The Change in the Pronunciation of /eɪ/, /aɪ/ and /iː/ in the Speech of Australian English Speakers Living in Finland

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Tutkielma käsittelee Suomessa oleskelun aikana tapahtuneita muutoksia australianenglantia äidinkielenään puhuvien henkilöiden ääntämyksessä. Tutkittavat äänteet ovat diftongit /eɪ/ ja /aɪ/ sekä pitkä vokaali /i:/. Tutkimuksen hypoteesina on olettamus, että informanttien ääntämys lähestyy brittiläistä standardienglantia (Received Pronunciation, RP) seurauksena pitkän aikavälin puheakkomodaatiosta suomalaisten, englantia toisena kielenä puhuvien ihmisten puheeseen.

Tutkimus käsittää kenttätutkimusta, jossa hankittiin uutta dataa ja analysoitiin sitä. Tutkimusmetodina käytettiin sosiolingvistista haastattelua, joka toteutettiin internetin kautta Skype-puhelusovelluksen avulla. Haastattelupuhelut tallennettiin mp3-muodossa ja analysoitiin impressionistisesti. Informantteja haastateltiin yhteensä 20 (noin 4 prosenttia Suomessa pysyvästi asuvasta australialaisesta väestöstä). Informanttien valinnassa käytettiin tiettyjä kriteerejä.

Haastattelun pääosa on jaettu kolmeen osaan: neutraaliin haastatteluosioon, tunnepitoiseen haastatteluosioon sekä sanalistaan. Tunnepitoisen haastatteluosion avulla hankittiin dataa informantin käyttämästä puhetyypistä, joka poikkesi eniten standardikielestä. Sanalista tuotti vastaavasti eniten standardikielen mukaista ääntämystä.

Tutkimuksen tulokset eivät vahvistaneet alkuperäistä hypoteesia. Informanttien puheessa oli havaittavissa oletettua muutosta RP:n suuntaan, mutta muutoksen määrä ei ollut suoraan verrannollinen Suomessa oleskellun ajan pituuteen. Anekdotaalinen havainnointi sekä informanttien oma ilmiön huomiointi viittaavat hypoteesin todenperäisyyteen, mutta se ei tämän tutkimuksen pienehköllä otannalla vahvistunut.

Asiasanat: akkomodaatio, australianenglanti, diftongi, haastattelu, rp, suomi

Acknowledgements

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1. Introduction

"The only constant is change."

-Heraclitus

For any student of linguistics, language change is a familiar friend. It is what makes the field so exciting; the linguist's work is never finished. Often, however, we think of language change only in terms of large-scale transformations such as the Great Vowel Shift, remarkable as it is in its own right. It is easy to forget that language change happens between two people who talk.

In this thesis I shall study the changes that happen when people whose first language is Australian English (henceforth "AusEng") live and interact with people who speak English as a second language in Finland. The research question sprung from a very practical source: I listened to my husband speak to his mother on the telephone and observed that he sounded completely different – so very *Australian* – compared to his everyday speech. I found this intriguing. When I went to look for research done on the changes caused by non-native influence on the speech of native English speakers, I found that there was little to be found, not only about Finland but about anywhere. Thus I decided to be the change I wanted to see in the world.

The hypothesis that I set out to prove in this study is that the longer an Australian English speaker resides in Finland, the more his or her speech will begin to approximate British Received Pronunciation (henceforth "RP").

First of all I will discuss the theoretical background of language change on the individual level (and beyond) and why we modify the way we speak depending on how much we like the listener. Some previous research done on dialect contact accommodation

will also be recounted. The sections following attempt to describe what is being studied; both in terms of the English being spoken in Finland and AusEng as it is commonly understood. The characteristics under study (diphthongs /eɪ/ and /aɪ/ and the long vowel /iː/) and their various realisations in AusEng will be introduced.

In section 5 I will explain in detail the methodology used in this thesis, namely the sociolinguistic interview. A secondary objective of this study is in fact to test the computer-assisted interviewing method chosen for the purpose, which takes place over the internet using the Skype telephony application instead of the conventional interview using a dictation machine. The methodology section also includes the explanation of the interview structure and discussion on potential issues with the method, technical and otherwise. Section 6 discusses the criteria set for sampling informants, incentives used to lure them as well as the channels through which the informants were sourced or attempted to source.

Section 7 forms the most important part of the thesis, namely the results of the study and the interpretation thereof. I shall look at the data results overall as well as specifically in terms of a particular variable. The section following discusses the hypothesis and what evidence can be derived from the study to support or disprove it. We will also evaluate the method used and make some suggestions for future research.

In this study, I shall attempt to find answers to the following questions:

1. Does the speech of AusEng speakers change as a result of long term exposure to non-native English speakers?

2. How does the accommodation process begin and what triggers it?

3. How does this thesis contribute to the field of linguistics?

I shall revisit these questions in the conclusion section at the end of the thesis.

2. Accommodation theory and previous studies

This section will explore the main foundation and previous applications of the communication accommodation theory, which is at the heart of the present study. Section 2.1 will outline the basics of the theory: what types of language variables are likely to converge/diverge when accommodation takes place, to what extent, and in what social contexts. In section 2.2 the focus will be on long term accommodation and its relationship with short term effects. Section 2.3 will outline some previous research and typical results achieved in the study of long term language accommodation.

2.1 Communication accommodation theory (CAT)

The Speech Accommodation Theory (SAT; later known as Communication Accommodation Theory or CAT) was initially developed in 1973 by Howard Giles (Giles 1973). The core of the theory is formed by the notion of conscious or subconscious code-switching in social interactions as a strategy of increasing or decreasing distance between oneself and the other or others in an attempt to suggest (dis)similarities or to ensure communicative efficiency; in other words, one tends to imitate that which one finds pleasing.

One way to do this is to use convergent or divergent (or indeed, unaffected) language compared to that of the other speaker(s) involved in the situation, for example by using similar or different words, pronunciation, speech style, etc. Such convergence or divergence may be based on the actual behaviour of the communication partner or a stereotype of it (Shepard et al. 2001, 38). In addition to verbal communication, CAT discusses non-verbal communication such as mirroring actions, but for the purposes of this thesis the verbal accommodative behaviour will be focused on.

Communication accommodation may be analysed using a number of different variables such as direction ("upward" towards a consensual prestigious variety or "downward" towards a stigmatised variety), degree ("partial", in which the participants converge to each other to some degree, or "full", where both participants act in an identical way), dimension (unimodal accommodation affecting one type of behaviour or multimodal affecting all behaviour) and symmetry (participants exhibiting equal levels of accommodation or not) (Shepard et al. 2001, 37). The complexity of the phenomenon, in addition to the fact that much of such behaviour is subconscious and indeed culture-specific, often invites misinterpretation on the part of each participant. As Shepard et al. point out, there is also a fine line between moderate convergence, which is generally perceived in a positive way by those who are being converged to, and full convergence or overaccommodation, which can easily be interpreted as suspicious or even offensive (2001, 37-38).

When speech accommodation takes place, some aspects of language are likely to converge or diverge while others remain largely or completely unaffected. The reason behind such difference, according to Labov (1972), can be found in the speaker's awareness of each variable. The variables that show only social class variation are labelled indicators, while those that are subject to both social class and stylistic variation are labelled markers. The speaker is highly aware of the latter, making markers often the speech elements that vary when accommodation takes place. Indicators, being lower in the speaker's awareness, are more constant and less likely to be modified in such social situations. Trudgill and Chambers argue that an indicator is likely to become a marker if at least one of the following applies (1980):

- Variable is overly stigmatised

- Variable is currently involved in linguistic change

- Variants of the variable are phonetically dramatically different from each other

- Variable is involved in the maintenance of phonological contrasts

Each one of these factors is likely to bring the variable to the forefront of the speaker's awareness, in a way forcing the speaker to make a statement with his or her choice of variant.

In addition to the above-mentioned variables, the context of each social interaction is of vital interest when analysing and especially when predicting communication accommodation, particularly in the case of intercultural communication. The interaction context may be broken down into four aspects (Gallois et al. 1995, 115-147):

1. Sociohistorical context (participants' expected or actual attitude towards each other)

2. Accommodative orientation, including intrapersonal factors (social and personal identity), intergroup factors (attitude toward "the others") and initial orientation (attitude toward social interaction in general)

3. Immediate situation, including sociopsychological states (attitude toward the social interaction at hand), goals and addressee focus (short-term motivation for accommodation, such as identification with the other or communicative efficiency), sociolinguistic strategies (methods utilised in the interaction at hand), behaviour and tactics (converging or diverging in different areas such as speech rate and topic choice) and labelling and attributions (perception of the interaction partner's accommodation)

4. Evaluation and future intentions (evaluating the attractiveness of future communication with the same or similar partner based on the interaction at hand; crucial when producing stereotypes).

2.2 Long term accommodation

The preceding section discussed the phenomenon of communication accommodation in terms of a conscious or subconscious short-term strategy of negotiating social distance between oneself and other interaction participants. However, such accommodation also takes place in the long term. When a speaker is systematically and repeatedly exposed to a particular linguistic environment, such as when moving to an area where a different dialect is spoken, he or she is likely to adopt some of the features of this new linguistic environment permanently (Auer et al. 2005, 335). As in the case of short term accommodation, long term linguistic accommodation may be conscious or subconscious and may be realised fully or only to a certain extent.

Auer et al. argue that it is this kind of long-term (permanent) accommodation by the individual that holds the key to language change on a larger social scale. They argue that such language change happens in three consecutive steps: short-term communication accommodation by the individual as described above (in which the accommodation is restricted to the interaction at hand), long-term accommodation by the individual (in which the accommodation is realised in interactions with speakers other than those who initiated the accommodation), and finally language change, where long-term accommodation spreads into society at large (2005, 336).

The study at hand primarily involves step two of this process; namely observing the level of accommodation in situations in which the informant is not interacting with the person or those persons that trigger(ed) the accommodation effect. Considering the relatively small number of Australian English speakers represented in Finland, it is not likely that step three will apply to this group. AusEng speakers certainly do interact with and accommodate their speech to each other in short term, but as such social contacts are

likely to form a minority of any individuals social sphere, any long term accommodation detected is far more likely to have been caused by the speaker's first-hand contact with non-native speakers of English.

2.3 Previous studies in long term dialect accommodation

Due to the specific nature of this study, it was not possible to find previous research with the same or closely similar research setting. Studies on long term dialect accommodation do exist, however, the differences between the languages or dialects studied make such studies not directly comparable as the results are often specific or meaningful only to that language or dialect combination. In fact, it is difficult to find any research on the effects that a *non-native* English-speaking environment has on the speech of native English speakers. However, two earlier studies should be mentioned to illustrate the types of results that dialect accommodation research may produce.

Peter Trudgill studied the changes occurring in the speech of British English (dialect unspecified) speakers over an extended period of time spent in the United States (Trudgill 1986, 14-21). A part of the data used in this study consisted of Trudgill's observations on his own speech while living in the United States for one year; the remainder of the data used consisted of notes made on the speech of mostly academic (although some non-academic) British English speakers in the United States. The objective of the study was to find out whether the long term accommodation occurring matched the American English pronunciation trends previously noted by Trudgill to be favoured by British pop/rock artists (imitation instead of accommodation). Such trends consisted of five main phenomena:

1. monopthongination of the [aɪ] sound to produce [aˑ]

2. rhotic pronunciation of the non-prevocalic /r/

3. unrounding of the [ɒ] vowel to produce [ɑ]

4. replacing the /a:/ in DANCE with [æ]

5. replacing the intervocalic /t/ with a voiced alveolar flap

In his observations Trudgill came to the conclusion that it is indeed these specific variables that display changes whenever accommodation occurs. While British pop singers imitate that in American English pronunciation which is salient, such salient variables also form the markers and therefore the basis for long term accommodation. Trudgill also found that these five changes are likely to occur in a specific order irrespective of the individual's actual rate of accommodation, with some being considerably slowed down or even completely inhibited by existing (British English) phonotactic rules that especially adults find difficult to overcome. Thus, a British English speaker is likely to quickly (within months) adopt the intervocalic /t/ change into a flap due to there being no pre-existing inhibiting factors to such change and due to the flap being a familiar phoneme from British English. In contrast, Trudgill found that the acquisition of the non-prevocalic /r/ is very rare and slow process because of the strong non-rhotic phonotactic rules in place from British English. Even those individuals that do accommodate to the rhotic /r/ tend to do so inconsistently.

