

**NONSTANDARD LEXICAL KNOWLEDGE AND USE IN A
WEST YORKSHIRE COMMUNITY**

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ABSTRACT

The apparent attrition of the lexicon of 'traditional dialects' in England is often commented on, yet there remains a shortage of objective and systematic measurements of this phenomenon.

This research was designed to quantify and apply sociolinguistic analysis to this particular aspect of linguistic change in a locality of West Yorkshire. In its fieldwork phase it constructs a corpus of nonstandard words, surveys knowledge and use of these in the community and complements the data by informal interviewing to illuminate the mechanisms and influences at work. The collected numerical data are then used to measure and confirm the claimed attrition and, within a sociolinguistic paradigm, to examine their relationship with age, sex and social class data. Additionally, a detailed lexical analysis is undertaken to reveal patterns of choice and usage and to predict the survival prospects of the nonstandard words used in the survey.

This research suggests that generalisations about sex, age and social differentiation in nonstandard speech need to be re-evaluated along locally-specific, historical, occupational, socio-economic and lexical choice dimensions. It is argued that, in this researched community, the social networks influenced by changes in the once dominant textile industry have had a particular effect, especially on women's speech. Sex-differentiated speech is shown to be less predictable than is sometimes claimed; in this study the youngest females emerge as proportionately significant conservers and users of the nonstandard lexicon. Knowledge and use of the nonstandard words amongst some age/sex groups is shown to rise rather than fall with increasing social status. The lexical analysis reveals a matrix of differential trends and patterns in nonstandard word knowledge and use; attrition appears to be not simply a quantitative function but to be lexically selective in a complex way.

TYPOGRAPHICAL TECHNICAL INFORMATION

This report was composed using, in the main, Microsoft Office 97 software. The chapters, some appendices and other elements are separate Word 97 .doc files and the body text is generally Times New Roman True Type font at Point 12, with some use of Arial True Type font at Point 10. Endnotes are in Times New Roman Point 10. Text emphasis is by means of *italic*, **bold**, underlined, or combinations of these.

The tabulated data material in the appendices is in the form of Microsoft Excel spreadsheets and the chart material embedded in the text is drawn from these.

Other illustrative material has been constructed using the Microsoft Paint art/design software.

Printing is by Hewlett Packard Deskjet 550C colour inkjet.

LAYOUT ORGANISATION AND CONVENTIONS USED IN THIS REPORT

References, quotations, citations and endnotes

Reference to direct and indirect quotations and comments in this work is by means of superscript numbering in the text. These superscript numbers relate to endnotes, listed at the end of each chapter. Where these relate to published work, the endnote entry is in the 'short' form author/publication date/page(s). The 'long' form entries for all cited publications are to be found listed alphabetically, by author, in the Bibliography.

Diagrams

The power and flexibility of modern information technology has allowed the researcher to utilise in this report a great deal of graphic material which formerly would have involved much time-consuming and painstaking draughtsmanship. This is presented mainly in the form of charts and graphs which will be used to illustrate findings, provide supporting evidence, or facilitate discussion. Other diagrams will be employed to illustrate concepts and situations which, otherwise, might involve lengthy explanation.

Where the graphic material is constructed from numerical data, the tabulated data itself will be found in one or other of the appendices. In some instances, edited extracts from the appended data will be included along with the graphic material for ease of reference.

The diagrammatic material will be referred to as *Figures*. All *Figures* will have a two-part numbering, the first part being the chapter number (in Roman numerals) and the second part the *Figure* number (in Arabic numerals), e.g., *Figure II.5* is the fifth *Figure* of Chapter II.

Chapters, sections and paragraphs

Chapters are labelled sequentially in Roman numerals and, where appropriate, the appendices supporting the chapter are shown below the chapter number and title.

In some cases, chapters are sub-divided into sections, which are labelled A, B, C, with sub-sections labelled 1, 2, 3, and so on.

Paragraphs have two-part numbering in the form 1.1, 1.2 and so on. Sub-paragraphs have three part numbering in the form 1.1a, etc. Where sections are used, paragraph numbering is sequential through a section only, not through the chapter. This facilitates reference to a particular paragraph as, for example, "*Chapter IV, Section B, 3.5*".

Page numbering

Pages are numbered sequentially throughout the report, including the appendices.

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Barrie M. Rhodes, Leeds, 1998.

CHAPTER I**INTRODUCTION****CHAPTER PREFACE**

This chapter will introduce and explain the nature of the research, its background and how it is to be reported in this work. It will also examine some potentially problematic concepts and terminology surrounding the subject matter, which have arisen in the course of the background reading leading up to the construction of a direction and methodology for the investigation. The chapter is organised into the four sections :

Section A - Purposes, Aims and Format.

Section B - The Personal Background to the Study.

Section C - The Nature of the Subject.

Section D - Chapter Summary.

SECTION A - PURPOSES, AIMS AND FORMAT.

1.1 At the turn of the century, Joseph Wright observed that "*There can be no doubt that pure dialect speech is rapidly disappearing even in country districts*",¹ an observation frequently reinforced by later observers :

*...in England the steady erosion continues.*²

*...real dialect speakers are an endangered species and...dialect with its rich vocabulary and idiom, is being replaced by an attenuated 'regional speech', distinguished from Standard English mainly just by accent and intonation.*³

*...the dialect vocabulary of modern England is currently shrinking quite rapidly, and much...diversity will probably eventually disappear.*⁴

The literature in the field of dialectology has, it appears, never been short of assertions that a great deal of 'dialect' has been, and continues to be, 'lost', 'eroded' or 'suffering attrition'. Trudgill warns that "*The potential loss of ('traditional dialect') words should not be underestimated*".⁵

1.2 It would seem reasonable to suppose that processes which involve 'loss' should be susceptible to some form of measurement : *How great is the loss ?* (the quantitative dimension) and "*At what rate is it occurring ?*" (the temporal dimension). From these two key questions can be derived objectives and methodological considerations concerning the design of a system of measurement and the determination of a time-frame within which to apply the measurement. To be manageable, the demarcation of geographical limits for an investigation would also seem to be indicated. These are issues which have determined the primary aims of this present research, which sets out to investigate the '*What ?*', '*How much ?*', '*When ?*' and '*Where ?*' questions surrounding the notion of 'dialect loss', which can itself be considered an aspect of linguistic change.

The 'What ?' question

1.3 When commentators write of the 'dialect' which is being 'lost', what precisely are they referring to ? This is an issue which will be more fully debated in Section C of this present chapter, The Nature of the Subject. If quantitative measures are to be employed in gauging 'dialect loss', it is a prerequisite that some objective, unambiguous identification of the subject of the measurement be arrived at.

The 'How much ?' question

1.4 The application of quantitative measures obviously results in numerical data and this may be expressed, manipulated and interpreted in a variety of ways. Once an objective definition of what is to be measured is arrived at, the '*How much ?*' issue should be readily resolved by an appropriate data collection method applied at two temporal points. This logically leads on to the next question.

The 'When ?' question

1.5 To measure an aspect of change such as 'loss' a from-to time-frame has to be established. Two main and interrelated problems are associated with this. Firstly, a time slice which is too small may be insufficient to produce evidence of a detectable change. If one temporal point were to be fixed at the present time, there are two possibilities for establishing the second point necessary for a time-frame. One possibility would be to design a longitudinal study which starts at the present point in time and continues into the future towards a predetermined finishing date. Given that linguistic changes may be detectable only on a scale of decades rather than years, this would not appear to be a practicable option for a single-researcher project of this kind. The other option is to accept the present as the terminal point of the time-frame and to project temporally backwards to establish a suitable starting point. This second option clearly carries its own

problems, not least the reconstruction of quantitative data for the starting point against which present-day data may be compared to measure change.

The 'Where ?' question

1.6 Just as a forward-projecting time-frame would be impracticable for a lone researcher, there also exist spatial constraints on this proposed research. The use of an objective, quantitative approach will necessarily involve some form of population sampling, to acquire informants, and there are clearly limits on how many informants (and the data they may be expected to produce) may be realistically managed. This suggests that a relatively small geographical area be unequivocally determined, from which a manageable sample of informants may be drawn. Apart from the advantage of manageability, another positive feature is attached to this : it is likely that the phenomenon being measured (i.e. 'dialect loss') differs in substance and progress from one locality to another. Too large an area could result in encroachment on other localities where different processes may be at work, or similar processes are proceeding at different rates. It is judged unlikely that the findings of this particular research will be generalisable; they will be highly 'local' in every sense.

Additional considerations

1.7 A simple 'agriculture/botany' research paradigm of start/finish quantitative measurements would be of limited value. It might well demonstrate that a quantitative change had taken place over a certain time but it would do little or nothing to illuminate the reasons for, or the mechanisms of, that change. Likewise, it would not necessarily reveal if the reasons and processes of the change were similar or dissimilar to those already observed in other linguistic research, or whether other, specifically local, influences had been at work. Nor would simple start/finish quantification have much predictive value : this is what happened from Point A to Point B in time, but what does it tell us about probable future 'dialect loss' ?

1.8 It would seem advisable for this research to take such considerations into account in its background theory, its methodological design and its subsequent analysis.

Conduct of the research and its reporting

1.9 'Dialect loss', 'erosion', 'attrition' and similar metaphors are descriptive of a process which common-sense, everyday observation suggests is actually operating. Sometimes vaguely quantitative adverbs such as 'rapidly' or 'steadily' are attached to the commentaries, but these do not take us much closer to an objective clarification of the progress of the claimed phenomenon.

1.10 This research aims to apply quantitative measures to 'dialect loss', over a specified time and in a limited and clearly-demarcated geographical locality.

1.11 Section B of this chapter will present the researcher's personal motivation and the background to the pursuit of this research, while Section C will go on to explore the concepts and terminology surrounding 'dialect' and its apparent temporal and spatial attributes, to help clarify just *what* is to be quantified in this study.

1.12 In Chapter II the contexts for the research will be set. The geographical context will provide evidence that the locality chosen for the research has spatial and economic integrity which justifies its selection on grounds additional to those of sampling convenience. The role of the textile industry in the locality will be emphasised for this will be later referred to as being possibly instrumental in promoting, first, the maintenance and, later, the abandonment of some of the community's speech features. A socio-historical context will then be provided for this helps to explain the long-standing demographic and occupational stability patterns of the locality, which again were related to changes in textile industrial activity. The final context to be presented in Chapter II is the linguistic. This will draw on both the geographical and the socio-historical contexts. It will introduce the notion of the community possessing a 'linguistic stock', of which the 'lexical stock' is a sub-set from which speakers make choices which, in turn, may

promote language change of the kind leading to 'dialect loss'. Returning to the 'What ?' question, this section of Chapter II will then proceed to consider which particular features of the nonstandard speech of the community may lend themselves best to the conduct of this research.

1.13 The point was made earlier that the existing literature and other linguistic research may be potentially useful at two points in this study : firstly, when designing the methodology and, secondly, when presenting and analysing the findings. Chapter III will therefore take selected literature and research accounts and distil from these a number of issues and pointers which would appear to have a particular contribution to make to this present study. In particular, this contributory literature will assist in the construction of a background theory which suggests that explanations for the type of language change to be investigated here might perhaps be best found in the sociolinguistic domain, which, in turn, will have implications for the ways in which the investigative method and the treatment of its findings might proceed.

1.14 The methodology itself will be described in Chapter IV. The decision to employ a combination of objective survey methods (the General Study) to acquire the basic quantitative data, together with individual interviews (the Inter-generational Case Studies), will be explained and argued for. Decisions relating to the choice of survey question content, and how this was arrived at, will also be explained and justified. This chapter will also deal with the potentially problematic issue of constructing a retrospective time-frame (the 'When ?' question) and will argue for the employment of the *apparent time* approach.

1.15 In Chapter V the results of the General Study will be presented and analysed. As this research acknowledges the utility of sociolinguistics and the contribution research in that domain can make, it is proposed to analyse the raw numerical data against the variables of age, sex and social class, in the search for patterns and trends which may apparently support or contradict the findings of other linguistic research.

1.16 As noted earlier, an 'additional consideration' for this research will be to attempt some tentative explanations from the findings emerging from the General Study. The Inter-generational Case Studies will be designed to complement the General Study and fulfil this role. In Chapter VI the Inter-generational Case Studies interviews will be reported and discussed and, where appropriate, used to illuminate the General Study material.

1.17 Again as an 'additional consideration', Chapter VII, Lexical Analysis, will shift the analytical focus from the informants to the words themselves. It will employ metaphors of 'health', 'survival' and 'extinction' in tracing the careers and future prospects of the corpus of nonstandard words to be used in the General Study survey. In doing so it will endeavour to identify differential patterns of choice and usage amongst the age and sex groups used in the survey, as well as attempting predictions of lexical item survival into the 21st century.

1.18 Finally, Chapter VIII will summarise and conclude the study. It will identify a number of key issues from the research and will examine and discuss each of these in detail. In particular, there will be a consideration of a possible link between the rise and fall of the textile industry of the research locality and the type of language change under investigation here. Chapter VIII will also present a critique of the research and suggest where further research associated with it might be usefully directed.

SECTION B - THE PERSONAL BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

1.1 I was born in 1936, at a time when my family was living above and behind its small greengrocery shop in Stanningley, west Leeds. Later, the family made a short move to nearby Bramley and here I lived until joining the regular army in early 1955. Throughout this time the dominant industrial activity in the locality was woollen and worsted textile manufacturing. The greater proportion of the workforce was employed in the textile mills and most school leavers expected to find work there. The working community used a speech style which differed in many respects from what was then accepted as Standard English. Practically everyone had a distinct 'West Riding' accent and habitually drew heavily on a vocabulary which contained numerous nonstandard words and phrases. Of course, everyone understood Standard English. They heard it spoken on the 'wireless' and by local professionals such as doctors and solicitors; they read it in their newspapers and books and they learned to write it at school. But, for the most part, Standard English was a distinct and different language from the one employed in day-to-day communicative transactions amongst the working population. It was in such a linguistic environment that I was born, raised and communicated and it was not until taking up an 11+ grammar school place in a different part of Leeds that face-to-face encounters with speakers of other varieties of English occurred with any intensity.

1.2 After serving in various parts of the world in the army, I eventually returned and resettled in the community. Two major changes in the characteristics of the locality became quickly apparent. Firstly, people seemed to employ noticeably fewer of the nonstandard words which had been common currency at the time I joined the army. Though the 'West Riding' accent remained, the vocabulary appeared to have more standard features than it formerly had. Secondly, it was clear that fewer textile mills were in active production and the prevailing economic atmosphere was one which seemed to accept that the industry was starting a terminal decline, though at the time I did not recognise any association between this and the language changes I observed. School leavers no longer had an automatic expectation of work in the mills. Older people who had worked for many years in the mills were being, first, put on short time, then laid

off, and eventually made redundant in increasing numbers as mills reduced their output or closed down. In not a few cases, the redundant textile workers were the last members of their families for many successive generations to work in the industry.

1.3 At that point I did not have any theoretical concern for language. It was not until reaching retirement that there arose the time and inclination to be reflective about the apparent disappearance from use of many of the nonstandard words which had been everyday features of the local community's speech a few decades before. Membership of the Yorkshire Dialect Society - and a growing acquaintance with people directly involved in academic linguistics - stimulated me to investigate the phenomenon.

1.4 At first, the direction of the investigation appeared to be fairly straightforward and uncomplicated : it would be an exploration of the esoteric language of the textile mills and whether this overflowed into everyday life in the locality. My 'hunch' was that there was some kind of a link between the way people spoke in their work and domestic environments. It soon became apparent that it would not be possible to go very far down this particular road for a variety of reasons. To start with, there are now far too few textile mills still in active production to serve as a valid base for data collection. Furthermore, what mills there are still working now employ people from much further afield than the immediate locality, for workers are now much more personally mobile. In addition, it proved difficult to gain the enthusiastic cooperation of the mills' management in gaining access to their workers. They are constrained by the fiercely competitive economies which prevail and, understandably, their possible collaboration is governed by the "*What's in it for us ?*" question. The answer to this is "*Very little*" and, weighed against loss of working time, and the potential disruption and distraction of *in situ* data collection activity, the reluctance to be involved is understandable.

1.5 However, though this direction provided an impetus for some initial research planning it was overtaken by a growing awareness that there was

probably more to the processes and mechanisms affecting changes in the community's speech variety than had been originally envisaged.

1.6 What may have turned out to be mainly a descriptive investigation was given a fresh impetus and new direction as a different focus gradually emerged and a different set of questions was posed, centred around the decrease in knowledge and use of nonstandard words in a particular community. Was such a decrease measurable and, if so, how might this be best investigated? But in the preliminary background reading it soon became apparent that the very concept and terminology of 'dialect' were going to be problematic for any study which intended using a quantitative approach. Before one can even begin to address questions of how to 'measure' dialect in an objective way, the subject matter itself first needs to be unambiguously identified and defined. Herein lies the problem and this is why it will be explored in depth in Section C of this introductory chapter.

1.7 It logically follows that, if appropriate instruments can be applied to measure 'dialect erosion', then at least some tentative explanations for such changes might also be presented for discussion. Again from the background reading, a consideration of social, economic and demographic factors seemed to hold promise for providing possible explanations and this, in turn, led to an examination of how the domain of sociolinguistics might contribute. The distillation of potentially useful directions from the sociolinguistic domain will, as already mentioned in Section A, be dealt with in Chapter III and further refined in Chapter IV.

SECTION C - THE NATURE OF THE SUBJECT

The concept of 'dialect'

1.1 The use of the terms 'dialect', 'traditional dialect' and 'regional dialect' in this research may lead to problematic situations in relation to just what is being examined and for what purpose. The problem of defining what is meant by 'dialect' continues to be a matter of debate. ⁶ *"The greatest problems of definition arise",* writes Coupland, *"when we try to distinguish one dialect from another or a dialect from a language".* ⁷ Petyt explores this difficulty in some depth and poses questions about how different two language forms can be *"...before they are held to be different languages rather than dialects....."* and towards a definition he offers the view that *"...if two speakers cannot understand each other, they are speaking different languages".* ⁸

Or, as Crystal puts it :

At first sight, there may appear to be no problem. If two people are speaking differently then, it might be thought, there are only two possibilities. Either they are not able to understand each other, in which case they can be said to speak different languages; or they do understand each other, in which case they must be speaking different dialects of the same language. ⁹

Chaika makes a similar point, considering that the rule of thumb is that if the two varieties of speech are mutually intelligible they may be considered as dialects of the same language. ¹⁰ But, as Crystal goes on to point out, the *mutual intelligibility of words* criterion does not always work. McCrum et al were also obliged to confront this issue and

*....Again and again we found that the line between **accent, dialect and language** is not a sure and steady one and is often disputed, even by specialists.* ¹¹

Romaine cautions us that *"...terms such as 'language' and 'dialect' are, from a*

*linguistic point of view, non-technical notions since there is no objective way to determine when two varieties will be seen by their speakers as sufficiently similar to warrant calling them the 'same' language"*¹² and McMahon makes a similar critical comment :

*...the view that dialects of a single language share common underlying forms whereas different languages differ at this level prevents us from seeing dialect and language variation as the continuum which geographical and social investigation have shown it to be...*¹³

1.2 The problem seems to be that, though such terms lack technical rigour and are imprecise and vague in conceptualisation, they have been reified simply by having a nomenclature. As such, they are used freely as though they clearly and unequivocally represent reality, not only in everyday speech but in specialist writings.¹⁴ Why is this so ? It appears that we cannot easily dispense with such terminology, any more than we can dispense with the words attached to such nebulous concepts as 'loyalty', 'cheerfulness' and 'beauty'. Though such concepts cannot be easily defined and we cannot 'measure' their occurrence, we need to have some way of communicating thoughts about them and, through 'working usage' and numerous repetitions of the terms in context, we have more or less arrived at shared meanings which we all think we understand. But they are nothing more than convenient labels. As such, they have their uses. However, if they are used, it must be on the understanding that they cannot represent any precision and the user might, understandably, be called upon to qualify the circumstances of their application. The dilemma is to communicate in a technical and precise register about linguistic phenomena for which the commonly-accepted and understood terminology is neither technical nor precise.

1.3 The commonly accepted term 'dialect' may, therefore, need to be used in places in this study, where the only alternative to expressing an idea is long and convoluted phraseology. But, otherwise, the intention will be to avoid it wherever possible, not least because of its conceptual vagueness, and because of the perceived relationship between 'dialect' and time and 'dialect' and place, which are discussed below, and neither of which is appropriate or necessary to this research.¹⁵

The notion of 'traditional dialect' and the temporal dimension

1.4 In the mid-1980s, there was a series of television broadcasts, in Wales, which set out to explore the identity of Wales, and what grounds there were for perceiving the Principality as having historical, ethnic, linguistic and political unity; in short, whether the whole concept of 'Wales' had any reality, apart from being a political abstraction with a border marked on a map. The thought-provoking title of this series was "*When Was Wales ?*" and it quickly became apparent how singularly apt this title was, as various contributors laboured to temporally locate the existence of a 'real Wales' at some point in time past. It seems that we could apply a similar question here in the form "*when was dialect?*" What would confound any effort to arrive at a satisfactory answer would be all kinds of problems of definition, of abstraction, of subjectivity and, not least, of romantic notions. We would be led eventually to confront the fact that language is dynamic and ever-changing in many ways - lexically, phonologically, grammatically and semantically.¹⁶ At what point in time, then, could we identify and retrospectively 'arrest' the process of change, point to it and say "*then was dialect?*"

1.5 Yet the notion persists strongly that there was once something we can look back at and refer to as the '*real dialect*' or the '*traditional dialect*'.¹⁷ One of the characteristics which some people would consider an essential qualification of '*real dialect*' is that it *once existed in the past*. In other words, it had its 'reality' at some point in history and, by corollary, that existence has largely vanished with the passage of time. The '*real dialect*' has been 'lost', 'eroded', subjected to 'attrition', is 'in retreat', and all the other metaphors which have been used to suggest that something which was once there no longer is so - or at least not to as great an extent as it once was.

1.6 Attempts at a definition of what constitutes a 'traditional' form, as opposed to any other, inevitably invoke some time dimension. Trudgill, for example, distinguishes his Traditional Dialect from what he calls Modern Nonstandard Dialect, so explicitly locating the 'traditional' form at a time, presumably, before people speak like they do now.¹⁸ But this is hardly satisfactory, for it does not specify just when the 'traditional' form donned a modern garb. It carries no

explanation of when the 'traditional' form came into existence or what life-span it enjoyed. Certainly, people - especially working-class people (if such terminology may be permitted, without the qualification it deserves) do not speak like they did at the start of this century. But nor did any given community at that time speak like the ordinary people of Shakespeare's day; and *they* didn't speak like the people of the same community in Chaucer's day. ¹⁹

1.7 Even supposing some 'dialect' or other had had a relatively long existence in a reasonably stable form, it would still remain neither valid nor logical to point to any one period in its career and fossilise the language of that time as the one and only 'traditional' form. Today's speech variety in a community is a direct, in-line descendant of the language which existed in a continually changing way before. The argument is that at no point in its career has it ever been any more 'traditional' in the periods before and after that.

1.8 What are the implications of this for this research? The rationale of the research is itself based on the observation that many nonstandard words once in use in a particular geographical area appear to be no longer known and used there. Does this not in itself imply that what is being studied is the 'erosion' of 'dialect' over time? The intention in this present work is avoidance of the notion of 'traditional dialect' in terms of it having any temporal existence. It is felt that it would not be realistic, necessary or desirable to seek to identify and utilise some mythical 'golden age' glossary or usage as a basis for research measurement. To do this would, rightly, leave the research open to criticism on the grounds of temporal selectivity. As will be seen, it is not necessary to invoke any notion of 'traditional dialect' to measure these linguistic changes and endeavour to account for them. It will be sufficient to identify certain linguistic features and behaviour which obtained at a point in the past, profile the chronology of their career, and comparatively measure their incidence now, without the need to encumber the starting and finishing points with contentious and challengeable labelling.

The notion of 'traditional dialect' and the spatial dimension

1.9 Even though the temporal location of 'traditional dialect' is problematic, it seems, *prima facie*, that the concept of spatial location cannot raise too many

questions and difficulties. We appear to see nothing objectionable in terminology such as 'the North Yorkshire dialect' or 'the spoken language variety of the West Midlands', as though these phenomena were, indeed, tied to those places, so the illusion is maintained that the language variety 'belongs' to the area of its occurrence. And it seems to do so, for if we sample the language several miles away in any direction we would undoubtedly detect differences and be inclined to say "*This is the speech of this area, not the one we were in earlier*". Some of the signals - the 'markers' - that our speech sends out are frequently ones that reveal our geographical origins.²⁰ Trudgill (1990) expresses it in this way :

"The vast majority of the population....speak in a manner which identifies them as coming from a particular place. They speak like people they grew up with, and in a way that is different from people who grew up somewhere else".²¹

But though a particular language variety - its accent, its nonstandard pronunciation of standard words, its grammar and some distinctive lexical items - may be *associated* with a geographical area (or to be more precise, with the community living in that area) it cannot *belong* to it.

1.10 Language does not belong to 'place' in the way that fields, rivers and settlements do. It is vested in people and if an area were to be entirely denuded of people, that area would cease to have any 'local variety' of language or, indeed, any language at all.

Should a new community of people, using a different language variety, move into that depopulated area, their language would still belong to them, not the place. They would not inherit the previous language variety used in that place, for there would be no mechanism of cultural transmission in the absence of the previous community.

1.11 Language, therefore, is not circumscribed by place. It is a human attribute and, as such, is portable. Any particular language feature - a lexical item, a pronunciation, a syntactical or grammatical form - is taken wherever the bearer goes. Here is an extract from an electronic mail message the researcher received from a colleague in Fetsund, Norway, on the subject of English expressions :

The lunch is over. During lunch I asked some colleagues for English problems. They got very excited.²² Here are some questions :

1. *From Greta. She is married to an Englishman (Londoner).*

a)

b) <<E (I?) by gone>>.²³ *Greta has picked up this expression in the Lancashire area. She thinks the meaning is : Good heavens, Oh, my God or something. She uses it herself she says, but has no idea what she is really saying.....*

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Now if Greta is wandering round Fetsund exclaiming "*Ee, by gum !*" is this simply part of her idiolect - or is it reasonable to claim that this little piece of what some would call 'Lancashire speech' is now part of the lexical stock of her community in Norway? Is just one idiolect occurrence sufficient to validate it as part of the 'local' lexicon? To which community's lexical stock does it 'belong' now?

1.12 The term 'dialect' seems destined to carry with it connotations of 'belonging' to a specified place. Again, the questions needs to be asked "*What implications does this have for the present research ?*", for it is obvious from the foregoing chapters that this work does have a spatial quality - geographical limits have been determined and these will be described in Chapter II. But the point needs to be made that this area is not to be identified and selected because it is theorised that there is some correlation between its spatial and its linguistic characteristics. Its demarcation is, rather, a means of providing a geographically unambiguous areal unit which might be useful for further comparative or replicative study. No claim is therefore made that the area has a distinct 'dialect', in other words, a unique, coherent and uniform set of language characteristics having an identifiable existence and which can be isolated and studied. As Crystal comments :

.....no two people are identical in the way they use language or react to the usage of others. Minor differences in phonology, grammar, and vocabulary are normal, so that everyone has, to a limited extent, a

*'personal dialect'.....known as an idiolect.....*²⁵

'Dialect' is, according to Crystal, simply an abstraction, derived from the analysis of a number of idiolects.²⁶ Whilst it may be possible to identify a number of language features which all or most inhabitants of an area have in common, it is highly unlikely that these could be spatially contained within any boundary drawn on a map. The same features will generally occur, to a greater or lesser extent, 'over the border' in the adjacent areas. A particular language variety does not stop at boundaries, whether actual or theoretical; it 'shades' and occupies zones of transition. This is why attempts to correlate selected linguistic features with place, in 'dialect geography' and 'word geography', through the construction of maps with *isoglosses* and other depictions, is inherently problematic.²⁷

As Kretzschmar writes :

*Traditional notions of dialect are qualitative, and perceived dialects are difficult to reconcile with the evidence of actual production of dialect features.....we are misled by the attribution of boundaries to language and dialect.....as if (they)...were a property of the land.*²⁸

1.13 Just as there is no necessity to invoke any notion of 'traditional dialect', neither is there any need to label the corpus of words which forms the primary data basis of this survey as belonging to a 'local dialect' or 'regional speech variety'.

1.14 Notions of 'dialect' related to 'place' belong to dialectology and some examination of this field of study will be carried out in the subsequent paragraphs.

Dialectology

1.15 It was within a context of apparently uncritical acceptance of the existence of temporally- and spatially-determined 'dialect' that much early surveying and data collection took place. Such work tended to concentrate on a particular type of informant, one preferably possessing certain idealised, pre-specified characteristics.²⁹ Chambers and Trudgill labelled these 'ideal informants' with the acronym NORMS (non-mobile, older, rural males)³⁰ for

Speakers falling into this category were generally thought to speak a 'purer' version of the dialect than mobile individuals who might have had their speech contaminated...; young people who more easily incorporate innovations; urban informants who are surrounded by speakers of different varieties; and women, who...tend to produce more standard speech than men". ³¹

Ellis, a fieldworker for Orton's *Survey of English Dialects*, ³² confirms that the informant being sought by dialect researchers was, typically, "*...a broad speaker, with an agricultural background, born in the village of native parents, married to a wife who is herself a native of the locality*". ³³ In this specification can be detected both the temporal and spatial perceptions of what constituted 'genuine dialect'. Furthermore, as Romaine notes, "*Within the tradition of regional dialectology the assumption that the speech of one informant was sufficient to represent a linguistic system was a working principle*". ³⁴

1.16 The language of the ruling élite and the politically powerful has often been one of the features which distinguishes it from the lower social orders ³⁵ and dialectology fieldworkers and researchers could not have been unaware of the social significance of language variation though, as Milroy comments, "*...in general dialectologists do not concern themselves with the interplay between social and linguistic behaviour... "*". ³⁶

1.17 Also, there cannot have been total ignorance of the tendency for language to undergo change. Indeed, it may be argued that it was the very awareness of change which prompted much collection of dialect data, while it remained extant and accessible for recording. The apprehension that something of socio-historical value might be lost forever can still be detected in the terminology of dialectology, where dialect features are perceived as being in need of recording as they are being 'eroded', or 'lost' or are 'disappearing'. ³⁷ The atmosphere of urgency which surrounds this perceived need is still evident today :

Dialect and tradition in Yorkshire - as everywhere else - are under threat of extinction.....real dialect speakers are an endangered species and, all over the country, dialect, with its rich vocabulary and idiom, is being replaced by an attenuated 'regional speech', distinguished from Standard English mainly just by accent and intonation...How important it is, then, to pin down this elusive material while it is still comparatively recent...³⁸

It is reasonable to suppose that this “..sense of urgency..” was not much weaker in the early days of dialect research, giving rise to what might be termed the 'museum' approach, where an analogy can be drawn with the collection of artefacts before they disappear from everyday use, preserving them in purpose-made repositories for future generations to gaze upon. If language had not been recognised as being in a state of change, there could have been little motivation behind the perceived need to record its characteristics, at a particular point in time, for posterity. The process of continuity and inevitability in language change was certainly not hidden from early collectors of data. Joseph Wright, editor of *The English Dialect Dictionary*, compiled in six volumes between 1898 and 1905, seems to have been well aware that what was being recorded in his time was simply a 'snapshot' at one point in the ongoing process of language change :

It should not be inferred from Wright's comment that he believed that the dialects which were changing in his day were, being 'pure', unaltered from those which had existed in former times. Wright was an eminent student of language and linguistic change and knew that this was not the case. The dialects of late nineteenth century England, like those of today, were the result of continuous evolution.³⁹

1.18 There is no intention here to criticise the motivations and objectives driving earlier dialectology research, for it has undeniable linguistic value. Within its own parameters it achieved much and it is argued by Milroy that subsequent developments in linguistic variation studies would have been seriously hampered (if not rendered impossible) by the absence of these pioneering efforts.⁴⁰ As suggested above, there appears to be no strong case to make that

dialectologists were unaware of potential problems with concepts and terminology such as 'traditional', 'pure', 'genuine', and so on, in relation to speech varieties; nor were they likely to have been entirely ignorant of the social implications of language variation. Perhaps they simply had a more immediate, overriding priority in what they were about. Using the museum artefact analogy again, it may be suggested that early dialectology was more concerned with salvaging and conserving the hand implements of the time, recognising that tractors and power tools were starting to take over the work on the farm. The dialect researchers were not oblivious to the fact that other dimensions of the phenomena existed - they simply did not, continuing the analogy, concern themselves with questioning *why* mechanisation was happening, who was manufacturing the machinery, or what was the social significance of these changes. Posing such questions was to become the concern of other linguistic researchers of a different kind and orientation.

1.19 From the perspective of this present research, the epistemology of dialectology makes a limited, but necessary, contribution. The point has already been made that, though this work will concern itself with nonstandard lexical items, there will be no need to present these as 'traditional dialect'. It will be sufficient to simply identify them as having been known and used at a particular time, against which may be measured present-day levels of knowledge and use. By their very nature, many - perhaps all - of the lexical items will be found contained and defined in works such as Robinson,⁴¹ Dyer,⁴² Wilkinson,⁴³ *The Survey of English Dialects*⁴⁴ and Kellett⁴⁵ but no claim will be made that this qualifies them as 'genuine, traditional dialect' words, though some commentators would no doubt perceive many of them as such. Likewise, though a geographical unit will be demarcated for the purpose of the research, this will in no way imply that the words used as data 'belong' to that area, for many of them will certainly be in use in adjoining localities and perhaps in more distant parts of the region or country. The spatial unit to be used in this work is merely a sampling device, selected for its geographical and statistical convenience. All that needs to be said about the words is that they were known and in use within the selected research locality at a given point in time and, against this, the current levels of knowledge and use - as an aspect of linguistic change - may be measured.

SECTION D - CHAPTER SUMMARY

1.1 The impetus for this work comes from the researcher's curiosity about the fate of many of the nonstandard words which were once common currency in his home community. This curiosity has evolved into a formal investigation directed at measuring the rate of 'loss' of knowledge and use of the community's nonstandard vocabulary, while at the same time aiming to offer some tentative explanations for the phenomena it is hoped to reveal. This is not, therefore, research with a stated central hypothesis but rather a wider investigation, set in an appropriate theoretical framework.

1.2 An exploration has been made of the concept of 'dialect' and the problems the concept and its associated terminology pose for the quantitative approach intended as a primary research instrument for this work and why, therefore, imprecise terms such as 'dialect', 'traditional dialect' and 'regional dialect' will be avoided as far as possible.

1.3 The following chapter will present the geographical, historical and linguistic contexts within which the research is to be conducted.

¹ Quoted in Upton, C., Sanderson, S. and Widdowson, J. (1987) *Word Maps : A Dialect Atlas of England*. Beckenham: Croom Helm.

² Widdowson in the Preface to Kellett (1994), p. x.

³ Kellett (1994), p. xii.

⁴ Trudgill (1990), p. 125.

⁵ Trudgill (1980), p. 113.

⁶ Chaika, E (1982).

⁷ Coupland (1988).

⁸ Petyt (1980), pp.12-13.

⁹ Crystal (1987), p. 25.

¹⁰ Op cit. p.132.

¹¹ McCrum et al (1992), p. 4.

¹² Romaine (1994), p. 22 et seq.

¹³ McMahon (1994), p. 232.

¹⁴ *inter alia* :

Trudgill (1975a).

Petyt (1985).

Trudgill (1990).

Chambers (1995).

Montgomery (1995).

¹⁵ Obviously, quotations of others' use of the term cannot always be avoided, but the usual conventions of referencing and citing will make it obvious where this is the case.

¹⁶ Aitchison (1991).

¹⁷ Trudgill (1990).

¹⁸ Op. cit. p. 5.

¹⁹ Baugh and Cable (1993), Chs 6-8.

²⁰ Crystal (1987) p. 24.

²¹ Trudgill (1990), p. 1.

²² sic.

²³ This the researcher has interpreted as "Ee, by gum !" or "Ee, by gow !" It might be thought that this particular language feature was now archaic and obsolete, only perpetuated

through 'music hall' stereotype depictions of 'northerners', but it appears to be alive and well - at least in southern Norway if nowhere else !

²⁴ E-mail of Monday 9 September 1996, from Wigo H. Skråmm, Director of The Viking Network, Fetsund, Norway.

²⁵ Crystal (1987), p p. 24-25.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ The term '*isogloss*' would seem to be a misnomer. The prefix *iso-* (Gk *isos* = equal) is used mathematically and geographically, in combination with variables, to indicate measures of equality. *Iso-* lines of any type, drawn on a map, *join together* all those places where there is equivalence of a value. Clearly, nowhere along its length can an *iso-* line come into contact with another for two different values cannot be represented at the same point. It follows that *iso-* lines cannot be used to depict areal phenomena, only 'on the line' values. *Isogloss* is not a mathematically or cartographically appropriate term to describe a line which marks the *limit* of a zonal occurrence.

²⁸ Kretzschmar (1996), pp. 13-39.

²⁹ McMahon (1994), p. 231 et seq.

³⁰ Chambers and Trudgill (1980).

³¹ McMahon (1994), p. 231.

³² Orton et al (1962-1971).

³³ Ellis (1953), pp. 9-21.

³⁴ Romaine, (1980), p. 170.

³⁵ Renfrew (1994), pp. 104-110.

³⁶ Milroy, L. (1980), p. 5.

³⁷ Wright (1898-1905), Preface.

³⁸ Kellett (1994), p. xii.

³⁹ Upton et al (1987), p. 12.

⁴⁰ Milroy, L. (1980), p. 2.

⁴¹ Robinson (1862).

⁴² Dyer (1891).

⁴³ Wilkinson (1924).

⁴⁴ Orton et al (1962-71).

⁴⁵ Kellett (1994).

CHAPTER II

THE RESEARCH CONTEXTS

CHAPTER PREFACE

This chapter will present and discuss the contexts in which this research is set. It is separated into sections dealing, respectively, with the Geographical, the Socio-historical, and the Linguistic Contexts.

Section A - The Geographical Context will define and describe the spatial parameters within which the research is to take place. It will argue a case for the demarcation of the selected spatial unit as a 'geographical entity', which has certain features giving it integrity, setting it apart from adjacent localities on a number of characteristics. Important amongst these characteristics will be those of industrial activity and occupational patterns (particularly where these concern the textile industry) and others such as shopping allegiance, inter-village migration, and courtship and marriage trends. This will, in part, draw on the 'central place' theoretical geographies of Christaller and of Lösch.¹

Section B - The Socio-historical Context will chart the development of the defined area in terms of its peopling and economic activity. There are two main temporal foci. The first is the period of Anglian and Scandinavian settlement of the region, this being the time during which the speech foundation of the area's population was established. The second covers approximately the last two hundred years, for this is the period in which the main economic base of the area shifted from agriculture and cottage industry to mill-based textile manufacturing, followed by its decline in recent decades. These developments, through the Industrial Revolution, and subsequently, will be shown to have affected the demographic pattern of the area, particularly in respect of inward migration which, in turn, might be expected to have had some effect on the local speech

variety.

Section C - The Linguistic Context. This section of Chapter II will describe and discuss the linguistic milieu of the defined area, relating it to the geographical and socio-historical pictures drawn earlier. The notions of 'choice' and of a community possessing a 'linguistic stock', with its sub-set 'lexical stock', will be introduced as conceptual features of this research. The content of this section will be particularly important and relevant to the choice and design of the research methodology, for it will establish the rationale and criteria for those aspects of language which will be the most practicable and potentially productive to investigate.

SECTION A - THE GEOGRAPHICAL CONTEXT

1 - LOCATION AND DEMARCATION

1.1 This research is concerned with certain linguistic phenomena within the community of a selected geographical area. An initial task, therefore, is to spatially locate the area and establish a boundary which demarcates it. There is no concise, convenient geographical label which may be applied to the selected locality. It can only be given the somewhat clumsy appellation *the Pudsey/Bramley area* to identify it. In the text this may simply be referred to as *the research locality*. In places, the term *region* is used but, unless qualified in other ways, will generally imply west Yorkshire, though this is a *spatial* term, which should not be read as congruent with either the present *administrative* Metropolitan County of West Yorkshire or the former West Riding of Yorkshire. Where reference to these administrative units is intended, this will be made clear in the use of their full titles.

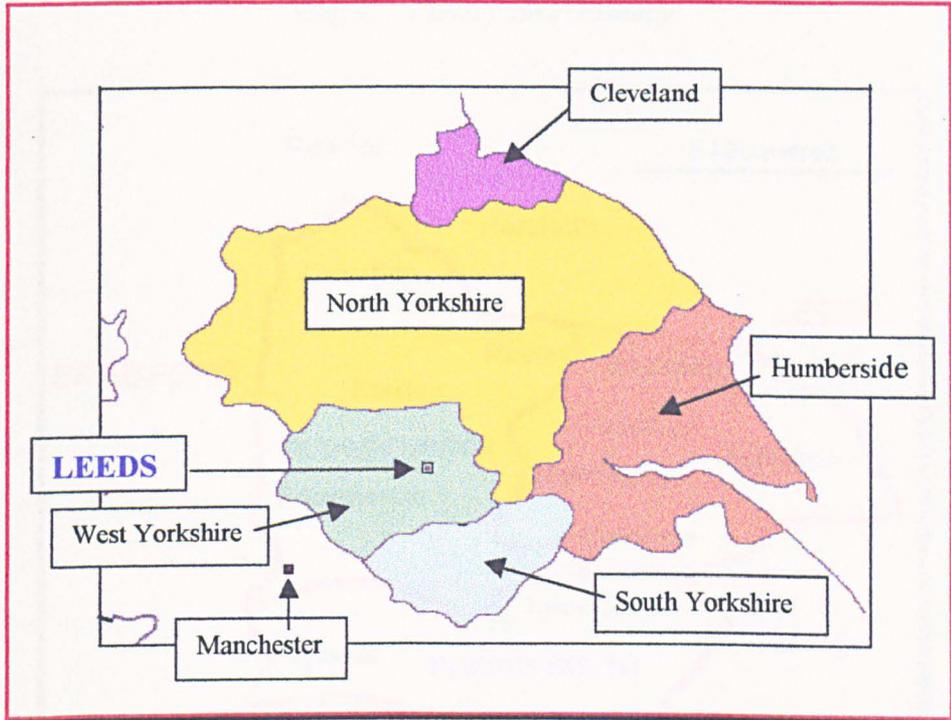
The location of the research area

1.2 The selected research area lies within the Metropolitan County of West Yorkshire (Maps A and B). Administratively, it is now part of the City of Leeds, lying in the western part of the city, against the boundary with the City of Bradford (Map C).

Map A - The national setting



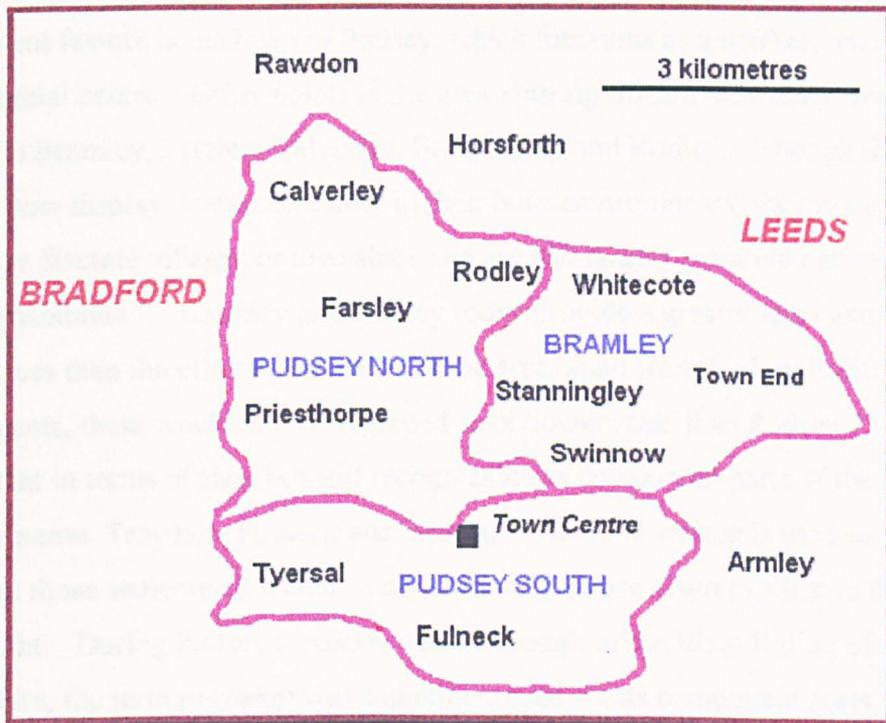
Map B - West Yorkshire Metropolitan County and the City of Leeds - The regional setting²



The spatial demarcation of the research area

1.4 The research locality comprises three local government wards of Leeds : Pudsey North, Pudsey South and Bramley (Map C).

Map C – *Pudsey and Bramley*



2 - THE MORPHOLOGY OF THE RESEARCH LOCALITY

Distribution of components and 'centrality'

2.1 The locality demarcated for research is a spatially-complex mixture of industrial, commercial, agricultural and residential land use. The dominant settlement feature is the town of Pudsey, which functions as a market, retail and commercial centre. Other points in the area with significant 'centrality' are to be found in Bramley, Farsley, Calverley, Stanningley and Rodley. Though these places now display some continuity in their built environments, they were formerly discrete villages or townships and are still largely perceived as such by their inhabitants.³ Bramley and Farsley today provide a greater level and range of services than the other components of the area, apart from Pudsey itself. As settlements, these would still be regarded as of 'lower rank' than Pudsey.⁴ Less important in terms of size, but still recognizable as component parts of the area, are Swinnow, Troydale, Fulneck and Tyersal. The term *village* is used to indicate those settlements which were, historically, once discrete 'vills' in their own right. During Pudsey's existence as a borough of the West Riding of Yorkshire, the term *township* was sometimes used for its component parts (including the central commercial, retail and market town of Pudsey itself). Therefore, *village* and *township* may be used interchangeably in the text, according to how they are referred to in the secondary sources used. The relevant application will be made clear where necessary. Otherwise, the generic term *settlements* will be employed. Map C, above, makes clear the various place-names which are referred to in the text and shows their spatial distribution within the defined area.

2.2 Farsley and Calverley were for a long time, and until relatively recently, an integral part of Pudsey, when Pudsey was a borough of the former administrative county of the West Riding of Yorkshire, with its own local government structure, entirely independent of the major cities and with its county headquarters in Wakefield. With the Boundary Commission changes in 1974, the

West Riding ceased to exist and Pudsey lost its borough status, becoming part of Leeds City within the newly-created Metropolitan County of West Yorkshire.

2.3 Prior to 1974, the villages of Stanningley and Rodley had an ambiguous relationship with Pudsey. The former lies astride what is one of the main communication axes between the cities of Leeds and Bradford. Up to 1974, most of what the locals would regard as 'Stanningley' lay within the bounds of the city of Leeds, with a smaller but significant part 'over the boundary' in Pudsey (and, hence, the West Riding of Yorkshire). Similarly, the village of Rodley was split by the administrative boundary (in the form of Bagley Beck), the eastern portion being within Leeds and the western part in the Borough of Pudsey.

2.4 The presence of the boundary between Leeds and the West Riding of Yorkshire in this area in the past gave rise to some local peculiarities - some of practical inconvenience. Probably the most serious of these was the effect on school catchment areas, where children living quite close to one another could be obliged to attend different primary schools. In Rodley, this could mean the difference between walking a couple of hundred yards to Rodley school (in Leeds) and having to travel a mile or more to one of the Calverley or Farsley schools in the West Riding. This pattern continued, of course, into secondary schooling. Other divisive phenomena occurred in relation to such matters as property rating; planning procedures; water, library, youth, police, fire and ambulance services. The boundary changes of 1974 eliminated these anomalies.

The built environment

2.5 The area displays a complex spatial pattern of intermingled private and council residential properties, industrial zones, and open and agricultural land.

2.6 In this area many houses of various sizes are stone-built, are 100 years old or more, and are avidly sought after by buyers. Many of them are advertised for sale, in estate agents' parlance, as "*former weavers' cottages..*" (which many of them genuinely are) "*..of character*".⁵ Most of these were built - many to the land-saving back-to-back plan - by textile employers wishing to attract skilled

hand-loom weavers to reside and work in the area.⁶ Some of these stone-built houses are of two storeys, sometimes three or even four; but the upper floors were almost always dedicated to hand-loom weaving, spinning or the storage of raw materials and finished cloth goods. Later, factory-orientated textile production saw workers' housing built by employers 'within hooter sound' of the relevant mill and there is residual evidence of this pattern, especially in Farsley and Stanningley. The argument will be presented in this research that this close proximity of domestic and workplace environments had an important influence on the development and maintenance of the community's language milieu, a theme which will be returned to at several points later in this report.⁷

2.7 Modernised by council grants and owner-occupiers' own capital and labour, these sometimes tiny workers' dwellings are today frequently put up for sale at prices well in excess of those for postwar, three-bedroomed, semi-detached properties. Larger, stone-built 'artisan' houses of about 100-120 years of age can fetch prices on a par with those of newly-built detached dwellings. There are, perhaps, three contributory, interrelated factors in this: social, constructional and geographical. The social factor is really founded on the romantic appeal of owning and living in a 'weavers' cottage' or 'an artisan's house', traditionally associated with the textile industry of the locality. Constructionally, old stone-built houses are sought after because of their perceived qualities of sturdiness and soundness, based largely on perceptions of the pre-Victorian and Victorian builders as 'real craftsmen' who used good materials, together with the visual appeal of the stone exterior. Though many such properties are small, they are attractive to childless (particularly professional) couples and retired people. The larger 'artisan' houses are usually of generous proportions, having three or sometimes four storeys and locally are looked upon as 'ideal family houses'. The geographical factor is related to geological and constructional ones. The stone used in the building of older dwellings was quarried locally and may be any one of a variety of sedimentary sandstones or gritstones which outcrop in the area.⁸ Eastwards, the dip of the solid strata leads to them acquiring a deeper surface geology of glacial boulder clay, making them progressively more difficult and uneconomic to extract by quarrying.⁹ The point at which the economics of

quarrying the stone become unfavourable can be demarcated by a generally north-south line drawn just on the eastern edge of Bramley. This means that virtually the entire older building stock in the geographical area used for this research is characteristically stone-built. The visual evidence for this is striking, for to the east of Bramley, older buildings, particularly 'workers' housing', are almost entirely red brick, which does not have the same appeal as the stone-built houses, with the implications for market price noted above.¹⁰ Only larger public buildings, and the occasional, prestigious dwellings of a few former wealthy families, are stone-built to the east of Bramley. The desirability of owning older, stone-built properties is important in determining their market value and is a significant factor which will later need to be taken into account in the research when determining which variables might be valid in constructing a social index for data collection.

Geographical integrity

2.8 In selecting and demarcating the locality for this research it is necessary to argue for it having some degree of geographical integrity. This would be less problematic if the selection and demarcation were to be applied to Pudsey alone, equating with the extent of the former West Riding borough and thereby embracing Calverley, Farsley, Tyersal, Troydale and Fulneck, and those parts of Stanningley and Rodley which were formerly administrative components of the borough.

2.9 Why, then, include Bramley - and those parts of Stanningley and Rodley which, administratively, have Leeds, rather than West Riding antecedents?

2.10 Part of the answer lies in the very fact that the villages of Stanningley and Rodley were *de jure* divided by the boundary between the former West Riding and Leeds City, yet the *de facto* reality is that these villages were perceived (and continue to be perceived) by most inhabitants as discrete and coherent settlements. Prior to the 1974 boundary changes, when a local said that he or she lived in Rodley or Stanningley, there was no need felt to qualify this by saying "...the Leeds part of Rodley" or "...the Pudsey part of Stanningley". In the local psyche,

'Rodley' was the whole village, as was 'Stanningley', just as much as Farsley or Calverley which had no administrative boundaries dividing them. Though the division of Rodley and Stanningley between two separate local authorities often led to some practical problems, as noted earlier, it apparently had little or no effect on the inhabitants' sense of identification with 'place'. Children, for example, whichever side of the boundary they lived, would attend the same Scouts, Guides, Brownies and Cubs. The loyalty of adults to a particular public house as 'their local', or membership of a club, paid no heed to which side of the invisible boundary line it was located in relation to their own homes. Rodley Cricket Club's ground is located well within the bounds of pre-1974 Leeds, but drew its membership from all parts of Rodley village (and even further afield), whether Leeds or West Riding. These, and many more examples which could be mustered, demonstrate that as far as the locals were concerned both Stanningley and Rodley existed as coherent entities in their own right. It would, therefore, be unrealistic to restrict the definition and demarcation of the research locality to just those parts of Rodley and Stanningley which pre-1974 were under Pudsey/West Riding local government.

2.11 Bramley presents a somewhat different case. Its antecedents as an administratively integral part of Leeds go back much further than those of Pudsey and its inclusion in the defined area for this research must be based on criteria somewhat different from those of Stanningley and Rodley.

2.12 The concept of spatial 'centrality' in Bramley's relationship to Pudsey may be usefully invoked here.¹¹ Historically, once it outgrew Bramley in size and importance in the 19th century, Pudsey took on the 'central' function of providing many goods and services for its surrounding villages. Communications were as easy from Bramley to Pudsey as they were from Bramley to Leeds, at a time when Bramley was still a discrete village and there was no continuity of urban development between Bramley and other parts of Leeds to the east. As a settlement of some substance, Bramley long preserved its character of sturdy independence as the tentacles of the expanding Leeds reached out to embrace surrounding areas. This sense of standing apart from Leeds is evidenced by

many generations of Bramley residents affectionately referring to the settlement as "...our village".¹² Bramley Rugby League Football Club still carries the nickname *The Villagers*. It is true that the Leeds centre exerted an influence in some areas of activity, not least the marketing of cloth pieces woven in the homes and mills of Bramley and Pudsey. But more locally, for many other purposes, particularly retailing and general marketing, Pudsey exerted as much, if not more, 'pull' than the growing city to the east. Bramley villagers would seek their leisure and often their courtship and marriage partners in Pudsey - particularly those parts of Pudsey such as Stanningley, Farsley and Rodley which were nearest. The reverse also applied. Inter-village migration patterns reveal parts of Pudsey as a popular destination for Bramley emigrants. As an indicator of the close demographic links which existed in this area, an analysis of the 1851 Census for Farsley reveals that

*For those moving outside Farsley to find their marriage partners the majority turned to those same townships which had been the birthplace of most of Farsley's immigrants. Bramley was especially well-represented.*¹³

At the 1851 Census, Bramley, in fact, provided more marriage partners for Farsley people (8.0% of all marriage partners) than did any other nearby settlement, including the much larger and central township of Pudsey itself. Similarly, in terms of inward migrants, the same census showed that 8.5% of heads of households in Farsley were Bramley-born. There is every reason to suppose that similar demographic trends also applied *vis à vis* Bramley and adjacent parts of the Pudsey borough, other than Farsley. There appears to have been a ready-acceptance of Bramley-born people at a time when Pudsey was generally notorious for its hostile attitude to 'strangers' and this, in itself, is suggestive of some measure of a 'parochial' integrity of the two settlements.¹⁴

2.13 Industrially, economically and occupationally, too, Bramley long had much in common with Pudsey. It shared the same preoccupation with home-based hand-loom weaving of woollen cloth as did the surrounding areas but, as Leeds in general moved more towards clothing manufacture rather than cloth production, Bramley retained its focus on the latter. This trend was preserved

with the introduction of mill-working and industrialised cloth production, as the pace of economic change quickened during the Industrial Revolution. Former hand-loom weavers had to be at least locally mobile to seek employment in the mills as industrial processes and power-looms superseded home-based weaving; the work they found was frequently in a mill in a neighbouring village :

*Nearly sixty years ago (i.e. 1820s/1830s), some of the people walked...backwards and forwards every day (to other villages) to weave or spin....*¹⁵ (my parentheses)

Later, those who had become experienced millhands still found themselves having to travel to work. Bramley-Pudsey and Pudsey-Bramley and even longer daily work journeys on foot were commonplace in the middle 1800s.¹⁶

2.14 The 'pull' of Pudsey has been little diminished by developments in this present century. The older 'heart' of Bramley vanished in the face of new development; a modern shopping centre replaced the old stone properties, yards and shops which formerly lined Town Street; and the surrounding rhubarb and pasture fields disappeared beneath acres of council housing.¹⁷

2.15 Much of Stanningley (particularly to the west, along Town Street) was virtually wiped off the map as far as housing is concerned, its place being taken by industrial estates. Throughout all this upheaval, Pudsey town centre has continued to serve as 'the town' for shopping (for other than daily and perishable produce) and still provides some services which might otherwise be found only in central Leeds. As late as the 1960s, Pudsey could boast three cinemas and its park has always been an attraction for people from the west side of Leeds. The 'local' showrooms of the Yorkshire Electricity Board and the North Eastern Gas Board were to be found in Pudsey town centre until recent privatisation of these utilities, and there are branches of the major banks and building societies. The thrice-weekly market still attracts people from Bramley, Farsley, Stanningley, Rodley and Calverley, in preference to travelling into Leeds or Bradford. Though Bramley's new shopping centre did to some extent reduce Pudsey's 'pull'

for Bramley residents, this was partly redressed in the 1980s by the construction of the Owlcotes Centre retail park just north of the town centre and easily accessible from Stanningley, Bramley and all parts of the former Pudsey borough. This retail park contains one of the few major branches of Marks and Spencer in a regional out-of-town location, as well as an Asda supermarket to which special bus services run from many parts of the surrounding area. Pudsey New Station and Bramley Station remain the only two railway stations on the main line between Bradford and Leeds, while several of the local (and sub-regional) bus services start and end in Pudsey town centre.

