Synchrony and Diachrony in the Evolution of English: Evidence from Scotland.

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ABSTRACT

This study is a sociolinguistic investigation of a dialect spoken in a small fishing town in the north east coast of Scotland, Buckie. Through empirical examination of grammatical variables in this variety, this study aims to elucidate the mechanisms involved in language variation and change. The specific aims of the study are two-fold. First, to analyse the patterns of variation in the Buckie data and second, to compare and contrast these results with other varieties of English.

Four variables are examined - *was/were* variation, negative concord, *do* absence and strong verb morphology. *Was/were* variation and negative concord continue the patterns of use attested in the diachronic record. In contrast, the specific patterning of *do* absence has no historical precursors, suggesting its use in this community is an innovation. Strong verb morphology is the only feature to show dramatic change in apparent time. I propose that these findings shed light on the differential pressures which lead to language variation and change. These pressures are both extra-linguistic and internal to the grammar itself.

Cross variety comparisons with other dialects of English reveal that negative concord, strong verb 'regularisation' and *was/were* alternation are common to all non-standard varieties. Moreover, the patterns of use are the same in many cases. Crucially, however, I propose that the mechanisms which lead to these shared patterns differ: similar constraints with *was/were* alternation are the result of diffusion, use of 'regularised' strong verbs is a product of drift, and finally, negative concord is a primitive of vernacular dialects.

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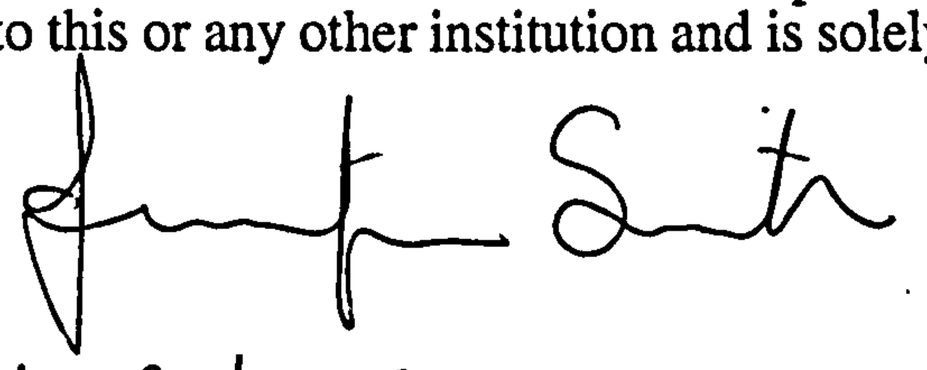
DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this thesis and material presented herein has not previously been submitted to this or any other institution and is solely the product of the present author.

Signature 

Date 6 Feb 2001

For Mam and Dad

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

Dictionaries

DOST:	Dictionary of the older Scottish tongue.
SND:	The Scottish National Dictionary.
CSD:	Concise Scots Dictionary

Varieties of English

ESN:	Ex-slave narratives
GE:	Guysborough Enclave
GV:	Guysborough Village
SE:	Samaná English
NP:	North Preston
AE:	Appalachian English
OE:	Ozark English
AAVE:	African American Vernacular English
EAAE:	Early African American English
ANSE:	African Nova Scotian English

CHAPTER 1

1. Introduction

This study is a sociolinguistic investigation of a dialect spoken in a small fishing town in the north east coast of Scotland, Buckie. Through empirical examination of syntactic, morphological and lexical variables in this variety, this study aims to elucidate the mechanisms involved in language variation and change.

The specific aims of the study are two-fold. First, to describe and explain the patterns of variation in the Buckie data and second, to compare and contrast these results with other varieties of English.

1.1 The study of grammatical variation in Buckie

There is a general dearth of empirical research in 1) this geographic location and rural areas more generally, 2) grammatical variation and 3) factors conditioning the use of non-standard forms. This work attempts to redress the balance.

Scotland has been the site of numerous sociolinguistic studies in the past few decades (see Macafee, 1997 for a summary of these). However, these have concentrated on more urban areas in central and southern Scotland, with very few based on rural areas (see, for example, Hettinga, 1981). Further, 'no sociolinguistic projects have yet been completed on northern soil' (Johnston, 1997b:447)[1]. Most of the studies on Scots are phonological (see, for example, Macaulay & Trevelyan, 1977; Romaine, 1978), with few based on grammatical variation (see, for example, Macaulay, 1991).

Moreover, where the focus is on grammatical variation the work is often descriptive in nature or based on anecdotal evidence (Edwards, Trudgill & Weltens, 1984; Milroy & Milroy, 1993). While these serve invaluable reference purposes, 'a simple inspection of the surface distribution of forms...will not reveal the nature of the underlying grammar that gave rise to them' (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming). Hence, the methodology in this study is quantitative, with an analysis of the factors conditioning the use of nonstandard forms in order to uncover patterns of use. This will inform on not only how a feature varies, but why.

Therefore, this corpus-based research broadens and extends current knowledge of variation and change by an in-depth examination of the grammatical system of a rural dialect from the north east of Scotland.

Although the study focuses on contemporary data, much of the research concentrates on the relationship between the grammatical system used in the present day and its relationship to its use in the past. Historical data are notoriously unreliable, and 'given the imperfect character of historical records, it seems inevitable that we must rely on present data to interpret them' (Labov, 1971:101). As Buckie 'has been through extended periods of social and/or geographic isolation from dominant population groups' (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, to appear), it is a *relic area* (Anttila, 1989:294; Hock, 1986:440; McMahon, 1994:229) which retains remnants of earlier stages of the language. Therefore this dialect can shed light on features typical of earlier stages in the history of a language where no documentary evidence exists, providing an invaluable resource in assessing the evolution of English over the past few centuries. Thus, an in-depth analysis of this relic dialect can inform on hitherto unknown constraints in the core grammatical system, as the tracks of the past continue in the present (Labov, 1963; Poplack, 2000; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1992; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1995; Tagliamonte & Poplack, 1988).

The particular questions I want to address in the research are: What are the mechanisms which lead to change? Are they motivated by social influences, pressures internal to the language itself, or both? Are specific individuals implicated in the change? Do the features under study operate differently with respect to variation and change or can one unifying principle account for all cases? What is the impact of prescriptivism, the media and other influences on this traditionally isolated variety? Is Buckie affected by the on-going 'globalisation' of English reported in recent literature (see, for example, Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999), and supra-local norms (Milroy, Milroy & Hartley, 1994), or are the forms used interpretable against the backdrop of the historical record? In other words, how does the specific ecology of Buckie - a rural, relic area - impact on language variation and change?

1.2 Comparison with other dialects

This research provides an interesting test site for examination of language variation and change in one highly circumscribed community. However, the study can also shed light on the origins and development of English(es) elsewhere, as a key issue in variationist sociolinguistics over the past few decades has been the provenance and subsequent development of transported varieties of English, particularly in North America (Montgomery, 1989a; Montgomery, 1997; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1989; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1991a; Singler, 1991; Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999; Winford, 1997; Winford, 1998). At the forefront of this research is cross-variety comparison (Poplack

& Tagliamonte, 1996; Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming; Wolfram, Thomas & Green, 1997), and a crucial extension of these comparisons is to source dialects in Britain (Tagliamonte, 1998c; Tagliamonte, 1999c). These can provide a missing baseline from which to draw conclusions regarding 'transatlantic connections' (Clarke, 1997; Montgomery, 1989b; 1997) .

Buckie is an ideal candidate for comparison with these transported varieties of English. First, it is far removed from standard English. This is an essential prerequisite for comparability, as the English spoken by the majority of migrants from Britain during the colonial period was also non-standard (Bailey & Ross, 1988; Chaudenson, 1979; Mufwene, 1996; Winford, 1997). Second, a substantial majority of migrants to North America during the colonial period were from Scotland (Fischer, 1989), which resulted in their having 'a major impact on the demographics, culture and language' of North America (Winford, 1997:315). Third, Buckie's status as a relic area makes it an excellent source of comparison, since a key issue in the debate over the origins and development of transplanted varieties is that of determining the nature of their grammar(s) at earlier points in time (Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1991a).

Cross-variety comparisons can also contribute to an understanding of the mechanisms which lead to similarities and differences between dialects, as the key question here is not what is the same or different, but why?

Chambers (1995:242) notes that 'certain variables appear to be primitives of vernacular dialects in that they recur ubiquitously all over the world'. Indeed, he believes that these variables will 'ultimately resolve into four or five very general phonological and grammatical processes' (ibid:242). These include conjugation regularisation (levelling of irregular verb forms), default singulars (use of *was* in contexts of standard*were*) and negative concord. Cross-variety similarities in use of these variables are accounted for in terms of internalised, structure based principles innate to the language (Chambers, 1995:242), rather than external community-specific processes. The dialects exhibit these shared features because the features themselves 'have certain inherent privileges, and the standard dialects are characterised partly by resisting them' (Chambers 1995:246).

Therefore, all non-standard dialects would be expected to share these primitive features, irrespective of the socio-cultural context in which they have arisen.

Drift (Sapir, 1921) also involves internally motivated changes arising from the common origin and subsequent evolution of varieties of English. Sapir (1921:155) states that

drift 'is constituted by the unconscious selection on the part of the speakers of those individual variations that are cumulative in some special direction. This direction may be inferred in the main from the past history of the language'.

While drift and primitives are internally motivated, diffusion is externally motivated and cannot be explained without reference to the adstratum (Andersen, 1988:76). The diffusionist hypothesis rests on the assumption that certain similarities across dialects are accounted for in terms of 'morphological irregularities' transmitted through shared linguistic heritage during the colonial period (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming). The migrants, particularly to North America, took with them not only cultural traits but also specific patterns of variation which can still be seen in relic areas (Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1991a).

However, the distinction between these terms is not always clear (Ferguson, 1996; Lakoff, 1972; Malkiel, 1981), as there appear to be overlaps and inconsistencies in their application. For example, drift in many cases closely resembles primitives - both are internally motivated and hence shared by many dialects.

Malkiel (1981:566) identifies three different types of 'language growth': 1) 'those resulting from common descent of two or more given languages, and traceable to an earlier common stage' (Malkiel, 1981:566), 2) 'independent parallel developments' (Meillet, 1921:63) within the same language family and 3) those 'which cut across genetically unrelated languages' (Malkiel, 1981:566). Although these processes might be more ambiguous in practice, in this research I am working under the hypothesis that these equate to 1) diffusion 2) drift and 3) primitives.

To further complicate the picture, there may be on-going *restructuring* or extension of original patterns of use in a variety (see, for example, Mufwene, 1996)[2], in addition to independent innovations which may arise in any given dialect.

Therefore, there are many possible explanations which may account for the observed similarities between varieties. How can these effects be disentangled? The addition of an undocumented dialect to cross-variety comparison may help contribute to this question.

Crucial to the debate on diffusion in particular is to explore the relationship between transported varieties and putative source dialects. In the past, there has been a reliance on secondary source materials such as dialect dictionaries, which are not fully informative (Tagliamonte, 1999c). Therefore, an in-depth analysis of specific

grammatical variables in Buckie contributes to this debate, as a detailed analysis of this dialect can inform on grammar(s) from an earlier stage in the history of English. This may in turn shed light on which structures are the result of diffusion, subsequent restructuring in different ecological settings, or features innate to the language.

Having summarised the major goals of this research, I now turn to the methodological issues relevant to the study.

2. The community

Buckie is a small fishing town situated in the far north east coast of Scotland (see Figure 1). The nearest city is Aberdeen, 60 miles to the south east. The 'routes are rather restricted, as the Grampian range forms a formidable barrier to direct north-south penetration' (Johnston, 1997b:445), resulting in geographical isolation.

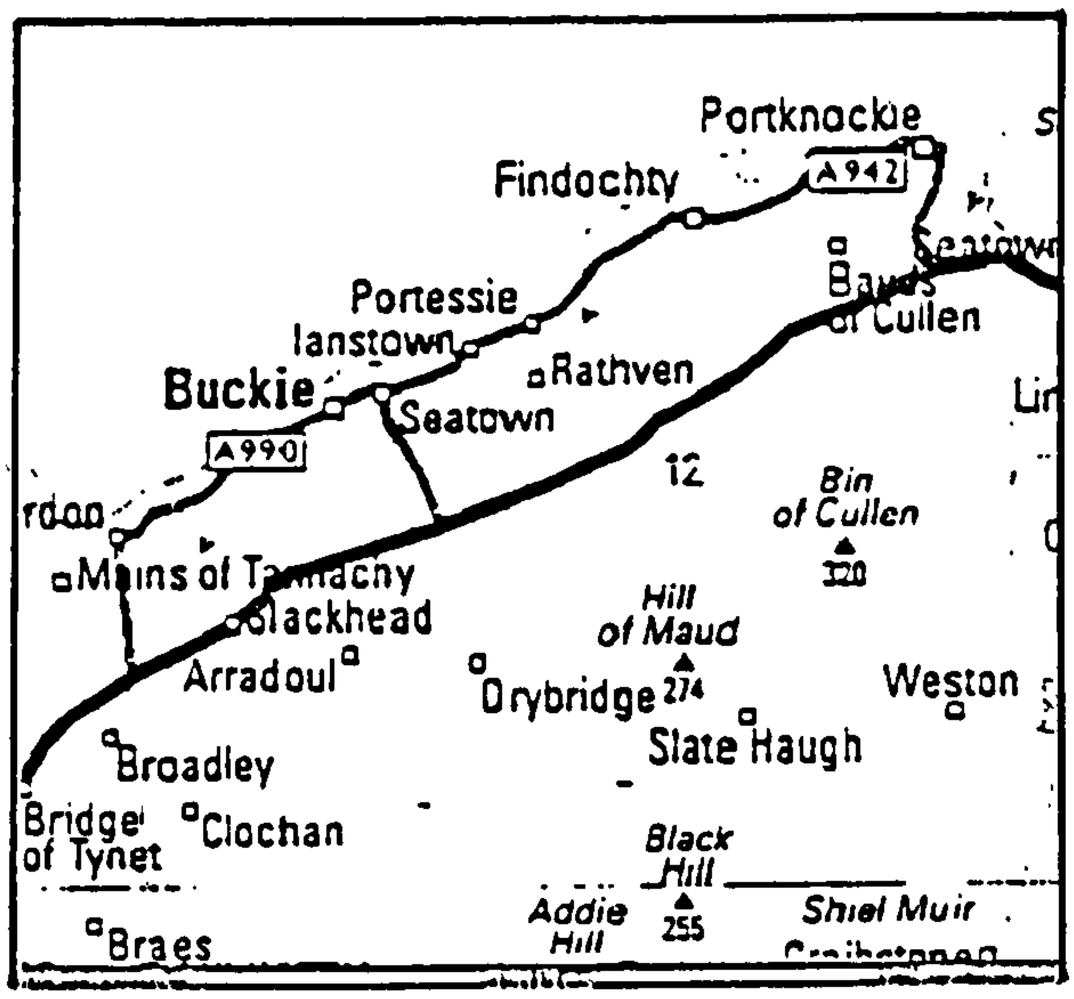
Figure 1: Map showing the location of Buckie

2.1 The historical setting

In previous centuries, Buckie was part of the Parish of Rathven (Gardiner, 1842:215) which includes 4 fishing villages scattered to the east and west - Portessie, Findochty,

Portknockie, Portgordon. Rathven, a rural village, lies to the south, as shown in Figure 2. Buckie is further divided into east (Easter Buckie) and west (Nether Buckie, now known as Buckpool) by the Burn of Buckie. This geographical divide has its roots in ownership history, as the two areas belonged to two different landowners (Gardiner, 1842:261).

Figure 2: Map of Buckie and the surrounding villages



This area is first mentioned in the historical records in approximately 960, with the Battle of the Bauds. The lands were owned by the Gordons of Buckie from 1358, but 'as to a more ancient history, Buckie has not much to show' (Tranter, 1972:29). The town of Buckie itself was settled in the 17th century (Hutcheson, 1888/1997:14) by peoples from the rural hinterland[3]. The west side of Buckie had been associated with the fishing industry since the early 1600s. The harbour at Buckpool was founded in 1645, and Easter Buckie became a fishing station in 1723 (Gardiner, 1842:261).

Portessie, situated approximately two miles to the east of Buckie became a fishing station in 1727, when five houses were built by Hay of Rannas for fishermen from Findhorn, 30 miles to the west (Gardiner, 1842:261; Hutcheson, 1888/1997:15)[4]. Findochty is approximately 3 miles east of Buckie, and was settled in 1716 by 'a colony of fishermen' from Fraserburgh, 50 miles further east (Gardiner, 1842:261)[5]. Portnockie, 4 miles to the east of Buckie, and Portgordon to the west were also established as fishing stations in the late 1600s (Gardiner, 1842:261).

In sum, the original settlers came mostly from surrounding coastal areas and rural hinterland. Since then, the population of the Buckie area has always been concentrated in these coastal settlements.

The settlement and growth of Buckie and the outlying villages was 'undoubtedly due to the fisheries' (Hutcheson, 1888/1997:14). The removal in 1726 of the Royal Burghs' monopoly on the sale of fish encouraged fishing on the East Coast, and in 1786 the British Society for Extending the Fisheries was established, which had an even greater effect[6].

The herring boom of the 19th and early 20th centuries furthered this growth. In 1855, a new harbour was constructed in Nether Buckie and was 'the chief cause of development of the fishing industry in the district and raised Buckie to first place as a fishing town' (Hutcheson, 1888/1997:55). The construction of a second harbour in Easter Buckie was completed in 1880, further cementing its place as a major fishing port, with 333 boats, employing 1,320 men. By the beginning of the 20th century, it was the second biggest fishing port in Britain, and until the Second World War the community prospered (Thompson, Wailey & Lummis, 1983).

Although the economy of the Buckie area has traditionally been based on the fishing industry with each of the coastal settlements at one time having its own thriving harbour and fishing fleet, today only Buckie operates as a commercial port. Since the herring boom, there has been a substantial decline in the fishing industry, leading to fewer and fewer operational fishing boats in the town. Overfishing and government ruling on quotas further decreased the industry[7]. The 1983 Local Area plan from Moray District Council shows that 17% of employees were involved directly in the fishing industry, while the 1993 local plan states that only 35 vessels operated out of the Buckie harbour. Compare this more recent state of affairs to the description from Tranter (1972:29) in 1974, who describes the harbour as the 'true nerve-centre of Buckie, the raison d'etre for its existence' being 'one of the most active and go-ahead fishing ports in Scotland, with a huge herring and white fish seine net and light-trawl fleet working from it, many boats and crews from the surrounding little burghs and villages all along the coast using it also'.

This decline may lead one to suspect that Buckie's loss of a sustainable economy has resulted in de-population seen in other rural areas, but the population figures indicate that this is not the case. Figure 3 shows census data from 1801 to 1991 in the Parish of Rathven. This includes Buckie, Buckpool, Portessie, Findochty, Portknockie, and

Portgordon as well as the surrounding rural areas. Figure 4 includes population figures from 1851 to 1991 for Buckie, which includes the town itself, Buckpool and Portessie.

Figure 3: Census data for the Parish of Rathven (1811-1991)

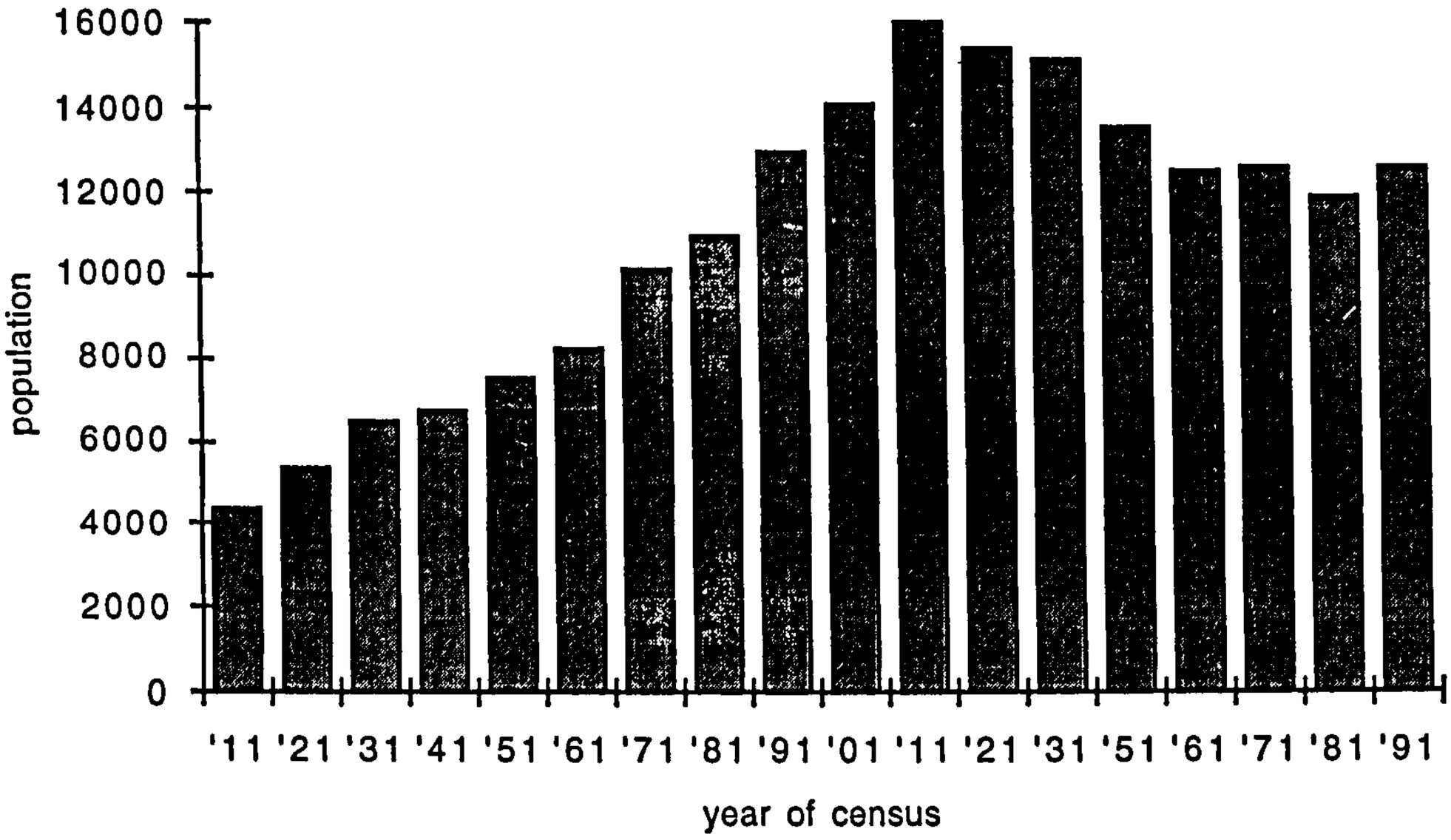
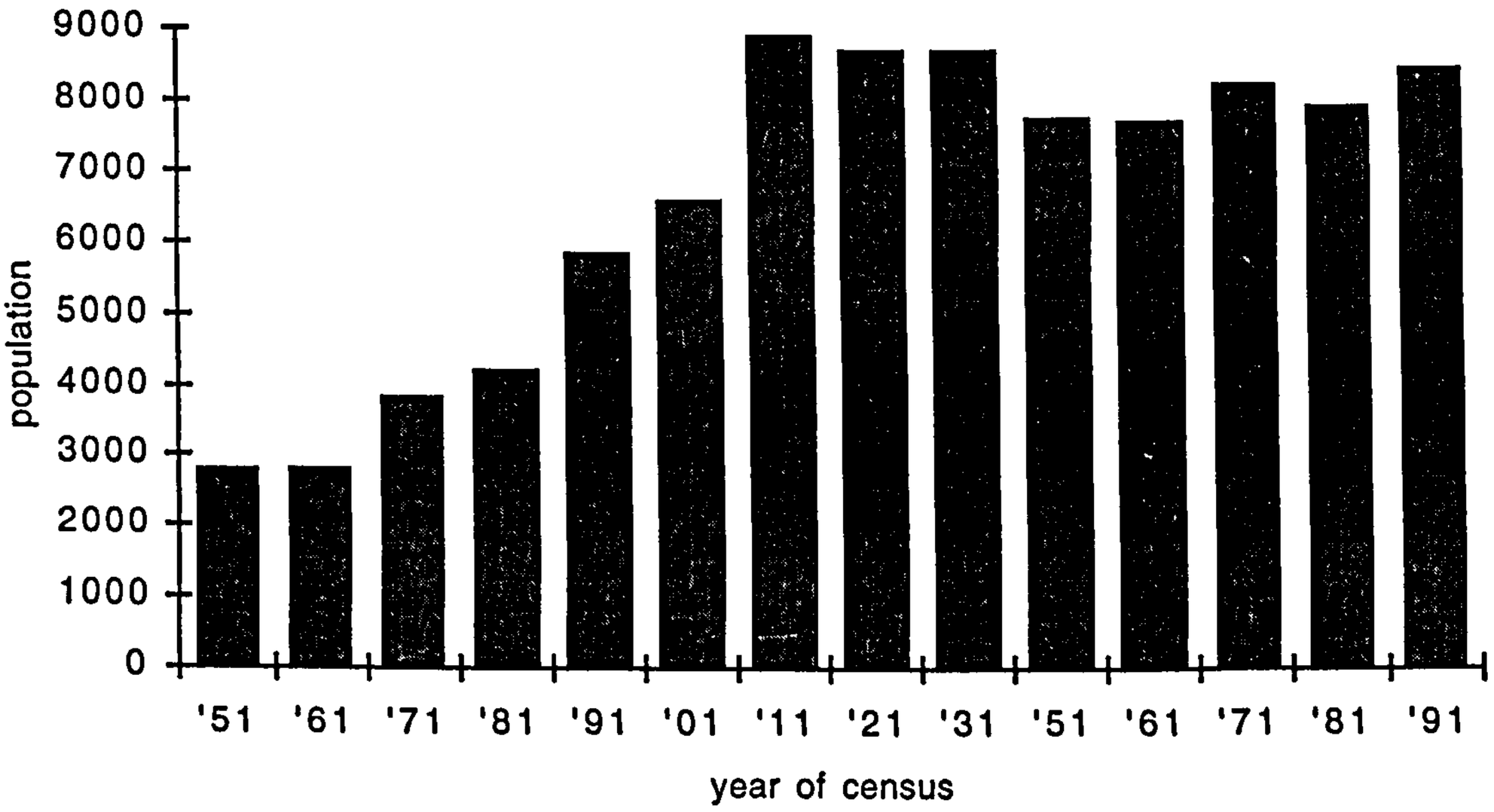


Figure 4: Census data for Buckie and Portessie (1851-1991)



Both graphs show a steady rise in population, but remarkably in the last century, it has remained relatively stable. This is in sharp contrast to other peripheral rural areas, which have seen depopulation on a grand scale.

Therefore, the decline in the fishing industry has not led to a mass exodus from the community which has become characteristic of similar rural areas that have lost their employment base. This is explained by the fact that alternative employment is found elsewhere. In the case of the group of people who would be most affected by this decline - young men who would traditionally have become fishermen - these people now find employment on the oil rigs in the North Sea. Thus, people can continue to live in Buckie, rather than moving to urban areas to seek employment[8]. More importantly, the population, and indeed the community at large, has remained stable. This is crucial to the understanding of the nature of Buckie as 'one of the reasons that fishing communities are implicated so often in historically isolated situations is because of the combination of their geographic isolation and their potential for economic self-sufficiency' (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, to appear).

Sustained in-migration may also mean the loss of insular status, but the census data show that this was limited to a couple of decades at the beginning of this century (1891-1911). Since then the population has remained stable.

2.2 *Isolation vs. integration*

Buckie is not an enclave in the strict sense of the term, as 'it must be recognised that isolation is a relative notion' (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, to appear). Contact with mainstream culture exists through local government agencies, media, employment on the oil rigs, and particularly education (although many of the teachers are indigenous to the area). However, there is no reason for residents to leave Buckie due to the relatively good local employment prospects. Equally, there are few reasons for outsiders to come in, due to the lack of a local industry..

Because of the highly specialised skills required by the fishing industry, there were usually few 'outsiders' in previous years. Moreover, the work was kept very much within the family, with the men and boys going out to sea and the wives and daughters repairing nets and gutting fish. This effectively maintained a close-knit community in which entire families took part either directly or indirectly in fishing. This has led to a long history of cultural cohesiveness.

As a result of this lifestyle, a tradition of endogamy has been effectively maintained even up to present day. This is evidenced from the small number of surnames accounting for a large percentage of the population. For example, Hutcheson (1888/1997:14) just over 100 years ago states that 'nearly the whole of the residenters in the Seatown of Buckie were called Murray or Cowie'. Other very common surnames

that persist in frequency even today are Smith, Flett, Clark, Farquhar and Garden[9]. This is demonstrated in Extract 1, from an interview with a middle aged speaker.

Extract 1

Informant: And of course, you ken a' the stories aboot a' the Murrays and a' the Cowies. There's hunners o' 'em. Wi' regards you didna ken you could be marriet to your own blinkin' cousin. Lot o' in-breedin' went on.

JS: Aye, I've heard that a lot.

Informant: Oh aye, definitely. Nae question aboot 'at. They had till. They couldna go onywye else. This is why it is even still strange for a person o' my mother's generation- still canna quite cope with a fisherman i.e. masel', mairryin' somebody fae the country. Well, somebody fae the country, you see. Comes fae the country. She 's a country quine her. Ken. Five mile up the road!

This extract demonstrates the extent of intermarriage within the community and also points to the fact that it was frowned upon to marry outside the community. His wife is considered a stranger despite coming from a village only 5 miles away.

Hence, historical continuity is characteristic of the area, with residents able to trace lineage back to the original settlers. This is highlighted by my own case. I belong to a family who are recorded as the first settlers in the village of Portessie in 1727 (see Section 2.1). But we are certainly not unique in this claim, as many families can trace their genealogies back to these times.

Lane (2000) states that in limited industry communities such as fishing, 'residents are highly invested economically and ideologically in a particular economy and life mode' and therefore 'when economic changes affect the main local industry, the entire community is impacted. As a result, the local co-construction of community and individual identities are affected'. In more recent times there have been changes in the community due to the decline in the fishing industry. However, the impact of this loss has been much attenuated by the alternative employment found on the oil rigs. Hence the major disruption to traditional modes of living seen in other areas is not as profound in the Buckie context.