Another study that provides interesting insight into not only the relationship between British and American English but also the results from Trudgill's research is Linda Shockey's study on the accommodation occurring in the speech of General American English speakers residing in the United Kingdom for an extended period of time (1984). In essence, Shockey's study reverse-engineers the findings of Trudgill's study. In her study

she focuses on the intervocalic /t/ - flap distinction. The research findings indicate that unlike in the case of British English speakers in the United States, who in Trudgill's study readily adopted the intervocalic flap within a matter of months, American English speakers in the United Kingdom are much slower to accommodate towards flap suppression (/t/ and /d/ distinction in intervocalic position). Using her own speech as data, Shockey indicates that even after 3.5 years of living in the United Kingdom, she still flapped 66% of the intervocalic t's and 77% of the d's. These findings are consistent with the flap percentages recorded in the speech of the four other informants used in the study who had been residing in the United Kingdom for much longer and, predictably, whose speech had accommodated even further towards flap suppression. Considering the speed at which Trudgill reported British English speakers to accommodate in this matter, such findings are surprising. Trudgill comments on them by suggesting that moving from voiceless to voiced stops in an intervocalic position (i.e. replacing intervocalic /t/ or /d/ with a flap) is a natural and phonetically motivated sound change and therefore "easier" to adopt. Interestingly, Shockey also reports very low percentages of dropping the rhotic /r/ in a non-prevocalic position to accommodate towards British English. Trudgill's observations found that this was also the change to which British English speakers were the most resistant to in the United States. Shockey suggests that as the rhotic /r/ does not handicap effective communication with British English speakers like the intervocalic flap does, there is not sufficient social pressure to promote such accommodation. This argument, suggesting that cross-dialect accommodation is first and foremost motivated by communicative efficiency instead of social codes, is significant in terms of the present study.

Although offering an important frame of reference for this thesis, the two studies mentioned above are dramatically different from the present study in one important

aspect: they discuss varieties of English that are known, thoroughly studied and highly predictable. Studying the accommodative effects of non-native English on native English is certainly more challenging, if only because of the potentially large variation present in the non-native English speech without the rigid phonotactic rules as exhibited by the British English speakers in Trudgill's study, or the universal and "very nearly obligatory" (Shockey 1984, 89) tendency of American English speakers to flap. With this taken into consideration, such previous studies on long term accommodation provide an essential frame of reference and a useful comparison point for new research such as the present study.

3. The role of English in Finland

Practically all Finnish children of today learn English as a second language at some point during their compulsory education. The overwhelming majority (90.4 per cent in 2008[1]) starts learning English as an A1 language, the first so-called core (compulsory) language starting in the 3rd grade. Indeed, more than 90 per cent of Finnish municipalities offer English as the *only* A1 language (Sajavaara 2006, 7). Out of the remaining pupils, nearly all start learning English either as an A2 language (optional language from the 5th grade) or B1 language (the second core language from the 7th grade). Of the students completing Finnish senior secondary (lukio) education in 2009, 99.7 per cent had studied English at school overall to some extent and 99.6 per cent had had English as either A1 or A2 language[2]. These figures are representative of the general trends of language learning choices in recent years; a 2008 report by the Finnish Board of Education reveals that between 2003 and 2007 the popularity of English as the A1 language of choice never dipped below 90 per cent of the age group[3]. Similar figures from previous years suggest that the popularity of English as the first foreign language learnt has been solid for decades. It can be safely concluded, therefore, that English is very widely spoken to at least a basic level among the younger generations of the Finnish population.

An interesting indicator of the level to which English as a second language is taken to be the norm in the Finnish school system is the fact that the current National Core Curriculum for Basic Education (effective from 2004) outlines different prescribed goal

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[1] Source: Finnish National Board of Education, WERA Internet Report System. "Peruskoulun 1.-6. vuosiluokilla yhteistä kieltä opiskelleet vuosiluokittain syksyllä 2008." Accessed 3 February 2010.
[2] Source: Statistics Finland. "Subject choices of completers of upper secondary general school education in 2009." Available online at http://www.tilastokeskus.fi/til/ava/2009/ava_2009_2009-12-11_tie_001_en.html. Accessed on 3 February 2010.
[3] Source: Finnish National Board of Education. "Koulutuksen määrälliset indikaattorit 2008". Available online as a PDF document at http://www.oph.fi/instancedata/prime_product_julkaisu/oph/embeds/46483_INDI2008.pdf. Accessed on 3 February 2010.

levels to be met at the end of primary school education by learners of English than by learners of any other languages (A2.1 in reading and listening comprehension as opposed to A1.3 for any other language; A1.3 in speaking and writing as opposed to A1.2 for any other language) (Finnish National Board of Education 2004, 140). This discrepancy in goal levels continues until the end of senior secondary education.

The widespread interest in the English language is even considered a cause for concern due to, among other things, the resulting lack of funding available for the teaching of other languages. The Promoling project, co-ordinated by the National Centre for Professional Development in Education and funded by the National Board of Education, defines itself as "an education and development project which is aimed to promote the learning of *languages other than English* in our country"[4] (italics added by the author of this thesis). Other similar initiatives exist for the promotion of a wide selection of languages at school (see for example the KIMMOKE Project 1995-2001).

3.1 British English influence

The exceptionally significant role of English as a second language in Finland has been established above. In addition to the general scope of English skills, perhaps even more important a factor to consider is the variant of English taught to entire age groups as described previously.

A brief review of teaching materials directed at A1-level English learners, in use at Finnish primary and junior secondary schools at the time of writing (*Chat*, *Wow!*, *Let's Go!*, *What's On?*, *All Stars*, *Surprise*, *Express*) reveals that nearly all of them are explicitly set in the United Kingdom. The cultural norms, pronunciation and spelling used in these materials

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[4] Source: National Centre for Professional Development in Education. "What is Promoling?" Available online as a PDF document at http://www.opeko.fi/promoling/tiedostot/PROMOLING_EN.pdf. Accessed 3 February 2010.

are also generally British/RP, irrespective of whether this is explicitly stated. According to the current national curriculum, it is not until several years into language study (5th or 6th grade) that differences between British and American English are explored. Even then American English is experienced from the viewpoint of a tourist, as "the other" English. Other variants of English, such as AusEng, are usually barely touched upon if mentioned at all, although differences do exist in this respect between various teaching materials. It is not until the final years of senior secondary school that extensive class time is generally devoted to world Englishes such as Australian, New Zealand, Canadian, Indian and South African English; all the while British English remains the norm. Furthermore, the study of such variants is not prescribed in the national core curriculum; rather, it is up to the choice of materials by each individual teacher, as the depth to which such areas are covered varies considerably from one textbook to another.

One end of the spectrum is apparent in the *Culture Café* textbook series (published by Otava) that makes no mention of the varieties of English in its core topics. An example of more extensive coverage of world Englishes on the senior secondary level is seen in the *InTouch* textbook series (published by WSOY). Some of the core themes of course 2 (a compulsory course taken by all students) are Australia and Australians, and the United States and Americans. New Zealand is covered in the materials of course 7 and India and Canada in course 8. Both of these courses are optional and thus not taken by all students. Even more comprehensive selection of world Englishes is presented by the *English UNITED* textbooks (published by Tammi) that also discuss English spoken in Singapore and Hong Kong. However, how much of this superficial novelty study remains a question. Although never prescribed by the national curriculum, British English is the only variety used as the implicit or explicit norm in textbooks on all school levels.

The significance of the relative proximity of the United Kingdom to Finland compared to other English-speaking countries is certainly a factor in such education policies. Furthermore, the membership of both United Kingdom and Finland in the European Union is a factor in its own right with significance in terms of the variety of English spoken in Finland. Free movement between the countries (and the relatively affordable cost of short-distance travel within Europe) means that Finns are presumably far more likely to visit and work in the United Kingdom compared to other English-speaking countries, with the possible exception of Ireland, another EU member state. At the end of 2009 there were 3375 British people living permanently in Finland compared to 473 Australians, 406 Irishmen, 572 Canadians and 2435 Americans[5]. Exact figures of Finnish citizens residing permanently in the UK are unavailable, but they are presumed to be in the thousands – Finn-Guild, a British-Finnish organisation for both Finns living in the UK and vice versa, boasts 20,000 members alone, with membership split evenly between the two countries[6].

3.2 American English influence

In the face of such heavy-handed assignation of prestige by the educational authorities, one might expect that the English spoken by Finnish learners be little or not at all influenced by other English varieties. However, the major role of the United States in the production of popular culture means that learners of English are often also exposed to considerable amounts of American English. For instance, in 2009, 67 per cent of Finnish cinema-goers viewed an American production[7]. Similar trends in popular music (including Finnish

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[5] Source: Finnish Immigration Service. "Foreign citizens living permanently in Finland, 31 Dec. 2009", PDF document available online at
http://www.migri.fi/download.asp?id=Foreign+citizens+in+Finland+2009;1882;{596A4B32-E70C-440D-AC0F-BCF3FD7B67EB} Accessed 16 May 2011.
[6] Source: Finn-Guild website. Available online at http://www.finn-guild.org. Accessed 8 February 2010.
[7] Source: The Finnish Film Foundation. "Elokuvavuosi 2009 Tilastoja – Facts and Figures". PDF document available online at http://www.ses.fi/dokumentit/Elokuvavuosi%202009.pdf. Accessed 16 May 2011.

singers emulating American English pronunciation - see in particular Trudgill 1986, 12-15 regarding American English pronunciation being favoured by even British pop singers), television shows and video games reinforce the importance of American English and, by extension, its significance as another variety to which non-native English speakers in Finland are exposed to on a regular basis. In fact, due to the contrast in registers associated with British and American English (formal vs. informal, educational vs. entertainment, respectively), it is likely that even those with no particular academic interest in learning the English language acquire some American English elements in their use of the language as a result of being exposed to American popular culture. Although British films and TV shows are also relatively popular in Finland, their market shares are modest in comparison to their American counterparts. Indeed, outside of the fields of education and EU politics, one is more likely to be exposed to American than British English in everyday life in Finland.

However, it should be noted that changes in language resulting from the exposure to films, TV programming, games etc. in which the language use is unilateral and not socially interactive is not considered language accommodation. As has been established, accommodation by definition requires a conversation partner whom one accommodates towards or away from to negotiate social space. This requirement is obviously not realised when watching a film or a TV show or listening to music – there is simply no-one to accommodate to. Instead, the process taking place is imitation. Trudgill argues that language modification by imitation is usually limited to lexical items, expressions and pronunciation and does not involve sentence construction or similar deep-set elements of language use (1986, 40-41).

A special case involving American English pronunciation should be noted here; Finnish is a phonetic language in which each phoneme – with the exception of some non-native, introduced letters such as "C" – has only one possible realisation in pronunciation. This also means that each letter in a given word is pronounced. This is, of course, in stark contrast to English, which is full of phonetically illogical word forms, from the simple drop of the historical "k" in "knight" to the English town names that infamously confuse the tourist, such as Gloucester ([glostə]). A feature in the speech of Finnish speakers of English that may indeed lead to the impression of a highly American English pronunciation style is the non-prevocalic rhotic /r/ in words such as "door", "fear" or "hard". Although some of such pronunciation influence can certainly be credited to the aforementioned American popular culture media, it should be noted that the non-prevocalic rhotic /r/ remains the logical pronunciation strategy for Finnish speakers, as in Finnish each and every letter would be pronounced, including the non-prevocalic /r/.

From this evidence it may be concluded that Finnish speakers of English are likely to have elements of both British English (RP) and American English in their speech, the prevalence of either being determined by the *socially interactive* exposure to native speakers of either variety (British English being more likely due to the European Union) and the particular speaker's interest in academic pursuits in which British English remains the norm.

4. Characteristics under study

Although AusEng is in certain ways similar to RP (particularly in the case of so-called Cultivated AusEng speakers[8]), differences do exist, some more easily distinguishable than others. John C. Wells argues: "Phonologically, all Australian English is very close to RP, phonetically, it is not." (1982, 595). For the purposes of this study, characteristics of AusEng that differ considerably from RP realisations were chosen for several reasons:

- Straightforward analysis; simple to pick up variation in recorded data
- Robustness in resisting change due to salient differences from RP

In section 4.1 the features of AusEng are measured against the "Gold Standard" of RP, if you will, making further analysis of RP realisations unnecessary. In section 4.2 we will briefly discuss the methods available to study the influence of American English in the informants' speech.