2.16 It is clear that there is a whole matrix of kinship, commercial, industrial, communication and occupational links, giving strong support to the inclusion of Bramley, alongside Pudsey, as part of the integral geographical unit defined and demarcated for this research.

SECTION B - THE SOCIO-HISTORICAL CONTEXT

1 - EARLY HISTORY

The Celtic British kingdom of Elfed (Elmet)

1.2 *"Pudsey and the neighbourhood seem to have been about the centre of the little kingdom of Elmete, which maintained its independence for upwards of 200 years - long after the other petty kingdoms had been subdued by the Saxons".* ¹⁸

Elfed appears to have been a petty-kingdom of the northern British tribe of Brigantes.¹⁹ The existence of this Celtic kingdom (later to be called Elmet by Anglian colonizers, later still becoming Elmete) is not in doubt but its true geographical extent remains unknown.²⁰ Estimates vary from that quoted by Rayner :

Its boundary stretched from Sherburn in the east to Keighley and Halifax in the west, from the Wharfe in the north to the Calder in the south ²¹

to others which have suggested a more extensive areal coverage, projecting the kingdom's territory further westward, perhaps as far as the Pennine watershed, and somewhat further northwards and southwards. There appears to have been only the southward projection of the influence of the powerful north-western British kingdom of Rheged to prevent Elfed controlling territory well into what would later become known as Lancashire.

1.3 Whatever its territorial extent, Elfed appears to have been particularly stubborn in its resistance to the westward expansion of the Angles of Northumbria, for it was not until a date somewhere between 616 and 619 AD that

Edguin [Edwin].....occupied Elmet, and drove out Certic, the king of that land. ²²

1.4 By any definition of Elmet's territory, if any settlement approximating the

Pudsey location existed at the time it must have been at a fairly central location within the kingdom, but we know nothing of the existence of any such settlement in the pre-Germanic settlement period.

West Germanic invasion and settlement

1.5 It is with the arrival of Angle invaders and settlers in the area that we enter an era of linguistic influence, the importance of which will become apparent later in this chapter.

1.6 The accepted origin of the name *Pudsey* is West Germanic :

Pudoc's island land, with the personal name followed by the Old English
*ēg (island, or raised land in marshland or moorland).....*²³

As a descriptive place-name this would seem to be entirely in keeping with Pudsey's topography, for it is not difficult to envisage the prominence of the Owlcotes/Lidget Hill area, surrounded by marshland. Indeed, a small area, a short distance to the west of the highest local feature, and a nearby public house, both bear the name 'The Marsh'. Place-name evidence may also be invoked in support of the historical interpretation that this whole area was denied to the Angles until relatively late in the period of their colonization of northern England, for all the nearby settlements, making a linear progression up the valley of the River Aire, carry the OE *-ley* element in their names, these being (from Leeds north-westwards) Armley, Bramley, Stanningley, Farsley, Bagley, Rodley, Calverley (with the pattern being carried on beyond the bounds of our immediate interest with Fagley, Apperley, Thackley, Shipley, Bingley and Keighley).²⁴ It is generally accepted that place-names in *-ley* are indicative of a later phase of Germanic settlement than those in *-ing*, *-ham* and *-ton*, which are all conspicuous by their scarcity in this area.²⁵

Scandinavian invasion and settlement

1.7 The period late-9th century to mid-11th century saw this region being subjected to Scandinavian influence as, after the Battle of Edington in 878 and the

subsequent Treaty of Wedmore, the disbanded Danish armies began to settle in northern and eastern England - the area which was to become known as The Danelaw.

1.8 Yorkshire as a whole became an important focus of Scandinavian colonization, cultural integration, administration, trade and commerce, as part of the Kingdom of York. Jorvik (York), already with many centuries of history as an administrative, religious, garrison and trade centre behind it, predictably became a key location in the Viking scheme of things. It lay on a main trading route between the Hiberno-Norse settlement of Dublin and the Scandinavian homelands, which traversed the Irish Sea to the Lancashire coast, crossed the Pennines via the convenient passes of the Aire 'gap' and the heads of the other major dales, followed the morainic ridges of the Vale of York, to the Ouse, the Humber and, hence, the North Sea and Scandinavia. York has long been strategically important, commanding as it does the easiest land route from southern to northern Britain and what were until recently the lowest bridging points of the Ouse/Humber. Such strategic considerations were not lost on the Vikings who established administration over the region and made York (Jorvik) their capital and major trading centre. It was probably from here that Viking leaders determined the division of Yorkshire into *priðjungr*, or 'thirds', the term being subsequently Anglicized and transformed to *ridings*, to give North, East and West Ridings, which survived as discrete administrative counties until the Boundary Commission changes of 1974.

1.9 It is not known how many Scandinavians eventually settled in The Danelaw; it may have been just a few thousands, or tens of thousands. The incidence in eastern and northern England of place-names in *-by*, *-thwaite*, *-thorp(e)*, *-toft(s)*, *-kirk*, *-ness*, *-holm(e)*, *-car(r)*, *-seat/set(t)*, *-scale(s)*, and others of Scandinavian linguistic origin, together with many Anglo-Scandinavian hybrid names, suggests that colonization by Vikings was heavy. Settlements with these elements in their names can be found all over Yorkshire, interspersed with those bearing Anglo-Saxon names. But, again, caution must be exercised in interpreting this as evidence for large-scale Scandinavian colonization, as we

know that Scandinavian naming practices, for both place and personal names, persisted well into the Middle Ages. We also have to take into consideration that an original Scandinavian naming of a settlement, or the re-naming of an existing English settlement may be nothing more than a recognition of a change to a new, Viking owner :

.....large estates were broken up and their component elements handed out to individuals. Scandinavian place-names, therefore, mark not so much an extension of settlement as its reorganization under new lords and their density reflects areas of break-up of older, great estates rather than areas of migration. ²⁶

The settlement may have acquired a new owner, and a fresh name, but this is not necessarily evidence that the bulk of the settlement's population was of Scandinavian origin. The villagers may well have remained mainly Anglian but with new, Scandinavian overlordship of their community. ²⁷

Against this background, the writings of 19th century local historians, such as Rayner, begin to seem somewhat naïve and over-confident in their assertions :

The Danes also appeared on the scene.....They were in this immediate neighbourhood (of Pudsey)the whole of this district being overrun by their troops.....(they).... left their impressin the many names borne by the hills, the streams, fields and towns.... ²⁸

1.10 Though topographical terms of Scandinavian linguistic origin certainly do occur in the Pudsey/Bramley area, with *dale* and *beck* ²⁹ being particularly well-represented, locational names of similar linguistic ancestry are sparse in the immediate locality. The second element of the name *Priesthorpe* (between Pudsey town and Calverley) and the first element of *Kirklees* (in north Farsley) certainly bear witness to Scandinavian language origin but it would be nothing more than speculation to claim that they were directly bestowed by locally-settled Vikings. As noted earlier, Scandinavian naming practices existed for many generations after Scandinavian settlers became assimilated and 'invisible' as an

identifiable component of the regional population, and these location names may be as young as 700 years or so.³⁰ It is not the intention to be dismissive of such names having direct Viking origins, but simply to be cautious on the two grounds that, first, even an original Scandinavian place-name does not necessarily indicate a complete, a majority, or even a partial Viking population of that place; and second, that some of these names may be much younger than we might suppose. Interestingly, there is a possibility that *Rodley* may be an Anglo-Scandinavian hybrid place-name. The first part of the name appears to be a personal one, derived from the Old English *Hrodulf*, though it is equally possible that it may be the later Scandinavian equivalent *Hrodulfr*, which itself became the Old Norse/Old Danish *Rolf*.³¹

1.11 Whatever the quantitative and spatial extent of Scandinavian settlement in the area, and the degree of genetic and cultural assimilation with the existing English, it is clear that the language of the Vikings did have a profound effect on local speech. This point will be returned to in Section C of this chapter.

The Normans

1.12 After Duke William's conquest, the area we are concerned with came into the hands of Ilbert de Laci and it is the records of the 11th century which give us the first written evidence of the state and status of Pudsey and its immediate environs, in the form of the Domesday entries :

*II Manors. In Podechesaie Dunstan and Stainulf had eight carucates of land to be taxed, where there may be four ploughs. Ilbert now has it, but it is waste. Value in King Edward's time, forty shillings. Wood pasture half a mile long and half broad.*³²

Of Calverley, Farsley and Bramley :

*In Calverlei and Ferselleia, Archill had three caracutes of land to be taxed, and there may be two ploughs. Ilbert has it, and it is waste. Value in King Edward's time, twenty shillings. Wood pasture half a mile long and half broad.*³³

In Brameleia, Archil had four carucates of land to be taxed, and there may be two ploughs there. Ilbert now has it and it is waste. Wood pasture half-a-mile long and half broad. Value in King Edward's time, forty shillings. ³⁴

Land of Gospatrick. In Brameleia two carucates of land to be taxed. Land of one plough. ³⁵

1.13 The depressing Domesday picture of the area is one of settlements in 'waste'. We have, in the above Domesday extracts, evidence of an apparently healthy economic state in the reign of Edward the Confessor, where Pudsey and Bramley were valued at 40 shillings each, and with Calverley and Farsley worth 20 shillings, at a time when Leeds was worth six pounds and Bradford four pounds. This gives some indication of the area's relative importance and productivity on the eve of the Conquest. Twenty years later the recurring theme is one of 'waste' and it is clear that the area suffered during William's 'harrying of the north', in reprisal for the resistance to Norman rule by the Anglo-Scandinavian population of the region.

It is said that the Conqueror assembled his forces, and, stimulating them with the prospect of rich booty, marched against the rebels in the north and mowed them down like grass. He ordered the whole of the north to be laid to waste, the houses to be reduced to ashes, the cattle to be seized and driven away, and nothing to be spared. More than one hundred thousand persons were thus destroyed by sword and famine. Thus villages were depopulated; the most fertile regions were laid to waste; fire and slaughter made desolate the face of the land. ³⁶

1.14 Today's historians may take a more dispassionate view than Rayner of William's 'harrying of the north' and be more tentative in their interpretation of events than this 19th century historian, in his largely unsupported account. Nevertheless, it is reasonable to suppose that William's retribution for the northern rebellion did devastate the region generally, including the area of our present interest. This raises important questions for the fate of the population, their

culture and language. If the area was as drastically depopulated as Rayner and others have made out, how was it repopulated - by whom and from where? Did a remnant indigenous population survive by taking refuge, westwards, in the Pennine hills, to gradually drift back when the Normans' retribution had subsided? Or was the area repopulated by migrants from the same uplands, who had not been subjected to the 'harrying' and subsequently took advantage of an empty landscape and the vacated settlement sites? If William's operation reached such ruthless proportions as is sometimes represented, how do we then account for the continuity of the place-names Pudsey, Bramley, Calverley, Farsley and Bramley? It is clear from the Domesday entries that these places had their names in the immediate pre-Conquest times - and they still have them today. If a remnant population did not survive the effects of William's punitive efforts, to culturally transmit these names as they applied to their locations, what alternative explanations can we offer for the continuity? Furthermore, it seems unlikely that a monarch of William's foresight and apparent economic shrewdness would deliberately deprive himself of so much of the wealth-producing components of his realm, that is, the agricultural villages and their lands, together with the people who manned the system and generated the taxes. Certainly, some earlier authoritative estimates of England's population at the time of Domesday have been more recently substantially revised upwards, suggesting that the 'harried' north country was not as empty as has sometimes been suggested.³⁷ We might, therefore, be entitled to have doubts about the extent of depopulation and perhaps the interpretation of the term 'waste' as used in the Domesday records, with the implications this carries for genealogical, cultural and linguistic continuity.

1.15 Whatever the circumstances and extent of the 'harrying' of 1069-70, the circumstantial evidence is that Pudsey was, to some degree, once again a populated and productive estate within a generation of the event. Rayner records that one Pagan, a member of a Norman family which styled itself 'de Pudsey', there

*held eight carucates of land belonging to the King's geld of Robert de Lacy in the time of Kings William, Rufus and Henry I (1087-1135).*³⁸

It seems unlikely that even minor Norman nobility would find much economic advantage in having a sub-tenancy of some eight carucates of unproductive land, with no one to work it, or would see much prestige in adopting the place-name of 'waste' land as a family identifier.³⁹ It is difficult not to accept that there existed some population continuity, and with it linguistic continuity, through this period.

2 - LATER HISTORY

2.1 It is not the intention to dwell too long here on the period between the consolidation of Norman power and the end of the Stuart period. This is not to undervalue the importance of historical events which took place in this period. Rather, it is in recognition that this chapter is setting the scene for research into linguistic features and none of these events seem likely to have had any significance in this respect on anything like the scale of the integration of the Vikings' Scandinavian tongue with the Old English of the earlier settlers. So, the ravages of Scottish raiding, the internecine struggles for power and succession, plague and famine, will all be lightly glossed over here, to quickly bring us to the point in time when the area's credentials were being established as one of England's most important and productive textile centres - for the history of the Pudsey/Bramley area from the early 18th century is, in its essentials, also the history of the wool textile industry.

Textiles

2.2 Clothing is a basic human requirement - at least in those climatic zones where protection from the elements is essential to comfort and, indeed, survival. Cloth production from animal fibres has a long history in the British Isles, where for many centuries the hair and wool of goats and sheep has been gathered, cleaned, dyed, spun into yarn, then interlaced by weaving or knitting to form a cloth from which garments could be made. Cloth manufacture is "*...one of the first industries created by surplus purchasing power*".⁴⁰ In medieval Europe, England became one of the outstanding producers of woollen cloth and, by the 14th century, finished cloth had overtaken raw wool as the nation's most valuable export.

2.3 Many parts of England - the chalk downs and the upland moors especially - became landscapes of sheep, thanks partly to the establishment of 'granges' by the great monastic houses. The production of woollen cloth was to remain a

cottage industry for many generations, with the spinning wheel and the handloom often the most prominent and valuable items in the sparse furnishings of the peasant home. Fulling of cloth by water-powered 'stocks' was, perhaps, the earliest part of the production process to be mechanized. Prior to this innovation cloth had to be 'walked' in a wet state, in a trough, to give it bulk and to close up the fibres. ⁴¹

2.4 Yet in terms of cloth production, the Pudsey/Bramley area throughout the Middle Ages was probably no more significant than much of rural England, with home-made cloth being produced, mainly for local consumption, by peasants and yeomen whose other main preoccupation was agriculture. ⁴² The early, important centres of textile production were, in fact, to be found in East Anglia and the West Country. A range of 'received wisdom' explanations has been advanced for the growth in woollen cloth output, paralleled by the rising importance of the West Riding in relation to this. Water frequently features in these explanations, either because of the energy of the streams and rivers issuing from the Pennines, which could be conveniently harnessed for powering the fulling and other, later, machines; or because of the 'softness' of the water issuing from the peaty, gritstone central Pennine uplands, which made it easy to raise the soapy lather essential at various points in the woollen cloth-making process. Such explanations also tend to draw on the proximity of the 'sheep country' of the Pennine uplands, so presenting a picture of several elements fortuitously coinciding to give impetus to textile production in the West Riding. ⁴³

Whilst there may be some substance behind such reasoning, what is often overlooked in these 'school textbook' explanations is the economic and survival imperative which operated; in short, the scarcity of good, level, arable land. Enclosure had started in this region at least as early as the 12th century and, if the communal open-field system had operated at all in the area, it must have been undergoing modification and showing signs of terminal decay by the late Middle Ages, as the population - once recovered from the Black Death - started to grow rapidly. In consequence, land holdings were becoming smaller and reaching proportions where subsistence food production had to be supplemented by some

other form of income.⁴⁴ Home-produced textiles were an obvious answer. The raw material, wool, was certainly readily available locally. The spinning, dyeing, weaving, scouring and tentering processes were ones which could be conveniently carried on in and about the home, alongside tending a smallholding of land and some minimal livestock. Just as importantly, they were activities in which the whole family could be involved so, from a very early age, almost everyone could make a contribution to the domestic economy, whilst at the same time learning the skills of the trade. The very close relationship, throughout the region, between the 'home as factory' and the land may be detected in advertisements such as this, from the newspaper *The Leeds Intelligencer* of 27 February 1759 :

To be let : A very commodious dwelling house, with stables, dye-houses, tenters, and all other conveniences proper for a cloth maker; together with nearly seven acres of land adjoining.

2.5 The Industrial Revolution does not appear to have marked any immediate, dramatic changes in the way cloth was made in the area. The home hand-loom weaver was to remain the main agent of production for some time to come. Before widespread industrialization of the processes, in mills, it seems that a kind of 'halfway house' situation existed, where some clothiers of an entrepreneurial bent engaged others to weave for them, for Lawson writes of workers making daily journeys to "...work at manufacturers' houses".⁴⁵ Some hand-loom weavers continued to work on their own account, producing their webs and carrying them to market on pack animals, or on their 'rigs'.⁴⁶ As the Industrial Revolution gathered pace, hand-loom weavers increasingly obtained their prepared slubbings from mills, to weave at home.

The economics of scale eventually meant that someone with capital and business acumen could build and start up a mill, buying raw wool in bulk, carrying out all the initial wool preparation processes in the mill, with the spinning and weaving carried out by hand-loom weavers in their homes.

"...(they) have looms in the chambers over where they live and get work from makers in slubbing coppings from the slubbers at the mills, which

they draw out on the jennies into warps and weft, and weave it into cloth on their hand-looms" 47

The hand-loom weavers were paid for the finished piece, which the mill-owner then marketed.

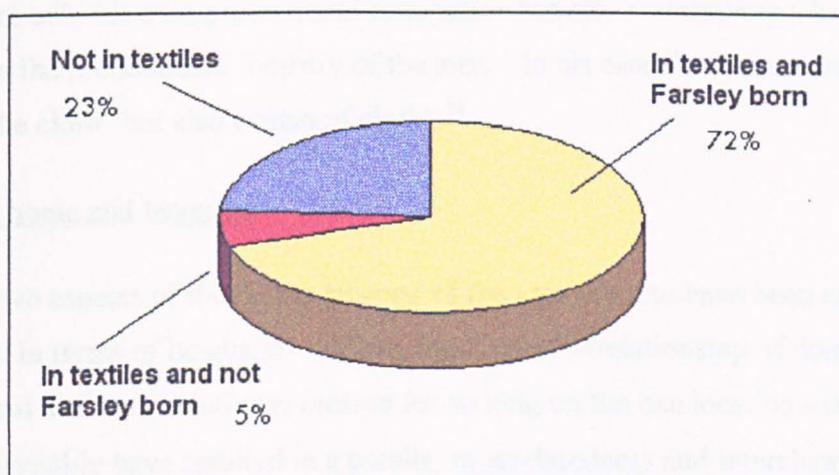
Power to the mills

2.6 The demise of many manual processes in West Riding textile production was signalled by the introduction of power machinery, at first water-driven, later steam-driven. Eventually, most processes were mechanized - willeying, carding, slubbing, spinning, weaving, and much of the finishing work.

2.7 This brought about profound changes in the work patterns and social structures of places such as Pudsey and Bramley. The textile-producing expertise built up over many generations was now harnessed for use under factory conditions and 'the workplace' ceased to be synonymous with 'the home'. Not everyone, of course, could continue to be a weaver or a jack-of-all-trades, for specialized machinery meant specialized work - and a weaver could now tend more than one loom at a time. The characteristic existence of 'own account' hand-loom weaving in the home, in association with small-scale husbandry, gave way to a new lifestyle as a 'mill worker', with all that implied for exploitation, harsh working conditions, long hours and poor reward. A few old-style yeoman clothiers existed up to at least the middle of the 19th century, for this was a time of a *"...blend of industrial change and continuity"* in northern textile districts. ⁴⁸ The 1851 Census for Farsley shows that out of a total male workforce of 667, there were 528 employed in textiles (with a further 8 'possibles': three 'waste dealers' and five 'carriers', all of whom would no doubt have been involved to some extent with - and probably heavily dependent on - textiles). For females, the comparable figures are 310 working in textiles out of a potential workforce of 717, though 331 women are listed as of 'no occupation', suggesting that they were housewives who did not offer themselves for other work. This means that out of a total potential workforce of 1384 the textile industry employed 838 people. If the 331 'solely housewives' are subtracted, the more realistic figures are 838 out of

an actual workforce of 1053. At this time, as noted above, the industry was *"still in transition from a largely domestic industry....to one where processes were mechanised and done in mills"*,⁴⁹ and it is not always possible to ascertain from the census entries whether a person was an 'own-account' clothier, a home-based hand-loom weaver working for a wage per piece, or a spinner or weaver in a mill. Nevertheless, the textile employment figures are a graphic illustration of how important the textile industry was in the area and gives some notion of how intimately people's lives were tied up with it.⁵⁰ *Figure II.1* reflects *"Farsley textile industry's long traditions"* and suggests that *"it was largely self-recruiting"*.⁵¹

Figure II.1 - Percentages of Farsley householders engaged in textiles in the 1851 Census :



The area's involvement with textiles was so important to the population that even the three migrants from south-west England recorded in the census were in the business, having moved from a region (Wiltshire/Somerset) which itself had a long tradition of woollen production but was then starting to decline. It is tempting to speculate that these had chosen to migrate with their skills because textile opportunities were decreasing in their home territory, whereas western Yorkshire was enjoying a rapidly-growing reputation for both the quantity and quality of its cloth. As further evidence of the closeness of everyday life and textiles, it is worth mentioning the specific involvement of a Farsley clergyman in

a way which was to have a world-wide and long-lasting effect. The Reverend Samuel Marsden went from Farsley to Australia as a missionary and returned in 1807, bringing with him the first wool from there for commercial use. This wool was, for a time, stored in his Farsley home, before being spun and woven into cloth by W. and J. Thompson at Park Mills, Rawdon, just across the Aire valley. Marsden returned to Australia in 1809, taking with him five Spanish Merino sheep, a gift from King George III, and these were the progenitors of many of the millions of such sheep which were to become so characteristic of Australia, producing the long-staple, silky fleeces on which the renowned worsted industry of the West Riding was subsequently founded. The Reverend Marsden did much on his Antipodean travels to "*foster the growing of wool*", and this exemplifies how the interest in textiles permeated the everyday lives and thinking of the whole community. Marsden seems to have been typical of his time and this locality, having not only his own professional occupation but also maintaining a keen interest in the predominant industry of the area. In his case, he was not only a 'man of the cloth' but also a 'man of cloth'.⁵²

Industry, home and language

2.8 Two aspects of this 'Later History' of the area seem to have been especially important in terms of language. Firstly, the close interrelationship of domestic, agricultural and textile activity, centred for so long on the one location - the home - must inevitably have resulted in a parallel interrelatedness and interchangeability of numerous words and expressions. This interrelatedness of home-occupation-community can be seen as a very powerful *network*.⁵³ Secondly, when home textile production gave way to the mill system, it is reasonable to assume that a substantial body of this (almost literally !) 'homespun' lexicon would find its way into the new working environment. Thus, the network is not destroyed, but simply shifts to another set of circumstances. Networks which closely tie individuals to several aspects of the community, including occupations in the same industry, in the same workplace, promote the use of localized, shared, vernacular language forms.⁵⁴ This and other dimensions of the community's language will be taken up again in the Linguistic Context section of this chapter

and Chapter III, the Literature Review.

2.9 First, some attention must be given to the issue of demography, particularly where this concerns in- and out-migration to and from the area. Language is vested in people, not territory; it is a portable commodity and the speech variety of a particular community is bound to be a function of the inter-generational stability or otherwise of that community.

3 - DEMOGRAPHIC ISSUES

Population and migration in late medieval times

3.1 However the area was peopled - or re-peopled - after the Normans' 'harrying of the north', it is probable that from then on it experienced for some generations a degree of continuity and stability in terms of its population. In the Middle Ages, even after the ravages of the Black Death finally put paid to the feudal system and obligatory ties to the land and village, there would probably have been little incentive for geographical mobility. Only in those areas where economics, climatic conditions or strife made existence precarious, or in those circumstances where better opportunities beckoned, not too far distant (perhaps where the earlier population had been decimated by the plague) might there be an inclination to mobility. On the other hand, the growth of medieval towns would have exerted some pull on the rural population, for urban areas and their employment opportunities always appear more attractive than the hardships of precariously scraping a living off the land. Military service and adventuring would also create some mobility, possibly leading to permanent resettlement.

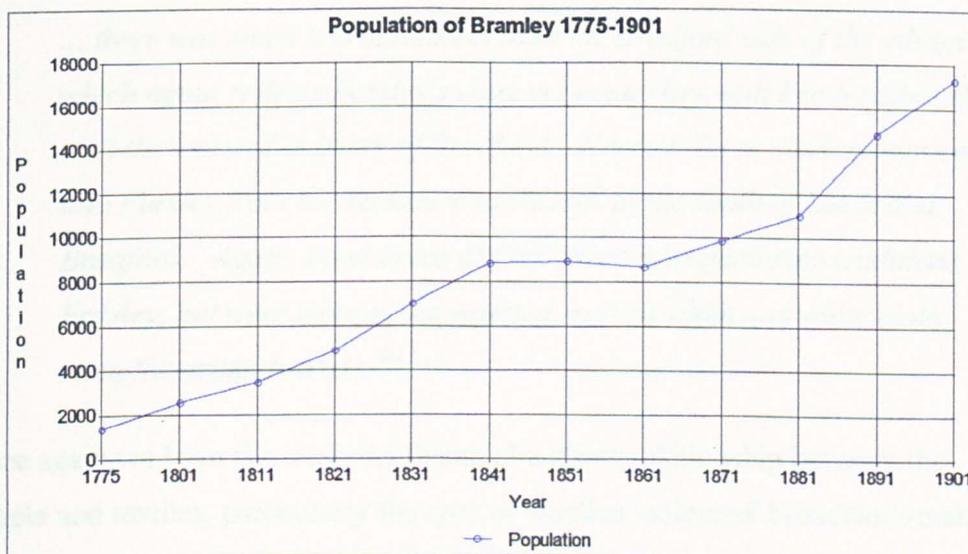
3.2 We know that inter-settlement and inter-regional migrations must have taken place to some degree, from medieval times, for this provided the rationale for ordinary families to adopt surnames identifying their place of origin and this type forms the largest consistent body of surnames in England.⁵⁵ The study of the relationship between surnames and places of origin is a highly specialized field and one it is not proposed to explore any further here. It is sufficient to have made the point that such material forms part of the evidence for some degree of population migration and resettlement from medieval times onwards and what bearing this may have had on the tension between modification and conservation of the language varieties within communities.

Demographic changes - late 18th century to early 20th century

3.3 There is evidence from the 16th century onwards of some level of national internal migration. Young people especially were motivated to move, many to seek apprenticeships or find work as servants in the towns.⁵⁶ Estimates of population growth at this time are often speculative and therefore unreliable but, if the experience of nearby Leeds is anything to go by, a marked growth in the population of Pudsey/Bramley in the period c.1575 to c.1625 seems probable and, as in Leeds, a proportion of the increase is likely to have been by inward migration.⁵⁷ *Figure II.2* charts the population of Bramley from 1775-1901, a period which we are able to numerically reconstruct, and it is reasonable to assume that this gives some indication of the trend for the remainder of the Pudsey/Bramley area :

Figure II.2 - Population of Bramley 1775-1901

[from data in Burt and Grady (1995) Appendix 10]



3.4 As a further example, the population growth in the township of Calverley-cum-Farsley "*conformed closely to the West Riding average.....*" between 1801 and 1851, "*.....although this figure masks a surge in growth in the 1830s and 1840s when population almost doubled*".⁵⁸

3.5 Within such an overall pattern of growth are hidden other demographic factors. For instance, scrutiny of the Index to the 1851 Census of Calverley, Farsley and Pudsey (East) shows that the birthplace of most inhabitants was the township itself. Of the rest, the majority were born in nearby villages, such as Bramley, Stanningley and Rodley. Other inward-migrants would not, in the main, have had far to travel to return to their geographical roots, recording birthplaces such as Farnley, Idle, Yeadon, Rawdon, Wortley, Horsforth, Tong, Eccleshill and Armley, for instance, all of which are well within a steady two hour walk from Farsley. Birthplaces such as Bradford, Holbeck, Hunslet, Thorner, Drighlington, Gildersome, W(h)inmoor, Rothwell and Guiseley, as recorded by a few people in total, all lie within 12 miles (20 kilometres) of Farsley. Of the remainder, nearly all had origins in the West Riding and only a very small number of people came from outside Yorkshire.⁵⁹ These findings are supported by the WEA 1984 analysis of the Index to the 1851 Census of Farsley, Calverley and Pudsey (East), where it is also noted that the settlements contributing to Farsley's immigration "...shared (its)..tradition of 'coloured cloth' manufacturing" and that

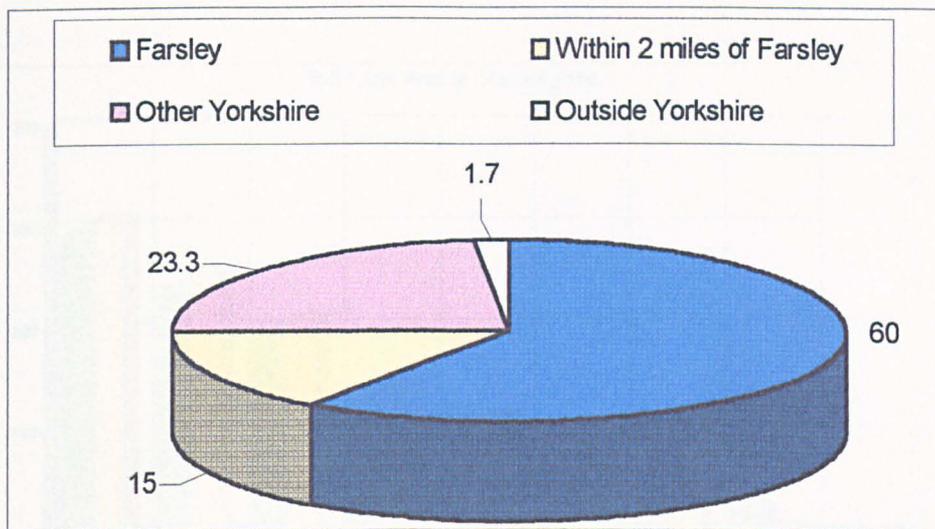
*....there was much less movement from the Bradford side of the village which again reflects Farsley's close economic ties with Leeds rather than with the worsted industry of Bradford. Nor was there much movement into Farsley from the Yorkshire townships to the south of Leeds and Bradford. Again, these areas did not share manufacturing traditions with Farsley, but were more in the worsted, narrow cloth and white cloth manufacturing districts.*⁶⁰

Once again we have the recurring theme of a direct relationship between the people and textiles, particularly the type of woollen 'coloured' broadcloth-making which was characteristic of the locality.⁶¹ The people who moved in did so from not too great a distance away and, at least in part, because they already shared the skills, the traditions, the specific 'textile-culture' - and no doubt the basic language variety - of the existing community.

This all suggests that the area enjoyed for quite some time a degree of continuity and stability in terms of its 'population heritage'. As a graphic illustration, *Figure*

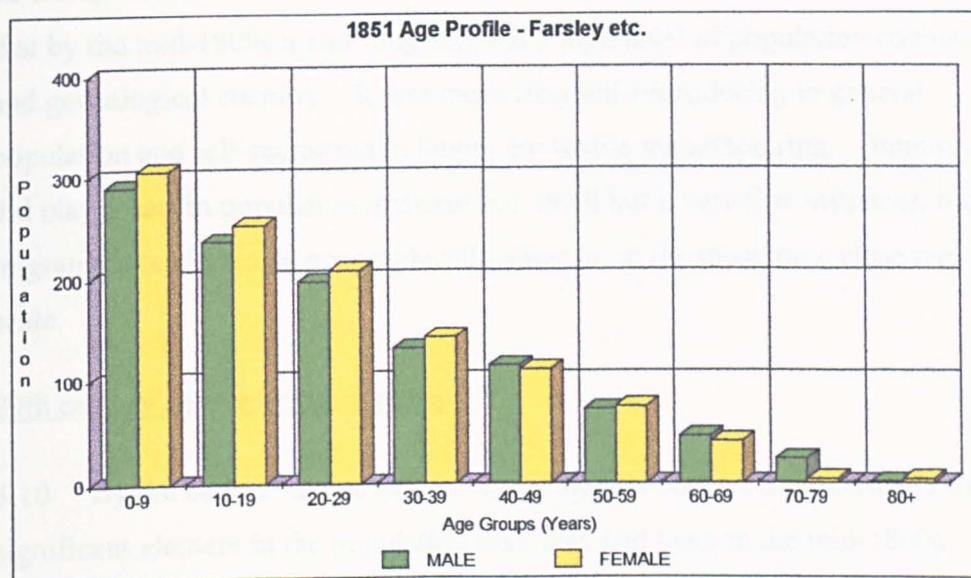
II.3 shows the birthplaces of *householders* in the 1851 Census :

Figure II.3 - Place of birth of Farsley householders (percentages)



3.6 Another hidden demographic feature of 19th century population growth is the age distribution within the population. Again using data extracted from the Index to the 1851 Census for Calverley, Farsley and Pudsey (East), which may be taken as typifying the whole of the area, we find an age profile dramatically skewed in favour of the young (*Figure II.4*) :

Figure II.4 - The age profile of the 1851 Farsley, Calverley, Pudsey (East) Census



(reconstructed from numerical data in WEA 1984) ⁶²

3.7 Returning briefly to the matter of marriage partners, already treated in Section A of this chapter, the 1851 Census shows that 70% of those born in Farsley married local people, which resulted in many families of the township sharing the same few surnames. In fact the overall surname evidence of the 1851 Census strongly supports the notion of Farsley having long-established local (or at least regional) continuity and stability in its population.

Of the 200 most common 'West Riding' surnames of the Leeds/Bradford area, identified by Redmonds, only sixteen are not represented in the Index to the 1851 Census of Farsley, Calverley and Pudsey (East).⁶³

3.8 The total population represented by *Figure II.4* is 2,260.⁶⁴ What the *Figure II.4* profile also displays is a steady, arithmetical decline in numbers from youngest to oldest, indicating that there were "no sudden injections of immigrant labour". This, in turn, "reflects a long established local (textile) industrywhich provided employment for both men and women, eliminating the need

for either to move out of the village to find work". ⁶⁵ Inward migration does not, therefore, seem to be a major issue in this period..

3.9 If, as seems reasonable, the Farsley/Calverley/Pudsey (East) situation can be extrapolated to the whole locality demarcated for this research, the evidence is that by the mid-1800s it had long enjoyed a high level of population continuity and genealogical stability. It was more than self-reproducing in general population and self-recruiting in labour for textile manufacturing. Immigration did play a part in population increase but, in all but a very few instances, the migrations tended to be geographically short or, at the most, on a close regional scale.

20th century demographic changes

3.10 By the early 20th century, inward-migrants became a numerically more significant element in the population than they had been in the mid-1800s. In 1984, some of the older residents of Pudsey recorded their recollections of life in the borough in the first half of this century :

....And down in that yard below Primrose Hill - was it Providence Yard? - they were all Irish down there. ⁶⁶

(of John Butler's Foundry, Stanningley)... (it) grew so much they got what we call 'strangers' in, from York, and they came from Tyneside and settled here....in fact there were so many York people in the district where they settled was christened York Barracks, and it kept that name. Of course, they had families, and there is still quite a lot of Yorky people in Stanningley. ⁶⁷

3.11 Clearly, such immigrations must have had some potential for modifying the community's language. And it was not only permanent resettlers who may have been the carriers and transmitters of alternative language features, for the pattern of people moving to and from the area on a daily basis, to work, which had been established generations before, carried on into the 20th century :

*They used to come from.....all over the place to work in the mills at Beckbottom.*⁶⁸

*There weren't enough girls in Stanningley to run all them mills so they got them to come from Leeds, Holbeck.....in those days there were hundreds of people who used to come from all round Leeds way, t'other side o' Leeds, to work in the mills in Stanningley.*⁶⁹

3.12 Military service in World War Two meant that many young men were temporarily out of the area - and their native linguistic milieu - for anything up to six years or more. The pattern and conditions of military service in 1939-45 were markedly different from those of 1914-18 in one important respect. In the First World War most military units were infantry battalions, recruited or conscripted on a markedly territorial basis. A young man from Pudsey would most likely find himself in one of the battalions of the West Yorkshire Regiment, the Duke of Wellington's Regiment, the Green Howards or the King's Own Yorkshire Light Infantry, serving alongside others who shared a common (or at least very similar) mode of linguistic expression, vocabulary, accent and, of course, regional identity. In World War Two, though, the majority of the land forces were not infantry but support and service corps and regiments, such as the Royal Army Service Corps, the Royal Corps of Signals, the Royal Engineers, and so on, composed of men from all over the United Kingdom and the Commonwealth. The infantry regiments, though still bearing 'county' titles, were often cosmopolitan in their makeup, particularly after Dunkirk, where units suffered differential losses and their numbers had to be restored from the general pool of the fit and available. Bramley and Pudsey men were almost as likely to find themselves wearing the kilt of the Argyll and Sutherland Highlanders, the red and white hackle of the Royal Northumberland Fusiliers, or the cap-badge of the Royal West Kents, as serving in one of the Yorkshire regiments. The Royal Air Force, too, took its recruits from all over the UK, as did the Royal Navy and Merchant Navy which had traditionally drawn their crews mainly from coastal areas. In such 'melting-pot' environments, a marked deviation from the standard speech variety cannot be easily sustained and some shift towards the *lingua franca* of the standard seems

inevitable.

3.13 Immigration and resettlement, though never on a large scale in this area at the time, continued in the aftermath of World War Two. Amongst others, Italian ex-prisoners of war with no desire to return to war-torn Italy, and so-called 'displaced persons' from Poland, Latvia, Lithuania and other parts of central and eastern Europe, took up residence in Pudsey. Later still, a small but significant number of Asian immigrants (often of professional or managerial status) made their homes in Pudsey, mainly in the extreme west of the area, close to the boundary with Bradford.

3.14 Since World War Two, some large parts of the area have been given over to the construction of council housing estates, particularly in north Bramley, off Bramley Town Street, and in Swinnow, and the occupants have come from many other parts of Leeds where large-scale clearance of sub-standard property has taken place, such as Wortley, Whingate, Armley, Holbeck and Hunslet. In addition, parts of the area such as Farsley, Rodley and Calverley have become increasingly attractive as private residential areas, both in older properties, as already discussed earlier in this chapter, and in several new, large- and small-scale housing developments. In recent decades, Leeds has started to take on the function of a *de facto* regional capital, with very rapid expansion in the service, central government and financial sectors. This has brought new waves of migrants into the area from all parts of the UK, including London and the south-east, who have sought homes in the suburbs, including the residentially attractive parts of Pudsey, such as Calverley, Farsley and Rodley.

The consequences of this are that many people now living in the area have no family antecedents there, with all that implies for continuity of the existing community's language variety.⁷⁰ As a result of these demographic trends, the language variety of the community will inevitably be subjected to changes which will alter the locally-available lexicon and, hence, the choices people may make in structuring their spoken language..

3.15 The other major development in post-World War Two years which has a

bearing on the context of this research is the dramatic decline in extent and importance of the textile industry of the area. We need not go too deeply into the economic pressures which have brought about this decline. Suffice it to say that they have stemmed mainly from the availability of cheap, unskilled and semi-skilled labour, particularly in the Far East, as technological developments in the spinning and weaving automated machine processes have, to some extent, 'de-skilled' many of the operations which once demanded a long, specialized training or apprenticeship. The last forty years have seen a reduction in the textile industry to near-invisibility, all over the traditional cloth-producing region of the former West Riding. Mills which existed in their scores in this research locality can now, literally, be counted on the fingers of one hand. Those which have survived have done so by becoming producers of highly-specialized materials, for specialized markets, or by having diversified into associated, but not strictly 'textile', activities. Textiles have, in short, ceased to be the main occupation - and preoccupation - of the local population. As a specific example, one of the surviving worsted mills in Farsley now employs one hundred people, whereas in the years up to World War Two it provided employment for some five hundred or more.⁷¹ The total textile workforce of north Pudsey probably does not by much now exceed three hundred. To put this in perspective, attention is again directed at the figures, given earlier in this section of the chapter, for textile employment in Farsley at the 1851 Census. Then, at least 838 people out of a total population of 2,260 were engaged in some capacity or other with textile production, that is, nearly 40%. The 1981 almost-congruent census enumeration district shows a population of more than ten times the 1851 figure, with perhaps only 300 or so working in textiles - probably less than 1.5% of today's population.

3.16 The matrix of close links amongst the textile industry, occupations and the home goes back, as we have seen, many generations. It is suggested that this close linkage was a strongly significant factor in maintaining the community's language variety, while ever the textile industry continued to dominate the economic scene and everyday life in the area; this is an issue which will be explored in more depth later in this work.

3.17 Summing up socio-historically and demographically, we appear to have a locality for research where, for centuries, a basically Anglo-Scandinavian population stock had continuity and stability in genealogy and culture. Demographic changes up to and including the middle 19th century seem to have done little to upset this general picture for, even where inward migration did occur, it was almost overwhelmingly from close by and mainly involved people who probably shared a common genetic, cultural, occupational and linguistic heritage. A major social and language-maintaining influence on the community was, for many generations, the textile industry. The 20th century, on the other hand, has been a period of more dramatic change, demographically, industrially, occupationally, and in other ways which may have had a significant effect on the community's nonstandard language variety. The textile industry has virtually disappeared and inward migration has accelerated. The final section of this chapter will examine and discuss the Linguistic Context and the implications this may reveal for designing the research objectives and methodology, and treating its results.

SECTION C - THE LINGUSITIC CONTEXT

Language belongs to everyone; so most people feel they have a right to hold an opinion about it. ⁷²

1 - THE AIMS AND RATIONALE

1.1 The major aim of Section C of Chapter II is to present and discuss the linguistic context of this research. The linguistic context is at the same time geographical, inasmuch as a spatial unit has been defined and it is the language in use in the community of that defined area which is under scrutiny. It is also historical, for any examination of present-day language cannot ignore the fact that it is a product of past occurrences and influences. The geographical and socio-historical scenes have already been set and frequent reference will be made back to these in Section C.

1.2 Secondly, Section C aims to establish definitions and guidelines which will subsequently assist the identification and isolation of certain aspects of language, the selections to be made from them, and how these selections will be presented and employed in data-gathering.

1.3 It is the intention here to introduce the notion of the 'linguistic stock' of a community. The purpose behind this is that terms such as 'dialect' and 'local speech variety' will not always be sufficient or appropriate to what follows, as was established in Chapter I.

The 'linguistic stock' of a community

1.4 It has been demonstrated that 'dialect' is an elusive concept and, as such, is not particularly useful in this research. It carries connotations of time and areal space which could prove problematic in identifying the research's objectives and designing its methodology. What is needed is a different conceptualization of language which can be readily handled for the purposes of this study. The concept needs to have more scope than 'dialect' and be associated with the community rather than the area. Whilst an area remains where and what it is, a community changes morphologically, over time, in several ways. It grows and shrinks. It may at one time contain mainly people whose families have lengthy antecedents within it; at other times its composition may include substantial minorities who had original or earlier membership of other communities. Its age and sex profile may alter. And, importantly, the range and variety of language available to its members will change and what is available will include not only 'dialect' associated with the local community, but also the standard variety - and all shades in between. Taken to its logical conclusion, this 'total language' concept must also include many bits and pieces from the varieties of other communities (such as 'Americanisms'), as well as foreign languages and even non-verbal forms such as the British Sign Language. In this research, this totality of what is available to language users in a community will be referred to as 'linguistic stock'. The linguistic stock can be envisaged as having component parts as sub-sets of the whole. These sub-sets will be the grammatical/syntactical stock, the phonological stock, the accent stock and - most importantly - the lexical stock, of the whole community under observation. In each case, the sub-set will consist of all the variations which are available to the community's language users. All components are subject to change - to gains, losses and modification. This is of particular significance to lexical stock, in relation to the notion of 'need', where "*.....unwanted words drop out...new words are coined as they are required*".⁷³

1.5 The linguistic stock conceptualization is proposed so that the notion of 'choice' may be brought into the picture. It can be envisaged that a language user has available to him or her a whole range of language features from which to choose. It also frees the research and discussion from any association with the limiting and vague notion of 'dialect'. This idea of 'choice' will be addressed in the next part of this section of Chapter II..

2 - LINGUISTIC CHOICES

2.1 This research is, in part, concerned with the linguistic choices made by people and how these choices have contributed to language change. In speech, people may choose the grammatical or syntactical form they use, the way they pronounce standard words, and whether or not to employ any nonstandard words.

2.2 It seems too obvious to mention, but to make such choices, there must exist a body of alternatives, a 'menu', to select from. This body will differ over space and time. What it contains will depend not only on history, but also on certain pressures and forces, some of these sometimes in tension.

2.3 There will clearly be differences in what is available, to any one individual, at any given time, from a community's total linguistic stock. Practical factors limiting availability will be age, education, length of residence in the community, linguistic habits and experiences, memory, and so on. A member of the community who has lived elsewhere for a time (perhaps away at university) may have a wide choice from what is offered by his or her familiarity with Standard English, but at the same time may be restricted in knowledge of nonstandard forms used by other speakers in the community. These may be forms once known quite well in earlier life, but since forgotten through neglect of use and the person's absence from the community. On the other hand, someone who has lived his or her whole life in the community and who has been in contact throughout with its nonstandard forms, may be expected to have these available, together with a functional knowledge of Standard English, from which to make choices. Young children will clearly have less to choose from, at least before they have acquired a wide knowledge of both standard and nonstandard language in the community. Older people may have formerly had both wide-ranging knowledge of nonstandard features and those of Standard English, but have 'forgotten' much of the nonstandard component of the stock, through lack of use, together with increasing use of standard alternatives.

2.4 Several closely interrelated mechanisms must now be examined in relation to choice and what constitutes the 'menu'. Inward migration to a community, as already suggested, has potential for modifying the linguistic stock of that community. Robinson, writing about Leeds and its neighbourhood, recognised and observed upon this as long ago as 1862 :

There are certain usages and words also prevalent amongst us, but which owe their origin to the influx of natives of the rural districts from time to time. ⁷⁴

If different speech styles, particularly lexical items, are imported, then features of them may be adopted by the existing community. This may occur to a greater or lesser extent, depending on whether lexical cognates are available, whether differences in syntax and grammar begin to cause comprehension difficulties, and whether there are phonological variations which seem, for instance, more 'attractive' or more 'fashionable'.

Invaders and settlers and the linguistic stock

2.5 The Anglian conquest and colonization of the region was so complete that virtually all trace of the earlier Brythonic language was erased. Only the odd place name, and elements in the names of natural features (often heavily misinterpreted, Anglicised and corrupted) remain as linguistic evidence of an earlier people. Whether the Celtic population was driven out, slaughtered or enslaved (and in what proportions) is still an issue debated by historians, archaeologists and historical-geographers but, whatever its eventual outcome, the fact will remain that the Celts were to all intents and purposes linguistically obliterated. When Scandinavians occupied and settled the land, though, a quite different outcome occurred in this region for (whatever the number of Scandinavian settlers) there was close interaction amongst the communities, in trade, in marriage, in culture and, inevitably, in language. John of Wallingford (d. 1258) tells us that the people of the region "...*had much intercourse with the Danes and intermarried with them, and became like them in speech*". ⁷⁵

McCrum et al, drawing on the work of Professor Tom Shippey, illustrate

something of the mechanism of linguistic amalgamation at work :

Because both their languages had the same Germanic roots, the language frontier broke down and a kind of natural pidginization took place that gradually simplified the structure of Old English....Consider what happens when somebody who speaks, shall we say, good Old English runs into somebody....who speaks good Old Norse. They can no doubt communicate with each other, but the complications in both languages are going to get lost. So, if the Anglo-Saxon...wants to say (in good Old English) 'I'll sell you the horse that pulls my cart', he says: 'Ic selle the that hors the draegeth minne waegn'. Now the old Norseman - if he had to say this - would say: 'Ek mun selja ther hrossit er dregr vagn mine'. So, roughly speaking, they understand each other. One says 'waegn' and the other says 'vagn'. One says 'hors' and 'draegeth'; the other says 'hros' and 'dregr', but broadly they are communicating. They understand the main words. What they don't understand are the grammatical parts of the sentence.....If you get enough situations like this there is a strong drive towards simplifying the language". ⁷⁶

2.6 This mechanism worked, to some extent, on the whole of the Old English language, even in areas not heavily settled by Scandinavians, presumably through close political contact and trade, and a large number of words of Old Norse origin are to be found in the standard lexicon today.⁷⁷ In this region, however, the Scandinavian linguistic influence and physical and cultural integration were much stronger and more prolonged. As a result, speech varieties in the region today - especially outside the urban conglomerations - still show a remarkable preservation of lexical items of Old Norse linguistic origin, to a significantly greater extent than the relatively few 'borrowings' found in Standard English. One of the effects of this was that, by making choices, the people sometimes preserved certain Old English language features, favouring them over the Old Norse alternatives, yet sometimes they did the opposite, abandoning the Old English feature in favour of the Old Norse. In some cases, it was a choice of both cognates, so that alternatives were preserved. The later, Norman-French

influence does not seem initially to have been great.. It was, after all, the language of the ruling elite, not the ordinary people. The ordinary people had little need of it; their Anglo-Scandinavian language served them quite well in their day-to-day dealings. French did eventually have some effect as Middle English emerged but this was perhaps never as marked as in 'Saxon' England - at least not until relatively recent centuries. Nevertheless, Norman-French did bring with it an extension of the available linguistic stock, so that once more there frequently existed side-by-side lexical alternatives for the same thing. Ironically, in view of the initial lack of impression French perhaps made, the regional language variety that developed preserved a number of French-origin words which have since been lost to Standard English.⁷⁸

2.7 What the historical account shows is that large-scale migration into an area can have a dramatic effect on the linguistic stock of the community. However, it has to be remembered that, within The Danelaw (and, more particularly, within the Kingdom of York) the Scandinavians were the dominant community, not necessarily numerically, but in terms of power and prestige. Estates and manors which had previously had English lords often found themselves under new, Viking lordship, regardless of whether their populations were Anglian, Scandinavian or Anglo-Scandinavian. Because of their prestigious position, Vikings would be able to impose much of their language on the subordinate community, exercising what Renfrew refers to as *elite dominance*.⁷⁹ The Normans also exercised *elite dominance*, but, linguistically, this probably did not have the initial impact on the population of this region that the Old Norse tongue did, for the Normans remained socially distant from the indigenous population. There is also the 'harrying' episode to take into account for this could, understandably, have delayed any adoption of the linguistic features of what were perceived as destroyers and oppressors.

Migration and the linguistic stock

2.8 In the Socio-historical Context it has been suggested that, after the Vikings, the community was not greatly affected by any further large-scale immigration until at least the second half of the 19th century. The inward migrations which

did occur from then must inevitably have had some effect on the linguistic stock of the community. Even relatively short-distance migration and daily travel to work could result in the import of novel lexical items and speech features. That there were marked differences in lexicon over quite short distances is shown in this account by a woman who moved to Farsley from Leeds as late as the early part of this century :

When I first came to live in Farsley this old lady came and she said "Can I have a piggin of water ?" And you see, with me being a town girl, I didn't know what a piggin was. And she meant a ladling can.⁸⁰ And then she saw my clothes-horse, an' she called it a 'maiden'. And then I once had a lot of pinnies hung out and she said, "Oh !", she said, "you have a lot of brats out!", and she was meaning those pinnies.⁸¹ It was like another language".⁸²

It is reasonable to suppose that if there were such lexical differences between existing community members and short-distance incomers, then a similar mechanism which operated at the time of Anglo-Scandinavian language amalgamation would come into play - that is, some lexical items would be abandoned in favour of their cognates and this would not always be in the direction of immigrants adopting the community's existing terms but the other way round. This need not have happened immediately, for two terms for the same thing - or two different ways of expressing the same concept - may have existed side-by-side for a long time, before one fell into disuse in favour of the other :

*.....words from one dialect may conflict with words from others. When conflict occurs, two things can happen. Either one term drops out, or each word starts to refer to slightly different aspects of the thing originally designated. English **shirt** and **skirt** are old examples of this, originally having been British dialect variants for the same article.⁸³*

This would have the effect of providing more alternatives to choose from, within the community's linguistic stock.

Mobility and the linguistic stock

2.9 Migration is not the only process which can bring about modifications to the linguistic stock of a community. Travel opportunities widened in the 19th century for ordinary working people, particularly with the coming of the railways, and they found it easier to break out of the relative isolation which had characterized village and small township life for so long. This could mean greater opportunities for recreational travel and also for geographical mobility in connection with work. Chambers presents it as a natural linguistic law that :

isolation causes people to speak and sound less like people from other places

whereas

.....mobility causes people to speak and sound more like people from other places. ⁸⁴

In short, mobility increases the size and range of the linguistic stock from which a community can make choices. For a time, there may be conflict between 'parochialism' (which keeps members of a community loyal to its own forms, customs and traditions) and the 'pressure of communication'. ⁸⁵ The need to achieve functional communication with other communities limits parochialism. Outsiders are brought into increasing contact with a community while, at the same time, members of that community themselves go further afield to interact with others and, as Romaine writes, "*the people with whom one interacts are a powerful source of influence on speech*". ⁸⁶

Technological changes and the linguistic stock

2.10 Technological changes (which occurred very rapidly in the textile industry in particular, from the early 19th century onwards) bring with them new language features. The names of machines and their parts, the words for different processes and the raw materials used, expressions attached to situations where something goes wrong, and 'labels' for new concepts which have not been

encountered before. We have only to think of what has occurred in recent decades in relation to information technology to see something of the marked linguistic effect new technology and fresh conceptualizations bring about. *Programme* means 'a series of events or a descriptive list of them; or a broadcast performance', often in connection with entertainment. Now it also means a set of instructions to a computer and we have to take into our lexical stock the alternative, American spelling *program* to differentiate between the two. Similarly with *disc* and *disk*. *Hardware* was once the generic term attached to the goods sold in a 'hardware shop' - screws, nails, hinges and other door furniture, tools, buckets, ironmongery, and so on; generally speaking, those household goods which did not have a soft tactile characteristic. Now it embraces a range of information technology goods such as computers, keyboards, visual display units, printers, scanners, modems, tape-streamers, CD writers - the 'machinery' of information technology - and perhaps very few people now use the word in its earlier sense. The technical terminology proliferates as new equipment, concepts and processes come on the scene. Apparently the term *the hairy billiard ball* has had to be 'invented' recently to describe a particular concept in electronic communications, for which no suitably descriptive term existed ! ⁸⁷ Though the speed of technological change may have been less frenetic in the Industrial Revolution, the effect on a community's linguistic stock will have been no less significant than it is today. But technological innovation also has the effect of rendering obsolete not only the earlier technology, but also the language which accompanied it. As Upton writes, "...it must be said that erosion of...lexis is inevitably taking place in those fields of activity which are themselves in decline". ⁸⁸ Sometimes a 'lost' technological term will survive in the form of a metaphor, some of which may become widely used with perhaps little or no awareness of their origin.

Education and the linguistic stock

2.11 The advent of compulsory education for all, from the late 19th century, is often cited as a key agent in the 'loss', 'erosion' or 'attrition' of 'traditional regional dialects'. How effective it has been in this is open to debate. Certainly,

education served to extend the range and variety of the linguistic stock by bringing young people (often for the first time) into contact with the standard variety of language, this being the medium employed in the printed word and in writing. In this way, people were given more alternatives to choose from to express themselves. Strenuous efforts have been made by successive generations of teachers to promote Standard English in the classroom and it might be thought that the scale and intensity of such efforts would have resulted in virtually everyone choosing to use the standard form for their everyday speech.