Moreover, the Martha's Vineyard (Labov, 1972d) scenario of encroaching tourism and subsequent disruption to traditional life does not apply here. The 1993 Local Area Plan

for Moray District states that 'there is certainly underdeveloped tourist potential in the area', while the 2000 report states that 'tourism is not a primary economic activity of the town'. This may well stem from the A98 trunkroad, which bypasses the town. Although 'remoteness can be regarded as a drawback, it is more probable that in this area it has attracted visitors specifically seeking a quiet holiday in a relatively unspoilt environment'. Even recent tourist attractions have amounted to little more than 'passing trade' which has minimal impact on daily life.

The past to present account of Buckie certainly points to a degree of isolation, but does it fulfill the prerequisites of a relic area? Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (to appear) remark that 'the notions *historical isolation* and *remnant dialect community* have been defined in rather imprecise ways in dialectology and sociolinguistics'. They therefore delineate four main indicators of relic status:

1. Geographic remoteness, where 'topographical features often serve to foster separation and hence create communication discontinuities'.
2. The potential for economic autonomy, where 'the lack of ability to maintain economic autonomy is often cited as the most essential reason for the endangerment and ultimate death of language varieties associated with historically isolated groups'.
3. Time depth, as 'there must at least be enough time for the establishment of linguistic separation from mainstream population groups'.
4. Historical continuity, where groups of residents can trace their lineage back to the original settlers.

Clearly the historical setting of Buckie conforms to the definition of a relic area. It is geographically remote, economically independent, has time-depth and historical continuity.

But physical and historical conditions are not the only defining characteristics of a remnant dialect area (Andersen, 1988; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, to appear). Andersen (1988:74) maintains that account must be taken of not only the spatial aspect of linguistic contact, but also the social factors. Although remnant communities are 'typically socially subordinate' (Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, to appear), members often develop a strong, positive sense of group identity. Such attitudes have arguably the biggest impact on the community dialect and help to maintain its status as a relic area (Andersen, 1988:74; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, to appear).

These positive attitudes characterise the Buckie community. For example, the image of a depressed rural area, with the younger members of the community desperate to make their escape to more urban areas is inappropriate here. The majority of the community members, young or old, have no desire to leave the area, exemplified in Extract 2 from an interview with a 30 year old female, and Extract 3 from a 29 year old male.

Extract 2

JS: Aye, I'm bidin' in York jist noo.

Informant: Ken 'is, I couldna giwa fae here. I couldna- I think if Gordon says 'Come on, we'll flit tae Aberdeen' I would be sayin' 'Oh no'... I says 'Och, I've bade here a' ma days.'

Extract 3

Och, I like gan to places, like, but I would never bide naewye else.

A 22 year old relates his friend's attitude towards city life and why he returned home in Extract 4:

Extract 4

That's ma boss's son-in-law, I was jist speakin' to him the night and he's jist moved back fae Aberdeen tae Buckie. Ken he says ye wouldna believe how much, ken, abody 's just so mellow here. There's nae the- abody's just dashin' about in the city and even moving sixty, seventy mile, he says you wouldna believe jist the different wye o' life...couldna hack it, like.

These extracts are indicative of the strong community roots in this area which exist even within the younger generation.

Moreover, the last twenty years has seen a resurgence of interest in the cultural heritage of the Buckie area, particularly with regard to the fishing industry. Hence the founding of the *Buckie District Fishing Heritage Society*, whose aim is to 'collect, preserve and make available memories, photographs, and artifacts specializing in that most remarkable era in the history of the 19th and 20th century Buckie, the herring boom and the hey-day of the steam drifter' (Hutcheson, 1888/1997:1).

Therefore, location of residents in a relatively remote fringe area, coupled with the psychological separation based on their socio-cultural differences, all contribute to explaining a situation of relative isolation. For this reason, data on Buckie can provide

an interesting case for models of language change as it has the potential for retaining relic linguistic processes as documented in other communities which have evolved in similar situations of historical isolation.

2.3 The Buckie dialect

Having described the geographical, historical and social setting of the community, I now turn to the Buckie dialect, situating it in the broader context of Scots in general.

2.3.1 The history of Scots

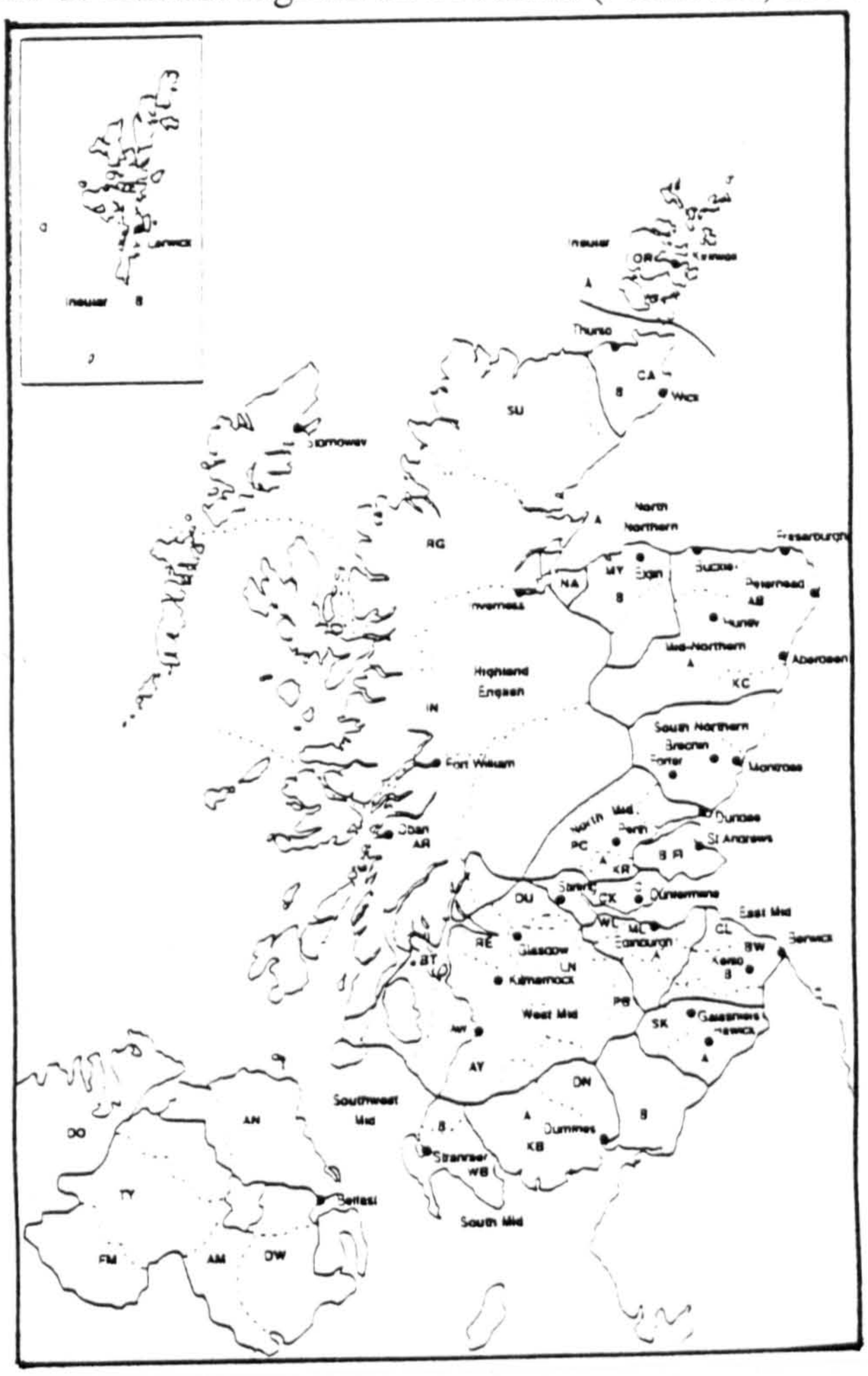
Scots has its origins in the Northumbrian dialect of Old English (see, for example, Murray, 1873:5), with the spread of the Anglian peoples of Northumbria northwards from the sixth century onwards (McClure, 1994). This spread was strengthened by the establishment of burghs in the late 12th century, which extended the English speaking area to as far as the north east coast. Therefore the displacement of Gaelic took place fairly early on, even in these more northern areas[10]. Johnston (1997a:56) states that in the north-east, Early Scots served as 'a lingua franca' by approximately 1350.

From the 12th century onwards, the dialect used in these areas closely resembled the speech of Northumbria, but subsequently Scots was to become 'a multi-purpose language, which developed into a relatively uniform standard' (Meurman-Solin, 1993). It was 'a fully elaborated language and used in all spheres of both public and private life' (Romaine, 1982:57). However, the further development and divergence of Scots from southern English was halted by the Union of the Crowns (1606) and the 1707 Union of Parliaments, with the concomitant effects of anglicisation these political developments brought (Devitt, 1989). But as McClure (1994:37) states, there is no evidence that the spoken language of the mass of the populace was affected to any extent. The anglicisation process was restricted to courtly circles, only later percolating down to the middle classes (Bald, 1927).

2.3.2 The north east dialect in present day Scotland

Historically, Scotland was divided into three main dialect areas - Highland, Mid/North and the Scottish/English linguistic border (Johnston, 1997b:433). In present day Scotland, these divisions have been refined further. For example, the Concise Scots Dictionary (henceforth CSD) (Robinson, 1999) divides the south and east of Scotland into 7 main areas with Buckie in the dialect area of North-East Scots. Johnston further divides these areas, with Buckie now described as Mid-Northern, as shown in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Dialect regions of Scotland (Johnston, 1997b:434)



The dialect used in these areas is referred to as either *Buchan Scots* or *The Doric*, and to many 'Doric is Scots' (Johnston, 1997b:433). These dialects in the north east corner 'occupy a rather peripheral position not only relative to English dialects as a whole, but also with respect to other Scots dialects. Moreover, the 'language of the Scottish north and North east has been associated traditionally with rural lifestyles, which usually correlates with cultural and linguistic conservatism' (Johnston, 1997b:433:445). This 'relative isolation and geographic semi-independence for the rest of Scots has assured a strong linguistic identity' (Johnston, 1997b:433:445).

Moreover, Johnston characterises the sociolinguistic situation in the coastal towns as one in which the majority of the population use Scots. Scottish Standard English is marginal to the tight networks within the community. This is certainly true of the Buckie situation, where Standard Scots is confined to the 'local gentry' (Johnston, 1997b:431).

Wolfram and Schilling-Estes (to appear) point out that the dialects associated with peripheral communities are 'typically stigmatised and considered to be inferior'. Moreover, along the north east coast, each fishing town has its own particular

vernacular, with loose groupings between them (Dieth, 1932:xvii), undoubtedly a product of the historically insular, non-mobile nature of each community. The community members are certainly aware of the unique nature of their dialect, whether in reference to the general dialect, particular lexical items, or in comparison to other dialects. This is highlighted in a number of extracts from the interviews, as in Extract 5:

Extract 5

The Buckie- the Buckie- Buckie dialect is very broad. It's ochs ayes and the noos and it is- it is very very broad.

In Extract 6 the speaker realizes the need to 'translate' into a more standard form of English to make her son understood:

Extract 6

And her dad was the bobby. Great big stout man. And our George was aie out (inc) ye ken, he looks him up and down like this. Looks him up and down like this, and he says 'Did you eat a lot of meat when you was little?' The man didna understand a word, ken oor dialect. And I says 'Hang on a minute, and I'll translate it.' And he's laughing. I says 'Askin' if you ate a lot when you was small, because you're the biggest man he's ever seen.' And he startit to laugh.

Extract 7 highlights pronunciation differences, where the speaker refers to the pronunciation of *brother*, which is realised as /briðer/.

Extract 7

He says 'Aye, I thought you was a scuba diver.' 'No no. ' I says 'Why you askin' that?' He says 'I'm tryin' to follow your conversation' he says. He says 'You keep- you keep speakin' about this breather' he says.

The differences between this and other dialects are also acknowledged, as demonstrated in Extract 8, where the speech of Edinburgh is perceived as 'posh'.

Extract 8

Well, I suppose that's Edinburgh, you would- developed an accent down there, did you? Well, I mean, Edinburgh is a really weird accent cos I mean, they *talk* down there.

In Extract 9, the difficulty in 'getting back into' the dialect is acknowledged:

Extract 9

So you must find it strange yoursel' comin' back tae Buckie aifter a' that time awa' wi' the dialect up here, do ye? Or did ye find ye got back intae it nae problem?

In Extract 10, the in-group, out-group nature of the dialect is highlighted:

Extract 10

Met up with his wife there, did a spell there and moved up to Sunderland. And he's still there noo. Well, wi' the result that Sean's got two languages. If he's speaking to me, he speaks Buckie...unless he 's trying to impress me!

Despite a recognition that the dialect is very different, the community's reaction to it is very positive, with a sense of pride in their vernacular heritage. Indeed, in the last two decades there has been a revival in interest in the dialect, both at the community and local government level. For example, the Buckie Scots Language Group has been set up to promote the vernacular and The Moray Council Policy Statement on use of the dialect reads:

> 'The Cooncil gies full backin t the eese o the Scots Language, an encourages the recognition o its stannin as a Language, wi an identity unique in its ain richt, an separate fae that o English'.
>
> The council gives the full backing to the use of the Scots language, and encourages the recognition of its standing as a language, with an identity unique in its won right, and separate from that of English.

There is also a policy statement from the *Moray Council Department of Education* on the Teaching of the Scots Language and Scots Culture. This states, amongst other things that 'the Scots language, in written and spoken forms, should be regarded as a valid medium for communication wherever such use is appropriate'. This highlights a

significant change in attitude from previous decades where the use of the vernacular was forbidden in institutions such as schools[11].

This positive attitude, particularly at community level, is vital for the survival of a relic dialect such as Buckie (Andersen, 1988). The attitude of the community members towards the Doric, coupled with local government initiatives ensures healthy prospects for the future for this dialect.

Having now examined the community and the place of the dialect in the wider context of Scots, I now turn to the methodology employed.

3. Data and methodology

3.1 Theoretical framework

The theoretical approach to be adopted here falls within the framework of empirical linguistics known as variation theory (Cedergren & Sankoff, 1974; Labov, 1972b; Labov, 1972f; Labov, Cohen, Robins & Lewis, 1968; Sankoff, 1988; Sankoff, 1974) involving the scientific investigation of language use and structure in natural spontaneous speech.

The variationist paradigm rests on the assumption that language is not static, but is constantly changing. Moreover, 'all change involves variability and heterogeneity' (Weinreich, Labov & Herzog, 1968:188). This variability and heterogeneity is not merely random, but is inherent and patterns according to internal, linguistic and/or external, social/stylistic constraints. Furthermore, 'whenever a choice can be perceived as having been made in the course of linguistic performance...then it is difficult to avoid invoking notions and methods of statistical inference' (Sankoff, 1988:151), as these constraints are subject to statistical variation, in which the underlying model is 'probabilistic rather than deterministic' (Sankoff, 1974:82). Thus, a quantitative method is employed.

The key construct underlying the variationist paradigm is the *linguistic variable*, where one function can be carried out by several different forms (variants). In accounting for those variants actually used, the 'variationist must determine why, where and when it was used, as well as by whom' (Poplack, 1993:252).

3.2 The data

As Guy (1993:223) states, 'to shed light at the same time on both linguistic structure and social structure, we are necessarily required to amass large amounts of data from many individuals'. This was the aim of the data collection phase.

Judgement sampling (Feagin, 1979; Macaulay & Trevelyan, 1977) was employed in this study, as I required a restricted sample in a well-defined setting. As my aim was to tap the vernacular norms of the community, no attempt was made to stratify the sample by standard sociolinguistic indicators such as class and education. The speakers were chosen specifically on the basis of 1) native speaker status 2) homogeneous socio-economic characteristics, 3) dense networks, 4) age.

3.2.1 Native speaker status

This study concentrates on one demographically restricted homogeneous group, therefore all speakers were born and raised in Buckie or the surrounding areas, or had moved there at a very young age. Moreover, many of the informants' ancestors had resided in the community for many generations. If a speaker had left the community for an extended period of time, then they were not included in the sample. These decisions follow from work on dialect acquisition; an individual under the age of seven coming to a different dialect region will acquire the new dialect, but over the age of 14 years old, non-native features will be apparent in their speech (Chambers, 1992; Payne, 1976; Roberts & Labov, 1995).

3.2.2 Speaker background

The relationship between socio-economic status and linguistic behaviour has been well-documented previously (see, for example, Labov, 1972e). However, the focus of this study is an analysis of the vernacular norms of a particular group within the community, rather than an examination of how the variety is stratified by class or the impact of education, for example. Therefore all informants exhibit similar cultural and socio-economic characteristics. None of the informants had gone on to further education. In the older generation, most left school at 14, in the middle aged, 15 or 16, and in the younger generation, the majority left school at 16 years old. With the exception of those employed on the oil rigs, all of the informants work within the local area, and most are employed or have been employed in jobs which can be considered working class.

Milroy (1987:29) states that 'when linguists declare an interest in the social class of speakers, they are commenting on the position of those speakers relative to each other in the class-stratified society which has evolved as a consequence of unequal access to

power and advantage'. But essential to an understanding of this classification is that it must be placed within the context of the community under study (ibid:32). Certainly, the definition 'working class' is inappropriate in this context, as 'strict class-tying is lacking' (Johnston, 1997b:445) in these communities. Although the majority of informants are employed in occupations deemed working class by standard occupational scales, this has not resulted in unequal access to power in most cases. This is best highlighted in the case of the fishermen, who are often highly regarded within the community and are involved in civic duties of varied descriptions. For example, the establishment and subsequent running of the *Buckie Fishing Heritage* was almost entirely due to this group. In addition, many of the informants have prominent positions on committees associated with schools and other institutions. Therefore the term *working class* needs to be viewed from within the cultural setting of the community under study. In Buckie, the working classes hold the power in the community, and to a certain extent the lower middle classes, with the upper middle classes playing a very peripheral role, if any. Therefore the speech described here is not working class per se, but representative of the vernacular norms of the majority of community members.

3.2.3 Networks

Milroy (1992:2) states that 'social class is fundamentally a concept designed to elucidate large-scale social, political and economic structures and processes, whereas social network relates to the community and interpersonal level of social organisation'. For this study, individuals whose networks were *dense* and *multiplex* (Milroy, 1980) were selected. That is, those whose lives revolved around the community, with interaction taking place within a well-defined territory, and strong links being evident between themselves and other community members. The reason for such a choice lies in the premise that such members exhibit a high degree of loyalty to the local group, one such manifestation of this loyalty being evident in their linguistic behaviour. In these cases vernacular community norms would 'flourish in opposition to publicly legitimised norms' (Milroy, 1987:106). Informants whose networks proved to be more 'loose', in that they spent a significant amount of time outside the community, whether in connection with work or in a socialising capacity, would not display the collective values of the community, including linguistic conformity, hence were not included in the sample.

However, as with the notion of social class, how dense a network is must be viewed in relative terms. In this case, the older speakers have had the most insular lives, due to the extremely close knit nature of the fishing industry. Their lives to the present day revolve around their families and neighbours, with extremely restricted or no wider contacts[12].

Despite this being a rural community, the highly circumscribed life led by the older members of the community is difficult to replicate through the generations due to changing societal norms which have reached even the most isolated communities. Hence, the middle aged and younger speakers' networks are far less dense, mostly due to the changing lifestyles associated with class mobility, employment, and travel. For example, with the middle aged speakers, some of their children have gone on to higher education and have since left the area. This results in their having contacts with people outside the community (in-laws etc.) and in many cases, with other classes. The changing employment situation, in which young males now find employment on the oil rigs also has an effect on the density and multiplexity of the traditional networks. In addition, the majority of middle aged and younger speakers have travelled abroad at some point, and the ongoing effects of the media-enhanced age cannot be ignored. Hence the life experiences across the present day generations are very different.

These changing socio-cultural norms must be taken into account when evaluating the linguistic behaviour of these three age groups. Consistent with standard sociolinguistic theory (Labov, 1994a:106), the older speakers may exhibit more localised forms than the rest of the community, given the limited influence that outside factors have on their lives, compared to the middle aged and younger generations.

3.2.4 Age

The sample consists of three age groups - 22-31, 50-60, 80 and over - which represent three distinct generations. These were specifically selected to reveal change in apparent time, as the analysis of change 'requires observations of two states of a language' (Labov, 1994a:43). The three generations represent temporal analogues, where 'successive generations will show increased or decreased use of variants, pointing to innovative versus archaic forms' (Chambers, 1995:186). The establishment of old vs. new in the dialect through interpretation of apparent time patterns is particularly relevant in uncovering patterns of variation where no historical documentation exists (Labov, 1994b).

I specifically avoided teenagers to circumvent the complications of age grading, where 'individuals change their linguistic behaviour throughout their lifetimes, but the community as a whole does not change' (Labov, 1994a:84). Generational change, leading to linguistic change in the community as a whole is the concern of this study.

3.3 Practicalities with the selection of informants

Contact was made with the older speakers in two ways: through relatives and friends of the family and via local organisations. Contact was made with the chairman of the Buckie District Fishing Heritage, which is a voluntary organisation set up and run by local fishermen. The study was presented as a project on the changes that had taken place over the last decades in the community, including way of life, with the language aspect deliberately not focused on, so as to avoid repercussions on the informants' linguistic behaviour (see Milroy, 1987 for further comments on this point). The chairman was requested to put me in contact with elderly fishermen and their wives. Unfortunately, some of these initial contacts tended to be with fishing 'experts', well versed on how to address an audience (Labov, 1994a:46), thus the linguistic behaviour of these people might not exhibit patterns of speech truly representative of the vernacular, and they were therefore excluded from the study. However, from these initial contacts, more felicitous contacts were made, through the networking system discussed above, with the first contacts passing on names and addresses of other individuals willing to be interviewed. Contact through relatives and family friends made up half of the sample.

Contact with the middle aged speakers was made primarily through friends of my family and acquaintances through institutions such as the church and *Women's Rural Institute*. This group were generally less willing to take part in the study, and this was particularly true of the middle aged men. I attempted to overcome this problem by interviewing the women and their spouses together. Of the 12 informants in this age group, 8 were couples.

The task of accessing informants from the younger age group was greatly aided by the fact that I could make contact with old school friends, most of whom had stayed in the Buckie area. Milroy (1987:64) has rightly pointed out that the exclusive use of informants who are known to the researcher can be an 'incongruous type of event', which therefore does not lend itself to natural speech. However, in this case, I had not seen some of the speakers for many years, therefore the conversation focused on events of the past years, acquaintances etc. and provided an opportunity for collection of data approximating the most natural situation.

3.3.1 Exclusions

In total, 46 speakers were interviewed, but nine of these were excluded for various reasons. Two had left the community for more than five years, therefore their speech patterns may have had some non-native elements; one was a 'dialect expert'; four

speakers did not conform to the criteria laid down for socio-economic status, as they had white collar jobs; one speaker had gone on to further education.

3.4 The sample

The sample consists of 37 speakers, ranging from 22 to 87 years and is equally divided between men and women. Table 1 details the name, year born, sex and occupation of the speakers. The speaker code is included, which identifies examples throughout the dissertation. All come from the town of Buckie and the surrounding villages of Portessie and Findochty. Table 2 summarises this information.

Table 1: Speaker sample

pseudonym	occupation	birth date	sex	code
Older speakers				
Ruth Smith	gutter/housewife	1914	F	a
Andrew Coull	fisherman	1913	M	b
James Baine	cooper	1915	M	c
John Jappy	fisherman	1911	M	d
Nancy Jappy	gutter/housewife	1913	F	e
George Flett	fisherman	1914	M	f
Nelly Mair	gutter/housewife	1912	F	g
Mary Forbes	gutter/housewife	1915	F	h
Betty Farquhar	gutter/housewife	1912	F	r
Middle aged				
Jock Taylor	caretaker	1945	M	1
Sandra Thompson	shop assistant	1946	F	2
Maureen Slater	care worker	1946	F	3
John Smith	builder	1937	M	4
Alex Mair	fisherman	1937	M	5
Elsie Forbes	housewife	1938	F	8
George Forbes	fisherman	1937	M	9
Rose Garden	housewife	1945	F	!
James Garden	shipyard worker	1944	M	@
Walter Coull	fisherman	1939	M	£
Jessie Coull	housewife	1940	F	$
Mary Smith	housewife	1942	F	%
young				
Alex Cameron	chef	1974	M	i
Sandy Smith	oil rig worker	1967	M	j
Andy Clark	fisherman	1969	M	k
Davy Cowie	oil rig worker	1970	M	l
James Craig	fisherman	1970	M	m
Gary Coull	oil rig worker	1970	M	n
Dan Clark	oil rig worker	1969	M	o
Sean Murray	chef	1970	M	p
Vanessa Forbes	housewife	1967	F	q
Lisa Drummond	housewife	1967	F	s
Pauline Clark	fish processor	1968	F	t
Debbie Farquhar	housewife	1967	F	u
Elaine Sutherland	secretary	1968	F	v
Sheila Reid	nurse	1968	F	w
Lillian Milne	housewife	1966	F	x
Karen Lowe	housewife	1970	F	y

Table 2: Speaker sample		
	male	female
22-31	8	8
50-60	6	6
80+	4	5
total	**18**	**19**

The final sample of older speakers totals nine - five females and four males. Three of the males had been fishermen, and one, a cooper (barrel maker). Therefore all had been involved in the fishing industry. The females in the sample had all been fish gutters in their teens and twenties before becoming housewives.

The employment backgrounds of the middle aged speakers were more diverse than the older speakers, as indicated in Table 1, including care workers and shipbuilders, in addition to the more traditional occupations.

With the younger speakers, the majority of female informants were housewives. The males were fishermen, oil rig workers and chefs[13].

3.5. Data collection

My primary aim was to gain access to the vernacular, 'the style to which the minimum attention is given to the monitoring of speech' (Labov, 1972f) or the consistent use of vernacular forms, used by speakers from the lower end of the socio-economic scale in informal situations (Labov, 1984). Labov (1972b) observes that the most consistent patterns emerge through the vernacular, uninhibited by external factors. However, as 'the aim of linguistic research in the community must be to find out how people talk when they are not being systematically observed' (Labov, 1972f:209), the problem of the 'observer's paradox' (Labov, 1966/1982) arises, as the data can only be obtained through systematic observation. I used standard sociolinguistic methodology (Labov, 1984) to mitigate these problems, bearing in mind that the observer's paradox 'can never be resolved completely in principle'. (Labov, 1984:30)[14]

Blom (1972) claims that only an 'insider', that is, a member of the community being studied, can be fully accepted in the process of data collection. This is particularly true in densely-networked communities where outsiders are readily identified linguistically, given that the non-standard forms used by the members of the community are often highly stigmatised. My goal of obtaining a representative sample of vernacular Buckie

English was aided by my in-group status, as I am a member of one of the oldest families in the community.

3.5.1 Interview preparation

Since the goal of the study is the collection of a large volume of natural speech, every effort was made to lessen the 'observer's paradox' and elicit the vernacular. This involved putting into practice the theoretical issues surrounding the sociolinguistic interview (see, for example, Milroy, 1987). However, in practice these techniques had to be differentiated to suit the dynamics of the differing interview contexts.

For the older speakers, I employed the interview format devised by Labov (1984). The format of such an interview takes as its starting point the particular interests of the population, and especially those of the informants. Conversational modules were employed, and within each module, questions are formulated around a particular topic. The initial questions asked for a particular module were general in nature, and became more specific as the topic developed.

To prepare the questionnaire, I firstly undertook research into the history of the community, with particular reference to fishing life, as most of the informants came from such a background. The modules were based on topics that would elicit narratives about the past, for example, home life and the community. At the centre of the conversational network was the fishing module itself as this governed the way of life to a great extent in previous years.

Although the nature of the interview remained the same, the elicitation of narratives about the past proved to be inappropriate in the case of the middle aged speakers. Most of the speakers were still in employment, and had not lived through the days of the fishing boom which had shaped the nature of the community. Hence, the speakers did not feel 'legitimised' in talking about these subjects. For these speakers, I relied on topics regarding home and family life, particularly grandchildren, churches and clubs to which they were affiliated, and work.

As I had not seen most of the younger speakers for many years, the interview concentrated on their lives since leaving school.

3.5.2 Conducting the interview

At the beginning of the interview an 'individual profile' (Dorian, 1981) was used to establish demographic and socio-cultural information about the informants. This was only necessary if I was not well acquainted with the informants, which was not the case

with most speakers. This had the dual purpose of ensuring that the particular informant 'fitted' the informant profile described above, and also initiated conversation, rather than starting on a topic 'cold'. In many cases, the informant/s would lead the discussion after the initial period[15].

Recording did not begin immediately on entering the informants house, as this practice would not lend itself to an atmosphere conducive to natural spontaneous speech. Instead, a period of time was spent getting to know the informants, and telling them a little of the study that was being undertaken. This initial period, which varied in length from 15-45 minutes, proved to be invaluable in creating a situation in which the interviewee/s felt comfortable to talk.

The data had to be sufficient for the study of morphological and syntactic features, as these are often less frequent than morphological variables (Milroy, 1987:144). Therefore each interview was conducted for approximately one to two hours. The interviews were recorded using a high quality Sony ECM 5000 EV tape recorder and Sony ECM T145 lavaliere microphone.

3.5.3 Differences in the nature of the data collected

Paradis (1997:116) points out that the sociolinguistic interview is 'considered to be the same type of interaction no matter who the protagonists were, where it was taking place, and how it was occurring'. But in practice, even if speakers in the sample have similar profiles, they do not interact with the interviewer the same way, and conversely the interviewer's verbal and non-verbal behaviour is not identical from one interview to the other (ibid:118).

In the case of the data gathered here, the speaker sample was comparable, but the different nature of the data became apparent during the course of the interviews.

With the older speakers, the interviews are characterised by long narratives and in most cases, the speakers seemed unaware that they were being interviewed.

Extracts 11 and 12 below highlight the very informal and highly vernacular nature of the corpus. A profusion of non-standard, archaic forms are used, such as regularised *gied* for *went*, 2nd person singular *ee* in subject position and negative concord. The first involves a visit to a chip shop, and the second, a narrative about being called up during the Second World War.