When defining AusEng pronunciation characteristics, it is important to take into consideration the socio-economic variation present in the realisation of the diphthongs and vowels studied, as there is generally no single realisation that pertains to all AusEng speakers. In the following analysis, the often-used distinction between Broad (approximately matching working class), General (middle class) and Cultivated (upper class) AusEng varieties is made, first introduced by the pioneering work by Alexander Mitchell and Arthur Delbridge in 1965.

Regional variation is not considered in this study as such differences are not distinguishable enough in these particular characteristics to be significant.

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[8] See the discussion regarding the relevancy of this terminology in section 7.2.

4.1 RP /eɪ/, /aɪ/ and /i:/ in AusEng

The primary indication of variation among AusEng speakers is the socio-economic class of the speaker on the Cultivated-General-Broad continuum, as established in the previous section. It is generally agreed that comparatively little variation in pronunciation (although by no means none) exists across the geographically large Australian continent (see for example Blair 1993, 68; Trudgill 1986, 145).

The following table illustrates the various realisations of each diphthong or vowel in AusEng as presented by Clark (1989, 210) and Wells (1982, 597).

	Cultivated	General	Broad
/eɪ/	[ɛe], [ɛɪ]	[ʌɪ]	[æe], [ʌːɪ]
/aɪ/	[aɪ]	[ɑe], [ɐe], [ɒɪ]	[ɔe], [ɒːɪ]
/i:/	[i:]	[i:]	[əɪ]

In addition to those above, further realisations of /eɪ/ and /aɪ/ exist in AusEng before the /l/ sound in words such as SALE and MILE (Clark 1989, 210). However, these are not significant for the purposes of the present study and shall therefore be omitted.

For the purposes of this study the RP /i:/ was chosen as an example of long vowels. This sound is realised in two distinct ways in AusEng, either as RP-like [i:] among Cultivated and General AusEng speakers or as [əɪ] among Broad AusEng speakers, producing [si:k] or [səɪk] for SEEK (Clark 1989, 210). The [əɪ] realisation is indeed one of the most salient

features of Broad AusEng and clearly fulfils Trudgill and Chambers' criteria for a marker (see section 2.1): it is dramatically different phonetically as well as stigmatised.

Whenever the Cultivated/General realisation [i:] appeared in the informants' speech, it was counted as usage under both variants (i.e. a single case of [i:] would be marked as one instance of Cultivated and one instance of General AusEng).

4.2 Traces of American English influence

The evaluation of the influence of American English on the informants' speech is not possible directly by studying these particular characteristics (fronting vowels and /i:/) as their counterparts in General American English are virtually identical to those in RP. However, it is possible to track American English influences by the means of noting whenever an informant produced a rhotic non-prevocalic /r/ sound.

Modern-day AusEng, unlike General American English, is "firmly nonrhotic" (Wells 1982, 105; although see discussion in section 7.2.2) and any rhoticity present in the speech of AusEng speakers would likely suggest a level of American English influence. This conclusion can be drawn particularly in the light of Trudgill's findings regarding the resistance of British English speakers to introduce the rhotic non-prevocalic /r/ into their speech even when constantly exposed to American English (see page 7 of this study).

5. Data collection methods

The method used for data collection in this study is the sociolinguistic interview. Written survey responses are not useful due to the phonetic nature of the study. Although such surveys are not necessarily unreliable, as argued by Chambers (1998), it is likely to be difficult for linguistically naïve individuals to analyse his or her speech in terms of characteristics that may not be salient to them. Due to the small number of potential informants and their geographical distribution (i.e. no single common environment), the method of participant observation is also unlikely to be successful.

A secondary objective of this study is to test the limitations of computer-assisted interviewing methods. This includes the use of Skype VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocol) telephony applications (including the text chat feature), audio data recording applications and the playback of recorded material using computer software.

The convenience of computer-assisted interviewing is also an asset in a study such as this one where suitable potential informants are few. Often with family and friends living on the other side of the world, many if not most of those in the informant pool of this study are likely to be familiar with the Skype application and its use as a cost-effective, high quality alternative to the conventional telephone. Tapping into this pre-existing culture of popular Skype use among the informants, the 30-minute Skype interview conducted at the informant's home is likely to be an appealing alternative compared to the more traditional method of travelling to meet the interviewer face-to-face and having the interview recorded by a dictation machine. The informal nature of a Skype conversation where one need not be concerned about one's appearance or body language, for instance, is also welcomed by the linguist who wishes to record speech as its most casual (see 5.3.1

Observer's Paradox). This unorthodox interview setting and its effect on the formality of the informant's speech is referred to in this study as "the freedom of invisibility"[9].

Incidentally, the outbreak of the H1N1 (swine flu) epidemic in Finland coincided with the beginning of the interviewing process and provided a further reason to take advantage of the virtual nature of Skype conversations with no physical contact involved.

5.1 Interview structure

The interview consists of four parts: greeting and interview set-up (approximately 10% of the total interview time), the Neutral interview section (approximately 30%), the Emotive interview section (approximately 35%), a word list (approximately 5%) and explanation of the study and interview end (approximately 20%).

For a full interview script, see Appendix 1. Not all questions present in the script were used in every interview; rather, the script provided an outline of material for use by the interviewer to guide the conversation. To encourage informality and by extension typical (not careful) speech by the informant, the interviewer picked up topics from the informant's previous statements and asked the informant to elaborate on them where applicable, instead of sticking to a rigid battery of questions. The main objective was to get the informant to talk as freely as possible to simulate his or her normal speech.

5.1.1 Initial and final informative sections

The sections at the beginning and at end of each interview consist mainly of the interviewer explaining the procedure to the interviewee and also answering any questions that the interviewee may have. At the beginning of the interview, the informant is given selective information about the nature of the study to prevent such knowledge from

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[9] This sentiment is perfectly put to words by an informant who was delighted at the prospect of being able to pick his nose during the interview, should the urge overcome him.

affecting the data collected. At this stage, the informant is told that the study is conducted for a Master's thesis and that Australians living in Finland are interviewed to record information about certain aspects of their lives. No elaboration (including the discipline of the intended thesis) is offered. After the interview, full details are given and the informant is given the option to withdraw from the study. None of the interviewed informants requested to have their data destroyed after the purpose disclosure.

Notably the initial section typically contains little or no linguistic input from the informant, whereas the interview-final section is typically informant-led and largely consists of him or her speaking relatively freely, with the interviewer in a secondary role, taking part in the conversation and giving responses but no longer asking questions.

5.1.2 Neutral and Emotive sections

The main part of the interview is divided into two sections: the Neutral section and the Emotive section. The purpose of this division falls back to the problem of defining change in cases where the informant originally spoke so-called Cultivated AusEng, which is very similar to RP in terms of the phonetic characteristics discussed in this study.

The first (Neutral) section contains questions predominately to do with the informant's life in Finland, such as *"Whom do you live with?"* and *"What is your educational background?"* These questions are important not only in terms of acquiring recorded data of the informant's typical pronunciation, but also for the purposes of collecting information about the informant's background and history for the analysis of extralinguistic variables present. Questions that invited the informant to talk at length about his or her personal or professional life were considered to be particularly useful due to the high frequency of "I" and "they" in the responses, providing plenty of instances of /aɪ/ and /eɪ/ realisations, respectively.

In his study of the Northern Cities Shift in the United States, Matthew Gordon (2001) noted that his informants used a more non-standard variant when discussing their childhood or the (nostalgic) past in general. In an attempt to recreate an informant's former pronunciation style as far as possible, the second half of the present interview includes questions such as *"Do you still call Australia home?"*[10] and *"What do you miss most about back home?"*, designed to trigger an emotional, nostalgic response and therefore potentially more non-standard pronunciation. William Labov's classic "danger of death" type question (see Labov 1966, 70-71), which as such was not appropriate for this particular interview context, was implemented in the question *"Have you ever had a real desperation moment when you've been ready to get on the next flight to Australia?"*. Careful attention was paid to the timing and relative placement of this question in the interview, as Labov has noted that careless presentation and placement of the question can produce less than desirable results (1966, 93).

The data derived from this part of the interview is then analysed and compared to the data derived from the Neutral section with the expectation that the latter part would produce more non-standard realisations.

5.1.3 Word list

After the second interview section, a short word list is presented to the informant. The list consists of twelve words, four for each diphthong or long vowel being studied. The words included are as follows:

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[10] There is a well-known song called "I Still Call Australia Home" that is popular among Australians, especially Australian expats, and is likely to produce nostalgic or patriotic feelings, which was the purpose of this reference.

/eɪ/	/aɪ/	/iː/
FACE	ICE	STREAM
PLAY	LIKE	DEEP
SALE	MILE	CHEESE
BAKER	HIGH	KNEE

The words are communicated to the informant in the Skype text chat window opened side by side with the call (both parties can type text into the chat window and see it while they are in a call). Once the informant finishes reading a word, the next word is typed in and sent to him or her. The purpose of this is twofold: first, to ensure that the interviewer's pronunciation has no influence on that of the informant in terms of these particular words – in essence, to avoid automatic imitation (also see 5.3.2 Linguistic accommodation); and secondly, to help the informant concentrate on each individual word instead of glancing at the following words to determine what the pattern of the words is and therefore what is expected of the informant. The words are presented to the informant in a random order, mixing words from each phonetic category. Once randomised, the same order of words is applied to all informants for consistency; see Appendix 1 for the sequence used.

The word list section represents careful speech that is expected to be closer to standard pronunciation than the previous interview sections, particularly the Emotive section immediately preceding. Indeed, the purpose of this section is to provide data of the most careful style the informant uses in contrast of the most non-standard style produced by the Emotive section.

It can be expected that the informant comes to the conclusion at this point that the focus of the study is indeed his or her pronunciation. However, as the word list represents the end of the formal interview, this is not an issue in terms of the data collected.

5.1.4 Length of interview

In the literature of sociolinguistic study, many opinions exist regarding the sufficient length of a research interview. The interview length not only determines the quantity of data available, but it may also adversely affect the willingness of the informants to be interviewed, as well as the time resources required to complete the target number of interviews. Lesley Milroy and Matthew Gordon (2003, 58) suggest that 20 to 30 minutes is sufficient to obtain useful phonetic data. Using this as a guide, the target length of each interview was set at 30 minutes, including the initial and final informative sections.

The lengths of the twenty interviews completed range from 18 minutes and 12 seconds[11] to 39 minutes and 13 seconds, with a mean length of 29 minutes and 6 seconds. Although not sufficient for an in-depth analysis of each informant's specific speech characteristics, the amount of data represented provides enough information for the purposes of this study.

5.2 Technical environment

The interviews are conducted via the Skype VoIP (Voice over Internet Protocol) telephony application (version 3.8.0.115 at the interviewer's end) over the Internet. Both Skype-to-Skype and Skype-to-telephone (so-called "SkypeOut") calls are possible, however only the former are used in this study.

VoIP technology transmits audio data over the broadband internet connection at high speed, providing a high-bitrate audio feed. Both the interviewer and the informant wear headsets consisting of headphones and a microphone held close to the mouth. Because of these two factors, the audio material captured is generally of superior quality

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[11] The shortest interview did not include the final informative section as two people were interviewed consecutively and they chose not to have the same information repeated to them. Instead, they both took part in the final section of the second interview.

compared to that recorded by a dictation machine, for example. Some Skype-specific issues experienced during the interviews are discussed in section 5.3.3.

In addition to the Skype software, which does not have a native recording feature, the recording application PowerGramo Basic (version 4.8.0.26) is used. This application begins recording a Skype conversation automatically at the beginning of the call and also stops automatically at the end, therefore all interviews are recorded in full with no human error to be considered. The recording software records the calls in .wav format. Before phonetic analysis, the sound files are converted to .mp3 format at a CPR (Constant Bitrate) of 128 kbps.

5.3 Issues with the interviewing method

Certain issues must be taken into account when conducting research interviews such as those described in this chapter. The three main questions in this particular study include the Observer's Paradox and linguistic accommodation, both of which pertain to a large majority of similar studies, as well as technical issues that are specific to this study.

5.3.1 Observer's Paradox

As defined by William Labov (1972), the Observer's Paradox refers to the problematic relationship between an observer and the observed; in a conventional sociolinguistic interview, one can never observe a subject in a setting in which he or she is not being observed. The awareness of being observed inevitably affects the way the subject acts and speaks, resulting in data that is less than ideal compared to that of natural, unobserved speech.