Acquisition of, and fluency in, the standard variety has long been perceived as a form of 'improvement'. Concomitant with this is an evaluation of the nonstandard as a deficient form, carrying connotations of ignorance, provincial inferiority, lack of education and low social standing. Lawson, a Pudsey man himself, in 1887 wrote:

*A word or two may be said about the Pudsey dialect., which has much improved within our knowledge; we mean that a much larger proportion of the inhabitants speak better English. If people are not taught English they cannot be expected to speak it. When there was no, or very little, education, dialect would be the only thing known. But now that we have a system of National Compulsory Education in addition to the Mechanics' Institutes and Mutual Improvement Societies, in a few generations the dialect of Pudsey will be less known.....*⁸⁹

while as recently as 1984 Phillips was writing, in relation to nonstandard language, that "... *there still is ... a defensive use of **substandard** English*".⁹⁰ (my emphasis).

2.12 The language of 'better' and 'improvement' is a clear indication of the perceived deficiency of the nonstandard language variety of the community and that it can, and should, be 'remedied' and, furthermore, the education system should be the agent of that remedy. The education system has never drawn back from the challenge of impressing the standard form on pupils and "*Standard English is in many respects the dialect of the school*".⁹¹ The education system's motivation appears to be altruistic and genuinely directed at improving children's

access to further educational, occupational and social opportunities. Equality of opportunity cannot exist in the prevailing linguistic and social climate unless all speakers can handle, with equal facility, the sort of Standard English which is the passport to the professions and other high-status occupations.⁹² Some teachers may regard themselves as 'custodians' of 'correct' English and (though often former users of low-status varieties themselves) hold strongly negative attitudes towards the children's nonstandard variety. Accents, and nonstandard grammatical forms and lexical items, are all identified as in need of 'correction'.⁹³ In relation to this, Chambers writes :

*The strength of the attitudes inveighing against certain variants.....on the one hand,...and the pressures favouring standardization on the other, create a considerable tension over dialect and accent.*⁹⁴

At the same time, as has been demonstrated, teachers' perceptions of children's abilities and potential may be heavily influenced by their attitudes, stereotypes they hold, and the social judgments they make of the children's language variety.⁹⁵ These, in turn, may lead to self-fulfilling prophecies about children's potential and their ability in the educational setting.⁹⁶

2.13 But a number of tensions and paradoxes attend the educational aim of giving children access to the standard variety in their writing, whilst attempting to suppress the nonstandard speech features of their community. Firstly, social and regional identity markers are implicit in the variety of language used. Different social groups and communities have motives for adhering to their own varieties of language. Standard English, especially where it is expressed through Received Pronunciation, which carries no regional associations, is the prestige form, the property of what are perceived as higher social classes. Nonstandard varieties of English are associated with geographical regions and, in general, with those of 'lower' social status. This is no accident. Motives of identity, sending out signals of belonging, are important at all levels of society and "*.....how one speaks is inextricably bound up with one's identity*".⁹⁷ The better-educated and more highly qualified members of society tend to move around more and be in close occupational and social contact with others who do the same. Their linguistic

signals are concerned with loyalty to - and identification with - their social and occupational groups, rather than the community of a particular area.⁹⁸ They feel less need to express any regional identity. The social grouping they are part of is supra-regional and their membership of it is based on criteria of education, and occupational and social standing. Furthermore, there is a strong compulsion for this stratum of society to promote its own speech variety as the definitive form :

*One of the tacit strategies of the elite is to install their own dialect as the "correct" one. The "constitution" that empowers their dialect takes the form of dictionaries, grammars and usage guides in which their linguistic preferences are promulgated as models of correctness. The "legislation" that puts it into place is its imposition as the norm in state-run systems such as government bureaux, broadcasting and education.*⁹⁹

And this works, for by the very association of a particular language variety with those in high-status, powerful occupational and social positions, the language variety itself becomes prestigious.

2.14 Other groups, usually those lower down the social ladder, tend not to be as occupationally or geographically mobile and their sense of identity expresses itself in terms of community and regional origin as well as social class :

*Blue-collar and lower class speakers who are less likely to leave their native regions or come into frequent contact with outsidersretain regionalisms to a far greater degree than do the educated.*¹⁰⁰

At all levels, though, the type of language used sends out clear signals about which group a person is a member of and is one of the mechanisms for maintaining 'social distance'. Socially, language varieties are not equal.¹⁰¹ If, then, the educational system purposefully strives to equip *all* members of society with the same linguistic capabilities, whilst extinguishing nonstandard speech varieties associated with low-status and regional communities, and if it achieves its aim, then language would cease to be an indicator of social standing. This may be an understandable and laudable egalitarian aim, but do the different social

groups see it as being in their respective interests? Giles makes the point that the dominant group does not want subordinate groups to draw too near in the assimilation of the dominant group's language.¹⁰² If this were to happen, then the dominant group would be deprived of "*...targets for a variety of social discriminations...*", for part of the process of remaining distinctively dominant is the opportunity to "*...use language derogatorily against subordinate groups*".¹⁰³ At the same time, subordinate groups seem to be strongly reluctant to surrender their attachments to the nonstandard language varieties which signal their regional and community identities. It has been shown that there could be heavy social costs to the individual, if one or other abandoned her or his habitual linguistic variety to move towards that of the other. The issue of identity appears to be a very strong element in the motivation of lower-status groups to retain their distinctive, nonstandard language variety and "*...many regional, ethnic, and social class varieties.....have tended to persist for centuries, surviving strong pressures to succumb in favour of the standard...*".¹⁰⁴ Giles and Coupland describe how

*these linguistic differences function as class or group 'markers' that provide the opportunity for easy ingroup-outgroup distinctions (both desired and undesired) for sustaining and expressing group identity.*¹⁰⁵

So, both high- and low-status groups have their own motives for maintaining language differences, which means that the educational system finds itself in an ambivalent state. On the one hand, there is an overt 'professional' pressure to instil the use of the standard in children, while simultaneously attempting to suppress their community's nonstandard features; on the other hand, there are covert and subtle influences at work to limit this acquisition to those who, potentially, will themselves eventually join the ranks of the dominant social group. In short, teachers with middle-class values employ a middle-class speech variety to teach in a way which middle-class (or aspiring middle-class) children are the linguistically better placed to exploit :

It has been noted that working-class children do not perform so well educationally as might be expected, and it has been suggested that language may play an important role in this underachievement.....One

component of this language problem is widely felt to be connected with dialect....Most children....have to learn to handle a new dialect on entering school. ¹⁰⁶

The educational system finds it difficult to compromise on this and "...schools measure success in terms of mastery of standard English....nonstandard speech is seen as illogical...". ¹⁰⁷

2.15 The ambivalence experienced by the educational system is compounded by a teaching ideology (particularly in primary schools) which is essentially liberal in character. The tensions implicit in this situation, where apparent liberalism on one side is subtly countered by constraining undercurrents on the other, probably goes largely unnoticed and unremarked by teachers. The current National Curriculum for English (Key Stages 1 and 2) ostensibly encourages teachers to familiarise children with the "*richness of dialects*" - an apparently liberal recognition of the validity of nonstandard varieties of language - but within a page has revealed the inbuilt prejudice and ignorance against nonstandard forms, in favour of Standard English, which, it is claimed,

is distinguished from other formsby its vocabulary, and by rules and conventions of grammar, spelling and punctuation;.....the grammatical features that distinguish standard English include how pronouns, adverbs and adjectives should be used and how negatives, questions and verb tenses should be formed; such features are present in both the spoken and written forms, except where nonstandard forms are used for effect or technical reasons. ¹⁰⁸

2.16 The message to teachers seems to be clear : 'By all means let the children know it is recognised that nonstandard varieties of language exist, but they are not 'proper' English because they do not have a formalized, laid-down structure' - this despite the weight of evidence that nonstandard varieties are just as rule-governed as any other. As Chaika puts it :

It is essential to understand that all human beings, even those with no

formal education, speak according to rules. All human language is produced by rules of word formation, sentence formation, and discourse formation. The educated middle-class has no monopoly on rule-governed language. ¹⁰⁹

Giles and Coupland support this :

The language of working-class people has been shown to be no less rule-based, logical or rich than middle-class language ¹¹⁰

as does Romaine, who also makes the point that attempts to effect changes towards Standard English may be actively resisted by children. ¹¹¹ Criticism, 'correction' and ridicule of children's language may be perceived by the children as an attack on their identities and their communities. ¹¹² The main problem for teachers is that they are expected to 'do something' about children's linguistic capabilities (certainly as far as reading, writing and listening are concerned) whilst having to recognize that there is little or nothing they can do about speech variety, yet it is this dimension of language which engenders unfavourable attitudes. ¹¹³

2.17 The National Curriculum effectively solves the dilemma for teachers in such a way that they do not really need to do anything positive about nonstandard language varieties, just so long as they do not do anything negative to upset the supposedly liberal ideology. This gets round the troublesome fact that the formal educational system has been singularly unsuccessful in eliminating nonstandard spoken language varieties. "*Generations of teachers*", writes Trudgill, "*have employed persuasion, exhortation, punishment, scorn and ridicule in attempts to prevent children from using nonstandard dialects - all of them without success*". ¹¹⁴ In terms of comprehending and writing the standard form, the system is to some degree successful; however, as far as spoken language is concerned, all attempts to drive out nonstandardization have failed. But in their failure, the 'elimination lobby' has "*...succeeded in convincing a majority of the nation's inhabitants that they 'can't speak English'....*", understandably leading to many being reluctant to use their natural speech in educational and public settings, where it may become an object of ridicule or a target for 'correction'. ¹¹⁵

2.18 What are the implications of all this for the contexts of this present research? The educational system has the potential for dramatically widening the linguistic stock available. That it does not generally do so is probably due to the ambivalence inherent in a situation where overt and explicit declarations of the importance of nonstandard language varieties are undermined by misconceptions about the unassailable 'correctness' of the standard form and its status as the only variety worthy of communicating in. It would appear that, as far as the available linguistic stock is concerned, the educational system brings about both 'profit' and 'loss'. The profit lies in the introduction of children to the vocabulary and structure of the standard form, so potentially extending the variety and range of language features from which they can choose. But this is countered, to a degree, by the potential loss of features of the community's nonstandard variety, for although total elimination has been unsuccessful, its clear labelling in the educational setting as 'deficient', 'sub-standard', 'not proper', may inhibit its free exercise sufficiently to limit its use to close familial and peer group interactions. Thus, in some situations, the user's freedom to choose remains largely theoretical and illusory, and convergence towards 'public' use of the standard occurs as the user seeks to escape being labelled as 'socially inferior' because of his or her speech variety.

Occupation and the linguistic stock

2.19 Where the educational system largely fails, the occupational setting may, in some cases, partially succeed in promoting the use of more standard features. Employment may to some extent remove a young person from the influence of the peer group, where a nonstandard language variety (not necessarily that of the community) is sustained by normative pressures and the desire to 'belong' and be approved of, to identify with the group, and to distinguish and 'distance' the group from both adult and juvenile society. If the work is of a 'white collar' nature, or one which brings the employee into close contact with the general public, there may be both explicit and implicit encouragement to adopt a more standard speech form. Even in 'blue collar' occupations, the young employee will be in contact with supervisory and managerial staff who may act as

role models for a different form of speech. This will tend to inhibit use of the nonstandard variety and, by default, may lead to a truncating of the available language stock from which the user can make choices. At the same time, the workplace may be an agent for extending choice as new conceptualizations, terminology and modes of expression are encountered. Manual workers, on the other hand, may find little in the workplace which extends availability of linguistic choices along the standard dimension. They may, though, find themselves in a milieu where the nonstandard variety (perhaps even a novel nonstandard variety) prevails and there is a net gain in available choices, but not necessarily along the standard dimension.

The media and the linguistic stock

2.20 The printed media do not, as a rule, operate in any other than Standard English. Books, newspapers and journals, therefore, are likely to extend what is linguistically available in that direction only. The broadcasting media, on the other hand, are mixed and variable in this respect. The formal language of, for example, news reports is the standard variety. Presenters and commentators of factual and documentary programmes also tend to use Standard English. In television dramas and 'soap operas' though, the regional setting is often one which allows for at least some expression of different community speech varieties. *Eastenders*, *Brookside*, *Coronation Street*, *Emmerdale*, and *Heartbeat*, for instance, all attempt to project some limited variation in what is supposedly the speech of the community in which the action is set. There are perhaps two salient problems in this which may moderate any effects in the direction of maintaining a range of choice for a speaker. Firstly, the speech varieties have to be modified well towards the standard to maintain nationwide comprehensibility for viewers. In the main, nonstandard lexical variations are not used. All that tends to remain of nonstandard features, then, is accent. Secondly, the programme producers quite often simply get it wrong. *Heartbeat* has as its setting the north-east of Yorkshire, about Whitby and the North York Moors. But most of the speech heard in the programme is merely of a vaguely generic 'north of England' variety or, if it can be associated with any geographical area, it would put the speaker's

origins much closer to Leeds than to Whitby. It is an irony that television programmes from the USA probably have more effect on extending the range of what is available in the linguistic stock of a community than do UK home-produced programmes. All in all, the general effect of the media in extending the linguistic stock seems to be in the direction of the standard. Whether speakers avail themselves of what is 'on offer' is another matter for, as Chaika says :

...nonstandard dialects survive even the massive onslaught of television...(implying)...that they have a value for their speakers. ¹¹⁶

Changes to the linguistic stock from within

2.21 The above mechanisms generally suggest the 'importation' of changes to the linguistic stock of a community. But change can also occur from within, through modification of, for example, sounds, by exaggeration and adaptation.¹¹⁷ Leaving aside the matter of a modified stock to pass on, the process of cultural transmission of linguistic stock from one generation to the next may not always occur with exactitude, for within the transmission itself various innovations may creep in. ¹¹⁸

Fashion, Changing Conventions and Innovation

2.22 Some changes which may affect what is available within the linguistic stock are not easy to categorise:

We should neglect a very essential element if we failed to take account of the many conventional features - matters of idiom and usage - that often defy explanation or logical classification but are nevertheless characteristic of the language at a given time and.....subject to change. ¹¹⁹

Exercising choice

2.23 When speakers do have extensive choice, what use do they make of it? It has already been noted how the exercise of choice, though theoretically unlimited, is in fact constrained by powerful social pressures. Joyce has written of how, ironically, it was developments in education and Standard English that made it

possible for 'dialect' literature to emerge in the 19th century;

*The linguistic conventions and uniformities upon which dialect depended, such as a widely comprehensible orthography, themselves depended on the consolidation of the standard.*¹²⁰

So, for a time, 'dialect' literature was respectable and flourished as a medium for the expression of class and regional identity. Writers were equipped, not only with their 'native' knowledge of their community's speech variety, but were also reasonably well-versed in Standard English, which made it possible for them to more or less orthographically represent the sounds of their everyday speech in writing. What choices did they then make in their works? The researcher has analysed the content of the Prefaces of ten randomly-selected copies of *Weyver's Awn Comic Olmenac (or Pudsey Annual)*, from 1875-1908.¹²¹ This analysis searched for lexical items and phrases which could, unequivocally, be regarded as nonstandard. Those words which were merely nonstandard pronunciations of standard lexical items were, as far as possible, not counted. Where there was any doubt about the word being truly nonstandard or simply a nonstandard pronunciation of a standard word, it has been counted as nonstandard. The results were :

<i>Issue</i>	<i>Total Words in Preface (approx)</i>	<i>Nonstandard Words Used</i>
1875	890	21
1876	742	11
1877	1175	20
1878	1150	17
1889	741	10
1890	770	14
1892	825	11
1894	743	13
1900	745	8
1908	570	9
TOTALS ...	8351	134

Therefore, the mean usage of nonstandard words in a Preface article was a little over 1.6% over these ten issues. Yet at the time, if we take Robinson's 1862 *The Dialect of Leeds and Its Neighbourhood* as an indicator, the editor of *Weyver's*

Awn should have had a repertoire of probably well over 2000 nonstandard lexical items and expressions available to use.¹²² The majority of the sentences in the Prefaces are of the type *"I'm frettened we doant all increase e wisdom as we increase e statcher"*, which is entirely composed of nonstandard pronunciation versions of standard lexical items.¹²³ The Preface writer generally made use of only a fraction of the community's available lexical stock of nonstandard words. The linguistic liberation and widening of choice engendered by access to both standard and nonstandard parts of the linguistic stock was only taken advantage of insofar as the writer employed the standard orthography to represent, in the main, nonstandard pronunciation of standard words. It is not clear why this writer's choice has been so restrained. He is clearly familiar with (and probably an everyday user of) the community's language variety, for he does not shirk from portraying its nonstandard pronunciations. Where he does use a few nonstandard items from the community's lexical stock, these are sometimes ones which would perhaps be amongst those least known, or perhaps already becoming rarer in speech, such as /krɒnkt/ (sitting idly by the fireside all day), /delf ɔɪl/ (quarry), and /ri:kə/ (a hot day). If the motive behind the publication of such 'dialect' works was to provide popular literature as an affirmation of regional and class identity, it is perhaps surprising that more use was not made of the rich, available nonstandard lexical stock.¹²⁴ Populist 'dialect' works of the *Weyver's Awn* almanac-type proliferated in northern industrial areas (especially those concerned with textiles) in the 19th century.¹²⁵ Yet the lexical choices applied to this particular local publication can have done little to assist the preservation and transmission of the nonstandard lexicon, given such a low rate of usage.

2.24 The factors constraining choice of a language variety are social and opportunistic but, at base level, the possibility for choice remains :

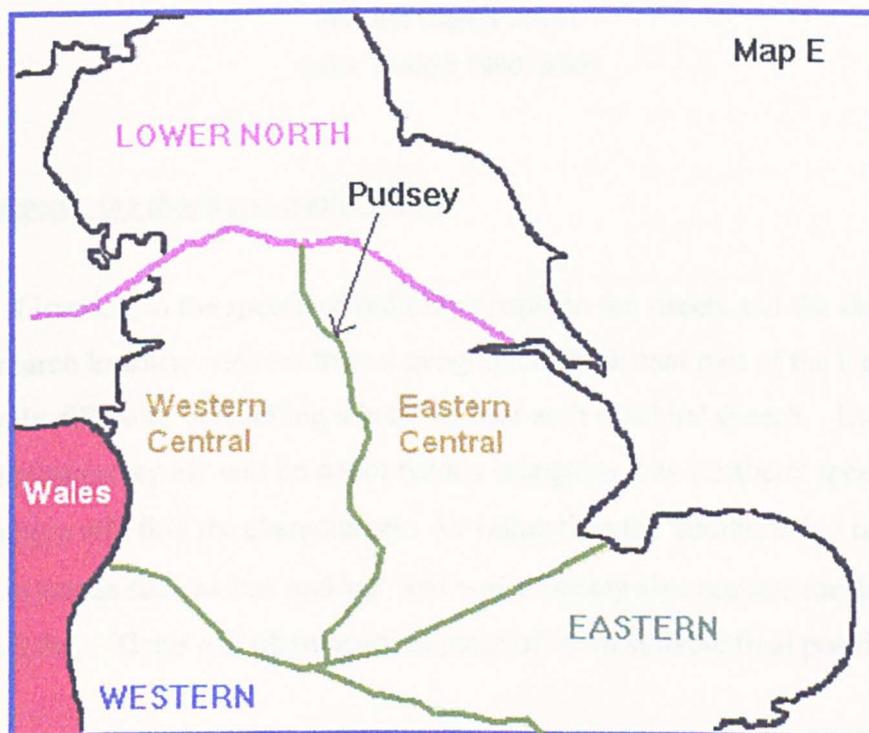
...accent or dialect adoption should be considered as a matter due largely to conscious choice. Thus, though regional, ethnic and lower-class individuals have limited access to the prestige variety....much of the failure of these individuals to profit from whatever opportunities are available is due to counter-acting pressures favouring their native speech

styles. ¹²⁶

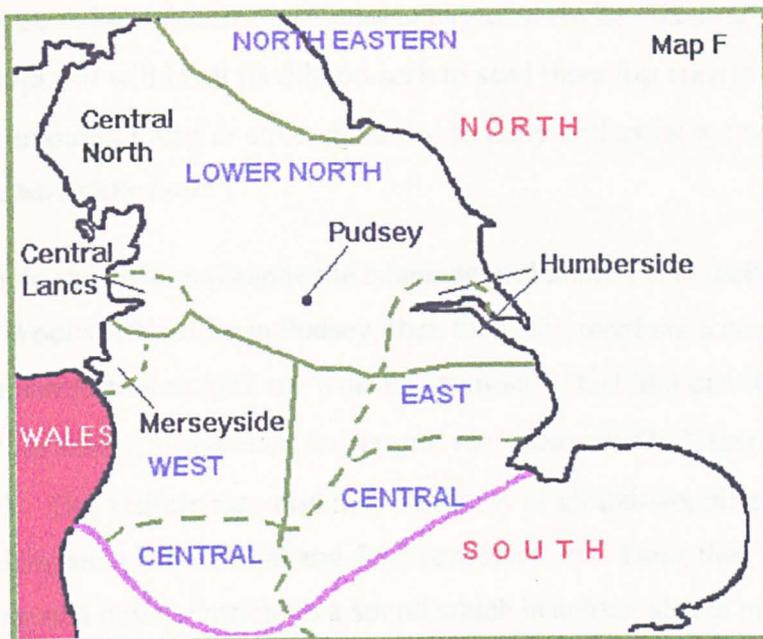
2.25 The next section will explore some aspects of the present-day linguistic stock of the community in the research area.

3 - TODAY'S SPEECH IN THE AREA

3.1 The geographical area of this research sits astride the boundary Trudgill draws between his Western Central and Eastern Central Traditional Dialect areas and, together with the rest of the Metropolitan County of West Yorkshire, lies comfortably within Trudgill's Central North region of his Lower North Modern Dialect area (Maps E and F).¹²⁷



Traditional Dialect Areas
(after Trudgill 1990, p.33)



Modern Dialect Areas
(after Trudgill 1990, p.63)

In the streets, the shops and public places

3.2 Listening to the speech of ordinary people in the streets and the shops of this research locality, visitors from a geographically distant part of the UK will have little difficulty in labelling what they hear as 'Yorkshire' speech. Even the less discriminatory ear will no doubt readily recognise it as 'northern' speech. The visitors will find the characteristic /ʊ/ rather than the 'southern' /ʌ/ of the vowel in words such as 'but' and 'up' and will probably also register the dropping of initial /h/. There will often be /n/ in place of /ŋ/ in syllable final position.

3.3 If the visitors to the area ask how to get to the nearest Woolworth's store, the directions given will send them to /pʊtsɪ/ and it might perhaps require a moment or two of orientating thought to realise that this was 'Pudsey', for this is an area where the voiced consonants /b/, /d/, /g/, /v/, /z/ and /dʒ/ more often than not change to their voiceless counterparts /p/, /t/, /k/, /f/, /s/ and /tʃ/ ".....if they occur immediately before any of these same voiceless consonants".¹²⁸ If the

visitors chance to be in /stɑnɪŋli/ (Stanningley), then the bewildering directions to get them to /pʊtsɪ/ will in all likelihood seek to send them /ʊp rɪkɪtʃeɪn/ and perhaps no amount of map or street directory scrutiny will assist in translating this into "*up Richardshaw Lane*".

3.4 Should the visitors (despite the language problems !) eventually find their way to the Woolworth's store in Pudsey, then they may overhear a customer exhorting a companion to /geʔ ɪm wʊn fə krɪsməs/ "Get him one for Christmas", or asking an assistant /əv jə ɡɒʔ ɛnɪ mʊər ɒv ɪʔ/ "Have you got any more of it?". Our visitors may also note instances of glottal-stopping of the definite article, and of the medial and final consonant /t/. Thus, they would hear the rendering of a definite article as a sound which is neither absent nor fully realised as 'the', which is often orthographically represented as *t'*, but sounds nothing like this. To the local ear, this speech feature quickly exposes the non-regional origins of television actors who attempt to replicate what are thought of as 'Yorkshire' accents for the part being played, when they say, for example "Put it on table", where they form neither a glottal-stop nor a fully realised "the" before "table".¹²⁹ Or, alternatively, the supposedly glottal-stopped sound is over-expressed (could 'hypercorrected' be accepted as a definition, in this particular linguistic context ?) to produce /pʊt ɪn tʰ tɛɪbəl/ "Put it on the table".

The visitors may well hear 'butter' and 'better' pronounced as /bʊʔə/ and /beʔə/ and note the glottal-stopped ending in words such as 'put' and 'but' (though these are sometimes replaced by /r/ where immediately followed by a vowel sound). They may hear identical final vowel sounds in 'pillow' and 'pillar' and, by a similar sound change, 'willow' will often be heard as /wɪlə/.¹³⁰

3.5 Our visitors may well detect that, while some consonants are consistently dropped, others are pronounced differently from those of other varieties of English. Particularly noticeable is the /l/ in intermediate and final positions after a vowel, where the consonant is 'clear', in words such as /mɪlk/ and /stɪl/, in comparison with southern English pronunciations where /t/ is often found : /mɪtk/ and /stɪt/.¹³¹ "Glass", "past", "bath" and similar words will be heard

expressed with the vowel sound /a/, not the long /ɑ:/ found in southern and RP speech varieties.¹³²

3.6 Some grammatical structures, which in Standard English would be regarded as 'incorrect', will be apparent to the visitors in phrases such as /gɪv ʊz jə pen/, where 'us' is substituting for the standard 'me'.¹³³ The use of the double negative is common in this area, as it is in many other varieties of British and American English. It emerges here in forms such as /aɪ am? dʌn nəʊt/ ("I haven't done anything") and /aɪ am? ɡɔ? nɔn/ ("I haven't got any").¹³⁴ Trudgill demonstrates what he regards as the nonstandard use of pronouns in sentences such as /wɪəz mɪ baɪk/. But, in this area, the /mɪ/ is perhaps not so much a misplaced pronoun as a sound transformation of the standard 'my'. A pronoun-exchange example given by Trudgill, and which will often be heard in the speech of this area, is in the form /ðats ʊz bus 'oʊvə ðeə/ ("That's our bus over there"), with /ʊz/ for 'our'. Verb usage can also be nonstandard. These examples were transcribed from audio-tapes of older local speakers, recorded by the Pudsey Civic Society¹³⁵ :

"She were a right comic".

*"He were a dollop hander...."*¹³⁶

"He used to tell us he were expecting some ponies...."

"You could hear miners tramping down Roker Lane on a morning when you was in bed".

*"Of course they had families and there is still quite a lot of Yorky people in Stanningla'"*¹³⁷

(My emphases, to highlight nonstandard verb usage. No attempt has been made in these excerpts to replicate the other nonstandard speech features to be heard in the audio versions).

Comprehensibility

3.7 Staying for a while with our imaginary visitors to the Pudsey/Bramley area, they will find that, despite some grammatical features which differ from Standard English and a few esoteric words and expressions, they can generally comprehend what is being said to them. The one element which may be an obstacle to easy comprehension may be the visitors' inability to quickly 'tune in' to the particular intonation which is characteristic of people in this region. Chaika, for example, relates that

*A Yorkshire man engaged me in conversation, apparently having no difficulty with my Americanese. Unfortunately I could not understand a word he said. I was not even sure if he was asking me questions, as his intonation was completely different from any I had encountered. All I could do for hours on end was listen and say "Uh huh" politely, hoping I was not consenting to anything.*¹³⁸

3.8 This account does not tell us which speech community of Yorkshire Chaika's one-way conversational companion came from, how old he was, or how long ago this event took place - all of which would be important details for anyone wishing to analyse the situation closely, to identify the sources of Chaika's comprehension difficulties. The account is, nevertheless, still of interest in our exploration of the nature of speech variation. Mainly, we have an example of comprehension difficulties which were probably being created by the phonology, rather than the use of unfamiliar lexical items. In short, the way words - albeit part of the Standard English lexicon - are pronounced. Earlier, the existence of differences in 'northern' and 'southern' English initial and medial vowel sounds were alluded to. This is a well-known phenomenon (though the crude classification fails to even begin to describe the complexity of pronunciation variety across England and the rest of the UK). There is, too, the matter of the sound pattern at the sentence, rather than at individual word/vowel, level. This,

perhaps, is what Chaika was implying when she wrote of the "*intonation....*" of her Yorkshire conversational partner, which was "*....completely different from any (she) had encountered*". The rising, falling and 'plateau' inflections of the spoken sentence can carry meaning which may be as important as the lexical items, syntax and grammar which make up the structure of the sentence. It is significant that Chaika specifically mentions her inability to gauge whether or not a question was being put, for the projection of the interrogative nature of a sentence in spoken English is especially reliant on the patterns of pitch and tone used - as are, of course, signals about the emotional state of the speaker. McCrum et al, for example, refer to the "*..... 'rising inflection' which has crept into the Australian speech pattern.....of using a questioning (rising) tone in answer to a question*" and how this is posited to be a symptom of 'insecurity'.¹³⁹ Phonological signals such as this can be confusing to the listener who has been accustomed to 'tuning-in to a different wavelength'. Chaika's Yorkshireman apparently experienced no difficulty comprehending her 'Americaneese', presumably because he had developed familiarity with American English inflections and cadences through films and television. Chaika, on the other hand, probably had little or no experience of 'Yorkshire' speech. Hence, her difficulty in comprehending him, even though both would share a more or less common lexis.

Range of speech varieties - choices and the social dimension

3.9 Returning to our imaginary visitors to the Pudsey/Bramley area, it is likely that, if they spend any time in the locality, they will begin to identify a range of speech varieties. In some verbal interactions, the visitors might observe that different speech styles are operating in the conversation. Perhaps participant A's intonation, particularly the vowel sounds, may reflect origins in the local speech community, but initial /h/ is not dropped and final /ŋ/ is fully sounded, along with the final /ð/ in words such as "with". "There" will be pronounced in a way which is very close to the standard and does not have its medial vowel elongated into a diphthong. In contrast, participant B's speech could have /ɪə/ for "here", /ðɪə/ for "there", /n/ for /ŋ/ and initial /h/ lacking. The observers will, in short, be witnessing the transmission of various *social markers* in the speech of the two

people and it will be difficult for our eavesdroppers to escape the conclusion that what they are observing is a manifestation of difference in *social status* of the two speakers. Perhaps they will then, consciously or unconsciously, ascribe these differences to upbringing, education, occupation, the respective roles of the participants in the encounter, and possibly even intelligence.¹⁴⁰

3.11 But a further matter the observers might ponder upon is that the speakers, though using distinctly different styles, apparently have no problem comprehending one another. If the two speakers understand each other's words so easily, why then does one use the word /sʊmə?/ where the other uses "something"; one sound the /h/ in "greenhouse", the /ŋ/ in "building" and the /ð/ in "with", while the other does not? Why does one say /ɔvə/ while the other says "over"? All other things being equal, each speaker is physiologically able to replicate the sounds made by the other but they apparently choose not to. Clearly, the two speakers are making their individual choices about the way they speak and, as a result, what social signals they wish to transmit - or, alternatively, are unconcerned about what signals they are sending out. It tells us, too, that to make their choices (and be able to understand each other) they have a linguistic stock of style, grammar and vocabulary to draw upon, which is greater than that of Standard English alone, and with which they are both familiar.¹⁴¹

3.12 By and large, though, if their sojourn in the area is extended, our imaginary visitors will also encounter and become aware of different degrees of closeness of speech to standard form and usage. If they have arrived in the area with any preconceived notions about 'Yorkshire' speech, they will perhaps be surprised to find that they do not generally hear people using /fɪnd/ for "find", /nɪvə/ for "never", /ni:t/ for "night", /bʊts/ for "boots" or /kɔɪl/ for coal. They may comment on speaker B in the above scene saying /raɪ?/ when they might have expected /reɪ?/ or /reɪt/. As Petyt puts it, we often only know of such language features from secondary sources and that

certainly we do not speak like that ourselves....in lexicon and grammar we are not far from Standard English.....(these West Yorkshire language

variations)...*do not seem to be used by the great majority of town dwellers today*".¹⁴²

3.13 Still in our imaginary scenario, let our visitors take speaker A, after the interaction with B, and ask for some comment on B's speech and whether or not it represents 'local dialect'. They might well be told something on these lines :
"No. That's not real dialect - not like the old ones used to speak. It's just slovenly speech. 'Lazy Leeds' some people call it".

3.14 Now this response raises a number of very important issues with regard to the present language variety currently used by some sectors of this community. It certainly justifies the need to more closely examine notions of what constitutes 'real dialect', what these notions are based on, and where they originate.

3.15 The imaginary scenario painted of speakers A and B represents a situation where both 'actors' have available at least some shared standard and nonstandard features, for they understand each other. One, however, chooses to use mainly nonstandard features while the other chooses standard features. The one component of the linguistic stock over which both 'actors' may have only limited control is accent for, once acquired, it is physiologically difficult to make other choices without very determined effort and, perhaps, some coaching.

3.16 Theoretically, both A and B could choose to speak more or less like each other. They clearly do not choose to do so and we already have some clues as to why this may be.¹⁴³ In relation to this imaginary interaction, it has already been noted that it was loaded with powerful social meanings for both 'actors'. Speaker A is apparently educated, professionally qualified, perhaps with wider experiences and mobility outside the local community, including time spent at university or college with temporary membership of a more cosmopolitan community. When seeking and being interviewed for a job, he or she would have interacted with others who have a particular language style that he or she can identify with and share. It would have been 'expected' that the applicant spoke in a particular way. Perhaps the environment in which A works is, itself, a 'linguistic' one, such as an office, a school or a library, and one which exerts its own influences on how those

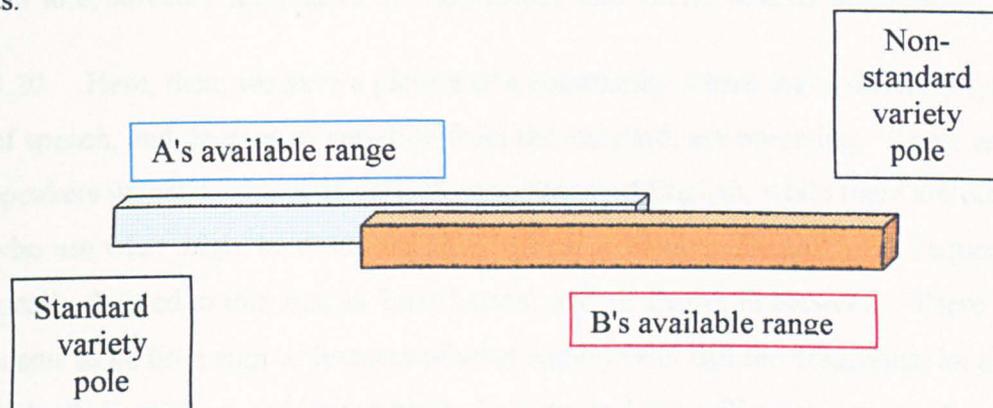
working in such surroundings should behave linguistically. His or her social contacts are likely to mainly share a similar speech variety.

3.17 Speaker B represents a contrasting case. His or her linguistic reference points have, throughout childhood and working life, been almost entirely within the community where he or she was born, raised, went to school and later went to work. His/her mobility - geographical, occupational and social - has been constrained in several ways and this has been one factor in limiting the choice of linguistic alternatives. Immobility operates as a conservative influence on the nonstandard language form of a community.¹⁴⁴ He or she may be well aware of many of the features and operational devices of Standard English, being perhaps a reader, a listener to radio, and almost certainly a viewer of television. Despite a general immobility, he or she has come into contact with people from other places and with different occupational and/or social status, if only the doctor, dentist and bank manager. He or she can - if wishing to - speak in a way which is much closer to the standard, for many people "*.....retain their own regional dialect or language alongside the standard one*".¹⁴⁵ So, sometimes, in certain situations, and temporarily, speaker B *code-switches* if perceiving it to be advantageous in terms of how others evaluate him or her :

*Almost all speakers of a language alter their speech to fit the casualness or formality of the occasion....it is normal for speakers to have a variety of different forms in their repertoire.....*¹⁴⁶

However, speaker B's access to Standard English is not likely to be as full or as easy as A's, for it has been limited by educational, occupational and social circumstances.¹⁴⁷ The choice of using standard features will also be powerfully constrained by the close community in which speaker B lives. To deviate from its normative influences, including its speech style, could result in a weakening of the bonds of identity with that community, leading to ridicule, or even to a degree of social ostracization.¹⁴⁸ Paradoxically, at the same time, speaker B may dislike aspects of his or her own language variety and accord more prestige to that of speaker A, even while making a choice not to move towards that standard variety for "*....with fluent speech in the new language, (he/she) might begin to lose*

(his/her) *original identity*".¹⁴⁹ On the other hand, B has easy, natural access to the rich lexicon and the alternative linguistic structures of his or her community's nonstandard variety in a way speaker A may not. It is not so much that B is linguistically deprived, but that there is a different range of alternatives available to him or her. The ranges available to A and B may overlap in many respects but neither has the full range of the other. This can be represented diagrammatically as:



(This, of course, takes no account of the possibility that one or both of these 'actors' may have some knowledge of and competence in, say, a foreign language too).

3.18 The reason they are able to converse, each in his or her own variety, and fully comprehend each other, is that they are operating within the area of overlap. Should A begin to use vocabulary features in his or her area of competence outside the overlap (perhaps occupational/technical terms) and the borrower begin to use terms esoterically related to work and family life, then mutual comprehensibility may break down. But, within the overlap, they can understand each other's speech, whilst remaining theoretically free to make and use selections of language features from their whole available range.

3.19 The consciousness of each other's act of 'choosing' and its motivation may differ. Speaker B may perceive A as "posh" or "stuck-up" or "lah-di-dah", as one who makes negative judgments of him or her and, importantly, of his or her speech variety, level of education, intelligence and social standing. Speaker B may, though, concede that A's speech marks him or her as "educated", "confident"

and "knowledgable". B may sense that A chooses to speak in a particular way because it puts a social distance between them and identifies A with a higher status group. Speaker A may evaluate B in exactly those ways that B suspects, but may regard B's speech variety, not as a conscious choice guided by subtle social pressures - not really a 'choice' at all - but simply ignorance of the 'correct' way to speak. If A were to concede any element of choice, it is that B chooses the 'idle, slovenly' alternative of 'Lazy Leeds' and has no wish to 'improve'.

3.20 Here, then, we have a picture of a community where many different types of speech, and degrees of variation from the standard, are operating. There are speakers whose language is very close to Standard English, while there are others who use what might be described as a "...*form of Modern Dialect*"¹⁵⁰, frequently locally derided in this area as 'Lazy Leeds', and all shades in between. There seems to be little sign of features of what some would call the 'traditional local dialect', certainly as evidenced by the lexicon, and this will, in this research, become a key aspect for comparison with the situation which existed in the early part of this century.

4 - LINGUISTIC STOCK COMPONENTS FOR THE RESEARCH

4.1 It is clear that some selection will have to be made, for operational and research methodological purposes, from components of the linguistic stock of the community in this locality. Some working criteria for this selection will need to be arrived at. Also, the format of the presentation of the research questions themselves, and the response mode for the informants, will need to be considered.

Which component ?

4.2 This section of Chapter II is now moving towards a consideration of *which* components of linguistic choice it might be feasible and useful to investigate. Phonological and grammatical variations are possibilities but perhaps the clearest-cut element is the *lexical stock* of the community. The discrete and highly 'visible' nature of nonstandard words and phrases makes them relatively easy to treat quantitatively and thus the degrees of preservation and abandonment of nonstandard words should become apparent in the data. Wilkinson tells us in 1924, writing about the 'dialect' of Leeds and its neighbourhood,

I have gone through... [Robinson's 1862]...Glossary very carefully and have been surprised to find fully one-third of the words and phrases given there which are now quite obsolete. ¹⁵¹ [My parentheses].

In the terms being used here, the availability of the nonstandard component of the lexical stock of the community had been seriously reduced in a period of sixty-two years. Wilkinson then poses the question :

Will the same process of change in another sixty years eliminate a similar proportion in this ... [i.e. his own] ... book ? ¹⁵² [My parentheses].

4.3 Now would perhaps be a slightly belated opportunity to find out, amongst other things, what the quantitative changes in nonstandard lexical stock have been in the seventy-two years since Wilkinson's publication. In the final analysis, such

changes can only be the result of choice by a community's language users. As the point has already been made, if users choose to cease employing certain language features, these will not only fall into disuse within the 'choosing' generation, but may also fail to be culturally transmitted to the next generation and so eventually cease to be an available part of the lexical stock from which later generations' choices can be made. There are important distinctions to be made between people having access to lexical stock items (and choosing to use or not to use them as the case may be) and people who have never had access to those items.¹⁵³ These are amongst the issues to be investigated in this research. Trudgill makes the observation that some types of lexical item are more likely to cease to be part of the lexical stock (as he expresses it, suffer *attrition*) than others and, again, the research will endeavour to identify patterns of extinction and survival in the vocabulary of the locality's community. It is proposed therefore that the main concern of this research should be to focus on nonstandard words in the stock of the community, to identify a representative sample of these which were in common use at some past point in time, and to trace their careers and fate. It is not suggested that any changes measured in the lexical stock will necessarily be paralleled by changes in phonological and structural features of the community's speech. But the direction and trends demonstrated may give some indications as to where further research might be usefully focused in relation to these other linguistic variables.

Principles of selection of the lexical stock items to be used in the research

4.4 The first key principle will be to keep the language features simple and easy for informants to respond to. Therefore, examples of grammatical and syntactical variation will be avoided.

4.5 A second guiding principle will be to reject those nonstandard words which, because of their pronunciation, are problematic to set down using the standard orthography, for the English alphabet is clearly inadequate to accurately represent the phonetics of this community's nonstandard language variety.

4.6 Thirdly, words which are part of the standard lexicon, differing only by their nonstandard pronunciation, will also be avoided.¹⁵⁴ The corpus of words to be used must, as far as can be determined, be of nonstandard character. This will, hopefully, avoid any complications which may arise concerning sound changes over time. It may be easier to declare this intention than to effect it, for some lexical items used in communities in this locality fall close to the standard but, at the same time, might be considered distant enough from it to constitute words in their own right. There would be no difficulty over the pronunciation of the standard 'find' as /fɪnd/ - this is clearly a simple vowel change and the two can easily be accepted as variations of the same word. But 'aboon', for the standard 'above',¹⁵⁵ for instance, could be problematic and there are several words of this type potentially available in the lexical stock. Petyt (1980) recognized a similar problem in the matter of pronunciation of standard words :

...it seems possible that many people would feel that certain differences of pronunciation, such as those in the 'where's my coat ?' type of example, are too great to be counted as just accent: a person who says /wɪəz mi kɔɪt/ is speaking a different dialect from one who says /weəz maɪ kəʊt/. But where is the line to be drawn between those differences of pronunciation that are only accent and those which are dialect ?¹⁵⁶

In the end, it may simply be a matter of the researcher's subjective and common-sense judgement whether or not a word is likely to cause this kind of problem and so be excluded.

4.7 Fourthly, consideration needs to be given to homophones and homonyms which can also prove to be problematic between Standard English and the community's nonstandard language variety. These will need special care if they are to be included. An example might be 'barn', which in Standard English is an agricultural building, while in West Yorkshire it is one of several alternative terms for a young child.¹⁵⁷ The homophonic part of the problem is then compounded by the existence of the word /ba:n/, which in west Yorkshire is used to mean 'going' or 'bound'.¹⁵⁸ Another example would be 'band': Standard English = a group of people, especially of musicians; but in West Riding speech = a piece of string or twine, or a driving rope/cord for machinery. Again, 'starved', which represents 'lack of nourishment' in Standard English, also carries the meaning 'frozen' in some Yorkshire speech varieties. A significant number of such homophonic and/or homonymic pairs exist, which may be potentially confusing, unless they can be presented in such a way that their meaning is unambiguous. This is particularly important in a linguistic context where knowledge and use of Standard English exist alongside knowledge and use of a nonstandard speech variety

4.8 The fifth principle to be followed is that there must be persuasive evidence that the items selected were known and used in the community in the past. This is not to invoke any notion of 'traditional dialect'. Similarly, no claim will be made that the words are in any way representative of 'local dialect'. Whether the words may be considered by some to be dialectal, in the temporal or spatial senses, is of no relevance to this research, as has been made clear earlier. It will be sufficient to say of these words and phrases that they were known, their meanings were understood, they are not generally part of the standard lexicon, and that they were in everyday use in the community at a given point in past time.

4.9 Other aspects of the community's language, including the role of the

workplace and inter-generational cultural transmission, will also be investigated. This will be explained in more detail in Chapter IV - Methodology.

4.10 Chapter III explores a selection of the existing literature which has relevance to this present study. In particular, it will aim to identify matters which contribute to the background theory of this work, and which may aid in the design of an appropriate methodology.

¹ Everson and Fitzgerald (1969).

² This map reflects the situation pre-1995. Since then, Humberside has been disbanded, an East Riding restored, and there have been other administrative boundary changes in the region.

³ In fact, from medieval times, Farsley was the lesser component in the township of Calverley-cum-Farsley, for Calverley was the 'mother town' and parish in which even Pudsey was for long a subordinate settlement. Pudsey, however, was the component which commercially and industrially grew most rapidly and assumed the characteristics and functions of 'centrality', becoming in the late 19th century an eponymous polling district of the Eastern Division of the West Riding of Yorkshire.

⁴ Everson and Fitzgerald (1969).

⁵ Many of these narrowly escaped clearance as "slums" in the late 1950s and early 1960s.

⁶ Caffyn (1986)

⁷ Wright (1974), p. 4 et seq. and p. 26.

⁸ Hannam (1984).

⁹ Rayner and Hemingway (1974)

¹⁰ This may be invoked as further evidence for the geographical integrity of the chosen area.

¹¹ Everson and Fitzgerald (1969).

¹² Wilkinson (1924)

¹³ Workers' Educational Association (1984), p. 23.

¹⁴ Lawson (1887). Lawson recounts how the people of Pudsey were often called 'Pudsey Blacks' and suggests that a possible reason for this appellation was their rowdyism and hostility towards strangers (p. 75). Such was the renowned hostility of Pudsey folk to 'outsiders' that in settlements a little more distant than Pudsey's immediate environs "*Go to Pudsey!*" was used as a euphemism for "*Go to Hell!*" (p. 80).

Robinson (1862): ".....not very long ago....it was reckoned a circumstance most extraordinary for a stranger to have passed through... (Pudsey or Stanningley)... unmolested, especially if the day happened to be Sunday. "*Dus ta knau 'im, Bill?*" (Do you know him, Bill?). "*Noa*". "*Then weng a stoan at 'im*". (Then throw a stone at him....)". p. iv.

¹⁵ Lawson (1887) p. 41.

¹⁶ WEA (1984). p. 3.

¹⁷ Kirk (undated).

¹⁸ Rayner (1887) p. 2. Rayner, as did many of his contemporaries (and some historians still mistakenly do), uses the appellation 'Saxons' in relation to all West Germanic tribal units. More accurately, this should be 'Angles' in this area (Sir Frank Stenton (1971).

¹⁹ Marsden (1992).

²⁰ Op. cit..

²¹ Rayner (1887).

²² Marsden (1992) p. 85.

²³ Room (1988).

²⁴ It needs to be acknowledged here that reconstructing settlement chronology and sequence from place-name evidence must be a tentative exercise. Myres, quoting Sir Frank Stenton, reminds us that "*...even when the place-names of all England have been surveyed in the minutest detail, the conclusions which may be drawn from them will fall far short of scientific precision*" (Myres (1986), pp. 44-45). A somewhat stronger stance against the 'received wisdom' of place-name chronological sequencing is reflected in Taylor's commentaries, included in the 1988 edition of Hoskins, p.42. The interpretation of place-name evidence in this research must, therefore, remain cautious and tentative.

²⁵ Room (1988). The *-ley*, *-leigh*, *-le* place-name element is usually accepted as indicating a place where woodland has been cleared to establish a settlement and/or provide arable land. The presence of so many instances of this place-name element in the area seems to be entirely consistent with the interpretation of Angles moving relatively late into a previously thinly-populated area and clearing new farmland out of the native oak/beech forest in the valley of the River Aire.

²⁶ Richards (1991), pp. 33-36. However, it may be that Richards has not taken sufficient account of the evidence of the wealth of lexical features of Old Norse origin found in the nonstandard language varieties of, for example, Yorkshire. These have survived in far greater numbers, and with greater persistence, than the Scandinavian 'loan words' which entered Standard English.

²⁸ Rayner (1887) p.3.

²⁹ ON *dalr* and *bekkr*.

³⁰ The same applies to other 'Scandinavianised' names in the wider locality, such as *Newlathes* (across the River Aire from Rodley, in the Horsforth township)³⁰, and *Austhorpe*, *Whitkirk*, *Graveleythorpe*, *Knothrop/Knowsthorpe*, *Burmantofts*, *Osmondthorpe*, *Bagby Fields*, *Thwaite Gate*, *Holbeck*, *Hunslet Carr*, *Sheepscar*, *Birkby Hill/Birkby Grange*, *Hollinthorpe*, *Barrowby*, *Barnbow Carr*, and others, to be found dispersed around Leeds, generally to the east and south-east of the present-day city centre.

³¹ Smith (1961), p. 212.

³² Rayner (1887) pp. 6-7.

³³ *Ibid.*

34 Ibid.

35 Ibid.

36 Rayner (1887) p.5.

37 Hoskins (1988) Ch. 3.

38 Rayner (1887) p. 8.

39 Carucate = as much arable land as one plough team could manage in a day. Gardiner and Wenborn (1995), p. 134.

40 Op cit., p. 174.

41 Cottle (1978). This occupation is the origin of the surnames *Fuller* and *Walker*, the latter being especially common in the north Midlands and Yorkshire. By the mid-19th century *Walker* was the 18th most common surname in England and this gives some indication of the extent and importance of textiles from medieval times, when surnames were first brought into common use by the mass of ordinary working people. In the context of this research, it is also an early indication of the important links between the language of the workplace and the everyday language of the people, a theme which will be returned to frequently in this work.

42 Despite rapid industrialization and mill-orientation of textile production, the 1851 Census of Farsley still recorded six instances of "...old-style yeoman clothiers who divided their time between husbandry and cloth making" (WEA (1984) p. 12).

43 The occurrence of coal in the region also becomes part of the explanation for the later impetus towards industrialization of textiles, with production becoming increasingly concentrated in mills powered by steam.

44 WEA (1984), p. 8.

45 Lawson (1887), p. 41.

46 *rig* = back or spine, from ON *hrygg* = spine or ridge. In the 17th/18th centuries, West Riding clothiers seemed to think little of walking great distances in a day to fetch bales of raw wool, or take finished pieces to market, on their backs. Lawson writes of one such who "...fetched a pack of wool on his back from Halifax, and "litted", that is dyed, it the same day" (Lawson (1887), p.41). To put this into context, the return journey Pudsey-Halifax is about 40 kilometers (24 miles).

47 Lawson (1887) .

48 Joyce (1991).

49 Ibid.

50 WEA (1984) p. 8.

51 Op. cit. p. 22.

52 From inscriptions in the Samuel Marsden Memorial Garden, which stands on Farsley Town Street, at the site of his former home.

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- ⁵² WEA (1984) p. 8.
- ⁵² Op cit. p. 22.
- ⁵³ Chambers (1995), p. 66 et seq.
- ⁵⁴ Milroy, L. (1980), p. 175.
- ⁵⁵ Cottle (1978), Introduction.
- ⁵⁶ Gardiner and Wenborn (1995), pp. 514-515.
- ⁵⁷ Burt and Grady (1994), p. 25. This estimate must be qualified by the fact that the Pudsey/Bramley area was, in many parts, still essentially rural at this time and would not necessarily demonstrate the same 'rural push/urban pull' effect as a fast-growing commercial and industrial centre like Leeds. It is even possible that, for a time, the Pudsey/Bramley area may have experienced a net loss to Leeds.
- ⁵⁸ WEA (1984) p.5.
- ⁵⁹ Yorkshire Archaeological Society (1987).
- ⁶⁰ WEA (1984), p. 22. The area did eventually start to produce worsteds - and still does. It even had a brief flirtation with cotton cloth manufacturing at one time in the 19th century, when the woollen market was in recession.
- ⁶¹ 'Coloured' cloth making entailed the dyeing of the yarn before weaving and this was the typical process in a broad north-south swathe of textile settlements, roughly between the Rivers Aire and Calder, to the east of Bradford and the west of Wakfield. To the west of this, a parallel zone produced mainly 'white cloth', which was marketed undyed and which purchasing merchants made their own arrangements for dyeing 'in the piece'. Further west still the dominant process became fine worsted (as opposed to woollen) production, but this feature later spread to other areas. Leeds maintained both 'white' and 'coloured' cloth halls for the merchanting of cloth. Burt and Grady (1994).
- ⁶² Op. cit. p. 5 et seq.
- ⁶³ Redmonds (1975). So 'Yorkshire' was the mid-19th century population of the locality that browsing through the 1851 Census Index is sometimes evocative of inspecting a random selection of Yorkshire County Cricket Club team sheets (at least, of the time when being born in Yorkshire was an obligatory qualification) : *Hutton, Illingworth, Metcalfe, Moxon, Rhodes, Sutcliffe.....*
- ⁶⁴ By contrast, the 1981 Census for Pudsey North (a similar areal unit, but not exactly congruent with that of the 1851 enumeration) recorded a population more than ten times this figure.
- ⁶⁵ WEA (1984) p.6.
- ⁶⁶ Pudsey Civic Society (1984), p. 19.

⁶⁷ Op. cit. p. 72.

⁶⁸ Op. cit., p. 67.

⁶⁹ Op. cit. pp. 67-68.

⁷⁰ The researcher would point to a row of eight large 'artisan-type' terrace houses close to his own home. In 1973 all these were occupied by families of 'local origin', in some cases these being able to claim a family presence in the area for the last century or more. Two of the houses were occupied by members of one extended family. Today, the occupants are from Gloucestershire, Lancashire, the Home Counties and elsewhere - not even from other parts of Leeds, but places mostly well away from Yorkshire. Only in three of these properties are there now families which could be regarded as 'local' or even 'regional' in ancestry.

⁷¹ Verbal, from textile company personnel officers in Farsley and Stanningley.

⁷² Crystal (1987), p. 2.

⁷³ Aitchison (1991), pp. 117-118.

⁷⁴ Robinson (1862).

⁷⁵ Stevenson (1853-8), p.560.

⁷⁶ McCrum et al. (1986) pp. 67-69.

⁷⁷ Op. cit. Ch. 2.

⁷⁸ Kellett (1994) pp. xvii-xviii.

⁷⁹ Renfrew (1994).

⁸⁰ A more usual alternative term for 'piggin' is 'lading can'.

⁸¹ pinnies = pinafores.

⁸² Pudsey Civic Society (1984) p. 26.

⁸³ Chaika (1982) p. 148.

⁸⁴ Chambers (1995) pp. 65-66.

⁸⁵ Petyt (1980) pp. 31-32.

⁸⁶ Romaine (1994) p. 81.

⁸⁷ BBC Television, 5 December 1996.

⁸⁸ Upton (1997), p. 218.

⁸⁹ Lawson (1887), p. 85. Reuben Gaunt, of a yeoman-clothier family and founder of Reuben Gaunt and Sons Ltd, was born in Farsley in 1824 and started to maintain a diary when he was 17. As he became older and developed his business he travelled further afield, to Liverpool and London, to buy raw wool. As his geographical mobility and social and business standing increased, he sought the kind of linguistic 'improvement' Lawson recommends. The original of Reuben's diary is now lodged with Leeds City Archives and the researcher is indebted to Mr

Nicholas Gaunt, of Reuben Gaunt and Sons Ltd., and to Ruth Strong of Pudsey Civic Society, for the use of her copy of the diary.

- 90 Phillips (1984).
- 91 Trudgill (1975a).
Giles and Coupland (1991), p. 45.
- 92 Chaika (1982), pp. 184-185.
- 93 Trudgill (1975a).
- 94 Chambers (1995), p. 191.
- 95 Trudgill (1975a).
- 96 Giles and Coupland (1991), p. 45.
- 97 Chaika (1982), p. 139.
- 98 Ibid.
- 99 Chambers (1995), p. 213.
- 100 Op. cit., p. 184.
- 101 Chaika (1982).
Haslett (1990), pp. 329-44.
- 102 Giles (1977) Introductory essay.
- 103 Ibid.
- 104 Ryan (1979), p. 145 et seq.
- 105 Giles and Coupland (1991), p. 12.
- 106 Stubbs and Hillier (1983), pp. 57-58.
- 106 Ryan (1979), p. 145 et seq.
- 106 Giles and Coupland (1991), p. 12
- 107 Romaine (1994), p. 193-194.
- 108 Department for Education (1995), pp. 2-3.
- 109 Chaika (1982), p. 7. In fact, it may be that in some instances nonstandard varieties are more rigid and conservative in the rules governing them than is Standard English. The standard form sometimes seems all too ready to discard 'rules' which were at an earlier stage considered 'inviolable'. See, for example, the case of *can v. may*, in Davidson (1996), p. 142.
- 110 Giles and Coupland (1991), p. 12.
- 111 Romaine (1994), p. 194.

