachotha we all catch op then ‘cause everyone sortof lives all ova. That’s when your mobile phone comes in. Lotsa texin.

My ideal weekend would be if Steven wasn’t working to go for a nice meal and spend the day with the children. If Steven was away then it’d give me the chance to meet up with me friends an go for suntin to eat or go shoppin. If I was with me friends I’d probably like to go to (a night club?) hehe. I have a lot of help I’m never ever stuck for a babysitter

If I’m apart from Steven I like to text him because I never know when he’s training so he’ll just get back to me when he can. If I wanna get on touch with me friends I probably just phone them an ‘ave a little chat with them. When talking with me friends, we talk for hours so... I rather just phone them so it’s easier but if we ends up texting them like for days on end so I rather call me friends and talk actually.

My three top tips for a great weekend... are... make sure you got a babysitter and the kids are minded safely at home. It’s peace of mind so that someone minds them at home. Second top tip is to make sure you (didn’t got?) company. You have to make sure you (didn’t got) company because if the kids are minded I wanna like let me hair down an have a good time, I don’t wanna be around who are a bit... miserable. My last tip is to not to forget your mobile phone, an make sure it’s charged up with lots of credit. You don’t have to worry about that with Vodafone, free weekends, all you have to do is
spend 5 pounds an then you can get free calls from Friday night to Sunday night an it’s perfect for making lots of plans.

Appendix III

Transcription Male 1

Big up Blizzard, Big up.

Eh... Fuckall, just finished the... I was gonna grab the fucking thing

We’ve just released the Merseycide album ehm... Download that! Just google it, you’ll find it like. Ehms..

Obviously download Return of the Fly as well, that’s free. They’re the two albums we’ve done like. Get on them, they’re fucking brilliant, well they’re all right. They’re good.

To be totally honest, eh, I went out on the Friday night and I woke up and I got f- I couldn’t remember anything from the Friday night so I went on to Facebook “an I ‘ad suntin like a ‘undred and twentyfour notifications and I shit meself. I thought what the fuck have I done like and it was the Guardian so I was happy. A bit dodgy like, I dunno why the Guardian are interested, but they’re interested so can’t complain like.

Of course, big up Plan B! Great guy! Knows what he’s talking about. Spot on. The cleverest out of all them who’ve made it, well done.

No! Eh... not really like, ehm... I don’t mind Plan B. I think Plan B is quite good.

But eh... I don’t really like a lot of the hiphop that gets into the charts from the UK like I think it’s garbage – most of it’s garbage like.

Comedic... Comedic and.. murdering people, simple. I don’t mean murdering people like stabbing people an that mean, you know, just killing people.

yeah, hopefully..

 Eh.. I’ve done about 22 suntin in Don’t Flop, ehm, altogether. Done about 10-15 in the Art of Freestyle and outside of it before TAOF and DF I used to battle around Liverpool and that, ehm, in the (??), places like that and I’ve done loads of battles like I couldn’t tell you how many.

Eh... what you mean like?

well, yeah I wanna battle in Grindtime and King of the Dot too. I’m deffo battling in Got Beef soon ‘cause I’ve got to go over to Australia for a month like so. Ehms. and yeah, hopefully I’ll be batting in Grindtime very soon, I’ve got a suntin lined up but I don’t know if it’s gonna happen yet. If it does happen, good, if it doesn’t happen it’ll happen in the future like.
I’m not really bothered like, eh... I prefer if they told us they weren’t gonna show up like... Fucking hell! But ehm... it doesn’t really bother me if they don’t. I’m not really eh... overly offended by... people not showing up at events like.

Yeah... it was meant to go down, it didn’t go down, there was problems. Eh, I don’t really know like. I don’t... I can’t really comment on it, he just didn’t show on the day so... like I dunno, I don’t really know.