Although this paradox is difficult to fully overcome unless using ethically questionable methods such as surreptitious recording, it is possible to alleviate its effects.

For example, it could be argued that the Observer's Paradox is somewhat less keenly felt in this study where the fact that the conversation is being recorded is disclosed to the informant but there is no dictating machine to constantly remind the informant of this. As mentioned in 5. Data collection methods, the interview setting of the home as well as "the freedom of invisibility" are likely to lessen the typically formal nature of interview responses.

5.3.2 Short term accommodation in interview

As mentioned in Chapter 2, whenever two people are interacting in a conversation, short-term linguistic accommodation is likely to take place. A research interview is no exception to this rule. Such accommodation occurs when one or both of the participants consciously or subconsciously modify the way they speak to move closer to or further away from the speech of the conversation partner depending on the rapport (or the lack thereof) existing between the two. Obviously this could be a concern in terms of recording a person's "normal" (unaffected) pronunciation.

Although Peter Trudgill (1986, 5) argues that the short-term accommodation in an interview setting applies mostly to the interviewer instead of the interviewee, his theory is not convincing enough to fully dispel the concerns regarding accommodation working in the opposite direction, i.e. the interviewer's pronunciation affecting that of the interviewee. As a consolation, one might say that all students in the field face the same problem: if an informant is to be interviewed, someone has to do the interviewing (and that someone is usually human with human pronunciation)!

When planning the research methods for this particular study, the exclusive use of the Skype text chat function was considered for the purposes of communicating questions to the informant, who would then respond to them orally. This certainly would have solved

the problem, although the novel method may have introduced new issues, such as making the informants ill at ease and self-conscious. This method could, however, be explored in future studies.

In this particular study, it could be argued that the risk of linguistic accommodation on the interviewee's part is perhaps not as high as in other cases. Having resided in both Australia and the United Kingdom, followed by several years in Finland, the interviewer's pronunciation does not fit exclusively into a particular category, providing a comparatively neutral reference point on the AusEng-RP axis.

5.3.3 Technical difficulties

Although the audio quality captured via the Skype telephony application is generally of good quality, the very nature of the computer-assisted interviewing method poses certain technical difficulties. Due to the rapid and continuing advances in the fields of software and hardware development, these issues are likely to become obsolete in the near future and be replaced by others related to future studies.

The main issue experienced during the interviews involves minor breaks in connectivity, causing the audio connection to drop out temporarily. When this happens, one or both of the parties involved cannot hear the other for a length of up to a few seconds, although the call does not end. Although this means that some syllables of an informant's speech may not be recorded, the issue mostly affects the course of the interview, requiring the restarting of questions and answers. This issue affects approximately one half of all interviews at some point.

Other issues experienced to a lesser degree include major connectivity issues (the loss of audio connection followed by the call ending abruptly), the inability to run Skype on a specific computer system, bothersome microphone feedback and poor audio quality

(similar to that in a long-distance telephone conversation). All of these issues can be remedied by changing the software or hardware configuration at the informant's end, for example by connecting to the Internet via a wired connection instead of a wireless one, or using a headset instead of a microphone and speakers.

It appears as though one of the main problems with computer-assisted interviewing lies in the inability of the interviewer to control the informant's computer hardware and software configuration. Issues such as operating system incompatibility or faulty hardware are difficult to overcome from a distance.

6. Informants

In this section we shall discuss the procedure of sampling informants for the study and the decisions and difficulties that were met during this process. At the end of the section we will briefly consider the representativeness of the sourced informants.

Twenty interviews were completed for this study. Of the twenty informants interviewed, eleven are male and nine are female. All except three live in the Greater Helsinki area. The age of the informants at the time of the interviews varied between 24 and 61, with a mean age of 34.8 years.

6.1 Sampling criteria

According to the Finnish Immigration Service, at the end of the year 2009 there were 473 Australian citizens living permanently in Finland[12]. Because of the relatively small initial pool of potential informants, no further sampling (random or otherwise) was applicable. Rather, all available informants bar those that fell outside the suitability framework (see below) were interviewed.

Certain criteria were applied when sourcing informants to be interviewed.

1. English as the informant's first language. Informants with a bilingual background were accepted for interview in cases where English was the language primarily spoken at home. In such cases, the second language of the informant was noted during the interview.

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[12] Source: Finnish Immigration Service. "Foreign citizens living permanently in Finland, 31 Dec. 2009", PDF document available online at http://www.migri.fi/download.asp?id=Foreign+citizens+in+Finland+2009;1882;{596A4B32-E70C-440D-AC0F-BCF3FD7B67EB} Accessed 16 May 2011.

2. Citizenship by birth, i.e. the informant was born in Australia. The purpose of this criterion was to exclude those who only acquired Australian citizenship later in life after migrating from another country. Cases in which the informant moved to Australia early in life (at age 5 or younger) were also accepted, as they clearly fulfil the requirement of complete integration as set by William Labov (1972, 138), who argues that children younger than eight are likely to accommodate completely into the new speech community.

3. Residency of a minimum of one year in Finland immediately preceding the interview. A shorter residency might mean that not enough socially interactive exposure to non-native English speakers had been acquired to cause accommodation. Peter Trudgill's 1986 study of British English speakers in United States (see section 2.3) indicated that one year of exposure is sufficient to introduce changes in speech.

4. No considerable lengths of time spent in other English-speaking countries prior to moving to Finland. "Considerable length of time" here is taken to mean longer than the length of time spent in Finland since such residence. For example, had a person spent four years in the United Kingdom followed by two years in Finland, he or she would not have been a suitable candidate for this study. However, had said person spent *six* years in Finland, he or she would have been deemed suitable and would have been interviewed. In such cases, it could be argued that whatever effect the previous residency in another English-speaking country had had on the informant's pronunciation, it would have been sufficiently altered for the purposes of this study by the following residency in Finland.

The purpose of these criteria was to minimise the effect of unexpected variation in the informants' pronunciation caused by languages other than Australian English, Finnish and the English spoken in Finland.

6.2 Informant incentives

Because of the small initial pool of potential informants and the relatively high number of informants desired of this pool, a tangible incentive was considered to be useful if not necessary in sourcing the required number of informants. As an incentive to partake in the study, each informant was given a complimentary packet of Arnott's Tim Tams chocolate biscuits. This particular item was chosen because these traditionally Australian biscuits are not available in Finland and, by extension, they are something that most expatriate Australians in Finland would be interested in receiving, if only for nostalgia reasons. The biscuits were purchased in bulk from a British supplier and represent a value of 4.18€ per packet. Such an incentive is not considered to represent a factor affecting the informant's bias at interview.

In addition to this, the interview was made as convenient for the interviewee as possible to secure the largest possible number of participants. The convenience factors are discussed in more detail in section 5 above.

6.3 Sourcing methods

Informants for the study were sourced via three main channels: social/sports networks, mainly on the Internet; a public poster placed at "the Aussie Bar" in Helsinki; and personal nominations ("snowball sampling").

6.3.1 Social and sports networks

By far the most fruitful channel for finding informants was posting a message on the FinnANZACS mailing list, a social channel for people from Australia and New Zealand living in the Greater Helsinki area of Finland. The group is relatively new, having only been formed in 2007. Out of the twenty interviews completed for the study, thirteen were sourced via the FinnANZACS mailing list.

The interview request message was also sent to representatives of the FAFL (Finnish Australian Football League), HRC (Helsinki Rugby Club) and FCA (Finnish Cricket Association) with a request to pass the message on to their applicable members as their mailing lists/communication channels are not open to non-members. One of the interviews was sourced this way via the FCA mailing list. The interview request message was also posted on the Rugby Finland internet forum. This yielded one lead, which unfortunately did not lead to an interview. An attempt was made to also post the message on the internet forum of the English Speakers' Association of Helsinki but this was not authorised by the forum administration.

6.3.2 The Aussie Bar

Two A4-size advertisements requesting interested informants to contact the author for interview were placed at The Aussie Bar in Helsinki. The establishment is popular with the local Australian population and employs principally Australian and New Zealander staff. Unfortunately this sourcing method yielded surprising results: only two potential informants made contact after seeing the notices, both of whom turned out to be unsuitable for the study (the criteria of Australian citizenship by birth and/or time spent in Finland not met).

Such a lack of responses came as a surprise as this was intended as a major informant sourcing method. Judging from the large number of contact detail tabs ripped off the posters after the first few weeks of display, the problem clearly was not the lack of interest. It is more likely that potential informants saw the notice, became interested, and removed a tab with the author's contact details only to forget all about it later on. Naturally such public and anonymous interview requests are impossible to follow up on.

6.3.3 Snowball sampling

At the end of each completed interview, the informant is asked if he or she knows other Australians in Finland who might be interested in being interviewed for the study. Lesley Milroy and Matthew Gordon (2003, 32) refer to this method of tapping into informants' social networks as "snowball sampling". They argue that such a sampling method is particularly useful in reducing the rate of informants declining to partake, which was a concern in the present study.

Approximately one in three informants in this study said they knew someone who is or might be suitable, however only three such leads led to an interview. The main issue here is the small social circle particularly within the FinnANZACS group; most of the nominated individuals were informants that had already been interviewed. Several informants also commented on the rather noticeable emigration in the immediately previous few years of Australians who had formerly lived in the Greater Helsinki area. This is exemplified by the fact that several of the former "core" members of the FinnANZACS group had left Finland in the months preceding the interviewing period and the formerly active group has largely gone unmanaged and has been inactive since January 2009.

6.3.4 Incidental sourcing

In addition to the sampling methods mentioned above, several informants were sourced via incidental sourcing. This umbrella term covers personal contacts not included under snowball sampling as well as proactive informant sourcing on the internet, for example on social networking sites and discussion forums for foreigners in Finland and their spouses. In these cases, interview requests were sent directly to particular individuals that were deemed to fit the criteria set for the informants of the study.

This type of direct and proactive sourcing yielded good results, as all three informants sourced this way were interested in being interviewed and also fit the criteria. However, this was also by far the slowest and the most laborious of the sourcing methods. Finding potential informants required many hours of research and in the case of discussion forums, reading discussion threads to collect (mostly non-useful) information. Many times finding a suitable informant this way was dependant on sheer luck. For example, one informant was sourced after the author noticed a discussion board user who mentioned that she had parents-in-law overseas and whose avatar (board icon) was a kangaroo. After exchanging a few messages an interview with the user's Australian fiancé was conducted with great success.

6.4 Representativeness of informants

As mentioned above in section 6.1, the number of Australians living permanently in Finland in 2009 was 473. At the beginning of this study a goal number of informants was set at 50, roughly representing 11% of the Australian population in Finland. However, due to sourcing difficulties mentioned in the previous sections, the number had to be adjusted. The final number of 20 informants represents slightly more than 4% of all Australians living permanently in Finland.

The criteria set for the suitability of informants for the study (see 6.1 Sampling criteria) further decreased the potential pool of informants. The most common criteria that caused potential informants to not qualify for the study were those related to residency, either in Finland or previously in other English-speaking countries. A relatively high number of Australians who voiced interest in being interviewed had resided in Finland for less than a year. It was also common for Australians to have resided particularly in the United Kingdom before having arrived in Finland. Detailed statistical data of all Australians

in Finland is not available, but based on the number of interested parties that did not qualify for interview due to the set criteria, it is estimated that the 20 informants interviewed for the study represent approximately 8-10% of the population pool that would meet the set criteria.

Due to the sourcing methods used, certain population groups are likely to be overrepresented in the sampling, namely Australians living in the Greater Helsinki area (due to the FinnANZACS mailing list), those with many social connections with other Australians (snowball sampling) as well as those using the internet frequently. It could also be argued that lower socio-economic classes are underrepresented in the study as such persons may be unlikely to have the opportunity to move overseas in the first place.

7. Results

While discussing the results yielded by the interviews, we will initially take a brief overall look at overall first impressions produced by the data, followed by more detailed analysis focusing on specific variables present.