Extract 11

I was in Elgin on Monday, up tae the hospital, and fin we come oot, we gied away to get wir dinner in Ash Grove chip shop at the back of Begg's shoe shop in Moss Street in Elgin. And eh, I says to Agnes- that's one of the Seller's that comes up fae Macduff and takes me up, you see. And eh, I says 'Will ee hae fish and chips? We'll hae fish-and-chips.' Well, bane comes the plate - great muckle oval plate. There was a great muckle haddock the hale length o' the plate, done in deep batter...done in deep batter and eh, garden peas and eh, oh the chips! Thon bonny dry chips, you-ken. And lettuce and your orange- your eh- lemon for squeezing on tae the top. And then you got a pot o' tea and breed and butter. And for the two of us, for the two of us, I was only six twenty five.

Extract 12

Aye, I was in Isle of Man at the fishin'. I was in the Jeannie MacIntosh and that year we gied doon to the Isle of Man and fishin' there. There was a good few Buckie boats and we come in one Saturday morning, we was at (inc) and got wir dinner and washed up and I gied away to my bed to get a twa hoors, you see. We used tae just ging up and sit on the brae in the Isle of Man, it's a fine place there. One of our crew had an accordion. We used to go up and sit and play and a' the visitors roon about it and that. That aifterneen, I was sayin', there a big shout. Jimmy Macrae was the salesman, big shout 'Is Andrew Coull there?' So I woke up, I says 'Aye.' 'Oh,' he says 'you 're wanted.' So I gied away up the brae. 'Oh,' he says 'eh, ee 're in the Reserves.' I says 'Aye, that's right.' 'Well,' he says 'Ee've tae report at Lowestoft at once.' 'At once?' 'Aye, at once'. And there's Jim Cowie, there's John Morra, that's the Corn Rig.' I says 'Aye, they're just ower there.' 'Well, the three of you,' he says 'come up to the office,' ye see. The word got roon, there was some Buckie lassies and Finichty lassies gutting there that year and as soon as they heard this, they startit to find out- tried to find out more about it. So he says 'Oh, there's a cattle boat goes at, I think at nine o'clock or somethin' fae Douglas across to Liverpool.' So this quine says 'They're nae gan in nae cattle boat. Afore you go ony further, if they're gan to ging, they're gan to ging decent.'.

Moreover, the older speakers are certainly the most isolated of the three groups. I suggest that given their limited experience of broader practices outside the Buckie area, the older speakers do not have the resources available linguistically to switch styles or register. Therefore their speech may exhibit the 'purest forms' of the dialect (see, for example, Kurath, 1939; Viereck, 1966).

Two factors affected the nature of the data obtained from the younger speakers. First, the fact that myself and the interviewee(s) in the majority of cases were old school friends of the same age and shared past experiences. This may have an affect on the type of data gathered as the interviewer-interviewee asymmetries are attenuated in such a situation. Much of the conversations centred on gossip, and Extracts 13 and 14 are typical of the type of interaction in these interviews. Notice the use of /f/ for /hw/, and the distal demonstrative *yon/thon.*

Extract 13

Well, ken 'is. Only found oot yesterday, cos we were sitting after we (inc) I was sayin', I was thinkin' back abody that was in oor class at the school and that. Ken, I says, do you mine on Linda Black? Ken, I met her in Aiberdeen about- oh, I was just saying to Graham- he says 'I used to ging oot wi' her!' I says 'Fit?!' He says 'Ye na ken athing about me!' I thought 'Christ, I can na mine on 'at, like.' Well, I met her in Aberdeen, it must've been aboot- I think L was jist born, so it would be about twa year and she was comin' down Union Street, ken nae a bit changed, like, ken. Pushin' a buggy, ken. [1] Naebody changes. [021] No, and I says 'Oh' I says 'Far are ee at?' 'Oh;' she says 'I 'm in Aiberdeen.' Eh, she went awa' tae the Wrens, mine? [1] That 's right. [021] The Wrens she'd went tae noo. And she'd marriet this boy, I think she was marriet to this lad and she'd haen the bairn and that, but she says 'Oh that 's hez. We 're wir separate wyes noo.' But she was still bidin' in the hoose in Aiberdeen, but whether- I-mean, that would be about two year ago I would say, so whether she 's still there or no.

Extract 14

Well, I'd been like friendly with R fae when- like, I got my car, passed my test and that, used to sit in the square. Ken, yon sittin' in the square at all hours, ken. Well, ken my chum L, remember used to chum wi' LS? Aye. Well we used to go out and athing at like one in the the morning with a- sit in the square til about five in the

mornin'. Nae wise fin ye think on't! Ken, with a travellin' rug, sittin' in the freezin' cal' wi' a travellin' rug. And I think it was just like, we 'd- nae sitting in the square and athing, but ken how you just- well, like got- maybe you didna dee it, ye see, sittin' speaking to folk and eh my mam and that was wantin' a- an alcove and stuff done fin they moved into that house, so I asked R to do it and I ken, we kind of just- just kind of got thegither. And the next I ken, we was married, ken just. [1] So you went out with him- [019] Aye, we went- we went- aye we went thegither when we was seventeen but then this was now- I was twenty and ken, I was never parted in bad terms or onythin'. Just didna work oot. Too young and athin'. And then startit gan oot thegither, oh I na- ken just startit gan thegither.

Interviews with the middle aged speakers proved to be the most demanding in terms of mitigating the observer's paradox. Some of the speakers appeared uncomfortable and at times, monitoring of speech was apparent through verbal and non-verbal cues, such as self correction and hesitation.

I suggest that the different outcomes of what in theory should be the same speech events are to do with 'the interpretation of the situation by the interviewee and the interviewer' (Paradis, 1997:117) and the need to project a positive image (Goffman, 1967).

The older and younger speakers felt they had a 'product' which they could offer (Paradis, 1997:117) - for the older speakers this was stories of the fishing boom and days gone by, and for the younger speakers, information about friends, gossip and shared past events. Some of the middle aged speakers, on the other hand, felt they had to 'perform' in some way and wanted to cooperate, but at the same time surmised that they had little to offer.

In particular, the middle aged women were prone to monitoring their speech, as in Extract 15.

Extract 15

[032] Used to be Texas. [033] Used to be Texas. It 's aside Asda. It's owned by eh- Sainsbury's aye. Yes. Aye aye, uh huh. But oh, it's fine. It 's a fine store. [032] (inc) took it over just- och, nae long ago really. Was it. [033] No, about a year ago, wasn 't it? [032] Just

this year that they took it over. That Sainbury's ta-- eh took it over fae Texas.

I interpret this as a need to present a positive image, resulting in the use of more conservative or standard forms (Labov, 1972a).

In sum, I suggest that the data from the middle aged speakers still represents the same vernacular norms as the other generations, but includes more style shifting to formal speech. The vernacular, but perhaps a slightly more formal style. This should be borne in mind when assessing change across generations. Moreover, if there is monitoring of speech, this will provide an interesting test case for what is being monitored and why. These points are returned to in the following chapters.

The corpus consists of approximately 40 hours of tape-recorded conversations. The greatest testimony to their informal nature is the fact that the variety of Buckie Scots as represented by the corpus is virtually unintelligible to speakers of standard or many other dialects of English.

3.5.4 Ethical considerations

At the beginning of every interview, the procedure for tape recording was explained to the informants. I stated that the recordings were only available to those involved in the project, and access to these was highly protected. Secondly, switching on of the tape recorder would not be done covertly. Obviously this has implications for the 'observer's paradox', but this is a compromise which is essential if a trust is to be built up between interviewer and interviewee. Thirdly, the interviewees were informed that if they felt that a topic they were about to embark on was confidential or sensitive in some way, they could request that the tape recorder be switched off.

Pseudonyms were used in order to protect the identity of the informants, and no excerpt from the transcription which might reveal the interviewees' identity were used in the write up of research.

3.6 Data manipulation

In preparation for this study, this body of materials was made machine readable by transcription of the tape-recorded conversations, resulting in a corpus of over 300,000 words. Following the procedures detailed in other projects (Poplack, 1989; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1991b; Tagliamonte, 1996-1998) a strict transcription protocol was followed, detailing spelling conventions and listing words peculiar to the dialect. As

grammatical features are the focus of this study, the transcriptions are orthographic, rather than phonetic. This resulted in a compromise between truly representing the vernacular and the inherent variable renditions of lexical items, and maintaining important morphological and phonological distinctions. For example, maintaining a distinction between the lexical item *home* and its local pronunciation *hame* multiplies entries in the data base without profit (Poplack, 1993:265). However, if such differences provided meaningful morphological distinctions, then these were retained (Poplack, 1989; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1991b; Tagliamonte, 1996-1998). This is exemplified in (1) where one rendition of the preterit form of the verb *come* is *came* and the other *come*. In (2), the agreement patterns in demonstratives is highlighted.

1. a. I *come* off the sea about nineteen seventy. (b:747.21)
   b. I *came* back and fore fae New Byth. (b:172.321)

2. a. You 're made aware that *these* people are infected (x:568.9)
   b. He 's had six years of saying 'You will say Celtic' and all *this* kind of things. (x:244.7)[16]

It is important to distinguish these and other alternations in the transcription as they are features which are of potential interest for study.

A concordance of the transcriptions (Rand & Patera, 1992) was then used to calculate word frequencies, types and contexts of each speaker in the sample. These procedures ensure maximal accessibility of the morphological and syntactic forms to be studied and accelerate data extraction. For example, negative contexts in spoken data are very rare (see, for example, Tottie, 1991), and it would be time consuming to search the entire data base manually to identify these. These could be automatically extracted using the concordance programme. This is demonstrated in the analysis of *do* variability in present tense negative declaratives (Chapter 4). I used *Concorder* to extract every instance of cliticised *na* from each speaker. This resulted in the list shown below, extracted from speaker j.

```
1.4,16     my voice.  I do NA sound like that.  (interviewer speaks).  I
1.6,2      I NA ken why.  It 's like- I-mean, obviously that 's what I sound
1.8,52     own voice all the time, it 's like  'Well, that can NA be right,
1.23,38     [1] That 's all the troops!  [010] I NA  ken if Debbie still
1.26,33    and I seen them- christ,  I have NA seen her for years like, I na
1.26,63    and I seen them- christ,  I have na seen her for years like, I NA
1.40,52    herself into Bilbohall for a while just for like, I NA ken, nerves
1.61,52     But its like, these  folk at like fourteen, you do NA really ken
1.65,30    ken, you just like-  you have NA got enough information about life
1.68,15    and-'  they do NA ken what they 're getting up to and instead of
```

1.72,62 about that. Ken, it 's like 'Och, I 'm alright. Ken, it wi NA
1.86,26 anybody- well, I still do NA bother what folk think of me, but I
1.104,20 's like 'Oh god! I NA like this anymore!' Ken. I just like
1.111,11 say 'Oh, I NA really ken about any of that.' Ken and make up my
1.112,59 own opinion about things, but, I- mean, some folk just can NA-
1.116,17 playing- you can NA like make a difference a-tween what you are
1.118,47 taking it to be out of their heads cos they do NA like- it 's like
1.125,16 paranoid. I do NA like being straight.' And I 'm like 'Well,
1.127,0 NA keep going through life like being on a buzz and out of your
1.130,61 you need to keep yourself sort-of half sensible, ken you can NA
1.136,3 do NA even- ken like Pete, P.E., my mate Pete, he 'll go to like-
1.139,7 worth it for the money, you 're getting, ken, so he did NA bother.

However, not all of these are part of the variable context. Modals, as in (1a), auxiliaries, as in (1b) and past tense forms as in (1c), were excluded.

(1) a. own voice all the time, it's like 'Well, that can NA be right. (j:8.52)
b. and I seen them- christ, I have NA seen her for years like. (j:26.33)
c. it's nae worth it for the money, you 're getting, ken, so he did na bother. (j:139.7)

This left the following tokens:

4,16 my voice. I do NA sound like that. (interviewer speaks). I
6,2 I NA ken why. It 's like- I-mean, obviously that 's what I sound
23,38 [1] That 's all the troops! [010] I NA ken if Debbie still
26,63 and I seen them- christ, I have NA seen her for years like, I NA
40,52 herself into Bilbohall for a while just for like, I NA ken, nerves
61,52 But its like, these folk at like fourteen, you do NA really ken
68,15 and-' they do NA ken what they 're getting up to and instead of
(86,26 anybody- well, I still do NA bother what folk think of me, but I
104,20 's like 'Oh god! I NA like this anymore!' Ken. I just like
111,11 say 'Oh, I NA really ken about any of that.' Ken and make up my
118,47 taking it to be out of their heads cos they do NA like- it 's like
125,16 paranoid. I do NA like being straight.' And I 'm like 'Well,
127,0 NA keep going through life like being on a buzz and out of your
136,3 do NA even- ken like Pete, P.E., my mate Pete, he 'll go to like-

Searching for tokens manually would have involved a painstaking pass through all 300,000 words. In addition to time-saving constraints, this automated method ensures that every instance of the variable context is accounted for, with an exact account of where it can be found in the transcript.

3.6.1 Morpho-syntactic variables and circumscription of the variable context

There should be 'a prerequisite for any quantitative study of language variation that a clear and defensible position on the nature and locus of the variation has been achieved' (Guy, 1993:239). In these analyses, a guiding principle of 'functional equivalence' was

used, where 'a choice mechanism entails that given linguistic 'functions' may be realised in different 'forms' (Poplack, 1993:252). In other words, the variants have the same referential meaning (Sankoff, 1988; Sankoff & Thibault, 1981; Sankoff & Thibault, 1980).

3.6.2 Coding

In each analysis, I attempt to determine which linguistic internal and extra-linguistic factors constrain the observed variation. I look to previous research (which includes historical, descriptive and theoretical, as well as quantitative analyses of the feature under investigation) to establish a set of hypotheses about what influences the variation. I then construct a coding system in order to operationalise the extra-linguistic and internal factors posited to have an effect on the use of a particular variant. Each variable is coded for age and sex, then other morphological syntactic, discourse and semantic features which may determine the factors implicated in the observed variation.

3.6.3 Analysis of the data

A distributional analysis of the individual factors constraining each linguistic feature under investigation is carried out in order to establish the individual factors which may influence the occurrence of certain variants. This also allows me to identify potential problems in the data, such as small numbers of contexts, interacting factors and other problems. As Guy (1993:246) states 'By Occam's Razor, a theory is better to the extent that it minimises explanatory principles and presents the most general account of the facts.'

However, tabulations of individual effects cannot replicate the multicausal system in which these variable constraints operate as 'every token of a variable occurs embedded in an utterance and a social context which could encompass a large number of factors influencing the speakers selection from the range of alternants' (Guy, 1988:125). Therefore the main tool employed in this study is multivariate analysis, where there is 'an attempt to model the data as a function of several simultaneous, intersecting, independent forces, which may be pulling in different directions' (Guy, 1988:125). This method models the combined effect of each factor simultaneously, and permits assessment of the significance and relative strength of the contribution of each factor to the variability under investigation.

The programme used is Goldvarb 2, a variable rule application for the Macintosh (Rand & Sankoff, 1990). Some specific terms with reference to the variable rule programme will be used throughout this research, which are summarised below.

The *input probability* is the 'global measure of rate of rule application' (Guy, 1988:126), which is the propensity of the rule to be applied 'on its own' apart from the influence of any of the environments.

Factor groups are internal and external contexts which are hypothesised to have an effect on the observed variation. For example, in the case of *was/were* alternation, it is hypothesised that grammatical person conditions use of *was* in contexts of standard *were*, therefore grammatical person is one factor group. Within a factor group, there are *factors* - in this case, the grammatical persons which in standard English appear with *were*. Second person singular *you* is one factor in this factor group. Each factor is assigned a *factor weight* or *probability* by the programme. This is a number between zero and one. The higher the number, the more likely the rule is to apply. Factor weights above .5 are said to *favour* the rule and below, *disfavour*. In the case of *was/were* alternation, if *you was* has a factor weight of .63, then it favours the application of *was*. Goldvarb can assess whether individual factor groups have a *statistically significant* effect onthe observed variation. Moreover, the strength of a factor group's contribution to the observed variability is shown by the *range*. This is the difference between the highest factor in a factor group and the lowest.

In sum, in each of the following chapters, my goal is to provide a detailed characterisation of the observed variability. The basic methodology employed is:

1) Extraction of all contexts in which each linguistic form could have been used regardless of form and according to strict circumscription of the 'variable context'.

2) Implementation of all relevant linguistic features both from the historical record and/or contemporary studies of varieties of English.

3) Coding and examination of relevant internal and external factors.

4) A distributional analysis of the range and frequency of variants by all factors.

5) A complete multivariate analysis demonstrating which factors are statistically significant, to what degree and according to which constraint hierarchy, when all are considered simultaneously.

6) Where possible, cross-dialectal comparisons. This will allow me to assess the similarities and differences between Buckie and other varieties and account for these.

3.7 The linguistic variables under study

Appendix A demonstrates that the grammar of Buckie exhibits a plethora of non-standard forms, many of which are ideal candidates for a quantitative study. I have selected 4 variables for detailed analysis: negative concord, *do* absence, *was/were* alternation and strong verb morphology. These were specifically chosen for their frequency, robust non-standard usage as well as wide geographic distribution. Moreover, these represent different components within the grammar.

The most obvious problem when conducting research that examines grammatical variation, is finding sufficient quantities of relevant data (see, for example, Milroy, 1987). For this reason, variables which were frequent in spoken data were selected. This is a prerequisite of any quantitative study in order to avoid empty cells or statistical fluctuation.

My own native speaker intuitions and observations during data collection and transcription indicated that these four variables were robust in the grammar of the Buckie speakers, rather than being confined to a few examples in the data set.

With the exception of *do* absence, all of the variables selected for study are documented in other varieties of English. This provides an opportunity for cross-dialectal comparisons as discussed in Section 1.2.

Although the variables are all part of the grammar, in theoretical terms, they represent different components of the language system. Specifically, negative concord and *was/were* variation are morphosyntactic (see, for example, Henry, 1995) and the strong verb system is lexical (see, for example, Bybee, 1985). The choice of these three linguistic variables will allow me to test empirically these theoretical distinctions on language variation and change.

3.8 Summary

I began by detailing the outcomes of this study both at the community level and also in an international context, through the examination of four key linguistic features. I also discussed the possible relevance of these to theories of language change, involving drift, innovation, diffusion and primitives. I then described the community under study,

demonstrating that it had all the attributes of a relic area, and therefore is an ideal candidate from which to assess language variation and change. Section 3.6 reported the methodology employed in this research, corpus description and how the study was implemented. The last section provides a justification of the choice of linguistic variables under study.

Having described the background issues in detail, I now proceed with the individual analyses. The remainder of this dissertation is divided into the following sections. Chapter 2 examines *was/were* alternation, Chapter 3 is negative concord, Chapter 4, *do* absence, and Chapter 5 is strong verbs. Chapter 6 is a discussion of the findings presented in the preceding chapters.

1 But Caroline Macafee has an ongoing project at the University of Aberdeen.
2 I adopt Kiparsky's (1982:175) definition of restructuring as 'a discontinuous linguistic change arising from the difference between the grammar constructed by a child and the grammar of those whose speech constituted his linguistic experience'.
3 These populations were driven from the nearby countryside in order to avoid starvation.
4 However, some early settlers had originally been farmers in the area, but had 'took to fishing' at the beginning of the 19th century (Hutcheson, 1888/1997:14).
5 The Fletts of Findochty were said to have come from Shetland (Hutcheson, 1888/1997:14).
6 In 1808 a Commission on Herring Fisheries made bounties available to small boats for the first time and Buckie was able to benefit because men could get an advance payment on their fish thus making it possible for them to buy their own boats, crewed by their own families (Gardiner, 1842:261; Hutcheson, 1888/1997:15).
7 This is demonstrated from an extract from an interviews with a former fisherman:
Now this- since that when they got this pursers, that's what they've killed the fish with, they 're taking up the whole babies and everything. They're sucking their babies and a-thing into their boats, and saying 'You've no herring' and makes you wonder why there's none. If you kill the babies, then you've got nothing, Jennifer, that's just common sense. But they would na listen till- t...and that was the killer, I would say, of the herring fishing.
8 Unfortunately, no figures are available on employment trends in the last 15 years.
9 The profusion of shared surnames resulted in the use of t-names, which were used to distinguish the different families (Hutcheson, 1888/1997:35). For example, the Smiths in Portessie were known as Smith-Frasies, Smith-Laitten and other names. These were based on 'place of residence or personal peculiarities' (Hutcheson, 1888/1997:35). In some cases, these t-names continue to be used.
10 The language only became predominant during the 13th and 14th centuries in more northern areas (Johnston, 1997a:61).
11 The awareness of issues associated with the dialect and support for its continuation is highlighted in the extract from a local newspaper article (The Banffshire Advertiser Tuesday, April 6, 1999) written by a member of Buckie Scots Language Group which reads 'For many in Scotland, however, it is imperative that all languages - or dialects, according to one's viewpoint - spoken in this country should be made available to all, and schools and Scots societies are in the vanguard of such moves to keep our languages alive for our young people'.
12 The majority of this group had travelled outwith the surrounding area in order to work in the fishing industry, but even in these situations, they formed a cohesive group which had little contact with the local population.
13 Even in this small sample, the change in employment base is clearly seen. Of the male population, all of the older speakers were involved in the shipping industry. This drops to around half in the middle aged speakers and a much smaller percentage with the younger speakers. Although this sample cannot be taken as representative of employment trends, it is indicative.
14 Despite the refinement of the sociolinguistic interview over the last few decades (Labov, 1972b; Labov, 1972f; Labov, 1984), Wolfson (1976) states that the sociolinguistic interview can only approximate to linguistic productions found in natural interactions.
15 This, of course, is an optimal situation for the collection of morphological and syntactic data, as such a situation is evidence that the interview format has been moved away from, making the interaction more closely resemble an everyday context.
16 The letters and numbers in brackets following the utterance refer to speaker code and line number in transcription.

CHAPTER 2

WAS/WERE ALTERNATION

1. Introduction

Variability in the verb *be* has been the subject of much sociolinguistic research over the past few decades as it is widely-attested as having forms which differ from Standard English (Trudgill, 1990:98). Perhaps the foremost of these is the extensive, and indeed even world-wide, variability between the preterit forms *was* and *were*, as in (1):

(1) We *were* a' thegither ... I think we *was* a' thegither. (h:346.2)

What is the explanation for this variability? Traditionally, it has been identified as the the use of *was* where the contemporary standard paradigm requires *were,* and the extent to which *was* occurs has led many researchers to conclude that the verb *be* is undergoing a process of analogical levelling (Christian, Wolfram & Dube, 1988; Fries, 1940; Wolfram, 1969), as in (2):

(2) a. And then ye *was* away onto a fishin' station. (c:216.13)
b. Sometimes ye *was* oftener at the tub. (g:43.20)
c. We *wasna* gettin' a house at the time. (f:72.13)
d. So fin we *was* in there she come ower. (d:538.22)
e. That housies *was* a' hauled down in the nineteen thirties. (b:163.64)
f. The mothers *was* roaring at ye comin' in. (b:256.34)
g. There *was* some Buckie lassies and Finichty lassies guttin'. (a:320)
h. There *was* other ones, coopers again. (c:73.10:)

Moreover, Chambers (1995:242) maintains that this is a feature that is a 'primitive of vernacular dialects in the sense that [it] recurs all over the world'. However, the findings that there are different pivots for levelling, as in (3) suggests that the mechanism underlying the regularisation process may actually be quite complex (Britain, forthcoming; Orton & Halliday, 1963; Schilling-Estes & Wolfram, 1994).

(3) a. There *were* a daughter. (f:474.35)

What are the patterns of *was/were* variability in Buckie and how can they be accounted for? Analogical levelling? Primitive tendencies? Crucially, how does it compare to other dialects? If use of *was* in *were* is a primitive, as Chambers suggests, and/or a product

of analogical levelling, then it will be illustrative to examine whether all dialects follow the same patterns. As Rickford (1977:195) has rightly pointed out, 'regularisation' as a linguistic process cannot be assessed without recourse to comparison with the same features in related varieties.

In an attempt to contribute further insights into these and other questions regarding the verb *be* and regularisation more generally, I conduct a quantitative analysis of *was/were* variation in Buckie and how it compares to other varieties. Section 2 summarises analogical levelling and primitives in dialects, and Section 3 details the historical precursors of this variability. Section 4 reviews the contemporary research in this area, and the methods section follows. The results are in Section 6, and a comparison with other dialects in Section 6. The discussion is in Section 7.

2. Analogical levelling and primitives

2.1 Primitives

In the Introduction, I discussed the concept of primitives in vernacular dialects. *Was/were* variability or 'default singulars' (Chambers, 1995:242) fall into this category as they are found in nearly every vernacular dialect of English which has ever been studied. However, if it is a primitive process, then non-standard *was* would be expected to occur in all linguistic contexts. In other words, an across the board process in which *was* is replaced by *were*. Variation arises, presumably, when these primitive tendencies succumb to standardisation, i.e are a learned process. Hock (1986) states that use of *were* is not generated by a rule, but purely learned then memorised. For example, Bickerton (1975:115) suggests that *were* in creoles is acquired in direct proportion to increasing access to Standard English. What we might expect to find therefore with use of *was* in *were* is not particular patterning in use, but purely a reflection of 'acrolect-to-basilect hierarchy' of use (Chambers, 1995:247). The further from the standard (i.e the acrolect) a particular variety is, the more use of *was*.

2.2 Analogical levelling

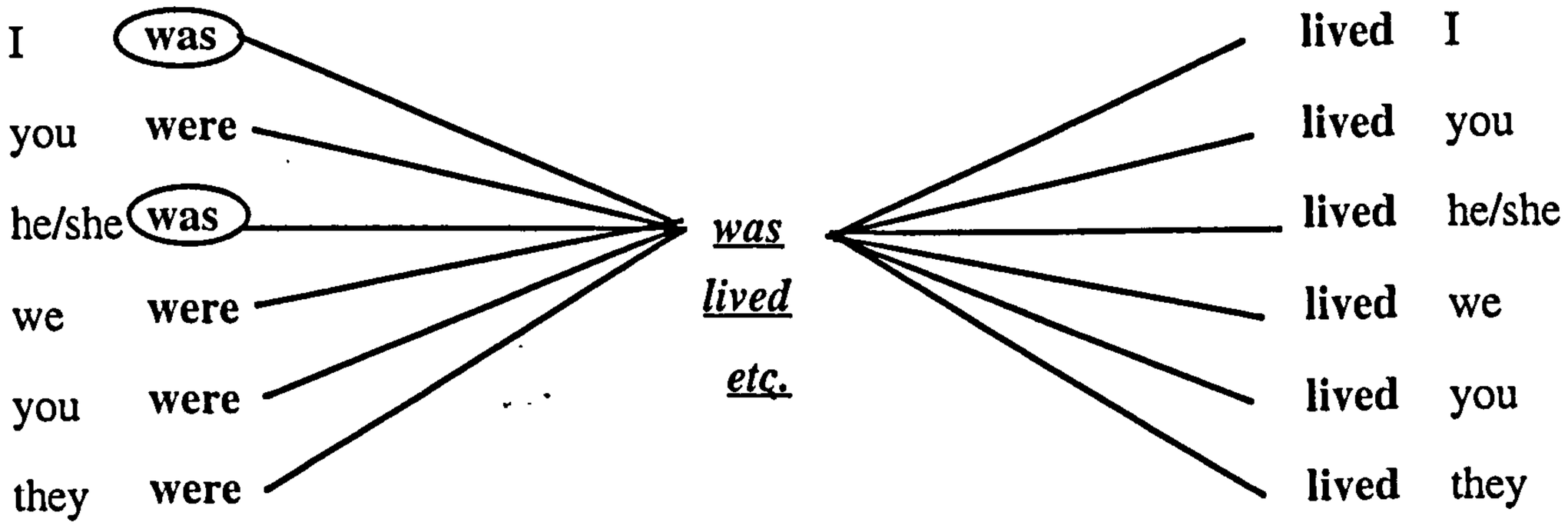
Another process which concentrates on language internal processes to describe regularisation is analogical levelling. This is a tendency toward 'one meaning - one form' where alternations which do not produce differences in meaning are dispensed with and redundancy, or multiple expression of the same information, tends to be eliminated (Hock, 1986) . However, predictions for precisely what will be levelled in a language, and how the process unfolds, are complicated by the often sporadic nature of analogy and the fact that it is never obligatory (McMahon, 1994). Most researchers

agree that the main driving force behind analogy is frequency (Bloomfield, 1933; Hock, 1986), such that more frequent forms tend to override less common ones. Manczak (1980) also argues that it is the more basic forms, i.e. those that are the most frequent in discourse, that replace others (e.g. singular vs. plural and third person vs. other grammatical persons). Such categories are inferred to be the initial 'triggers' for analogical change.

Despite the high frequency of the verb *be* and its retention of relic morphological alternates in the preterit, a number of characteristics make it a site par excellence for the operation of analogy. In the first place, alternation between *was* and *were* is redundant in English. With the exception of *you,* the subject pronouns alone signal person and number of the verb. Therefore, the requisite ground zero redundancy applies. Second, *be* is thought to be under pressure from the grammar of English more generally where system-wide loss of the preterit singular-plural distinction has, with the exception of *be,* gone to completion (Feagin, 1979; Fries, 1940; Wolfram & Christian, 1976).

This pressure for conformity in the past tense verbal paradigm is illustrated in Figure 1:

Figure 1: Levelling by analogy of the past tense paradigm of the verb *be*



On the other hand, these system-internal processes cannot be viewed in isolation. Kurylowicz (1949) claims that although the grammatical system determines the possible analogical changes, the extra-linguistic factors decide whether these are realized, and to what extent. Thomason (1969) also suggests that the influence of social pressure is paramount in the choice of variant. Thus, a comprehensive theory of *was/were* alternation appears to require the treatment of both system internal and system external

influences in which discourse frequencies and the socio-historical context can be expected to be key elements.

In sum, we have two hypotheses regarding *was/were* alternation - primitives and anological levelling. Both lead to the same outcome - use of *was* across all contexts. However, when we see specific patterns of use, how can these be accounted for? Does the historical record impact on the synchronic variability? Is there continuity of patterns? I now turn to the historical precursors of the verb *be*.

3. Historical precursors of *was*

3.1 The development of the verb be *in English*

Any attempt to explain the current state of the *was/were* alternation in English is dependent on a diachronic analysis of the forms, as the present paradigm of the verb *be* has gone through many changes since the Old English period. It is suppletive, due to the fact that it has its origins in four historically unrelated verbs, and has been described as a 'badly mixed up verb' (Pyles & Algeo, 1993:127), having the characteristic, like other frequent verbs, of being irregular in nature. Lass (1992:139) goes further, stating that in the Old English period, it could not be considered a verb, but rather 'a collection of semantically related paradigms of various historical origins'.