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- 112 Trudgill (1975a), p. 67.
Chaika (1982), p. 185.
- 113 Stubbs and Hillier (1983), p. 50 et seq.
- 114 Trudgill (1975a), p. 66.
- 115 Op. cit., p. 68.
- 116 Op. cit., p. 141.
- 117 Aitchison (1991), p. 74 et seq.
- 118 Petyt (1980), p. 31.
- 119 Baugh and Cable (1993), pp. 242-243.
- 120 Joyce (1991).
- 121 Bruskitt (1875-1908).
- 122 Robinson (1862).
- 123 "Im frightened we don't all increase in wisdom as we increase in stature". (Bruskitt (1875-1908), edition of 1877).
- 124 Joyce (1991).
- 125 Op. cit.
- 126 Ryan (1979), pp. 147-148.
- 127 Trudgill (1990).
- 128 Op. cit., pp. 67-68.
- 129 Forms such as "put it on table", where the definite article is entirely absent, *are* to be found in east Yorkshire, but not in other parts which are supposedly the settings for popular television series.
- 130 If this is a sound change which came about before the emergence of modern urban speech varieties, it may account for the textile machine, at one time was called a 'willowing machine', now being called a "*willeying machine*", the base word having perhaps gone through the transformation *willow* ==> *willer* ==> *willey*.
- 131 Trudgill (1990), pp. 60-61 and p. 72.
- 132 Op. cit., p. 66.
- 133 Op. cit., Ch 4.
- 134 /am?/= haven't. The /m/ is sounded almost as if it is followed by /p/ .
- 135 Pudsey Civic Society (1984).

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- 136 Left-handed.
- 137 Stanningley. Older people in the area may use /stanɪnlə/ where younger ones say /stanɪnlɪ/, and for Pudsey /pʊtsə/ rather than today's /pʊtsɪ/, indicating sound changes which have taken place over the last half century or so.
- 138 Chaika (1982), p. 133.
- 139 McCrum et al (1986), p. 323-324.
- 140 *Inter alia* :
- Trudgill (1974a).
 Trudgill (1975a).
 Petyt (1980), p. 29 et seq.
 Cheshire (1982).
 Stubbs and Hillier (1983), pp. 22-23.
 Trudgill (1990).
 Chambers (1995).
 Montgomery (1995), Ch. 3.
- 141 Ryan (1979).
- 142 Introduction to Petyt (1985).
- 143 Bell (1984), p. 150.
- 144 Chambers (1995), pp. 65-67.
- 145 Aitchison (1991), p. 219.
- 146 *Op. cit.*, pp. 35-36.
- 147 Chambers (1995).
- 148 Bouris and Giles (1977), p. 120.
 Macaulay (1975), p. 154.
 Ryan (1979), p. 147 et seq.
 Montgomery (1995), p. 67.
- 149 Ryan (1979), p. 146.
 Macauley (1975), p. 147.
- 150 Trudgill (1990), Ch 3.
- 151 Robinson (1862).
- 152 Wilkinson (1924), p. vii.
- 153 Trudgill (1990), p. 113.
- 154 Petyt (1985).
- 155 Kellet (1994), p.1.

¹⁵⁶ Op. cit, pp. 20-21.

¹⁵⁷ *barn* from ON *barn* (young child). This has the OE-derived cognate form *bairn*, which is freely used as an alternative in parts of West Yorkshire, existing alongside *barn* as part of the available lexicon. *Bairn* is also used in other parts of northern England and Scotland.

¹⁵⁸ Kellett (1994).

CHAPTER III**THE
CONTRIBUTORY
LITERATURE¹****CHAPTER PREFACE**

This chapter will examine literature relevant to the establishment of a background theory and research methodology for this present work. The chapter deals only with those particular works selected for their potential for making a direct contribution to the conduct of this present study, for constraints of time and space do not permit a total review of all the material which has informed this research. The full range of material consulted is to be found in the Bibliography.

Section A of this chapter is a brief exploration of the domain of *sociolinguistics*.

Section B endeavours to identify the theoretical stances and approaches implicit in sociolinguistic studies and how these may contribute to the construction of a background theory and a methodology for this present work. There is an examination of selected research work, which is supplemented by an exploration of literature which reviews a range of evidence relating to 'dialect', language change and language variation : the foci, the trends, and in particular the changing approaches to empirical research in the field. This section is organised into sub-divisions dealing with selected research studies, the persistence of low-prestige language varieties, networks, sex- and gender-related language behaviour, age-related language behaviour and, finally, language 'decay' and 'death'.

Section C summarises the chapter and reviews the contributions it has made to constructing the background theory and methodology of this present study.

The non-linguistic, technical literature of research methodology also needs to be considered but it is not proposed to give such works any particularly close attention in this chapter, for their contribution is dealt with more fully in Chapter IV, where the *pros* and *cons* of the available alternatives are critically evaluated, and the identification and selection of appropriate research instruments is justified.

SECTION A - THE SOCIOLINGUISTIC DOMAIN

1 - LANGUAGE AND SOCIETY

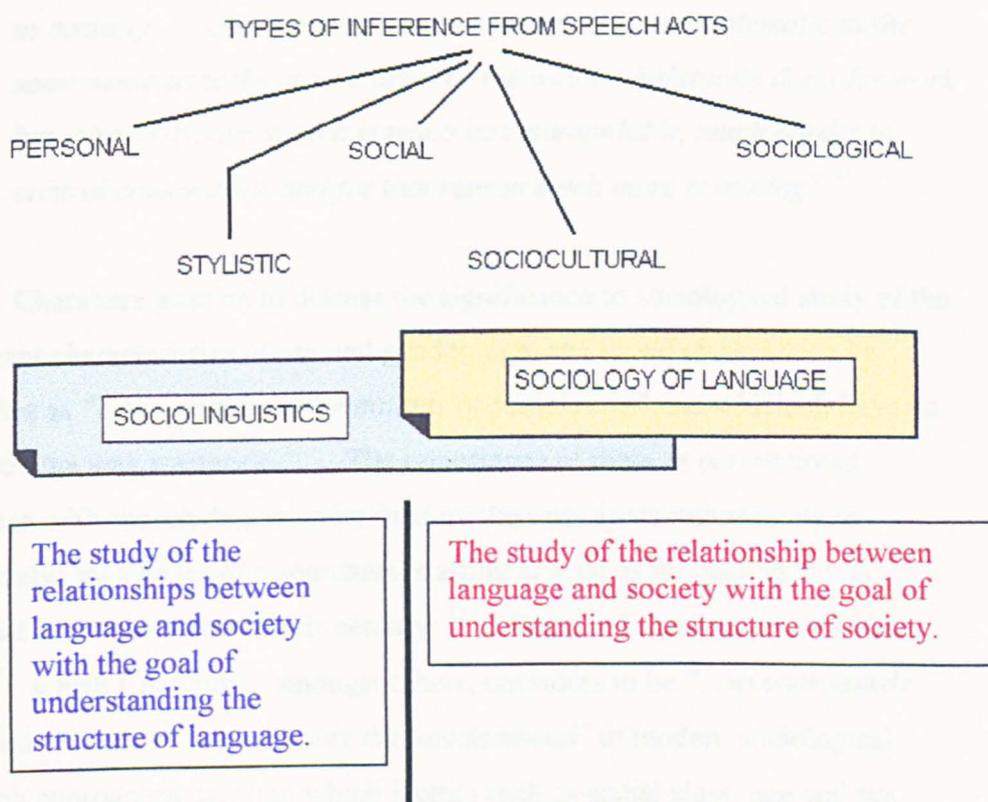
1.1 "...language and dialect are fundamentally social and not linguistic constructs", writes Romaine.¹ She makes the point that dialectology is often concerned with boundaries,² that is, geographical frontiers where changes in pronunciation, or the word or words for a particular object or concept, can be identified - and preferably marked on a map.³ Romaine's argument is that the boundaries which are at least equally important in linguistics are those which occur between social class groups. Romaine is here reflecting an approach to the study of linguistics which takes account, not of the spatial distribution of language phenomena, but of the social use and significance of language and what part change and variation play in these. There arose a dissatisfaction with the methodology, scope and relevance of dialect surveys and this coincided with an increasing interest in language variation in an urban context. The focus shifted from the spatial to the social dimension.⁴ This approach to the study of language has been termed *sociolinguistics*⁵ and the underlying epistemology of this field has led to some marked differences in the objectives, subject matter and methods of field research.

1.2 The shifts in emphasis have resulted in the introduction of a number of fresh focal points in research, accompanied by the emergence of new conceptualisations, protocols and terminology. Once one moves away from the 'museum' approach it becomes clear that all human language behaviour is 'dialectal', not just that of the informants Chambers and Trudgill labelled NORMs. It follows therefore that *anyone's* linguistic behaviour may be a valid focus for study. It matters not whether the subjects are rural- or urban-dwellers, male or female, old or young, relatively educated or uneducated, or whether they are socially, occupationally or geographically mobile. All these conditions and more

will have an effect on linguistic behaviour and, thus, all the situations arising from such behaviour become valid research foci. Also relevant in sociolinguistic studies are the *styles* of speech used by individuals, the *contexts* of language use and the interrelationship between these two variables.

1.3 Chambers demonstrates how the domain of sociolinguistic study is rooted in observing, recording and making inferences from speech acts and how sociolinguistics overlaps with the closely-associated field of the sociology of language (*Figure III.1*) :

Figure III.1 (after Chambers 1995, p. 11)⁶



Trudgill comments on the value of the contribution of sociolinguistics to sociology (in Chambers' analysis, the right-hand zones of *Figure III.1*) :

"It can shed light, for instance, on problems concerning the discreteness

*and continuity of social classes, on certain aspects of role and status, and on the class structure of the community in general. It can also provide material that can be used in the study of reference groups, normative pressures and prestige patterns".*⁷

1.3 Chambers states that "*...for the time being ... considerations (of personal characteristics)... are on the fringe of sociolinguistics*".⁸ However, "*...observations about speech styles fall squarely into the domain of sociolinguistics*".⁹ Social characteristics are of interest to sociolinguistic study, for

*"Whenever we speak we reveal not only some personal qualities and a certain sensitivity to the contextual style but also a whole configuration of characteristics that we by and large share with everyone who resembles us socially... Our speech, from this perspective, is emblematic in the same sense as is the car we drive or the way we habitually dress for work but, obviously, our speech is much less manipulable, much harder to control consciously, and for that reason much more revealing".*¹⁰

1.4 Chambers goes on to discuss the significance to sociological study of the important characteristics of sex and gender, age, and social class, which he identifies as "*...the primary determinants of social roles*" and which all have an effect on the way we speak.¹¹ The importance of these as correlational variables with speech data is underlined by their use (comprehensively or selectively) by a series of researchers, starting at least as far back as Louis Gauchat in the early part of this century.¹² But it is Labov's survey in New York¹³ which Chambers, amongst others, considers to be "*...so enormously influential... (and) ...indisputably the fountainhead*" of modern sociological research approaches, through which factors such as social class, age and sex achieve importance as correlational variables with the basic speech data and so assist in the identification of motivation and context for language variation.¹⁴ Labov's work will be considered in more detail later in this chapter.

Sociolinguistics and methodology

1.5 Like Romaine, there is no wish here *"to get bogged down in the epistemological aspects of the relationship between theory and method"*,¹⁵ yet it is important to make the point that the very nature of the sociolinguistic domain itself influences to a large extent the objectives and paradigms of data collection. *"If we conceive of sociolinguistics broadly"*, writes Romaine, *".. (and)... regard sociolinguistics as itself a methodology or 'way of doing linguistics', then virtually everything from choice of informants, methods of data collection to analysis of variables falls under the heading of 'method' ..."*.¹⁶ This carries an important implication for this present research. It would be a conceit to present this work as primarily or mainly a 'sociolinguistic study'. But it does concern itself with an aspect of linguistic change and it is clear that even a tentative explanation of any evidence emerging for changes in lexical choice is likely to need to take account of correlational variables such as age, sex and social class. Provision for collecting and processing data on these dimensions therefore may need to be built into the methodology at the outset and this will be considered more fully in Chapter IV.

SECTION B - THE LITERATURE OF LANGUAGE VARIATION

1 - *SELECTED STUDIES*

1.1 Attention will now be turned to an examination and discussion of some specific research projects, whilst evaluating the contributions their theoretical bases and approaches may be able to make to this present research.

Labov's New York studies

1.2 It has already been noted that many in the field of modern linguistics consider Labov's New York studies to have been a significant development in the technique of correlating social and linguistic data and "*...its basic form has been replicated...in investigations of many other communities including British urban areas...and has strongly influenced every dialect study since the early 1970s.*"¹⁷

1.3 In a preliminary study, Labov focused on what appeared to be a free, or random, variation in the pronunciation of /r/. People in New York exhibited fluctuations of the sound in certain words, such as *car*, *bear* and *beard*.¹⁸ His research sample was drawn from the sales assistants in three New York stores, one generally recognised as being 'upmarket', another as serving a 'middle range' clientele, the third retailing low-priced goods in a poor area. Labov engineered situations where he posed as a customer and, in response to questions about where certain goods were located, the sales assistant subjects would have to answer with '*fourth floor*'. The pronunciation of '*fourth*' was noted in each case, along with data on the sex and the estimated age of the respondent.

1.4 Labov predicted, and found, that the sales assistants' pronunciation of /r/ would vary in relation to the social class of the customers they habitually dealt with, the fullest use of /r/ being at the most prestigious store and the least use at the lowest-class store :

In other words, the higher the socioeconomic group, the more likely speakers are to use /r/.¹⁹

Furthermore, Labov discovered that in the lowest status store, when a pretence was made of not having heard the first response, the /r/ in a repeated response was also more emphatically pronounced. The variation in the pronunciation of /r/, therefore, occurred not only in relation to social class but also to the context, with more careful and considered speech eliciting a more distinct /r/. Labov suggested that this indicated a sound change in progress, influenced by the speech of the higher status social groups and manifesting itself in the more careful (as against the casual) speech of the lower social groups :

The social stratification of pronunciation has a curious twist to it, inasmuch as it will vary not only from speaker to speaker according to their respective positions within the overall social structure: it also varies for any one speaker from situation to situation...

The shift...is towards the speech habits of the dominant social group and it is their forms that become the prestige forms for a society.²⁰

Labov referred to this process as 'change from above'.

1.5 Labov went on to carry out more detailed surveys of other linguistic variables found in New York. The research in the stores had pointed up the importance of taking account of the context in which speech was used and how variation was related to style, from casual to "extra-careful".²¹ The more formal, careful styles were relatively easy to elicit but "...the chief difficulty arose in obtaining samples of casual speech".²² Labov approached the problem through the technique of asking informants to relate an account of what they perceived as a near-death experience they had undergone; informants, it was claimed, then tended to slip, unconsciously, into a casual style where their more 'natural' speech habits could be observed. Allowing subjects to digress in their

interview responses, and accidentally overhearing telephone conversations and 'everyday' exchanges with children, provided additional data on casual styles.²³

1.6 Labov's New York researches are important in several ways. They provide powerful evidence that language variation and change are often inextricably linked to social factors. Chambers writes that :

*Correlating linguistic variation as the dependent variable with independent variables such as linguistic environment, style or social categories is the primary empirical task of sociolinguistics.*²⁴

This suggests that researchers may need to consider building into their surveys the collection of social and contextual data, if they are to endeavour to offer explanations for the phenomena observed. This, in turn, suggests the importance of such data collection being conducted in an objective, systematic way which will facilitate subsequent correlational analysis. Having said this, Labov's experiences show that true randomness and representativeness of samples may be difficult, if not impossible, to achieve in linguistic surveys. Criticism of Labov's sampling procedure, and that of subsequent studies which have adopted the Labovian methodology, comes from Romaine, who writes :

*Labov concludes that one or two speakers who represent a particular category of age, sex, social class, etc. are sufficient to reveal the structure... In fact, if we look closely at the number of informants representing a given cell about whom a sociolinguistic generalization is made, more often than not no more than a few informants are involved.*²⁵

It appears that there are inherent problems in endeavouring to frame a sample in a truly random and representative way in sociolinguistics and Romaine concedes that she doubts "...that random sampling in its strictest sense is even a possible, let alone realistic, goal".²⁶ Chambers agrees with this and points out that "numerous commentators have noted that..(Labov's). final sample was not

random but a partly random sub-set". There would, says Chambers, inevitably be enormous difficulties in "...*carrying out fine-grained linguistic analysis on a large sample*"²⁷ and, in any case, true randomness may not necessarily make linguistic surveys any more rigorous or meaningful.²⁸

1.7 Labov also drew attention to what he termed "*the observer's paradox*", where the informants' behaviour is changed by the very presence of the observer and there is an inhibition on the manifestation of the behaviour it is wished to observe.²⁹ The problem is how to get the informant to behave as though not being observed.

Other research in the Labovian tradition

1.8 Trudgill's study of language differentiation in Norwich³⁰ was one of a number of urban investigations "*based substantially on the methods developed by William Labov for the study of New York City*".³¹ Age, sex, social class and style data were obtained, in addition to the speech data, in a search for patterns of sociolinguistic distribution.³² Trudgill was able to confirm that variation was indeed related to social status and, furthermore, that there was also noticeable sex differentiation in the 'distance' of some variants from the accepted standard. The Norwich study showed that, by and large, women tend to produce speech - and be in the vanguard of change - which vectors more towards the standard.³³ Trudgill suggests that there are "*two inter-connected explanatory factors*" involved in this. Firstly, women have, in general, a less-secure societal status than men, and in general comparison with men, are rated more on how they appear than by what they do. It is, says Trudgill,

*...more necessary for women to secure and signal their social status linguistically... they are more aware of the importance of this type of signal...*³⁴

Secondly, speech which takes the most nonstandard form in a community is generally associated with working class males. Its cultural connotations are ones of "...*masculinity...roughness and toughness*", characteristics usually considered to be more appropriate to male rather than female roles.³⁵ Further discussion of sex differentiation in speech will take place later in this chapter. Meanwhile, Trudgill's views on the source and direction of language change, in relation to sex differentiation, may be mentioned. Labov identified 'change from above' as being above the level of consciousness and in the direction of prestige language features. Trudgill contends that these 'changes from above' "*are more likely to be led by women*".³⁶ 'Changes from below', on the other hand, take place below the level of conscious awareness and tend to start in lower class groups, with men leading the process.³⁷

1.9 Trudgill's adoption of the Labovian approach brought with it similar problems with the sampling procedure. Trudgill sets out quite clearly his concern to move away from the NORM-type of informant typical of earlier dialectology and to adopt more objective, systematic and rigorous sampling techniques.³⁸ The practicalities of the situation however necessitated compromises which cast some doubt on the true randomness and representativeness of the framing procedure. Trudgill was obliged to rationalise the exclusion from his sample frame

*...of anybody who had moved to Norwich from outside East Anglia in the last ten years...It was..felt that, in view of the short time available and the small size of the sample, time could not be spent on informants whose linguistic behaviour was radically different from other informants.*³⁹

Schoolchildren were selected for Trudgill's survey on criteria which appear to be non-random and non-representational.⁴⁰ Romaine comments that "*no details are given of the procedures adopted to select these younger informants. One must assume they were non-randomly selected*".⁴¹ Trudgill attempts to justify the use of the apparent non-random selection of grammar school children by the

retrospective device of claiming that the eventual results validated this choice as they did not "*bias the sample towards the higher end of the social scale*".⁴² But justifying by the *results* appears to be a suspect way of validating the randomness and representativeness of a sample. Overall, there seem to be enough exceptions, selective inclusions and qualifications to cast doubt on the claim of 'quasi-random' sampling. Questions could be raised about whether or not it would have been less misleading to simply acknowledge the difficulties and practicalities and concede that non-random, judgemental sampling had been used.

1.10 Referring to Trudgill's and others' urban work in the Labovian tradition, Romaine summarises the issue thus :

*...claims about representativeness and randomness of samples are not matters of opinion, i.e. subjective impressions, but are open to empirical testing and measurement by means of the appropriate statistics developed by social scientists for this purpose.... The terms 'random' and 'representative' are being used in sociolinguistic research without the technical precision attached to them in statistics by the social sciences".*⁴³

1.11 Notwithstanding the criticisms of sampling in work in the Labovian tradition, there are lessons and guidance here for the researcher embarking on the design and conduct of linguistic surveys, together with important implications for the subsequent analysis and interpretation of the collected data. Labov, Trudgill and other workers have demonstrated the importance of what May⁴⁴ calls *explanatory variables*, in the form of demographic, socioeconomic, and speech style and context data. It may have to be conceded that sample framing in linguistic surveys may not achieve the 'true' randomness of that in other social science research, such as opinion polls and, indeed, as Chambers contends, this condition may be neither appropriate nor necessary.⁴⁵

Labov's Martha's Vineyard study

1.12 Labov chose to study language change of a different kind from that in New York City and in a quite different social and linguistic environment. Martha's Vineyard is a small island some five kilometres off the coast of the north-eastern USA. Its permanent population is around 6,000 but this is supplemented by up to around 40,000 visitors in the summer season.⁴⁶ Labov was fortunate to have at his disposal linguistic data which had been gathered on the island some three decades before and was able to use this to identify changes which had taken place over that time in the sounds of certain diphthongs.⁴⁷

1.13 Sound changes are not particularly relevant to this present study and the methodology and technical details of Labov's work need not be examined in any detail here. What is relevant, however, is the reason for change which Labov claims to have revealed. The sound changes Labov detected were shown to be not innovatory but a renaissance of older pronunciations which had once been common on the island and this appeared to be more marked in people in the thirty to mid-forties age group, particularly amongst the fishing community at the western side of the island. This apparently reversed a trend towards 'mainland' pronunciation which had been in progress. Labov reasoned that the re-emergence of older diphthongs was connected with identity, an expression of community loyalty and a reaction against the ways of the "*despised summer visitors*".⁴⁸ Labov believed that there was admiration for the older fishermen, who were "*viewed as independent, skilful, physically strong, courageous...as opposed to the indolent consumer-orientated society of the summer visitors*".⁴⁹ Consequently, the next generation down started to subconsciously imitate and exaggerate the older diphthongs, which the older people had preserved, as a means of identifying themselves as "*true islanders*", in a process of what Labov terms 'change from below'.

1.14 The importance of Labov's Martha's Vineyard study in the context of this present research lies in the way speech features may become potent symbols of group identity. This tendency may in some circumstances create a tension between preservation of a nonstandard variety and changes in the direction of the standard. A selection of works dealing with this issue will now be examined.

2 - WHY DO LOW-PRESTIGE LANGUAGE VARIETIES PERSIST ?

2.1 The sub-heading above is borrowed from the title of Ryan's 1979 article in which she explores the motivations underlying speakers' reluctance to abandon their 'native', nonstandard speech varieties in the face of increasing standardisation.⁵⁰ Significantly, Ryan equates 'nonstandard' with 'low-prestige' and this is, indeed, often the qualitative perception of speech varieties, which are distanced by vocabulary, grammar and pronunciation from the accepted 'standard' of a society. Standardisation, says Ryan, is the result of

*the widespread acknowledgement within a given society that one particular variety, the standard dialect, incorporates a formal set of norms defining 'correct' usage. This high prestige standard is usually employed predominantly by the social group(s) with the highest social status in that society".*⁵¹

2.2 The substance of the question Ryan poses is why speech varieties which are perceived as having low social prestige do not disappear and tend to "*persist for centuries, surviving strong pressures to succumb in favour of the standard dialects*", as it might be expected that preference for the prestige variety could be seen as being socially advantageous.⁵² Or, as Chambers puts it in a slightly more prosaic way, "*If regional and social accents cause their bearers discomfort or grief, why do they continue to exist ?*".⁵³

2.3 It has already been noted that Labov's work in Martha's Vineyard showed that a diphthong sound change was under way as a manifestation of community identity and that this 'change from below' was below the level of awareness of the speakers. Ryan, however, sees the preservation of nonstandard speech features operating at a level of awareness :

Just as ethnicity should be viewed as a matter of choice, not accident... accent or dialect adoption should be considered as a matter due largely

*to conscious choice.*⁵⁴ (my emphasis).

As this present research is concerned with speakers' choices from the lexical stock, as a factor in the 'loss' or diminished use of nonstandard words, it is important here to explore this apparent divergence of opinion.

2.4 When a speaker uses a nonstandard word, pronunciation or grammatical device, is he or she acting consciously or not? Leaving aside for the moment the question of motive, it would seem that at the level of physical articulation the speaker must be making a conscious choice - always providing he or she is aware of the alternatives - and such a scenario has already been discussed in the Linguistic Context section of Chapter II. But this may not necessarily contradict Labov's position on 'change from below' being subconscious for, while a speaker may be consciously and deliberately choosing to use a particular speech feature, he or she may remain unaware of participating in the promotion of a wider language change (or, alternatively, helping in the preservation of an existing feature). It is difficult to conceive of a speaker adopting and using a language feature and being entirely unconscious of doing so and it seems that Labov's 'level of consciousness' qualification may be more appropriate to the *overall process* of language change rather than to individual speech acts. However, Trudgill demonstrated in his Norwich study that speakers were often inaccurate reporters of their own speech behaviour, with men tending to under-report and women tending to over-report their respective uses of standard variants. The implication is that men tend to subconsciously favour the use of the nonstandard variants and this is what they believe is their behaviour. It is

*the norm at which a large number of Norwich males are aiming....
Privately and subconsciously, ... (they) ... are more concerned with
acquiring prestige of the covert sort and with signalling group solidarity
than with acquiring social status, as this is more usually defined.*⁵⁵

Trudgill coined the term 'covert prestige' for what the men are apparently trying to achieve by their subscription to speech varieties which vector away from the standard.

But, again, the 'conscious *versus* unconscious' question is raised when Chambers writes that "...it is not hard for (most people) to use standard variants alongside non-standard ones, especially in more careful styles".⁵⁶ This surely refers to decisions on how to speak - what words to use, what grammatical structures and pronunciations to employ - being taken at a conscious level. In the context of group identity through language, it seems that awareness of alternatives and conscious choice must play a part. Ryan, for example, writes of **conscious** choice "*in the speech of adolescents as they attempt to distinguish themselves from the established prestige groups*". She also comments on how a perceived 'attack' on a nonstandard speech variety can elicit a reaction where the 'threatened' speech variety becomes intensified and even exaggerated in use.⁵⁷

2.5 Bouris and Giles⁵⁸ agree with the view that language is a potent symbol of social identity :

*Many social groups can be readily categorized by their distinct languages or speech styles...speech can be amongst the most salient dimensions of their social identities.*⁵⁹

Bouris and Giles describe intergroup relationships in terms of the *ingroup* and the *outgroup*. The *ingroup* comprises those who seek to emphasise their identity as members of a particular social, ethnic, national or linguistic community, as against 'the rest' (or the *outgroup*). The *ingroup's* attitude goes further than simply 'making a statement' about their identity, for the members tend to seek *positive* features which will clearly signal their differences from the outgroup and one of these features is often language :

*...by emphasizing their own national accent, dialect or language, ingroup members would accentuate the differences between themselves and the outgroup on a dimension salient to their group identity.*⁶⁰

2.6 Bouris and Giles report on experiments involving speakers of Welsh. One experimental group was identified as 'integrative', i.e., its tendency was towards becoming an *ingroup*. In a verbal encounter with an 'Englishman', the members of this group perceived the situation as an intergroup one where the *outgroup*, represented by the 'Englishman', was perceived as threatening "*a salient dimension*" of their Welsh identity. In response, the 'integrative' group members "*...not only emphasized their Welshness in terms of how they replied but also in terms of what they said*".⁶¹

2.7 In many instances the 'defensive' *ingroup* may be one which is in a numerical minority in the overall societal setting and/or it may be using a speech variety which differs from the accepted standard, prestige form. Its identity may be characterised by regional, social, economic, ethnic, racial, cultural or religious differences from the societal majority.

2.8 But for an *ingroup* to exist there must, by definition, also be an *outgroup* against which it compares itself and against which it measures the 'distance' of the distinctive differences it is trying to emphasise. For some speakers the *outgroup* is their *ingroup* and it is the linguistic behaviour of members of this that they attempt to move towards, often by behaviour at an individual, interpersonal level.⁶²

2.9 'Convergence' of style at an interpersonal communication level is one of the effects of 'accommodation' :

*When two people with different social backgrounds meet, there is a tendency for their speech to alter, so that they become more alike. Modifications have been observed in several areas of language, including grammar, vocabulary, pronunciation, speech rate, use of pause, and utterance length.*⁶³

Some sociolinguists would say that this is one of mechanisms which produce "*quasi-permanent*"⁶⁴ or "*long-term accommodation*"⁶⁵, through which wider and more fundamental language change may be promoted.⁶⁶

2.10 It is clear there is widespread agreement that preservation of nonstandard and low-prestige varieties of speech may occur because this signals membership of, and loyalty to, a particular group, while at the same time signalling rejection of the speech behaviour of other groups. This may be part of a broader attitude where, as Macaffee for example writes, *"Working class solidarity supports negative evaluations of middle class culture..."*.⁶⁷ Yet there can be tension between a speaker's wish to be identified with a particular *ingroup* and perceptions of the relative quality of his or her nonstandard language, which is such an important part of signalling 'belonging'. This issue is examined in the following paragraphs.

Linguistic insecurity

2.11 *"A good measure of the importance of speech variety is the anxiety it evokes"* writes Chaika.⁶⁸ Labov, in his New York work, tested for 'linguistic insecurity' and found that his subjects consistently denigrated their own speech.⁶⁹ Chambers comments on the outcome of enquiries into linguistic insecurity and linguistic self-hatred: *"Subjective reactions tests have shown this result so frequently that it is no longer surprising in any way but is actually expected"*.⁷⁰

2.12 Macaulay, working in Glasgow, quotes the response of a fifteen year-old informant when asked about the type of speech which would be most appropriate in a job interview :

*If you were an employer and somebody came in to see you with a broad Glasgow accent, and then another boy, man, came in with an English accent, you'd be more inclined to give the Englishman the job because he had a nicer way of speaking.*⁷¹

Macaulay considers this a good example of Labov's 'linguistic self-hatred' - *"an awareness of the inferiority of one's own form of speech to that of another group"*. The potential for tension in choice is evident when the same informant is asked if he would be prepared to modify his speech in the direction of that of the Englishman's to get a better job :

I don't know that I would. I wouldn't like to have an English accent. I think it's a very daft one...In your own environment you'd feel out of place. If you live in Glasgow you must talk like a Glaswegian... ⁷²

2.13 Macaulay records that during his interviews with informants "...there were frequent negative comments about 'slovenly' or 'careless' speech. Sometimes this led to an expression of views which appear to be incompatible". ⁷³ Again, the possibility is raised of conflict between group/regional loyalty and identity on one hand, and, on the other, negative evaluations of some aspects of the speech variety, which is such an important signaller of affiliation.

2.14 The question which predictably follows this phenomenon is concerned with the origins of the linguistic security, the self-hatred and the negative evaluations which create the tension for users of nonstandard speech.

The perception of 'correct' speech and the 'ideology of the standard'

2.15 The source of the tension lies in perceptions of what constitutes 'correct' speech and the status accorded to it. One variety is promoted as the 'standard' and this leads to this becoming perceived as the only one which is 'correct' and, by definition therefore, other varieties must be seen as 'incorrect', 'substandard', 'degenerate', 'corrupt' or 'deficient' forms.

2.16 How do standard languages come into existence ? :

Standard languages do not arise via a 'natural' course of linguistic evolution or suddenly spring into existence. They are created by conscious and deliberate planning...Most of the present-day standard languages of Europe emerged within a climate of intense political nationalism. They were developed in part out of the need to create prominent ideological symbols of shared purpose, nationhood, etc. The models selected for codification were those current in capitals like Copenhagen, Paris, and London - seats of the court, centers of trade and finance, and breeding places of the aristocracy. ⁷⁴

In England, the variety which from the fourteenth century emerged as the standard was the 'dialect' in use in the region which was the most populous and prosperous, which included London and the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, i.e., that of the south-east Midlands. Today, 'southern' British lexis and grammar "*can reasonably be taken to identify Standard English, as it is commonly designated*".⁷⁵ But in practice most people who today speak 'British' Standard English (perhaps 7-12% of the country, says Trudgill) tend to speak it with a regional accent.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, this particular variety of English continues to carry powerful connotations of being the only 'correct' form, for it finds wider expression in writing than it does in speech. It is the written form which is most prescriptively promoted in schools.

2.17 Mugglestone argues that, initially, the aim of standardisation of English was essentially egalitarian.⁷⁷ By this argument, everyone could have access to the same linguistic variety and, thus, it would be socially enabling. It was only later, Mugglestone asserts, that the egalitarian ideal became overtaken by social demarcation motives. This does not seem to be a very convincing argument, for the environments in which the emergent standard was cultivated and in which it flourished, in spoken and written form, were the court, the institutions of law, administration, education, and commerce;⁷⁸ these were not environments to which the mass of ordinary people had access. Furthermore, in broader terms, the age in which the movement towards standardisation gained momentum was hardly notable for any egalitarian consciousness. The standard was always destined to become the property of the powerful and those of élite status and, inevitably, their speech variety became a badge of that status, just as much as dress, property and land ownership.

2.18 "*Recognition of a 'standard' brings not only a sense of a 'non-standard' but a 'sub-standard' too...construed in terms of lack of 'elegance' or imputations of 'ridicule', and its associated images of disadvantage*", writes Mugglestone.⁷⁹ A key word in this quotation is 'ridicule', for it is reactions of this kind which perhaps do the greatest damage to the linguistic self-esteem of those who use nonstandard linguistic features in their everyday speech. Also, proscription,

prescription and 'correction', implications of ignorance and lack of education, derisory comments pertaining to 'provincialism' or 'vulgarity' - all these become attached to perceptions of low social worth; they create and foster feelings of linguistic insecurity in those who do not habitually utilise the standard. Mugglestone writes of eighteenth century attitudes to the "*disgrace of dialect*"⁸⁰ and how those concerned with social status and appearance took positive steps to eliminate rusticism in speech :

Sir Christopher Sykes in 1778...thus earnestly sought a tutor for his offspring who would be qualified to eradicate their regional accent, a mode of speech increasingly being seen as incompatible with any pretensions to status...His quest was... 'for any young man... (who)... can correct their Yorkshire tone'...⁸¹.

2.19 Speakers are usually quite aware of what supposedly constitutes 'proper' or 'correct' speech, as Trudgill's work in Norwich⁸² and Macaulay's Glasgow⁸³ study showed. They are well aware that their own speech 'falls short' of the standard and is likely to attract ridicule and 'correction' from some quarters. Trudgill writes of those he calls 'eliminators', the habitual and complacent users of the standard who constantly denigrate and criticise nonstandard speech, and how "*...they have, unfortunately, succeeded in convincing a majority of the nation's inhabitants that they can't speak English*".⁸⁴ Both approbation and insecurity are based, says Mugglestone, on "*...ideologies of standardization ... (which)... manifest patterns of binary absolutes : 'good', 'bad', 'right', 'wrong', 'prestigious', 'vulgar', [h]-fulness, [h]-lessness, and it is these in which people tend to believe... "*".⁸⁵

Needless to say, the positive values are invariably attached to the standard form and the negative values to the nonstandard. Because language behaviour is socially-symbolic, negative values become attached to the speakers as much as to the speech itself and numerous experimental situations have been devised to demonstrate this.⁸⁶ As Mugglestone writes, regardless of education or intelligence levels, speakers are subjectively judged as 'ignorant' or 'illiterate' or 'uninformed' simply by the way they speak.⁸⁷ Judgements made of speakers,

even from minimal use of features of 'regional' speech or sociolect, tend to draw on stereotypes.⁸⁸ Such stereotypes and their accompanying negative evaluations *"still persist, in spite of the absence of any objective foundation for their correlation...such attitudes can...prove remarkably pervasive"*.⁸⁹ It is suggested by Gordon that the negative stereotypes attached to language may even extend to judgements of lower-class [sic] immorality and sexual promiscuity, especially for women.⁹⁰

2.20 What Mugglestone calls *"the ideology of the standard"* persists - yet there is ample evidence of the persistence, too, of nonstandard (and, by implication, 'low-prestige') varieties. The latter are often negatively evaluated by their users while, at the same time, they remain aware of the social advantages of using the standard and attribute many positive qualities to it. But *"...the 'talking proper' of one speaker may well be another's 'talking posh' and a marker of affectation and pretension; not everyone will by any means desire to assimilate to the norms specified as 'best', irrespective of the number of social and intellectual virtues with which such (standard) variants are theoretically imbued"*.⁹¹ Added to this is the importance of language as an *ingroup* identifier, manifested in loyalty to a particular social group, an institution or a place and often involving the signalling of 'distance' of one group from another.

2.21 The answer to Ryan's question *"Why do low-prestige language varieties persist?"*, which headed this exploration, is therefore a complex one but can be provided in short as : *identity, loyalty* and the *rejection of the culture and values of the dominant social group*. However, a tension may exist between these and perception of one's own nonstandard language as an 'inferior' variety.

3 - NETWORKS

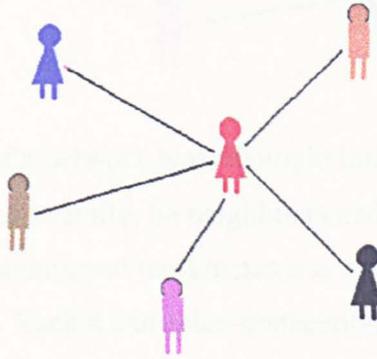
3.1 In Chapter II the suggestion was made that the language variety of the community in the present research locality was nurtured and maintained in a long-standing environment of population and occupational stability. It was hypothesised that the predominance of the textile industry played a central role, first through the 'home as workplace' situation, then in the mills where virtually whole families might be found working closely together, generation by generation. Indeed, employment in the mills frequently *depended* on being a member of an existing 'mill family'. Along with this went a 'neighbourhood' culture, with the same people who worked together also living close to each other and to their workplace, and socialising together. The demographic data presented in Chapter II showed that, until World War Two, there was relatively little inward or outward migration; what there was tended to be over very short distances, to or from adjacent or close areas. The textile industry was, itself, largely self-recruiting. These conditions were precisely the ones where *social networks* were built, where they flourished and were maintained with little difficulty.

3.2 Chambers reminds us that *"although social class has been the primary social variable in sociolinguistics, linguists are well aware that some social groups are not class-differentiated"*.⁹² Romaine writes of the *"dissatisfaction with class-based approaches to variation because many studies have taken for granted that individuals can be grouped into social classes"* with no consideration of linguistic homogeneity.⁹³ Labov's studies, as Aitchison points out, were carried out against a premiss that *"society was a simple layer-cake with upper class, middle class and working class heaped on top of one another..."* but, in reality *"humans are more like stars...since they group themselves into loose-knit clusters"*. These clusters we refer to as *social networks* and these *"can reveal the intricate interlacing of human contacts. Potentially they can show who influences who"*.⁹⁴ Networks, Milroy tells us, have the advantage that they can

also illuminate and account for the mechanisms of language maintenance as well as change.⁹⁵

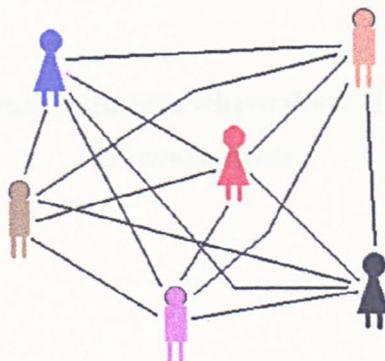
3.3 The clusters, or networks, may vary in density. Some are loose-knit (or 'low-density'), while others are close-knit ('high-density').⁹⁶ *Figure III.2* represents a low-density network. Individuals know the central member but do not know one another :

Figure III.2 - A low-density network



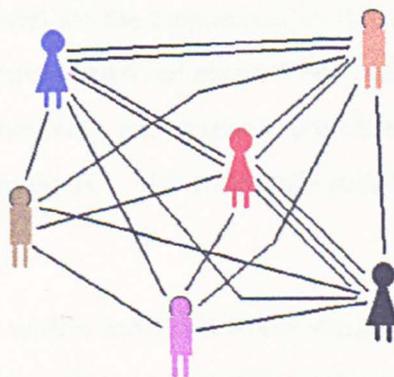
A high-density network is illustrated in *Figure III.3*. Here each person in the network knows all the others :

Figure III.3 - A high-density network



In some cases, members of a network have multiple links. For example, two members may be of the same family, be neighbours and also workmates. Or three people may be neighbours and workmates and may also regularly socialise together in the same pub. Such a multiplex-connection model is illustrated at *Figure III.4* :

Figure III.4 - A multiplex-connection network

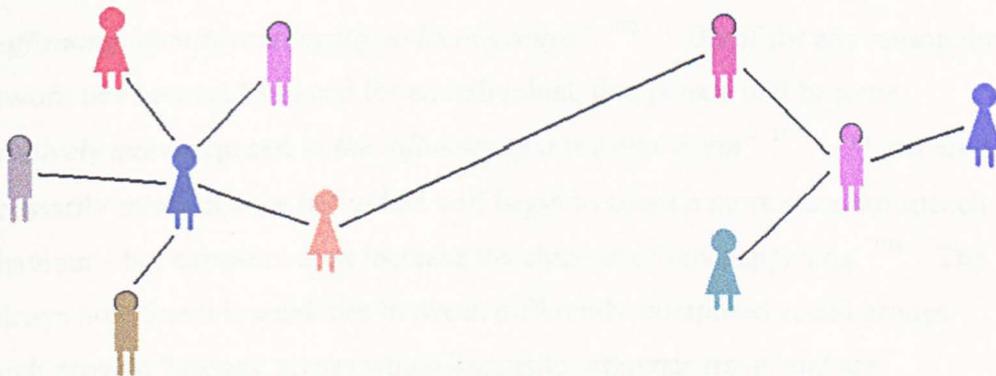


[Figures III.2, III.3 and III.4 are based partly on Chambers (1995), pp. 72-73]

Cheshire's work with adolescents in Reading⁹⁷ suggested that the most close-knit networks may be found around the age of sixteen, though these undoubtedly exist at other ages and in other contexts (for instance, in military units and specialist

occupational groups). A high-density network, particularly if it has strong multiplex-connection characteristics, is more likely to be also a 'closed' network, with few connections outside the cluster. A low-density network, on the other hand, allows members to have connections with members of other clusters, as illustrated in *Figure III.5* :

Figure III.5 - Low-density clusters where there is 'external' connection between them



[Figure III.5 is based partly on Aitchison (1991), p. 44]

3.4 The prevailing model for the community in this present research (in the time before the textile industry suffered severe contraction) is that represented in *Figure III.4*. In this community, multiplex-connections existed through familial, occupational and social linkages. *"All these links potentially affect a person's language"*.⁹⁸

3.5 Language change within social networks was studied in Belfast by the Milroys.⁹⁹ Three working-class communities were studied and a measure of the strength of the identified networks was arrived at; this was correlated with linguistic variables and *"in general, those (subjects) with high network scores indicating the strength of association with the local community used more local, non-standard forms of speech"*.¹⁰⁰ Interaction in a close neighbourhood, amongst people who are also linked by kinship, work and social activities, is a

powerful normative influence, fostering the preservation of the community's nonstandard speech variety, as well as other behaviours, attitudes and values :

*Well-integrated, central speakers in close-knit networks are more susceptible to norm-enforcing mechanisms; although they may passively share the more overtly prestigious norms determined by upper-middle-class speech, they do not themselves produce such speech, since these norms are outweighed by conflicting standards set by peer group pressure and covert prestige.*¹⁰¹

As was noted earlier in this chapter, *"speakers use their local accents as a means of affirming identity and loyalty to local groups"*.¹⁰² But if for any reason the network ties become loosened for an individual, that person will become *"relatively more exposed to the influence of a prestige norm"*.¹⁰³ This does not necessarily mean that the individual will begin to adopt a more standard speech behaviour - but exposure does increase the chances of this happening.¹⁰⁴ The Milroys note that it is *weak* ties between differently-composed social groups which provide 'bridges' across which linguistic influence travel and are subsequently diffused, *"despite the commonsense assumption that STRONG ties fulfil this role"*.¹⁰⁵ This is because weak ties exist between acquaintances, rather than close friends, and people tend to have more acquaintances, with differing social backgrounds, than they have friends. Strong ties, on the other hand, are parochial and introspective, serving to maintain the linguistic *status quo*, for, writes Aitchison, *"...when people talk to their old pals, they reinforce existing trends. But a change normally comes from outside"*.¹⁰⁶

3.6 The Milroys found that, in Belfast, more men than women belonged to dense networks and this may have a bearing on any sex differentiation which may be found when a community's language variety is studied. They also encountered Labov's *observer's paradox* and endeavoured to overcome this by using a 'friend of a friend' approach :

The fieldworker... entered one area by mentioning the name of a student who had once lived there. The first person she approached was a middle-

*aged man...to whom she identified herself as a 'friend of Sam's'. She was introduced to others in this way, and later as a 'friend of Ted's', Ted being the local person who gave most help. She therefore became a 'participant observer', someone who joined in as a friend, and collected data at the same time. This guaranteed trust and acceptance as an insider, and made speakers less likely to put on extra-special 'polite' behaviour... The 'participant observer' style involves fitting in with local customs, and trying not to intrude".*¹⁰⁷

3.7 The important point in this present context is that the Milroys demonstrated the need for awareness and understanding of the structure and mechanism of networks in linguistic research. "... (The)... *network approach shows that some patterns of social class stratification are actually better accounted for as gender differences*", comments Romaine.¹⁰⁸ From the perspective of this present research, grounded as it is in the study of a community where social networks have been historically significant, this hints at a potentially fruitful direction for subsequent analysis and interpretation of the data.

4 - SEX- AND GENDER-RELATED LANGUAGE BEHAVIOUR ¹⁰⁹

4.1 This present research intends to collect gender data alongside linguistic data. It is felt that this has the potential to act as an *explanatory variable* and, for this reason, consideration of the literature concerning sex differentiation in linguistic behaviour may prove significant at the subsequent analysis and interpretation stages. The idea that women and men respond differently to language appears to be firmly entrenched. Indeed, some would go further and claim that women and men (though of the same speech community, sharing the same lexis and grammars) 'speak different languages' and operate in a communication environment where there often appear to be fundamental obstacles to mutual intelligibility :

Not only do men and women communicate differently but they think, feel, perceive, react, respond, love, need and appreciate differently. They almost seem to be from different planets, speaking different languages and needing different nourishment. ¹¹⁰

In a small-scale, classroom-based experiment on listening skills, the present researcher noted significant differences in the ways 10/11 year old girls and boys interpreted verbal instructions, suggesting that differentials may exist in auditory processing. ¹¹¹

4.2 In the field of sociolinguistics, it is now virtually received wisdom that women's linguistic behaviour will, in general, be nearer the standard than that of the men, and this applies across the social classes. ¹¹² Furthermore, when linguistic changes towards the standard are in progress, it is suggested that it is women who are likely to be leading this. What is still in debate is why these situations exist.

4.3 It has already been noted that Trudgill's Norwich survey revealed sex differentiation in speech and he offered as an explanation that women in our society are more status-conscious than men because their position is less secure and also they are evaluated by how they appear (in all senses, including the

language they use) rather than by what they do. Additionally, says Trudgill, working class nonstandard speech carries connotations of masculinity.¹¹³ Other explanations have centred on women's supposed need to maintain 'face' and their greater concern for maintaining politeness in communicative exchanges.¹¹⁴ Gordon analyses women's greater use of prestige forms as a defence against being perceived as 'lower-class' for, as was noted earlier, such a perception may be accompanied by connotations of sexually promiscuous behaviour :

*"Evidence from a survey of New Zealand middle-class speakers shows that their stereotype of a lower-class female speaker includes potential sexual immorality".*¹¹⁵

Yet, as Chambers writes, all such explanations are essentially based on negative motivation, whereas :

*"...the linguistic behavior for which these interpretations are proffered is not by any criterion negative...The empirical evidence clearly shows women as much more able performers than men in the whole spectrum of sociolinguistic situations".*¹¹⁶

The Milroys' studies in Belfast showed that the working class women of Ballymacarrett were able to converse *"on equal linguistic terms with the sluggards from the shipyards living next door and with the toffs from the law office across the corridor at work"*.¹¹⁷ Women have also been found to have a better capability than have men for style-switching to suit different social contexts. In general, *"...the women have a clear advantage over the men in terms of their sociolinguistic competence"*.¹¹⁸ What is needed, implies Chambers, is a reappraisal of the situation which stresses the sex differential in linguistic behaviour as a female advantage rather than a shortcoming.¹¹⁹

4.4 This, however, does not help in getting nearer to an explanation of why the differential exists in the first place. It is predictable that this question will resolve itself into the familiar 'nature *versus* nurture' (or 'biology *versus* socialisation') debate and it is not the intention here to be deflected into an in-depth examination

of the arguments attached to this. Suffice it to say that the available evidence is not strongly conclusive in either direction.¹²⁰ The explanation which for the moment seems to be the most persuasive (on intuitive grounds, if nothing else) is one which accepts some biological determination which, in turn, predisposes females to the acquisition of certain social and linguistic accomplishments which differ from those of males.¹²¹ Even then, the situation is likely to be complicated by evidence which draws attention to the role of intervening variables and which, in some cases, denies that male-female differences are as great as is often supposed :

*...speech differences between men and women are not clear-cut ... (they)... are filtered through the social construction of gender identity and gender relations which work differently in different societies, epochs and cultures. For this reason we should not expect some set of universal differences in the language of men and women... we need to consider carefully the ways in which gender as a dimension of difference between people interacts with other dimensions such as those of age, class, ethnic groups and so on".*¹²²

Montgomery cautions that women's greater sensitivity to norms of correct speech

*...is not borne out by precise studies of concrete groups of women... it depends on which women are being considered (older versus younger, for instance)¹²³ and most fundamentally upon what kinds of relationships shape their everyday lives. Certainly there is no simple direct link between the sex of the speaker and the tendency to use the vernacular or the standard.*¹²⁴

4.5 Coates claims that in today's social and economic climate, where there is more sex equality in many areas, "it is clear that certain groups of women (e.g. those in professions or in politics) have adopted... (an assimilation)... strategy", whereby they "redefine themselves in terms of male values", including linguistic behaviour.¹²⁵ Milroy draws attention to the apparent contradiction which accompanies the notion that, if females have less freedom for upward mobility or

definition of status, why then do they not take men's linguistic behaviour as their model, rather than employing a style which is closer to the standard than that of the men ? :

It is difficult to see why male language should not be considered status-ful and why, for example, the wives of successful men do not simply imitate the language of their husbands. ¹²⁶

It is tempting to speculate that this *is* precisely what is happening in Coates' process of 'assimilation' and, rather than using the prestige of Standard English to acquire status, women are starting to imitate male speech behaviour for this purpose.

4.6 Coates also makes the interesting and important observation that not all 'traditional' dialectologists considered men the best informants for providing data on 'dialect'. Rather than Trudgill's and Chambers' NORMs, women may, in fact, sometimes be more effective conservers, users and reporters of nonstandard speech :

Dialectologists...disagreed about the merits of female as opposed to male ... (linguistic)...informants. One view was that women were the best informants because of their innate conservatism. This view was expressed by a great variety of dialectologists, from the end of the 19th century to the 1940s". ¹²⁷

Romaine notes that, despite this recognition, "...most (early dialectologists) based their surveys almost entirely on the speech of men, whether they believed they were conservative or not". ¹²⁸ Not only did this unidimensional methodology result in the loss of opportunity to record linguistic features in a more representative and comprehensive way, but it also precluded any comparison of male-female differences.

4.7 It appears that the prestige-based explanation for differences in women's and men's linguistic behaviour, "*on which we have so commonly relied*", may not always apply. ¹²⁹ Though the existence of linguistic behavioural differences

between women and men appears to have been satisfactorily established as a generality, this may in certain cases need to be subjected to contextual qualification.

5 - AGE-RELATED LANGUAGE BEHAVIOUR

5.1 Variation in language will frequently display a pattern of *age grading* and this pattern itself may be evidence of a change in progress.¹³⁰ A number of studies have investigated language acquisition in children, and changes in adolescence,¹³¹ but from the perspective of this present research the important aspect is that of changes in lexical knowledge and use over extended time. Some patterns of 'age-grading' may simply reflect a passing fad or fashion, or be generationally repetitive, Romaine notes, but

*... other cases may represent change in progress. This can only be determined by comparing the usage of speech communities at two points in time. Only then can we tell if contemporary variation, or what we might call 'change in apparent time', is a stage in long-term change, or change in 'real time'...*¹³²

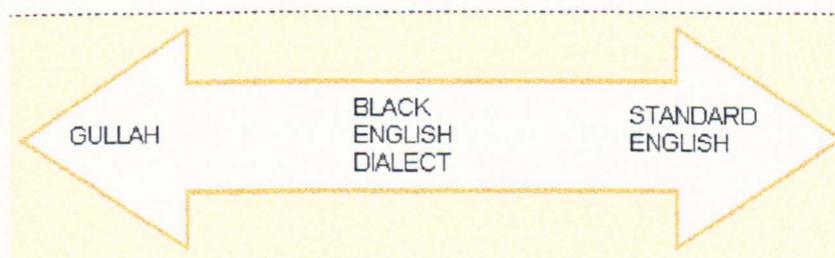
Within the proposed methodology of this present research, this carries implications for the idea of cultural transmission and a reconstruction of what levels of knowledge and use were displayed by different age groups, both in the past and at the present time. The changes may be inter-generational, i.e., that a generation knows and uses less of a specified corpus of nonstandard lexical items than did the preceding generation, or they may be intra-generational, where, for instance, a particular age group's levels of use of nonstandard features has altered over time. The inter-generational situation is relatively easy to research, as it is a matter of simply making synchronous measurements of what nonstandard words people know and still use. Reconstructing the diachronic, intra-generational 'career' of knowledge and use is less simple, however, and the methodological concepts of *real* and *apparent* time have to be invoked to assist in this.¹³³ These are dimensions which are taken into account in planning the research and are discussed more fully in Chapter IV, Methodology.

5.2 In comparison with social class and sex variability, there appears to have been relatively little study of age-related linguistic variation and change (though

Labov did report on age-related differences in diphthongisation in his Martha's Vineyard research). One study which does, however, have some potential implications for this present research is that of Nichols, which looked at two South Carolina Black communities.¹³⁴ Though not specifically an investigation of age-related speech behaviour, it did reveal two interesting and interrelated features of potential relevance to this present study. Firstly, against the generalised received wisdom, some groups of women in a community may be the greater users and preservers of nonstandard features. Secondly, both women's and men's language may show trends towards or away from the standard in accordance with the prevailing occupational pattern.

5.3 The Black speakers in this study had speech varieties which ranged, on a continuum, from Gullah (a creole of English), through Black English, to a regional form of Standard English (*Figure III.6*). The Standard English end of the continuum represents the 'prestige' pole, with the 'low-prestige', nonstandard Gullah being positioned at the opposite end :

Figure III.6 - The Gullah-Standard English continuum



{*Figure III.6* adapted from Montgomery (1995), p. 153}

Nichols' finding was that *older women* consistently used Gullah; while the young women in this community generally made more use of Standard English

5.4 Montgomery evaluates Nichols' findings as "*deceptively simple but profoundly important for understanding speech differences*".¹³⁵ Not only is there a marked difference between the older and the younger women's speech behaviour but there is a marked correlation with occupational patterns and social

interaction opportunities. The older women are engaged mainly in domestic and agricultural-labouring work, while the younger women largely have jobs in the service industries, in hospitals, and in schools. The improving job situation for younger women is facilitated by a longer period of formal education; their subsequent work places them in a linguistic environment where they encounter a wider diversity of speech styles and, especially, a greater use of the standard variety. *"It is clearly not the case..."*, comments Montgomery, *"...that all women in these communities of South Carolina gravitate to the prestige forms and varieties"*.¹³⁶ Though Nichols' work clearly has implications for sex- and gender-variable speech, it is the interrelated age and occupational opportunity dimensions which are predicted as having the greater relevance for this present study.