The variables of informant age and previous residence in other countries before Finland were considered but these did not provide significant findings.
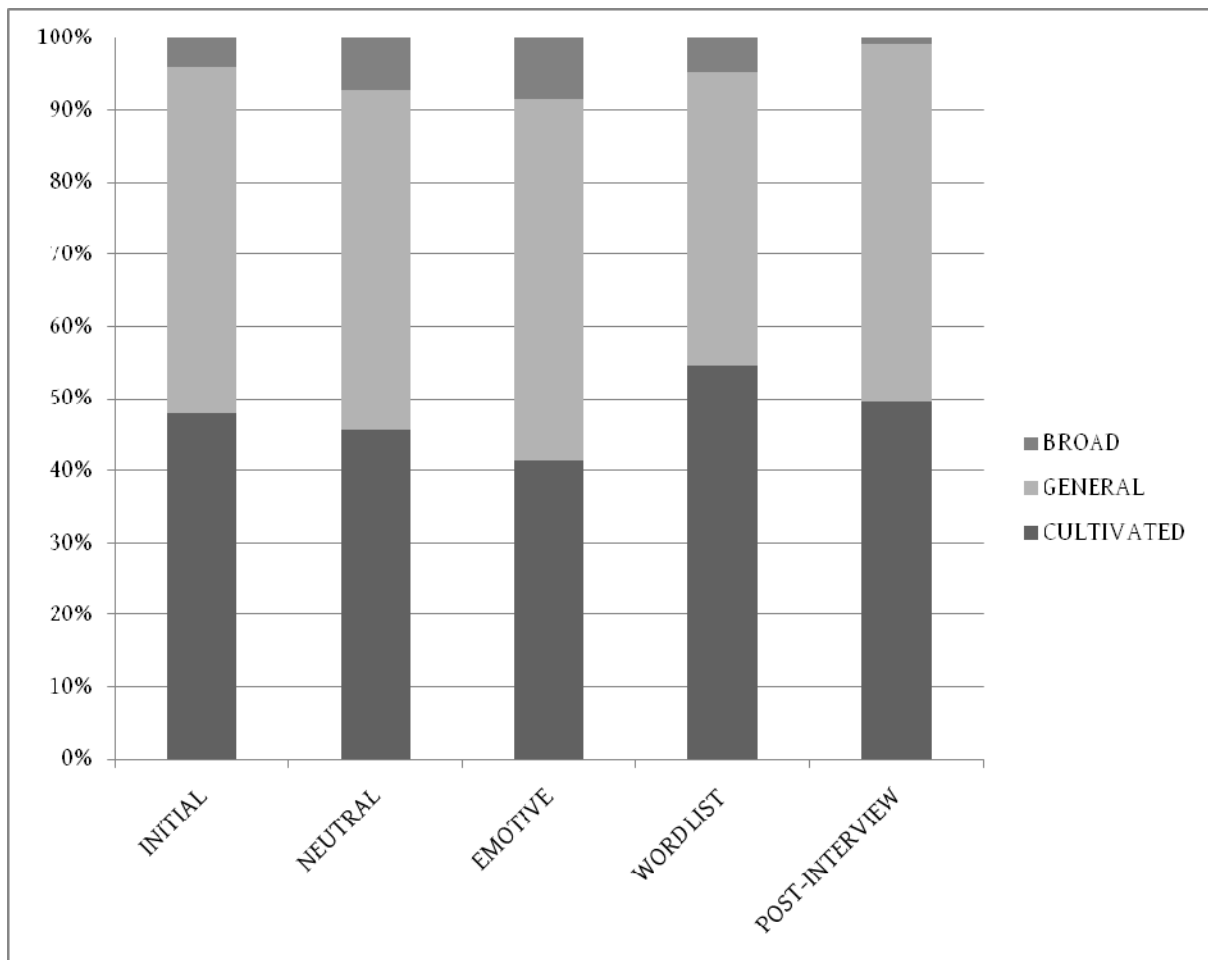
7.1 General first impressions

Chart 1:
Mean variant use by all informants across different interview sections

By looking at Chart 1 we can already see that several of the basic study hypotheses are confirmed: first, that the proportion of Cultivated AusEng usage is greater than anticipated across the field; second, that the level of usage between Cultivated and General (also Broad) AusEng fluctuates between different interview sections as expected, i.e. Cultivated AusEng is used the most in the Word List section and the least in the Emotive section when a nostalgic or emotional response is triggered. This is also the section in which Broad AusEng realisations are produced the most, in fact more frequently than the overall number of assumed Broad AusEng speakers among the informants would call for (see below for discussion regarding anticipated variant speaker figures).

7.2 Variation by socio-economic class

The concept of social class is difficult to define precisely and many schools of thought exist on the criteria to be used (see for example the discussion in Ossowski and Patterson 1998, 38-57). J.K. Chambers calls the notion of social class in sociolinguistics "inherently fuzzy" (2009, 40). Usually socio-economic class definition considers education, income level, occupation, values, traditions, even the area of residence and the education level of the subject's father! For the purposes of this study, emphasis was on education.

Although the informants were not asked to define their own socio-economic class in the interviews – see for example Guillermo Cruces et al. (2011) concerning difficulties with the self-assessment of socio-economic class – questions regarding educational background and current occupation were presented. The socio-economic class system used was as follows:

EDUCATION	OCCUPATION	ASSIGNED CLASS	EXPECTED VARIANT
Secondary	Unskilled labour	Working	Broad
Vocational	Skilled labour	Lower middle	Broad / General
Undergraduate	White collar	Upper middle	General
Postgraduate	Professional	Upper	Cultivated

Naturally, not all informants fell precisely to these specifications; there were informants who held undergraduate-level degrees and whose occupations were classified as "professional" (academic degree required), as well as informats who held vocational school diplomas and worked in unskilled labour. In these cases the closest approximated class assignation was used. Using this system, the pool of 20 informants was divided into the following numbers:

1	working class	Broad	5%
4	lower middle class	Broad / General	20%
11	upper middle class	General	55%
5	upper class	Cultivated	25%

The distribution matches general expectations: upper and lower middle classes form a lion's share of the informants, with working class underrepresented (as discussed above in section 6.4) and upper class overrepresented. Taking these representation issues into account and assuming that lower middle class informats use predominantly Broad AusEng, the socio-economic class distribution is in fact remarkably similar to that in Mitchell and Delbridge's 1965 study, in which 34% of informants were classified as Broad AusEng speakers, 55% General AusEng and 11% Cultivated AusEng (1965, 15).

For the purposes of the study of the pronunciation behaviour related to socio-economic classes, the most interesting cases are to be found at the ends of the class

spectrum. Informants who held a postgraduate university degree *and* whose occupation required academic study were expected to be Cultivated AusEng speakers (cultivation being generally taken to be synonymous with higher education; indeed, the term previously used by Mitchell and Delbridge for this variant was "Educated AusEng"). Conversely, informants whose occupation was in the fields of unskilled or skilled labour and who held either a vocational qualification or no post-secondary qualification at all were expected to be Broad or General AusEng speakers. In the latter case, this assumption was generally correct: in the assumed Broad to Broad / General group, approximately 70% of the speech produced matched these variants. It is interesting to note that even when Broad AusEng was otherwise used, the realisation [əɪ] for /i:/, which we have already established as a marker, was hardly used at all.

Compared to the previous group, the variant use pattern was more uneven in the case of the most highly-educated informants. There were no cases of a so-called cultivated speaker using Cultivated AusEng alone; in all cases a mixture of Cultivated and General (often even including Broad) AusEng was used across both Neutral and Emotive interview sections. Only two informants in the group used Cultivated AusEng more than 50% of the time, and even in these cases the usage level was only barely above 50% (see Chart 3).

Compare informants Mr. J (upper class) and Ms. C (lower working class). Ms. C used Cultivated AusEng 32% of the time, General AusEng 58% of the time and Broad AusEng 10% of the time during the interview. Mr. J's corresponding figures are 41%, 46% and 13%, respectively. Indeed, Mr. J used Broad AusEng *more often* than Ms. C did.
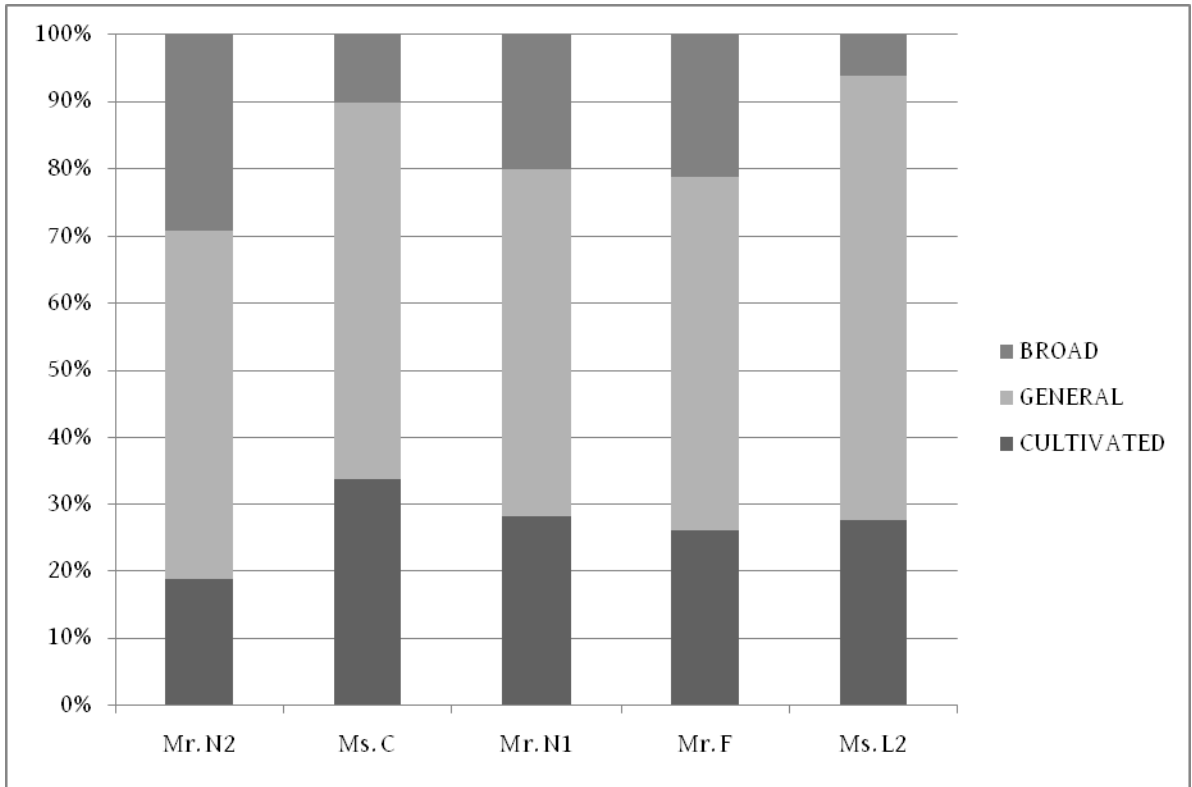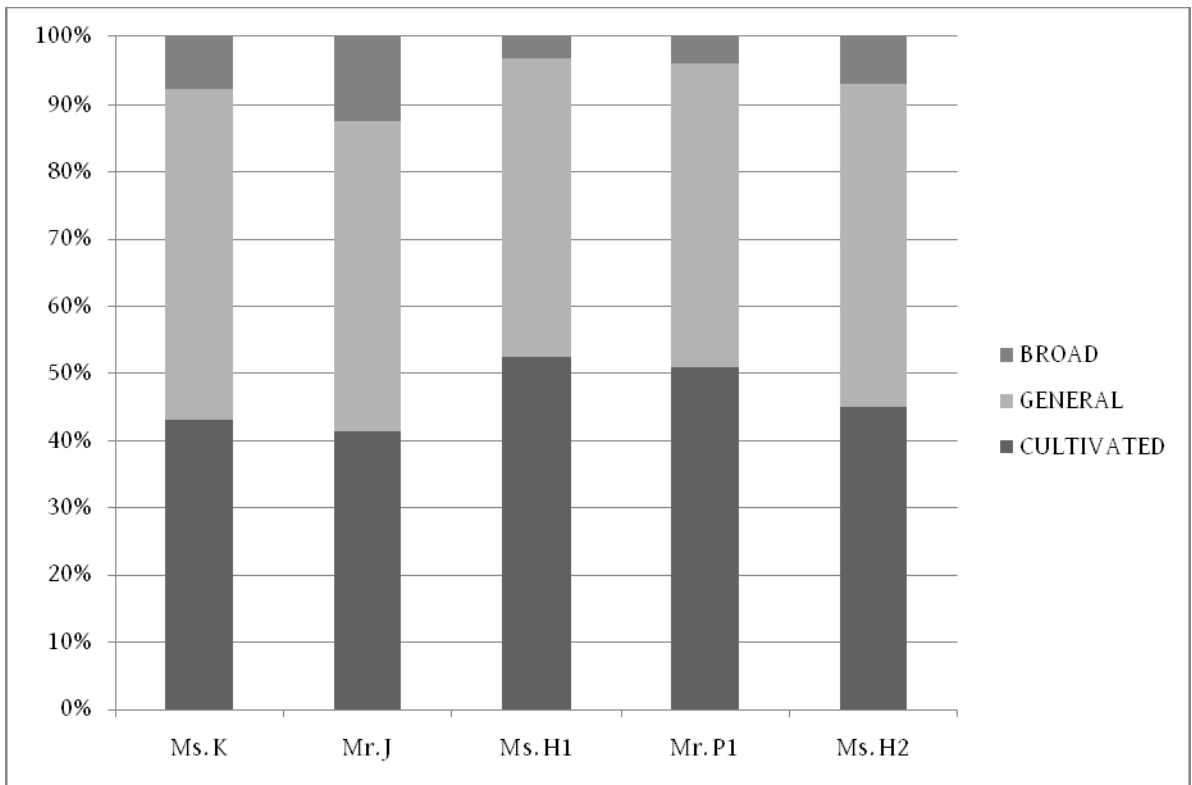
Chart 2:
Actual variant use of working class and lower middle class informants
(expected variant: Broad / General AusEng)