The present tense paradigm comes from the Old English *beon*, but the preterit source originates in the verb *wesan*, which is from the Indo-European form *vasati,* meaning 'dwell' or remain (Lass, 1987:177). From this comes today's distinct past tense forms[1]. In the Old English period, the following indicative forms existed:

ic wæs
þu wære
he, heo, hit wæs
we, ge, hi wæron

(Quirk & Wrenn, 1958:54)

By the Middle English period, the following paradigm is attested (the bracketed words signify alternative forms).

I was (wes)
þu were (was, wes)
he she it was
we, you, they were(n) (waren, ware, war, wer, wore, wes)

(Brunner, 1963:85)

During this period, alternation between the forms *was* and *were* is amply attested in most accounts, and is described as quite frequent (Curme, 1977; Jespersen, 1954; Pyles & Algeo, 1993; Visser, 1963-73). A number of external and internal constraints affecting the distribution of *was* and *were* are attested. The most prominent of these are detailed below.

3.2 Grammatical person and number

Table 1 illustrates the inventory of preterit indicative pronoun forms of *be* reported by Forsström (1948), culled from a large number of historical texts selected to represent the different geographical regions in Britain.

Table 1: Survey of the pronominal forms *be* in Middle English (Forsström, 1948).

PRETERIT INDIC.	Southeast Kent	Southeast Saxon	South west	East Midlands	Northeast	West Midland	Northern
1st, 3rd sg	*wes*	*was*	*was*	*was*	*was*	*was* *wes*	*was* *(wes)*
2nd sg	*were*	*ware,* *were*	*were*	*wore*	***was,*** *wore* *(ware)*	***was*** [north-west] *were* *were,*	***was***
Plural	*were(n)*	*ware(n),* *were(n)*	*were(n)*	*wore*	*wore(n),* *ware/n/*	*were(n)*	*war(e)* *(were/e/)*

A widely-attested context for use of *was* is 2nd person singular. Note, however, the extent to which this use was geographically determined (Brunner, 1963; Mossé, 1952). The southern regions of Britain mirror contemporary standard English norms - the preterit indicative was *were* with all the plural personal pronouns (*we, you, they*) as well as 2nd person singular (*thou*). In the Midlands, a variable system existed: both *was* and *were* were used with 2nd person singular. In the North[2], however, *was* was employed almost exclusively with 2nd person singular, as in (4), extracted from Northern texts of the Middle English period (Forsström, 1948). Indeed, the only exception to this pattern found by Forsström (1948:214) occurs in a rhymed position and thus cannot be taken as a counter example. If so, then there are, in fact, *no* exceptions to the pattern in this early body of northern materials, i.e. the use of *was* was categorical in this context in northern texts[3].

(4) a. Lete punysch for the, when that *thou was* thrall. (c1350: Mirror of Lewed Men, 608)[4]

b. When *þou was* bowne with a brande my body to shende. (c1450: The Wars of Alexander, 870)
c. Caym, Caym, *thou was* wode. (c1450: The Towneley Plays, 350)
d. Vnto *þ*at erth *þou was* of tan. (c1300: Cursor Mundi, 928)
e. *Was þou* not at me ri*ȝ*t now. (ibid: 3727)
f. Ioseph *þou was* mi ioi allan. (ibid: 4221)

This pattern continued into Early Modern English (EModE), as in (5):

(5) a. He wreitt to me that ye *ves* in Edinburgh for sick occasiounes. (1609: Letters of Duntreath)
b. I was glad to hear yesterday that yow *was* come into this country. (1741: Letters of Duntreath)
c. I heard oftner from yow when ye *was* at a greater distance. (1659: Memorials of the family of Wemyss of Wemyss)
d. For in your last ye shew me that ye *was* troubled with ane swelling of the spleen. (1659: Memorials of the family of Wemyss of Wemyss)

3.3 Type of subject

Another important geographical difference documented in *was/were* usage is type of subject and adjacency of the subject and verb constraint which operated in northern regions of the country, and can be traced back to the 13th century:

> 'When the subject is a noun, adjective, interrogative or relative pronoun, or when the verb and subject are separated by a clause, the verb takes the termination *-s* in all persons.' (Murray, 1873:211)

This Northern Personal Pronoun Rule, results in sentences such as *They cut them* in contrast to *The men cuts them.* Sentences such as *They cuts them* would be ungrammatical. Moreover, 'such expressions as *the men syts* are not vulgar corruptions, but strictly grammatical in the Northern dialect' (Murray, 1873:212). Although this rule applies to the present morpheme *-s,* it was extended to the preterit forms of the verb *be* as 'in the same way *was*, *wes* intruded upon *were*, *war* in the past tense' (Murray, 1873:213).

This rule has two outcomes for the preterit forms of *be*: first, the plural pronouns *you* and *we* and *they* appear with *were*, whereas all other forms appear with *was.* This contrasting use of *was* and *were* is demonstrated in (6), where the form *was* appears

after Full NPs, but *were* is used after the pronoun *thay* and *we*. Examples are from the Middle English and Early Modern English period·

(6) a. I am a commelyng toward þe, And pilgrym as alle my faders *was*. (c1400: Richard Rolle of Hampole)
b. The bernis both *wes* basit of the sicht. (1475-1522: Douglas, King Hart)
c. ... and there to be hangitt be þe heid, ay quhill thay *were* deid . (c1400: Annals of Hawick)
d. They *wer* informed that my brother William his soun, should be a ward. (1627: Letters of Duntreath)
e. For ve *ver* all in the mill vuirt. (1629:Letters of Duntreath)
f. We *were* fowre. (c1450: Townely Plays, 127)

Secondly, if the subject was separated from the verb, then all verbs ended in *-s*, regardless of whether it was a pronoun or not. The effects of non-adjacency may be observed in (7):

(7) a. They [toke shyppynge and sayled to Dover and] *was* there by noone. (c1523-5: Ld Berners, Froiss III 357)

3.4 Characteristics of the subject noun

The literature is replete with descriptions of how the location and semantic interpretation of full NP subjects leads to variation in agreement patterns. These constraints are mostly attested from EModE and later, but unlike those pertaining to the personal pronouns and full NPs discussed earlier, are not restricted to northern dialects.

3.4.1 Existential subjects

Plural existential subjects with *was* have been reported to occur throughout the history of English (Forsström, 1948; Quirk & Wrenn, 1958; Visser, 1963-73), as in (8).

(8) a. There *was* many Dukes, Erles and Barons. (1533: Ld. Berners, Huon 2)
b. And þere *was* in þat tyme many gode holy men and holy heremytes (c1400: Mandeville, Travels)

3.4.2 Collective subjects

Variation in non-standard *was* in collective nouns denoting persons, animals and inanimate objects is frequently attested, as in (9) (Visser, 1963-73:68).

(9) a. The crowd *was* wrought up. (c1847-61: Macaulay, Hist. Eng. 306, 32)
b. The crowd *were* deeply affected. (c1832: Bulwer Lytton, Rienzi II, 8) (Visser, 1963-73:64)

In the 18th century this variation was widely criticized as 'an absurdity' (Brittain, 1778:95) though in the 19th century the logic with which the agreement practice was based was criticized as 'too rigid' (Earle, 1887:56). Such comments highlight the prescriptive pressures at work in this area of the grammar.

3.4.3 Conjoined subjects

Standard grammar prescribes that two or more subjects united by 'and' form plurality, and consequently the verb should appear in the plural. Throughout the Old, Middle and Modern English period however, variability has been observed, as can be seen in (10).

(10) a. Sir, ye and I, and my sone *was* content at your departing. (c1460-1551, Plumpton Corr. 167)
b. I and my cumpany *was* arestyd ij days at Dunckyrke. (1475-88, Cely Papers (Malden) no. 131) (Visser, 1963-73:80)

3.5 Summary

In sum, there is ample evidence for wide-spread variability in the use of *was* and *were* in the historical record. Research suggests that there is consensus on a number of points.

Throughout Britain:

1. Variation in existentials is attested. (Quirk & Wrenn, 1958; Visser, 1963-73).
2. Variation in full NP subjects is attributed to NP type, including collective and conjoined NPs (Quirk & Wrenn, 1958; Visser, 1963-73).

In northern dialects in particular:

3. The *was* form was used almost exclusively with 2nd person singular (Brunner, 1963; Forsström, 1948; Mossé, 1952).

4. *Were* was used with plural pronouns, but *was* with full plural NPs (Murray, 1873).

5. *Was* was employed when the verb is not adjacent to the subject. (Forsström, 1948; Murray, 1873).

4. Contemporary research on *was/were* variability

In view of the robust variation in the appearance of *was* and *were* throughout the history of English, it might be expected that the variability has by now resolved itself in contemporary English in favour of the standard prescriptive partitioning of variants - *was* in 1st person and 3rd person singular; *were* in 2nd person singular, 1st, 2nd and 3rd person plural. However, the plethora of studies on *was/were* variability in the last couple of decades indicates that *was* and *were* continue to be variable in all the major countries where English is spoken, the UK (Britain & Sudbury, 1999; Cheshire, 1982; Edwards, 1993; Henry, 1995; Jones & Tagliamonte, 2000), Australia (Eisikovits, 1991a), the US (Christian et al., 1988; Feagin, 1979; Hazen, 1996; Hazen, 1997; Schilling-Estes & Wolfram, 1994; Wolfram, 1997) and Canada (Meechan & Foley, 1994).

I now turn to a review of the linguistic and social factors which have been discovered in contemporary varieties of English. The examples come from Reading, England (Cheshire, 1982), Devon, England (Jones & Tagliamonte, 2000), Sydney, Australia (Eisikovits, 1991a), Nova Scotia, Canada (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999), including Guysborough Enclave (GE) and North Preston (NP). Samana (SE) in the Dominican Republic (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1998a), Appalachian (AE) and Ozark English (OE) (Christian et al., 1988) and Hyde county, North Carolina (Wolfram, 1997), which includes Anglo, Lumbee Indians and AAVE.

4.1 Grammatical person and number

By far the most salient factor conditioning *was/were* variability is the person and number of the subject.

4.1.1 2nd person plural *you*

The personal pronoun *you* is singled out as having a high degree of non-standard *was* in some varieties of English (Eisikovits, 1987; Feagin, 1979; Labov et al., 1968; Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999) as in (11)[5]:

Indefinite singular

(11) a. You *wasn't* allowed to use their toilets. (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999:157) NP

b. You felt like you *was* really in it. (Eisikovits, 1991a:250)

c. If you *was* a naughty boy you were liable to get another one. (Jones & Tagliamonte, 2000)

Definite singular

d. Saturday, you *was* up there? (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999) GE

e. You *was* in the choir with Melanie and Nellie. (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999:143) NP

f. You *was* with me, *wasn't* you? (Cheshire, 1982:44)

g. I thought you *was* talking about Rhonda. (Eisikovits, 1991a:242)

Eisikovits (1991a:250) attributes this use to a levelling to a common singular past tense form, in line with *I* and *he/she/it*.

4.1.2 1st person plural *we*

1st person plural *we* also is attested with non-standard *was* (Eisikovits, 1991a; Feagin, 1979; Labov et al., 1968; Tagliamonte & Smith, 1998a), as in (12).

(12) a. And we *was* the only colour family. We *were*- we *were* just surrounded. (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999) GE

b. We *was* on top the hill and we *was* gone. (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1998a) SE

c. *Wasn't* we more greasers than we *was* skinheads? (Cheshire, 1982:44)

d. We *was* in there having a big time. (Wolfram, 1997) Anglo

e. We *was* lucky though cos there was five couches. (Eisikovits, 1991a:242)

f. We always felt like we wasn't going no place. (Christian et al., 1988:110) OE.

g. We *was* having a cup of tea. (Jones & Tagliamonte, 2000)

4.1.3 Relative pronouns

Hazen (1996) observes that *was* tends to appear after the relativiser *that,* as in (13), although the referent is plural.

(13) a. There was too many things that *was* different. (Christian et al., 1988:110) OE

4.1.4 3rd person

Within contexts of standard *were*, 3rd person contexts are unique in that they may be encoded with a personal pronoun (e.g. *they were*), a lexical noun (e.g. *the boys were*), or an existential (i.e. *there were*). In all contemporary studies these categories have consistently been found to behave differentially with respect to the appearance of *was* or *were* (Christian et al., 1988; Eisikovits, 1991a; Montgomery, 1989a; Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999).

Although 3rd person plural *they* may occur with *was*, as in (14), contemporary accounts suggest that it is the least likely to do so of all the personal pronouns. For example, Eisikovits (1991a) found that 3rd person plural *they* is marked by *was* less than any other context in her sample of Australian teenagers. Feagin (1979) found that her working class sample, *they* exhibited slightly lower percentages of non-standard *was* than *you* and *we*.

(14) a. They *wasn't p*rejudiced up there then. GE (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999:143)
b. Well, they *was* people from Philadelphia. SE (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1998a:9)
c. They told me they *was* coming here Sunday morning. Lumbee (Wolfram, 1997)
d. The coppers let them go to the van to see if they *was* the bastards. (Cheshire, 1982:44)
e. There was Penny and Steven. They *was* there. (Eisikovits, 1991a:242)
f. They *was* more than willing to help you. (Christian et al., 1988:114) AE
g. They *was* married in Stockleigh cross. (Jones & Tagliamonte, 2000)

Different patterns of non-standard *was* have been reported depending on the semantics and syntactic configuration of the noun phrase (Christian et al., 1988; Hazen, 1996; Schilling-Estes & Wolfram, 1994). Plural NPs, as in (15), are said to appear with non-standard *was* (Christian et al., 1988).

(15) a. The kids *was* all here. GE (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999:143)
b. My feet *was* sticking up and she pulled me feet up. GE (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999)
c. The books *was* different from the slates that we use. NP (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999)
d. People *was* ... delicate ... the people *were* like delicate. SE (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1998a:9)

e. The barges was on the other side. Lumbee (Wolfram, 1997)
f. Big families *was* living around here. Anglo (Wolfram, 1997)
g. The doors *was* closed and everything. AAVE (Wolfram, 1997)
h. The cars *was* all tore up. OE (Wolfram & Christian, 1976)
i. The families *was* marrying all in. (Jones & Tagliamonte, 2000)

Conjoined NPs, as in (16), and collectives, as in (17) show a higher percentage of non-standard *was,* than simple count nouns in Ozark and Appalachia (Christian et al., 1988) and Ocrakoke (Hazen, 1996). Conjoined NPs have the highest rates of *was* in Inner Sydney English (Eisikovits, 1991a).

(16) a. Mary and Marion *was* there. (Eisikovits, 1991a:250)
b. A boy and his daddy *was* a-hunting. (Wolfram & Christian, 1976)
c. Logs, sticks and rocks *was* rolling.AE (Christian et al., 1988:110)
d. Franks dad and his daddy *was* brothers. OE (Christian et al., 1988:110)

(17) a. Them people *was* good to me. GE (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999:143)

Non-standard *was* in conjoined NPs is attributed to syntactic structure (Haegeman, 1994). If the final conjunct is singular, as in (16a), then this will trigger singular agreement. If the final conjunct is plural, as in (16c), then this will trigger plural agreement. The results from Appalachia and Ozark (Christian et al., 1988) support this claim, as there were consistently higher percentages of non-standard *was* with conjoined NPs where the second NP was singular.

The variability in collectives is said to be due to their ambiguous semantic status in some cases (Bock & Eberhard, 1993). Meechan and Foley (1994) conclude that overt *-s* marking on NPs will trigger agreement.

By far the strongest effect on the use of *was* in contexts of standard *were* is in existential constructions, as in (18). Here, very high frequencies of non-standard *was* occur across every variety of English for which this can be determined (Atwood, 1953; Christian et al., 1988; Eisikovits, 1991a; Feagin, 1979; Montgomery, 1989b; Schilling-Estes & Wolfram, 1994; Tagliamonte, 1998b; Wolfram & Christian, 1976).

(18) a. And there *was* nine years between me and my brother. GE (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999)
b. There *wasn't* many people living there then. Lumbee (Wolfram, 1997)

c. There *wasn't* no fights. AAVE (Wolfram, 1997)
d. There *was* 5 in our family. AE (Wolfram & Christian, 1976)
e. There *was* too many things that was different. AE (Christian et al., 1988:110)
f. ...to see if there *was* any inhabitants. OE (Christian et al., 1988:110)
g. There *wasn't* no buses. (Jones & Tagliamonte, 2000)

These results are not surprising, as existentials are claimed to be a prime locus for non-concord (Meechan & Foley, 1994). Given that in its surface syntactic structure, *there* occupies the subject position, this has implications for the triggering of concord.

Perhaps for this reason, all socio-economic classes use *was* in this context (Atwood, 1953; Feagin, 1979; Meechan & Foley, 1994), albeit to varying degrees. This illustrates a qualitative difference between the use of *was* in existential constructions and contexts of *you*, *we*, *they* and plural NPs: in non-existentials non-standard *was* is highly stratified by class (Feagin, 1979), but in existentials there is little evidence of social conditioning. Shnukal (1978) states that non-standard *was* in this context is not as stigmatized as it may be in other contexts, adding that it is even used in the most careful speech.

4.2 Polarity

As is clear from the current discussion, 'differences from the standard paradigm involve almost exclusively cases of singular verb forms paired with grammatically plural subjects' (Christian et al., 1988:113). This result appears to support the idea that *be* is in the process of conforming to the past tense in other verbs which have no singular/plural distinction, i.e. regularisation by analogy based on *was*, as discussed in Section 1.

However, more recent findings by Schilling-Estes and Wolfram (1994), in the study of Ocracoke English in North Carolina, a post-insular community, and a tri-ethnic community in Robeson County (Wolfram, 1997), demonstrates that leveling cannot be viewed as a simple, straightforward process, i.e. *was* supplanting *were*. In these varieties, the use of non-standard *weren't*, that is, in negative contexts, as in (19), is common.

(19) My father *weren't* here. (Schilling-Estes & Wolfram, 1994)
I *weren't* talking to him. I *weren't* talking to him or nothing.(Wolfram, 1997) Lumbee

I *weren't* trying to do anything. (Wolfram, 1997) Anglo
I *weren't* old enough to go into planning anything to get a job. (Wolfram, 1997) AAVE.
Hardest kid in the school there, *weren't* I? (Cheshire, 1982:44)

In contrast, it is infrequent in affirmative contexts. This result is explained by the hypothesis that *was/were* forms have undergone remorphologization in Ocracoke, and now represent a polarity distinction between positive and negative, rather than marking person/number (Schilling-Estes & Wolfram, 1994).

Although Schilling-Estes & Wolfram (1994) suggest that this is an innovative feature in Ocracoke, it is noteworthy that the polarity effect is consistent with the observations made by Cheshire (1982) for *were* leveling by teenagers in Reading, UK. Non-standard *were* in affirmative contexts appeared only 4% of the time, while in negative contexts it increased dramatically (to approximately 40%). This leads Cheshire to hypothesize that negation is marked, rather than grammatical person - a very similar conclusion to that proposed by Schilling-Estes & Wolfram. Cheshire (1982:46) suggests that the use of non-standard *were* in the negative is the 'relic of an earlier dialect form', and it is indeed attested in Forsström (1948) for the Middle English period. In York, England (Tagliamonte, 1998b), there is also affirmative/negative split in the use of *were* in standard *was*. In affirmative contexts, there was 3% use, but in negatives, 15%. The most dramatic result, however, was with negative tag questions, in which there was 80% non-standard use. Other studies corroborate the existence of the polarity effect in negative constructions in other areas of the UK (Britain, forthcoming; Edwards, 1993; Hughes & Trudgill, 1979). Thus, polarity seems to be a conditioning factor in the use of *were* in *was* across many dialects.

4.3 Syntactic configuration

Interrogatives, as in (20), are found to exhibit higher rates of non-standard *was* than other contexts in Inner Sydney (Eisikovits, 1991a).

(20) a. Who *was* you with? (Eisikovits, 1991a:250)

This constraint is not attested in other dialects, perhaps due to lack of data.

4.4 Extra-linguistic features

Finally, the occurrence of *was* in contexts of *were* is widely held to be conditioned by extra-linguistic factors, particularly age, sex, class and education.

4.4.1 Class

Feagin's (1979) research on the English of Anniston, Alabama demonstrated sharp class stratification. Overall distribution figures show that non-standard *was* occurred around 85% of the time within the working class[6], but around only 3% within the upper classes.

4.4.2 Education

Meechan & Foley (1994) found that less educated speakers tend to use more *was* in contexts of *were* with existentials, concluding that 'concord in existentials may be linked to grammatical rules encountered during the later stages of formal education'. However, Tagliamonte (1998b:183) found that more educated females used the non-standard form with existentials more than the other groups. Moreover, education did not exert a statistically significant effect in non-existential contexts.

4.4.3 Age

Tagliamonte (1998b) found that younger speakers used much less *was* in contexts of *were* in non-existential contexts than older speakers, while Hazen (1996:47) found that the middle aged speakers have higher rates of non-standard *was* than the older and younger speakers.

In sum, aside from existentials, the extra-linguistic findings are community specific traits, rather than more widespread tendencies.

4.5. Summary

Taken together, all these observations and findings highlight the fact that *was/were* variability must be seen within the broader context of the verbal paradigm and its internal patterning. Moreover, whether the context is affirmative or negative, and the type and location of the subject noun may also play a part. Finally, the pervasiveness of *was* in plural existential constructions must be taken into account. Thus, a number of questions arise which need to be answered in order to shed further light on *was/were* variation.

1. The literature alludes to analogical levelling or primitives to account for *was/were* alternation. Is this an adequate explanation of the phenomena, or do other internal and external linguistic factors need to be called upon to explain the linguistic processes at work?

2. How can the patterns in Buckie contribute to these questions? Does linguistic innovation and/or continuity play a significant part in contemporary patterns of variation?

3. How do cross-dialectal results compare on *was/were* variability? Are they similar across the board in terms of where and how often *was/were* alternation takes place, or do they exhibit differences? What implications do such results have for the notion of analogical levelling and/or primitives?

4. Where similarities and/or differences are noted between dialects, how much can these be traced back to the historical record, i.e. does linguistic innovation and/or continuity play a significant part in contemporary patterns of variation?

As I will demonstrate in the next section, the verbal paradigm in earlier stages in the history of English plays a crucial role in disentangling these questions.

5. Method

5.1 Circumscribing the variable context

Preliminary analysis of the data confirmed my native speaker intuitions of the forms used in Buckie - *was* appearing in contexts of contemporary standard *were* as opposed to *were* being used in contexts of standard *was*. Therefore I extracted, using Concorder (Rand & Patera, 1992), every context where contemporary standard English requires *were* - 2nd person singular pronoun *you*, 1st person plural pronoun *we*, 2nd person plural pronoun *you*, 3rd person plural pronoun *they*, full plural NPs, plural existentials and plural relative pronouns with a plural referent.

5.1.1 Exclusions

There are 10 tokens in the data in which non-standard *were* is used, as in (21). These tokens, restricted to existentials, were excluded from the variable context[7].

(21) a. There *were* a daughter. (f:474.35)
b. And this day there *were* a grand pipe band. (r:223.19)
c. There *were* just a wee piglet. (n:314.6)

Conditional sentences with the singular pronouns *I, he, she, it,* as in (22) were excluded, as this study does not encompass subjunctive use.

(22) a. I would have deen it if it *wasna* for her. (d:395.25)

However, conditional sentences with 2nd person singular, 1st person plural and 3rd person plural contexts were included, as *were* would appear in a declarative sentence of the same type, therefore the use of *were* is not dependent on subjunctive status.

5.2 Coding

To ascertain the factors conditioning the occurrence of *was*, the constraints attested in the historical and contemporary record were operationalised. These are summarised below.

5.2.1 Grammatical person and number

Grammatical person and number is the most widely cited constraint in both the historical and contemporary record. To test its effect on *was/were* variability in this dialect, I coded for whether the subject was second person singular *you* (definite), as in (23a) and (23b); second person singular *you* (indefinite), as in (23c) and (23d); 1st person plural *we*, as in (23e), (23f) and (23g); 2nd person plural *you*, as in (23h); Third person plural pronoun *they*, as in (23i), (23j) and (23k); full plural NP, as in (23l), (23m) and (23n); plural existentials, as in (23o) and (23p); relative pronouns, as in (23q), (23r) and (23s); pronominal structures such as *some of them* as in (23t).

(23) a. Ye *was* at Hamiltons afore. (!:64.46)
b. Aye, ye *was* a year older than him. (x:83.39)
c. You had tae watch fit ye *was* sayin' in front of 'em, ken. (v:29.15)
d. And ye *was* trying to jam yersel' in. (1:375.30)
e. It was Gairloch we *was* based in. (7:615.38)
f. Oh, we *was* in seeing Snow White yesterday. (£:20.7)
g. We *was* all having a dram an' a', ken. (x:564.14)
h. *Was* you ones so bad, like? (l:262.7)
i. They *were* actually getting taxed for it. (t:363.0)
j. They *were* wild as anything. (!:606.5)
k. They *werena* cooked long enough and they *were* soft and soggy. (8:838.28)
l. That housies *was* a' hauled doon in the nineteen thirties. (b:163)
m. Aye, the monks *was* in. (r:95.44)
n. A couple of Irish boys *was* workin' on the job with us. (j:701.21)
o. See, there *was* no ministers in the kirk in the Church of Christ. (7:357.10)
p. Aye, I think there *was* accusations of that. (y:496.20)
q. Was it some o' them that *was* marriet? (9:899.41)

r. Can you mine a lot of folk that *was* at the school. (s:146.40)
s. The teachers that *was* there all teached me. (g:937.5)
t. The two o' us *was* onto the switchback. (r:239.0)

5.2.2 NP type

Nouns were differentiated according to whether they were count nouns, as in (24a), collective nouns, as in (24b) or conjoined nouns, as in (24c). Collective NPs have been defined in different ways in the literature (Celce-Murcia, 1983; Fasold, 1972; Wolfram & Christian, 1976). For these purposes I define collective nouns as those which are not marked with an *-s*, but which refer to a group which are considered to be plural. These contain mutated plurals, such as *people* and *men* and also items such as *folk* and *police*.

(24) a. She was gettin' paranoid and thinkin' folk *was* oot to kill her and athing. (t:520.28)
b. His feet *was* that sare. (8:996.61)
c. The men *was* just comin' home. (9:567.63)
d. Your dad an' me *was* doon aie night. (%:352.31)
e. Nelly Thain and them *were* sitting outside (p:532.10)
f. Your granny and granda *was* on for buyin'.(f:306.0)

5.2.3 Polarity

As a polarity effect is reported in contemporary studies, negative contexts as in (25a) and affirmative contexts, as in (25b) were differentiated.

(25) a. It was new bungalows that *was* built on the bit of land. (e:792.0)
b. The younger ains that *wasna* even fae Buckie. (s:675.5)

5.2.4 Copula vs. auxiliary

Eisikovits' (1991a:252) results for Innner Sydney teenagers show that auxiliary *be* had higher rates of non-standard *was* than copula *be*. I therefore differentiated between copula function, as in (26a) or auxiliary as in (26b):

(26) a. We *was* a whole hour on the switchbacks. (r:242.3)
b. We *was* lookin' at some of the photos (d:740.13)

5.2.5 Syntactic configuration

A number of different constructions have been reported to be propitious to non-concord in the literature.

It is claimed (Eisikovits, 1991a) that interrogatives exhibit far higher levels of levelled *was* than other contexts, as is demonstrated below in (27):

(27) a. How long *was* you down there? (d:713.10)[8]
b. *Was* the galas finished afore you came? (9:415.22)

Tagliamonte (1998b:165) found that tag questions had higher rates of *were* in *was* than in the matrix clause. I therefore differentiated these, as in (28):

(28) a.We wasna down last time, *was we*? ($:291.20)

Conditional sentences with 2nd person singular, 1st person plural and 3rd person plural contexts as in (29) were coded.

(29) a. I mean, if you *were* stuck, we would help. (%:90.74)

5.2.6 Adjacency

Following from findings in the historical record, contexts were differentiated according to whether the verb was adjacent to its subject or not, as in (30)

(30) a. The folk [that I was hanging about with] *were* fae about thirty five to fifty. (j:629.36)
b. The folk [I spoke to] *were* friendly. (l:569.44)
c. Quines [that did that] *were* like 'I wi na mess wi' you'. (v:498.39)
d. Because earning fishermen [as I tell you] *was* made seasonable (c:987.3)

I now turn to the results.

6. Results

There were a total of 1351 standard *were* contexts in the data. Table 2 shows the overall distribution of *was* and *were* in these contexts.

Table 2: Overall distribution of *was* in *were*

	was	*were*	Total
N	628	723	1351
%	**46**	**54**	

The percentages in Table 2 demonstrate that *was/were* variation is robust in the Buckie dialect. *Was* is used where standard contemporary English requires *were* 46% of the time. This high percentage may indeed suggest that use of *was* is a primitive or subject to analogical levelling. But given the conditioning effects outlined in Section 3, we know that such overall distribution figures can only give a very broad view of variability. Therefore I now turn to a factor by factor analysis of the data.

6.1 Grammatical person and number

Table 3 presents the percentages and Ns for *was* in *were* by person and number of the subject.

Table 3: Distribution of *was* in *were* by grammatical person and number

	%	N
2nd singular *you*	**69**	161
1st plural *we*	**67**	368
2nd plural *you*	**10**	10
3rd p. pronoun *they*	**0**	435
Existential *there*	**90**	162
NP plural	**56**	187
relative pronoun	**71**	28

The distribution by grammatical person and number is striking. Note how the percentages partition - *was* very high in all contexts, but 3rd person plural *they* used categorically with *were*. These contexts are looked at individually below.

6.1.1 Existentials

Note the very high percentage (90%) of *was* with existential NPs. This is consistent with all contemporary studies and accounts from the historical record. This is not therefore, an exceptional use peculiar to this dialect.

6.1.2 Plural NPs

Plural NPs also show high rates of *was* in *were* (56%). Again, this correlates with the historical record where full NPs favoured *was* in the more northern regions of the country (Murray, 1873).[9]

6.1.3 2nd person singular *you*

Recall that *was* is reported as most frequent in 2nd person singular in the north in Middle English (Brunner, 1963; Forsström, 1948; Mossé, 1952). This pattern has

clearly been retained in this variety, as the percentages show that it has the highest rates of *was* after existential constructions. Despite very few contexts (N=10), 2nd person plural *you* appears with *was* only once. This difference between singular and plural contexts is exactly as the historical record would predict.