6 - LANGUAGE 'DECAY' AND 'DEATH'

6.1 In the introductory chapter to this report there was discussion of the problematic nature of the notion of 'dialect', and also of the association of temporal and spatial dimensions with this. Before this present section can proceed the problem of the imprecise distinction between 'dialect' and 'language' must be further addressed. The reason for this is that the central issue of this present research is concerned with changes in lexical choice in a community. Some would refer to this as 'dialect loss' or 'dialect attrition' and (notwithstanding the problems inherent in the definition and conceptualisation attached to these terms) this process would seem to be nothing more nor less than a localised manifestation of what has been termed 'language decay' (which may ultimately lead to 'language death'). It is important, therefore, to establish that 'dialects' and 'languages' are essentially the same things. As was noted in Chapter I, a precise definition of 'dialect' is difficult to pin down; it appears to emerge as nothing more than an abstraction which acts as a convenient label and is too imprecise for the 'technical' discussion of language.. Attempts to arrive at a definition of 'dialect' often invoke the idea of *mutual intelligibility*. In other words, if two people are speaking differently, yet understand each other, then they are probably speaking 'dialects' of the same language. But does this always work ?

6.2 Petyt argues that "*...mutual intelligibility is not an all-or-none matter ; there are degrees of comprehension between speakers ... (and)... the dialect continuum ... raises several difficulties for the 'mutual intelligibility' criterion*".¹³⁷ Figure III.7 illustrates the point Petyt makes :

standard dialects are characteristically evaluated as less prestigious and desirable than standard varieties, even by their own speakers; consequently language suicide might be an appropriate description of the loss or reduction in use of a dialect in favour of a standard. ¹⁴¹

In other words, creoles, 'dialects' and other sub-sets behave in the same way as 'languages', because they are not discrete entities but part of the one linguistic continuum.

6.4 The term 'language suicide' is used to indicate that the speakers of the nonstandard variety themselves play an active and conscious part in the demise of the speech form they perceive as 'inferior'. The process is, says Aitchison, an *"extreme form of borrowing"*, with more and more features of the language perceived as 'prestigious' being brought into use and ousting the existing features. This process is more likely when the two languages are similar. ¹⁴² The 'borrowing' of lexical items *"occurs first in cases where the likenesses between the borrower and donor languages are strongest, and/or where the borrower is cumbersome and lacks adequate terminology"*. ¹⁴³

6.5 When 'language decay' and 'language death' occur, they can be seen to stem from social needs. A range of social and other factors, potentially contributing to a reduction in knowledge and use of nonstandard words in a community, has already been raised and discussed in the Linguistic Context section of Chapter II. It is suggested that the linguistic change phenomenon being investigated in this present research is part of a process of 'language decay', in the sense that nonstandard words which were once known and used are becoming less known and used in the community of the research locality. Of course, language does not 'die' in the organic sense. Hoeningwald poses the question of whether, by definition, there can ever be such a thing as 'dialect death'. ¹⁴⁴ In the case of lexical items, for instance, some will drop out of use and become 'lost' because they represent obsolete features and concepts. But most words cease to be used (and knowledge of them culturally transmitted) as they are replaced by alternatives which are regarded as more appropriate, prestigious, up-to-date or fashionable, and which do not carry the stigma of 'dialect'. In this

sense, 'dialect' is not 'lost' or 'eroded' (though certain *features* of it may be); it simply changes its form.

SECTION C - CHAPTER SUMMARY

1.1 It is now appropriate to review and summarise what contributions the selected literature has made to this present work, in terms of aiding in the construction of a background theory and suggesting some methodological direction.

Sociolinguistics

1.2 As this study is partly sociolinguistic, socioeconomic and demographic data collection, alongside lexical knowledge and use data, would appear to be recommended, in the expectation that this will provide correlational explanatory variables. The approach pioneered by Labov in the 1960s, and adopted by many other researchers since, has been shown to be illuminatory and informative in understanding linguistic behaviour, particularly where the dimensions of sex/gender, age, social class, and speech style and context are concerned.

Methodology

1.3 The literature examined in this chapter has pointed up some methodological issues. Sociolinguistics, as Romaine noted, can be considered as a methodology in itself, involving the use of stratified, random sampling, and the systematic collection of data with a view to its correlation potential and analytical possibilities. Limitations on the extent of randomness in sampling may have to be accepted, as the practicalities of Labov's, Trudgill's and others' work has demonstrated. But there is a cautionary message here: the researcher cannot discard the responsibility of maintaining academic integrity by reducing, as rigorously as possible, any unconscious bias in the selection of informants. Further methodological lessons can be learned from the Milroys' work in Belfast, which showed the importance of acceptance into the community whose language is to be investigated, while Labov emphasises the need to put informants at their ease if their 'natural' language is to be observed.

Issues of identity, loyalty and linguistic status

1.4 Labov's work on Martha's Vineyard showed that distinctive language features play a powerful role in the expression of community identity and loyalty and this has been substantiated by other studies. Recognising the motivations implicit in this help in understanding why nonstandard, 'low-prestige' speech features may persist in the face of encroaching standard, 'prestige' forms. When speakers opt for their nonstandard variety, rather than the standard which offers clear social benefits, they seem to be consciously taking part in a 'cost/benefit analysis'. As one strategy, speakers making conscious choices of the language they use may intensify and even exaggerate features of their nonstandard speech in situations where dimensions of their identity appear to be under external threat. In other situations, however, speakers will seek to accommodate to the speech style of those they are conversing with. The conscious use of a nonstandard variety of speech is not necessarily an endorsement of the speakers' affection for it and there is ample evidence of linguistic insecurity and even 'self-hatred'. In comparison the standard speech variety is generally evaluated in positive terms and accorded (along with its speakers) 'prestige' status. There is a complex matrix of issues here which may need to be taken into consideration when offering explanations for the linguistic behaviour which this present research may reveal.

Networks

1.5 The literature has shown that there are limitations to purely class-based approaches and the Milroys' Belfast work demonstrated the usefulness of studying, as an alternative, the *social networks* in which speakers are located. The varying network densities, strengths and weaknesses, inter- and intra-group, have been shown to have an important influence on maintenance, variation and change in linguistic features. It is anticipated that this will prove to be an important consideration in the present research; the interrelationship of domestic, occupational and socialising patterns in the community of this research locality would seem to be promising territory for network analysis.

Sex- and gender-related language variation

1.6 There appears to be no clear-cut explanation as to why women's speech differs from that of men. The balance of evidence is, that under certain conditions, there is a measurable differential - but this may not be as great as is sometimes suggested. In sociolinguistic studies, women have been found to generally subscribe more to the 'prestige', standard variety while men are greater users of nonstandard features. Language changes which proceed in the direction of the standard are also normally attributed mainly to women, while it is claimed that men act as a conservative influence, maintaining nonstandard features and sometimes initiating change in that direction. Yet there are examples of situations where women are more conservative than men and some caution needs to be exercised in accepting the generalisation. In any interpretation of the present research's data, such a generalisation must be treated with care and the possible effects of intervening variables (such as gender roles, local conditions and history, and social and occupational patterns) will need to be taken into account.

Age-related variation

1.7 As with sex- and gender-related variation, age-related differences in language behaviour need to be viewed against a background of variables, which may intervene between speech and age.

1.8 Only an extensively longitudinal study could track language change in 'real time', over many years, and this is impractical in most research situations. The reconstruction of changes over time may, therefore, need to involve the use of the device of 'apparent time' and this will need to be considered in designing the methodology of this present research.

Language 'decay' and 'death'

1.9 It is clear that, in many respects, 'languages' and 'dialects' behave in the same ways in their careers and study of the processes of 'decay' and 'death' may help explain what goes on when a nonstandard speech variety suffers 'loss', 'erosion' or 'attrition'. In this present study, a reduction in knowledge and use of a corpus of nonstandard words is predicted and this may prove to be explainable, at least in part, by the 'extreme borrowing' claimed to be a feature of 'language suicide'.

Background theory and research method design

1.10 The selected literature explored in this chapter has highlighted a number of issues, several of which will assist in the construction of a background theory, and some which will contribute to the methodological design, for this present research. The key points which have emerged may be summarised as :

- Language change is a continuous and ever-present process and the reduction in knowledge and use of nonstandard lexical items is an integral part of this process.
- Language change is often a 'messy business' - it may be spatially, chronologically and socially uneven.
- There exists speech variation along dimensions of sex/gender, social class, age and context.
- Other variables can intervene in correlations between linguistic and socioeconomic/demographic data, creating complications which may interfere with 'neat' explanations for what is going on.
- The 'commonsense' of subscribing to 'prestigious', standard speech cannot be taken for granted, as issues of identity, loyalty and rejection may be involved.

These attitudes, and the speech choices which attend them, may give rise to paradoxes, apparent contradictions and tensions.

- Analysis of the *social network* in which speech operates may sometimes be more productive than consideration of straightforward class-based explanations for language variation and change.

These are key points which have emerged from the examination of the selected, directly relevant literature. They have implications for the methodology of this study and will be taken into account in its design, as will become apparent in the following chapter, Methodology.

¹ Romaine (1994), p. 1.

² Op. cit, p. 2.

³ The weakness in the notion of language variety being tied to place, and the inappropriateness of the term (though not the concept) of the *isogloss*, have already been discussed and need no further treatment here.

⁴ Coates, J (1986) *Women, Men and Language*. London : Longman. p. 51.

⁵ Chambers (1995), p. 15.

⁶ Chambers (1995), 1.1.

⁷ Trudgill (1974a).

⁸ Chambers (1995), p. 4.

⁹ Op. cit. p. 5.

¹⁰ Op. cit. 1.1.3.

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Chambers (1995), 1.2.2.1.

¹³ Labov (1966).

¹⁴ Chambers (1995), p.16 et seq.

and *inter alia* :

Crystal (1987), p. 332.

Coupland (1988), p. 10.

Aitchison (1991).

¹⁵ Romaine (1980), p. 163.

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- 16 Op. cit. p. 165.
- 17 Coupland, N. (1988) *Dialect in Use*. Cardiff : University of Wales. p. 10.
- 18 Aitchison (1991), p. 38.
- 19 Crystal (1987), p. 332.
- 20 Montgomery (1995), p. 66.
- 21 Aitchison (1991), p. 41
- 22 Ibid.
- 23 Aitchison (1991), pp. 42-43.
- 24 Chambers (1995), 1.2.2.4.
- 25 Romaine (1980), p. 171.
- 26 Op. cit. p. 170.
- 27 Chambers (1995), p. 40.
- 28 Ibid.
- 29 Crystal (1987), p. 410.
Chambers (1995), p. 19.
- 30 Trudgill (1974a).
- 31 Romaine (1980), p. 164.
- 32 Romaine (1994), pp. 70-71.
- 33 Trudgill (1974), p. 93 et seq.
- 34 Ibid.
- 35 Trudgill (1974a), p. 93 et seq.
- 36 Op. cit., p. 95.
- 37 Ibid, and Trudgill (1972), p. 179 et seq.
- 38 Trudgill (1974a), pp. 20-21.
- 39 Op. cit., p. 25.
- 40 Op. cit. p. 27.
- 41 Romaine (1980), p. 168.
- 42 Trudgill (1974a), p. 27.
- 43 Romaine (1980), p. 169.

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- 44 May (1993).
- 45 Chambers (1995), 2.1.3.
- 46 Crystal (1987), p. 332.
- 47 Aitchison (1991), p. 54 et seq.
- 48 Aitchison (1991), p.p. 54-59.
- 49 Ibid.
- 50 Ryan (1979).
- 51 Op. cit., p. 145.
- 52 Ibid and p. 147.
- 53 Chambers (1995), 5.4.
- 54 Ryan (1979), p. 147.
- 55 Trudgill (1983), p. 177.
- 56 Chambers (1995), 5.4.
- 57 Ryan (1979), pp. 148-149.
- 58 Bouris and Giles (1977).
- 59 Op. cit., p. 119.
- 60 Op. cit. p. 120.
- 61 Op. cit. p. 129.
- 62 Coupland (1988), p. 16 et seq.
- 63 Crystal (1987), pp. 50-51.
- 64 Kerswill (1996), p. 181.
- 65 Trudgill (1986), p. 11.
- 66 Aitchison (1991), p. 70. The opposite effect is 'divergence', where speakers will shift their speech away from that of the people they are communicating with.
- 67 Macaffee (1983), p. 25.
- 68 Chaika (1982), p. 135.
- 69 Labov (1966), p. 405 et seq.
- 70 Chambers (1995), 5.1.1.
- 71 Macaulay (1975), p. 153.

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- 72 Op. cit., pp. 153-154.
- 73 Op. cit. p. 154.
- 74 Romaine (1994), pp. 84-85.
- 75 Giles and Coupland (1991).
- 76 Trudgill (1980), p. 3.
- 77 Giles and Coupland (1991), p. 30 et seq.
- 78 Montgomery (1995), pp. 76-77.
- 79 Mugglestone (1995), p. 47.
- 80 Op. cit., p. 15 and p. 30.
- 81 Op. cit., pp. 42-43. *Cf* the previously mentioned case of Reuben Gaunt (born in the present research area in 1824 of a yeoman clothier family) who apparently sought 'improvement' of his speech at special classes, presumably because his business dealings increasingly took him to London on wool-buying missions [verbal, Ruth Strong, local historian of the Pudsey Civic Society].
- 82 Trudgill (1974a).
- 83 Macaulay (1975).
- 84 Trudgill (1975a), p. 68.
- 85 Mugglestone (1995), pp. 54-55.
- 86 See, for example, *inter alia* :
- Ryan (1979), p. 145 et seq.
Chaika (1982), pp. 140-141.
Giles and Coupland (1991).
Mugglestone (1995), pp. 58-62.
- 87 Mugglestone (1995), p. 62.
- 88 Cheyne (1970), pp. 77-79.
- 89 Mugglestone (1995), pp. 329-330.
- 90 Gordon (1997), p. 48.
- 91 Mugglestone (1995), p. 51.
- 92 Chambers (1995), 2.6.
- 93 Romaine (1994), p. 81.
- 94 Aitchison (1991), pp. 43-44.
- 95 Milroy, J (1992b), p. 160.

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- 96 Chambers (1995), pp. 72-73.
- 97 Cheshire (1982).
- 98 Aitchison (1991), p. 44.
- 99 Milroy, L. (1980).
- 100 Romaine (1994), p. 82-83.
- 101 McMahon (1994).
- 102 *Op. cit.* p. 83.
- 103 Milroy, L. (1980), p. 196.
- 104 *Op. cit.* p. 191.
- 105 Milroy and Milroy (1985b), p. 364.
- 106 Aitchison (1991), p. 70.
- 107 *Op. cit.*, p.45.
- 108 Romaine (1994), p. 123.
- 109 'Sex' is biologically determined at conception, whereas 'gender' is a cultural construct and reflects the roles allocated differentially to men in women in their particular society. Biological sex is usually simple to identify but this is not always the case with gender. For the purposes of this research, the term and usual definition of 'sex' (female or male) will be employed, though the term 'gender' may need to be used where it is included in quotations from the work of others.
- 110 Gray (1992), p. 5.
- 111 Rhodes (1982).
- 112 *See inter alia* :
- Trudgill (1974a).
 Cheshire (1982).
 Aitchison (1991).
 Milroy, J. (1992b), pp. 146-162.
 Romaine (1994).
 Chambers (1995).
 Montgomery (1995).
- 113 Trudgill (1974a), p. 93 et seq.
- 114 Romaine (1994), Ch. 4.
 Chambers (1995), 3.4.2.
- 115 Gordon (1997), pp. 47-63.
- 116 Chambers (1995), pp. 131-132.
- 117 *Op. cit.*, 3.4.2.4.

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- 118 Ibid.
- 119 Chambers (1995), 3.4.2.5.
- 120 *Op. cit.* Ch. 3.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 Montgomery (1995), p. 166.
- 123 See, for instance, the case of the Gullah-speaking older women, discussed in Section 5 of this chapter.
- 124 Montgomery (1995), p. 158.
- 125 Coates (1986), pp. 9-10.
- 126 Milroy (1992), p. 153.
- 127 Coates (1986), pp. 41-42.
- 128 Romaine (1994), p. 141.
- 129 Milroy, L. (1992), p. 153.
- 130 Romaine (1994), p. 143.
Chambers (1995), 4.6.1.
- 131 Romaine (1994), p. 143-144.
Chambers (1995), pp. 188-193.
Kerswill (1996), pp. 177-202.
- 132 Romaine (1994), p. 143. (For a fuller discussion of the notions of 'apparent' and 'real' time as methodological devices, see Chapter IV [Methodology] of this report).
- 133 Romaine (1994), p. 143 et seq.
Chambers (1995), 4.6.2.
- 134 Nichols (1983).
- 135 Montgomery (1995), p. 154.
- 136 Ibid.
- 137 Petyt (1980), pp. 13-14.
- 138 *Op. cit.*, p. 14.
- 139 Hoeningwald (1989).
- 140 Aitchison (1991), p. 198 et seq.
- 141 McMahon (1994), pp. 290-291.
- 142 Aitchison (1991), p. 198.
- 143 *Op. cit.* p. 208.

¹⁴⁴ Hoeningwald (1989), p. 348.

CHAPTER IV

METHODOLOGY

ASKING THE RIGHT QUESTION

A young sales representative, visiting a company for the first time, was shown to the manager's office, where he found a large, fierce-looking dog sprawled across the doorway. "Does your dog bite?" the sales representative asked. "No", the manager replied. As the representative stepped across the dog, it sank its teeth into his calf. "I thought you said your dog didn't bite!" the young man cried out. "It doesn't", said the manager, "That's not my dog".

CHAPTER PREFACE

This chapter describes the methods proposed for use in this research. It is organised into two sections covering, respectively, the General Study and the Inter-generational Case Studies. Methods used in other research in the field of language variation and sociolinguistics were examined in Chapter III and aspects of these will, where relevant, be further evaluated in this chapter.

Issues concerning survey methods, the construction and use of the self-completion survey questionnaire, and sampling, will be examined in detail.

SECTION A - THE GENERAL STUDY

1 - THE OBJECTIVE OF THE GENERAL STUDY

1.1 The first objective of the methodology of the General Study is to collect, in the defined locality, data which will enable the construction of a chronological profile of the postulated changes in the knowledge and use of the community's linguistic stock.

'Real time' and 'apparent time'

1.2 The central purpose of this study is to examine and measure a particular aspect of language change and to arrive at a current, quantifiable expression of this. To do this, it will be necessary to attempt some reconstruction of the situation which existed at a given point in time past and, additionally, some measure of the progress of change over time may be usefully plotted. There are, therefore, simultaneous synchronic and diachronic considerations: What is the situation now? What was the situation at a starting point of year x ? What has happened between x and now? The primary sources for data are present-day informants of varying age; the reconstruction of past situations, and the progress of change over time can, therefore, only be based on their accounts.

It appears that a research instrument intending to measure and chronologically plot a community's lexical changes over time in this way must take account of the complexities of '*real time*' and '*apparent time*'.¹ Given the impossibility here of carrying out a truly diachronic study, in *real time*, what is being attempted here is a kind of 'reconstructed' diachronic account. *Real time* may be defined as the temporal sequence over, for example, the life of an individual from 20 to 80 years of age. The experiences which bear upon that individual during that chronological span occur in *real time*. If the time frame is relatively short (several months or two or three years, perhaps) a *real time* study of change may be possible, collecting data at the start and at the end of the span for comparative purposes. Simultaneously obtaining data of a specified, standardized nature from people of, for instance, ages 20, 30, 40, 50, 60 and 80 years, would produce a *temporal analogue*.² The validity of this rests on the assumption that developments and changes would follow trends in more or less the same continuous direction so, by simultaneously observing differently-aged individuals,

the career of a development or change in *apparent time* would be revealed, with *"the results extrapolated as temporal"*.³

"There are all kinds of obvious difficulties with this procedure...", writes McMahon, not least that the validity of an *apparent time* study

*...hinges crucially on the hypothesis that the speech of, say, 40 year olds today directly reflects the speech of 20 year olds twenty years ago and is thus comparable for diffusion...to the speech of 20 year olds today.*⁴

But can this criticism be levelled at the methodology of this present study? An important difference here from some researches carried out by workers in the Labovian tradition is the type of data collected and how this is to be extrapolated and interpreted. The data to be collected in this study is not intended to be interpreted in the sense of 'what 20 year olds do now, the 40 year olds did twenty years ago'. Rather, it will be asking, say, today's 40 year olds what they do now and how this differs (if at all) from their past speech behaviour. All other things being equal (including the assumed veracity of the informants' accounts) such data should reveal lexical changes which have taken place over the lifetimes of different age groups, based on information collected at the present point in time. It is not a case of the present-day speech of older people being regarded as *"characteristic of earlier stages of the language"*,⁵ but the present-day speech of people being quantitatively *contrasted* with their former linguistic behaviour and with the linguistic behaviour of other age groups today. It is in this sense that this study is both synchronic and diachronic, and utilises *apparent time* to reconstruct a past situation and to profile change inter-generationally. This approach would seem to free it of one of McMahon's other criticisms, i.e., that *"apparent time studies do not involve 'real' diachronic work at all, in the sense of explicitly comparing different periods in the history of a language"*⁶, for this present research sets out specifically to compare different temporal points in knowledge and use of nonstandard words. The difference from a 'real' diachronic study is that both current and retrospective information will be collected at just the one, present point in time.

The temporal character of the data in this research

1.3 In this section of the research, the primary intention is to construct a profile of changes in the knowledge and use of a community's lexical stock over

an extended period of time. In the case of any one individual, it is possible that he/she may or may not still use words or phrases which were used at an earlier stage of life - a 'real' time picture. We might perhaps find younger people knowing and using some of the lexical items which older people still use. And, of course, we may find younger people having no awareness of some items which older people know - and may or may not still use. The two time dimensions, 'real' and 'apparent', will clearly be at work here. The complexity may perhaps best be simplified and illustrated as a matrix of fifteen possible conditions for any one lexical item (*Figure IV.1*):

Figure IV.1 - Matrix of possible conditions for knowledge and use of any one lexical item

Key : [+] = condition applies; [-] = condition does not apply.

		<i>Older person</i>	<i>Younger person</i>
<i>still used</i>	1	+	+
	2	+	-
	3	-	+
<i>known and formerly used, but used no longer</i>	4	+	+
	5	+	-
	6	-	+
<i>known but never used</i>	7	+	+
	8	+	-
	9	-	+
<i>heard but meaning not known</i>	10	+	+
	11	+	-
	12	-	+
<i>never heard</i>	13	+	+
	14	+	-
	15	-	+

1.4 The categorisation of persons here into 'older' and 'younger' is obviously an oversimplification, partially obscuring the deeper complexity which would be introduced by more realistically considering the age variable as a continuum. It is clear that a suitable survey instrument must not only take into account the implications of both 'real' and 'apparent' time, but must at the same time do so in a more fine-grained way than does the above matrix. This point is returned to later in this report, in the treatment of the questionnaire/word list construction.

1.5 The selected research and non-research literature reviewed in Chapter III suggested the importance of concurrently gathering socioeconomic and demographic information, along with the lexical data. The point has already been made in Chapter III that this research is grounded partially in the sociolinguistic paradigm. The role and utility of sociolinguistics in explaining and predicting language variation and change has been strongly argued for by, amongst others, Labov, Trudgill and Milroy.⁷ It is felt that working within a sociolinguistic framework, and collecting data of a social and demographic character, will provide contexts within which the information gathered about lexical knowledge and use might be usefully analysed and interpreted. This is in the expectation that social and demographic patterns and trends will be revealed which will, in turn, illuminate the history, reasons, motives and mechanisms for any identifiable changes. The socioeconomic and demographic data to be sought will be what May (1993) calls *explanatory variables*.⁸

1.6 It is considered that the required lexical and socio-demographic data might best be collected by means of a survey, which can be applied to a sample of the defined locality's population. The survey will generally take a positivist orientation, involving the collection of quantitative data and its subsequent correlational analysis.⁹

2 - SURVEYS AND QUESTIONNAIRES - CONSIDERATION OF PURPOSE AND RATIONALE

Types of survey

2.1 Surveys may be categorised as *factual, attitudinal, social psychological and explanatory*.¹⁰ The instruments of data-gathering in surveys

*may involve one or more of the following (techniques) : structured or semi-structured interviews, self-completion or postal questionnaires, standardised tests of attainment or performance, and attitude scales.*¹¹

2.2 This survey will be seeking factual information. Cohen and Manion identify three prerequisites to the design of a survey, namely, establishing the exact purpose; determining the population on which it is to focus; and assessing the resources that are available for conducting it¹² :

Purpose The specific objectives of the survey have already been discussed in 1, above.

Population The population on which the survey is to focus will be that of the locality previously defined in Chapter II. In surveys, there is a close interrelationship amongst purpose, the target population and the resources available to carry out the task. Given that the total population of the defined geographical area was in the region of 65,000 in 1991, it is clear that the survey will have to be applied to a sample.¹³ The sampling procedure to be used is described in 11.1 to 11.25, below.

Resources "*Sample surveys*", write Cohen and Manion, "*are labour-intensive*".¹⁴ They are time-consuming, can be expensive and - if the sample is a large one - may result in more data than the lone researcher can efficiently process. As this particular research project is to be carried out by one person, working as a part-time research student, time, finance and accessibility will act as powerful constraints on the character and scale of the survey.

Surveys by self-completion postal questionnaire - potential problems

2.3 As a method of accessing and gathering the research data, a self-completion postal questionnaire will be considered. Such questionnaires have potential for being problematic in a number of ways. They have to be thoughtfully and carefully designed and constructed, so that they represent a valid and reliable way of securing the data they seek to gather. They have to be distributed to the sample of informants; and arrangements have to be made for their recovery, once completed. The informants are obliged to complete the questionnaires on their own, without the benefit of supervision or researcher availability to clarify the task demands and respond to any queries or uncertainties. Self-completion questionnaires do not allow for dialogue or the negotiation of meanings but this criticism applies primarily to those which seek to collect data concerned with behaviour, attitudes or opinions, rather than the factual type of information to be gathered in this part of the research.¹⁵ The 'conventional wisdom' seems to be that questionnaires which utilise postal distribution and/or postal return suffer especially from low rates of recovery.

Surveys by self-completion postal questionnaire - advantages

2.4 To be weighed against the potential problems of the self-completion questionnaire are the perceived advantages of this form of data collection. Cohen and Manion dispute the claims of low return rates for postal questionnaires:

*Research shows that a number of myths about postal questionnaires are not borne out by the evidence. Response levels to postal surveys are not invariably less than those obtained by interview procedures; frequently they equal, and in some cases surpass, those achieved in interviews.*¹⁶

Cohen and Manion offer guidelines for securing a good response rate for postal questionnaires. These embrace matters such as the attractive appearance of the questionnaire, provision of adequate space for responses, clarity of wording and simplicity of design, and clear instructions for completion.¹⁷

2.5 A major advantage of the self-completion postal questionnaire survey is that it is economical in researcher time and relatively cheap to administer, particularly when measured against the alternative of the face-to-face, individual interview. Overall, for the type and purpose of data to be acquired for this part of the research, and given the operational constraints, it is considered that a self-completion postal questionnaire will be the most suitable form of data acquisition. This will be in two parts, the first designed to collect socioeconomic and demographic information and the second to be a 'tick' list of a representative sample of nonstandard items from the community's lexical stock.

3 - THE WORD LIST/QUESTIONNAIRE - GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS OF CONTENT

"...the design of questionnaires is pivotal, for the quality of the data produced depends upon (this) "

18

The properties of a good questionnaire

3.1 The construction and use of self-completion questionnaires is both critical and problematic:

An ideal questionnaire possesses the same properties as a good law: It is clear, unambiguous and uniformly workable. Its design must minimise potential errors from respondents.....and coders. And since people's participation is voluntary, a questionnaire has to help in engaging their interest, encouraging their co-operation, and eliciting answers as close as possible to the truth. ¹⁹

3.2 A questionnaire's salient problems are usually inherent in the questions themselves. Cohen and Manion offer some guidelines on questionnaire construction by a list of 'things to avoid' when framing the questions. ²⁰ These 'avoid questions' include those which are *leading*, *'highbrow'*, *complex*, *irritating*, *use negatives* or are *open-ended*. Guidance of a more positive nature is offered by Sellitz et al, under the headings *'Decisions about question content'*, *'Decisions about question wording'*, *'Decisions about forms of response to the question'* and *'Decisions about the place of the question in the sequence'*. ²¹

Question framing for questionnaires

3.3 As both the socioeconomic and demographic section and the word list section of the questionnaire will be seeking factual responses, to some extent this obviates many of the potential problems, particularly those associated with question framing. However, two key principles of question framing in particular, identified by Sellitz et al, need to be addressed ²² :

(1) *the necessity of any particular question; and*

(2) *its usefulness.*

3.4 The word list part of the questionnaire is clearly necessary and central to the purpose of this survey. The key objective is to discover which nonstandard lexical items the population know and use now, and/or knew and used in the past, as the raw data for constructing a chronological profile of change. The main issue here will be the format in which the word list is presented and the response mode demanded of the informants.

3.5 The socioeconomic and demographic data, on the other hand, is not as clear or simple in its justification. In surveys where the rationale and purpose of the data collection is already pre-determined, there must clearly be some focusing upon these two guiding principles noted in 3.3 above. However, in a survey of the type being proposed here, the primary objective is to seek data concerning the lexicon. Social and demographic data is to be collected concurrently, with potential as *explanatory variables* which will support the subsequent analysis and interpretation of the lexical data. This being so, it may not be easy to predict with full confidence just what social and demographic data will be '*necessary*' or '*useful*', which will be identifiable as co-variants or will perform as correlational factors. The categories of information required can only be speculative and based upon informed assumptions, using knowledge of the kinds of data which have been collected - and proved to be useful and appropriate - in similar types of research within the sociolinguistic paradigm, guided by the review of the selected literature reported in Chapter III.

The questionnaire survey method in this research

3.6 For the type and purpose of data to be acquired for this part of the research, and given the operational constraints, it is considered that a self-completion postal questionnaire will be the most suitable form of data acquisition. This, however, will utilise a distribution system which does not involve mailing questionnaires to informants, though the recovery of the completed questionnaires will be by post. The distribution system is explained later.

4 - SOCIOECONOMIC DATA

"...to make generalizations about the connection between language use and social class, some means of assessing the social class membership of the informants must be found".²³

What kinds of data does the survey intend to gather ?

4.1 As the literature review in Chapter III demonstrated, there are a number of notable research precedents to provide a guide to those categories of information which have productive potential. Labov, for instance, in his New York work, examined the co-variation between language and social class.²⁴ Trudgill, notwithstanding some reservations concerning the validity of the social classification concept, recorded and applied socioeconomic data as a variable in his Norwich study, as did Cheshire more recently, in Reading, and Petyt in West Yorkshire.²⁵ It is apparent, then, that data on the social class of survey respondents (however that may be defined and arrived at) is a *sine qua non* of research in this particular field - a seemingly indispensable variable against which linguistic data may be usefully and informatively correlated. The importance of the social status concept *vis à vis* language is also widely reinforced in the non-research literature.²⁶

4.2 It is evident that a case exists for seeking socioeconomic information as part of this survey, in the expectation that it will provide a variable against which the linguistic data may be usefully correlated. If this is accepted, the question remains "*What categories of socioeconomic data may be readily gathered and are likely to be useful in a correlational way ?*"

4.3 The research and non-research literature examined in Chapter III again points the way. Trudgill, for example - despite some problems with classification - found it useful to construct a *social index* of informants in his Norwich study, based on information about occupation, father's occupation, income, education and housing.²⁷ Petyt also utilised occupational data as a social status indicator in West Yorkshire.²⁸

Evaluating and selecting socioeconomic variables for this research

4.4 Following Trudgill's model, with some modifications, it is considered that socioeconomic data in the categories *education*, *occupation* and *housing* will be appropriate and useful for subsequent correlation with the linguistic data in the present study.²⁹

4.5 The modifications to Trudgill's *social index* model are discussed in the following section.

5 - A MODIFIED SOCIAL INDEX

The argument for a multiple-item index

5.1 Trudgill argues that a single-item index is unlikely to be a reliable way of measuring and recording an individual's social status and that a multi-item index is a more refined instrument for studying the co-variation between linguistic behaviour and social status.³⁰ Romaine agrees that *"there does seem to be a great deal of evidence that combined indices are the most powerful"*.³¹

Indicators of social class

5.2 An individual's occupation is considered a very important indicator of social status and, in some studies, has been deliberately weighted in relation to other indicators.³² Trudgill, however, chose not to weight occupation, as he thought that weighting was *"implicitly present in the....two indicators, income and education"*.³³ In this present research, no weighting of occupation or any other indicators is to be undertaken. Nor is it intended to seek information on *income* as it is considered that this is unlikely to produce reliable data.³⁴ Information about income is highly sensitive, difficult to obtain and likely to be withheld in enough cases to render the overall body of data invalid.³⁵

5.3 When considering the nature and utility of social indicator data, it has to be borne in mind that more than twenty years have elapsed since Trudgill carried out his study on the social differentiation of English in Norwich. Whilst there is general agreement here with the principle of using social status data as a correlational variable - and numerically 'scoring' it to do this - it is felt that some qualifications relating to contemporary conditions must be applied. Since the mid-1970s, many assumptions about education, employment prospects, life chances, and the nature of the family, and consequently social status, have had to be revised or even abandoned.

5.4 Today, the 'good honours' graduate is perhaps as likely to be browsing the notice board at the Job Centre as is the 16 year old school leaver with one GCSE in woodwork and the middle-aged businessman who has found himself a victim of 'downsizing' in his company.

Housing as an indicator of social class

5.5 *"Urban sociologists have tended to view housing as an important status symbol..."*, writes Romaine, *"...it can be considered a variable which is dependent on the distribution of income, skills and power in a society"*.³⁶ Over-commitment to large mortgages at the peak of the property boom of the early 1980s, followed by high interest rates and the consequent negative equity condition - particularly when coupled with business collapses and redundancies - has perhaps modified in significant ways the previous pattern of housing as an indicator of social status.³⁷ Yet, at the same time, the aspiration to own property appears not to have diminished in some sectors of the population and (accelerated to some extent by the sale of council houses to their tenants) an increasing proportion of owner-occupation is by families who at one time might not have been predicted as 'natural' home owners. To be considered alongside this is an increase in the demand for and supply of privately-rented accommodation. Some of this demand has no doubt been brought about by the contraction of council house building, but much has also been the result of two frequently interrelated occupational variables, especially amongst the younger non-manual workers, i.e. the increasing need to be geographically mobile plus underlying anxieties about job security: *".....we are still in the shadow of a long recession with on-going job insecurity and for some homeowners, the catch-22 problem of negative equity"*.³⁸ Such concerns have created a reluctance amongst young couples to commit themselves to mortgages. At the same time, the geographical mobility, which for work has become necessary in many cases, depresses the short-term ambition to own property - property which might have to be sold at short notice, at a loss in a depressed housing market, to undertake a geographical job move. The simple socioeconomic indicator of 'housing' as used by Trudgill in the 1970s must, then, be reappraised.

Housing - the longitudinal profile of 'housing experience'

5.6 Taking the contemporary context into account, and following the principle acknowledged by Trudgill that the combination of two or more indicators is likely to improve validity, it is proposed to collect housing data, not simply at the point in time of the survey, but as a longitudinal profile of the 'housing experience'

during the informant's lifetime. For example, an individual may have been born into a rented back-to-back, moved with the family into council housing in later childhood, bought a small house on marriage and, subsequently, upgraded to a three-bedroomed, semi-detached house with a garden as the family size increased. In late middle age, with the mortgage paid off and the offspring independent, a couple may decide to realise some of their capital assets by selling off the semi-detached family house and moving into a smaller dwelling (often in the form of rented, housing association, sheltered flats in these days). Such a biography of housing experience reflects dynamic changes in income, occupational status and, hence, social status, which may be more realistically measured by collecting data on the whole experience, rather than at one specific point in time. To avoid over-complicating the data, the proposal is to ask for housing information at a number of key chronological points, namely, *early childhood*, *later childhood*, *early adulthood* and *later adulthood (or since marriage)*. The response mode will be ticks in boxes. The informant will be permitted to enter any number of ticks, within practical limits, as a way of illustrating the total housing experience. Each tick will be separately numerically-valued, according to a pre-determined scale, the score aggregated and then divided by the number of tick responses. It is anticipated that this will go some way towards recording a realistic and holistic picture of an informant's housing experience and how this might bear on social status.

Type, age and ownership of housing - the local context

5.7 In constructing the scale of scores for different *types* of housing, the local conditions must again be taken into account. Trudgill's three parameters of *house ownership*, *house type* and *age of house* do not directly transfer to the situation in this research locality for the reasons already described in The Geographical Context in Chapter II. In relation to price and status, *house type* and *age* are viewed and valued differently from those in some other areas of the country.

Reappraising the use of housing as a social class indicator

5.8 It is clear, then, that the apparently straightforward housing parameters used by Trudgill cannot be applied in this locality and some modification must be made to take account of the local variation. To start with, *age of house* will be discounted as a parameter. Secondly, a *locality* variable will not be used.³⁹ The defined geographical area is relatively compact but, more significantly, is a

complex spatial pattern of intermingled and juxtaposed old housing and new housing, owner-occupied and council housing, and privately rented housing.⁴⁰ That is not to say that some 'more desirable' locales cannot be identified - Calverley, for instance, or parts of Farsley and Rodley. But even in these areas there is no substantial homogeneity in any direction without this being interrupted by housing of a different age, character or 'status'. To plot the details of this would be far too complex and time-consuming a task, given the constraints and parameters of this research.⁴¹ Thirdly, some finer-grained information on *house type* is to be sought. Fourthly, allowance will be made for privately rented property of different types, to distinguish between council housing and other rented categories. The parameter of *home ownership* will be retained. These parameters will be scaled and scored accordingly (Appendix A).

The educational variable

5.9 The educational scale and scoring used by Trudgill will be retained, with some minor adjustments in nomenclature to take account of changes and innovations in qualifications, such as GCSE, GNVQ, and so forth (Appendix A).⁴²

Occupation as an indicator of social class

5.10 The norm of the fairly stable, nuclear family of 'two parents and two point four children', with a husband/father who is the main wage- or salary-earner, is perhaps no longer valid. Lone-parenting is the situation for an increasing number of families; the biological father or mother of the children may no longer be living with the family unit. Furthermore, it is now more socially acceptable for the female in a partnership to have better education, qualifications and occupation than the male partner. Romaine makes the point :

*.....the man is regarded as the head of the household and his occupation determines the family's social class. Women disappear in the analysis since their own achievements are not taken into account and their status is defined by their husband's job.*⁴³

An alternative, contemporary scenario is that a father may be a 'househusband', whose partner, and the mother of his children, is the one who has a career and is the family's breadwinner. A whole range of alternative scenarios are now available which did not exist to the same degree (or, at least, were not as highly visible) when Trudgill carried out his Norwich research, and these clearly must

have a bearing on the uncritical acceptance of 'father's occupation' as a valid social indicator. Using again the principle that two or more indicators are better than one, it is proposed to request information on the informant's own occupation, the informant's father's occupation and the occupation of the informant's spouse. These responses will be separately scored according to a predetermined scale, then aggregated and divided by the number of responses. This is seen as a way of modulating the occupational data to, in part at least, take some account of those situations where, for instance, a woman has a more socially-prestigious job than her male partner, or the male partner is not the main breadwinner.

5.11 The method of scoring the occupational data will follow that used by Trudgill, based on the Registrar General's Classification of Occupations 1966 (Appendix A).⁴⁴

Socioeconomic data in this research

5.12 In summary, the general concept of socioeconomic status, and its indexing through the variables occupation, housing and education, remains valid for the purposes of this research, with some qualification of, and modifications to, the Trudgill 1974 model. This still leaves an instrumental problem for, as Romaine points out,⁴⁵ there is the question of where to determine the cut-off points for the various social groups. Ultimately, this can only be a subjective judgement. 'Social class' is an abstraction. It is a human construct, nothing more than a convenient label, and, as such, categorisation, clustering and breaks in the continuum depend on individual perceptions, values and judgements. A researcher can only endeavour to exercise these against a background of what is generally accepted and agreed in the community at large. But the social class factor only becomes problematic when one wishes to make correlations between, for example, linguistic data and social groups (or individuals) who are allocated to a particular stratum of society. This is what Trudgill, for instance, did in his Norwich study, clustering informants into middle-middle-class, lower-middle-class, upper-working-class, middle-working-class and lower-working-class.⁴⁶ In this present study, however, the intention is simply to correlate the raw Social Index scores (which, for individuals, are infinitely variable within the range 0 to 15) with the linguistic data, without going through the intermediate step of clustering into social classes. This avoids the problem, identified above by Romaine, of determining where cut-off points for different social classes might be located. Terms such as 'middle', 'working' and 'lower' class are unavoidable in the textual presentation and commentary, but they will be used only in a general way and do not depend on the allocation of informants to a particular group for correlational purposes.

6 - DEMOGRAPHIC DATA

Evaluating and selecting demographic variables for this research

6.1 Montgomery provides some suggestion of what demographic data might be usefully taken into account in a survey such as this :

*Distinct groups or social formations within the whole may be set off from each other in a variety of ways; by **gender**, by **age**.....⁴⁷ (My emphases).*

Sex/gender as a variable

6.2 Gender must clearly be included in any data collection in this survey as it is now well recognised that language variation, change and conservation is frequently gender-related though the respective roles of women and men in the process are still open to debate and exploration.⁴⁸

Age as a variable

6.3 This survey is concerned with changes in nonstandard lexical stock knowledge and use in both 'real' and 'apparent' time. The matrix diagram *Figure IV.1*, at 1.2, illustrates the potential importance of age in the analysis of any data concerning lexical knowledge, retention or abandonment, and use. There is therefore an inbuilt imperative to record the age of each informant in this survey. It is proposed to collect this data from cohorts of twenty-year age groups. The normally accepted span for a generation, twenty-five years, was considered for age grouping but was rejected on the grounds that it would provide only four groups :

< 25	25-49	50-74	>74
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It was not judged that this would provide a sufficiently fine-grained categorisation for analytical purposes; such large age spans within a group are not likely to possess many characteristics in common. A 50-74 group, for example, would include people who are still in the prime of working life, together with people who may have been retired for anything up to fourteen

years. A 50 year old will have experienced an education system dominated by 11+ selection, but a 70 year old's full-time formal education may have terminated at the age of 13. On the other hand, too many age groups would add to clutter in the questionnaire layout and detract from its attractiveness and ease of completion. ⁴⁹

Age grouping of 20 year blocks is proposed as a compromise. This will give five groups :

<20	20-39	40-59	60-79	>79
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7 - THE WORD LIST

The role and purpose of the word list section of the questionnaire

7.1 The intention for this second part of the self-completion questionnaire is to collect the lexical data. This major part of the questionnaire will be the central and most important part of the research.

Some principles for selecting the lexical items and how they might be best presented as a word list

7.2 One purpose of the discussion of the definition and nature of 'dialect' in Chapter I was to help establish the conditions within which certain principles and criteria may be applied to the selection of items for inclusion in the word list part of the survey questionnaire. Part of the lexical research needs to be concerned with seeking the *actual meanings which informants themselves attribute to the words and phrases*, as a way of verifying that they truly know and understand them, therefore much will depend on the presentation and response format of the word list questionnaire.

7.3 If the premiss is valid that knowledge and use of nonstandard speech varieties are in retreat - and have been for some time - then this means that an informant may have available in the community's lexical stock many Standard alternatives to nonstandard lexical items, which may be applied to a specific object or situation. Some nonstandard linguistic research has utilised survey instruments which depend on the researcher describing a situation, or pointing to an object or an illustration of it, with the question "*What word do you use for (...this situation...)?*" or "*What do you call this (...object..)?*". Such a data-gathering procedure may be sustainable if it is being pursued by face-to-face interview, which may allow the informant to clarify the interviewer's objectives and the task demand. Presented as a self-completion questionnaire however (even if the lexical items could be adequately represented by diagrams or pictures where necessary) it would hardly represent an unambiguous or simple format. Along with several other examples of similar type, a question which appeared recently on an anonymous 'dialect' questionnaire was "*What do you call it when you make the tea?*". It is clear that a whole range of valid responses exist to this

question as it is presented, including, perhaps "*a chore*" or "*catering*" or "*teatime*", amongst many other legitimate possibilities. Presumably the researchers were attempting to elicit a response of *mash* or *brew*, or some other nonstandard variant of *make*, but this could hardly be achieved by the question as it was presented, for the possibility of semantic or lexical confusion is too great.⁵⁰

7.4 An alternative may be the 'sentence completion' format. Here the linguistic context in which the word might be used is presented, but with the actual word missing. The informant is invited to supply the missing word :

"I decided to _____ a pot of tea".

Once more, though, responses such as *buy*, *drink*, *refuse* or *throw* would be appropriate, provided they were grammatically, syntactically and logically acceptable.⁵¹ If the researcher's task demand is imperfectly understood, the informant may respond, not with a nonstandard word, but with a Standard English cognate such as *make*. This response may be for a number of reasons, one of which is to avoid being labelled as 'provincial', 'uneducated', 'unsophisticated' or some other negative, through offering the nonstandard word.

7.5 The procedures described above, and others in a generically similar mode, start with context and meaning in the expectation of eliciting a response in the form of a nonstandard word or term. What they do not take account of is that the informant may have forgotten - or simply grown out of the habit of using - the nonstandard cognate, so chooses to enter the currently more familiar option, this being the Standard lexical version. Such approaches would not be helpful in uncovering the informant's knowledge of the community's nonstandard lexical stock for the purpose of this present research.

7.6 The problem is how to overcome the limitations inherent in presentation and response formats such as those described above. A number of guiding principles may be identified :

- a. The material must be presented in such a way that it is not open-ended and permitting of a wide range of responses;
- b. The informant may need to be reminded of the nonstandard lexical items which are available, items which he or she may know quite well (and perhaps have used habitually in the distant past) but may

have forgotten about, or perhaps have long-abandoned in a shift towards Standard English speech.

- c. The material must, concurrently, allow the informant to make responses which inform the research about his or her 'experience' of the words (see *Figure IV.1*) in 1.2, above.

7.7 The intention for the Word List to be used in the survey is that it will collect raw data which will inform the research about :

- a. the extent of *current knowledge* of the nonstandard lexicon, and
 b. the extent of *current use* of the nonstandard lexicon, and
 c. informants' *past experiences* of the words and phrases.

7.8 Given these objectives, and the three guiding principles in 7.6, above, it is proposed to approach the design, presentation and response mode issue from an angle other than that of presenting the meaning or context in the expectation of eliciting a nonstandard word response. The proposal is to offer the nonstandard lexical item together with a four-way multiple choice of responses, only one of which is to be ticked. One of the four choices will be *don't know*. The other three will be offered as possible definitions of the nonstandard term, which will be displayed in larger, bolder type in the top left-hand corner (*Figure IV.2*) :

Figure IV.2

mucky This means : tired..... fed up..... dirty..... don't know.....				
Never heard it used in speech	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

7.9 Of the three possible responses, only one, of course, will be the correct, acceptable answer. This presentation will thus be close-ended, with the response mode limiting the informant to one tick. The two alternatives to the correct definition will be presented in such a way that they should appear as plausible possibilities to those respondents who do not know and understand the correct answer.

7.10 Beneath the top line will be a series of boxes where the informant will be

asked to place a second tick, indicating his or her 'experience' of the word. If the informant has ticked the *don't know* space on the top line, he or she will be asked to also tick just one of the two left-hand boxes. If the informant has ticked one of the three possible definitions on the top line, he or she will be asked to also tick one of the three right-hand boxes.

7.11 A response from an informant who genuinely knows and understands the nonstandard lexical item might look like that shown in *Figure IV.3* :

Figure IV.3

mucky This means : tired..... fed up..... dirty..... don't know.....				
Never heard it used in speech	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

7.12 A *don't know* response may appear as *Figure IV.4* :

Figure IV.4

mucky This means : tired..... fed up..... dirty..... don't know.....				
Never heard it used in speech	Heard it but don't know what it means	Know what it means but have never used it in speech	Formerly used it but don't use it now	Still use it in everyday speech

7.13 In summary, the top line will provide the raw data for measuring how much of the community's nonstandard lexicon is **currently known and understood**. The lower boxes will provide data about the informant's **experience** of the lexical item.

Arriving at the content of the word list

7.14 The next two issues which arise in relation to the construction of the word list are :

a. how many items should be included in the list ?

and

b. how will these items be identified and selected ?

7.15 Widdowson, writing in the Preface to Kellett's 1994 *The Yorkshire Dictionary of Dialect, Tradition and Folklore*, estimates that "...well over 850 of the words in the Dictionary are to my knowledge in active current use. At least twice that number will be well within living memory at the present time, even though many of them refer to objects and activities which are obsolescent".⁵²

It would clearly be impractical in a survey of this scale to employ a word list which contains more than two and a half thousand lexical items and the number must be reduced to some manageable proportions.

7.16 However, many of the words and terms given in Kellett's *Dictionary*, though 'Yorkshire', are not normally associated with what is normally identified as the 'West Riding dialect area', within which the geographically-defined locality of this research lies. Some are associated more with the former East and North Ridings of the county.⁵³ Though there is much overlapping, with lexical items common to all parts of Yorkshire, focusing on the West Riding nonstandard lexicon will be a factor in helping reduce the total, county-wide glossary. Additionally, Kellett's *Dictionary* includes many items which are included by virtue of their local pronunciation, rather than their limitation to a particular community's use and understanding. The inclusion of such words in the survey word list has already been discounted.

The problem of the 'traditional dialect' notion - and establishing a time frame

7.17 The size of the available lexicon, even after these exclusions have been allowed for, is still likely to be too large for use in its entirety. Furthermore, it is by no means certain that all those items which remain would at any time have been part of the nonstandard lexicon of the community of the defined area; on the other hand, there may be esoteric words and terms which are peculiar to a particular community and have not been recorded even in a work as comprehensive as Kellett's *Dictionary*. The argument was made in Chapter II that the notion of a 'dialect', which has temporal and spatial connotations, is not precise enough for this study. What is needed is to construct a representative glossary of the community's nonstandard lexicon as it is known to the oldest surviving inhabitants of the area. Their knowledge of the community's words and their meanings will define the content of the lexicon and their age group will establish the chronological starting point from which subsequent measures will be taken. This is analogous to stating that "*we will measure the gradient of this portion of road, from that bridge to this point here where we are standing*", without necessarily knowing (or needing to know) the gradient of the road at the far side of the bridge. Continuing the analogy, what we *do* need to know is the altitude of the road at the bridge datum point and also at the place where we are currently standing.

8 - THE PHASE 1 WORD LIST

Towards a representative glossary of the community's nonstandard lexical items : the 'panel of experts' and the construction of the Phase 1 Word List

8.1 This task was addressed in the early summer of 1995 as reported in the following paragraphs.

8.2 With the co-operation of staff at the various Leeds City branch libraries throughout the defined locality a number of older local residents was recruited.⁵⁴ The branch libraries were asked to help for a variety of reasons. Though the intention was to recruit from amongst the oldest people in the district, it was obviously desirable that, as well as being willing, the participants be mentally alert and capable of understanding the nature of the task they were being invited to perform. They also had to have been resident in the geographically defined area for all or most of their lives. It was thought that regular readers and library book borrowers would be likely to meet the requirement. The staff of a local branch library often have some knowledge of the borrowers' lives, their personalities, their interests and their capabilities, and so can approach suitable likely recruits. Potential recruits to this 'panel of experts' were given a leaflet which described the task and which invited them to take part. The leaflet contained a selection of the community's nonstandard lexical items, which were already well-known to the researcher and against which the potential recruits could test their own knowledge before offering their services.

8.3 In the event, thirty-six local people initially volunteered for what was termed the 'Phase 1 Word List' compilation.⁵⁵ Their brief was simply to independently submit lists of as many nonstandard words and terms they knew, together with their definitions of them.

9 - THE PHASE 2 WORD LIST

Creating the Phase 2 Word List

9.1 The Phase 1 Word Lists were then collated and consolidated as one total list, which was redistributed to twenty-six of the 'panel of experts' who had agreed to help in the construction of a 'Phase 2 Word List'. This they did by ticking the words and terms they knew and could define.

9.2 The data provided by the 'expert panel's' ticked lists was recorded in detail, by age group, gender and the number of 'citations' each lexical item received from the 'panel'. During this recording, a number of lexical items were discarded from the list. To start with, words and terms which had received only one citation were deleted, in the possibility that they may have been *idiolect* items which might not be recognised within the general community. This was followed by the rejection of a small number of items (all of which had attracted three citations or less), either on the basis that a commonly-shared definition was not presented, or that their credentials as recognised local community lexical items were suspect. One, for example, *slape*, was clearly an 'import' from the North Riding or East Riding and its cognate, *slippy*, was already in the list. Others were simply local mutations of Standard English items which already had better-qualified cognates in the list and which were not used in any different sense from the Standard version (e.g. *babby* for *baby*). To reduce the list to a round figure of 100, three more items were randomly selected by computer, and discarded.

9.3 *Figure IV.5* shows, in summary form, the composite Phase 2 Word List of the community's nonstandard lexical items and the number of citations each item received from the 'panel':

Figure IV.5

Note : Some orthographic conventions have been adopted in this list to indicate local pronunciation, for example, where /n/ occurs rather than /ŋ/ and initial /h/ is not aspirated. This establishes the presentation format for the word list which will ultimately appear in the survey questionnaire.

Nonstandard lexical item and phrase structures Citations
which act as lexemes

addle	18
article	13
back end	22
badly	15
bahn/bahn to	14
belt	20
band	20
band end	17
barn/baim	14
black-bright	23
brayin(g)	20
brussen	15
cack-(h)anded	15
cahr	9
capped	20
catchin(g)	23
(like) chapel (h)at pegs	19
chelping	16
chunterin(g)	22
chumpin(g)	26
chuck us	22
choose what	16
cree	12
clags	15
clap	15
clap-cowd	21
crack	2
dateless	14
dish-claht	18
dollop	25
donned up	17
fast	16
fit	21
flit	25
frame	22
fratchin(g)	21
funny ossity	10
gawpin(g)	24
ginnel	23

gip	19
gleyd	2
gormless	21
gurt	12
(h)appen	19
(h)ey up	21
(h)uggin	15
(h)utch up	16
jerry	22
jiggered	25
kallin(g)	22
keep t'band in t'nick	6
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	23
leet on	15
lig	11
learn	13
loosin'	14
loppy	19
luggy	23
mardy	14
marrer ter bonny	14
mash	24
moiderin(g)/moitherin(g)	18
mucky	24
mullock	16
mun't	17
nague	10
nawpins	6
nip-cum	6
nivver 'eed	14
nobbut	23
old buck	18
pawse	19
peff	19
put t'wood in t'oil	18
put you on till	22
rack o' t'ee	5
reckon	19
ruttly	18
sam	15
segs	21
side	6
silin(g) dahn	12
slippy	23
sluffened	19
spanish	24
spell	25
spice	24
starved	17
taws	21
teemin(g)	21
think on	24
thoil	19
throng/thrang/threng	14
tushy-peg	21

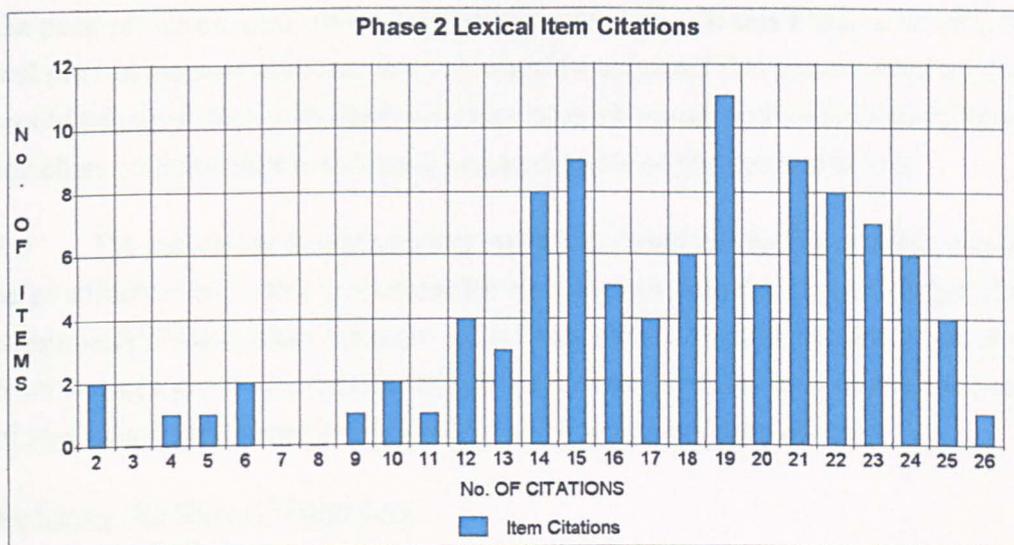
tusky	12
twind	13
whar ner	19
while	18
wick	19
winter-(h)edge	15

9.4 It can be seen that the range of citation of individual items is large, being from two to twenty-six (that is, between 7.7% and 100% of the total possible citations for each item). The members of the 'panel of experts' returned a mean score of 67.6% knowledge of the lexical terms. In other words, a 'panel' member knew, on average, about sixty-eight of the one hundred items on the composite Phase 2 list. The mean number of citations for the items was 17.6%.