Chart 3 (previous page):
Actual variant use of upper class informants
(expected variant: Cultivated AusEng)

These findings raise a question in terms of the traditionally used Broad/General/Cultivated distinction. What is Cultivated AusEng if real-life "cultivated" Australians choose to speak something else most of the time? The objective of this question not to propose that what is currently known as Cultivated AusEng does not exist, as it certainly does and this is readily apparent from the study results. However, the link between this variant and higher education appears not to be as straightforward as the term suggests. As we have seen, cultivated Australians do not necessarily use Cultivated AusEng. Conversely, it is of course possible (and as we have see, common) for an individual to use this variant without having acquired any kind of further education. In British English the term Received Pronunciation does not explicitly refer to a high level of education (or indeed any socio-economic class criteria). A similar new term for what is currently known as Cultivated AusEng would be in order. Examples that spring to mind include "Prestige AusEng", "Standard AusEng" or even "Careful AusEng". All these terms reflect the modern-day nature of the variant more accurately than the current terminology.

An alternative theory for the wide variety of AusEng variants spoken by highly educated speakers involves the "broadening" of speech as a method of strengthening one's national identity in the face of the fragmented cultural experience of immigrating to another country that might feel linguistically inaccessible (the majority of informants reported that their Finnish skills were basic or intermediate; only two said they do not primarily try to use English when dealing with local people).

> Individuals may view regional accents and the use of non-standard class dialect as an important marker of regional, group and class identity and may be reluctant to use more prestige forms of speech even though they could. (Hill et al. 2008, 107)

7.2.1 The end of the "Cultural Cringe"

It is also worth noting that a great change has occured in the attitudes towards non-standard AusEng pronunciation between Mitchell and Delbridge's 1965 study (and the subsequent definition of Cultivated AusEng) and today. Pre-1960's the RP-like variant (and indeed RP itself) enjoyed overt prestige; for example the Australian Broadcasting Corporation only employed British RP radio announcers until the end of the 1960's (Momma and Matto 2009, 391).

Such political choices seem peculiar to most modern-day readers[13]. They are symptomatic of the phenomenon known as "the cultural cringe"; the assumption made by Australians themselves of earlier generations that RP was naturally and obviously better and more prestigious than AusEng. Jennifer Jenkins points out that even Cultivated AusEng was considered non-standard English until the 1970's, much like the so-called Outer Circle Englishes of today, such as the Englishes spoken in Nigeria and Singapore (Jenkins 2009, 37). David Bradley and Maya Bradley's study (2000) found that the attitudes of interviewed Australian informants towards AusEng in comparison to British or American English became more favourable between 1980 and 1995 when the same informants were reinterviewed. It can be argued that since the 1980's the use of the more non-standard variants of AusEng has become more socially acceptable, with Cultivated AusEng (or RP) no longer being the only obvious choice to aspire to and use without being stigmatised. Today, British RP TV or radio announcers in Australia would likely be met with disbelief and annoyance. Perhaps it is therefore not surprising that the highly-educated AusEng speakers of this study felt comfortable switching across the Cultivated/General/Broad continuum. This is in stark contrast to the attitudes in 1965 when Mitchell and Delbridge were among

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[13] Yet how much have we actually progressed in terms of assigning prestige to non-RP or non-American Englishes? Indian English for instance seems to be suffering from similar attitudes today as AusEng did decades ago.

the first to even suggest that AusEng was anything more than poorly spoken British English (Delbridge 2001, 311). In such a cultural context the chosen terminology – which Peter Trudgill calls "rather unfortunate" (Trudgill 2002, 173) – was understandable, but since then it has clearly become outdated, as has been demonstrated.

7.2.2 American English influence and socio-economic class

As mentioned in section 4.2 of this study, the method of tracking the potential influence of American English (or careful English pronunciation by native Finnish speakers as suggested in section 3.2) on the speech accommodation of the interviewed informants was to take note of any rhoticity in the non-prevocalic /r/ sound, the absence of which in normal modern AusEng across the socio-economic variant spectrum has been established.

In all socio-economic groups interviewed, rhoticity was rare – two out of twenty informants produced a rhotic non-prevocalic /r/ sound one or two times during the entire interview. However, it was notable that of the few instances of rhotic pronunciation, all occured in the speech of working class or lower middle class speakers of General or Broad AusEng.

One explanation for this could be that American English influences such as rhoticity are potentially more widely present in the speech of lower middle or working class Finnish speakers of English who did not and do not pursue further academic interests and therefore are more likely to be exposed to American English than to British English (see the discussion on American English vs. British English, entertainment vs. education in section 3.2). AusEng speakers of lower middle and working classes might be more likely to socialise with Finns of similar vocational and educational backgrounds and thus be exposed to (and accommodate to) rhotic non-prevocalic /r/ pronunciation. However, due to the small

numbers of incidences of rhoticity as well as of lower middle and working class members partaking in the study overall, such generalisations are theories at best.

Another theory is based on the findings of Peter Trudgill and Elizabeth Gordon (2006), in which they argue that unlike previously assumed in linguistic literature, the English used by the European settlers of Australia (and New Zealand) had *not* yet lost rhoticity, although the process of change was already ongoing:

> The evidence is that, far from non-rhoticity being brought to Australia, it was actually rhoticity that arrived; and that the sound change involving loss of rhoticity did not go to total linguistic and society-wide completion until about 1900 in terms of birthdates of speakers. (Trudgill and Gordon 2006, 240)

This theory does not dispute the established observation that modern AusEng generally speaking has been non-rhotic for several generations. However, it is not impossible that in individual families or local communities rhoticity has survived, especially if the cultural background of the group is Irish or Scottish, where the English language has traditionally been predominantly rhotic.

The interview structure included questions regarding the cultural background of the informant. The rhoticity theory invited a revisit of the recordings to observe any similarities between the two informants that had produced rhotic /r/ sounds or indeed, Irish or Scottish cultural background. However, none were confirmed. One of the partially rhotic informants had German and Dutch cultural heritage, whereas the other was unsure but supposed that the family was English. It seems plausible to assume that in cases where the cultural background of the family or community was so strong that rhoticity had been preserved for generations in an otherwise nonrhotic society, the individual involved would be aware of such cultural heritage.

7.3 Variation by length of residency in Finland

The main hypothesis of this study suggested that due to the process of speech accommodation toward Finnish non-native English-speakers, AusEng speakers would develop more RP-like characteristics in their speech during their residency in Finland (the speech of Broad AusEng speakers would approach General AusEng, while General AusEng speakers would approach Cultivated AusEng and Cultivated AusEng speakers RP). The longer the residency, the greater the hypothesised change.

Since no pre-immigration speech data of the informants is available, certain assumptions must be made to indicate the degree of change that has (or has not) taken place. The "quantum leap" instrument in use here is the Emotive part of the interview (see section 5.1.2) where an emotional (nostalgic, excited or angry) response is purposefully triggered to coax speech that is less carefully constructed than usual and that potentially gives indication of the informant's speech variant before arriving in Finland.

The initial overview of the average speech data (see section 7.1) suggested that the emotional trigger tactic had been successful: the standard variant (Cultivated AusEng) had been used less and the most non-standard variant (Broad AusEng) had been used more than in other interview sections.

The method used for measuring change between the Emotive and Neutral interview section involves comparing the percentage of non-standard (other than Cultivated AusEng) speech used by the informant in the Emotive section to that of the Neutral section immediately preceding. The greater the difference between the two figures, the greater the change between the informant's current and original variant.

The data was aggregated into two-year periods to make the long-term trends more easily apparent. According to the interview data, there is little accommodation in the first few years of residence. However, in years 2-4 a noticeable difference appears in the non-standard language use in Emotive vs. Neutral interview sections (the percentage of non-standard variant used in the Emotive section is more than 7% greater than that used in Neutral interview, suggesting that the informant's variant use changed noticeably between the sections from standard to non-standard). The level remains relatively constant for some years before dropping slightly at years 8-10 and significantly at years 10-12. There was no research data available for 12-14-year residence, therefore the lack of data should not be interpreted as a zero value. At 14-16 years the difference level peaks again.
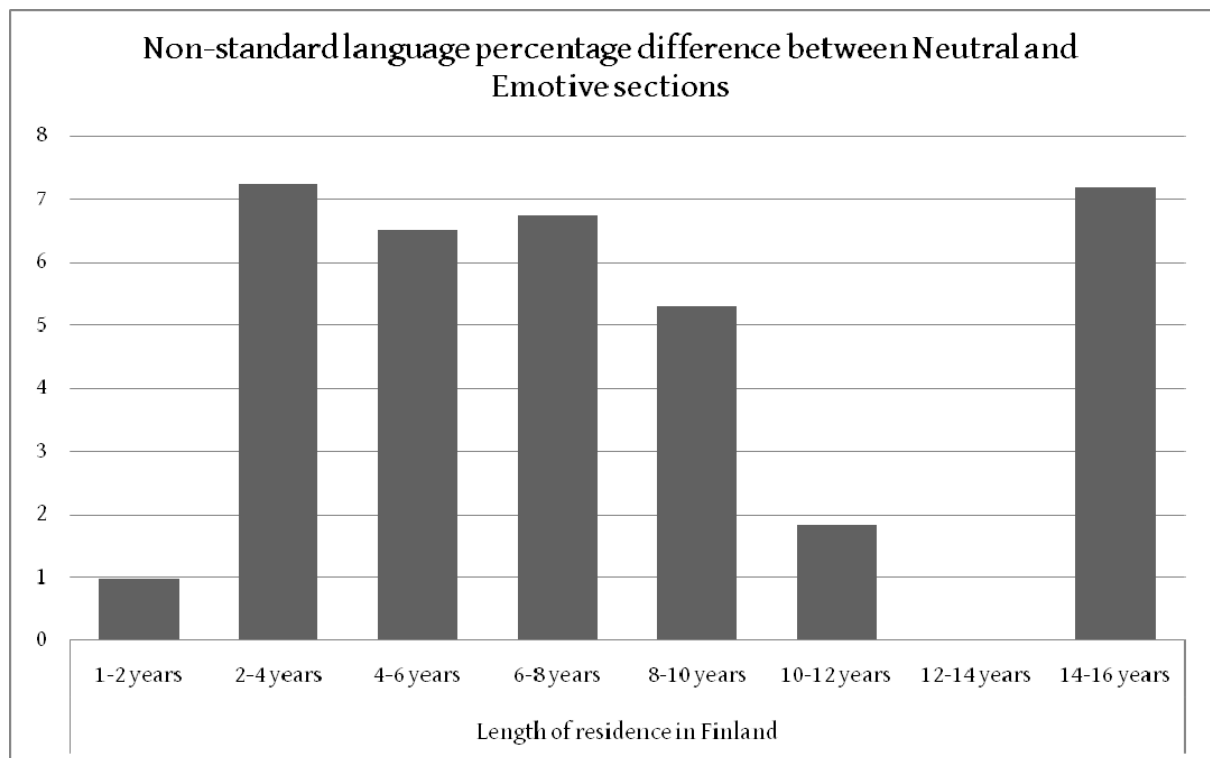

Chart 4:
Figures indicating differences in the percentages of non-standard speech in the Neutral and Emotive sections, measured at various lengths of residency

The findings here are rather contradictory with the original hypothesis of accommodation levels growing as the length of residence becomes longer. However, the data may deceive at first sight. During the post-interview chat section, having learnt the true research subject at hand, several informants commented on how they have begun to forget how to be Australian. One particular informant worded it well:

> Of course, in my head I know that I'm an Australian, but I don't know how Australian I am anymore [...]. Every year my accent fades more.
> (Informant, resident in Finland for 2.5 years at the time of the interview)

It is therefore possible that instead of stopping to accommodate after some years in Finland, which is one way to interpret the findings above, an AusEng speaker's speech may simply have changed so completely that even the trusty "danger of death" question cannot bring back the original variant. After all, the chart above and the data that it is based on only track immediate changes happening in the interview setting.