Ehm, best battles... I think I’ve done – not best, probably not me best performance but for the overall comedy of it and enjoying a battle was the Dirtbag Dan one easily like. Ehm... After that like... a- I prefer, like, I love Don’t Flop, you know what I mean, I love battling in Don’t Flop but there’s so much pressure on it so I do prefer battling in, you know, the random Art of Freestyles against people where you’re not arsed. Doesn’t matter if you fuck up and that. You make a mistake in Don’t Flop everyone’s on you on the internet for the next six weeks, slating ya, so... it’s a little bit of a difference like. Bigup, the forums.

Ehm... Anything with Dumbfounded is just unbelievable... ehm. I don’t know about the UK one, I love loads of, I love loads of people in the UK one, ehm. ‘Cause I know most of them personally, ya know what I mean... I enjoy watching them, like... innuendo v. Evileyz is one of me favorite battles to watch ‘cause I know both of them ya know what I mean, but like, I love Scizzahz as well. Scizzahz is me favorite in eh Don’t Flop. Yeah that’s it. That’s it really.

I haven’t got a fucken clue what that means, like.

No! I dunno what you’re going on about, lad. What you mean ‘introduce’?

Oh! Yeah...

Yeah. Yeah, I know what you mean now... I don’t...

Ehm... I don’t know. I- I can’t even answer that. I donno, I donno what it means properly. I donno... But what you mean like?!

Yeah but... you don’t judge people on how they introduce themselves at the start of a judging thing... You know what I mean. I’m struggling, I’m struggling here.

Fair enough...

Ehehem... Definitely not like, ehm, no. But if anyone wants to battle rap me gerls, I’m up for it.

Ehm... Gel rappers? Yeah I know loads of gerl rappers, I know loads of sick gerl emcees, I don’t really wanna battle any of them unless they battle- unless they wanna battle me. Yeah, battle of the (**)

The Brookhouse. That’s where I’ll be. Check it.

It’s just a pub. It’s a pub on Smithdown Road. Shout out Smithdown Road.

Ehm... I’m werking on me own album at the minute... s-s-s... ehm... We’ve only just finished the Merceycide. I’ve only got 2 tracks for it so far. Ehm...
Yeah, exactly. With... ehm. I guest featured on loads of stuff that’s coming out, ehm. Especially Rasps new album, Rasputin vol-volume 3, that will be out soon. EVERYONE ‘ere’s on it like, other than Blizzard, like. Which is a good thing. But ehm... get on it as soon as it’s on. Hopefully I’m feat- I’m featured on yours, aren’t I?

Pleasure.

Appendix IV

Transcription of Male 2

It is me name mate

Safe. Don’t get to close you batty.

It’s boss, lad.

It is. It’s just (bossin like) It’s loads of sentimental raps on it an stuff like, that makes you wanna cry or cut your wrists at the end of listening to. It’s about it, like. is not much else to say about it.

Standard, lad, that’s all I’m about, making people upset about life in general with me music and that. I just wanted annoy Oshea by not being fonni. Ehm, I just want to do songs about MY life and how upsetting it can be at times. Big(??) what’s happenin kid? *giggles* Anyway...

Fuck that! It’s basically a string of drunken incidents where I get rowdy and people film it which ‘appens every day of my life that just doesn’t get filmed. That’s basically it

Definitely lad. I was a rowdy incident during pregnancy. Hehe.

Yeah man, you know this, undefeated laa, never lost, haha

Uhm, yeah. I took me first L the other week but it was in a 2 on 2 so fuck you Odie

Yeah, yeah... that’s just ‘coz like Oshea fucks me off as his partner in life, eh. Fuck you Rikky, what happened? Hehehe. Me and Oshea would ‘ave won that double so (???)but kidda I’m not arsed we’da won.

Shit. Shit laa, it was shit laa. It was like, nah it was all right big respect to Eurgh and Don’t Flop we love all of that but the whole event just went to shits like everyone dropped out before it happened I got a (bythrough?) to the quarterfinals. Ehm... People just dropped out so I went back home but I love the events I love what it’s doing I love the exposure it’s giving people like especially the stuff it’s done for Oshea and that. He’s got ride out there through that medium so it’s good man

I’m not allowed laa, I got invited to go out there, I can’t, I’m banned from Canada, New Zealand, Australia and America for life.