9.5 *Figure IV.6* shows how the distribution of citation frequencies appears in graphic form. This shows that five of the items received between two and six citations only, while another five received between seven and eleven citations only. These values indicate items which were not particularly well-known amongst the twenty-six responding members of the 'panel of experts'. Taken together, most of the items in these two categories were familiar to only around 10% of the 'panel' members.

9.6 At the other end of the scale, twenty-five items received between twenty-two and twenty-six citations. In other words, one-quarter of the one hundred Phase 2 Word List items were known by almost all the responding members of the 'panel'. A further thirty-six items attracted between seventeen and twenty-one citations; that is, they were known by between approximately 65% to 80% of the responders. Twenty-nine items received between twelve and sixteen citations; these words and phrases were therefore known to between about 46% and 61% of the responding 'panel' members.

Figure IV.6



9.7 The overall pattern, therefore, is one where :

- a. 40% of the items in the list received twenty or more citations out of a possible twenty-six, representing a 'core' of the community's nonstandard lexical stock which should be very familiar to most of the older residents of the area and which should also be known to a significant percentage of people in some of the younger age groups;
- b. there are a further 43% of items, cited between fourteen and nineteen times out of a possible twenty-six, many of which most older people and some younger ones might be expected to know; and
- c. there is a small percentage of items (17% of the list), which were cited between two and thirteen times, which only the oldest people may recognise (the lowest sub-set of six of these were individually cited only between two and six times).⁵⁶

9.8 The profile in *Figure IV.6* shows that there is a spread of knowledge of the Phase 2 items across almost the entire range of citation possibilities. There is a general trend of clustering at the 'frequently cited' end of the horizontal axis in *Figure IV.6*. This is to be expected, as there must be a partial self-fulfilling

prophecy effect, these respondents being members of the 'panel of experts' who provided the lists of words in the first place, at Phase 1. However, this does not perhaps cause too much distortion of the overall pattern, as the extremes *are* pulled out, there being a general falling away in both horizontal directions from the peak of eleven items receiving nineteen citations. If this Phase 2 Word List had proved too non-discriminatory, it could be expected that a more even profile would have resulted, with higher citation rates all round, and with virtually all the bar chart columns tightly clustered at one extreme of the horizontal axis.

9.9 The indication is that a survey word list, based on the Phase 2 list, would be an effective and valid instrument for carrying out research on knowledge of the community's nonstandard lexicon. It is likely to receive at least some response from any age group and carries enough spread and variation to be discriminatory of age group differences in knowledge of the words and phrases used.

Reducing the Phase 2 Word List

9.10 An informal, piloting trial suggested that a hundred-item list would be unwieldy to administer as a self-completion questionnaire, particularly as the respondents are expected to make two tick responses to each item. Further informal trialling showed that a fifty-item list could be comfortably completed in a reasonable time and it is judged that a representative list of this proportion will remain valid for the purposes of this research.

9.11 The problem is how to reduce the Phase 2 Word List to half its size and at the same time retain its indicated effectiveness by not compromising the profile it displays. It was decided that the reduction should be carried out statistically by, firstly, calculating the standard deviation (SD) of the citation 'scores' then, secondly, by halving the number of items within each standard deviation by computer random selection (*Figure IV.7*).

Figure IV.7

**Calculation of Standard Deviation from the Mean of the Citations of the
lexical Items and expressions in the Phase 2 Word List**

Nonstandard word or phrase	No. of citations	Standard deviation from the Mean	
article	13	-	1
addle	18	+	1
back end	22	+	1
badly	15	-	1
bahn/bahn to	14	-	1
band	20	+	1
barn	14	-	1
belt	20	+	1
black-bright	23	+	2
brussen	15	-	1
brayin(g)	20	+	1
band end	17	-	1
cack-(h)anded	15	-	1
cahr	9	-	2
capped	20	+	1
catchin(g)	23	+	2
chapel 'at pegs	19	+	1
chelpin(g)	16	-	1
choose what	16	-	1
chuck us	22	+	1
chumpin(g)	26	+	2
chunterin(g)	22	+	1
clags	15	-	1
clap	15	-	1
clap-cowd	21	+	1
crack	2	-	2
cree	12	-	2
dateless	14	-	1
dish-claht	18	+	1
dollop	25	+	2
donned up	17	-	1
fast	16	-	1
fit	21	+	1
flit	25	+	2
frame	22	+	1
fratchin(g)	21	+	1
funny ossity	10	-	2
gormless	21	+	1
gawpin(g)	24	+	2
ginnel	23	+	2
gip	19	+	1
gleyd	2	-	3

gurt	12	-	2
(h)appen	19	+	1
(h)ey up	21	+	1
(h)uggin	15	-	1
(h)utch up	16	-	1
jerry	22	+	1
jiggered	25	+	2
kallin(g)	22	+	1
keep t'band in t'nick	6	-	3
laikin(g)/leckin(g)	23	+	2
learn	13	-	1
leet on	15	-	1
lig	11	-	2
loosin(g)	14	-	1
loppy	19	+	1
luggy	23	+	2
mardy	14	-	1
marrer ter bonny wi(th)	14	-	1
mash	24	+	2
moiderin(g)/moitherin(g)	18	+	1
mucky	24	+	2
mullock	16	-	1
mun't	17	-	1
nague	10	-	2
nawpins	6	-	3
nivver (h)eed	14	-	1
nip-cum	6	-	3
nobbut	23	+	2
old buck	18	+	1
pawse	19	+	1
peff	19	+	1
put t'wood in t'oil	18	+	1
put you on till	22	+	1
rack o' t'ee	5	-	3
reckon	19	+	1
ruttly	18	+	1
sam	15	-	1
segs	21	+	1
side	6	-	3
silin(g)	12	-	2
slippy	23	+	2
sluffened	19	+	1
spanish	24	+	2
spell	25	+	2
spice	24	+	2
starved	17	-	1
taws	21	+	1
think on	24	+	2
teemin(g)	21	+	1
thoil	19	+	1
throng/thrang/threng	14	-	1
tushy-peg	21	+	1
tusky	12	-	2
twind	13	-	1
whar ner	19	+	1

while	18	+	1
wick	19	+	1
winter-(h)edge	15	-	1

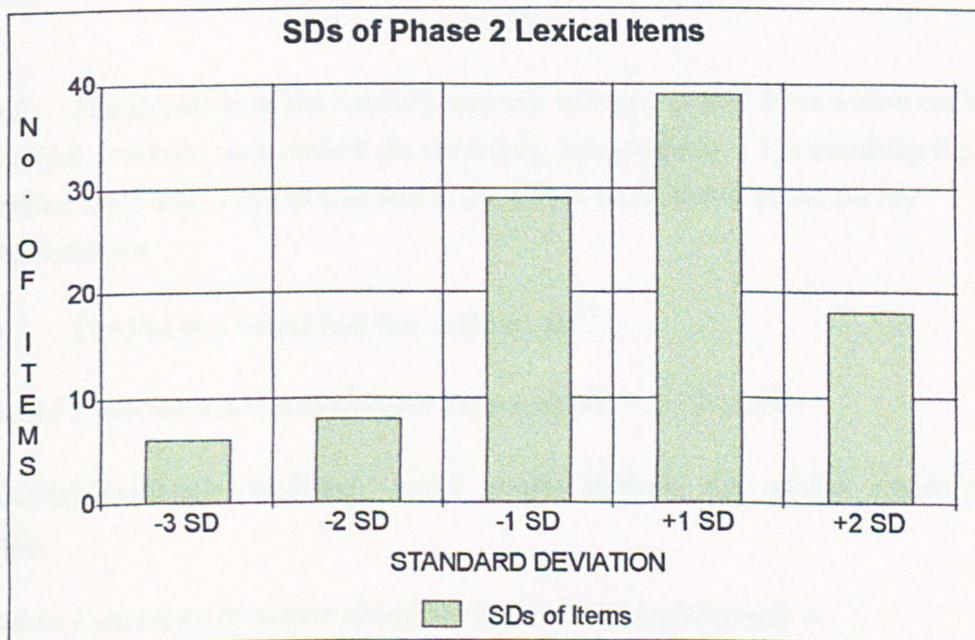
9.12 The standard deviation (SD) quantitative outcome for the items was :

<i>Below the mean</i>			<i>Above the mean</i>	
3 SD	2 SD	1 SD	1 SD	2 SD
6	9	29	38	18

(= 100)

9.13 Represented graphically this is as shown in *Figure IV.8* :*Figure IV.8*

Standard Deviations of Phase 2 Lexical Items/Expressions



9.14 It can be seen that the general profile of the *Figure IV.8* chart is close to that of the citations profile in *Figure IV.5*, indicating that the standard deviation results are in keeping, proportionately, with the Phase 2 citations.

10 - THE PHASE 3 WORD LIST

Towards the final (Phase 3) word list

10.1 To reduce the Phase 2 Word List by half, while maintaining its profile and proportions, the following numbers of lexical items will need to be selected from within the standard deviations :

<i>Below the mean</i>			<i>Above the mean</i>	
3 SD	2SD	1 SD	1 SD	2 SD
3	4	14 ♣	20 ♥	9

(= 50)

10.2 The selection of the requisite number of items (50%) from within each standard deviation was carried out randomly, by computer. The resulting list was labelled the Phase 3 Word List and is the one to be included in the survey questionnaire.

10.3 The Phase 3 Word List was realised as ⁵⁷ :

Within 2 standard deviations above the mean (SD +2) (9 items) -

laikin(g)/leckin(g); catchin(g); luggy; mash; spanish; flit; ginnel; jiggered; spice.

Within 1 standard deviation above the mean (SD +1)(20 items) :-

♣ As the Phase 2 number was an odd value (29) this has been rounded down to 14.

♥ As the Phase 2 number was an odd value (39) this has been rounded up to 20.

kallin(g); moiderin(g)/moitherin(g); tushy-peg; teemin(g); ruttly; brayin(g); addle; old buck; chunterin(g); fratchin(g); gormless; peff; segs; taws; pawse; thoil; capped; band.

Within 1 standard deviation below the mean (SD -1)(14 items) :-

barn/bairn; starved; throng/threng/thrang; winter-(h)edge; brussen; mullock; twind; chelpin(g); clag; mardy; mun⁵⁸; sam; (h)utch-up; leet on.

Within 2 standard deviations below the mean (SD -2)(4 items) :-

silin(g); cree; tusky; cahr.

Within 3 standard deviations below the mean (SD -3)(3 items) :-

nawpins; side; nip-curn.

10.4 These items, as the final word list, are shown in their ultimate questionnaire presentation format at Appendix C.

Time scale

10.5 If a change is to be measured over time, then a segment of time to which the measurement applies must be specified.

10.6 The notion of a particular historical period during which the 'true, traditional dialect' of a locality existed, which can be identified and temporally located, and which has since largely 'decayed', has already been discussed and argued against in Chapter II, for language has always been subject to continuous change

10.7 What can be determined, however, is that at any given point in the past there would have been a body of locally-known nonstandard words, the property of the community in the defined locality, and understood and used by the majority of people there. If we take as that point in time the end of World War One, 1918, then the word list which has been arrived at by the process described above might be fairly said to be a representative sample of the community's nonstandard linguistic stock of that time. Most of the 'panel of experts' involved in the production of the list were born between 1910 and 1921 and it might be fairly assumed that the lexical items they have put forward were extant at the time of

their early childhood. This also gives a starting point round about the time of Wilkinson's compilation of his glossary and a period not dissimilar in length from the one he observed upon, as far as lexical attrition is concerned, between Robinson's compilation and his own.⁵⁹ The other end of the time-line is, of course, the present.

10.8 The segment of time, then, over which measurements of change are to be taken by this survey can be determined as 1918 to 1996/97, a period of approximately eighty years.

11 - SAMPLING

11.1 It is clearly unrealistic for a lone researcher to survey a total population of some 65,000 people and therefore a sample must be drawn which is manageable, but at the same time reasonably representative of the population. Before this can be done, some examination of the available sampling options is called for.

11.2 *Simple random sampling.* This necessitates each member of the population having an equal chance of being selected. It requires a complete list of the population in question as the *sampling frame*.⁶⁰ Subjects for the sample may be selected randomly, by computer or the use of tables of random numbers. This should result in a sample which contains "...subjects with characteristics similar to the population as a whole". In other words, it will be representative of the whole population and research findings derived from the sample may be generalized to the whole population, to some degree or other. A major problem is the availability of any comprehensive listing of an entire population. Telephone directories do not, for instance, include people who do not have telephones or are ex-directory. Electoral registers only include people of statutory voting age. And census enumeration records are not available to the public until 100 years have elapsed since their compilation..

11.3 *Systematic sampling* is a modified form of *simple random sampling*. Subjects are selected, not at random, but systematically (for instance, every n th person on a list) from a randomly chosen starting point. Again, the major drawback is that a comprehensive list of the entire population is required.

11.4 *Stratified sampling* divides the population into groups, based on some specified attribute or collection of attributes, such as 'female' or 'car owner' or 'male actors who have been unemployed for more than six months', and so on. Within each stratum, subjects are selected randomly.

11.5 *Cluster sampling* is used where the whole population is large and widely dispersed, and where it would therefore be operationally difficult, and wasteful of time and resources, to travel about surveying randomly-selected subjects. In such cases, a localised cluster is used as an 'intermediate' sampling frame, provided it can be expected to display the characteristics of the whole population. For example, if it is the intention to research shoppers' preferences for English as

against French apples, the survey could be carried out on a hundred people in one shopping centre, rather than the same number of subjects spread over six shopping centres across the area.

11.6 **Stage sampling.** This method selects the sample by stages. To arrive at a sample of ten Year 3 schoolchildren, a local education authority may be chosen at random from all the local education authorities. Within the selected local education authority, one primary school is chosen at random from all their available primary schools. One Year 3 class is then randomly chosen within that school (if it has more than one Year 3 class), then ten children are picked at random from that class's registers.

11.7 **Area probability sampling** is geographically based. Its use is in randomly selecting households for survey and it can be effected, amongst other ways, by randomly generating grid references on the map of an area.⁶¹

11.8 **Random-digit dialling** makes use of the telephone to select subjects by dialling a predetermined quota of numbers which have been randomly selected from within the range of telephone numbers which exist in an area.⁶²

11.9 The sampling methods described above all utilise the concept of *randomness*. This concept is claimed to produce properly representative samples, by bringing rigour to the process and eliminating subjectivity and bias. From such samples, it is claimed, predictions, probabilities and generalizations applicable to the whole population can be made with some degree of confidence.⁶³

11.10 There are available several sampling methods which do not depend on *randomness*. These are often used where the survey is small-scale, or where severe constraints on resources exist, or the researcher does not seek to generalize the findings, or where only a small pilot study or field trial is being undertaken. The most common of these non-probability sampling methods are⁶⁴ :

Convenience sampling An alternative term for this is *accidental sampling*, as it relies on choosing whoever happens to be near and available, and carries on in this way until the predetermined sample quota has been fulfilled

Quota sampling A non-probability version of *stratified sampling*. Subjects are chosen so that specified attributes they have are a

proportionate reflection of those same attributes in the whole population.

Purposive (or judgemental) sampling The purposive sample is the result of the researcher handpicking the subjects, judging their suitability on some specified criteria or attributes which serve the needs of the research.

Snowball sampling In this method, the researcher selects a few subjects who have certain predetermined attributes or characteristics. These subjects are then "...used as informants to identify others who qualify for inclusion and these, in turn, identify yet others".⁶⁵

The issue of randomness

11.11 It has already been commented on in Chapter III that recent decades have seen increased criticism of the methodologies used in many areas of social research, including linguistics and dialectology.⁶⁶ The main criticisms centre around the lack of rigour, system and 'scientific method' in past research. Trudgill, for example, writes :

*Many previous linguistic and dialectological surveys have been based on work carried out with informants who were chosen because they were elderly natives of the area.....and therefore likely to be 'pure' dialect speakers".*⁶⁷

This is a criticism of non-probability sampling in general, and *purposive sampling* in particular

11.12 Sampling which is non-representative is open to criticism, as it cannot be generalized from and is regarded, therefore, as of limited value. Fowler's criticism of non-probability sampling is by omission, for his review of sampling methods contains virtually no mention of those which do not involve randomness or probability.⁶⁸ He does, though, concede that "*there aresome controversies about the value of strict probability sampling....*".⁶⁹

11.13 Attempts to produce genuinely representative samples by rigour and precision, though understandable and laudable, can rarely be carried through without some compromise and erosion of the integrity of the process.⁷⁰ Trudgill in his Norwich study, having initially created a sample by random methods, was obliged to subsequently modify it by excluding people who had moved to

Norwich from outside East Anglia within the previous ten years, on the basis that

time could not be spent on informants whose linguistic behaviour was radically different from other informants. ⁷¹

This would seem to be moving more towards non-probability *purposive* or *judgemental sampling*.

Trudgill also selected his younger subjects solely from local grammar schools. Though there may have been justification for this, because of operational and logistical constraints, it is a further example of how researchers may be obliged to compromise the integrity of the strictly random sampling procedure.

11.14 Exclusions from an initially random sample selection may also be necessary because some subjects are found to be senile, or profoundly deaf, or non-English speaking. Some may be difficult to gain access to, having long absences working away; some may be found to have moved permanently out of the area. Others may refuse to cooperate for a variety of reasons: suspicion of the researcher's motives, a general attitude of hostility towards anyone who questions them, complete disinterest in the matter, or simply do not have the time to participate.

11.15 The declared purposes of strictly-random probability sampling are to eliminate the possibility of researcher bias and to secure results which may be confidently generalized to the designated population. There would seem to be a need for caution in accepting claims of objectivity and rigour where subsequent modifications are made to the initially selected sample. In such cases, researcher bias may intrude into the modifications and, because of the supposedly objective procedures used ahead of the adjustments, this may perhaps be less visible to the audience than in cases where the researcher has openly used non-probability sampling, with acknowledgement of its limitations.

Sampling for this research

11.16 Chambers cautions that, "*... Truly random samples of the type used in opinion polls, marketing research, and other social surveys have proven to be both unmanageable and unnecessary in sociolinguistic research.....Critiques of sociolinguistic sampling that presume it should be more like opinion poll sampling.....are simply naïve*". ⁷² In this present research it is not intended to

strive for strict random sampling, though the procedure to be used will work towards reducing possible researcher bias.

11.17 A *quota sampling* approach will be used as there are two variables judged to be of potential importance in the subsequent analysis of the data and these must be taken account of. One is age, the other is gender. The intention will be to construct a sample which proportionately represents the numbers of males and females in the sample frame population, preserving this in age categories of twenty years, as described earlier.

11.18 The first stage in this process was to obtain a breakdown, by twenty-year age groups, of the total population of the defined locality. This information was obtained from the 1991 Census figures.⁷³ This resulted in the following distribution (*Figure IV.9*):

Figure IV.9

1991 Census Figures for the Leeds Wards covering Pudsey, Bramley and Stanningley					
<i>Ward</i>	0-19 years	20-39 years	40-59 years	60-79 years	80+ years
Bramley	5840	6584	4563	3628	772
Pudsey North	5391	6851	5696	3862	798
Pudsey South	5426	6029	5144	3767	827
TOTALS	16657	19464	15403	11257	2397

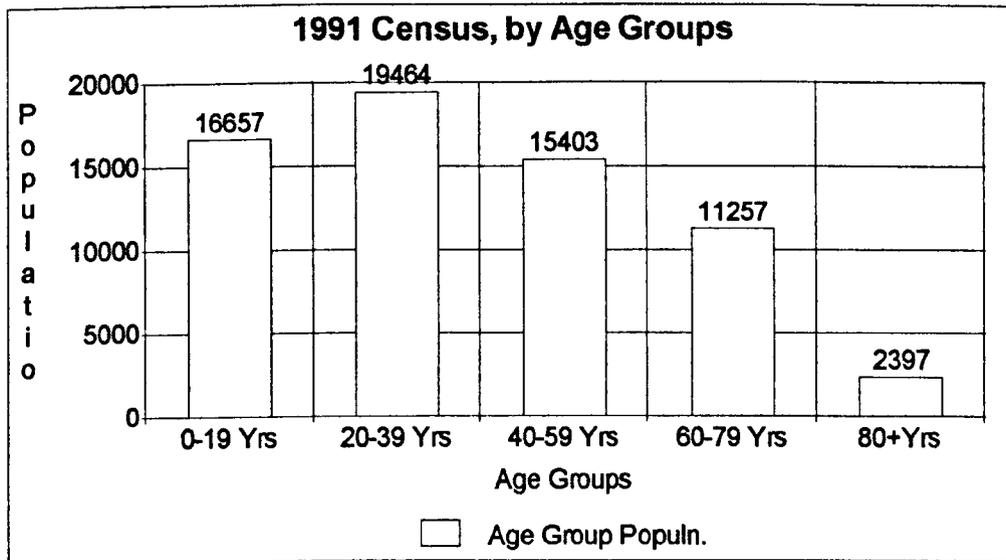
OVERALL TOTAL **65178**

Percentages of overall total by age groups:

25.55%	29.86%	23.63%	17.27%	3.67%
---------------	---------------	---------------	---------------	--------------

11.19 In graphic form, this is realised as (*Figure IV.10*) :

Figure IV.10 :



Sample size

11.20 Once the sample frame (in this case, the total population of the defined locality) has been drawn, and the selected quotas within that frame determined, the next step is to consider what the sample size should be.

11.21 *"Generally speaking, the larger the sample tested, the more valid the results"*, wrote Chaika, but Fowler disagrees :

*A sample of 150 people will describe a population of 15,000 or 15 million with virtually the same degree of accuracy, assuming that all other aspects of the sample design and sampling procedures were the same".*⁷⁴

Cohen and Manion consider that samples of 30 or less do not readily lend themselves to statistical analysis.⁷⁵ Samples of more than 150 are considered by some to contain redundancy and to bring about increased data handling problems, together with a diminishing return of analytical value.⁷⁶

11.22 Given that sample size does not appear to be critical, provided it is at or above a certain minimum, it is proposed to fix the sample size for this research at a conveniently round figure of one hundred subjects.

11.23 The next stage is to proportionately calculate the age groups from the census to fit the proposed sample of one hundred subjects. Working from the percentages in the different age groups, the proportionate numbers translate as (*Figure IV.11*):

Figure IV.11

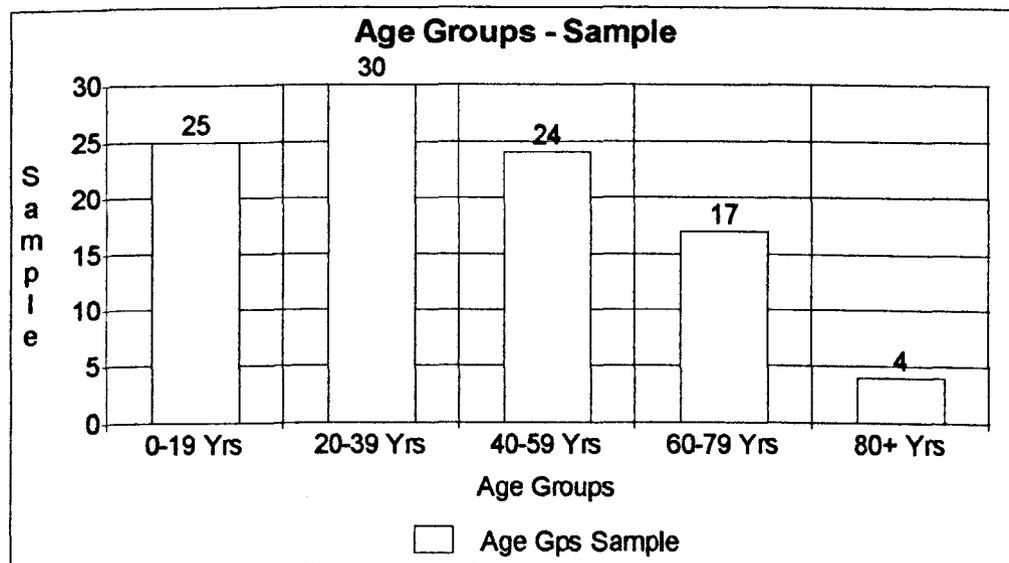
0-19 years	20-39 years	40-59 years	60-79 years	80+ years
25	30	24	17	4

(Figures have, where necessary, been rounded off to give whole number values).

11.24 The graphic profile of these figures is (*Figure IV.12*):

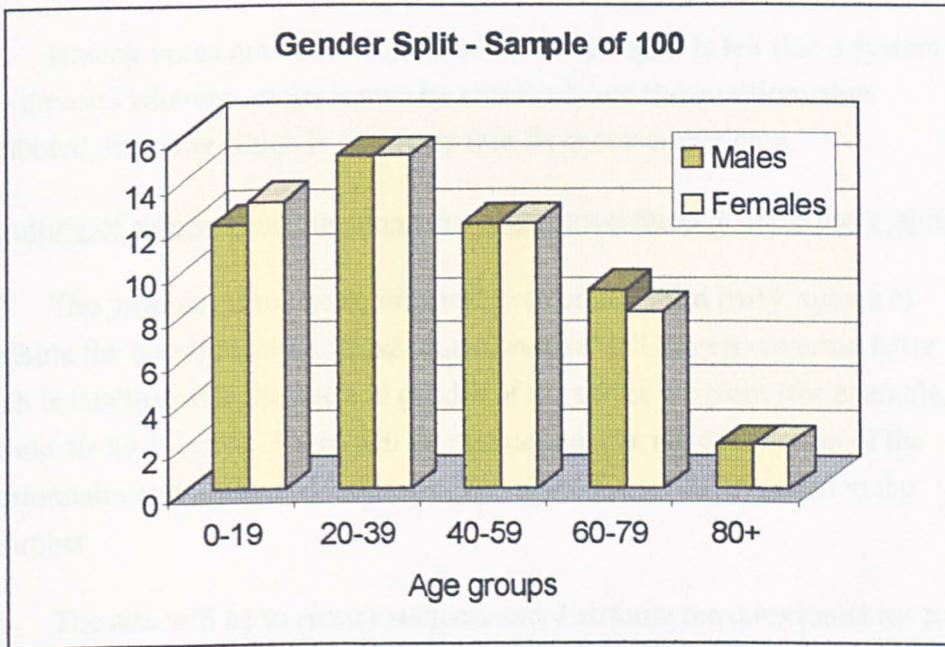
Figure IV.12

Proportional age group numbers for a sample of one hundred



11.25 The profile of *Figure IV.12* clearly follows that of *Figure IV.11*, as it mathematically should do. The separation into genders will be carried out on the general basis of a fifty/fifty split but as there is apparently a small but significant female numerical superiority in the youngest age group, the split was made to favour the females 13:12.⁷⁷ Similarly, the 60-79 age group was split 9:8 in favour of males as the indications are that males have a very small numerical superiority in that range (*Figure IV.13*)⁷⁸:

Figure IV.13



	0-19	20-39	40-59	60-79	80+
Males	12	15	12	9	2
Females	13	15	12	8	2

12 - DISTRIBUTION AND RECOVERY OF THE QUESTIONNAIRES

12.1 Having opted out of strict probability sampling, it is felt that a system has to be devised whereby subjects may be recruited, and the questionnaires distributed, in a way which is relatively free from researcher bias.

Recruiting of subjects and questionnaire distribution through 'third party' agents

12.2 The proposal is to use an informal network of 'third party' agents to distribute the questionnaires. Each questionnaire will have a covering letter which is labelled with the age and gender of the target recipient (for example, 'Female 40-59 Years'). There will be instructions for the completion of the questionnaire and a stamped, addressed envelope for its direct return to the researcher.

12.3 The aim will be to recruit subjects and distribute the questionnaires to them in such a way that the researcher will be at least one stage removed from the subjects. The 'third party' agents will be library staff, officials of various voluntary groups and organisations (such as retired men's groups, church ladies' groups), a community centre, a family nursery unit, a local public house and hairdressers. The distributing agents will be briefed that the questionnaires are not necessarily intended for themselves or their own members, but may be handed out to relatives, friends, neighbours or anyone willing to take part, provided they meet the criteria of currently living in the defined locality and being of the gender and age group shown on the covering letter. Efforts will be made to ensure that the questionnaires are passed to 'third party' agents who are well-distributed about the research locality.

12.4 This system will take the recruiting of subjects and the destination of the questionnaires out of the researcher's immediate control and thereby ensure at least some informal randomness.

Separate arrangements for the youngest age group

12.5 An exception to this procedure will be the 0-19 years age group. Subjects from this age range will be drawn from the local comprehensive high schools, where teachers will be asked to carry out some informal stratified random sampling of their pupils. Arrangements will then be made for the researcher to

visit each participating school and oversee the completion of the questionnaires *en bloc* by the sample of pupils.

Reducing non-response rates

12.6 The system of using 'third party' agents will not only ensure some degree of informal randomness, but should also serve another useful survey purpose. Fowler identifies the problem of non-response to self-completion postal surveys and suggests ways in which this might be reduced :

....the main difficulty is inducing respondents to perform the task of filling out the questionnaire without the intervention of an interviewer. Writing a letter is not a very effective way to convince a high percentage of people to do something. Personal contact is significantly more effective.... ⁸⁰

The 'third party' agents will provide the face-to-face personal contact which Fowler indicates is important and it is anticipated that this will result in a high percentage of postal returns of completed questionnaires.

12.7 Fowler also points out that

almost anything that makes a mail questionnaire look more professional, more personalized or more attractive will have some positive effect on response rates. Tending to such details probably is worthwhile in the aggregate. ⁸¹

Cohen and Manion support this view :

.....several aspects of design and layout have been shown to produce high levels of response to postal questionnaires.... ⁸²

The availability of modern personal computer technology, with powerful wordprocessing capabilities and the ability to generate graphics and to print in colour, means that the issue of good quality presentation of all survey paperwork, may be approached with some professional competence (see Appendix B).

13 - FIELD TRIALLING OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

"Time spent on reconnaissance is seldom wasted".

Attributed to a World War Two Soviet Army general, quoted in the British army manual *Staff Duties in the Field*.

13.1 Before the questionnaires were distributed to the sample proper, it was felt necessary to carry out some field trialling on a small, *convenience sample* of subjects.

Modifications to the questionnaire after field trialling

13.2 The informal field trialling on a small number of subjects pointed up some important problems in the format of both the demographic/socioeconomic and word list parts of the questionnaire.

13.3 Firstly, to reduce the bulk (and return postage costs) of the questionnaires, the word list had been printed 'front and back' and stapled in one corner in 'landscape' format. Field trialling revealed that this was not always a satisfactory arrangement, as the respondents, in turning over the pages, sometimes inadvertently omitted one side or more of lexical items. This would, of course, render a questionnaire void for correlational data collecting purposes. The word list was reprinted on single sides to reduce the possibility of spoiled questionnaires.

13.4 A second problem was that respondents did not always understand that they were required to make two tick responses to each item on the word list. A rewording of the instructions was carried out in the covering letter and instructions for completion (see Appendix B), including diagrams showing examples of 'know' and 'don't know' responses.

13.5 Field trial respondents were not clear about what kind of information was being sought in the education section of the demographic/socioeconomic page. They were often inclined to write the names of the schools attended and these were not necessary. The wording and response format were simplified.

13.6 The section seeking information on the 'main occupation of father/self/spouse' sometimes resulted in entries such as 'Retired', 'Unemployed' (and, in one case, 'Deceased' !). It was apparent that respondents were interpreting this question as relating to the *current situation*, whereas the research was trying to ascertain what the main occupations of the three people *had* been, even if they were no longer working. The wording was modified to include "**....during the working life...**" and this was presented in a bolder and larger type-face.

13.7 Some minor textual adjustment was made to the 'housing' section.

Research ethics

13.8 Any research which involves human subjects and their responses needs to be carried out in an ethical manner . The baseline is that no individual "*....suffers any adverse consequences as a result of the survey*".⁸³

13.9 Good ethical practice in research, however, goes beyond this basic principle. Subjects are voluntarily co-operating in the exercise and, without this co-operation, data gathering would be difficult. In the parlance of trade and commerce, the subjects are *on a sellers' market*. Their motivations and imperatives are far weaker than the researcher's. Perhaps the only rewards subjects seek for their co-operation are intrinsic ones, such as being treated as if they matter, being made to feel that they are collaborating in work which has some significance and whose aims they can understand and share, and knowing what is the ultimate destination or audience for the data they are providing. Subjects may also reasonably expect that the process they are engaged in will, to some degree, be interesting and enjoyable. Obviously, one key to providing such rewards is good communication on the part of the researcher.

13.10 Where data of a personal nature is being collected, however neutral and innocuous the researcher may feel this to be, the subjects providing it are entitled to anonymity and confidentiality, unless they specifically agree to forego these.

13.11 In the General Study strand of this research, the questionnaire forms do not call for the name, address or telephone number of the respondent. This information is not necessary to the purpose of the survey. The distribution of the questionnaires through 'third party' agents and their return by post means that the agents do not see the data and the researcher does not know, and does not need to know, the identity of the respondent who returns a completed questionnaire.

13.12 The 'third party' agents will be briefed to inform the subjects what the research is about and what the data will ultimately be used for.

14 - ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION INTENTIONS FOR THE GENERAL STUDY DATA

14.1 Throughout the process of determining the methodology, content and format of the survey questionnaire for the General Study, the requirements of subsequent analysis, interpretation and presentation of the collected data will be kept in focus. Fowler invokes the notion of *the total survey design approach*, which carries the implication that the researcher has given some careful advance consideration to the type and amount of data that will emerge; furthermore, the researcher will from the start have in mind some fairly clear-cut plans about how the data will be handled and presented once it has been gathered.

14.2 In this research, it was envisaged from an early stage that the General Study data would be of a straightforward, factual kind, which could readily be tallied and numerically-coded, or 'scored', in such a way that quantitative analysis procedures may be directly applied to it. The choice of content and the design and format of the data-gathering instrument, the questionnaire, has been guided by the need to elicit data which is susceptible to this kind of treatment.

14.3 The raw data will, therefore, be analysed initially by examining relationships amongst such variables as *the Social Index (SI)*, *sex*, *age*, and the number of lexical items *known*, *still used*, *formerly used*, *known but never used*, *heard but not known* and *never heard*. The patterns which emerge from the correlations will then be the subject matter of interpretation, which will attempt to expose and explain some of the underlying social processes, attitudes and values, and linguistic behaviour which created those patterns. The focus in this analysis and interpretation will be on the age/sex groups of informants and the overall pattern of their responses.

14.4 Further analysis, interpretation and commentary will be concerned with the individual nonstandard lexical features themselves. Rather than overall trends and patterns, what will be examined here is the 'career and fate' of each item used. This should indicate whether some nonstandard words have been better 'survivors' than others⁸⁴ and whether or not there is any pattern to this which may be explained in sociolinguistic or any other terms.

14.5 The raw data of the survey and the analytical outcomes will be presented numerically and, where appropriate, also graphically. This will be supplemented by textual interpretative commentary.

SECTION B - THE INTER-GENERATIONAL CASE STUDIES

1 - THE NATURE AND PURPOSE OF CASE STUDIES

1.1 Case studies aim to portray a specific instance. Operating within the *interpretative paradigm*, the researcher using a case study approach attempts to penetrate beneath the superficial surface features of situations in such a way that the complexities, multiple interactions and relationships are revealed, which might otherwise remain unexposed by the 'scientific' collection of quantitative, statistical data.⁸⁵ Coupland points out that research from a positivist orientation, such as surveys, involves large numbers of subjects, with low researcher involvement and little scope for subsequent analysis. The trade-off is against high generalizability with a high degree of researcher control over the proceedings. Case studies, on the other hand, tend towards the interpretative viewpoint, with smaller numbers involved, plenty of scope for analysis, and a high level of researcher involvement. The cost, says Coupland, is in the weak control the researcher has over the proceedings and the type of data to emerge, and the non-generalizability of the results.⁸⁶ But case studies have the potential to unlock and make visible much that may be hidden in more positivist approaches :

*The positivist orientation regards the procedures used in social science as fundamentally of the same kind as those used by natural scientists: assuming, that is, that social phenomena constitute a reality which exists in its own right. The interpretative approach is less dogmatic.....and accepts that social phenomena have largely to be deduced, often intuitively and subjectively, by the researcher, who therefore.....is said to 'construct' social reality by the way in which he interprets what he sees and learns about it.*⁸⁷

The advantages of the case study approach

1.2 There appear to be three main advantages for the case study research approach. First, a well-conducted case study has the potential to provide a fair, systematic and accurate account of the specific case it is focused on. It can identify patterns, cycles of action and influences which may not be revealed by experimental techniques (which, to be scientifically rigorous, need to focus on limited variables under controlled conditions) or by surveys (which involve the collection of standardised categories of data which have been predetermined). Secondly, case studies produce data which can be readily understood, in an immediately intelligible way, by wider audiences. Thirdly, they have a potential for identifying and revealing phenomena which occur too infrequently to be observed and recorded by more objective methods.

Weaknesses and limitations

1.3 The findings of a case study "*are local, specific and not generalizable*"⁸⁸ and they therefore lack external validity. The case study to some extent stands on its own; to borrow a phrase from the world of computing, *what you see is what you get* - and you cannot readily 'export' it elsewhere. It is possible to use intuitive judgement and state that 'case A' has many of the characteristics of 'case B', but shares few with 'case C', to make some comparative point. But, otherwise, comparative techniques such as those used on, say, matched samples with standardised data cannot be employed. Case studies, by definition, cannot be replicated. The case study may necessitate the researcher being selective, both in the choice of case, and in what he or she brings from the action for analysis and interpretation. This selectivity is both personally- and subjectively-based, not readily open to external scrutiny, with all the implications this may have for the possible intrusion of bias, prejudice, pre-judgement and selective reporting. Following on from this, the eventual 'audience' has no way of ascertaining how far the researcher's own perception of events has influenced the conclusions drawn and presented.

1.4 Cohen and Manion see case studies as a way of complementing, rather than substituting for, more scientifically-objective methods.⁸⁹

2 - THE INTER-GENERATIONAL CASE STUDIES : RATIONALE AND PURPOSE

The case study approach in this research

2.1 Notwithstanding the weaknesses and limitations of the case study research, it has apparently enjoyed increasing popularity since the 1980s because of "*antipathy towards the statistical-experimental paradigm*".⁹⁰ Conducted with professionalism, open honesty and integrity, case studies can provide data which reflects 'three-dimensional reality', complementing and illuminating in fresh ways data collected by other means. Coupland puts it that "*the losses in terms of generalizability and control will be offset by the richness of contextual understanding available through the detailed observation of a small number of particular, naturally situated instances*".⁹¹ This is the purpose to which case studies are to be put in this present research.

Triangulation

2.2 *Triangulation* is the use of two or more methods of collecting data on the same phenomenon. In its original sense, triangulation meant

a technique of physical measurement: maritime navigators.....and surveyors, for example, use.....several locational markers.....to pinpoint a single spot or objective".⁹²

2.3 In social research, triangulation aims to study an aspect of human behaviour, from two or more standpoints, in an attempt to enrich the information available and reflect more of the complexity in the behaviour. Triangulation frees the researcher from reliance on a single method of investigation and thus increases his or her confidence in the ultimate findings.

2.4 In this research, the use of case studies is not, however, intended as a way of triangulating the General Study. The findings of the case studies will not be brought to bear on the data of the the General Study to enhance validity, for the two approaches are not directed at the same objects of study in the strictest sense.⁹³ Rather, the case study data will be acquired to *supplement* and *complement* the General Study data. It is not a case of gathering the same data in a different way, i.e., *methodological triangulation*, but a matter of collecting

different data which may help illuminate the General Study findings.⁹⁴ As Bell (1993) puts it : "*Case studies may be carried out to put flesh on the bones of a survey*".⁹⁵

2.5 However, it is the intention to build 'internal' triangulation into the case study process itself for here two methods will be used which bear upon the same objects of study, that is : the use of the same survey word list and socioeconomic questionnaire as used in the General Study, together with interviewing.

The cultural transmission of language, language change and the Inter-generational Case Studies

2.6 In exploring the changes which may or may not have taken place in knowledge and use of the community's nonstandard lexicon over a period of time, research attention is also inevitably drawn to seeking information about the processes which have acted, in tension, to either promote change or maintain the *status quo*. One of these processes is that of cultural transmission, of a society passing on to its young the customs, values, beliefs, knowledge, skills and competencies (including language) which are the property of that particular society.

2.7 For the majority of children, the context of their initial language acquisition and early language development is the family; their models and mentors in the process being members of their immediate family : parents and siblings, sometimes grandparents, aunts, uncles and cousins or other adults.⁹⁶ The process is not simply a matter of mimicry, but is a complex one, including learning the 'rules of the game', and learning to recognise the communicative contexts appropriate to the use of instrumental, regulatory, interactional and personal language.⁹⁷ "*Parental speech*", writes Chaika, "*provides a springboard*" for children to acquire and develop language; but it does not provide a template.⁹⁸ Nevertheless, it is clear that parents, initially at least, exert a powerful influence on a child's language acquisition and speech style.

*In the normal situation, children probably carry some markers of their elders' speech in their earliest years, especially in situations in which their most intense and only sustained social contacts are with those elders.*⁹⁹

Later, though, others will bring their own influences to bear, particularly once a child starts school, when the peer group becomes a powerful agency for language

development. This stage means some degree of independence and should, says Chambers

*bring with it.....the replacement of linguistic features wherever they differ from those of the peer community.*¹⁰⁰

But, consciously or unwittingly, parents will normally continue to attempt to influence the spoken language of their offspring for some time. This may bring about tensions where the two influences - the family on one hand, the peer group on the other - are at odds. "*The learners*", says Chambers "*normally resolve the tension in favor of their peers*".¹⁰¹ Though this element of the research is located in the family context, the interviews will be 'framed' in such a way, and open enough, to permit data to emerge about peer group and other extra-familial linguistic influences, particularly where these may have conflicted with familial norms.

2.8 Clearly, a major component of language which is transmitted from one generation to the next is the vocabulary of the mother tongue, though this may "*in the early stages (be) limited in range and its application (and) restricted to the immediate here and now*".¹⁰² Children learn the sound of the word they hear and attribute meaning by hearing it repeated in the same context, time after time. If the word is part of the community's nonstandard lexical stock, then that is the word they will learn, the word they will come to associate with a meaning, and the word which they will come to use in its appropriate context. The same applies to the pronunciation and the accent in which the word is delivered and also to the language structure (grammar and syntax) in which it is embedded.

2.9 It is reasonable to expect, therefore, that changes in language over time must owe something to the transmission, partial transmission and non-transmission of language features from one generation to the next.

2.10 An important aim, therefore, of the Inter-generational Case Studies will be to examine how much of the community's nonstandard lexicon appears to be transmitted from one generation to the next, and which processes, attitudes, values and behaviours appear to act to preserve or erode nonstandard word knowledge and use.

3 - MULTI-METHODOLOGICAL APPROACH INVOLVING INTERVIEWS

3.1 It is proposed to acquire the Inter-generational Case Study data in a triangulated, multi-method way. One method will be to ask subjects to complete the socioeconomic, demographic and word list questionnaire used in the General Study. Secondly, they will also be individually interviewed. An interview provides raw data in the form of respondents' answers and this, like questionnaire data, can then be subjected to subsequent analysis and interpretation. In this research, interviewing was not considered a suitable option for the General Study, partly because of the large number of subjects who would have to be interviewed. But for the Inter-generational Case Studies, the number of subjects can be relatively small and interviewing is, therefore, a practical option.

The advantages of interviews as a data-collection method

3.2 *"A major advantage of the interview is its adaptability. A skilful interviewer can follow up ideas, probe responses and investigate motives and feelings, which the questionnaire can never do".*¹⁰³ An interview has the potential to expose and make available data which otherwise may not be 'visible' to the researcher. Both parties can negotiate and clarify meanings and task demands, seek confirmation, and restructure questions if their purpose is not immediately apparent; the interview has 'immediacy'.¹⁰⁴ In addition, an interview is a more 'human' (and sometimes more humane) way for the researcher and the subject to interact, contrasting with the self-completion questionnaire where the subject is obliged to operate alone and where the interaction is at least one stage removed from the researcher.

The disadvantages of interviews

3.3 Interviews are time-consuming and, within the constraints of a lone-researcher study, only a relatively few people can be interviewed. However, as noted above, the Inter-generational Case Studies are not foreseen as requiring large numbers of subjects. The technique is *"a highly subjective one"* and may therefore carry an inherent tendency towards bias.¹⁰⁵ Verbal responses can be problematic in other ways, too :

when respondents feel sensitive about topics.....the answers, if provided

*at all, are likely to be invalid.....Another example is memory decay
....leading to an underreporting of past events.....*¹⁰⁶

The compilation and framing of interview questions may be as demanding as that for questionnaires, and analysing and interpreting the data may also prove difficult.¹⁰⁷ *Reactivity* is a possibility, where the interview procedure itself may have the effect of distorting the data it is designed to gather. This may manifest itself in, for example, the interviewee offering information he or she *thinks the researcher would like to hear*, rather than what they truly know, believe or feel. Closely allied to this is the phenomenon of *reflexivity*, where the very presence of the interviewer may affect the interviewees' own attitudes and the nature of their responses. At a simplistic level, this may be realised in very different reactions to these alternatives:

- a. *I'd like you tell me about your reasons for choosing to go to XYZ university.*
- b. *Can you explain why you have chosen to go to XYZ university, which some would say does not have a reputation for excellence in your chosen subject ?*

In practice, interviewer's questions may be loaded with much more subtle nuances and markers than in this crude *b.* example. Yet interviewees may be able pick up on even the most subtle clues, see the researcher's values and judgements in the situation, and respond accordingly. The subsequent transformation and interpretation of verbal data carry their own potential problems of distortion, particularly where conceptual or theoretical schemes to guide and aid the process are absent or not well-developed.¹⁰⁸

Successful interviewing

3.4 It is possible to identify and reconstruct from the literature a number of principles for successful interviewing. A commonly agreed major principle is *preparation*. The researcher is advised to subject himself/herself to some preliminary questions :

- * *What do I need to know ?*
- * *Is interviewing the best way to get this information ?*
- * *What interview formats are available to me and what are their respective strengths and weaknesses ?*
- * *What type of interview format is best suited to the purpose I have identified ?*
- * *What information do I expect to emerge ?*
- * *How will this data be recorded ?*
- * *How will the data be subsequently treated and utilised ?* ¹⁰⁹

3.5 Interview questions will need to be determined and framed. This may not be as critical as for the questionnaire survey, for in an interview there exists the opportunity, as already stated, for negotiation of meanings and clarification. Nevertheless, questions and 'prompts' will still need to be selected and worded with care - not least to ensure that they are valid and that they are likely to elicit the information being sought.

3.6 May stresses the importance of the interviewer's role. Is he/she to be 'the impartial scientist' or 'friend', for example, and what effect will the assumed role have on the interview process and the responses which occur ?¹¹⁰ May goes on to discuss the point that, for successful interviewing, a cluster of interviewer characteristics may have to be taken into account, including "*age, sex, race and accent*".¹¹¹ McMahon, writing of the work of the Milroys in Belfast, suggests that "*it is easier to gain access to the vernacular if the informant feels at ease... this can be achieved by using an interviewer who is integrated into the*

speech community".¹¹² In this present work, the researcher has the advantage of being not only native to the locality, but also a childhood habitual user of the community's nonstandard speech variety. In addition, Cohen and Manion suggest that "*mutual trust, social distance and (the degree of) interview control*" also need to be considered as key factors.¹¹³

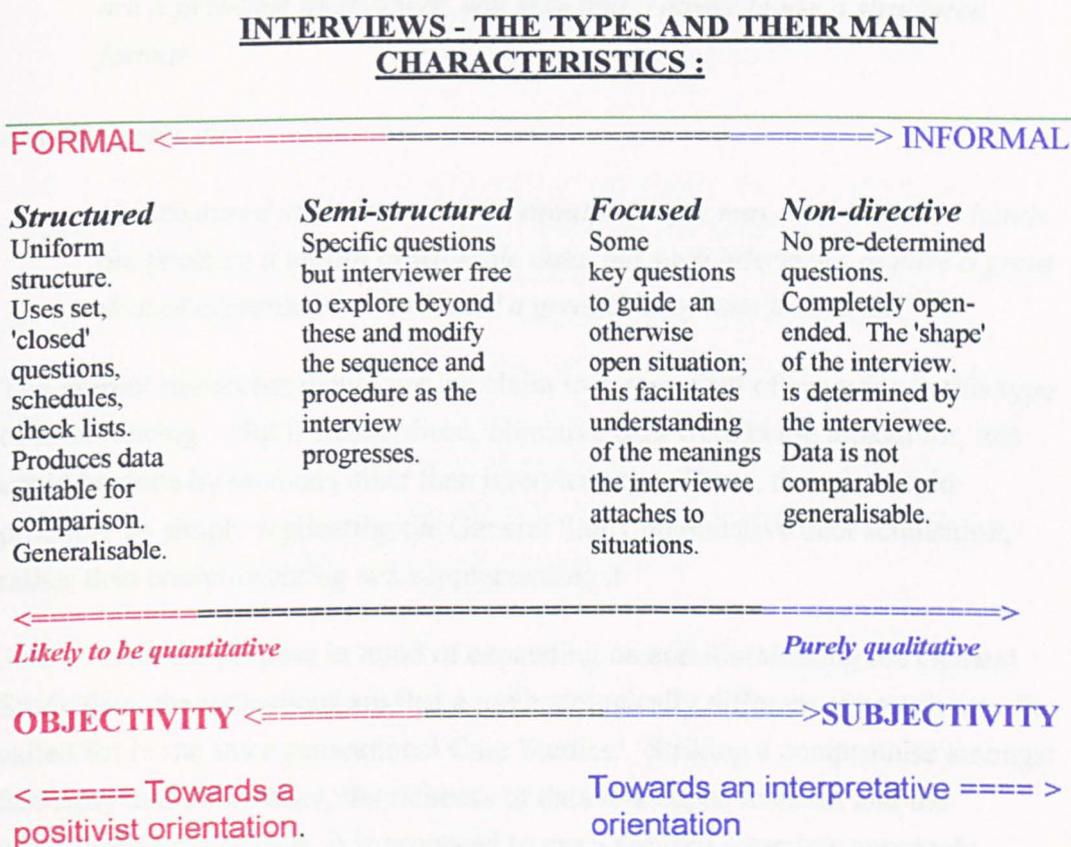
3.7 There are, too, questions of *accessibility, cognition and motivation*. Does the interviewee really have access to the information being sought? Does he or she understand what is being asked of him/her? Is he or she a willing participant in the process, one who wishes to help and cooperate in the researcher's purposes.¹¹⁴

3.8 A further condition for successful interviewing is the piloting, or field trialling, of the interview schedule, the key questions or the format. The value of this has already been discussed and is apparent from 13, above.

Types of interview

3.9 Several interview type options are available to the researcher. Generally speaking, these range from the highly formalised and structured to the informal and completely unstructured.¹¹⁵ The possibilities may be diagrammatically represented as a continuum (*Figure IV.14*):

Figure IV.14



Choosing the type of interview

3.10 A decision needs to be made about which type of interview is both likely to elicit the sought-after information and also be readily undertaken within the constraints of this research. The choice is conditioned by questions such as :

- a. how standardised, quantifiable and objective does the required data have to be to fulfil its purpose ? and
- b. how experienced and equipped is the researcher to carry out the various types of interview ?

3.11 Bell (1993) writes

A structured interview can take the form of a questionnaire or checklist that is completed by the interviewer rather than the respondent, and if you are a first-time interviewer, you may find it easier to use a structured format

and also notes that

*Unstructured interviews centred around a topic may, and in skilled hands do, produce a wealth of valuable data, but such interviews require a great deal of expertise to control and a great deal of time to analyse.*¹¹⁶

The present researcher would not lay claim to a great deal of expertise in this type of interviewing. But if standardised, objective data were being looked for, this could be done by methods other than interviewing. These, though, would probably be simply replicating the General Study quantitative data acquisition, rather than complementing and supplementing it.

3.12 With the purpose in mind of expanding on and illuminating the General Study data, the indications are that a methodologically different approach may be called for in the Inter-generational Case Studies. Striking a compromise amongst formality and informality, the richness of data it is hoped to elicit, and the interviewer's experience, it is proposed to use a focused interview approach.

Further consideration of the nature and characteristics of the focused interview approach

3.13 Bell makes the point that most interviews carried out in the main data-collecting stage of research will fall, on the continuum, somewhere between the structured and unstructured extremities :

*Freedom to allow the respondent to talk about what is of central significance to him or her rather than to the interviewer is clearly important, but some loose structure to ensure all topics which are considered crucial to the study are covered does eliminate some of the problems of entirely unstructured interviews. The guided or focused interview fulfils these requirements.*¹¹⁷

Contrasting the focused interview approach with the more structured approaches,

and with different methodologies such as the questionnaire, we find that

....it provides qualitative depth by allowing interviewees to talk about the subject in terms of their own 'frames of reference'. This allows the meanings and interpretations that individuals attribute to events and relationships to be understood.....it thereby provides a greater understanding of the subject's point of view. ¹¹⁸

3.14 This certainly locates the focused interview approach well towards the 'qualitative' end of the continuum, and so enhances the possibilities for complementing and supplementing the data collected by more structured methods, but at the same time it necessitates the interviewer having clear aims in mind before embarking on the interview. The focused interview, by its very nature, would seem to be a natural accompaniment to the case study methodology, as both share an orientation which looks towards the interpretative rather than the positivist stances. The framework devised as a guide to conducting the focused interviews in this research is shown at Appendix D.

4 - SAMPLING FOR THE INTER-GENERATIONAL CASE STUDIES

4.1 It is proposed to interview representatives of three or more generations of families, one representative from each generation. A number of families will be sampled and each one will constitute a case study.

The sample frame

4.2 The sample frame is to be those families in the defined geographical which have the following attributes :

- a. they have representatives in at least three surviving, successive generations;
- b. the representatives in each generation were born, educated and have lived all or most of their lives in the defined area;
- and
- c. the youngest representative is at least 11 years of age at the time of the research.

4.3 The rationale for these conditions is :

- a. At least two 'cultural transmission interfaces' (i.e. from one generation to the next) are judged to be needed if the data are to be meaningful, and valid.
- b. Unlike the General Study, where length of residence is not an issue because the research is concerned with obtaining a 'snapshot in time', the Inter-generational Case Studies are set in a context of continuity, of the community's nonstandard lexical stock and how this is (or is not) transmitted from one generation to the next. A 'residence' qualification is therefore necessary for all the participating subjects.
- c. An 11 years of age lower limit has been applied because there has to be some expectation that a subject will be capable of understanding the researcher's task demand and respond appropriately to it. It is judged that 11 years of age is the minimum at which these conditions

can be realistically met.

Selecting the families

4.4 It is unlikely that there exists a ready and easily-applied way in which families of the attributes required may be selected on a random, probability basis. To start with, such families are unlikely to be found in great numbers, given the geographical mobility which occurs today, and given that the defined locality is relatively small in extent. Secondly, there is no easily accessible existing frame in the form of a list or database which identifies such families.

4.5 To locate families of the kind required is to be done by exploiting informal networks, similar to those used for recruiting subjects for the General Study. The same 'third party' agents used in the General Study will be asked to recruit suitable families and, in addition, families will be invited to volunteer through posters and leaflets distributed to libraries, community centres, and local groups and organisations. Since the early summer of 1995 the researcher has been engaged in delivering talks about the *Origins and History of the Yorkshire Dialects* to a variety of groups across the defined area and these have been exploited as recruiting grounds for three-generation families.¹¹⁹

Sample size

4.6 Initially, 3 x three-generation families consented to take part in a pilot study and a further five families were recruited for the Inter-generational Case Studies proper. There was no particular rationale for the selection of this number, other than the simple convenience of accepting those which could be readily recruited and, also, that it was judged to be a reasonable number, given that the intention was to interview each generational representative separately. As each interview will take approximately fifty minutes, the fifteen subjects would generate a total of twelve to fifteen hours of interview time. The intention is to use a tape recorder to record the interviews, wherever the subject consents to this, and it appears to be the accepted rule of thumb that each hour of tape-recorded interview will create eight to ten hours of subsequent transcription time, if full transcriptions are to be made. Caution has to be exercised in committing too much time and effort to the lengthy transcription of interview recordings for, as Bell says, "*It is questionable whether you can afford so much time and whether the outcome will be worth the effort*".¹²⁰

4.7 In the event, during the execution of the actual research, data generated by the Inter-generational Case Studies appeared to be so potentially valuable that it was decided to increase the sample size to six families and abandon any plan for full transcription of the interviews to compensate for time. The intention for the tape-recordings was modified, so that they would be selectively transcribed and used mainly for *content analysis*, rather than as a full and detailed record of interviews. ¹²¹

5 - FIELD TRIALLING THE FOCUSED INTERVIEW 'FRAME' AND THE TECHNIQUE

Field trialling - the findings and observations

5.1 As reported above, 3 x three-generation families were used to field trial the interview procedure, in terms of its 'frame' and the interviewer's technique.