It is notable that in all groups, a difference was observed between the Neutral and Emotive sections so that the second involved more non-standard language. Therefore some change across the board has clearly taken place – if no change was present, the level of standard and non-standard speech use would be the same in both sections and the percentage difference in Chart 4 would be nil. However, the length of residence appears not to be directly linked to the extent of the change.

We will discuss the hypothesis and its relationship to the present results in more detail in section 8.1.

7.4 Variation by gender

> Much of the evidence we have for gender differences in English has come from some of the sociolinguistic research carried out in Britain and America . . . but we also have evidence from Australia. . . . The sets of data these surveys have provided have one extremely striking feature in common. In all the cases examined, it has been shown that, allowing for other factors such as social class, ethnic group and age, women on average use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men. . . . In other words, female speakers of English . . . tend to use linguistic forms which are considered to be 'better' than male forms. (Trudgill 2000, 70)

This finding has been echoed in much of sociolinguistic literature (see for instance Gordon 1997). It could be expected, then, that the results of the present study reflect this widely observed tendency and that the speech of the female informants approaches Cultivated AusEng/RP to a greater degree than that of the male informants.

To test this observation, one male and one female informant was chosen from each socio-economic class[14]. Care was taken to ensure that both male and female informant had the same educational, occupational and language use (English used at home/work/socially) background; if there were more than one female or male with the required background, the choice was fairly random, usually the first suitable informant on the alphabeticised list. All variant realisations for each informant were noted, calculated and totalled together. For better representativeness beyond anecdotal level, the mean figure of variant realisations for all female and all male informants (including those chosen as specific samples) was calculated as well.

As is apparent from Chart 5, this simple test confirms the observation presented by Trudgill above. In each of the samples across all socio-economic classes, including the mean figure of all informants, the percentage of Cultivated AusEng use is noticeably higher for the female informant compared to the equivalent male informant. In each of the sampled

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[14] With the exception of the working class as there were no female informants available.

socio-economic classes the use of Broad AusEng is considerably higher in males; up to twice as high as in females, as can be observed from Chart 5. In case of the upper middle class samples, the difference in the use of Broad AusEng is small, but on the other hand the difference in the use of Cultivated AusEng is considerable.

The difference in the use of non-standard between the genders is particularly dramatic in the sample representing the lower middle class. Here the lesser use of the stigmatised variant (Broad AusEng) and the greater use of the prestigious variant (Cultivated AusEng) by the female informant in comparison to the male is in line with the observed role of women in introducing linguistic change to society (ibid.), as well as the upward socio-economic mobility aspirations of the lower middle class.
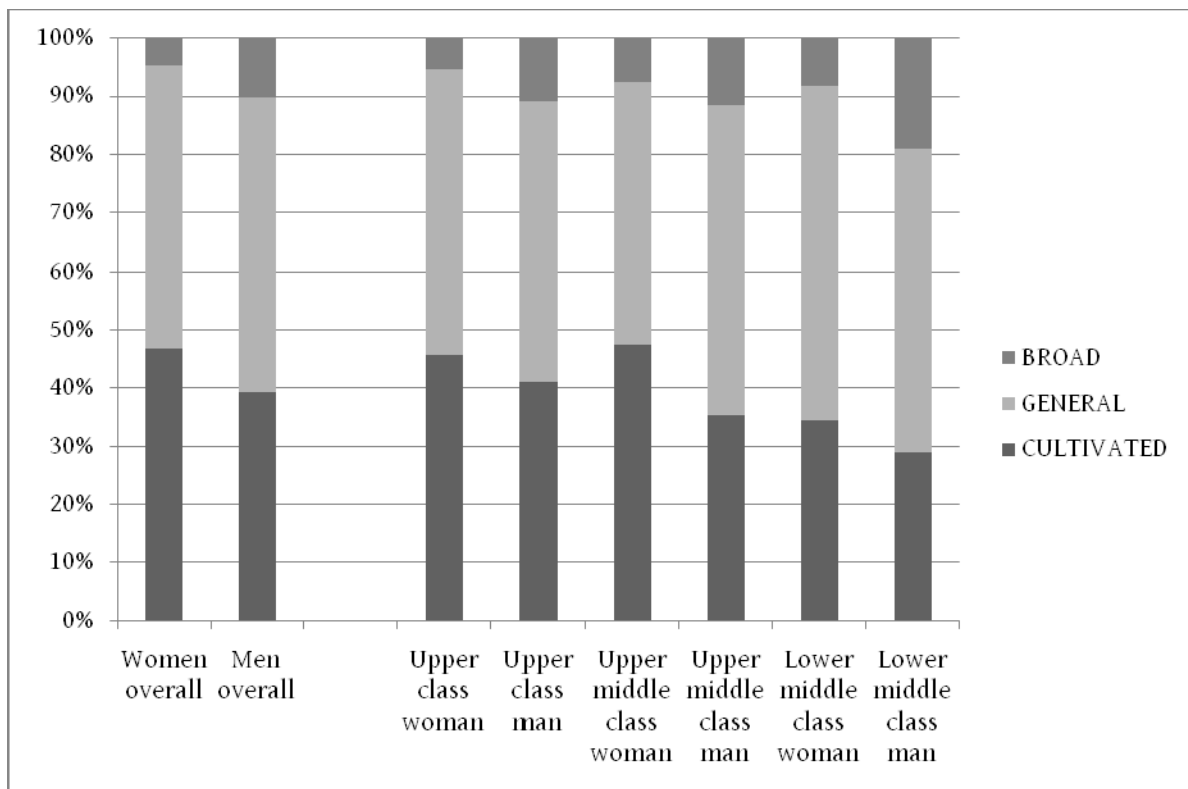
Chart 5: Random male and female sample from each socio-economic class and the average variant usage of all women and all men interviewed

7.5 Variation by phoneme

When studying the changes in variant usage between different phonemes involved in this study, it becomes apparent that not all phonemes change at the same rate. In his study of British English speakers in the United States (1986, 14-21), Trudgill found that they adopted the unrounded /ɒ/ sound quickly due to the risk of confusion in communication. Trudgill mentions the specific example of "Barb" vs. "Bob", both pronounced [bɑb] by British and American English speakers respectively.

The communicative issue is likely to be significant also in the speech of AusEng speakers in Finland. According to Giles' CAT, sounds particularly susceptible to change are those that interfere with efficient communication. In the case of communicating with Finnish non-native speakers of English, these sounds are the ones that most differ from RP: [ʌɪ] (General) or [ʌːɪ] (Broad) for /eɪ/ and [əɪ] (Broad) for /iː/. On the other hand, the most non-standard AusEng realisation of /aɪ/, [ɒːɪ] (Broad), is not likely to hinder communication and therefore is not a prime candidate for accommodation.

The interview data appears to support this theory; the usage of the Broad AusEng realisation of /aɪ/ remains remarkably constant across both Neutral and Emotive sections, suggesting little accomodative change. In contrast, the Broad realisation [ʌːɪ] and General [ʌɪ] for /eɪ/ are used significantly more in the Emotive section compared to the Neutral section. In the latter, the most RP-like realisation (Cultivated AusEng) is used approximately 57% of the time. In comparison to the /aɪ/ realisations where little change has taken place and indeed there is little communicative cause to catalyse such a change, there clearly is a communicative reason for the /eɪ/ sound to remain RP-like. The level of Cultivated AusEng usage is highest with this sound.

The picture of /i:/ realisations is not quite as dramatic. The [əɪ] realisation is little used in both Neutral and Emotive sections, although the usage is slightly higher in the latter. The reason behind this unpopularity is most probably the stigma associated with this particular realisation: as noted before, it fulfils the criteria of a marker (see page 7). As such it is quite possible that the small usage level of the stigmatised realisation is simply the result of continuous and even conscious accommodation away from it (Cultivated/General realisation was used more than 95% of the time in both Neutral and Emotive sections; the percentage was even higher in the Word List section of the interview).

Although the use of non-standard AusEng has been largely destigmatised since the mid-1900's as discussed in section 7.2.1, Broad AusEng still carries a stigma and the [əɪ] sound is one of the most stigmatised characteristics of all. Due to this, speakers who are happy to use Broad AusEng realisations for /eɪ/ and /aɪ/ might shy away from using the same for /i:/.
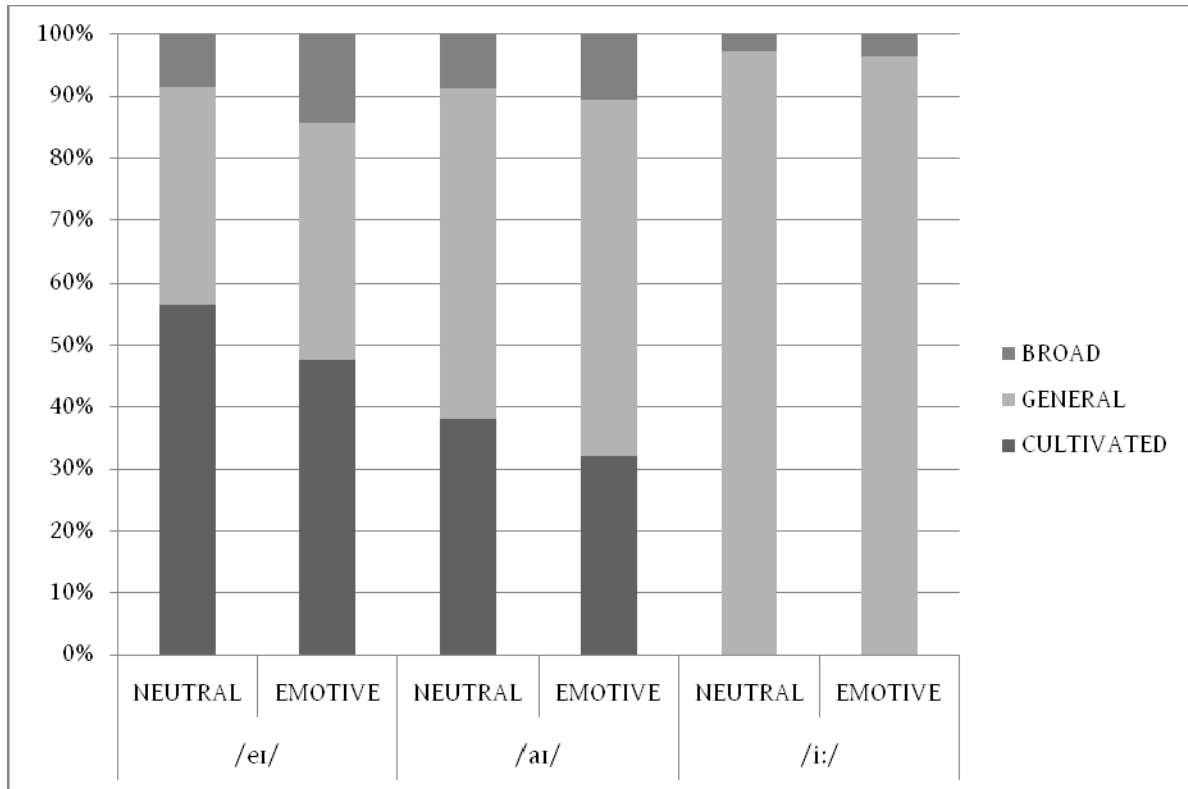
Chart 6: Variant use by phoneme in Neutral and Emotive sections
[iː] realisations for /iː/ have been marked as General AusEng for clarity

The sound change pattern confirms the hypothesis of accommodation in sounds that place effective communication between native and non-native speakers at risk. The evidence from the interview data indicates that accommodative change has taken and does take place in the speech of AusEng speakers in Finland.