6.1.4 1st person plural *we*

What explanation can be given for the high rates of *was* (67%) in 1st person plural? Although the historical record indicates that non-standard *was* was used in plural contexts, it was apparently much rarer with plural pronominal subjects (Forsström, 1948). This is clearly not the case with this synchronic data, however, as *was* in this context is nearly as high as it is with 2nd person singular *you*. This may shed light on new vs. old patterns. The fact that *we was* was not common in the Middle English period, but appears here very frequently, suggests that it may be an extension of the original pattern.

6.1.5 3rd person plural *they*

The fact that Buckie uses *were* categorically with 3rd person plural pronouns is interesting on two counts. First, the extent of *was* use in other areas of the paradigm would lead to the expectation that this context too would exhibit non-standard *was*, if the theory of analogical levelling or primitive is adopted, but this is not the case. Whatever process underlies use of *was* in *were*, then, it clearly does not happen in all contexts indiscriminately.

Second, I have established that *was* was prevalent in 2nd person singular in Middle English and I postulate that it has spread to 1st person plural. On the other hand, non-standard *was* has not, nor may ever, extend to 3rd person plural *they*. The categorical use of *were* here is likely due to the earlier differentiation between NPs and pronouns in 3rd person plural contexts in northern dialects (Murray, 1873). While other varieties may preserve a constraint hierarchy of 2nd person singular-> 1st person plural-> 3rd person plural but still have some use of *was* with *they* (Eisikovits, 1991a; Feagin, 1979; Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999), in Buckie, this effect is categorical.

The high percentages for relative pronouns also correlates with the historical record, where relative pronouns in more Northern varieties disfavoured *were*.[10]

In sum, the patterning of *was* across person and number of the subject shows a strong correlation with those constraints attested in the historical record - high rates of *was* in those contexts singled out in the diachronic literature on northern varieties of English - 2nd person singular, full NPs and relatives. The categorical use of *were* with the

pronoun *they* points to continuity of diachronic patterns. In fact, only the use of *we was* cannot be directly linked to older patterns. Such patterning argues more for continuity than across-the-board regularisation. What other explanation would there be for such correlative links with the historical record?

6.2. NP type

As outlined in Section 3.4, plural NPs are said to take *was* in northern dialects while subjects for which singular and/or plural interpretation may be problematic, for example, collectives, irregular plurals and conjoined NPs, have been observed to agree variably with the verb in earlier stages of English throughout Britain (Traugott, 1977:133; Visser, 1963-73:62). Table 4 shows the distribution of *was* in *were* contexts by the NP types available in the data.

Table 4: Distribution of *was* in *were* contexts by NP type.			
	count	conjoined	collective[11]
N	90	48[12]	49
%	**57**	**58**	**49**

Table 4 shows that there is no discernible pattern with NPs as all types exhibit similar percentages of *was*. In fact, collective nouns have the lowest percentage of *was*. Recall that the historical record shows that only certain NPs types appeared with *was* throughout Britain, whereas in more northern areas all plural NPs did. The minimal differences in percentages across all noun types point to the conclusion that plural NPs, whatever their type, simply do not trigger agreement in this community, consistent with Murray's (1873) observations for the dialects of Scotland, but inconsistent with other dialects where NP type has an effect on agreement patterns both in synchrony and diachrony.

6.3. Polarity

A widely-cited conditioning factor, but only on the occurrence of non-standard *were* in the literature is the polarity effect. Table 5 shows the distribution of non-standard *was* by polarity in the Buckie data.

Table 5: Distribution of *was* in *were* by polarity		
	affirmative	negative
N	1288	63
%	**46**	**49**

The percentages show that these two contexts are practically identical in use of *was* and *were*. This is in line with Labov's (1968) findings that there is no polarity distinction when the *was* form is used in contexts of *were*.

6.4 Syntactic configuration

Despite small numbers of tokens (23 in total), questions show a higher percentage of non-standard *was* than ordinary declaratives - 70% *was* in *were* compared to an overall distribution of 46%. This confirms Eisikovits (1991a) observations that the non-standard form was more likely to be used in these constructions. Moreover, tag question also show a high rate of non-standard *was* (71%), although the Ns in this case are even less (N=7). Although these numbers are very small, they are indicative of the importance of syntactic structure in the use of *was* and *were* - where there is subject/verb inversion, non-standard *was* is more likely to be used.

Although conditional sentences are very rare (N=9), these show a tendency for slightly higher than average rates of *was* in *were* (67%).

6.5 Copula vs. auxiliary

Table 6 shows the distribution of *was* in *were* according to function.

Table 6: Distribution of *was* in *were* by function

	copula	auxiliary
N	904	447
%	**48**	**44**

The distributional percentages in Table 6 show there is only a slight difference between copula and auxiliary usage, therefore function cannot be said to have a crucial role in determining the form used.

6.6 Adjacency

Only six tokens appeared with an intervening clause in this data, therefore the adjacency constraint could not be tested.

6.7 Summary of internal constraints

The factor by factor analysis shows that grammatical person and number is highly implicated in *was/were* variability in the Buckie dialect. Therefore, a clear picture of *where* and *how frequently* variation takes place cannot be obtained without recourse to

this. Moreover, these patterns can be directly linked to the historical record, and do not exhibit patterns which would arise from general processes of analogical levelling. Nor can they be assigned 'primitive' status, as this suggests that all contexts would be regularised to the same degree.

I now turn to the extra-linguistic constraints.

6.8 Extra-linguistic factors

6.8.1 Speaker

Was/were variability across the individual members reveals that the variation is not confined to particular members of the community, but is part of every speakers vernacular norms. The sample ranges from 81% non-standard *was* to 20% (these are higher when categorical *they* is removed). Given the wide variability in number of tokens used (N=4-112) by each speaker, however, it is clear that this view of the data is not very instructive. A more revealing picture of the extra-linguistic factors that operate on this variable can be gained by utilizing the classic sociolinguistic stratification of age and sex.

6.8.2 Age

Table 8 shows the overall distribution of *was* in *were* by age.

Table 8: Overall distribution of *was* in *were* by age			
	old	middle	young
N	475	358	518
%	**58**	**35**	**44**

It might be thought that pressures from prescriptive norms, the media and education would be mirrored in the informants linguistic behaviour, with the more insular older speakers exhibiting the most non-standard forms, and the younger speakers the least. The overall distributions by age in Table 8 highlight that this is a rather simplistic view. These show that the three different generations do indeed have differing rates of *was* in *were*, but in contrast to expectations 1) *was/were* variability is robust in all generations and 2) the older speakers have the highest rates, the middle aged speakers the lowest and the younger speakers situated in between. The gradual replacement of *was* by were according to prescriptively sanctioned norms is not evidenced in these overall percentages. Dubois and Horvath (1999) refer to such a pattern as *recycling*, where there is high use of vernacular norms in the older speakers, a substantial drop in the middle aged but a rise again in the younger group. This is due to positive evaluation of in-group norms. This point is returned to in the discussion.

6.8.3 Grammatical person and age

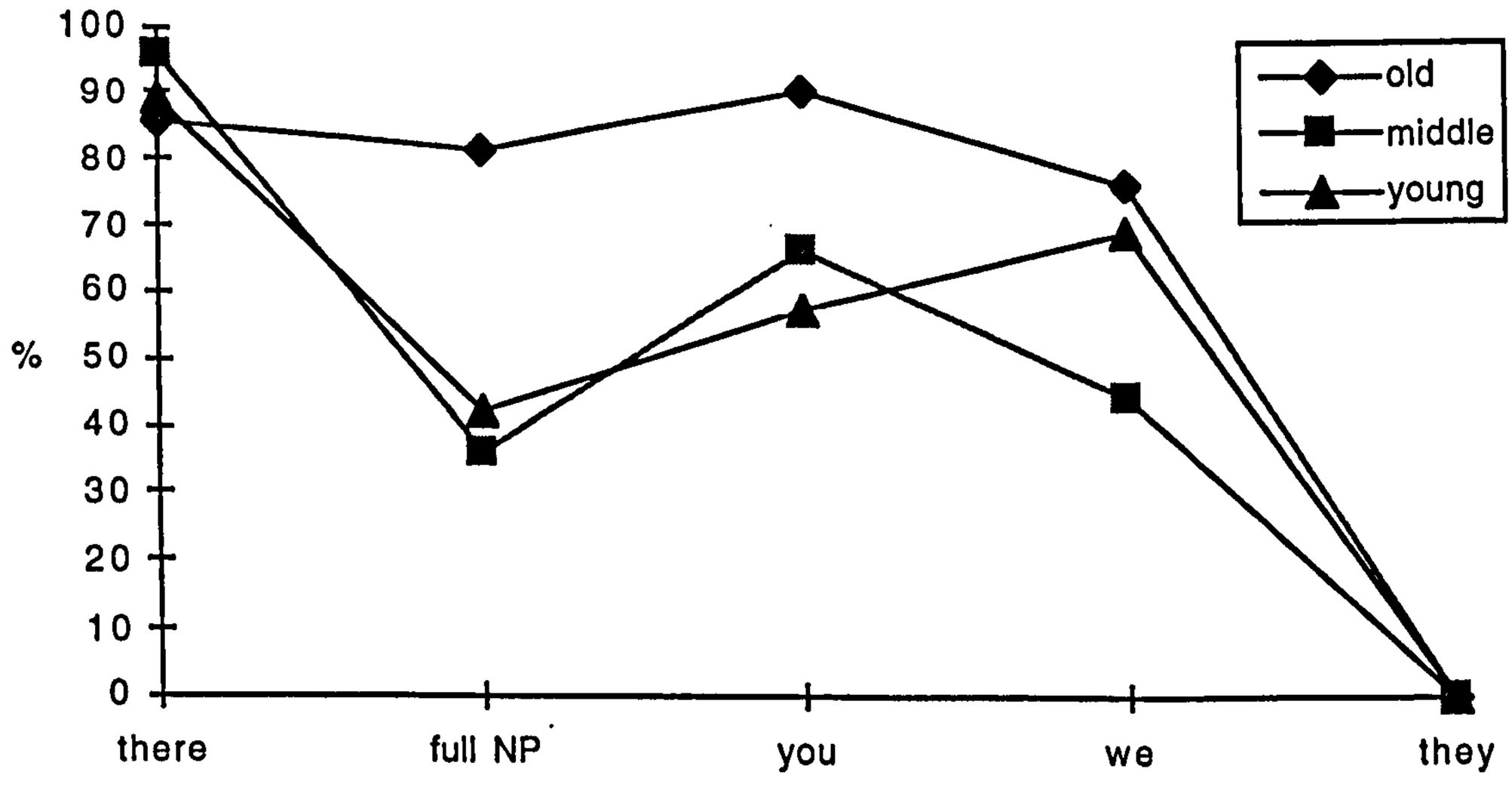
The findings for grammatical person and number in Buckie mirror the constraints from the historical record. I predict, therefore, that these patterns will be best preserved in the older speakers. To test this hypothesis, Table 9 shows the distribution of *was* and *were* by person and number of the subject and age.

Table 9: Distribution of *was* in *were* by person and number of the subject and age

	old		middle		young	
	%	N	%	N	%	N
2nd singular *you*	**90**	50	**66**	35	**57**	76
1st plural *we*	**76**	149	**44**	73	**69**	146
2nd plural *you*	**-**	-	**0**	8	**50**	2
3rd p. pronoun *they*	**0**	135	**0**	131	**0**	169
Existential *there*	**86**	59	**96**	47	**89**	56
NP plural	**81**	73	**36**	55	**42**	59
relative pronoun	**100**	9	**44**	9	**70**	10
TOTAL N		475		358		518

Such an array of numbers are difficult to interpret, therefore the percentages are more graphically displayed in Figure 2. (2nd person plural *you* and relative pronouns have been removed due to small Ns).

Figure 2: Distribution of *was* in *were* by grammatical person and age



Although the overall rates of *was* in *were* are different across the three age groups, the similarities in patterning are striking. All have very high rates of *was* in existentials. The categorical vs. variable use of NPs vs. pronoun *they* is maintained. 2nd person singular *you* is again very high across all generations, while 1st person plural *we* is lower in the middle aged and older speakers. In fact, the only pattern that distinguishes itself from the rest is the young speakers high rates of *we was*.

What do these patterns show us? The patterns attested in the historical record from at least six hundred years ago - *was* in plural existentials, plural NPs, and 2nd person singular, but categorical *were* with the pronoun *they* - are still in evidence not only with the older speakers (as might have been expected), but also to a great extent with the middle aged and younger speakers also.

I now consider the extra-linguistic feature of speaker sex in the distribution of *was* in *were*.

6.8.4 Grammatical person, age and sex

Figure 3 shows the distribution of *was* in *were* by age and sex.

Figure 3: Distribution of *was* in *were* by age and sex

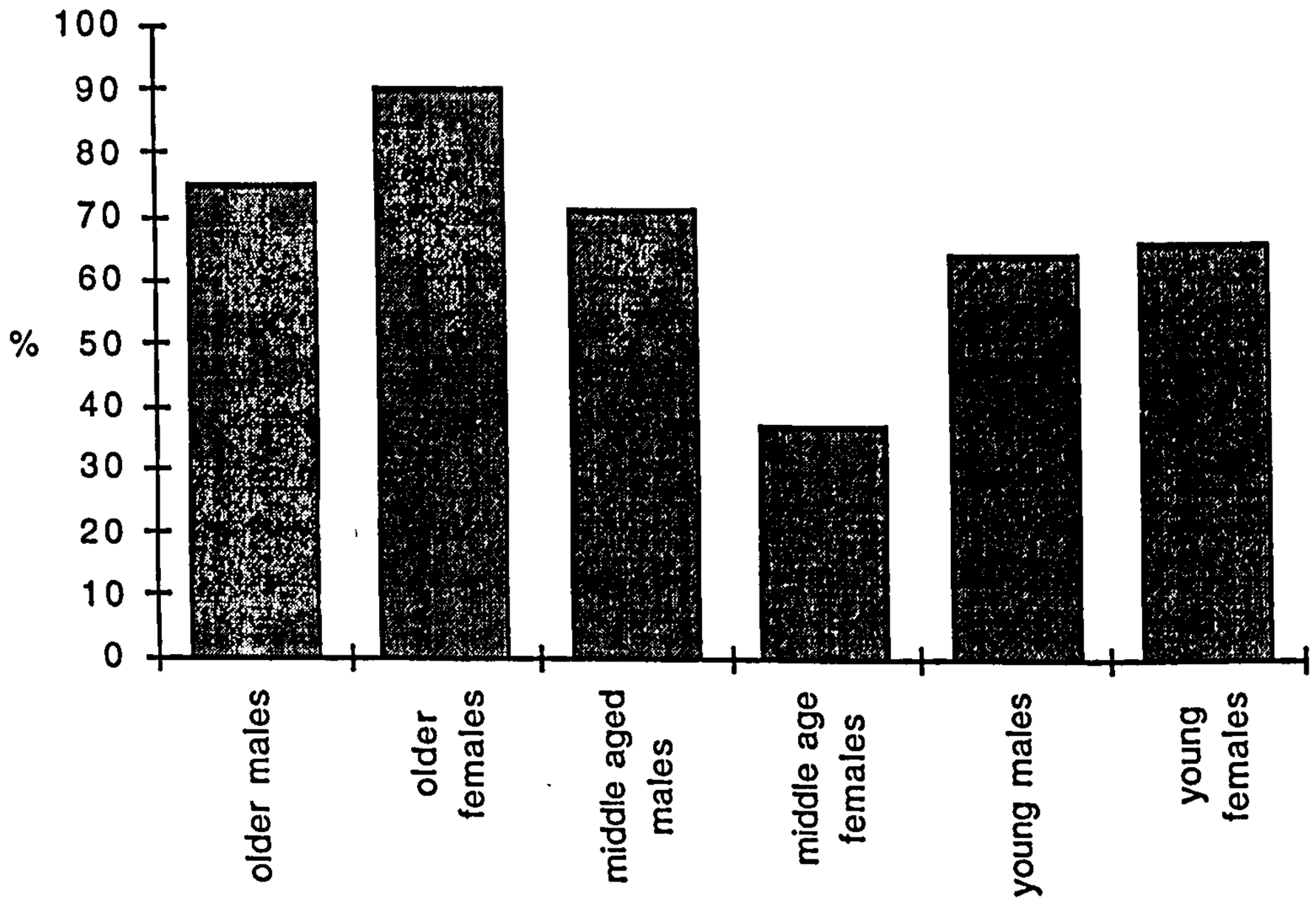


Figure 3 shows that there is little difference between males and females in the older and younger age groups, but the difference is quite marked in the middle aged speakers. Middle aged women use the non-standard form only half as much as men of the same

age. More accurately, middle aged women participate far less in non-standard use than any other group within the community. Such an apparently anomalous result may lead to questions of speaker sample. However, the middle aged women fit the sociological profile laid out in Chapter 1. Moreover, of the seven women in this middle aged sample, five of these are wives of the men interviewed. Equally, it cannot be due to marketplace pressures as the women are either housewives, or working in shops within the community. This pattern would seem to reveal the classic case of women's avoidance of non-standard forms (see, for example, Labov, 1990; Milroy & Milroy, 1985), but in this case, this is only true of the middle aged women.

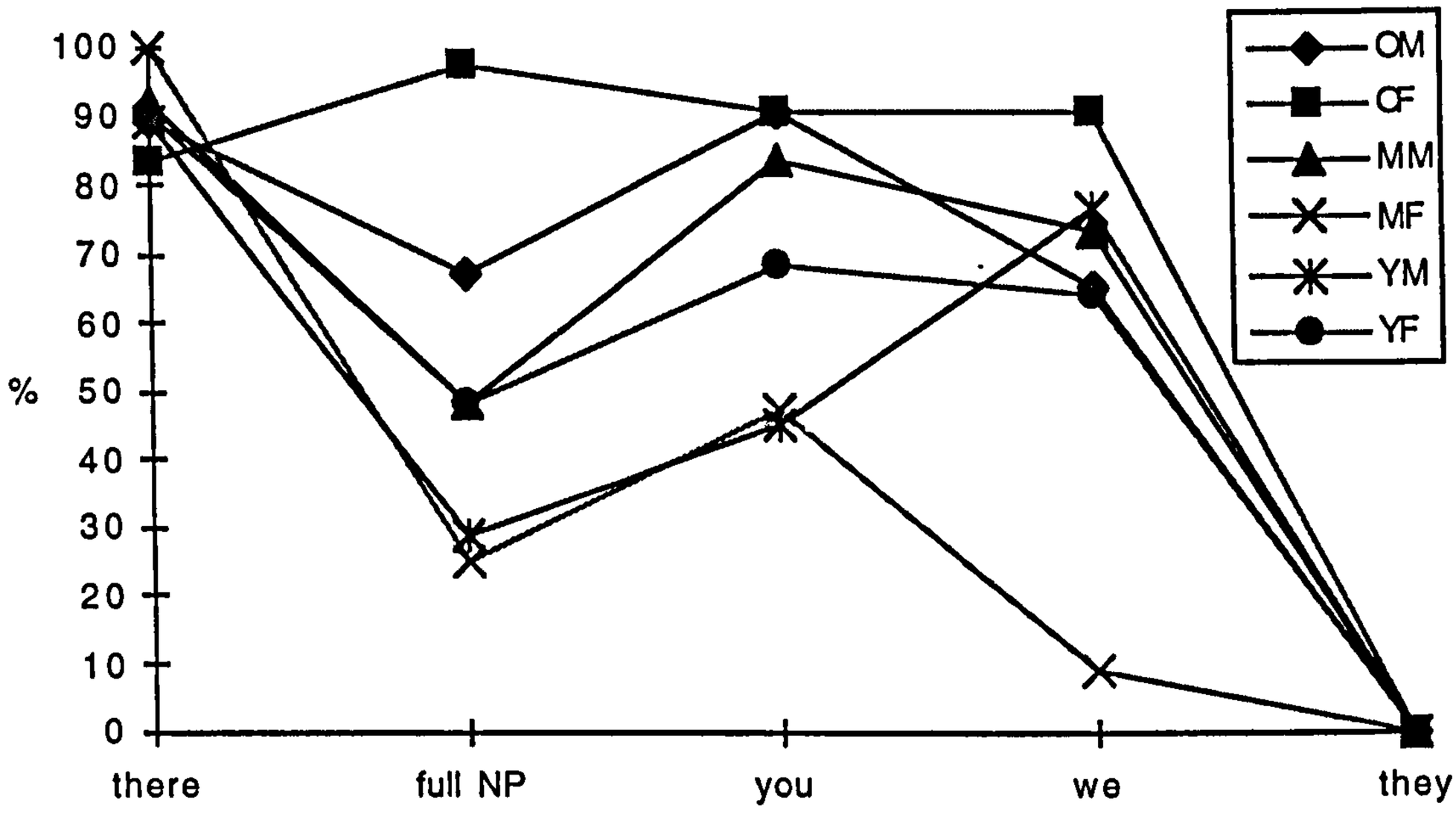
Alternatively, this may be indicative of the slightly more formal style adopted by the middle aged females discussed in the introduction. But do women avoid the use of *was* in *were* indiscriminately, or can patterns of use be revealed through person and number of the subject? Table 10 shows the percentages and Ns for *was* in *were* by person and number of the subject, age and sex.

Table 10: Distribution of *was* in *were* by person and number of the subject, age and sex

	Old M		Old F		Mid.M		Mid F		You. M		You. F	
	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N
2nd singular *you*	90	30	90	20	83	18	47	17	45	38	68	38
1st plural *we*	65	82	90	67	73	40	9	33	76	59	64	87
2nd plural *you*	-	-	-	-	100	3	100	5	0	1	100	1
Existential *there*	89	36	83	23	92	25	100	22	89	27	90	29
NP plural	67	39	97	34	48	27	25	28	29	17	48	42
relative pronoun	100	6	100	3	67	6	0	3	33	3	86	7
TOTAL N		263		212		174		184		193		325

These distributions are more graphically demonstrated in Figure 4 (again with 2nd person plural *you* and relative pronouns removed due to small Ns).

Figure 4: Distribution of *was* in *were* by person and number of the subject, age and sex



The general homogeneity of patterning demonstrated in Figure 4 is maintained here. Second person singular *you*, 1st person plural *we*, full NPs, and existentials are employed to a relatively high degree by all members of the community, whether male, female, young, middle aged or older. Therefore the use of *was* in these contexts is an accepted part of the local vernacular, and is a sociolinguistic indicator (Labov, 1994a:78) in these contexts. Middle aged females use *was* in plural existentials categorically - the only group to do so despite having comparatively lower rates in other contexts. Note too that within these contexts there is a gradual recession of *was* use through the generations, while existentials remain high regardless of age and sex.

Differences also exist, however, and 1st person plural *we* provides the most impressive locus for differentiation. While Figure 3 showed that the young speakers used more *was* with *we*, a more accurate description is that young *males* use it more (76%). Young females have the same hierarchy of use as the majority of the community. In contrast, middle aged females use non-standard *was* in this context rarely. These patterns were not evident when age only was considered.

How can these extra-linguistic features in the patterning of *was* be explained? The discrepancy in rates of *we was* across age and sex point to social evaluation of *was* in this context. Middle aged women's avoidance of *we was* suggests that it is the focus of negative evaluation by this group, rather than non-standard *was* in general. Note that they pattern in the same way as the rest of the community in all other contexts. Labov (1990) states that it is the lower middle class females who have 'the greatest recognition of external standards of correctness' but in this case, this also seems to apply to the

working class middle aged females in this sample. On the other hand, the young males use of *we was* is even higher than their use of *was* with *you*. Obviously there is no negative evaluation of the form in this section of society, but the exact opposite - that it has covert prestige. Therefore, there is a divergent pattern of evaluation in the community regarding the use of *we was*. Both groups appear to be using this as a sociolinguistic marker, but interestingly using different forms to achieve their aims. Why this context is the focus of opposing extra-linguistic influences will be returned to later.

6.9 Summary of distributional analysis

The overall distribution by speaker demonstrates that non-standard *was* is well-entrenched in the community and does not merely represent idiosyncratic patterns across individual speakers. The distribution by grammatical person and the extra-linguistic feature of age confirms that, despite statistical fluctuations, inter-generational differences in patterning are negligible in most cases. A more finely grained analysis which also takes speaker sex into account, has shown that 1st person plural *we* may be a site for community evaluation in certain groups, whether negative or positive. This also suggests that this context for *was* is newer in that it is a marker as opposed to indicator status of *was* in other contexts (Labov, 1994a:84).

6.10 Multivariate analysis

6.10.1 All speakers

However, tabulations of individual effects cannot model the multicausal system in which these variable constraints operate. Therefore, I now turn to an analysis of the data using Goldvarb in order to model the combined effect of each factor simultaneously. This will permit assessment of the relative strength of contribution of each factor to the process under investigation.

Table 11 shows the results of a variable rule analysis of the factors selected as significant to the probability of *was* in contexts of standard *were* in Buckie[13]. As is standard, higher numbers can be interpreted as favouring *was*, whereas lower ones disfavour it. The higher the figure, the greater the contribution of that factor to the use of *was* in contexts of *were* [14].

Table 11: Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of *was* in *were* contexts in Buckie- all speakers

	%	Factor weight	N
Corrected Mean .72			
Grammatical person			
2nd person singular *you*	69	.49	161
1st person plural *we*	67	.44	368
3rd person plural Full NP	56	.33	187
Existential *there*	90	.80	162
Range		47	
Polarity			
Affirmative	69	[.50]	838
Negative	75	[.56]	40
Function			
Copula	69	[.48]	602
Auxiliary	69	[.55]	276
Age			
Old	81	.66	331
Middle	57	.35	210
Young	65	.44	337
Range		22	
Sex			
Male	71	[.50]	438
Female	68	[.50]	440
TOTAL N			878

Table 11 shows that person and number of the subject is the only internal factor which is significant to the contribution of *was* in *were*. Age is the only external factor which is significant.

As age is significant, this is further explored in three separate analyses for each age group.

6.10.2 Older speakers

Table 12 shows the variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of *was* in *were* contexts for older speakers only.

Table 12: Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of *was* in *were* contexts in Buckie - older speakers only

	%	Factor weight	N
Corrected Mean .83			
Grammatical person			
2nd p. sg *you*	90	.68	50
1st p. pl *we*	76	.41	149
3rd p. pl. Full NP	81	.48	73
Existential *there*	86	.61	59
Range		20	
Polarity			
Affirmative	81	[.49]	316
Negative	93	[.69]	15
Function			
Copula	81	[.50]	225
Auxiliary	80	[.51]	106
Sex			
Male	74	.37	187
Female	90	.67	144
Range		30	
TOTAL N			331

With the older speakers, grammatical person and sex are selected as significant to the probability of *was* in *were*.

Note that the distributional analysis results for person and number of the subject are confirmed here in the factor weights - 2nd person singular has the highest factor weight of .68. Existentials, which have been shown to be very widespread in all varieties but not a particular feature of northern varieties, is actually lower. This context was not singled out as particular to northern regions in the historical record, which is highlighted in the factor weights which favour 2nd person singular more than existentials. 1st person plural *we* has the lowest factor weight (.41). These results for the older speakers mirror the historical constraints mentioned in the literature very closely.

Note the results for polarity. Despite a relatively high range, this factor groups is not selected as significant, probably due to the small Ns in negative contexts.

The most significant effect is sex, with women using the non-standard form more than men. This result bears closer scrutiny, given that we have already seen that the older speakers form a very homogenous group linguistically in terms of the percentages and patterning of non-standard *was*. On closer inspection, the speaker with the least use of non-standard *was* accounts for almost 50% of the male data[15]. So this may explain the

substantial difference in factor weights between males and females. When this speaker is removed, sex is not selected as signficant.

6.10.3 Middle aged speakers

Table 13 shows the variable rule analysis for the contribution of factors to *was* appearing in contexts of standard *were* for middle aged speakers.

Table 13: Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of *was* in *were* contexts in Buckie - middle aged speakers only

	%	Factor weight	N
Corrected Mean .67			
Grammatical person			
2nd person singular *you*	66	.55	35
1st person plural *we*	44	.28	73
3rd person plural Full NP	36	.23	55
Existential *there*	96	.94	47
Range		66	
Polarity			
Affirmative	57	[.49]	201
Negative	67	[.77]	9
Function			
Copula	55	[.46]	159
Auxiliary	65	[.62]	51
Sex			
Male	73	.70	110
Female	40	.28	100
Range		42	
TOTAL N			210

The factors selected as significant for the middle age speakers are the same as those for the older speakers, but with important differences in hierarchy within these groups.

For person and number of the subject, existentials are the most highly favoured context. Note however, that 2nd person singular *you* is also favoured. Note too that although 1st person plural *we* is more likely than full NPs to appear with *was,* it is still much less likely to do so than *you*. In effect, this group still mirror to a certain extent the historical patterns attested for person and number of the subject, but the highly favouring effect of existentials suggests that this age group have taken up the more world-wide patterns evident in other varieties of English.

Speaker sex is a highly significant factor. In contrast to the older speakers, this appears to be a real effect, as the individuals within each group show comparable overall rates of *was*. This further indicates that there is a negative social evaluation of *was* in contexts of *were* with middle aged females which does not exist with the older females.

Although the range is high for polarity this has not been selected as significant due to the small Ns in negative contexts. However, the favouring effect of negative contexts in the use of *was* is the same as noted with the older speakers.

6.10.4 Young Speakers

Table 14 shows the variable rule analysis for the contribution of factors to the probability of *was* appearing in contexts of standard *were* for younger speakers.

Table 14: Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of *was* in *were* contexts in Buckie - young speakers only

	%	Factor weight	N
Corrected Mean .68			
Grammatical person			
2nd person singular *you*	57	.39	76
1st person plural *we*	69	.53	146
3rd person plural Full NP	42	.27	59
Existential *there*	89	.80	56
Range		53	
Polarity			
Affirmative	65	[.50]	321
Negative	69	[.55]	16
Function			
Copula	67	[.51]	218
Auxiliary	61	[.49]	119
Sex			
Male	65	[.48]	141
Female	65	[.52]	196
TOTAL N			337

Only person and number of the subject are significant to the contribution of *was* in *were* with the younger speakers. Within this factor group, the factor weights indicate that *we was* is more favoured than *you was*. What we may be witnessing here is a gradual erosion of the historical patterns so clearly mirrored in the older speakers and to a lesser extent with the middle aged speakers. In fact, when the variable rule analysis was conducted with existentials removed then person and number of the verb was no longer significant for this age group, suggesting that the marked differences in person and number of the subject seen with the middle aged and particularly the older speakers are no longer apparent. There is only slight differentiation between 2nd person singular, 1st person plural and full NPs with the younger speakers.