5.2 The first impression from this piloting was that the 'frame' was too detailed and respondents were apparently inhibited from attaining the full and free expression of their thoughts and feelings, tending instead to give short, fairly directed answers and then await the next question. In other words, the interviews were tending to take on the characteristics of a *structured*, rather than a *focused*, interview, where the respondents awaited the next input from the interviewer.

5.3 The second observation raised by the field trialling was that there were too many 'fields' of enquiry being attempted. Again, the impression was that this influenced respondents in the direction of truncating their accounts rather than giving full expression to their views.

5.4 It had been envisaged that the completion of the demographic, socioeconomic and word list questionnaire could be accomplished at the same session as the interviews. In the event, this served to extend the session from the estimated 50 minutes to something like 90 minutes per subject.

Modifications as a result of trialling

5.5 The 'frame', in the form of key questions or 'prompts', was reduced to that shown at Appendix D.

5.6 The 'fields' of enquiry were reduced in the expectation that a focus on fewer issues would result in greater depth in the quality of responses and also give the respondents greater freedom to answer on their own terms.

5.7 It was decided that, for the Inter-generational Case Studies proper, the demographic, socioeconomic and word list questionnaire would be sent in advance by post, so the respondent could work on it at leisure and hand it to the researcher, completed, at the interview. This would still allow the researcher

time to scan the completed questionnaire to select points which could be used as additional 'prompts' in the interview itself.

6 - RESEARCH ETHICAL ISSUES

6.1 Clearly, a different set of protocols is going to apply to the Inter-generational Case Studies *vis à vis* the General Study. In this element of the research the subjects will be known to the researcher and, indeed, the parties will be involved in face-to-face interview contact.

6.2 One advantage of this situation is that the researcher will be in a better position to explain the nature of the research to the subjects. Though they will be asked to complete the questionnaire on their own, in advance of the interview, at the interview itself (and especially within the focused interview approach) they will have ample opportunity to seek clarification, negotiate meanings and ask other questions about the process, such as what the findings will be used for.

6.3 Confidentiality and anonymity will still apply, for it is intended to label the families simply *Family 1, Family 2, Family 3....* and so on. As a relationship identifier, a second figure will be used to indicate whether the informant is of the oldest generation, the second generation or the third. So, an informant code of 2/3 will indicate the third generation member of *Family 2*, and 1/1 will represent the oldest generation member of *Family 1*. In the transcripts, false initials will, where needed, be used in place of real names or initials.

6.4 It is the intention to interview subjects separately, so they do not 'contaminate' each other's accounts. Wherever possible, the interviews will be conducted in the subjects' homes.

6.5 Where subjects consent to it, interviews will be audio tape-recorded but, should they withhold this consent, notes will be taken by the researcher. Subjects will be offered the opportunity to hear the tape-recording replayed or look at the researcher's notes of the interview; they will be able, then, to have any pieces they wish erased from the recording, or re-negotiate the content of the notes to bring them into line with their understanding of what transpired and the meanings they wish to attach to situations they have described.

7 - ANALYSIS, INTERPRETATION AND PRESENTATION INTENTIONS FOR THE INTER-GENERATIONAL CASE STUDY DATA

The questionnaire - socioeconomic and demographic data

7.1 This will be initially processed in exactly the same way as for the General Study, with 'scoring' of socioeconomic categories to provide a social index, preserved by age and gender.

The questionnaire - word list data

7.2 The questionnaire word list data will be used comparatively to measure variations in the amount of nonstandard lexical items *known, known and still used, formerly used, known but never used, heard but not known, and never heard*, between generations of the same family. Patterns, such as those of variation or equivalence, will be searched for. Results will be presented in both tabular and graphic form, the profile characteristics of the latter being traced.

The interview data

7.3 To start with, the tape-recorded interviews will be transcribed, editing out all extraneous matter which has no direct value as data, such as intrusive anecdotes, 'clarifying' queries about prompts and questions ("*Do you mean when I was still at school - or later, at work ?*"), and identical and near-identical repetition of points previously made. In instances where the subject has not consented to being tape-recorded, the interviewer's original notes will substitute for the edited transcripts of the audio-recordings.

Content analysis

7.4 The fundamental methodology to be used in treating the interview data will be *content analysis*¹²² :

Content analysis is essentially just another term for a very ordinary, everyday activity we all engage in when we communicate with one another. Content analysis occurs whenever the recipient of a message says to her/himself: "What they are actually saying is..."; "What this

means is...."; "The speaker intended..."; and so forth. ¹²³

Intra-family data - content analysis in the 'vertical' plane

7.5 The content analysis of the interview data within each case study family, generation to generation, will be looking for key words, phrases, patterns, relationships and concepts which :

- a. help illuminate the attitudes, opinions, processes and mechanisms whereby local community speech modes, especially lexical features, are promoted or hindered in their transmission from one generation to the next;

and

- b. will give an indication of the relative effectiveness of the home/family environment in language continuity and/or change, in comparison with other contexts, such as the peer group, the school and the workplace.

Inter-family data - content analysis in the 'horizontal' plane

7.6 The usual case study approach is to examine a discrete instance, report on it and interpret the data as it relates to that case alone. It is left to the audience to draw the wider inferences from the case. However, the six family case studies in this research will have certain features in common : they will all be of local families of at least three generations; a single representative of each generation will be interviewed and he/she will have been born, educated and lived all or most of his/her life in the defined locality; and a similar focused interview question/prompt frame will be used at each interview. In these circumstances, there is an argument to be made for 'horizontal' analysis across all ten cases to see if any recurring themes or patterns are detectable.

Content analysis - the process

7.7 Mostyn suggests that content analysis of interview data should follow a four-step procedure :

- (1) *listen and read critically;*
- (2) *ask probing questions of the data - What is the meaning ?;*
- (3) *look for meaningful relationships; and*
- (4) *synthesize, arrive at some sort of solution about the data.* ¹²⁴

It is the intention that key words and phrases which express similar ideas, thoughts or feelings - but delivered at different points in the interview - will be 'clustered'. For example :

"I can't remember my parents ever correcting me when I said 'mucky' instead of 'dirty' "

might be 'clustered' with

"If I used a dialect word instead of the ordinary English one, I don't think my Mum or Dad would have said anything about it... You know, stopped me doing it".

Both describe the parents' reaction to the use of the local speech variety and so could be regarded as saying essentially the same thing.

Presentation and application of the interview data

7.8 The first section of the presentation will be the treatment of each case study in turn, using extracts from the interview transcripts and adding analytical and interpretative commentary. Where appropriate, reference will be made to the socioeconomic, demographic and word list questionnaire information provided by the case study respondents.

7.9 The second section of the presentation will be a consideration of any themes, patterns, concepts, attitudes and opinions which have a 'horizontal', inter-

family dimension.

7.10 Finally, the combination of analyses and interpretations obtained from both 'vertical' and 'horizontal' planes will be examined against the background of the General Study results, to see if they are of any help in illuminating and explaining any underlying trends, mechanisms and processes which have emerged from the General Study.

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- 1 Chambers (1995), 4.6.2.
- 2 Chambers (1995), p. 193.
- 3 Ibid.
- 4 McMahon (1994), pp. 239-240.
- 5 Op. cit., p. 240.
- 6 Op. cit., pp. 239-240.
- 7 *Inter alia* :
 Labov (1966).
 Trudgill (1974a).
 Milroy, L. (1980).
 Romaine (1980).
 Chambers (1995).
- 8 May (1993).
- 9 Coupland (1988).
- 10 May (1993).

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- 11 Cohen and Manion (1985), Ch 4.
- 12 Ibid.
- 13 Census - Leeds (Bramley and Pudsey Wards) 1991 - Figures supplied by Leeds City
Department of Planning.
- 14 Ibid.
- 15 May (1993), p. 86 et seq.
- 16 Cohen and Manion (1985).
- 17 Op. cit.
- 18 May (1993).
- 19 Cohen and Manion (1985).
- 20 Op. cit.
- 21 Sellitz et al. (1976).
- 22 Op. cit.
- 23 Romaine (1980), p. 172.
- 24 Labov (1966).
- 25 Trudgill (1974a).
Cheshire (1982).
Petyt (1985).
- 26 *Inter alia* :

Aitchison (1991).
Montgomery (1995).
Petyt (1980).
Romaine (1994).
- 27 Trudgill (1974a).
- 28 Petyt (1985).
- 29 Trudgill (1974a).
- 30 Op. cit., p. 35 et seq.
- 31 Romaine (1980), p. 173.
- 32 Trudgill (1974a), p. 35 et seq.
- 33 Ibid.
- 34 Ibid.

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- 35 Brenner et al. (1985), p. 4.
- 36 Romaine (1980), p. 175.
- 37 Midland Bank (1996a).
- 38 Midland Bank (1996b).
- 39 Petyt (1985), p.27.
- 40 See The Geographical Context in Chapter II.
- 41 This would almost involve taking into account the individual addresses of informants - or at least the specific street.
- 42 Trudgill (1974), pp. 39-40.
- 43 Romaine (1994), p. 123.
- 44 Trudgill (1974), p.38 et seq.
- 45 Romaine (1980), p. 177.
- 46 Trudgill (1974a).
- 47 Montgomery (1995) p.64.
- 48 Trudgill (1974a), p.93 et seq.
Romaine (1994) p.79.
Milroy, L. (1980).
Montgomery (1995) Ch. 8.
- 49 Fowler (1993).
- 50 The *tea* example is a neat illustration of the lexical and semantic confusion problem for, of course, it can mean *a drink* or *a late afternoon or early evening meal*. "To make the tea" could apply to either case and the designer(s) of the anonymous questionnaire referred to could not, perhaps, have chosen a more unfortunate subject around which to pose a question.
- 51 This is very much akin to *cloze procedure*, based on Gestalt psychology and introduced to education in the 1970s as a way of developing, exercising and testing children's reading comprehension skills. The respondent effects the 'closure' of the sentence by inserting a single appropriate word in the space. Any word is acceptable, provided it is grammatically and logically correct. Thus, there are innumerable 'correct' answers.
- 52 Kellett (1994).
- 53 Op. cit. p. xxiv.
- 54 The branch libraries at Pudsey, Swinnow, Bramley, Farsley and Calverley kindly participated.
- 55 Not all the volunteers were 'senior citizens'. A few younger people expressed to the librarians their interest in the research and claimed to have substantial knowledge of the local dialect. They were accepted onto the 'panel of experts'.

⁵⁶ Words from this end of the distribution should be effective in discriminating the extent of nonstandard lexical knowledge amongst the older, more knowledgeable people in the community.

⁵⁷ In the interests of keeping the eventual questionnaire word list simple, it was necessary for several of those items selected, which had originally been presented as phrases, to be reduced to a single word. In some cases this was not possible without loss of meaning.

⁵⁸ The Phase 2 original *mun't* (must not, will not, shall not) has been modified to the positive form *mun* (must, will, shall) to avoid difficulty in setting out its definition on the eventual questionnaire word list.

⁵⁹ Wilkinson (1924). See Linguistic Context, Chapter II.

⁶⁰ Cohen and Manion (1985), p. 98.

⁶¹ Fowler (1993), pp. 20-24.

⁶² Op. cit., pp. 23-24.

⁶³ Cohen and Manion (1985), Ch. 4.
Fowler (1993), Ch. 2.
May (1993).

⁶⁴ Cohen and Manion (1985).

⁶⁵ Op. cit. p. 101.

⁶⁶ E.g., Romaine (1980).

⁶⁷ Trudgill (1974a) Ch.2.

⁶⁸ Fowler (1993) Ch. 2.

⁶⁹ Op. cit. pp. 6-7.

⁷⁰ Trudgill (1974a), Ch. 2.

⁷¹ Op. cit., p.25.

⁷² Chambers (1995) p. 39 and p.41.

⁷³ Census - Leeds (Bramley and Pudsey Wards) 1991 - Figures supplied by Leeds City Department of Planning.

⁷⁴ Chaika (1982), p. 21, 2.5.
Fowler (1993), pp. 33-34.

⁷⁵ Cohen and Manion (1985), p. 101 et seq.

⁷⁶ Chambers (1995), p. 40.

⁷⁷ Verbal, Leeds City Planning Department.

⁷⁸ Verbal, Leeds City Council Planning Department. This might be thought surprising,

given the conventional wisdom that females generally enjoy greater longevity than males, though perhaps in this area this does not manifest itself until a later age.

⁷⁹ Though the distribution into five age groups has been justified, on the grounds of where the age-splits occur, for some statistical-processing and analytical purposes it may be necessary to disregard the 80+ groups as separate and combine them with the 60-79 age group, calling this a '60+ age group', as there are too few in the oldest group of this proportional distribution to produce valid data.

⁸⁰ Fowler (1993), p. 45.

⁸¹ Ibid.

⁸² Cohen and Manion (1985), p. 109.

⁸³ Fowler (1993), Ch. 9.

⁸⁴ Trudgill (1980), p. 113.

⁸⁵ Cohen and Manion (1985), Ch. 5.

⁸⁶ Op. cit. p. 120 et seq.

⁸⁷ Coupland (1988).

⁸⁸ May (1993), p. 130.

⁸⁹ Cohen and Manion (1985).

⁹⁰ Cohen and Manion (1985), p. 122.

⁹¹ Coupland (1988).

⁹² Cohen and Manion (1985,) p. 254.

⁹³ Op. cit., p. 257, Box 11.2, 6.

⁹⁴ Op. cit. p. 257.

⁹⁵ Bell (1993).

⁹⁶ Crystal (1987), p. 235.

⁹⁷ Chaika (1982), p. 12.
Crystal (1987), pp. 235-235.
Montgomery (1995), Ch. 1.

⁹⁸ Chaika (1982) p.12.

⁹⁹ Chambers (1995), p. 168.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid.

¹⁰¹ Op. cit. p. 169.

¹⁰² Montgomery (1995).

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- 103 Bell (1993), Ch. 8.
- 104 Brenner et al (1985), Ch. 1.
- 105 Bell (1993), Ch. 8..
- 106 Brenner et al (1985), Ch. 1.
- 107 Bell (1993), Ch. 8.
- 108 Brenner et al (1985), Ch. 1.
- 109 Bell (1993), Ch. 8.
May (1993), Ch. 6.
- 110 May (1993), p. 96.
- 111 Ibid.
- 112 McMahon (1994), p. 234.
- 113 Cohen and Manion (1985), p. 295.
- 114 May (1993), pp. 96-97.
- 115 Bell (1993), pp. 92-95.
May (1993), pp. 92-95.
- 116 Bell (1993), pp 93-95.
- 117 Op. cit. p. 94.
- 118 May (1993), p. 94.
- 119 From June 1995 to October 1997 these have included : Calverley St. Wilfrid's Mothers' Union, Farsley Retired Men's Forum, Stanningley St. John's Methodist Ladies Guild, Calverley Retired Men's Forum, Leeds City Libraries Pudsey Branch 'Friday Talks', Pudsey Ladies Guild, Horsforth Antiques Society, Bramley Trinity Ladies Group, Pudsey Civic Society, Rodley Over-Sixties Rainbow Club, Calverley Methodist Ladies Group, Rodley Ladies Group, Yorkshire Archaeological Society, and Pudsey Disabled Club.
- 120 Bell (1993), p.96.
- 121 Ibid.
- 122 Mostyn (1985)
- 123 Op. cit.
- 124 Op. cit., p. 116.

CHAPTER V**THE GENERAL STUDY :
RESULTS AND ANALYSIS****CHAPTER PREFACE**

This chapter will present and analyse in detail the General Study data. Primarily, the chapter will profile quantitative changes in the lexical stock available to the community in the defined research area, based on the sample of nonstandard words used in the survey word list. The analysis will be taken further by examining correlations and comparisons, patterns and trends in the data, amongst the categories of age, sex, and social class.

The quantity of data which has emerged has necessitated some consideration of how this may best be presented in a clear, economical way which does not hinder readability or interfere with the fluency of the main body of the report. As a result, extensive use will be made of tabular extracts and graphic representations of data to illustrate specific points and raise issues. The full tabulated and numerical data from the survey of nonstandard words are to be found at Appendix E.

SECTION A - KNOWLEDGE OF NONSTANDARD WORDS

Relevant appendix : Appendix E

Quantitative variations in knowledge of the lexical stock - the overall picture

1.1 One of the main aims of this research is to quantify and profile changes in the available lexical stock, from which speakers can make choices. Though the choices a speaker makes are subject to pragmatic considerations,¹ ultimately they depend on his or her knowledge of what is available. One of the important features of the word list survey has been to measure - using a sample corpus of nonstandard words - the extent of this knowledge, by age/sex groups, and by social status.

1.2 Overall, the data show what may have been thought predictable, that is, a decline in knowledge of nonstandard words which were largely common currency in the area at the close of World War One. *Figures V.1 A and B* summarise in graphic and tabular form the research data for *known* words, by age and sex groups :

Figure V.1 A - Words known summary

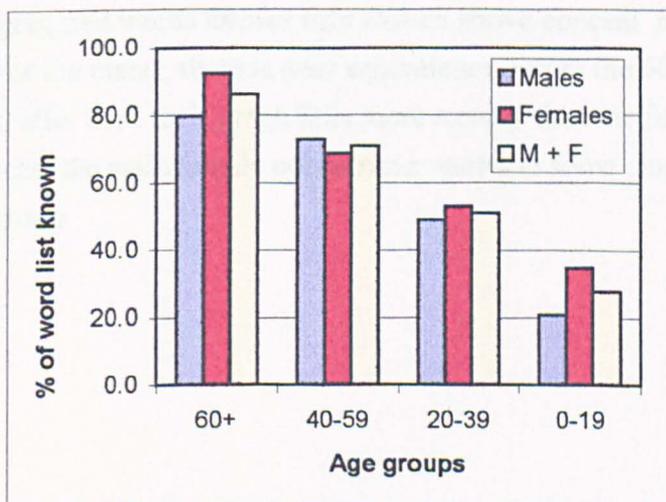


Figure V.1 B - Words *known* numerical data

	60+	40-59	20-39	0-19
Male	79.6	73.0	49.1	20.8
Female	92.4	68.8	52.9	34.6
M + F	86.0	70.9	51.0	27.7

(Figures are percentages of the total word list used in the survey)

1.3 It can be seen that there has been a continuous erosion of knowledge, from oldest to youngest age groups, of the particular sample of nonstandard words which constitute the survey list. The mean erosion rate is around 16% of the total word list for each 20-year period, over the 80 years of *apparent time* plotted.

1.4 Scrutiny of the numerical data at Appendix E shows that, though there appears to be an almost straight line progression, there is not only an absolute loss but also an increasing *rate* of loss across each 20 year *apparent time* period. From the 60+ age group to the 40-59 age group, there is a decrease of 6.1% of the word list *known*. From the 40-59 age group to the 20-39 age group, the decrease in words *known* is 19.9% of the word list, while from the 20-39 age group to the 0-19 age group the decrease is 23.3%.

Male/female comparisons

1.5 The aggregated words *known* data treated above conceal male/female differences. For the males, there is near equivalence across the 60+ and 40-59 age groups but, after that, their graph falls more steeply than the female one. In the circumstances, the male/female comparison warrants some closer scrutiny, age group by age group.

The 0-19 age group

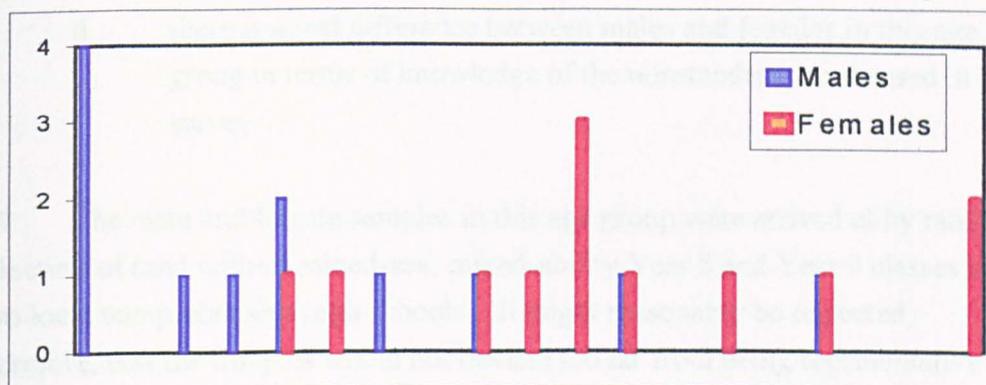
**Figure V.2 - Informants' individual *known* scores
0-19 age group**

Males 0-19 Yrs		Females 0-19 Yrs	
Informant Code	Known	Informant Code	Known
019M1	18.0	019F1	44.0
019M2	24.0	019F2	34.0
019M3	12.0	019F3	48.0
019M4	20.0	019F4	40.0
019M5	12.0	019F5	30.0
019M6	42.0	019F6	36.0
019M7	16.0	019F7	28.0
019M8	28.0	019F8	48.0
019M9	20.0	019F9	32.0
019M10	34.0	019F10	22.0
019M11	12.0	019F11	20.0
019M12	12.0	019F12	34.0
		019F13	34.0
Column Means	20.8		34.6

1.6 *Figures V.2 and V.3* show that males and females in the 0-19 age group have markedly different characteristics in their percentage scores for words *known*. It can be seen also that their scores are differently distributed.

Figure V.3 Scores distribution - Words known - males + females 0-19

NB - The horizontal axis is here limited to the actual scores range



←=Scores range 12% to 48%=→

Male 0-19 Mean Percentage Score = 20.8. Standard Deviation = 13.7.

Female 0-19 Mean Percentage Score = 34.6. Standard Deviation = 8.4

1.7 Apart from the females being generally more knowledgeable of the nonstandard words, their scores also return a smaller standard deviation than do those of the males (8.4 versus 13.7), so displaying differing distribution characteristics. However, both male and female means are distorted upwards by a small number of relatively high individual scores (in particular: males with 28, 34 and 42; and two females with 48). It may be noticed that neither sex displays a 'classic' curve of normal distribution in its scores. Both are slightly positively (i.e. leftwards) skewed in relation to their respective means. The most outstanding feature, nevertheless, remains the females' overall superiority in knowledge of the nonstandard words.

1.8 A number of possible reasons (not all mutually exclusive) may be advanced for the male/female differences in this age group :

- a. the male and female samples are not comparable and have, inadvertently, been drawn from different populations;
- b. *just one of the samples* (the male or the female) has been drawn from a population where the variable being measured is not normally distributed;

- c. *both* male and female samples have been drawn from populations where the variable being measured is not normally distributed;
- d. there is a real difference between males and females in this age group in terms of knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey.

1.9 The male and female samples in this age group were arrived at by random selection of (and within) mixed-sex, mixed-ability Year 8 and Year 9 classes in two local comprehensive high schools. It might reasonably be expected, therefore, that the samples would not deviate too far from being representative of the age group population as a whole on variables such as social class, intelligence, educational capability and exposure to nonstandard words used in the local community. There would therefore seem to be grounds for dismissing the observation in 1.8a, above.

1.10 As neither the male nor the female scores show a curve of normal distribution, the observation in 1.8b cannot be sustained.

1.11 The observation in 1.8c appears to have some validity. Both male and female scores, in the population of this age group, lack curves of normal distribution for the variable '*knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey list*'. This imposes limits on how far any deeper statistical analysis may be taken for, as Ebdon (1977) points out, skewness and kurtosis which deviate from the curve of normal distribution may render data unsuitable for parametric tests.²

1.12 Though the words *known* variable does not follow a normal distribution curve in either the male or female populations in this age group, this does not, in itself, mean that we can dismiss the *prima facie* evidence of the females having superior knowledge of the nonstandard words. It is argued here that there appears is a significant difference in knowledge between the sexes in these age group samples, as suggested in 1.8d. The questions of whether this difference is to be found in the age group population of the area as whole, and why, are issues which would perhaps repay further research. This matter will be returned to later, when other data have been considered, and some suggestions may then be put forward for this differential in performance.

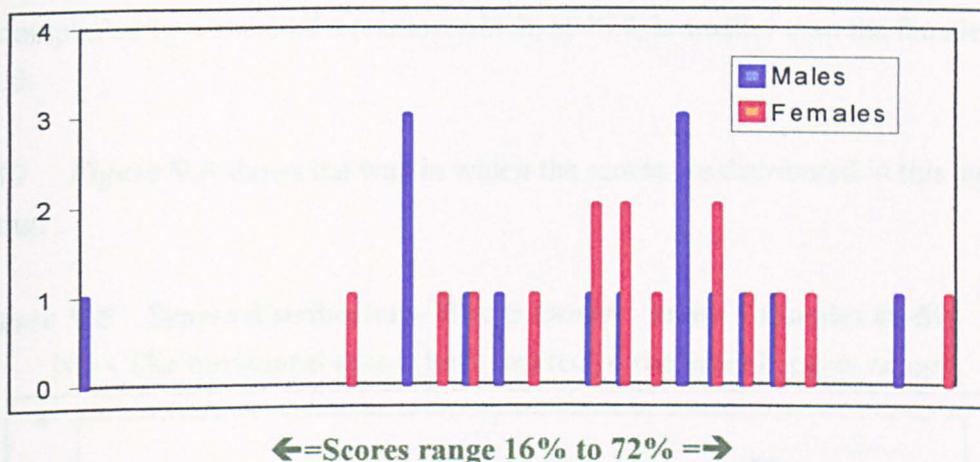
The 20-39 age group

1.13 The words *known* results for the males and females in the 20-39 age group are more alike than in any other age group. However, though their mean percentage scores are very similar, the standard deviations again differ, with the males at 12.9 and the females at 9.6.

1.14 The way in which these scores are distributed is illustrated by *Figure V.4*):

Figure V.4 Scores distribution - Words *known* - males + females 20-39

NB - The horizontal axis is here limited to the actual scores range.



Male Mean Percentage Score = 49.1. Standard Deviation = 12.9

Female Mean Percentage Score = 52.9. Standard Deviation = 9.6

1.15 In contrast to the 0-19 age group, this age group does not display any marked differences in the distribution of scores between males and females. Though the females again have a higher group mean percentage score, this is only marginally superior to that of the males.

1.16 While the female scores deviate from their mean less than those of the males (9.6 versus 12.9), the difference is smaller than that between males and females in the 0-19 age group. Much of the difference in standard deviation is due to the one relatively very low male score of 16%. Otherwise, the scores for words *known*, and the distribution of those scores, is subject to less male/female variation in this group than was the case in the younger 0-19 group.

1.17 The 20-39 female distribution has a profile which might be considered

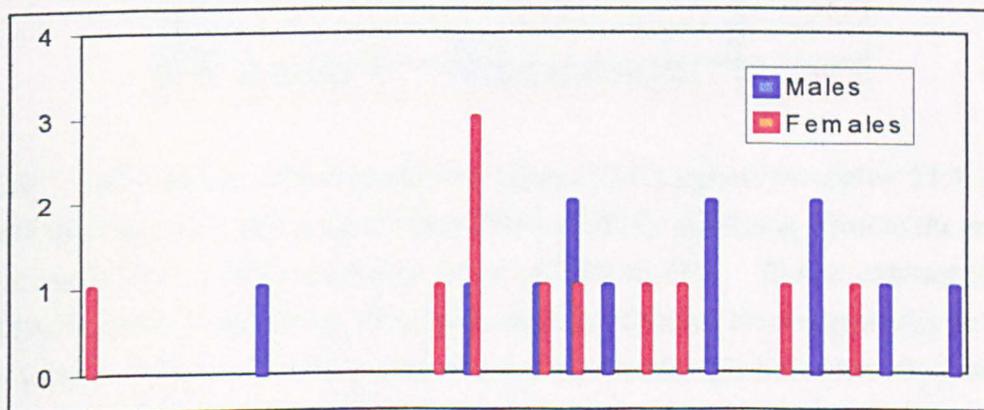
fairly close to the normal. The males' distribution profile is less like that for a normal distribution, due to a cluster of three relatively low scores of 38% and the one of 16%. In the main, though, the evidence is that males and females in the 20-39 age group are very similar in their knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey.

The 40-59 age group

1.18 This is the age group returning the only mean percentage scores which put males ahead of females in their knowledge of the sample of nonstandard words used in the survey. The slight superiority of the males' *known* score is accompanied by a standard deviation which, at 10.8, is smaller than the females' 13.5.

1.19 *Figure V.5* shows the way in which the scores are distributed in this age group :

Figure V.5 Scores distribution - Words *known* - males + females 40-59
NB - The horizontal axis is here limited to the actual scores range.



←= Scores range 40% to 90% ==→

Male Percentage Mean Score = 73.0. Standard Deviation = 10.8

Female Mean Percentage Score = 68.8. Standard Deviation = 13.5

1.20 The scores for both males and females are fairly evenly distributed about their means. The male scores especially show an approximation to a curve of normal distribution.

1.21 Differences in mean percentage scores and standard deviations are not

great between males and females in this age group.

The 60+ age group

1.22 This, like the 0-19 age group, is one where male/female differences in words *known* appear to be important and, for this reason, an individual scores extract has been included at *Figure V.6* :

**Figure V.6 - Informants' individual *known* scores (% of survey word list)
60+ age group**

Males 60+ Yrs		Females 60+ Yrs	
Informant Code	Known	Informant Code	Known
6079M1	98.0	6079F1	96.0
6079M2	76.0	6079F2	96.0
6079M3	98.0	6079F3	98.0
6079M4	60.0	6079F4	94.0
6079M5	84.0	6079F5	84.0
6079M6	98.0	6079F6	88.0
6079M7	24.0	6079F7	90.0
6079M8	76.0	6079F8	98.0
6079M9	78.0	80F1	94.0
80M1	86.0	80F2	86.0
80M2	98.0		
Column Means	79.6	Column Means	92.4

1.23 The females, with a standard deviation of 4.8 against the males' 21.1, have individual scores within a tight range (84% to 98%), clustering close to the mean. The males have a more extensive range of 24% to 98%. But in contrast to the males in the 0-19 age range, these male individual scores do not generally deviate so widely. Their mean and standard deviation are strongly influenced by just one very low percentage score of 24 (*Figure V.7*):

Figure V.7: Scores distribution - Words *known* - males + females 60+
 NB - The horizontal axis is here limited to the actual scores range.



←= Scores range 24% to 98% ==>

Male Mean Percentage Score = 79.6. Standard Deviation = 21.1.

Female Mean Percentage Score = 92.4. Standard Deviation = 4.8.

1.24 The females can be seen to return a substantially higher mean percentage score than do the males. Furthermore, with their scores clustering very closely around their sex group mean, and a standard deviation of only 4.8, female individual scores approximate closely to each other.

1.25 As with the 0-19 age group, the male/female differences here are so great that they demand at least some suggestions for their variation. This issue will be returned to later, when other evidence has been examined.

Analytical summary of the results in the words *known* category

1.26 A number of salient issues have been raised so far by this presentation of results and their analysis :

- a. The data provide evidence of a positive and continuous erosion, across the age/sex groups and across *apparent time*, of knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey's word list;
- b. The evidence is that females are, overall, no less knowledgeable of the word list's nonstandard words than are the males;

- c. Females in the age groups 0-19 and 60+ return *known* scores which are significantly greater than those of their male age counterparts.

SECTION B - USE OF NONSTANDARD WORDS

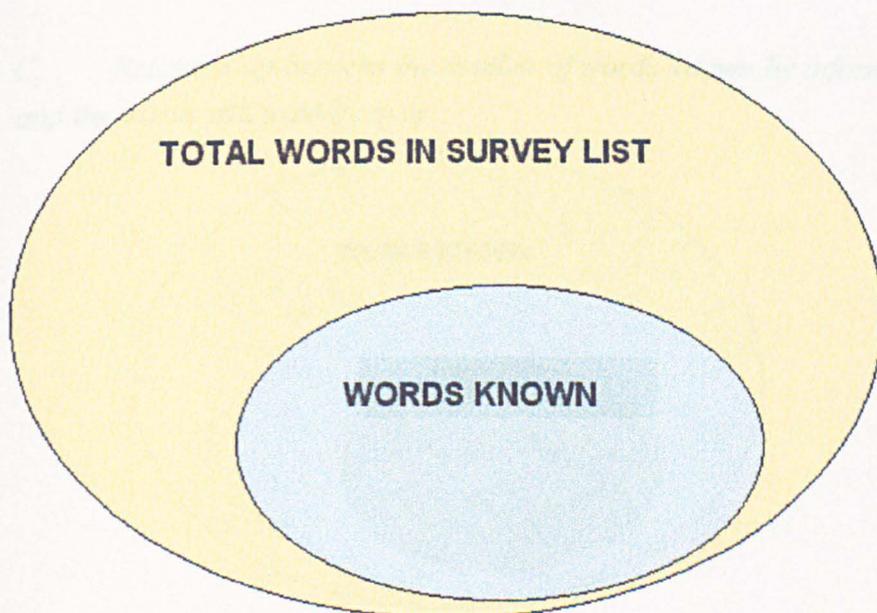
Relevant appendix : Appendix E

Quantitative variations in usage - the overall picture

1.1 The previous section of this chapter examined the situation with regard to *knowledge* of nonstandard words. An examination will now be made of what proportion of the nonstandard words are currently in use in everyday speech. Before this proceeds, it has to be noted that, when reporting words *still used* data, it is necessary to distinguish between those nonstandard words *still used* as part of the whole survey word list, and those *still used* as a proportion of the nonstandard words *known*. This relationship is demonstrated in the Venn diagrams at *Figure V.8* :

Figure V.8 - The relationship between the variables 'words *known*' and 'words *still used*' data

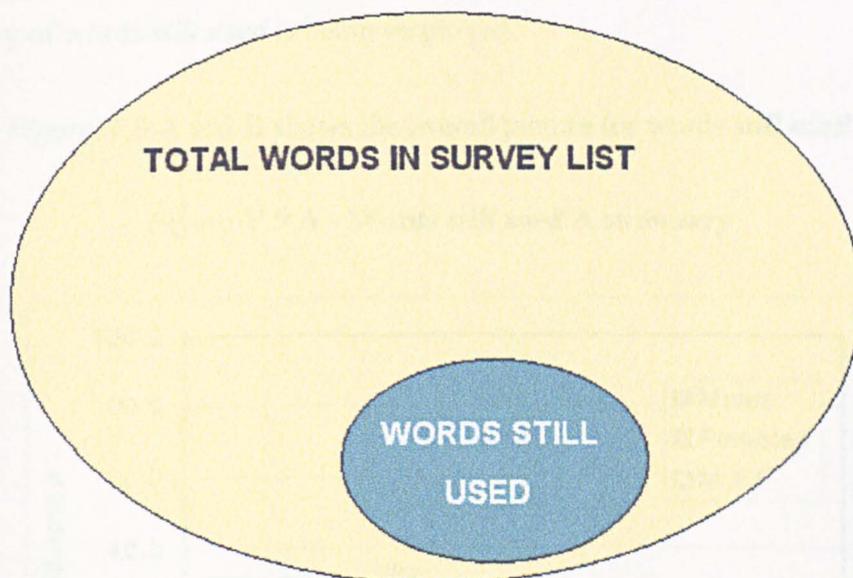
A. *Relationship between the total number of words in the survey list and those words which are known to informants*



In mathematical terms, the words *known* form a sub-set of the total words in the survey word list and may be expressed as such in a number of ways, including

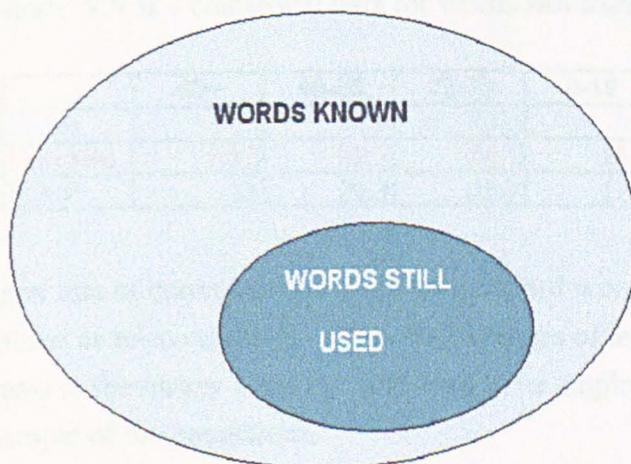
percentages as used in this report.

B. *Relationship between the total number of words in the survey list and those words **still used** by informants :*



Mathematically, the words *still used* form a sub-set of the total words in the survey list and in this report will be expressed as a percentage of the total of nonstandard words in the survey list. This sub-set will be designated *still used A*.

C. *Relationship between the number of words **known** by informants and the words **still used** by them :*



Here the words *still used* form a sub-set of the words *known*. In this report, this sub-set will be designated *still used B* and will be expressed as a percentage of the

number of words *known*.

Clearly, the sub-sets *still used A* and *still used B* will differ in both absolute and proportionate terms and this will have different implications for the analysis and interpretation of results. Where necessary, it will be made clear in the text which category of words *still used* is being employed.

1.2 *Figure V.9 A and B* shows the overall picture for words *still used A*:

Figure V.9 A - Words still used A summary

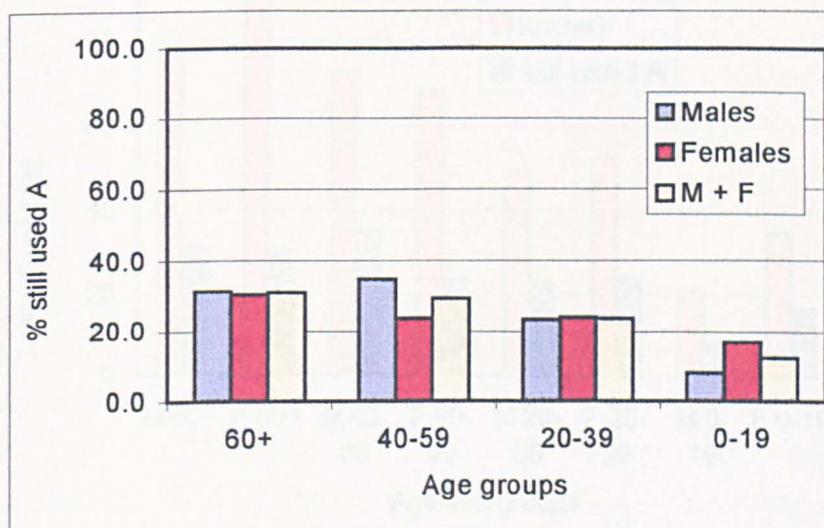


Figure V.9 B - Numerical data for words still used A

	60+	40-59	20-39	0-19
Males	31.5	34.8	23.3	8.2
Females	30.5	23.7	24.1	16.9
M + F	31	29.3	23.7	12.5

1.3 The general rate of current usage of the nonstandard words in the survey list may be regarded as relatively low. An overall average of less than one quarter of the items in the survey word list continues to be employed in everyday speech by this sample of the population.

1.4 If the words *known* and the words *still used A* data are juxtaposed (Figures V.10 A, B and C), the contrasts and relationships between them become clearer :

Figure V.10 A - Words *known* compared with words *still used A* – summary by age and sex group

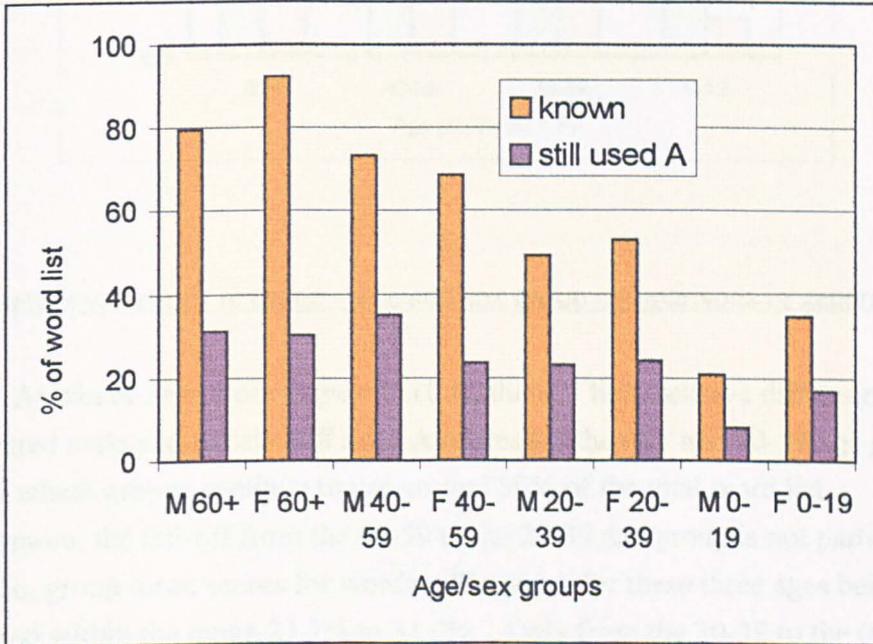
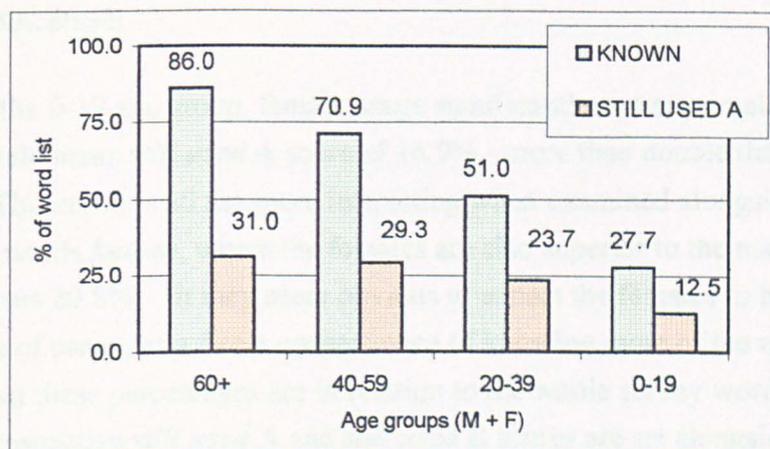


Figure V.10 B – Numerical table for Figure V.10 A

	60+ Males	60+ Females	40-59 Males	40-59 Females
KNOWN	79.6	92.4	73.0	68.8
STILL USED A	31.5	30.5	34.8	23.7
	20-39 Males	20-39 Females	0-19 Males	0-19 Females
KNOWN	49.1	52.9	20.8	34.6
STILL USED A	23.3	24.1	8.2	16.9

Figure V.10 C - Words *known* compared with words *still used A* – summary by age group (male and female scores combined)



Quantitative variations in usage – age and sex group comparisons in general

1.5 As can be seen from *Figure V.10 C*, there is little relative difference in the aggregated male and female *still used A* scores for the 60+ and 40-59 age groups, both of which groups continue to use around 30% of the total word list. Furthermore, the fall-off from the 40-59 to the 20-39 age group is not particularly dramatic, group mean scores for words *still used A* for these three ages being contained within the range 23.7% to 31.0%. Only from the 20-39 to the 0-19 age group is there any marked steepening of the downward gradient and this is particularly so from the 20-39 males to the 0-19 males, as *Figures V.10 A* and *B* illustrate.

1.6 It can be seen that the *still used A* mean percentage scores for both males and females in the 60+ age group are, in fact, lower than that for the males in the 40-59 age group (*Figure V.10 A*). Females in the 40-59 age group record substantially lower *still used A* scores than do their male peers, and lower than both males and females of the 60+ age group.

1.7 It can be seen that female usage, as a percentage of the whole word list, is very close to or surpasses that of the males in every age group except the 40-59 year olds. These results are analysed in more detail, by age group, below.

The 0-19 age group

1.8 In the 0-19 age group, female usage significantly outstrips male usage, with a female mean *still used A* score of 16.9% - more than double that of the males. This result is all the more interesting when examined alongside the mean scores for words *known*, where the females are also superior to the males, at 34.6% versus 20.8%. It may seem obvious to expect the females to have a higher rate of usage, as a direct consequence of knowing more of the nonstandard words. But these percentages are in relation to the whole survey word list and when the respective *still used A* and *still used B* scores are set alongside the *known* scores (Figure V.11) it can be clearly seen that the females, as a group, also use significantly more words than the males as a mean percentage of what they know :

Figure V.11

	<i>known</i>	% <i>still used</i>
Males 0-19		
As % of word list (<i>still used A</i>)	20.8	8.2
As % of <i>known</i> (<i>still used B</i>)		39.4
Females 0-19		
As % of word list (<i>still used A</i>)	34.6	16.9
As % of <i>known</i> (<i>still used B</i>)		48.8

While the 0-19 males use just under 40% of what they know, the same age group females continue to use nearly 50% of their *known* words.

The 20-39 age group

1.9 Mean percentage scores for male and female *still used A* in this age group are almost identical, at around 23% to 24% of the word list. This age group also returned close male/female *known* scores and the *still used B* results are 47.4% (males) and 45.6% (females). The proportionate usage rates of both males and females in this age group, as a percentage of what they know, is therefore similar to that of the 0-19 females.

The 40-59 age group

1.10 The greatest inter-sex proportionate difference in the use of nonstandard words in this research sample is by men in this age group, whose *still used A* mean percentage score exceeds that of their female peers by more than 11% of the total survey word list. In relation to their words *known*, the males continue to use 47.7% but, by contrast, the females use only 34.5%.

1.11 The male usage in this age group, of what they know, proportionately approaches that of the 0-19 females and is close to that of males and females in the 20-39 age group. It would appear, therefore, that it is the 40-59 female *still used B* scores which demand closer scrutiny. The implication is that these females have abandoned or neglected the use of more of their *known* nonstandard words than have their male peers. This is an issue which will be returned to in later analysis.

The 60+ age group

1.12 Females in this age group have a substantially higher mean percentage score for nonstandard words *known* than do their male counterparts (92.4% versus 79.6%) but the females use slightly fewer of the listed words than do the males (*still used A* 31.5% versus 30.5%). But when these are represented as percentages of what they respectively know (i.e. *still used B* scores), the males record 39.6% male against the females' 33.0%.

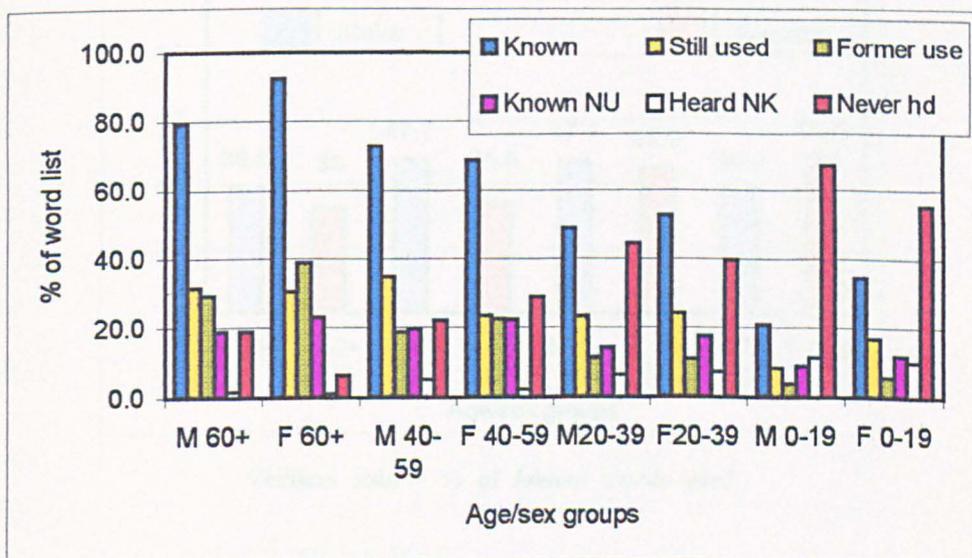
1.13 Three salient issues emerge from this age group's results. Firstly, there is the females' overall superior knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey. Secondly, there is the comparatively low rates of usage by both sexes of what they know. Thirdly (and linked with the second point) is the females' apparent abandonment - or failure to bring into use - a larger proportion of the words they know; in this respect, they display a trend similar to that of the 40-59 age group females.

Abandonment and neglect of nonstandard words

1.14 All age groups demonstrate that they do not make use of all, or even most, of the nonstandard words they know. In the contextual language of this research, there is a large percentage of their accessible lexical stock which the informants claim they do not choose to bring into use in their everyday speech.

1.15 Other sub-set scores in the *known* category were collected on words which were formerly (but no longer) used, together with those whose meanings are known but have never been used (Appendix E). Such words have formed part of the available lexical stock for a person at some time in his or her life; they are part of an individual's *word experience*. It may, therefore, be helpful to examine the overall pattern of word experience of the informants in this study (Figure V.12):

Figure V.12 - Overall Word Experience Profile of the Informants
(NB - these scores are mean percentages of the survey word list total).



(Detailed numerical values for Figure V.12 can be found at Appendix E)

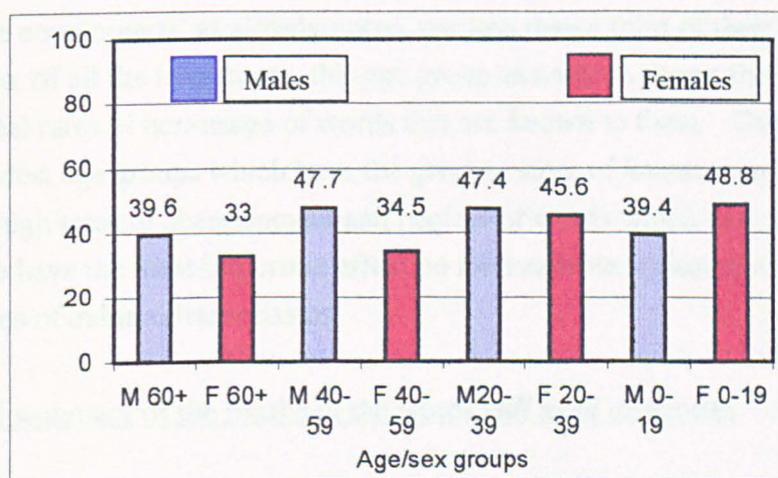
Legend:

- Former use = words *formerly used*, but no longer used in everyday speech.
- Known NU = words, the meanings of which are *known*, but which have *never been used* in everyday

- speech.
- Heard NK = words which have been *heard* at some time but whose meanings are *not known* to the informant.
- Never hd = words which the informant has *never heard* spoken.

1.16 Though *Figure V.12* gives some general indication of the degree of abandonment or neglect of nonstandard words, as evidenced by the *formerly used* and *known but never used* categories, compared with the *still used* category, a clearer picture may perhaps be obtained from *Figure V.13*, where the scores for nonstandard words still in use are presented as percentages of the *known* scores (i.e., as *still used B* scores) :

Figure V.13 - Words still used B by age and sex group



Vertical axis = % of *known* words used

1.17 The *still used B* results show variation across the sex and age groups but the general trend is one of informants currently using between around 39% to 49% of the nonstandard words *known* by them.

1.18 The largest variations from this overall trend are to be found in the females of the 40-59 and 60+ age groups who, respectively, use only 34.5% and 33% of the words they know. What we are seeing here is a manifestation of two

processes: firstly, in some instances, informants neglecting to bring into use part of the *known* lexical stock; secondly, and in other instances, informants abandoning nonstandard words which they know and formerly used.

1.19 The next lowest usage rates are to be found with the 60+ and the 0-19 males. In both these age groups the males have abandoned, or neglected to bring into use, over 60% of the nonstandard words they know.

1.20 The females in the 40-59 age group *formerly used* 33% of the nonstandard words they know. They know but have never used a further 32.7%. In all, they have abandoned or failed to bring into use almost two-thirds of their *known* words.

1.21 The male informants in the age group 60+, as reported above, have abandoned or failed to bring into use more than 60% of the nonstandard words they know. In their case, the *formerly used* words represent 36.8%, and the *known but never used* 23.7%, of their mean percentage *known* score. Their female age counterparts, as already noted, use less than a third of their *known* words. So, of all the informants, this age group as a whole shows the highest proportional rates of non-usage of words that are *known* to them. Overall, it is the two oldest age groups which have the greatest store of *known* words, therefore it is their high rates of abandonment and neglect of words which they know which is likely to have the most important effect on the available lexical stock and possibilities of cultural transmission

Analytical summary of the results in the words *still used* categories

1.22 The research data for words *still used* provide evidence that the informants in this survey make only partial use of the range of nonstandard words they know, as represented by the survey word list.

1.23 The data for words *formerly used*, together with those for *known but never used*, are evidence that, in general, the informants are failing to bring into use more than 50% or more of the nonstandard words which they know. Within this, there are particularly marked levels of abandonment and neglect of *known* words by the 0-19 age group males, the 40-59 females and both sexes in the 60+ age group.

1.24 On this evidence, the females overall use only marginally less than do the males as a proportion of the survey list's nonstandard words known to them. A notable exception to this is in the 40-59 age group, where male usage is significantly higher than that of the females. By contrast, female superiority in proportional usage is particularly marked in the 0-19 age group.

1.25 In absolute terms of the total nonstandard words presented in the survey list, females enjoy a small - but marked - superiority in their overall mean *known* scores (females 62.2%; males 55.6%). But in usage (*still used A*), the male and female overall means are closer (females 23.8%; males 24.4%).

Commentary on the words *still used* analysis

1.26 Female superiority in words *still used* in the 0-19 age group - in both intra-group absolute terms and as a proportion of what they know - is clearly an important issue. These results complement the finding that females in this age group are all quite similar in their knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey list and perhaps removes some of the doubts about their *known* data being a statistical or sampling anomaly.

1.27 The sex group mean percentage difference in *still used* in the 40-59 age group appears to be, not so much a matter of extraordinary male current usage but, rather, evidence of greater female abandonment and neglect of words that are well *known* to them. The males have, *vis à vis* their female counterparts, maintained their use of a greater proportion of nonstandard words, even though they have abandoned - or failed to bring into use - more than half of what they know.

1.28 In the 60+ age group, the female mean percentage of abandonment and their failure to bring into use words *known* is particularly marked. They have a significant superiority over the males in what they know of the word list but only a marginal superiority of the total list in what they still use. As proportions of what they know (*still used B* scores), the results for both males and females are very similar. In other words, the females have, in absolute terms, abandoned or failed to bring into use many more nonstandard words which they know than have the males.

1.29 This second section of Chapter V has analysed the General Study *still used* data in relation to age and sex divisions. The next section will examine the data in a social status context.

SECTION C - THE SOCIAL INDEX DATA AND CORRELATIONS WITH THE NONSTANDARD WORD SURVEY LIST DATA

Relevant appendix : Appendix E.

The Social Index scores in general

1.1 As reported in Chapter IV (Methodology), the survey word list was combined with a questionnaire which was designed to collect socioeconomic data (Appendix E). From this data, an index was constructed and a Social Index (SI) score allotted to each informant (Appendix A).

1.2 In this part of Chapter V, the SI data will be presented. It will then be compared with the word list data presented in the previous two parts, in a search for correlations which may reveal patterns of knowledge and usage in relation to social status and may also help illuminate the sex/age group differences in words *known* and *still used* already reported. The words *still used A* data is, in this context, of less interest. Informants' lexical choices can only be made from what they know so it is *still used B* data which will be examined in relation to Social Indices.