8. Discussion

In this section we will discuss the results presented in section 7 and their significance or insignificance in terms of the original hypothesis. We will also evaluate the method used in this study and make suggestions for future research topics and methods.

8.1 Evaluation of hypothesis

As mentioned in section 7.3, the research results do not support the original hypothesis of greater accommodative change in the speech of AusEng speakers linked to greater length of residence in Finland. However, the author is not quite prepared to abandon the hypothesis completely.

There is strong anecdotal evidence for the hypothesis, including among individuals known personally to the author that were not available or able to be interviewed for this study. As mentioned previously, when revealing the research question at the end of the interview, many of the interviewed informants also recognised the phenomenon and were keen to learn about the results once the study was complete. A few informants noted that they themselves had not observed changes in their own speech, but whenever they visit Australia, other Australians comment on the change. It is unlikely for such frequent observations to be completely unfounded.

Perhaps the primary cause for the conflict between anecdotal observation and the results indicated by the data collected in this study is the difficulty in determining exactly how much an informant's speech has changed without concrete evidence available of his or her speech before any accommodation has taken place. This study was conducted under the assumption that the language variant used by the informant would at very least roughly follow his or her socio-economic class, and that change could be determined in

relation to the variant used vs. the variant that the informant "should" use based on his or her education and occupational information. However, as we discovered in section 7.2, this is not a reliable indication particularly in the case of highly-educated individuals whose speech contained unexpected variation between Cultivated, General and Broad AusEng. The small sample set used for this study is also problematic in terms of the generalisation of results.

Additionally, the general direction of the hypothesis might be correct, but the variable in direct proportion to the accommodation level may not be the length of residence but rather the extent of exposure to English-speaking (or even Finnish-speaking) Finns. Language exposure information was recorded in the interview but mainly on a Yes/No basis, i.e. *"Do you speak Finnish at home (/work)?"*. Therefore both a person who speaks Finnish at work 5 per cent of the time would be marked in the affirmative along with a person who *only* uses Finnish at work – of which there were two among the informants. Detailed analysis based on this information is therefore difficult.

In section 7.5 we presented an argument that accommodation does take place in the speech of AusEng speakers in Finland. It is implausible for such changes to be reversed over a period time where other circumstances (such as the speech community) remain constant – once accommodative changes have begun to take place, it is more likely that they will remain constant if not become more prevalent.

It is possible and, based on the afore-mentioned evidence, arguably even likely that the hypothesis would be confirmed under different study conditions (i.e. if data of original variant use for each informant was available for comparison) and using a larger sample set.

8.2 Evaluation of the method used

The technical and theoretical problems involved in the sociolinguistic interview method have already been discussed in detail in section 5.3 and therefore need not be repeated here.

As a method of collecting and recording information, using the computer applications introduced in section 5.2 turned out to be very successful. In the ideal environment (informant wearing a headset with a microphone, using a stable wired broadband internet connection) the sound quality of the recordings was exceptionally good compared to conventional telephone or dictation machine recordings. The common recording issues of background noise and the placement of the microphone too far from the informant's mouth were quickly and easily resolved, if present at all. The possibility of human error in starting or ending the recording was also completely eliminated by the method as the recording was created automatically by the software program.

A further commendation for the method comes from the informants who voiced satisfaction with the convenience of the interview; they did not need to leave home or dedicate several hours for the purpose of partaking in the study, nor was travelling called for. In fact, it was theoretically possible to make a spur of the moment decision to become an informant and complete the interview right away (as long as the interviewer was available and online, of course). When asked at the end of the interview whether they would have agreed to be interviewed if utilising the traditional method of a face-to-face meeting and a dictation machine, nearly all informants responded in the negative. This together with the previously established difficulties in sourcing informants suggest that conducting the study would simply not have been possible using the conventional interviewing methods. The "freedom of invisibility" factor of the virtual interview,

mentioned in section 5, produced valuable informal speech from the informants. Although it is impossible to estimate exactly how significant the difference made was and what the level of formality would have been using another method, it is safe to say that the comfortable home environment certainly did not make the informant any more ill at ease or self-conscious than a more conventional face-to-face interview would have done.

The choice of the sound characteristics under study turned out to be both fruitful and laborious. It has already been established that the diphthongs /aɪ/ and /eɪ/ were plentiful in the recorded materials due to the words "I", "my" and "they" and also due to the interview questions that invited the informant to talk about his or her life and opinions at length. In fact, a single 30-minute interview recording could contain more than 250 repeats of the word "I" alone! On one hand, this meant that there was plenty of material for analysis. The flip side is that the analysis process was slow and susceptible to human error due to the large numbers of tokens, especially since the transcription work was done using impressionistic analysis only[15]. All in all, the recorded interviews came to a length of 9 hours and 41 minutes.

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[15] Using the spectrogram analysis method to study AusEng appears to be uncommon at this time and no useful frequency information could be found. Peter Ladefoged (2006) suggests that spectogram analysis is currently only useful for the study of American and British English, for which frequency information is readily available.

8.3 Recommendations for future research

There is currently little research done in the field of dialect contact accommodation between native and non-native speakers of English. The author encourages further work in the area, including research that observes changes taking place in the speech of non-native English speakers.

In terms of the particular research question presented in this study, repeat research is recommended with a larger number of informants and using actual historical speech data for each informant where possible. The role of exposure to the Finnish language in the extent of accommodative changes also merits further study.

One useful method of securing historical speech data would be by making use of so-called podcasts (spoken "radio programmes" recorded by individuals and published on the internet) where available. Should podcasting increase in popularity in the future, such recordings would provide excellent historical speech data recorded in premium sound quality.

Further use of the described interviewing and recording method is encouraged to improve both the quality of the recordings and the number of informants available for interview. The suggestion in section 5.3.2 of using a text prompt to communicate the interviewer's words to prevent short term accommodation during the interview also merits further consideration. Any technical issues observed in section 5.3 are likely to be remedied by future advances in networking and electronics technology and should not discourage use.

9. Conclusion

The purpose of this thesis was to study the long term changes taking place in the speech of Australian English speakers when living and interacting with non-native English speakers in Finland. The main hypothesis stated that the speech of AusEng speakers would approach RP in direct propotion to the length of the residence in Finland. The speech of non-native English speakers in Finland was believed to be similar to RP due to the prestige of RP in the Finnish education system, the close proximity of the United Kingdom and the free movement of people in the European Union, making RP the likeliest prestige variant.

Twenty informants were interviewed via the internet using an interview structure containing sections inviting neutral (post-accommodation), standard and non-standard speech, utilising techniques such as triggering emotional reactions and providing word lists for the informant to repeat. The assumption was that the non-standard speech produced via the emotive trigger interview would represent the informant's pre-accommodation speech and provide a suitable comparison point for the post-accommodation speech.

When analysing the study results it became apparent that accommodation has indeed taken place, particularly in the phonemes that would prevent effective communication if not thus modified. However, the precise extent of accommodation was difficult to determine. The socio-economic class of the informant, which is the most commonly used variable when analysing AusEng variation, turned out to be an unreliable method in estimating the extent of change that had taken place. The highly-educated informants in particular used a wide selection of socio-economic AusEng variants instead of the prestige variant as was expected.

Evidence presented by the data findings did not support the main hypothesis. Anecdotal evidence and the observations of informants suggest that the hypothesis may

still be confirmable and further study with a larger sample set is encouraged. The hypothesis and method used were evaluated and suggestions for further study were made in the last section.

At the beginning of the thesis I set out to answer the following questions:

1. Does the speech of AusEng speakers change as a result of long term exposure to non-native English speakers?

Yes, it appears to. Evidence of accommodation toward a more standard variant (usually Cultivated AusEng or RP) is present in the data collected. However, the profundity of the change and the exact trigger that causes some informants to accommodate more readily and to a greater extent than others remain inconclusive from the small sample set used in this study.

2. How does the accommodation process begin and what triggers it?

The process follows the Communication Accommodation Theory in that the primary characteristics in which accommodation was observed were the characteristics which would risk confusion or ineffective communication if not modified; in other words, they are sounds that most non-native English speakers in Finland would otherwise not understand the meaning of. These sounds are [ʌɪ] and [ʌːɪ] for /eɪ/ and [əɪ] for /iː/.

3. How does this thesis contribute to the field of linguistics?

Obvious weaknesses notwithstanding (small sample set, insufficient data particularly in terms of historical speech information), I believe this thesis contributes to the field of linguistics particularly by pioneering the use of the computer-assisted interview method that promotes informal speech on part of the informant due to "the freedom of invisibility" (informant is at ease due to the comfortable home environment, interviewer and

interviewee cannot see each other). The thesis also provides insight into the subject of native vs. non-native dialect contact accommodation, which has received little academic attention in the past.

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Appendix: Interview script

INITIAL INFORMATIVE SECTION

Hello, am I speaking to [informant's name]? Hi, it's Salla from the University of Tampere. How are you going? Are you ready for your interview?

First of all I'll go through a few practical things so that we're both on the same page. This interview is being recorded. Your responses will be anonymous and confidential and will not be personally identifiable in the study. Once the study is complete, your interview recording will be destroyed. It will never be used for anything other than this study.

Now, I will tell you a little bit about my research. I am a postgraduate student at the English department of the University of Tampere. This interview is a part of the research for my Master's thesis. The purpose of this interview is to collect some data about Australians in Finland and some aspects of their lives. I cannot give you more information at this stage to prevent your responses from being affected by the research focus. However, I will give you more details once the interview is complete, and you will then have the option not to participate. Should you choose not to take part, the recording of your interview will of course be destroyed immediately.

I would like to emphasize that the interview questions are intended to record your personal, subjective views. There are no right or wrong answers, so don't worry about any of that. If there are any questions you'd rather not answer, just say "Pass", that's completely fine.

Do you have any questions at this point?

NEUTRAL SECTION

OK, let's start then!

First of all, when did you move to Finland?

Have you lived abroad before?
IF YES: Where and for how long? Did you live there immediately before moving to Finland or was this earlier in your life?

Where in Finland do you live now? Is that where you have lived the whole time or have you moved?

Who do you live with in Finland? Do you have any family here?
IF PARTNER: Where is your partner from?

Are you working here in Finland?
IF YES: What is your occupation?

What language(s) do you speak at home? At work?

How would you describe your Finnish skills?

What is your educational background?

EMOTIVE SECTION

Have you experienced discrimination (positive or negative) in Finland, for example in the job market or in social life?

Many immigrants find that it is difficult to integrate fully into the Finnish society. What are your experiences?

Have you found that it is easy or difficult to communicate with Finns in English? Have you found that you have had to say things in a different way to be understood?

While living in Finland, have you ever had a real desperation moment when you've been ready to get on the next flight to Australia?

OK, I'd like to ask you a few questions about home then. Well, do you still call Australia home?

Where were you born? Is that where you grew up or did you move around at all?

Do you still have family in Australia?

What is your cultural background? For example, do you know where your family originates from?

Did you learn any languages at school?

What did you do for a living in Australia?

What do you miss most about back home?

How often do you go back?

Do you have any Australian friends in Finland?
IF YES: How often do you see them?

Do you expect to move back in the far or near future?

Just for classification purposes, what is your age?

WORD LIST

The last thing I'd like to ask you to do is to read a short list of words out loud for me. There are about a dozen words and I will type them out for you in the message field one by one. Are you ready?

MILE
STREAM
LIKE
BAKER
PLAY
KNEE
ICE
DEEP
HIGH
FACE
SALE
CHEESE

FINAL INFORMATIVE SECTION

Wonderful! That is the end of the interview.

The specific research focus in this study is the change in the pronunciation of Australian English speakers living in Finland. Specifically, I am studying the changes in the so-called fronting diphthongs /eɪ/ and /aɪ/ and the long vowel /iː/. The phonetic data you have provided in the form of interview responses will be analysed for the occurrences of these features. Of course, the responses are also used for classification purposes. Are you still happy to let me use your interview for the study? You don't feel too tricked?

One last thing: do you know of any other Aussies whom I might interview?
IF YES: Could you give me their email addresses? Also, could you not give them too many details about the research purpose? It's quite important that they don't know that I'm specifically looking for linguistic features, as most people become self-conscious otherwise and that affects the results. Is that OK? Thanks!

This has been very useful, thank you so much for the interview!