The negative evaluation of *was* in *were* demonstrated by the middle aged females is not evident with the younger females, as male/female differences are not selected as significant.

In sum, the multivariate analysis of the contribution of factors to *was* appearing in contexts of standard *were* basically confirm the results for the factor by factor analyses. The only significant internal linguistic factor for each analysis is person and number of the subject, but within this group, the three age groups demonstrate different hierarchies. While the older speakers' hierarchy mirrors that attested in the historical record, with 2nd person singular *you* the most favoured context for *was*, the middle aged speakers highly favour *was* in existential contexts, which is more in line with the broader pattern of variability worldwide. The younger speakers favour *was* in existentials, but also favour 1st person plural *we*, a pattern that is not attested in the historical record. In other words, the patterns attested in the historical record are clearly evident in the older speakers but become less so through the generations.

Recall that both the middle aged and older speakers favoured *was* in negative contexts, but in the younger speakers there was minimal difference. Polarity is not attested as a conditioning factor in the historical record, but what we might see here is a remnant of a constraint which simply went unnoticed.

Sex was selected as significant for the older speakers, but this was shown to be the result of one individual speakers' idiosyncratic use. However, the disfavouring effect for females in the middle aged group appears to be a bona fide effect. For the middle aged female speakers, therefore the use of *was* in *were* may be stigmatised. The distributional analysis in Figure 4 showed that this negative evaluation is actually focused on one context only - the use of *was* in 1st person plural. Speaker sex was not selected as significant for the younger speakers, with males and females equally participating in the use of *was* in contexts of standard *were*, indicating that no stigma is attached to this variable in this group.

Having described the patterns of use in Buckie, I now turn to a comparison of the findings from Buckie with other varieties of English.

6.2 Cross-variety comparison

Table 15 compares the overall distribution of non-standard *was* in Buckie with a number of other varieties, both North American and British. I include Feagin's (1979) early work on Anniston, Alabama; Christian (1988) study of Appalachian and Ozark English; and a sample from the city of York in northeast England (Tagliamonte, 1998b), and a relic dialect from Devon (Jones & Tagliamonte, 2000). Three communities from Nova Scotia are also included - two African American enclaves (North Preston and Guysborough Enclave) and one British origin (Guysborough

Village). These three communities are populated by the descendants of migrants to Nova Scotia from the United States in the late 18th century (Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1991a).

The communities are differentiated on two major criteria: 1) their geographic location - Britain (York, Buckie, Devon) vs. North America (Guysborough, North Preston and Alabama) and 2) ethnic background of their speakers - British (York, Buckie, Devon, Guysborough Village, Alabama, Appalachia, Ozark) vs. African American (North Preston, Guysborough Enclave).

We are, of course, limited to varieties which have been studied previously, and more specifically, to studies which have provided data appropriate for comparison, e.g. frequencies of variants by grammatical person.

The extra-linguistic characteristics of these databases are not completely comparable in terms of age, class, urban vs. rural etc. However, I have extracted from these samples the rural working class speakers only. Note that Cheshire's sample contains adolescents only. The figures are rounded up to the nearest percentage point.

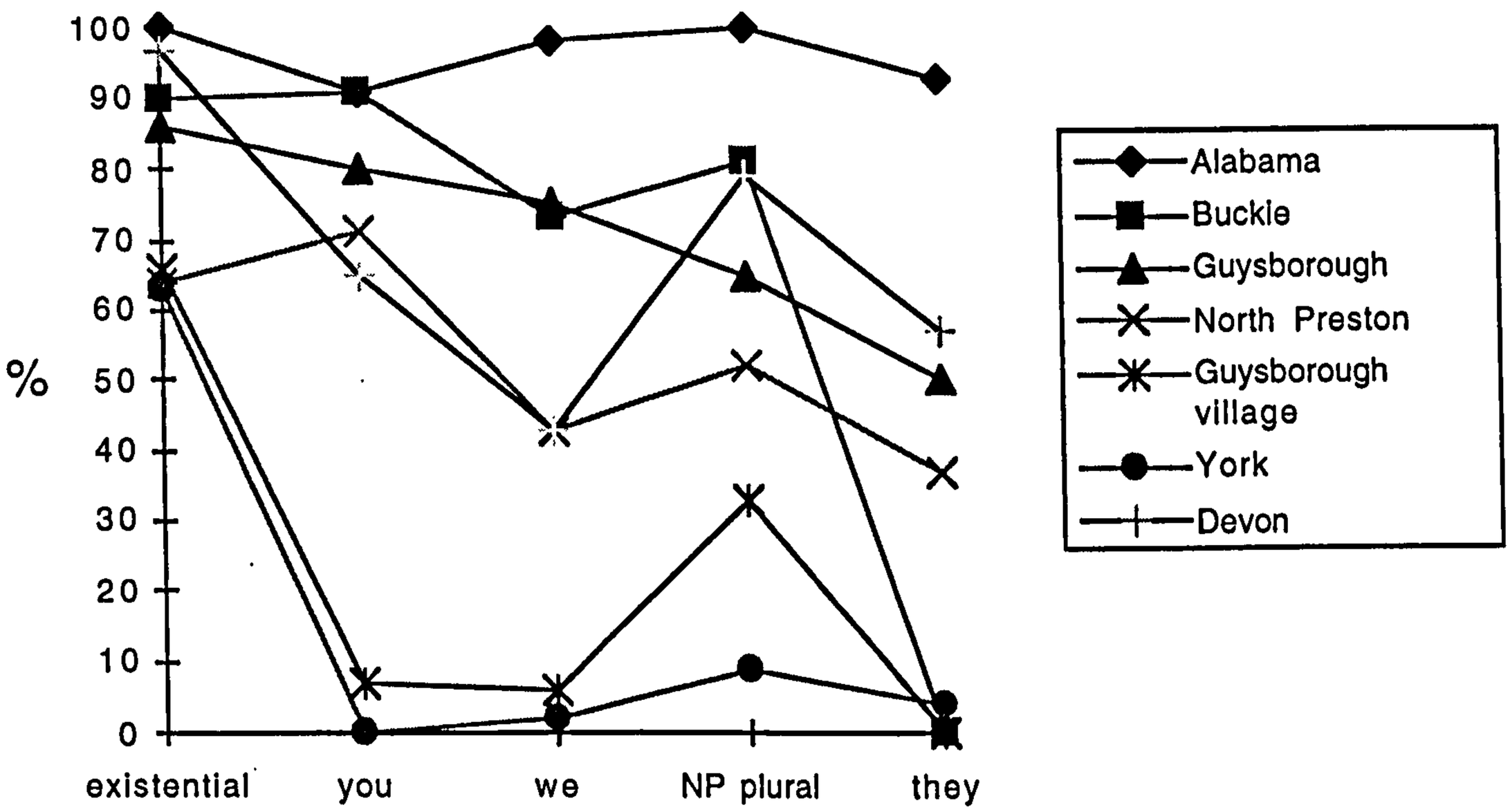
Table 15 Overall distribution of *was* in *were* in seven varieties of English

Variety	*% was*
Anniston, Alabama, US	97
Samaná, Dominican Republic	89
Reading, UK	85
Appalachian English, US	77
Ozark English, US	74
Devon, UK	73
Guysborough enclave, Nova Scotia	68
Buckie, UK	**58**
North Preston, Nova Scotia	49
Guysborough village, Nova Scotia	30
York, UK	17

When the overall rate of *was* in contexts of *were* are considered, Buckie is mid-range compared to the 12 varieties of English outlined in Table 9, and is situated close to Guysborough village and North Preston.

However, overall frequencies such as the ones in Table 15 obscure differential rates of *was* and *were* across the verbal paradigm, as was demonstrated in the Buckie data. Due to the centrality of grammatical person, I now conduct a cross-variety comparison of the distribution of *was* for existential there, plural NPs and the personal pronouns *you, we* and *they* across communities[16]. Note however, that in many cases, there are too few Ns or not enough information in the literature on certain points (for example, Christian et als (1988:116) study of Appalachian and Ozark English gives overall percentages for the pronouns *we you* and *they* together). Moreover, to make the comparison as consistent as possible, I have included only the older, working class speakers from each community. Figure 5 displays the results.

Figure 5: Distribution of non-standard *was* by grammatical person across communities.



The results by grammatical person make clear that some communities highly favour the use of *was* in certain contexts. First, consider plural existential constructions. This context has high rates of *was* across all communities, even in York, which has relatively lower rates elsewhere.

Variation in agreement in this context has been acknowledged despite its non-standard status. Meechan & Foley (1994:76) contest that 'non concord is more widespread in existential constructions than many current theoretical analyses would lead us to believe.' The strong convergence of results in all of the studies which have analysed this phenomena in naturally occurring speech (see, for example, Tagliamonte, 1998b) in conjunction with the recent formal treatment of this phenomenon (e.g. Henry, 1995) lend weight to this point.

But high rates of *was* in existentials is the only pan-community effect. When the other grammatical persons are considered, the varieties differ dramatically. The propensity of non-standard *was* is relatively high nearly everywhere in Buckie, Devon, Guysborough, North Preston and Alabama, but much less so in York and Guysborough Village.

Aside from rates of use, patterns of use are also diffentiated across varieties. In Alabama, there is high and relatively undifferentiated use across grammatical persons. In York there is low rates of non-standard *was* in all non-existential contexts. Guysborough village has relatively high rates in plural NPs. Buckie, North Preston and Guysborough on the other hand, have not only high rates of use more generally, but also shared patterns of use, such as the propensity of *was* with 2nd person singular *you*. and a pattern of more to less in the use of plural NPs vs. 3rd person plural *they*. Devon also has very high rates of use overall, but the patterns are very different to these three varieties. This community has relatively lower rates in 2nd person singular and actually is similar to Guysborough village in terms of more to less across grammatical person.

7. Discussion

7.1 The findings for Buckie

How can these findings be interpreted? I have described in detail the literature on *was/were* variability in varieties of English, whether early or modern, standard or non-standard. The findings presented here provide a number of contributions to the literature on *was/were* variability.

In Section 2, I detailed the pervasive variability of *was* and *were* throughout the history of English, particularly the variability pertaining to more Northern regions of Britain. In Section 3 I outlined contemporary research which shows that variability persists in varieties of English all over the world. It is clear from the historical and contemporary literature that a number of linguistic and geographic factors condition the occurrence of *was* and *were*. This study reveals that the diachronic consideration of the patterns of use of the verb *be* is necessary in order to situate and explain contemporary patterns. The most widely-cited factors mentioned in the historical literature, i.e. that these morphological alternatives had varying rates of occurrence across the different grammatical persons, have been shown to maintain an effect in Buckie.

The very high rates of *you was*, particularly with the older generation leads to the conclusion that non-standard *was* in this context is not an innovation, but rather retention of the form used in earlier times. This highlights the correlation of isolation from mainstream urban culture, where contact may have induced restructuring in the direction of the standard on the one hand, with continuity of linguistic features on the other. The *was* evidenced in the context of 2nd person singular *you* is not the process of analogical levelling, or the result of primitive tendencies, but is in fact very old.

The apparently paradoxical result for 3rd person plural - robust variability with full NPs, but categorical *were* usage with the pronoun *they* - is only paradoxical if *was/were* variability is viewed within the framework of analogical levelling. But this is clearly not the case here. The results become interpretable when examined against the backdrop of the continuity of diachronic patterns. The constraint that existed in Middle English between pronouns and full NPs is strikingly preserved in the categorical use of *were* with *they* vs. the very high probability of *was* with plural NPs.

Consistent with other studies, existentials in Buckie also exhibit a high degree of non-standard *was*. Even the middle aged female speakers who have generally lower rates of *was* in *were* exhibit 100% *was* in this construction. In fact, the use of *was* in this context may be a change which has gone to completion in many dialects (Tagliamonte, 1998b), and is only used with *were* due to the influence from the formal teaching of grammar (Meechan & Foley, 1994). Given the overwhelming convergence of results in which existentials do not exhibit agreement, and the fact that non-standard *was* is attested in this context in the historical record (Quirk & Wrenn, 1958; Visser, 1963-73), it seems questionable whether existentials are really subject to 'agreement' rules at all.

The context which is not attested in the historical record as having high rates of *was* is 1st person plural *we*. Quantitative patterns in this context revealed in the present study are instructive. This site was the locus for extra-linguistic variation which was not in evidence in any other contexts - i.e. the high use of *we was* by young males and the very low use with middle aged females. In addition, while the older and middle aged speakers had lower rates of *was* in this context compared to *you*, this distinction is reversed with the younger speakers. These results suggest that this pattern is less well-established within the community, or to put it more simply, newer. This may be the reason it has become a sociolinguistic marker in the community where it has been assigned covert prestige by the young males as a marker of identity within the community, but is clearly stigmatised within the middle aged females group.

As to the sociolinguistic significance of the other contexts of *was* in *were* - 2nd person singular, full NPs and existentials - all speakers, whether male or female, young, middle aged or old, participate in its use. This suggests that these contexts are not socially stigmatised, but signal the accepted vernacular norms of the community, and are therefore sociolinguistic indicators. Indeed, they are 'not vulgar corruptions, but strictly grammatical in the Northern dialect' (Murray 1873:212).

7.2 Cross-variety comparison

What about the use of *was* in *were* in other varieties of English - do these demonstrate primitive tendencies, analogical extension, or is this non-standard use also a continution of features from the past?

The similarities and differences displayed in Figure 5 may seem initially surprising, given the geographic and ethnic diversity of these varieties. It might be expected that there would be a geographic split between the North American and British varieties. But the patterns of use in York, Buckie and Devon look entirely different. On the other hand, an ethnic split might arise, with the AAVE varieties of Guysborough and North Preston patterning differently to the four British origin varieties. But none of these expectations are met. So if it is not geography, and it is not ethnicity, how can these shared patterns of use be accounted for? These results become explicable against the background of the historical-ethnographic conditions under which the varieties themselves originated and developed.

Examination of the British and African migrations into the United States during the eighteenth century reveals that speakers of northern varieties of British English were in the majority in the southern American colonies during the time that African slaves were imported en masse into the same area. In the period 1717-1775 in particular, plantations flourished with the arrival of the Scots-Irish, with the result that Africans and whites were in close contact (Mufwene, 1996; Winford, 1997; Wood, 1989). As the Founder Principle (Mufwene, 1996) predicts, I am working under the assumption that this predisposed the varieties which emerged from this context to select linguistic patterns typical of the northern regions of Britain, particularly since the population groups from these areas were greater in number in most locales, and had relatively more prestige. Therefore, these patterns have most probably been passed on in the colonial period, during the influx of Scots and Irish in the 17th and 18th centuries. The present day speakers in North Preston and Guysborough Enclave subsequently migrated to Nova Scotia in the late 18th and early 19th centuries (Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1991a), taking with them these patterns of use. Thus, the unexpected and consistent parallels between

Buckie and the African Nova Scotian English enclaves - propensity of *was* with 2nd person singular *you*, and a pattern of more to less in the use of plural NPs vs. 3rd person plural *they* - become interpretable if we think of all of them all as *retaining* conservative features of northern varieties of British English, rather than a process of analogical levelling. In other words, this is a case of patterns 'resulting from common descent of two or more given languages, and traceable to an earlier common stage' (Malkiel, 1981:566). Moreover, these patterns of use can only be seen in varieties which remain relatively immune to prescriptive norms. Buckie, Guysborough Enclave and North Preston are similar with respect to their status as relic areas. These conditions allow the constraints on *was* to be tracked back in time across widely dispersed and ethnically diverse dialects.

The data from Devon also come from a relic area, but this variety does not have the same patterning as Buckie. This is not at all surprising in light of the historical record, as it retains the pattern of more to less in NP vs. *they* as documented for the whole of Britain, but not the high rates of *was* in 2nd person singular which was specific to northern varieties.

This also may explain the similarities in patterning between Devon and Guysborough Village. The ancestors of the present day speakers in Guysborough Village came primarily from the northern states (van Tyne, 1902), which in turn had migrated from the southern areas of Britain. Jones and Tagliamonte (2000) therefore suggest that the similarities in patterning between Devon and Guysborough, in contrast to Buckie, Guysborough Enclave and North Preston, are also explicable against the backdrop of migration patterns. These British origin settlers to Guysborough Village came from the southern areas of Britain, hence the shared patterns of use with Devon.

The importance of relic status as a window to the past is highlighted by York. This is a northern dialect which probably had the patterns of use attested for preterit *be* in past times. But these have now become obsolete due to pressure from prescriptive norms. What we see in the synchronic data is the product of standardisation over the past two centuries. At the opposite extreme, the patterns in Alabama English are probably the result of an advanced state of analogical levelling, with the extension of patterns to the point where the original constraints have been lost. These very different patterns of use highlight how different communites have responded to the antithetic pressures leading to levelling, standardisation, and retention of forms.

Perhaps the most important finding of this study is that the use of *was* cannot be viewed as a simple process of analogical levelling, where every variety exhibits the same

encroachment of *was* into contexts of *were* in every grammatical location where this is possible or even the result of primitive processes. Rather what we see in the Buckie data and other relic areas is, in fact, a representation of the different stages in a long process of linguistic change in this area of the grammar. While the source of *was* in other varieties may indeed be the result of analogical levelling, this is clearly not the case in all dialects. As Ferguson (1996:191) states (emphasis my own):

> '[the] spread of the *-s* to ... 2nd persons and the plural are evident in many [non-standard] varieties of English around the world. In some instances *they apparently continue local features that have never become standardised,* and in other instances they are new emergences of 'natural' tendencies that harmonise with the drift of morphological simplification.'

This sums up succinctly the findings of this analysis. *Was* in *were* in Buckie and other dialects is not due to the pressures from analogical levelling or primitive tendencies, but is a feature that simply continues the patterns of the old agreement rules attested in the diachronic literature[17].

These patterns suggest that the differences between varieties have more to do with the socio-demographic conditions under which they evolved in the first place and the socio-cultural conditions which have brought them to the present-day (Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999:163). This could not be more clearly demonstrated than in the quantitative details of linguistic variation we have shown here, which do indeed 'preserve linguistic history over several centuries and several continents' (Labov, 1980:xvii).

1 The alternation between postvocalic /r/ and /z/ is said to be a result of Verner's Law (Pyles & Algeo, 1993)

2 The North here extends from Yorkshire in the north east of England to Aberdeen in the north east of Scotland.

3 In the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century, a *was/were* distinction is said to have arisen in the south differentiating 2nd person singular, which was marked with *was*, and 2nd person plural, which was marked by *were* (Pyles & Algeo, 1993), mirroring the northern pattern. One explanation put forward for this development is that it maintained the number distinction between singular and plural which no longer existed in the surface forms when *thou* fell out of use (Petyt, 1985). However, this southern use was restricted and correlated strongly with specific writers (Pyles & Algeo, 1993). By the end of the nineteenth century 2nd person singular *was* had all but disappeared in literary texts (ibid). Therefore, this pattern attested in the south was sporadic in nature, in comparison to the highly regulated use of was attested in 2nd person singular contexts in the North.

4 Variable orthography of 2nd singular as *thou* and *þou* is typical of this time period.

5 Singular or plural contexts are not distinguished in these studies.

6 This is a combined figure for adult working class speakers in both urban and rural areas.

7 These forms may be a relic of the plural forms in singular contexts which did occur, but only rarely, in northern areas in ME (Forsström, 1948).

8 This example proves interesting as the question was a repeat of my own 'How long were you down there?' The speaker, although apparently echoing my question, actually changes *were you* to *was you.*

9 Pronominal phrases such as *some of them* were collapsed with full NPs, due to the fact that they were very few in number and patterned in the same way.

10 Of the 28 tokens of relative pronouns, two were *who*, rather than *that.*

11 Construction such as s*ome of them* were all collapsed into the category of 'collective' due to the small number of tokens and the fact that they pattern in similar ways to collectives.

12 With conjoined nouns, all but two of the cases where *was* is used in contexts of standard *were* (26 out of 28), the final conjunct is singular.

13 3rd person plural *they* was removed due to its categorical use. 2nd person plural *you* and relative pronouns were removed due to the small number of tokens in these categories. These exclusions apply to all subsequent analyses. NP type, syntactic category and intervening material had too few tokens to be considered separately.

14 A number of different configurations were tested in these analysis. For example, one run excluded all existential constructions. These different configurations of the data had no effect on the hierarchies (but see footnote 17).

15 A closer look at this speaker reveals differences that may have important linguistic implications. He is the individual who plays an important role in the community, being heavily involved in activities centred around the fishing industry, such as organisation of the local Fishing Heritage, and also has a position of authority in the church.

16 Because most of the varieties I report on here do not exhibit levelling of *were*, the polarity effect reported in other studies does not apply. Therefore, no distinction is made between negative and affirmative contexts.

17 This continuity of patterning also contest Hock's (1986) view that use of *were* is not generated by a rule, but purely learned then memorized.

CHAPTER 3

NEGATIVE CONCORD

1. Introduction

Negative concord, where negative features are spread over several elements in the sentence, as in (1) is one of the great shibboleths of present day English, which has been eradicated from the standard 'on the linguistically spurious grounds that two negatives make a positive' (Beal, 1993:198).

(1) I *don't* know *nothing*.

But despite the best attempts of prescriptivists, its occurrence in non-standard dialects is widespread, and in fact, according to Chambers (1995:242), it 'recurs ubiquitously all over the world'. Therefore it is not surprising to find it in Buckie, as in (2):

(2) a. I *never* said *nothin'* till her the day. (a:283.0)
b. I *havena nae* cards. (a:655.5)
c. You *wouldna* 've kent *nae* better. (u:689.41)

The key issue from a variationist perspective is that the rule for negatives in non-standard dialects applies variably, as in (3) from the Buckie data, which come from the same speaker in the same discourse:

(3) a. But I *didna* ken *nothin'*. (j:432.43)
b. They *havena* seen *anythin'*. (j:623.26)

c. Now, ee *dinna* ken *any* of that. (a:2131.17)
d. I *na* ken none of that, *nor* I *na* ken *none* that. (a:1520.9)

e. She *didna* ken *anythin'*. (b:1002)
f. They *didna* get *nothin'*. (b:104.12)

g. It *wasna* really gan *naewye*. (t:175.21)
h. We *didna* get *anywye*. (t:408.4)

i. I *wasna* sick or *nothin'*, you know. (1:376.50)
j. *Never* heard if a woman like director or *anythin'*. (1:128.18)

k. Ken, I *dinna* mind the music now *or anythin'*, ken. (1:174.61)
l. We've *nae* got a shower *or nothin'*. (1:398.6)

This chapter raises a number of important questions - what are the constraints under which a speaker uses two negatives, as in (3a) in one utterance and one negative, as in (3b) in another in Buckie? Are the constraints extra-linguistic or language internal? Can a syntactic analysis shed light on its use? Crucially, what does a cross-variety comparison of this feature reveal? Are the underlying constraints the same across varieties? Are the same structures employed? What can the similarities and/or differences tell us about the evolution of particular varieties of English?

This paper seeks to contribute to these questions by a quantitative analysis of the use of negative concord in Buckie. The patterns revealed through this in-depth structural analysis will provide a baseline from which to proceed with a transatlantic comparison between varieties of English. Section 2 details the historical precursors of the present day non-standard forms, while Section 3 provides a summary of the contemporary research on negative concord. Section 4 details the methodology employed, Section 5, the results and Section 6, a discussion of the findings.

1.1 Definitions and clarifications

A cursory glance at the literature on negation reveals innumerable terms used to describe essentially the same concepts, which often results in confusion for the reader. For this reason, I now clarify the terms I adopt in this chapter and their corresponding definitions.

The use of more than one negative, as in (3a), has been referred to as redundant negation (Ramsey, 1892/1968), pleonastic negation (Curme, 1977), negative spread (Besten, 1986), negative attraction (Jespersen, 1917) negative agreement, (Kaplan, 1989; Labov et al., 1968) and cumulative negation (Barber, 1976). In the variationist literature, it is often referred to as multiple negation (Feagin, 1979; Schneider, 1989; Wolfram, 1969; Wolfram & Christian, 1976). Following Labov's (1972c) landmark article on the subject, I adopt the term *negative concord* here, and define it as the use of two or more negatives where standard English requires only one[1]. In standard English, the negative is generally confined to one element, as in (4):

(4) I *don't* know anything.

In non-standard varieties, 'the negative feature is spread, so to speak, over all elements in the sentence (Van der Wouden, 1994:93), or 'instead of saying that the negative is attracted to the first indeterminate ... the negative is attracted to indeterminates generally' (Labov, 1972c:784) resulting in (5):

(5) I *don't* know *nothing*.

Following Labov (1972), I adopt the term *indeterminate* to refer to the lexical items *any, ever* and *either*, which are distinguished from other items such as *some* primarily on the basis of their co-occurrence constraints with negative and question features (Klima 1964)[2].. I further categorise these into pronominal indeterminates such as *nothing* and *no more,* and also full NP indeterminates such as *nae fish/any fish, nae pay/any pay.*

I firstly turn to the historical record on negative concord and negation more generally.

2. Historical precursors

2.1 A brief history of negation

The realisation of negation has changed since the Old English period. In Old English, the negative particle *ne* was placed before the finite verb (Mitchell, 1985:661), but was then frequently strengthened by *na* (also *naht, nat, nought, not* etc.) postverbally (Fischer, 1992:280). The *ne...naht* construction continued to be used in the Middle English period (Mustanoja, 1960:339). However, as *ne* is a weak phonological element (Jespersen, 1917:11), the original negative particle completely disappeared leaving only *naht* postverbally (Mustanoja, 1960:340). This construction was the main one used by the end of the Middle English period until the form was replaced by periphrastic *do* and preverbal *not* (Denison, 1993; Ellegård, 1953). The cycle continues in English, with *not* becoming phonetically weakened to the cliticised *n't.* These developments are summarised in Table 1, and examples of the forms in (6):

Table 1: Forms of negation used for Old English to late Middle English

OE	**Early ME**	**ME**	**late ME**
ne V	ne V ne V not	ne V not V not	V not do not V

(6) a. Ic *ne* secge
b. I *ne* seye *not*
c. I say *not*
d. I *do not* say

e. I *don't* say.

These developments in negation are not confined to English, however. Jespersen (1924:335-6) describes a pattern in the diachronic development of pure sentential negation, where the changing patterns in use seen here apply across languages. These follow the same developmental path, but how negation is marked depends on where the language stands in the Negative Cycle (ibid:336). For example, in Modern Italian and Modern Spanish, sentential negation is marked by a preverbal clitic element alone (Rowlett, 1995:2), as was the case in Old English.

Moreover, during the transition stages between one form and another, variation exists. This is highlighted in the use of standard written French, standard spoken French and colloquial French, as in (7):

(7) a. Je *ne* dis *pas* (standard written French)
b. Je (ne) dis *pas* (standard spoken French)
c. Je dis *pas* (colloquial French)

(Rowlett, 1995:2)

It is clear from this description that the use of more than one negative was common in the history of English and other languages as well. I now turn to a more detailed analysis of the use of negative concord in the diachronic record in English.

2.2 Negative concord in the history of English

The historical record reveals that negative concord was 'frequent, indeed the norm from earliest times' (Traugott, 1972:170), 'repetition [of the negative] was the regular idiom in OE' (Jespersen, 1940:451) and 'perfectly normal' (Quirk & Wrenn, 1960:91). In the Middle English period, around 50% of negative clauses contained more than one negative (Iyeiri, 1999:138).

But negative concord is 'a blanket term, usually employed rather loosely' (Austin, 1984:138) encompassing different types. These types fall into three main categories - verb phrase negation, conjunctive negation and negation to indeterminates.

2.2.1 Verb phrase negation

During the change from preverbal *ne* to postverbal *nawt* in the Negative Cycle 'frequently both forms of the negative particle were included (resulting in) double negation of the verb phrase itself' (Austin, 1984:139), as in (8):

(8) a. He *nis nat* gentil, be he duk or erl. (c1372: Chaucer: The Wife of Bath's Tale)

b. Single thing *ne* is *not* preysed. (c1430: Lydgate, Beware of Doubleness)

c. Of paradise, *ne* can I *not* speak properly. (c1500: Mandeville, Travels)

Negative concord took over from single negation in the early Middle English period (Miyabe, 1968:92) but with the gradual loss of *ne*, underwent a sharp decline in late Middle English (Iyeiri, 1999:138) leading to 'the corrosion of multiple negation' (Fischer, 1992:283).

2.2.2 Conjunctive negation

The second type of negative concord is where 'the negative connectives nauþer 'neither' and ne 'nor' as in (9) are involved in multiple negation' (Iyeiri, 1999:211):

(9) a. Whether (yet) had he *no* helme ne hawbergh *nauþer* (c1330: Sir Gaiwan and the Green Knight 203)

b. And miȝt I *neuer* gete hidder tille my childe agaune for gode *ne* ille. (c1300: Cursor Mundi: MS Fairfax 14)

This form started to be replaced by *or* in late Middle English, but negative concord of this type remained in the language well into Early ModE (Iyeiri, 1999:136).

2.2.3 Negative concord to indeterminates

Negative concord to indeterminates, as in (10), 'where *never, no, nowhere* etc. are repeated or occur with the adverb not' (Iyeiri, 1999:126) (i.e. in addition to the finite verb, postverbal indeterminates to the right of the verb are negated) were also common[3].

(10) a. I will *noghte* wonde for *no werre* to *wende* where me likes (c1300: The Alliterative Morte Arthure 3494)

b. as he that wol *neuer* more trespace a-yeins the town in *no* degre (Book of London English 30/230-1)

d. and for *no* richhessye shullen do *no* thyng which may in any manere displese God (1627: Melibee)

Jack (1978a:67) states that 'the forms *any* and *ever* for instance, are generally avoided in negative clauses in ME', with the corresponding negative forms *no*(*n*) and *never* used instead. In fact, only implicit negative contexts (those which are semantically negative but do not actually contain an explicit negative particle) have *any* during this period (Fischer, 1992:280).