1.3 The possible scoring range for the SI is 0 to 15. In the event, SIs recorded in this research range from 3.0 to 13.5, with an overall sample mean of 8.0, a male mean of 8.6 and a female mean of 7.5 (*Figures V.15 A and B*):

Figure V.15 A - Social Index data summary chart

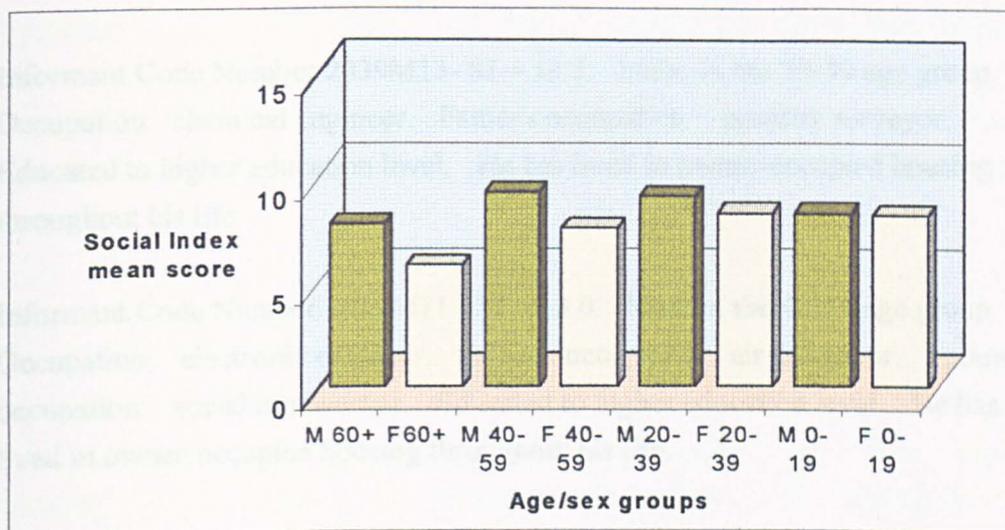


Figure V.15 B – Numerical data for Figure V.15 A

M 60+	F 60+	M 40-59	F 40-59
7.8	5.8	9.3	7.6
M 20-39	F 20-39	M 0-19	F 0-19
9.1	8.3	8.3	8.2

Illustrations of typical Social Index scores at different levels

1.4 Appendix A shows how the individual SI scores were arrived at, using occupational, educational and housing data. The scoring may now be put into a more meaningful social context.

1.5 As illustrations of the social significance of the scoring, brief social profiles are presented here of the four highest and four lowest Social Index scorers, together with those of two males and two females whose scores straddle, and are closest to, the mean for the whole sample.

1.6 *The four highest SI scoring informants :*

Informant Code Number 2039M13- SI = 13.5. Male, in the 20-39 age group. Occupation: chemical engineer. Father's occupation : quantity surveyor. Educated to higher education level. He has lived in owner-occupied housing throughout his life.

Informant Code Number 4059M11 - SI = 13.0. Male in the 40-59 age group. Occupation: electronic engineer. Father's occupation: air navigator. Spouse's occupation: social caseworker. Educated to higher education level. He has lived in owner-occupied housing throughout his life.

Informant Code Number 2039M4 - SI = 12.91. Male in the 20-39 age group. Occupation: Crown prosecutor. Father's occupation: fruit merchant. Spouse's occupation: teacher. Educated to higher education level. He has lived in rented and owner-occupied housing.

Informant Code Number 2039F3 - SI = 12.66. Female in the 20-39 age group. Occupation: housewife and mother. Father's occupation: (retired) building society manager. Spouse's occupation: lawyer. Educated to higher education level. She has lived in owner-occupied housing throughout her life.

1.7 *The four informants with SI scoring closest to the sample mean :*

Informant Code Number 019M9. SI = 8.0. Male in the 0-19 age group. Occupation: at comprehensive high school. Father's occupation: sign fitter. Education: (potentially to GCSE level). He has lived in owner-occupied property all his life.

Informant 019F9. SI = 8.0. Female in the 0-19 age group. Occupation: at comprehensive high school. Father's occupation: bus driver. Education: (potentially to GCSE level). She has lived in owner-occupied housing all her life.

Informant Code Number 6079M6. SI = 8.25. Male in the 60+ age group. Occupation: hotel management. Father's occupation: bricklayers' labourer.

Spouse's occupation: teacher. Educated to secondary modern school level. He has lived in council, privately rented and owner-occupied property.

Informant Code Number 2039F1. SI = 8.32. Female in the 20-39 age group. Occupation: telephone sales operator. Father's occupation: self-employed (unspecified). Spouse's occupation: information technology analyst. Educated to secondary modern school level. She has lived in council and owner-occupied property.

1.8 *The four lowest SI scoring informants :*

Informant Code Number 2039F14. SI = 3.0. Female in the 20-39 age group. Occupation: housewife and mother. Father's occupation: not known. Spouse's occupation: n/a. Educated to secondary modern school level. She has lived all her life in council accommodation.

Informant Code Number 019M12. SI = 3.0. Male in the 0-19 age group. Occupation: at comprehensive high school. Father's occupation: furniture removal man. Education: (potentially to GCSE level). He has lived all his life in council accommodation.

Informant Code Number 6079F6. SI = 3.16. Female in the 60+ age group. Occupation: sewing machinist. Father's occupation: lorry driver. Spouse's occupation: taxi driver. Educated to elementary school level. She has lived in rented housing all her life.

Informant Code Number 6079F2. SI = 3.5. Female in the 60+ age group. Occupation: weaver. Father's occupation: labourer. Spouse's occupation: textile worker. Educated to elementary school level. She has lived in rented and owner-occupied housing.

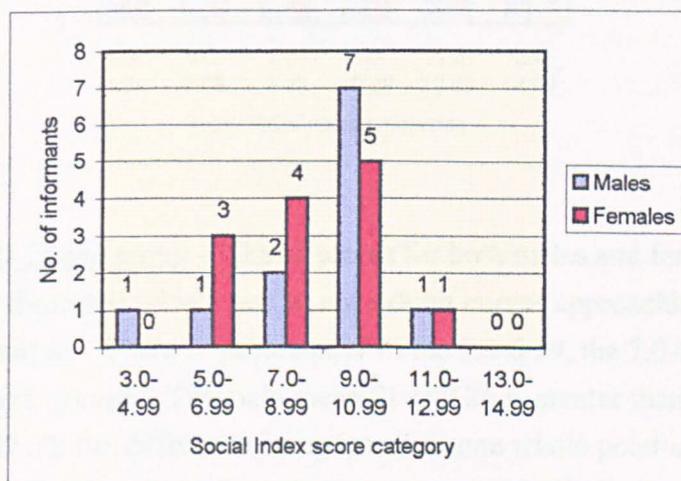
Social Index scores by age/sex group

1.9 The Social Index scores will now be presented and analysed by age/sex groups. To render the data more manageable and easier to interpret, the SI scores have been organised into six clustered groups, namely : 3.0 to 4.99, 5.0 to 6.99, 7.0 to 8.99, 9.0 to 10.99, 11.0 to 12.99 and 13.0 to 14.99.

1.10 The 0-19 age group - There is little difference between the male and female scores and they have similar means. The age group mean SI is slightly above the 8.11 for the sample of informants as a whole (*Figure V.16*) :

Figure V.16

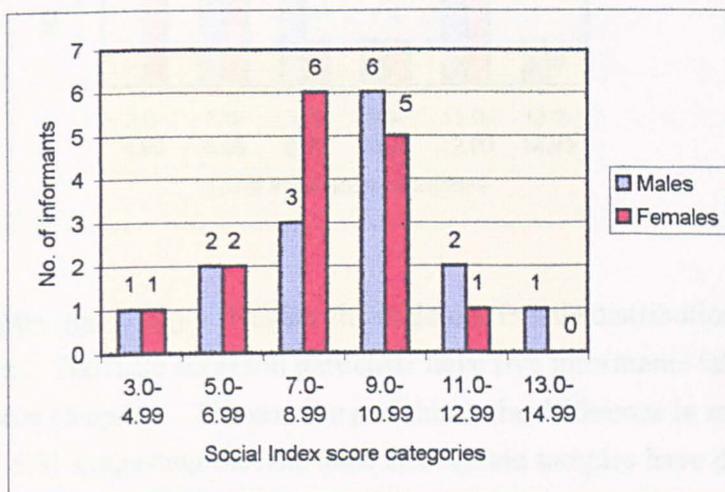
Male mean SI = 8.3. Female mean SI = 8.2. Age group mean SI = 8.3.



1.11 The 20-39 age group - Though the males in this age group have a slightly higher mean SI, in general the scores of the sexes are again quite close and both show similar distribution profiles, having curves which have a normal distribution appearance (*Figure V.17*) :

Figure V.17

Male mean SI = 9.1 Female mean SI = 8.3 Age group mean SI = 8.7



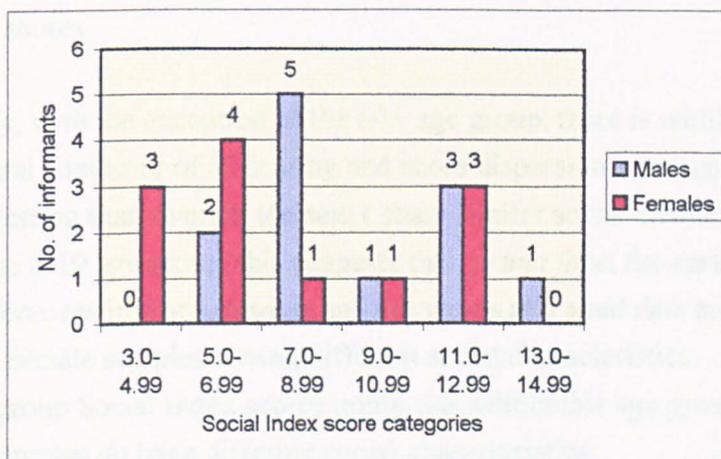
1.12 The 40-59 age group - The SI scores for both males and females in this age group are dispersed widely but do not exhibit curves approaching those for normal distribution. There is 'peakedness' in the 5.0-6.99, the 7.0-8.99 and the 11.0-12.99 score groups. The male mean SI of 9.26 is greater than that of the females at 8.42 but the difference being less than one whole point of SI score, it may be argued that these are relatively close scores overall (*Figure V.18*) :

Figure V.18

Male mean SI = 9.3

Female mean SI = 7.6

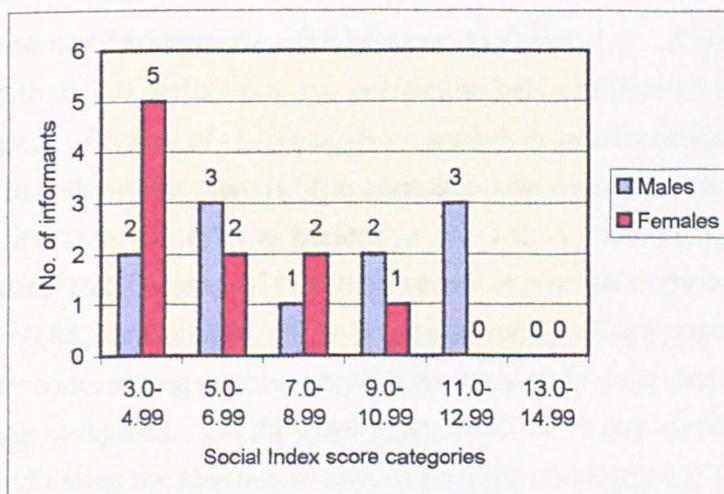
Age group mean SI = 8.5



1.13 The 60+ age group - Neither the male nor female distributions resemble a normal curve. The male scores in particular have five informants falling into the lowest SI score category. The corollary of this is the difference in means (males 7.8, females 5.8) suggesting that the male and female samples have different social characteristics (*Figure V.19*):

Figure V.19

Male mean SI = 7.8 Female mean SI = 5.8 Age group mean SI = 6.8



Analytical summary of the Social Index scores

1.14 There would seem to be two salient issues arising from the analysis of the Social Index scores.

1.15 Firstly, with the exception of the 60+ age group, there is within each age group a general similarity of SI scoring and score dispersion between males and females suggesting that, overall, the sexes share similar social characteristics. In the case of the 0-19 age group, this suggests that, *prima facie*, the earlier reported inter-sex differences in words *known* and the words *still used* data are not due to the male and female samples having different social characteristics. Secondly, the 60+ age group Social Index scores imply that within this age group the male and female samples *do* have differing social characteristics.

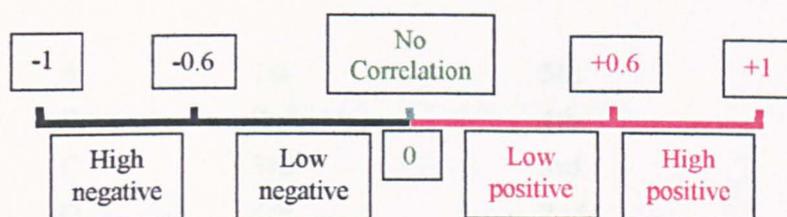
1.16 It might therefore be useful to compare the Social Index results with the words *known* and words *still used B* by means of correlation coefficients and this will now be carried out.

Correlations - Methodology and presentation

1.17 The search for relationships between the Social Index and the lexical data will be carried out by the application of Spearman's nonparametric r (*rho*) Rank Order Correlation Coefficient.³

1.18 The results of Spearman's r fall between +1.0 and -1.0. A score of +1.0 indicates that there is a perfect positive correlation between the two variables being compared. A value of -1.0 indicates a perfect negative correlation, while values close to 0 show that there is little correlation between the variables. In practice, results rarely achieve the 'perfection' of +1.0, -1.0 and zero, and values have to be interpreted in terms of how they vector in relation to these extremes. A r result of +0.85, for example, might be interpreted as a 'high positive' value, indicating that some strong positive correlation apparently exists between the two variables being compared. On the other hand, r s of -0.03 and +0.05 could be regarded as indicating the absence of any meaningful correlation (*Figure V.20*):

Figure V.20 - Interpreting values for Spearman's ρ



1.19 The application of Spearman's r does not depend on the assumption of two normally distributed variables. ⁴ It does, however, require that the subjects' scores in the two tests, experiments or surveys (the variables) be ranked ordinally. The scores are allocated a rank according to their magnitude, so the highest score of variable x is ranked 1st, the next highest is ranked 2nd, and so on. The y scores are also converted into ranks and each one is set alongside the appropriate x score for each one of the subjects. The figures are then statistically processed using Spearman's r formula. If the rank ordered data of the two variables were like this :

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Variable x</u>	<u>Variable y</u>
A	1st	1st
B	2nd	2nd
C	3rd	3rd

(...and so on...)

then a perfect positive correlation would be the result, with a r of +1.0

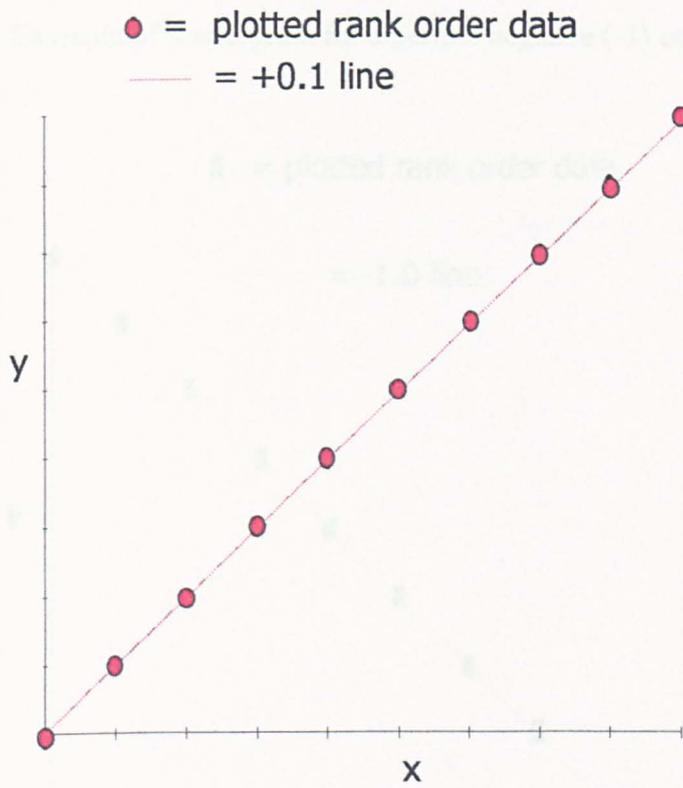
A perfect negative correlation ($r = -1.0$) would occur if the rank ordered scores related to each other in this way :

<u>Subject</u>	<u>Variable x</u>	<u>Variable y</u>
A	1st	5th
B	2nd	4th
C	3rd	3rd
D	4th	2nd
E	5th	1st

We might well very quickly detect from simply scrutinising the rankings - and without the need for any statistical processing - if either of these conditions existed. But in reality variables fall somewhere between these two ideals and the application of the formula is necessary to reveal the subtleties of correlation between the two variables. If an individual is ranked 1st on one variable and 18th on the other, and another subject is ranked 5th on one variable and 9th on the other, what can we conclude about the correlation (if any) between the two variables? This is what Spearman's r measures.

1.20 As an additional way of illustrating r values, use will be made here of scattergrams. A scattergram (scatter graph or scatter plot) graphically displays the linear relationship between the two variables in such a way that a perfect positive correlation will appear as in *Figure V.21* :

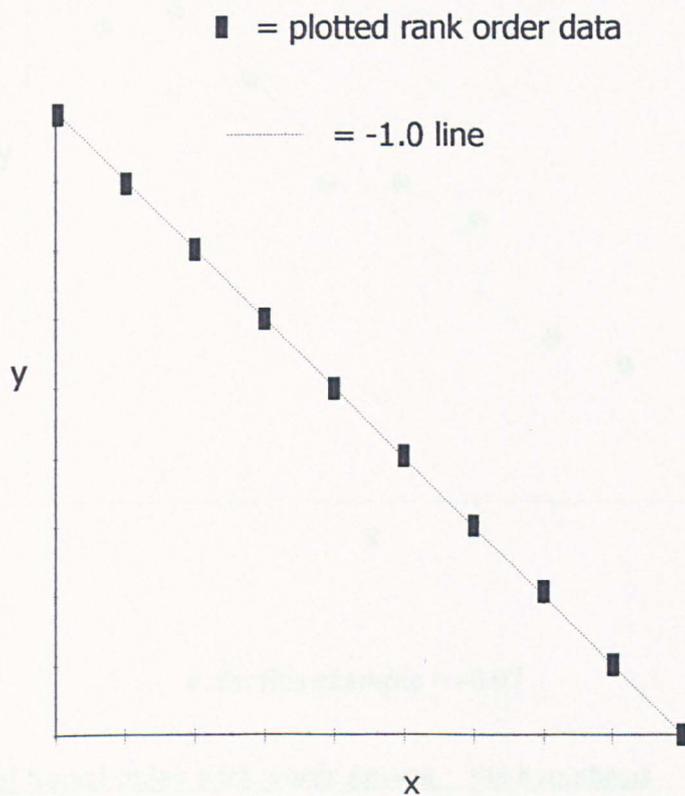
Figure V.21 - Example of scattergram for a perfect positive (+1) correlation



The axes x and y provide the coordinates for plotting the scores on the two variables involved in the correlation.

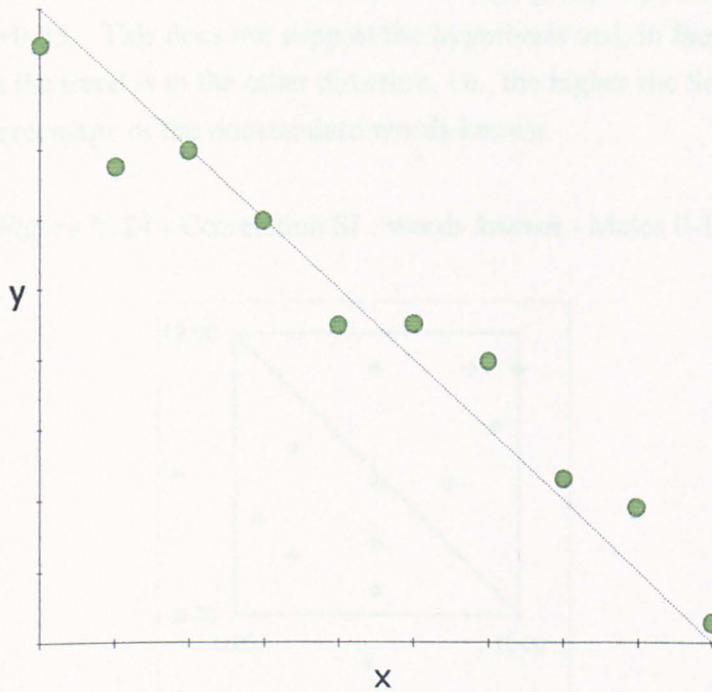
1.21 A perfect negative correlation between two variables would return a scattergram as in *Figure V.22* :

Figure V.22 - Example of scattergram for a perfect negative (-1) correlation



1.22 As noted earlier, we would not normally expect to have perfect +1.0 or -1.0 values and scattergrams are interpreted in relation to how far the plotted values vector towards the straight line models illustrated in *Figures V.21* and *V.22*, above. *Figure V.23* shows a scattergram for a high (but not perfect) negative correlation, where the value of r is -0.97 :

Figure V.23 - Example of a scattergram for a high negative correlation



r for this example = -0.97

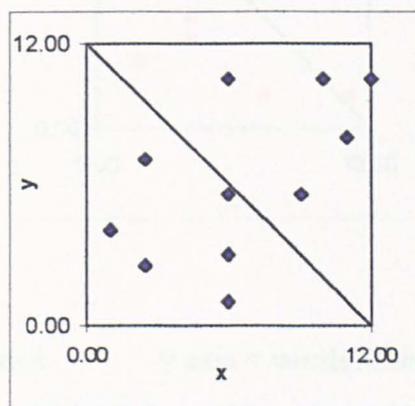
Correlations of Social Index with words *known* : the hypothesis

1.23 The hypothesis is that there will be a direct inverse relationship between Social Index scores and the scores for the nonstandard words *known* in the survey word list. Support for the hypothesis will be reflected in high negative r correlation values and the scattergrams will vector close to the axis for a perfect negative correlation. In other words, the higher an informant's Social Index score, the fewer nonstandard words he or she will know. Correlations which are of low negative value, are non-correlational, or are positive in value, will be considered as support for rejection of the hypothesis. The hypothesis will be tested on each age/sex group in turn.

The 0-19 age group

1.24 *Males* - The r for the males in the 0-19 age group is positive and moderate at +0.55. This does not support the hypothesis and, in fact, provides evidence that the trend is in the other direction, i.e., the higher the Social Index, the greater percentage of the nonstandard words known.

Figure V.24 - Correlation SI : words *known* - Males 0-19

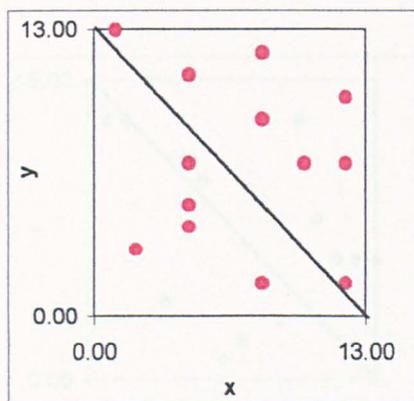


x axis = Social Index y axis = words *known* $r = +0.55$

The trend can be seen from the scattergram, where eight out of twelve of the plotted values vector more to the +1.0 positive axis than they do with the -1.0 negative. ⁵

1.25 *Females* - Figure V.25 shows that there is little correlation between the 0-19 females' SI and words *known* ranking :

Figure V.25 - Correlation Social Index : words *known* - Females 0-19



x axis = Social Index

y axis = words *known*

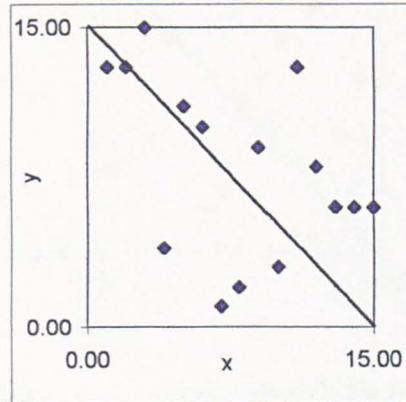
$r = -0.1$

With a r of -0.1, the values are fairly randomly distributed, showing no marked positive or negative trend. Even though some values fall directly on, or close to, the positive axis, their contribution is more than offset by other plotted points which are widely dispersed across the scattergram. This does not support the hypothesis.

The 20-39 age group

1.26 *Males* - The 20-39 age group males' scattergram and r do display a

Figure V.26 - Correlation Social Index : words *known* - Males 20-39



x axis = Social Index

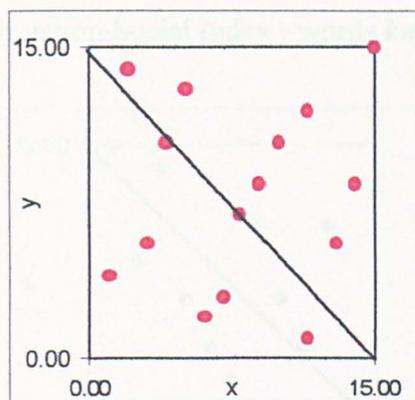
y axis = words *known*

$r = -0.42$

negative trend, lending some moderate support for the hypothesis.

1.27 *Females* - The scattergram and r for these females show - like those

Figure V.27 - Correlation Social Index : words *known* - Females 20-39



x axis = Social Index

y axis = words *known*

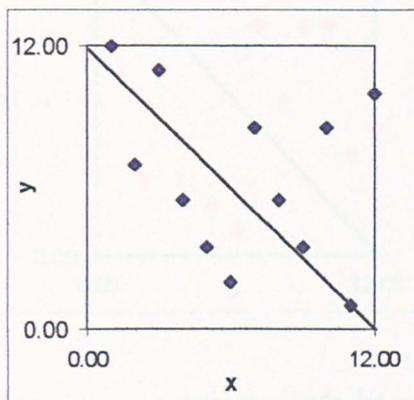
$r = +0.11$

of the 0-19 age group females - a generally random distribution, with a very slight positive trend. This does not support the hypothesis.

The 40-59 age group

1.28 *Males* - There is a negative trend in the 40-59 age group males'

Figure V.28 - Correlation Social Index : words *known* - Males 40-59



x axis = Social Index

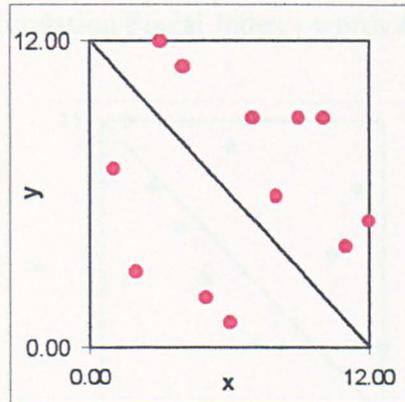
y axis = words *known*

$r = -0.31$

r and scattergram, giving weak support to the hypothesis.

1.29 *Females* - A random scatter is, once again, the picture for these

Figure V.29 - Correlation Social Index : words *known* - Females 40-59



x axis = Social Index

y axis = words *known*

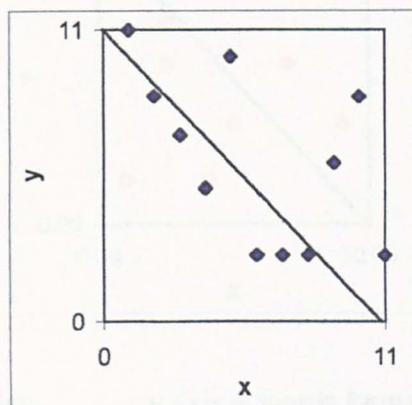
$r = -0.08$

females. Their r of -0.08 is very weakly negative and cannot be considered as support for the hypothesis.

The 60+ age group

1.30 *Males* - There is some moderate support for the hypothesis in the case

Figure V.30 - Correlation Social Index : words *known* - Males 60+



x axis = Social Index

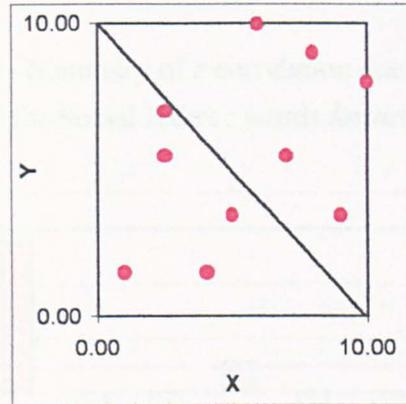
y axis = words *known*

$r = -0.5$

of the 60+ age group males, with a r of -0.5

1.31 *Females* - With a r of +0.45, the 60+ females show a

Figure V.31 - Correlation Social Index : words *known* - Females 60+



x axis = Social Index

y axis = words *known*

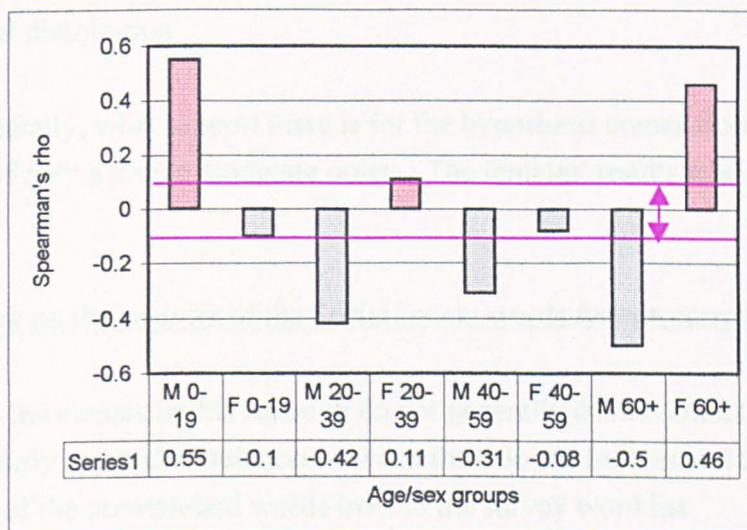
$r = +0.46$

trend which is moderately positive, so showing rejection of the hypothesis.

Analytical summary of the Social Index: words *known* correlations

1.32 The Spearman's r values for the correlations are summarised below (Figure V.32) :

Figure V.32 - Summary of r correlation coefficient values for Social Index : words *known*



Key :  = Zone of little or no correlation

-0.6 = Threshold for high negative correlation and support for the hypothesis.

(Note: The conventions shown in this key will also apply to the later SI : *still used* correlation coefficient summary chart)

1.33 If the hypothesis were to be confidently upheld, it will be judged here that the r would need to show high negative values, in the order of -0.6 or beyond. It can be seen from Figure V.32 that only males in the 20-39 and 60+ age groups show r values which might be considered as approaching this and, even then, they do not reach the critical value of -0.6 for lending any meaningful support to the hypothesis. The males in the 40-59 age group show a weak trend in the direction of negative correlation.

1.34 There are, in fact, comparatively stronger trends towards positive

correlation, especially with male 0-19 and female 60-79 r values. These obviously run counter to the hypothesis.

1.35 A Spearman's r approaching 0 would indicate a highly random pattern of scores, with no pronounced correlational trends, and this would support the rejection of the hypothesis and would suggest that knowledge of the nonstandard words presented in the survey word list is in no way Social Index related. Such support can be found in the remaining values for r in *Figure V.32* (-0.1, +0.11 and -0.08), which are all female and, taken as a whole, display a fairly random, non-correlational distribution.

1.36 Generally, what support there is for the hypothesis comes from the males, but this is of only a low to moderate order. The females' results tend to reject the hypothesis.

Commentary on the analysis of the Social Index: words *known* correlations

1.37 The informants in this research do not generally demonstrate that there is any particularly marked correlation between their Social Indices and their knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey word list.

1.38 Extrapolating this to the wider context, there is no persuasive evidence here that knowledge of nonstandard words is more likely to be the property of people in the lower social classes. Knowledge of nonstandard words is apparently randomly distributed amongst the community as a whole, though it may inversely relate slightly more with social class amongst males than it does amongst females.

Correlations of Social Index with words *still used B* : the hypothesis

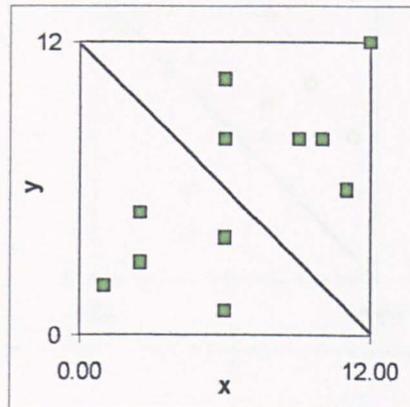
1.39 The hypothesis is that there will be a direct inverse relationship between Social Index scores and the scores for the nonstandard words *still used B* from the survey word list. Support for the hypothesis will be reflected in high negative r correlation values and the scattergrams will vector close to the axis for a perfect negative correlation. In other words, the higher an informant's Social Index score, the fewer of the survey's nonstandard words he or she will still be using in everyday speech. Correlations which are of low negative value, are non-

correlational, or are positive values, will be considered as support for rejection of the hypothesis. The hypothesis will be tested on each age/sex group in turn.

The 0-19 age group

1.40 Males -

Figure V.33 - Correlation Social Index : words *still used B* - Males 0-19



x axis = Social Index

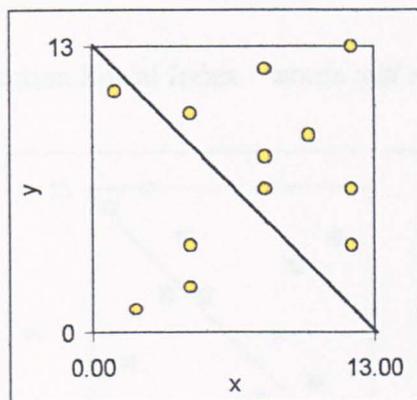
y axis = words *still used B*

$r = +0.53$

These give an r value which rejects the hypothesis as it indicates a moderate trend in the direction of the positive.

1.41 *Females* - There is no support here for the hypothesis.

Figure V.34 - Correlation Social Index : words *still used B* - Females 0-19



x axis = Social Index

y axis = words *still used B*

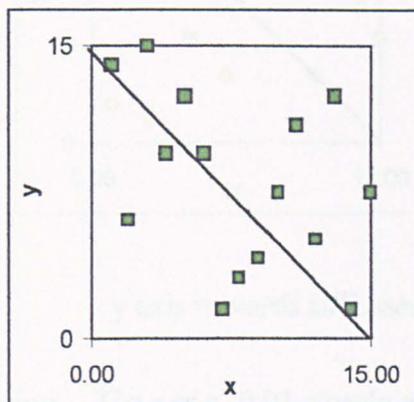
$r = +0.1$

With a r of only $+0.1$, the trend is a very weak one in the direction of the positive.

The 20-39 age group

1.42 *Males* - Here the trend is very weakly in a direction which would uphold the hypothesis but, at a r of only -0.2 , this clearly falls well short of the lower threshold considered critical for offering any significant support.

Figure V.35 - Correlation Social Index : words *still used B* - Males 20-39



x axis = Social Index

y axis = words *still used B*

$r = -0.2$

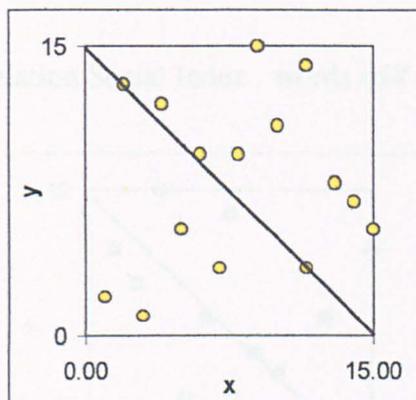
1.43 *Females* - As the scattergram illustrates, there is a very random

1.44 *Male* - This appears to be a fairly random scatter of plotted points

1.45 *Female* - This appears to be a fairly random scatter of plotted points

to the hypothesis

Figure V.36 - Correlation Social Index : words *still used B* - Females 20-39



x axis = Social Index

y axis = words *still used B*

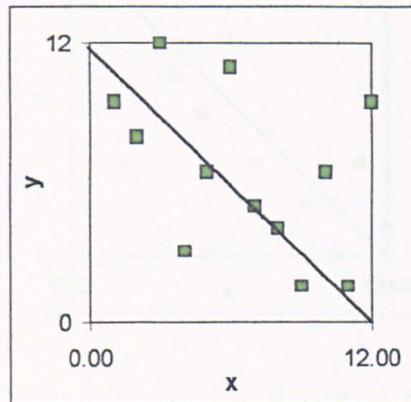
$r = -0.01$

distribution of plotted points. The r of a -0.01 closely approaches the absolute zero indicative of no correlation, thus strongly rejecting the hypothesis.

The 40-59 age group

1.44 *Males* - What appears to be a fairly random scatter of plotted points obscures what is, in fact, a weak positive correlation at +0.29, offering no support to the hypothesis.

Figure V.37 - Correlation Social Index : words *still used B* - Males 40-59



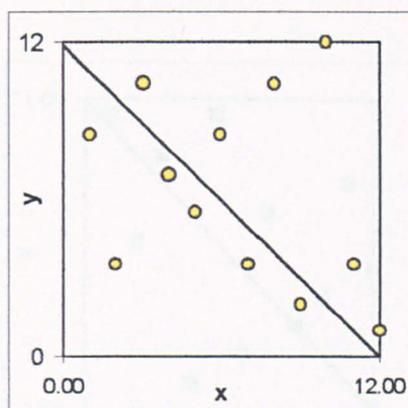
x axis = Social Index

y axis = words *still used B*

$r = +0.29$

1.45 *Females* - As with their male counterparts in this age group, the females show a weak to moderate vectoring towards the positive. At +0.33 their r is slightly more strongly in the positive direction than that of the 40-59 males.

Figure V.38 - Correlation Social Index : words *still used B* - Females 40-59



x axis = Social Index

y axis = words *still used B*

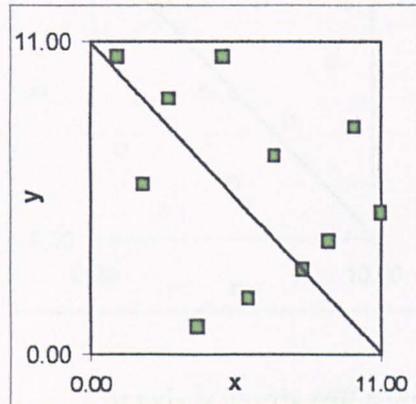
$r = +0.33$

Once again, what appears to be a fairly random distribution of plotted points conceals the true nature of their orientation, which is a rejection of the hypothesis.

The 60+ age group

1.46 *Males* - The r of -0.3 is in the direction to support the hypothesis but is weak

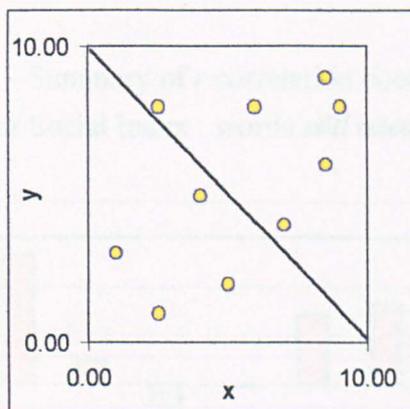
Figure V.39 - Correlation Social Index : words *still used B* - Males 60+



x axis = Social Index y axis = words *still used B* $r = -0.3$

1.47 *Females* - Though the males in this age group show some modest support for the hypothesis, the female trend is strongly in the opposite direction.

Figure V.40 - Correlation Social Index : words *still used B* - Females 60+



x axis = Social Index

y axis = words *still used B*

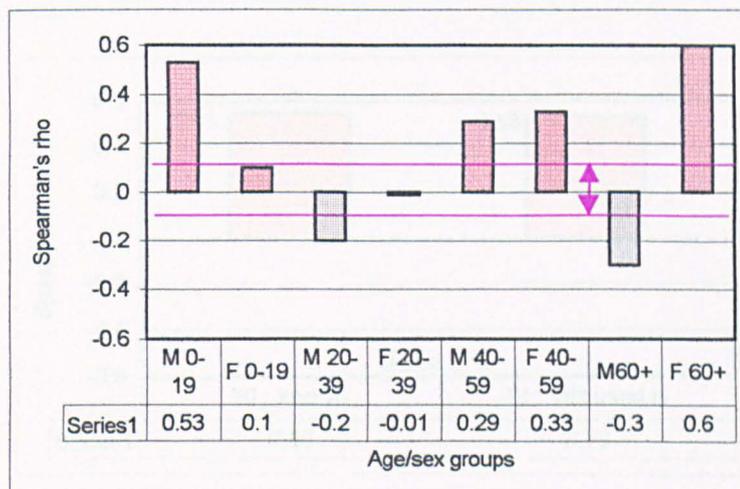
$r = +0.6$

With a r of +0.6 they are at the threshold of 'high', suggesting that the higher an informant's Social Index, the more nonstandard words, as a proportion of the *known*, she will use in everyday speech.

Analytical summary of the Social Index: words *still used* B correlations

1.48 The Spearman's r values for the correlations are summarised in *Figure V.41* :

Figure V.41 - Summary of r correlation coefficient values for Social Index : words *still used* B



1.49 If the hypothesis were to be confidently upheld, it is judged that, for this research, the r would need to show strong negative values in the order of -0.6 or beyond. In fact, as can be seen from *Figure V.41*, the only r value which really trends towards this is that of the 60+ age group males. There is some further support from the 20-39 males but this is weak.

1.50 In the event, the trend across the sample as a whole is in the direction of a positive correlation, with both the 0-19 males and the 60+ females returning values which may be considered as approaching the high positive, supported by somewhat weaker positive r values from the 40-59 age group.

1.51 Overall, the results here offer support for the rejection of the hypothesis that the current level of use of the nonstandard words amongst the informants in the survey is inversely related to Social Index score.

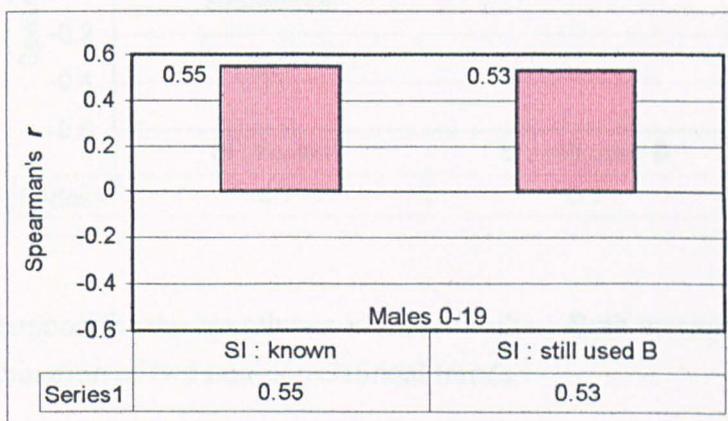
1.52 This Chapter will now go on to consolidate and compare the SI:*known* and

SI: *still used* B correlations for each sex and age group.

Consolidation and overview of the Social Index : *known* and Social Index : *still used* B correlation results

1.53 *Males 0-19* - There is no support for either of the hypotheses in these results.

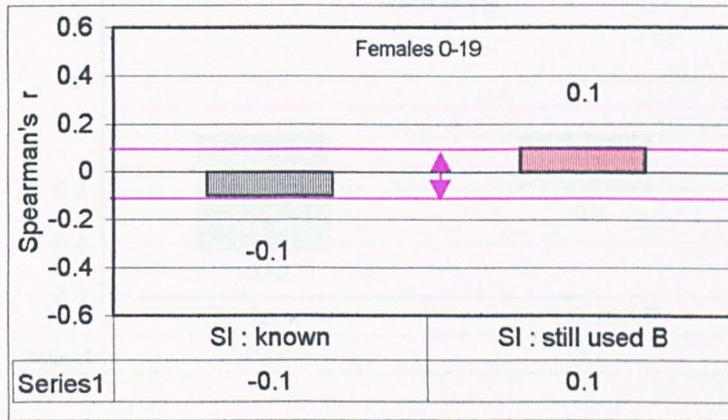
Figure V.42



With positive correlations in excess of +0.5 in both cases this argues that the combined relationships are moderately strong in the direction of a situation where increasing SI is linked to increasing knowledge and usage.

1.54 Females 0-19

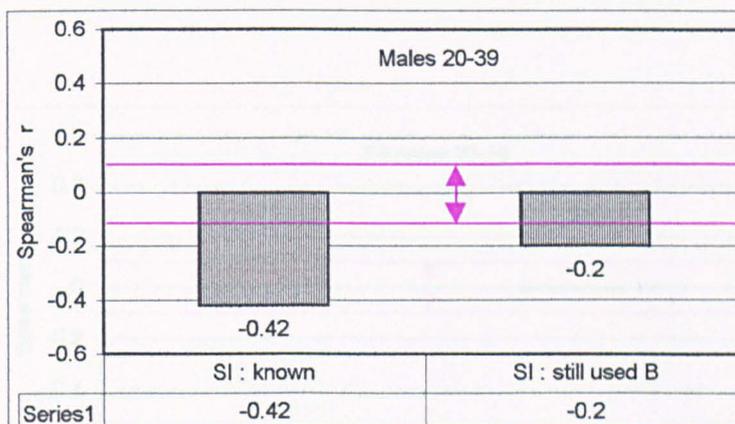
Figure V.43



There is no support for the hypotheses in these results. Both measures are weak, being a combination of two non-correlational trends.

1.55 *Males 20-39* - There is a trend in both scores which is towards

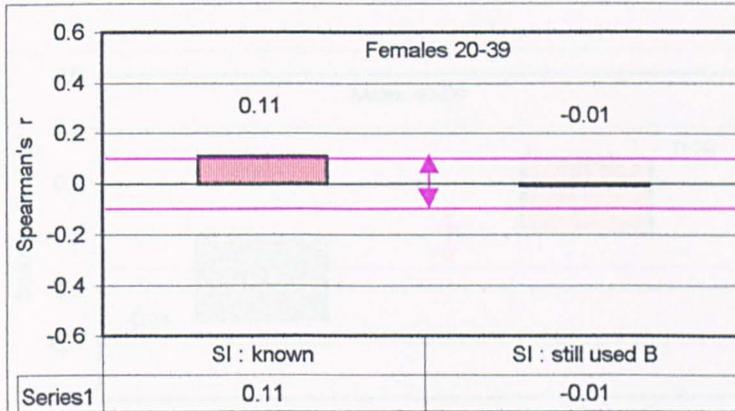
Figure V.44



combined support for the hypotheses, though this is very weak in terms of words *still used B*. Together, the results hint at some low-order relationship between Social Index and what these males know and what they still use of the nonstandard words in the survey list.

1.56 *Females 20-39*- There is a combined rejection here of the hypotheses, indicating that, for these females, the knowledge and continued use of the nonstandard words in the survey list is not Social Index related.

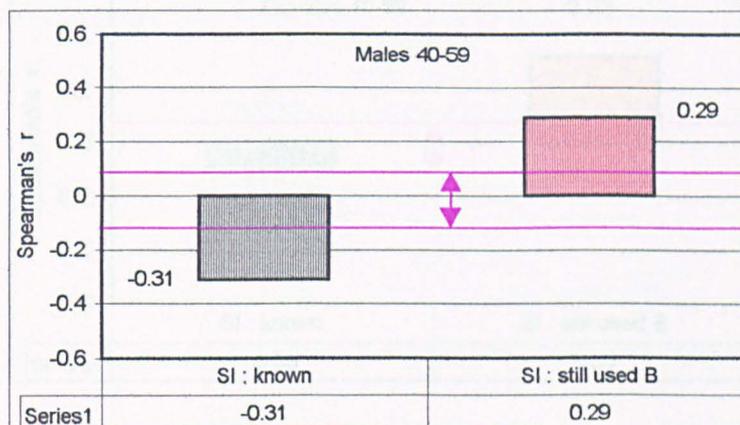
Figure V.45



This graphical picture does not have enough support to the hypotheses.

1.57 *Males 40-59* - Though knowledge of the nonstandard words has a weak inverse relationship with the Social Index, actual use is in the opposite direction

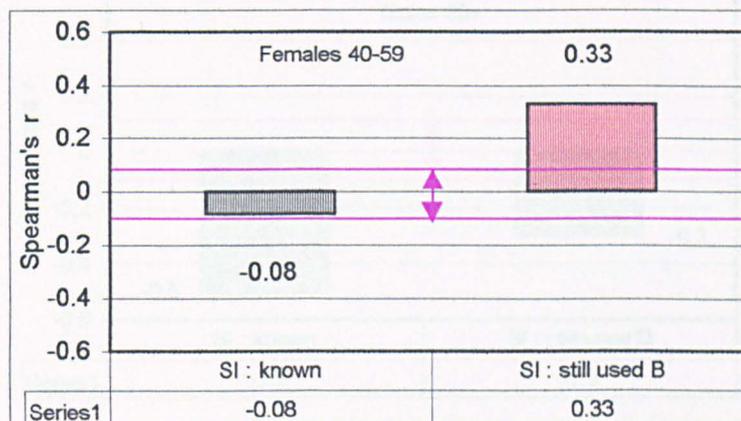
Figure V.46



This equivocal picture does not lend overall support to the hypotheses.

1.58 *Females 40-59* - With one result having a weak, but definite, positive trend and the other having something of a non-correlational character, there is no combined support here for the hypotheses.

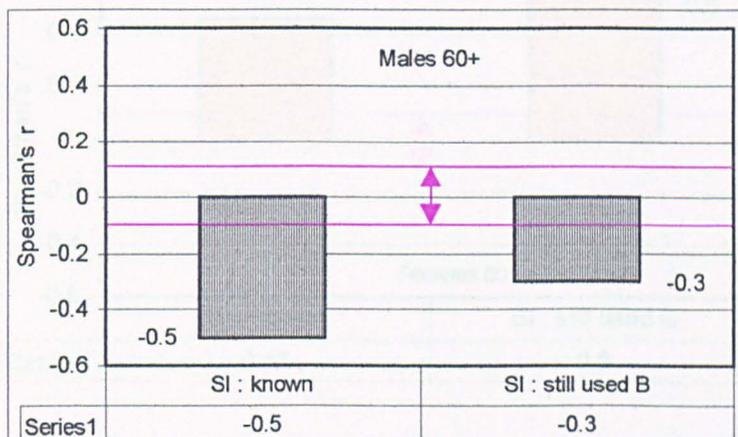
Figure V.47



The SI : still used B value indicates only moderate support for the hypotheses but the SI : known is approaching the hypothesis supporting < 0.2 threshold. This suggests that there is little probability for knowledge of the standardized words used in the survey that is correlated inversely with social class, though it is not represented strongly here.

1.59 *Males 60+* - This is the only pair of correlation values which show a definite combined trend of any magnitude in the negative direction.

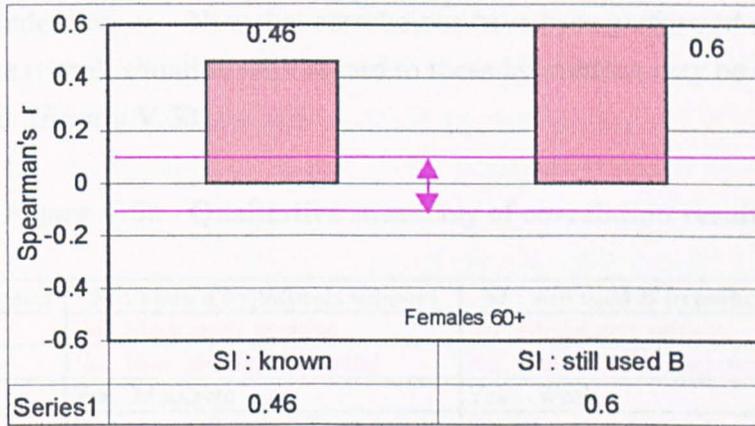
Figure V.48



The SI : *still used B* value offers only moderate support for the hypotheses but the SI : *known* is approaching the hypothesis-supporting -0.6 threshold. This suggests that there is some tendency for knowledge of the nonstandard words used in the survey list to correlate inversely with social class, though it is not represented strongly here.

1.60 Females 60+ -

Figure V.49



With one value of moderate positive strength and another reaching the threshold for high positive, these combined results not only reject the hypothesis but argue for a situation where the informants' higher Social Indices are accompanied by greater knowledge and use of the nonstandard words.

Qualitative summary of the Social Index correlational results

1.61 In the case of both words *known* and words *still used B*, it was hypothesised that there would be an inverse relationship between their scores and the Social Index scores. Now that correlations have been performed and analysed in detail, the overall situation with regard to these hypotheses may be qualitatively summarised (*Figure V.50*):

Figure V.50 - Qualitative summary of correlation results

Age/sex Group	SI : <i>known</i> hypothesis support	SI : <i>still used B</i> hypothesis support
M 0-19	No. Moderately positive	No. Moderately positive
F 0-19	No. Non-correlational trend	No. Non-correlational trend
M 20-39	Yes. Moderate	Yes. Weak
F 20-39	No. Non-correlational trend	No. Non-correlational trend
M 40-59	Yes. Weak	No. Weakly positive
F 40-59	No. Non-correlational trend	No. Weakly positive
M 60+	Yes. Moderate	Yes. Moderate
F 60+	No. Moderately positive	No. Positive high

Colour key:

black text = **supports** the hypothesis by being negative.
 magenta text = **rejects** the hypothesis by being non-correlational.
 red text = **rejects** the hypothesis by being positive.

1.62 There is clearly little support here for either of the hypotheses. Of the eight SI:*known* comparisons, three are non-correlational and two are moderately strong in the direction of the positive. The situation is even less favourable in the eight SI:*still used* correlations, where only two offer any support for the hypothesis, one being moderate and the other weak.

1.63 The evidence is that, as far as this sample of informants and the survey word list are concerned, there is little relationship between social class (as measured by the Social Index) and knowledge and use of nonstandard words.

SECTION D - GENERAL STUDY RESULTS SUMMARY

Knowledge of the nonstandard words in the survey word list

1.1 For this sample of informants, knowledge shows a continuous decline from oldest to youngest, for both males and females. The rate of erosion of knowledge is accelerating over time, though there are differences between males and females in their profiles of knowledge loss. In the cases of the 60+ and the 0-19 age groups, female knowledge is markedly higher than that of their male peers. Across the age and sex groups, it is the 60+ women who demonstrate, by a substantial margin, the greatest knowledge of the nonstandard words in the survey list.

Use of the nonstandard words in the survey word list

1.2 Overall mean use of the nonstandard words employed in the survey is relatively low. The highest incidence of use is by the 40-59 age group males and this is slightly over one-third of the nonstandard words in the list (i.e. *still used A* score). At the other end of the usage scale, the 0-19 males use less than one-tenth of the listed words. The overall mean *still used A* value, for this sample of informants, is less than one-quarter of the total words in the survey list. The females, as a whole, currently make use of marginally less of the survey word list than do the males.

1.3 Overall, the informants tend to use only between one-third and one half the words they know. The highest *still used B* score is that of the 0-19 females at 48.8% of what they know; the lowest is that of the 60+ females at 33%.

Abandonment and neglect of *known* nonstandard words in the survey list

1.4 The difference between words *known* and words *still used B* values is the result of words which informants *formerly used* having been abandoned, together with words which they know but have neglected to bring into use.

1.5 As a percentage of the total survey word list, it is the 60+ females who stand out as having abandoned or neglected the most, followed by the 60+ males. But the levels of abandonment/neglect against the number of nonstandard words

in the survey list are of less interest than the rates of abandonment/neglect *as a proportion of what the informants know*, for it is these values which directly reflect the linguistic behaviour of the informants in terms of the choices they have made from the available lexical stock. In this context, the 60+ females again stand out with abandonment/neglect of more than two-thirds of the words *known* to them. They are closely followed by the 40-59 age group females, who have abandoned/neglected just less than two-thirds of what they know. The abandonment/neglect values for the other age/sex groups vary between around one-half and three-fifths of their *known* scores, the lowest being the 0-19 females at 51.2%. Overall, this sample of informants has abandoned, or failed to bring into use, around three-fifths of the nonstandard words *known* to it.

Knowledge and use of the nonstandard words in the survey list in relation to social class

1.6 This study showed no strong correlations between social class (as determined by the Social Index) and either knowledge or use of the nonstandard words used in the survey list. It may have been anticipated that both knowledge and use would decline with increasing social class, but this result did not occur. There was some indication of a trend in this direction, particularly for older men, in relation to knowledge of the items in the survey word list, but this was only weak to moderate. There was even less indication of nonstandard word use declining with increasing social status when *still used B* scores were correlated with SI. Generally, the picture is one of little or no correlation but, interestingly, some suggestion of a trend in the opposite direction to that which might have been expected, i.e., knowledge and use of the nonstandard words *increasing* as social class increases.

The contribution of the Inter-generational Case Studies (IGCSs)

1.7 Having presented and analysed the results of the General Study, this report will, in the next chapter, move on to a presentation and examination of the data from the IGCSs, which it is hoped will contribute to the interpretation of the General Study data.

¹ Crystal (1987), p. 120.

² Ebdon (1977), pp. 26-29.

³ Op. cit., pp. 81-85.

⁴ Ibid.

⁵ In this and all subsequent scattergrams the -1.0 perfect negative correlation line has been shown in black. It is vectoring of plotted data towards this black axis which is being sought in support of the hypothesis.