Ehm, eh, yes, ehm, bein a badman is the answer. Hehehe. Nah I would love to go over, I wanna battle a yank so get one over ‘ere an I’ll tell them...tell’em let’s go lad.
I wanna battle Fresco and he’s agreed to battle me but we need to sort out moni for him to come over ‘ere and we’ll do that there so. But there’s loads of people, I wanna battle any yank who wants to come over’ere, I’m- I’m game lad, it’s going off kid.

Did ya? Don’t get excited.

Everyone man, I’m loving it like, coming home was the best decision I’ve made in the last 4 years laa, leaving was probably the worst, man. Like at the minute now there is-there is an actually scene which there hasn’t been for time. Like Tony was saying before there’s artists who I’ve never fucking heard of who have all got bars for days, there’s people who are producing that got beats for days and there’s stuff actually ‘appenin now with small events but it’s building up and building up and like things like today like you know one phone call can get 20 rappers in a shit’ole pub, no offence.

Standard you know that like, other people don’t you know and that’s what pisses me off like. Wait until you see Oshea’s new battle that he had and the bar in it... quote me... I can’t remember exactly what it was right... talk about it’s easy for these out of town folk to talk from a fucking 500 thousand pound home, or suntin like that, and that’s what they do like there’s been tragedies in every city and we wouldn’t mention them but other people think it’s all right to have a go at us and then you’re just a Scouser with a chip on your shoulder if you stand up an say suntin at them, know? I just don’t want people talking about murdered children. But... But, saying that, Unanimous is young and he’s hungry, what he said was freestyle and he apologized after so no disrespect for him either, he’ll just grow to learn a lesson. Same goes for Sensa, he learns his lesson, the things he said was bad, he knows- he knows he’s not welcome here an he knows he shouldn’t have said it.

I wanna battle Sensa. I’ve called him out twice an he said no cuz he says I’m not a big enough name. Tell ‘im I’ll battle ‘im on (Printyav??)

Gotta go to the man Oshea man like but there’s other people out there who are great like Tenchoo kills it, Lego, Deffinition’s got skills, there’s so many people... Yeah fuck Deff, nah honestly nah. He’s got good-brilliant concepts an stuff like that. There’s so many people who are good at it an I do prefer- a lot of people love the freestyle thing and I should say how much I love it but I can’t actually freestyle even though I did the Art of Freestyle thing, I prefer the written format, it shows who’s good at what. Next big battle I’ve got is Nishi, I’ve got so much respect for that cat like an that’s gonna be a proper lyrical battle, to be no jokes and that like

It’s gonna be Manny in the building kid an I ‘ope [-] your “Blizzard finger”

Yeah don’t. But ehm, it’s in... Hehe. September, ehm, in Manchester, there’s a Don’t Flop event like, and that’s gonna be the semifinals for the doubles an there’s a few other big big individual battles going on that day man so that’s what I’m game for

Standard...

Phh, I dunno you know kid, I-I’d love to know, I have no idea man, I’m just gonna keep lugging away like, keep doing me sentimental bullshit raps and ehm, keep putting ‘em over gay beats, talking about gerls an how they break me ‘eart an ‘opefully someone’ll take it on and put it in the charts. Till I make a bit of dough and fuck off. You know, I’m not arsed about the Scouse scene, I’ve got no
loyalty to this city, ehm, soon as I make enough dough I’m going to John Lennon Airport, say taraa to the fella... what was the one, what was it about John Lennon? No, oh no it wasn’t John Lennon what was he, fucking erhm, who’s that other Beatle? Paul McCartney. He’s a nob’ead ain’t ‘e? Yeah he’s a cunt yeah. We don’t like Paul McCartney. (??) doesn’t like ‘im! I’m not talking about me!

I would battle Paul McCartney. I’d battle his bird ‘cause there’s so many jokes about having one leg it’s unreal.

I’ve got three, she could lend one.

You call that deep?! That’s why they call me Innuendo.