However, the late Middle English period saw an increase in use of the non-assertive forms *any, ever* etc. (Barber, 1976:283; Fischer, 1992:284; Iyeiri, 1999:137; Jack, 1978a:70) as in (11).

(11) a. She shal *nouzt* to *any* be sette (c1300: Handlyng synne 189-190)

This was said to be led by 'the ranks of the educated and upwardly mobile professionals and well-to-do merchants engaged in foreign trade' in the 16th century (Nevalainen, 1998:277). More specifically, men who were used to communicating in writing in their professional capacity. This use of the non-assertive forms increased during this period, with examples from writing in the late 17th and 18th century difficult to find (Jespersen 1917).

In sum, there were three main types of negative concord in the Old Middle and Early Modern English periods: verb phrase negation, conjunctive negation and negative concord to indeterminates[4]. Verb phrase negation was by far the most common type and it is the 'rise and fall of (this type that) directly affects the rise and fall of multiple negation' in the historical record (Iyeiri, 1999:127). Its use drastically declined by the late Middle English period and became obsolete by Early Modern English. Conjunctive negation, on the other hand, carried on into this period (Austin, 1984:142). Negative concord to indeterminates began to decrease in the early 16th century and examples of this type of negative concord are difficult to find from the beginning of the 17th to the end of the 18th century.

2.2 An 18th century prescriptivist death?

Do these findings from the historical record have any bearing on the use of negative concord seen in Buckie and other varieties of English? Even a cursory glance at

contemporary research reveals that the third type detailed above - negative concord to indeterminates - is the most commonly used form. It is generally assumed that this use met its downfall, in writing at least, with the 18th century prescriptivists. For example, 'our standard form is a rule imposed on English by grammarians in the 18th century' (Labov 1972:774); 'to that period (18th century) we owe many of the school grammar prescriptions that are current today, such as the ban or double (or multiple) negatives' (Milroy & Milroy, 1985:34); 'it was the eighteenth-century prescriptive grammarians who, on the basis of the pseudo logical principle that two minuses make a plus, denounced the use of multiple negation in simple negative sentences' (Harris, 1993:169). This is said to have resulted in negative concord being 'outlawed from all educated English' (Leonard, 1929:286) at this time. However, the historical record shows that negative concord to indeterminates, the type used in present day, had all but disappeared in writing by the end of the 16th century, long before the rise of the 18th century prescriptivists. This leads Austin (1984:142) to state that 'the assumption that the 18th century grammarians had other than an incidental effect on this widespread and most vigorous type of English double negation which had already in fact been out of use for centuries among educated persons, must give way unless better evidence can be found to support it'.

So what can account for statements such as 'Two negatives in English destroy one another, or are equivalent to an affirmative' (Lowth, 1762/1775:95) and 'two negatives instead of one are very improper' (Ussher, 1785/1967:48)?

Despite Labov, Milroy and Harris among others, making the direct link between 18th century prescriptivists and the demise of negative concord to indeterminates in standard English, Austin shows that closer examination of the prescriptivist literature reveals that the majority of grammarians make no mention of this type. For example, Lowth (1762/1775) and Murray (1795/1968), very influential prescriptivists of this time, actually deal with conjunctive negation only. Moreover, verb phrase negation had long disappeared due to the negative cycle, therefore would not be the subject of scrutiny in the 18th century.

Significantly, Austin (1984:141) points out that some grammars do include negative concord to indeterminates. These were mostly printed in more rural, provincial areas, and written for schools, women, or men in skilled labour. This leads her to surmise that negative concord did not disappear in the 17th and 18th centuries but had 'existed all the time among the relatively uneducated strata of society' (Austin, 1984:143). Therefore, despite becoming obsolete in the written word, 'the lowest social ranks ... would presumably have retained features like multiple negation' to indeterminates (Nevaleinen, 1998:265). In other words, it was still used in 'vulgar speech' (Poutsma,

1904,1926:679). In support of this, Austin (1984:143) points out that all of Jespersen's (1917) examples of negative concord to indeterminates from the 19th century were taken from works which were used to convey lower class speech. This would explain why we still see negative concord to indeterminates used in non-standard dialects in present day English.

However, this leaves the question of why negative concord to indeterminates disappeared from the written word. Jespersen (1940:451) suggests that the loss of negative concord in writing in the late Middle English period may have been due to a Latin influence - in this language, two negatives do make an affirmative, a fact that must have been well known by the educated classes. What he concludes is that they may have simply transferred this rule to English. This is also the view expressed by Curme (1931:139-140) and Leith (1987:52). Nevalainen (1998:284) reaches a similar conclusion, with the loss of negative concord to indeterminates 'accounted for in terms of hypercorrection, the overzealousness of the upwardly mobile in acquiring a new sociolect'.

Three main points arise from the above discussion:

a) Different types of negative concord existed from Old English to Early Modern English - verb phrase negation, conjunctive negation and negative concord to indeterminates.
b) The factors governing the disappearance of these types differed fundamentally:
   i) the disappearance of verb phrase negation was due to language internal processes.
   ii) the disappearance of conjunctive negation was probably due to 18th century prescriptivism, iii) the disappearance of negative concord to indeterminates in writing was probably due to the external influence of Latin on the more educated sectors of society.
c) Negative concord to indeterminates, although practically obsolete in the written record by Early Modern English, continued to be used in the speech of less educated members of society.

I now turn to negative concord in the synchronic record.

3. Contemporary research

3.1 Negative concord in other dialects

In light of this historical perspective, it is not surprising to find numerous contemporary reports of negative concord in Britain (Beal, 1993; Cheshire, 1982; Coupland, 1988;

Edwards, 1993; Edwards & Weltens, 1985; Harris, 1993; Hughes & Trudgill, 1979), the United States, (Feagin, 1979; Labov, 1972c; Wolfram & Christian, 1976), Canada (Howe, 1994; Howe, 1995; Howe, 1997) and Australia (Eisikovits, 1989). Some of these studies are qualitative (Beal, 1993; Edwards, 1993; Edwards & Weltens, 1985; Harris, 1993; Hughes & Trudgill, 1979) and others quantitative (Cheshire, 1982; Eisikovits, 1989; Feagin, 1979; Howe, 1994; Howe, 1995; Howe, 1997; Labov, 1972c; Wolfram & Christian, 1976).

Only those which have dealt with negative concord quantitatively will be included here. These can be divided into three categories. The first comprises speakers of British origin, and includes Cheshire's (1982) study of adolescents in Reading, England; Feagin's (1979) study of working and upper class citizens in Alabama; Wolfram's (1976) study of Appalachian speech; Eisikovits (1989) study of teenagers in Sydney, Australia. The second is African American Vernacular English (AAVE) and is the main subject of Labov's (1972) study, which include young males from West Philadelphia, Harlem and exploratory interviews in Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago and Los Angeles; Wolfram (1969) looks mainly at Black Detroit speech, but includes a sample of British origin speakers as well. The third group includes those speakers of African descent who are said to represent Early African American English (AAE). Howe's (Howe, 1995; Howe, 1997; 1999) study of transported varieties AAE include the ex-slave recordings (ESR) Samaná (SE) and African Nova Scotian English (ANSE), while Schneider (1989) looks at the ex-slave narratives (ESN), a series of recordings of African Americans from the 1930s in Virginia.

In contemporary reports, negative concord to indeterminates, or 'transfer of negatives to indeterminates' (Labov, 1972c:786), as in (12) is 'the most common form' of negative concord (Feagin, 1979:227).

(12) a. I *ain't* got *no* money. (Howe & Walker, 1999)
b. We *never* had *nothin'*, so it didn't bother us too much. (Feagin, 1979:229)
c. There *wasn't no* lights on. (Cheshire, 1982:65)
d. I *didn't* have *nothin'* to do for these stitches. (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:108)
e. I *didn't* know *nothin'* about people, or nothing. (Labov, 1972c:806)
f. They *don't* say *nothin'*. (Eisikovits, 1989:37)
g. We *didn't* have *no* funerals. (Schneider, 1989:193)

As this is the most common type reported I initially concentrate on these.

In these sentence types, the negative can spread to any number of indeterminates, as shown in (13):

(13) a. I *ain't never* had *no* trouble with *none* of them. (Labov, 1972c:805)

Feagin (1979:228) points out that once negative concord begins, it does not always affect all following indeterminates, as in (14):

(14) a. But it *didn't* tear up *no* houses or *anythin'*. (Feagin 1979:228)

Indeterminates can also be skipped, as shown in (15)[5]:

(15) a. From then on, I *didn't* have *any* trouble at school *no* more. (Labov, 1972c:785)

What Labov (1972c:806) terms 'sentence modifiers', as in (16) are also attested.

(16) a. I didn't know nothing about people, *or nothin'*. (Labov, 1972c:806)
b. Don't look it, *don't* act it *neither*. (Cheshire, 1982:66)
c. Didn't nobody get hurt *or nothin'*. (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:113)

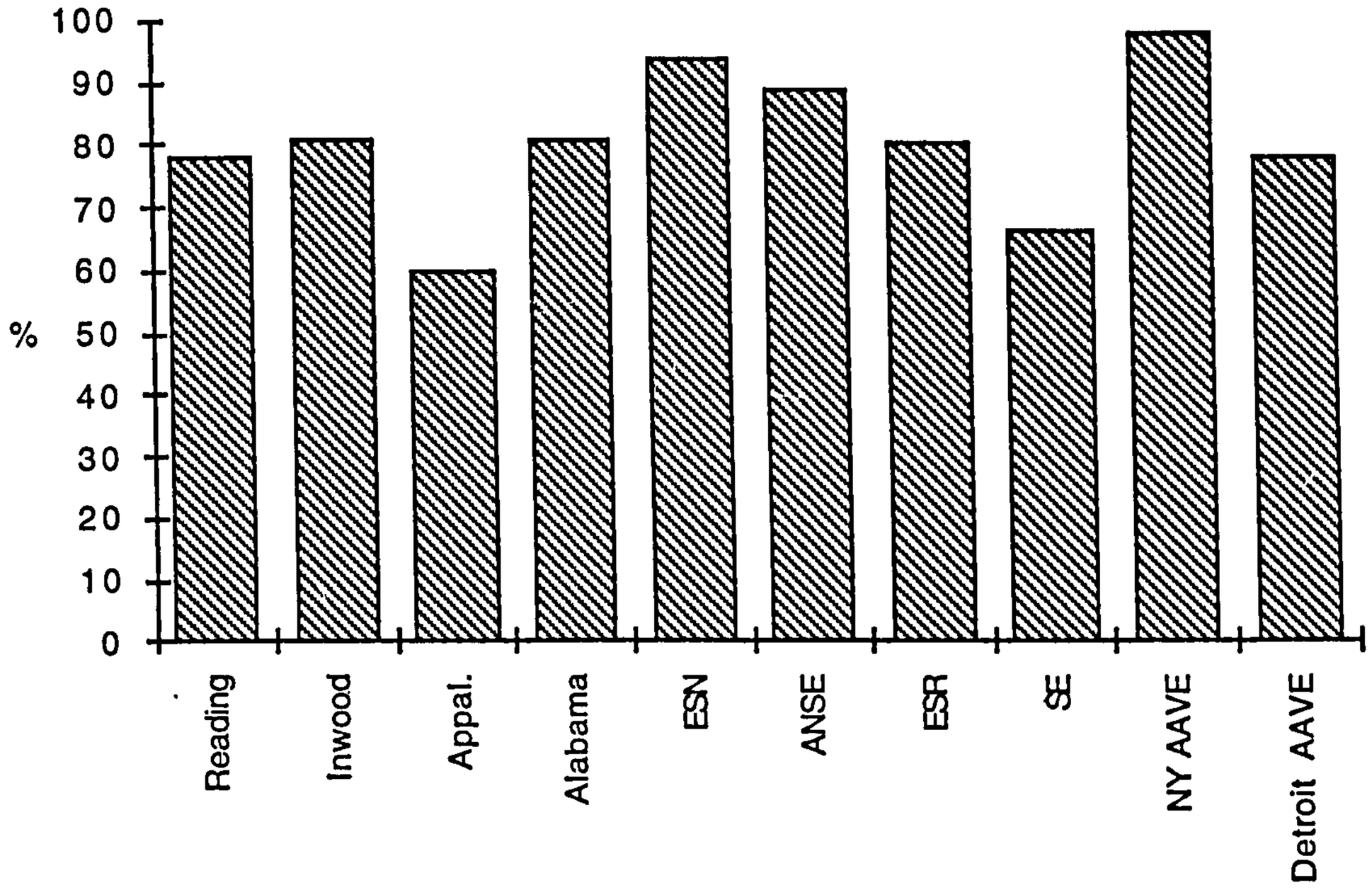
Hardly can also appear with negative concord, as in (17):

(17) a. The bloke *can't hardly* move. (Cheshire, 1982:64)
b. You're *not hardly* getting *any*. (Cheshire, 1982:64)

3.2 Rates of use of negative concord

Figure 1 compares the overall frequencies of use across 10 varieties of English. In order to make the comparison as consistent as possible, I have abstracted from earlier studies, where possible, the speakers whose characteristics most closely approximate the Buckie speakers - i.e. working class, with dense networks. No figures on middle and upper class usage are included. Figures are calculated to the nearest percentage point.

Figure 1: Percentage of negative concord across several varieties of English



Cheshire found 76% use in Reading English, and Labov found 81% for the Inwood speakers in New York. In Alabama, it was used around 80% of the time with older speakers, in Appalachia, 60%[6], and in Samaná English 66%. In Detroit, lower working class AAVE speakers used negative concord 78% of the time. The variety of AAVE reported by Labov (1972c) (young inner city speakers from New York) has near categorical use of negative concord at 98%. These frequencies of use are now examined in more detail.

Labov (1968:667) found that negative concord occurred 98% of the time with his New York teenage informants. These results were replicated in exploratory interviews in West Philadelphia, Harlem and Detroit, Cleveland, Chicago and Los Angeles. Despite categorical status with this group of speakers, Wolfram's (1969) results for the Detroit speakers showed variable use, ranging from 64% to 85%, depending on how the data were configured[7].

Despite being a putative precursor of modern AAVE (Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1991a), the rates of negative concord for the AAE speakers were also far more variable, ranging from 89% (ANSE) to 80% (Ex-slave) to 63% (Samaná).

Schneider (1989:192) describes the Ex-Slave's use of negative concord as 'semicategorical', as it is used 94% of the time.

In contrast, Wolfram (1976:110) showed that only one speaker in their Appalachian sample was categorical in their use of negative concord. The other speakers use it variably - 7 between 80 and 100%, 10 between 60% and 79%, the remaining speakers between 19% and 59%. Feagin's (1979:232) results also indicate a much more variable system - the working class urban teenage girls have, for example, 61% negative concord, the teenage boys, 70%, the older women 84% and the older men 69%. With the working class rural speakers, the percentage for older women is 76% and for older men, 89%.

Cheshire's (1982) overall frequency indices for occurrences of negative concord to indeterminates ranged from 89, and 86 for the young males and 52 for the young females. The same age groups in Sydney had lower percentages, ranging from 22% to 51%.

In sum, these dialects all have high rates of negative concord use. In fact, the variety of AAVE reported by Labov (1972c) is the only one which sets itself apart from others by having near categorical use of negative concord at 98%. I return to this point later.

3.3 Extra-Linguistic Findings on negative concord

Until the late Middle English period, the use of negative concord in writing was not stigmatised, evidenced by the fact that it was used in even the most formal styles (Iyeiri 1999:125). But since then it has become 'one of the most despised constructions in English' (Burling, 1973:54) starting with the 19th century writers who 'placed [it] in the mouths of lower class speakers' (Austin, 1984:142) to represent 'vulgar speech' (Poustma, 1928:679). Such statements reveal a long history of extra-linguistic conditioning in the use of negative concord. It is not surprising, therefore, to find in contemporary literature that age, speakers sex, class, style and ethnicity are all reported to have an effect on its use.

3.3.1 Class

Sharp stratification in the use of negative concord is revealed in the two studies which consider the independent variable of class. Wolfram's (1969:156) results show that the UWC and LWC Detroit AAVE speakers show 56% and 78% use respectively of negative concord. The middle classes show much lower rates (LMC - 12%, UMC - 8%). Feagin (1979:232) found that negative concord was categorically absent from her upper class sample, with the exception of teenage girls who had 6%. However, all of

these tokens were with *hardly*. In contrast, the urban working class sample had an average of 75%, and the rural working class, 82%.

Therefore, negative concord is present only in the speech of the working class and is practically non-existent in the middle and upper classes.

3.3.2 Age

Wolfram's Detroit data (1969:162) demonstrate that 'a consistently lower percentage of realised multiple negation is found among the adult population' - the older speakers have 25% negative concord, the pre-adolescents have 49% and the teenagers 41%. In addition, of the 7 speakers who categorically use negative concord, all are children or teenagers. In Appalachian English (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:115), the younger age groups also have higher rates of negative concord. Compare, for example, 53% for 40+ year olds to 73% for 7-11 year olds. These results lead the authors to conclude that the use of negative concord is on the increase in many non-standard dialects. They link this increasing use to the categorical use of negative concord in AAVE, hypothesizing that this is a recent development.

In contrast, however, Feagin's (1979:232) speakers do not show a clear increase in use with younger speakers. In fact, the urban working class older females use negative concord more than their younger counterparts - compare 84% to 61% use. With the males, there is no difference.

What emerges from the independent variable of age is rather mixed, with some findings pointing to more use of negative concord with younger speakers, while others show that it is used less. Therefore is negative concord the result of expansion, retention or stable variation in these dialects? These issues are returned to in Section 5.5.

3.3.3 Sex

Wolfram's (1969:162) results for Detroit show that across all social classes, women consistently used less of the non-standard form. For example, upper working class males had 68.2% negative concord, while the females had 41%. Moreover, of the speakers who categorically used negative concord, fives were males and only two were females. In the middle class group, there were more females than males who were categorically standard.

Cheshire's (1982) results follow the same pattern - the two groups of males in the adolescent sample used negative concord 89% and 86% of the time, whereas the girls

used it much less - 52%. Eisikovits (1989:39) found that speaker sex and age were highly inter-related. While 14 year old males and females were equal in their use of negative concord (51% and 49% respectively), the 16 year olds showed sharp stratification, with the females rate of negative concord dropping drastically (males 44%, females 22%). She accounts for these differences in terms of earlier acquisition by females of social and stylistic variation.

The pattern that emerges from Howe's (1995:75) study is much less clear. In ANSE, the men use negative concord more than the women, in SE the male-female differences are reversed, with higher rates of negative concord amongst the women. There is little to differentiate males and females in the ESR data. In the multivariate analysis, however, speaker sex is not selected as significant to the probably of negative concord in the three varieties studied, suggesting that it is not a significant constraint in the use of negative concord.

Feagin's (1979) Alabaman speakers do not quite conform to the assumed pattern either. While the teenage working class females use less non-standard forms than the males, the situation is reversed with the older speakers.

If results for speaker sex are taken as an indicator of negative evaluation within a community (see for example, Labov 1990), these mixed results suggest that negative concord is not always stigmatised in certain groups within a community. This point is returned to in Section 5.5.

3.3.4 Style

The use of negative concord 'serves as a social cue indicating that the occasion is one for relaxed speech' (McDavid, 1973:266),which implies style shifting from less formal to more formal styles. Labov (1972c:806) found that speakers 'usually shift away from the 100 per cent use of negconcord' in these situations. His figures for group vs. individual style show slightly lower rates of negative concord in the former. Feagin's (1979:232) teenage female speakers used more negative concord in more informal styles[8], while Cheshire (1982:115) found that there was a 24% decrease in the use of negative concord when comparing school style with vernacular style.

Eisikovits (1989) also found speaker sex and style shifting to be interrelated. Interviewer questioning compared to peer groups questioning resulted in a decrease in the use of negative concord with girls, but an increase with boys. She attributes this to the different prestige forms for both groups - the non-standard form for the boys and

the standard form for the girls. In other words, negative concord for the Sydney boys has covert prestige.

In sum, in more formal styles, less negative concord is used.

3.3.5 Discourse function

Labov (1985:104) states that 'it is well known that negative concord serves to intensify a negation when it is optional' but this putative emphatic function is restricted to variable dialects only. However Edwards (1985:107) state that 'on the whole, it seems that the use of more than one negative is a matter of concord, not a means of intensification'. The empirical evidence, i.e. the fact that at least Type 1 negative concord is used so frequently, would seem to question its status as an emphatic device.

3.3.6 Ethnicity

Figure 1 showed that negative concord to indeterminates was categorical for Labov's (1972c) teenage AAVE speakers in New York. In contrast, it is optional for most dialects of English, reflected in their varying percentages of use. Labov (1972c:806) states that this is a crucial difference between AAVE and other dialects. However, Wolframs Detroit AAVE speakers do not show categorical use of negative concord. This percentage is even lower than, for example Feagin's (1979) white working class speakers in Alabama, for example. Therefore, there is no clear split on ethnic grounds in terms of categorical vs. variable use.

In sum, the extra-linguistic conditioning on the use of negative concord reveals only two clear results:

1. Robust use of negative concord is confined to the working classes.
2. Negative concord is used more frequently in informal styles.

These results suggest that the use of negative concord is stigmatised in most varieties.

The mixed results for age and speaker sex suggest that there are competing social pressures in different communities. Moreover, the findings on ethnicity are also not clear cut. These rather varied findings will be addressed when I return to the Buckie data. This will establish not only the social pressures on its use in this dialect, but also add to the wider picture on extra-linguistic conditioning.

3.4 Internal constraints

Most studies include only overall distributions by external constraints. However, two exceptions exist to this - Cheshire's 1982 study of Reading English, and Howe's 1995 of EAAE. Howe's detailed multivariate analyses of negative concord in Samaná, ANSE and the Ex-slave recordings reveal that type of indeterminate following the verb had the most significant effect across all varieties. Pronominal indeterminates, as in (18a) favoured negative concord, while Full NP indeterminates, as in (18b) disfavoured.

(18) a. She never has *no trouble* with her stomach. (Howe, 1995:67)
b. I can't go *nowheres*. (Howe, 1995:67)

Cheshire's (1982:65) Reading speakers on the other hand, showed no such effect. Full NPs showed the same, or in some cases, even more use of negative concord.

Howe's data also showed a perseverance or parallel processing effect (Poplack, 1979; Scherre & Naro, 1992), where negative concord was more likely to occur in sequence, rather than in isolated instances. This effect was found across all varieties.

Now that both the historical and contemporary literature have been explored, I now turn to the Buckie data.

4. Method

4.1 Negative concord in Buckie

I begin with a descriptive analysis of negative concord in the Buckie data. The examples in (2) and (3) showed that negative concord can appear with indeterminates following the verb.

It can also spread to two or more indeterminates, as in (19):

(19) a. There was *never nae* money for *nobody*. (q:385.4)
b. *Dinna* get *nae* love or *nothin'*. (l:73.52)

Conjoined phrases are also involved in negative concord, as in (20):

(20) a. You hadna separate bedrooms *or nothin'*. (b:199.26)
c. He never smokit *or nothin'*. (f:455.21)

These conjoined phrases can also appear with postposed negatives, where the negative marker can be optionally moved from the verb to the first postverbal indeterminate.

There are examples of negative spread, where 'there is the co-occurrence of two n-words to the exclusion of the N(egative) M(arker)' (Giannikidou, 2000:89), as in (21):

(21) a. There was *nae* dole *or nothing* at that time. (c:593.2)
b. There's *no* standards *or nothing*.(c:230.1)

There are cases when not all indeterminates are converted to negatives in the same clause, as in (22):

(22) a. But it wi *na* mean *nothin'* to *anybody* else. (s:6.47)

Indeterminates can also be skipped, as in (23), but these are rare.

(23) a. But the guy *hadna* taen *any* national insurance numbers or *nae* tax numbers or *nothin'*. (j:741.67)

Hardly also appears with negative concord, as in (24):

(24) a. He never *hardly* came into the shop. (y:559.27)

4.2 The variable context

Closer inspection of the variable context reveals a number of potential problems, which are discussed in detail below.

Essential to the notion of variable context is that the variants have the same meaning and are functionally equivalent, with 'the identification of two or more variants which are expressions of a common underlying form or semantic invariant' (Sankoff & Thibault, 1981:206). This 'same meaning' constraint on variants is quite transparent in examples where *any* and *any*-compounds are involved, as '*no*- represents a common underlying *any* combined with a negative which has been attracted from elsewhere' (Labov 1972:775). This equivalence is demonstrated in the same speaker pairs in (25):

(25) a. But I *didna* ken *nothin'*. (j:432.43)
b. They *havena* seen *anythin'*. (j:623.26)

c. Now, ee *dona* ken *any* of that. (a:2131.17)
d. I *na* ken none of that, nor I *na* ken *none* that. (a:1520.9)

e. She *didna* know *anythin'*. (b:1002)
f. They *didna* get *nothin'*. (b:104.12)

g. It *wasna* really gan *nowhere*. (t:175.21)
h. We *didna* get *anywhere*. (t:408.4)

i. I *wasna* sick *or nothin'*, you know. (1:376.50)
j. *Never* heard if a woman like director *or anythin'*. (1:128.18)

k. Ken, I *dinna* mind the music now *or anythin'*, ken. (l:174.61)
l. We 've *nae* got a shower *or nothin'*. (l:398.6)

These pairs of sentences are syntactic variants of the same abstract construct. Negative polarity items are indeterminates, so *anythin'/nothin'* are both interpreted as *thing*, resulting in equivalent sentences in terms of truth-conditional semantics.

4.2.1 Indefinite singulars

However, Howe (1995:58) points out that negative concord with full NPs is more controversial. In these environments, what is included in the variable context varies from study to study. Consider first the indefinite singular article *a*, as in (26):

(26) a. You *ain't* got *a* funny bone. (Labov, 1972c:806)

Based on the evidence presented in Klima (1964), Labov (1972c:806) states that indefinite singulars are not involved in negative concord, as the underlying form is NEG+*any*, not NEG+*a*. This theoretical analysis is supported by Cheshire's (1982:65) findings for Reading English, where '*a* remains unchanged in negative sentences', in other words, 'negative concord ... cannot occur in this environment'. She cites the example (27) to demonstrate the non-application of the rule in these environments:

(27) a. It *ain't* got *a* Big Wheel, *no* Umbrellas. (Cheshire, 1982:66)

Schneider (1989) also adopts this position, and therefore does not include the singular indefinite article in his data.

However, Wolfram (1969:160) rejects the idea that all instances of *a* + NP should be excluded from the study of negative concord. He states that this environment is not fully variable due to the fact that some indefinite singular determiners have generic,

while others have specific reference. Those with generic reference, that is, they refer to all members of a class, can be substituted by *no*, while those with specific reference, i.e. restricted to a particular object or participant, cannot, as shown in the pairs in (28):

(28) a. I *didn't* have *a* pet. (Wolfram, 1969:160)
b. I *didn't* have *no* pet.

c. I *can't* remember *a* single prank. (Wolfram, 1969:160)
d. I *can't* remember *no* single prank.

In (28a), the reference is generic - there is no particular pet in mind. But in the second, according to Wolfram, a particular prank is referred to[9]. On the basis of this evidence, Wolfram maintains that when *a* functions generically, it can be realised as *no* and therefore should be included in the analysis. When it functions specifically, then it should not.[10]

Howe (1995:63) takes yet another stance. He does not differentiate between generic and specific, but instead includes all contexts of singular count nouns in his variable context. His evidence for interpreting neg+*no* as both neg+*any* as well as neg+*a* comes from the comparison of minimal pairs in his data, shown in (29):

(29) a. She *wasn' a* cripple woman like me. (ESR/013/10)
b. She *wasn' no* ol' cripple woman like me. (ESR/013/11)

There are some examples in Labov's (1972c:810) data that would seem to be the substitution of the indefinite article *a* with *no*, as shown in (30):

(30) a. I *don't* want *a* piece. I want *a* whole one. I *don'* want *no* piece. (Labov, 1972c:810)

Labov's explanation for such constructions lies in discoursal features. He asserts that because negative concord within the clause is categorical in AAVE, it cannot be used for emphasis, therefore another device is needed. The speaker 'strengthens his first negation with the insertion of the underlying quantifier *any* which automatically attracts the negative' (Labov, 1972c:811). That is, the universal quantifier *any* is substituted for the existential pronoun *a*. In this way, a contrast is reinforced. Therefore, *a* is not the underlying form of *no*, but *any*.

However, the standard view on usage of *any* is that it can be used with mass nouns and plural nouns, but not singular count nouns (see, for examples, Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1985:5.14). This standard interpretation would preclude *any* from appearing with the singular countable NP *piece* in Labov's example. But singular count nouns can sometimes take *any*, and are usually used in 'explicit denial of a previously asserted or presupposed proposition' (Tottie, 1991:301). This would seem to lend support to Labov's claim that *any* substitutes *a* and is used in emphatic contexts.

In sum there are three different stances on the use of negative concord with the indefinite singular *a*: 1) it is not involved in negative concord and therefore should not be included in a count of rates of negative concord (Cheshire, 1982; Labov, 1972c), 2) it is involved in negative concord, therefore all instances should be included (Howe, 1995), 3) only those indefinite singulars with generic reference should be included in the count (Wolfram, 1969:160).

The only way to resolve such debate is empirical evidence - in this case, how the Buckie data patterns. The use of indefinite singular *a* presents some intriguing findings. Of all contexts *a* + singular NP (N=136), only 3 were used with *no*, as in (31) below:

(31) a. You'll have to get on a new apron.'
'I 'm *nae* getting *nae* new apron. (a:1602.28)
b. They're *nae* gan in *nae* cattle boat. (b:323.39)
c. I *never* got *nae* letter in about that camera. (n:273.18)

This initial quantitative finding is suggestive. Such a minimal rate of negative concord (2.2%) with the indefinite singular casts doubt on its variable status. Yet the fact that constructions with negative concord do exist means they cannot be disregarded and may actually shed light on the debate discussed above. From a grammatical viewpoint, the nouns - *apron, cattle boat, letter* - are morphologically singular. But recall that it is possible to use *any* with a singular count noun for pragmatic effect (Labov, 1972c:811; Tottie, 1991:301). Therefore the surface form does not mean that the underlying function is *a*. In fact, pragmatic considerations best characterize the examples in (31) above. In (31a), the speaker is recounting a story where she has suggested that her relative get a new apron in order to have her picture taken. The relative is very opposed to this idea and retorts emphatically that she doesn't want *nae new apron*. Similarly in (31b), the speaker is recounting a story of war time when it was suggested they travel in a cattle boat. He is highly offended by the idea and his reply emphatically rejects such a proposition. Lastly, in (31c), the speaker's anger at the fact that he received no letter is emphasized by the use of negative concord in this context.

Moreover, two speakers, a and b, have very high rates of negative concord overall - 89% and 88%. Therefore these speakers are practically categorical in their use of negative concord. This may lend weight to Labov's claim that because negative concord is categorical in certain environments, emphasis is lost (see Section 4.2). Speakers then use a number of other resources to reinforce negation, such as those detailed above.

Aside from these three examples, negative concord is not usually employed in contexts of singular countable nouns. This is demonstrated in (32), where the speaker switches from standard negation to negative concord depending on whether the noun is singular or plural:

(32) a. I *havena nae* cards. I *havena* gotten *a* card yet. I *havena* gotten *an* acceptance card. (a:655.5)

Due to the extremely limited variation in these contexts, and the fact that only examples which are emphatic in nature and deny previously asserted propositions involve negative concord, singular countable nouns are not included in the analysis. However, when direct comparison is required with those studies which do include these contexts, then these will be included.

Finally, the fact that negative concord can be used with other varieties such as EAAE in the context of indeterminate singulars (Howe, 1995) suggests that this use may be an extension of the original environments of use.

4.2.2 Generic nouns

Howe (1995) includes all singular nouns in his data. In addition, he also includes generic nouns, i.e. those which are not marked by a determiner, in the variable context. As evidence for including these, he again uses minimal pairs, as in (33):

(33) a. *Never* had pain. (Howe, 1995:59)
b. *Never* had *no* pain. (Howe, 1995:59)

These minimal pairs may provide empirical evidence, but what theoretical evidence exists for including such contexts? Howe bases his argument for the inclusion of these constructions on the interpretation of *any* - it is said to widen the previously given domain of quantification in that it extends the interpretation of the NP (Kadmon & Landman, 1993:360). He suggests that unmarked plural and mass nouns already have

wide interpretation, as they apply to whole sets, rather than specific individuals. For these reasons, according to Howe, there is very little difference in referential meaning between *pain /any pain* and other similar examples.

Only one such minimal pair exists in the Buckie data, as in (34) and is an exchange between two speakers:

(34) a. We *didna* have bairns in Fleetwood. (d:712.4)
b. I *hadna nae* bairns that time. (e:712.47)

This context is surprisingly like the ones in (34), as the speaker wants to deny something her husband has said. In this case, the same mechanism is used - insertion of *any* to enforce the contrast. However, this is the only context where this is used, therefore I do not include generics in the analysis, except for comparative purposes.

4.3 Exclusions

Examples with negative postposing (N=165), where these is no other indeterminate to the right of the verb, as in (35) were excluded from the data[11].

(35) a. She knows *nobody*. (2:569.3)
b. No, I 've *nae* contact. (g:635.46)
c. I mean, we had *nothing*. (g:794.12)
d. There was *nae* work for making barrels and that. (c:14.22)

Indefinite quantifiers such as *much*, as in (36a), *many*, as in (36b), *a lot of*, as in (36c) and *many* as in (36d) were excluded from the data set because they never undergo negative concord (but see Labov 1972:812).

(36) a. He's nae got *much* confidence. (y:435.14)
b. There's nae *a lot of* difference. (£:206.47)
c. Like, you dinna get *enough* bonny days. (l:613.13)
d. Aye, he wi na have *so many* folk. (4:4.47)

Idiomatic or 'frozen' expressions, as in (37), were also excluded:

(37) a. They're nae so strict *by any means*. (3:456.23)

Free choice readings of *any* and *any* compounds, that is, those which pick out any individual in a given set, as in (38) were also excluded:.

(38) a. They could still be dabbling in *anythin'*. (w:565.45)
b. But *anythin'* recent, no he gets awful confused. (£:167.22)
c. I was never ever gan to be like big time into *anythin'*. (j:107.56)
d. He'll invite *anybody* to stop. (d:830.24)
e. It's nae handy if *any* of the little ones are needing out to the toilet. (1:148.0)

These are not involved in negative concord as converting *any* to *no* gives a different semantic interpretation to the utterance or results in pragmatically odd sentences, as in (39):

(39) a. ?They could still be dabbling in *nothing*.
b. ?He'll invite *nobody* to stop.

I extracted from the data all possible contexts in which negative concord could occur, i.e. every sentence containing one negative element with at least one indeterminate to its right. Singular countable indeterminates are not included, as this context was not variable. This amounted to 343 contexts of use. I then coded for a series of internal and extra-linguistic factors extrapolated from the variationist and theoretical literature.

4.4 Coding

4.4.1 Type of negative element

The *neg-element* is the feature which actually negates the sentence (Martin, 1992), therefore the syntactic status within the grammar of the type used may effect negative concord. I separated these into *not* as in (40) vs. *never*, as in (41), as these neg-elements are syntactically very different.

(40) a. You *dinna* dee nothin' at seine net. (l:374.8)
b. But the guy *hadna* taen ony national insurance numbers. (j:741.67)
c. I'*m nae* gan to preach to you about nothin'. (j:564.32)
d. There *werena* nae buses. (3:547.9)

(41) a. He's *never* came across nothin' like that. (j:166,39)
b. He *never* had ony bather. (j:425,10)

4.4.2 Co-occurrence patterns

Negation with *not* was further divided into which verb they co-occurred with: *do* auxiliary in both present and past tense, as in (42):

(42) a. You *dinna* do nothing at seine net. (l:374.8)
b. It *didna* mean anything to me. (u:662.4)

have auxiliary in both present and past tense, as in (43):

(43) a. We *have na* eaten or nothing for days. (j:982,33)
b. But the guy *hadna* taen any national insurance numbers. (j:741.67)

Also included in this category was the verb *have got*, as in (44)

(44) a. They*'ve nae* got nae choice. (w:134.18)
b. But *you na got* my national insurance number or nothing. (j:743.29)

Although it is not an auxiliary, the surface structures in negatives are identical, that is *have*+neg+past participle. Note that the aux. verb *have* can be contracted as in (44a), rather than the negative. In addition, forms without *have* can appear, as in (44b).

In Buckie, *have* can also be used as a main verb, as in (45).

(45) a. I *have na* nae cards. (a:655.5)
b. Cos I ken they *have na* any at Elgin. (5:538.3)

In Standard English, the form most commonly employed is *don't have* or *haven't got* in these contexts. The fact that an older form is being used in the verb phrase may have an effect on negative concord, therefore these uses were separated from *have* as an auxiliary.

The different functions of the verb *be*, auxiliary, as in (46) or copula, as in (47) were distinguished.

(46) a. I'*m nae* gan to preach to you about nothing. (j:564.32)
b. Cos he *was na* getting any shooting. (6:735.56)

(47) a. There *was na* nae downies. (r:54.34)
b. I'*m nae* envious saying that or anything. (2:146.23)

Modals were coded separately. The only ones in the data were *can/could*, as in (48a) and *will/would*, as in (48b).

(48) a. You *can na* do nothing with them. (k:118.50)
b. He *wi* na speak to anybody unless he's paralytic! (t:713.6)

A category exists where the non-finite verb is negated by *not*, as in (49).

(49) a. She wants to speak all the time and *nae* give anybody else a chance. ($:34.32)
b. And the bar *nae* making nothing. (n:691.54)

Co-occurrence patterns with the negative particle *never* were not included, due to the high number of different verbs appearing with this negative element.

Sentences with negative postposing and another indeterminate to the right, as in (50) were also coded separately. In the theoretical literature, these are instances of negative spread, as there is no negative marker *not* or *never* in these cases which negate the proposition (Giannikidou, 2000:89).

(50) a. There's *nae* waiting lists *or nothing*. (@:468.24)
b. *Nae* senile dementia or *nothing* with her you ken. (1:299.23)

4.4.3 Type of indeterminate

Recall that in EAAE the type of indeterminate to the right of the verb had an effect on the use of negative concord (Howe, 1995). To test the effect on the Buckie data, I categorised the data accordingly: an indeterminate plus full NP, as in (51a) and (51b), or pronominal indeterminate, as in (51c). Adjectives, as in (51d) were also coded separately, as these are a different word class[12].

(51) a. You did na get *any hours*. (y:590.43)
b. You had na *nae gloves* that time. (r:262.7)
c. I just could na do *nothin'* for days. (k:173.17)
d. You would na 've kent *nae better*.(u:689.41)

Conjoined NPs and adjectives, as in (52) were also treated separately.

(52) a. I *wasna* sick or *nothing*, you know. (1:376.50)
b. I *havena* even seen photos of her or *nothing*. (v:261.0)

The nouns were further sub-categorised into: plural count noun, as in (53), or mass noun, as in (54).

(53) a. There wasna nae *downies*. (r:345.6)
b. Do na make any *derogatory remarks*, remember. (!:00.26)

(54) a. He did na give me nae *advice*! (m:106.18)
b. But I did na have any *money*. (j:816.49)

For purposes of direct comparison with other studies (see Section 4.3), indefinite singular count nouns, as in (55a), and generics, as in (55b) were also categorised separately:

(55) a. The craiters had na *a shilling* to gie you. (r:652.44)
b. I did na have *bairns* in Fleetwood. (d:712.4)

Negative polarity items were further subcategorized. These are *anythin'/nothin'* as in (56), *anyone/no-one*, as in (57), *anywhere/nowhere*, as in (58), *any/none*, as in (59), and *any more/no more*, as in (60),

(56) a. I think H was taen aback and never said *anythin'*. (y:676.4)
b. The engineer, he did na do *nothin'* on the deck. (d:199.37)

(57) a. Never mind *anyone* else. (1:275.5)

(58) a. I would never bide *nowhere* else. (l:577.0)
b. Its folk that like probably *couldna* get a loan *anywhere* else. (y:19.0)

(59) a. Cos I ken they have na *any* at Elgin. (5:538.36)

(60) a. She does na bide in Buckie *nae more*. (v:495.8)
b. But J and them just can na cope *anymore* with her. (t:533.24)

4.4.4 Parallel processing

Recall Howe's findings, in which parallel processing exerted a significant effect on the probability of negative concord. However, this constraint could not be tested on the present data set. Negatives are generally very rare in spoken and written data (Tottie 1991), therefore there were very few instances in which this effect could be tested. Utterances where there were two or more negatives tended to be repetitions of a complete clause or phrases, as in (61) for emphasis. This makes it difficult to disentangle the effect of parallel processing from echo-structures.

(61) a. If they got big fishings, well I *didna get nothin'*. I *didna get nothin'*. (140.63:b)

4.4.5 Sentence modifiers

Labov (1972c:809) states that 'the negative is less often transferred to ... sentence modifiers' such as *neither*, therefore they do not work under the same type of rule as negative concord to indeterminates within the same clause[13]. However, there were no tokens with *either/neither* in the data set, therefore these constraints could not be tested.

Labov (1972c:806) also classifies examples such as (20) above with *or anything/nothing* as clause modifiers, and suggests that they do not operate under the same rule as other indeterminates in AAVE, as these 'are not considered within the same clause'[14]. However, in the contexts in the Buckie data, these do not seem to be clause modifiers, but look far more like conjoined NPs or adjectives, where the conjoined element is a negative polarity item. One way to establish the status of these structures is to see how they pattern. These were therefore coded separately as detailed above.

4.5 Extra-linguistic features

The independent variables of age and sex were included in the analysis. This may shed light on some of the conflicting results across these factors in previous studies.

4.6 Hardly

The syntactic status of *hardly* is not at all clear[15]. It has been described as an approximate negative (Jespersen, 1917:38), 'semi-negative' (Palmer, 1974:28) or an 'inherently negative adverb' (Quirk, Greenbaum, Leech & Svartvik, 1972:380; Wolfram, 1974:152). Results from variationist studies seem to confirm its ambiguous status.

Wolfram's (1969:158) results on the use of *hardly* show that negative concord using this adverb is not nearly so sharply stratified by class as other types of constructions, which leads him to conclude that constructions with *hardly* are 'a more socially acceptable type of negative concord'. Support for this comes from Feagin's (1979) data, in which the only contexts of use of negative concord in the upper classes are with *hardly*[16]. It may be that negative concord is 'more socially acceptable' due to the ambiguity of its status as a negative marker - the semantics of it are not so clear cut as other negative markers.

Given its ambiguous status in the grammar, sentences with *hardly* were coded, and treated separately in the analysis. *Hardly* appears in a number of syntactic positions.

It can appear with *never*, as in (62) and *not*, as in (63):

(62) a. He never *hardly* came into the shop. (y:559.27)

(63) a. She had na *hardly* passed.(v:68.4)
b. You could na *hardly* feed cos it would've spewed (s:409.24)

It also appears clause finally, as in (64):

(64) a. Your own would *na* do that *hardly*. (f:610.15)

Having described the coding precedures, I now turn to the results.

5. Results

5.1 Overall distribution

Table 2 shows the overall distribution of negative concord in Buckie. The overall frequency of negative concord is 68% and is therefore a robust variable in the community.

Table 2: Overall distribution of negative concord

	negative concord	standard form	Total
N	241	114	355
%	**68**	**32**	

However, overall frequencies reveal little about how the variability is distributed, both extra-linguistically and language internally. For example, do all age groups have the same rates and patterning of negative concord? Do any internal factors have an effect on its use? To answer these and other questions regarding the conditioning of negative concord, I now conduct a factor by factor analysis to establish the constraints on its use.

5.1.1 Negative spread and *hardly*

Only 12 tokens exist in the data with *hardly*, of which 6 (50%) were with negative concord. The very small number of contexts with *hardly* precludes reaching any conclusions regarding its status as a negative in the Buckie dialect. Because of its ambiguous status as a negative, and very few tokens of use, I exclude these from subsequent analyses.

There are 18 tokens of negative spread in the data, all with conjoined NP or adjective or *nothing/anything*. Sixteen (89%) occurred with *or nothing*, which is higher than the average. It is difficult to tell how this compares to other non-standard dialects, as these cases are not separated from structures in which the verb is negated. However, given the fact that they are syntactically very different, they are excluded from subsequent analyses.

There are six tokens of negative verb in the data (see example 52 above), with two of these non-standard. These were also excluded, due to small Ns.

Table 3 shows the overall distribution of negative concord when these tokens are removed from the data set.

Table 3: Overall distribution of negative concord

	negative concord	standard form	Total
N	216	103	319
%	**68**	**32**	

Removing these tokens makes no difference to the overall distribution of negative concord.

5.2 Internal factors

5.2.1 Type of indeterminate

Table 4 shows the results of the distributional analysis for the type of indeterminate to the right of the verb.

Table 4: Distribution of negative concord by type of indeterminate to the right of the verb

	conjunction *nothing*	pronominal indeter.	indeter +mass noun	indeter+ count noun	adjective
N	33	195	42	45	4
%	**70**	**74**	**57**	**51**	**25**

These percentages reveal a split in the use of negative concord. Note that conjunctions and pronominal indeterminates have practically the same percentage of negative concord (70% and 74% respectively). Mass nouns and count nouns, with indeterminates, on the other hand, have relatively lower percentages (57% and 51%). The type of indeterminate following the verb, therefore, is important to the realization of negative concord in Buckie[17].

Table 5 shows the distribution of negative concord by type of pronominal indeterminate (conjunctions are not included, as the percentage has already been shown in Table 4).

Table 5: Distribution of negative concord by type of negative polarity item

	nothin'	*nobody*	*nowhere*	*no more*	*none*	*no-one*
N	139	28	14	10	2	2
%	**80**	**68**	**64**	**70**	**50**	**0**

Note that by far the most frequent item is *nothin'*, and that this has the highest rate of negative concord (80%). The remaining indeterminates have relatively lower percentages, although they all have higher rates than full NP indeterminates.

5.2.2 Type of negative element

Table 6 shows the distribution of negative concord by the type of negative element in the Buckie data.

Table 6: Distribution of negative concord by type of negative element		
	not	*never*
N	253	66
%	**69**	**62**

There is little to differentiate the type of negative element, although *not* has a slightly higher percentage of use.

Table 7 further divides *not* negation into the type of verb it co-occurs with.

Table 7: Distribution of negative concord by type of verb and *not*						
	do aux.	*be* cop.	*be* aux.	*have* main	*have* aux.[18]	modal
N	91	33	25	15	31	58
%	**68**	**70**	**84**	**93**	**48**	**69**

Table 7 demonstrates that not all verbs are equal with respect to the application of negative concord. The most striking result is with the verb *have*. As an auxiliary, it has the lowest rate. As a main verb, it has the highest (although there are very few contexts of use (N=15). Therefore these two functions of *have* pattern completely differently.

However, this may in fact be the result of interaction with following indeterminate, as it may be the case that these contexts are all followed by *nothing*. To test for this, Table 8 shows the distribution of negative concord with type of neg element and following indeterminate. Adjectives have been collapsed with mass nouns due to small Ns (N=4).

Table 8: Distribution of negative concord with type of neg element and following indeterminate							
		do aux.	*be* cop	*be* aux.	*have* main	*have* aux	modal
pro. indeter	N	55	15	21	**6**	**9**	45
	%	76	73	89	83	44	76
conjunc-tion	N	7	10	0	**1**	**6**	1
	%	86	70	0	100	83	0
count noun	N	12	5	1	**6**	**9**	6
	%	33	60	100	100	33	33
mass noun	N	17	3	3	**2**	**7**	6
	%	59	100	33	100	43	50

The bold figures in Table 10 shows that main verb *have* and *have* auxiliary, despite the small Ns, have a fifty/fifty split between nouns and negative polarity items. Hence the difference between these appears to be a real effect.

Two main points arise from the distributional analysis of internal factors:

1. pronominal indeterminates have higher rates of negative concord than indeterminate+full NP. This is in part due to the lexical item *nothing*.

2. The co-occurrence patterns with *not* show varying rates of negative concord, but the most important of these was the *have* main verb/auxiliary split.

5.3 Extra-linguistic features

5.3.1 Age

Recall the rather mixed findings across communities for age (see Section 3.3.2). Table 9 shows the distribution of negative concord by age in the Buckie data.

Table 9: distribution of negative concord by age			
	old	middle	young
N	79	67	173
%	**90**	**36**	**70**

Note the very high rates of negative concord with the older speakers (90%). The middle aged speakers have a much lower rate (36%), and the younger speakers are situated somewhere in between (70%).

5.3.2 Speaker sex

Table 10 shows the distribution of negative concord by speaker sex in the Buckie data.

Table 10: Distribution of negative concord by speaker sex		
	male	female
N	149	170
%	**70**	**66**

Table 12 shows a very slight difference in the use of negative concord between males and females - the females have a lower rate of negative concord than males. In comparison with the difference in age, however, the difference is very marginal.

5.3.3 Age and speaker sex

The much lower rates of negative concord seen in the middle aged speakers may be misleading, as this may be attributed to female speakers only. Table 11 compares both speaker sex and age.

Table 11: distribution of negative concord by age and speaker sex

	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
male	36	**92**	39	**44**	74	**73**
female	43	**88**	28	**25**	99	**68**

Three important observations can be made with regard to Table 11. Firstly, the direction of effect is the same in each age group - males have higher rates of negative concord than females. Secondly, while there is relatively little difference in rates between males and females in the older and younger speakers, there is a significant difference between males and females in the middle aged group - the men use negative concord more than twice as much as the women (44% vs. 25%). Thirdly, middle aged speakers, both male and female, have substantially lower rates of negative concord than all other groups.

5.3.4 Individual speakers

Might one or two particular speakers account for these very marked patterns? Further analysis of this variation by individual speaker revealed that this is the result of inherent variability, rather than non-variable systems which differ from individual to individual. That is, most of the speakers exhibited both the standard and non-standard forms. There were a few exceptions, however. From a total of 35 speakers, five had no negative concord and five were categorically standard. Noteworthy is that the former groups all come from the middle aged speakers and the latter from the older speakers. In addition, of the middle aged speakers who were categorically standard, four were female.

Two major points arise from the distributional analysis of extra-linguistic features.

1. Speaker sex: in all age groups, the women have lower rates of negative concord than men. This difference is marginal in both the younger and older age groups, but substantial in the middle aged group.

2. Age: middle aged speakers have lower rates of negative concord than the other groups. Middle aged women have the lowest rates.

These extra-linguistic results for age reveal classic sociolinguistic patterns - women use less non-standard forms than men. With age, there is no unidirectional movement towards more standard or less standard forms. This observation is returned to in Section 5.5.

5.4 The intersection of extra-linguistic and linguistic internal factors

Given the differential rates of use across age, the results for internal constraints may be a product of this. For this reason, I now cross tabulate internal constraints by age. Recall the difference between pronominal indeterminates and full NP indeterminates (Table 4), showing that the former were more likely to occur with negative concord. Table 12 shows how these pattern by age.

Table 12: Distribution of negative concord by following indeterminate and age

	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
pro. indeterminates	50	**90**	40	**45**	138	**76**
Full NPs	29	**90**	27	**22**	35	**46**

Table 12 demonstrates that despite overall patterning, the older speakers do not distinguish between these following indeterminate in their use of negative concord. Both are used equally frequently (90%). The middle aged and younger speakers on the other hand show a marked distinction between the two types, with pronominal indeterminates more likely to occur with the non-standard form. This point will be returned to below.

Recall the results for the co-occurrence patterns with the negative element *not*, where *have* main verb and *have* aux. had very different rates of negative concord. Given the diverse range of percentages seen for age, the different rates in these environments may be an effect of this. Table 13 shows the distribution of negative concord by co-occurrence patterns.

Table 13: Distribution of negative concord by co-occurrence and age									
		do aux.	*be* cop	*be* aux.	*have* main	*have* aux.	modal	*never*	neg verb
old	N	24	9	6	**10**	2	12	16	0
	%	88	100	86	100	100	92	81	0
middle	N	18	8	5	**3**	9	11	13	4
	%	28	63	80	67	**0**	55	**15**	0
young	N	49	16	14	**2**	20	35	37	2
	%	73	56	86	100	65	66	70	100

Note the bolded figures in Table 13. From a total of 15 contexts of *have* as a main verb, 10 are from the older speakers, in other words, 66%. Moreover, the older speakers overall percentage of the data is only 26%. This explains why main verb *have* has such a high rate of negative concord - the group who have the highest rates of negative concord have the most contexts of use. This is not surprising, given that main verb *have* is a relic form which still employs postverbal negation, rather than periphrastic *do*, and is used much less by the middle aged and younger speakers[19]. It is not surprising therefore that the relic form correlates with negative concord in these contexts.

This explains the high rates with *have* as a main verb, but what about the low rates with *have* when used as an auxiliary? The main observation here is the small Ns in many cells, which makes it difficult to disentangle real patterns of use from statistical fluctuation. However, the low rates of negative concord with *have* aux. are attributable to the middle aged speakers, who have no negative concord in this context. The older and younger speakers, on the other hand, show percentages which are similar to overall rates of negative concord. This is also true of *never*. Although it appears to have lower rates overall, this is again attributable to the middle aged speakers only. It is crucial to take such patterns of use into consideration in order to avoid misleading interpretations.

Thus, this table shows that not only are the middle-aged speakers different in rates of negative concord, but they also differ slightly in the distributional factors. In fact, when the distributional facts are compared to the younger and older speakers, who pattern very similarly, the middle age speakers use appears rather random. This has all the hallmarks of a system imposed from above, rather than inherent variability (Labov, 1972f). It may also be an indicator of negative concord being consciously avoided by the middle aged women, given the slightly more formal nature of the data for this group.

5.5 Multivariate analysis

In order to assess the degree of effect of each individual factor, I now conduct a multivariate analysis of the contribution of factors to negative concord in the Buckie data. Mass and count nouns have been collapsed, as these had similar rates of use in the distributional analysis (see Table 4). Table 14 shows the results.

Table 14: Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of negative concord in Buckie

	%	Factor weight	N
Corrected Mean .73			
Type of indeterminate foll. verb			
pronominal indeterminate	74	.57	228
Full NP	53	.32	91
Range		*25*	
Neg-element			
not	69	[.52]	253
never	62	[.40]	66
co-occurrence patterns			
have main verb	93	[.87]	15
be aux.	84	[.67]	25
be copula	70	[.49]	33
modal	69	[.45]	58
do	68	[.46]	91
have aux.	48	[.35]	31
Age			
Old	90	.81	79
Middle	36	.20	67
Young	70	.47	173
Range		*25*	
Sex			
Male	66	[.56]	160
Female	70	[.45]	149
TOTAL N			319

Type of indeterminate following the verb, and age are selected as significant to the probability of negative concord. Type of negative element, co-occurrence and sex are not.

Age is clearly the most significant factor group, with a very high range of 61. This confirms the distributional findings - the older speakers highly favour negative concord (.81), the middle aged speakers highly disfavour (.20) and the younger speakers neither favour not disfavour (.47).

Type of indeterminate following the verb is significant. Pronominal indeterminates favour the use of negative concord (.57), while indeterminate *any* followed by an NP, disfavours (.32).

Speaker sex is not selected as significant, but note the direction of effect - males favour and females disfavour.

Note that despite a very high range, co-occurrence patterns are not selected as significant. This is undoubtedly due to bad data distribution, discussed in Section 5.2.2[20]. The variable rule analysis correctly shows that despite the differences, they are not significant.

Type of neg-element is not selected as significant. This is likely due to the fact that only the middle aged speakers showed a lower rate of negative concord (15%) with *never* in the distributional analysis compared to the older (81%) and younger speakers (70%) (see Table 13).

5.6 Interpreting the quantitative patterns of use

How can these internal and external results be interpreted and how do they compare to other varieties?

The overall frequencies of use demonstrate that Buckie has high rates of use of negative concord. But this variety is not unique, as a number of other varieties also report high frequencies, whether in Britain or in North America (see Figure 1). What can account for this? These findings appear to corroborate the observation that 'the standard form with *any* is primarily an importation from an outside system' (Labov, 1972:810), rather than an inherent part of the grammar. Evidence for this comes from various sources - child language acquisition, the history of negative concord, extra-linguistic conditioning and universals in other languages. In child language acquisition, the child goes through a period of using negative concord before the standard rules are learnt (see, for examples, Wode, 1977). Moreover in many other European languages e.g. Italian, Spanish, French, negative concord is the standard form (Rowlett, 1995) and is also used 'outside our family of languages' (Jespersen, 1924:333). The historical record also points to a system imposed from above. The disappearance of preverbal *ne* was subject to language internal processes but negative concord to indeterminates appears to have disappeared due to external prestige factors, influenced by the rules of Latin. It may therefore be the case that this form continues to be suppressed in Standard English even in present day, as suggested by the sharp class stratification in use discussed in Section 3.3.1.

It follows that the further from mainstream norms a particular community is, the higher the frequencies of negative concord. As to Buckie and the communities considered in Figure 1, they all resist standardisation, whether on geographical, social or political

grounds. Thus, I suggest that the high frequencies of negative concord are a reflection of that. This would explain the near categorical use of negative concord in the young inner city AAVE speakers, as they are the group which are probably the most alienated both socially, culturally and politically from mainstream society.

It has been claimed that negation is 'one of the chief areas in which [Black English Vernacular] shows traces of its creole origins' (Winford, 1992:350). However, this leaves unexplained the much lower rates of use amongst the lower working class AAVE speakers in Detroit (Wolfram, 1969). In fact, the latter community have much less use of negative concord than the older Buckie speakers. In light of these results, appealing to ethnicity to explain categorical use of negative concord with for example, the young New York speakers seems ad hoc.

What does the use of negative concord in apparent time in Buckie tell us about the direction of change, if any, with this feature?

Wolfram and Christian (1975:161) posit that negative concord is increasing in non-standard dialects, as their apparent time study shows the younger speakers using the form more than the older speakers. Moreover, Howe (1999:135) suggests that the categorical use in AAVE is 'a recent and spectacular development'. However, in Buckie, the oldest speakers have the highest rates of negative concord. This result is consistent with the findings in Alabama for the urban working class sample (Feagin, 1979). Such findings call into question the assumption that this form is increasing, as the picture seems far more complicated than that. What alternative explanation can be offered for the different rates of use? I believe that what we witness with this particular variable is not change over time in one direction or another, but the product of different external influences exerted on individuals or groups within a community.

These include factors such as age (Wolfram, 1969), group membership (Fought, 1999; Labov, 1972c), network (Milroy, 1980), and influence from the 'linguistic market place' (Sankoff & Laberge, 1978). I propose that these multifaceted and overlapping pressures reflect a speaker's position vis-a-vis mainstream norms, which results in their greater or lesser use of negative concord. Hence, using results from apparent time studies to speculate on direction of change may be misleading.

That different pressures are exerted on groups of individuals is clearly seen within the widely diverging frequencies of use within the different age groups in the Buckie community. Analysis of negative concord by individual speaker revealed that five had no negative concord use and five used it categorically[21]. Noteworthy is the fact that all

categorically standard users were middle aged while all the categorically non-standard users were old. In addition, of the middle aged speakers who were categorically standard, four were female. It is clear from these results that negative concord is highly stigmatised in the middle aged female group, as demonstrated by the self-correction in (65):

(65) a. I didna take *nae- any* notice. (%279.15)

Moreover, there are many examples when a non-standard form is used in one part of the sentence (in this case *haen*, the dialectal form of the past participle *have*), but the standard form of negation alongside, as in (66).

(66) a. No, we have na *haen any* flights like that. ($:372.33)

In (67), the speaker has *do* absence in the first part of the clause (see Chapter 4), but follows this with the standard negation in the second:

(67) a. *I na heard any* word fae R. (£:9.30)

Recall the different interview situations I described in the Introduction, where I suggested that the middle aged interviews were slightly more formal than the other age groups. This was particularly true of the middle aged females. Here we see the results of the monitoring of speech that may have occurred, with the conscious avoidance of negative concord.

Another finding may also suggest that this group are more conscious of the form. Table 13 shows that there were very low rates of negative concord in the middle aged group when the neg-element was *never* (15%). The negative element *never* is relatively prominent compared to cliticised *na* in phonetic terms. This may make these contexts more salient to the speaker concerned with correct speech, and therefore make negative concord less likely to occur.

The quantitative analysis, together with these examples, strongly suggest that differing rates of negative concord are the result of stigmatisation of the form by the middle aged speakers. With this variable, they are heavily influenced by notions of correctness.

In contrast, the high rates of negative concord in the older and younger speakers, and different usage within the community all point to negative concord being the default setting and *any* forms imposed from above. It does indeed appear to be a primitive with

the higher classes resisting the 'natural tendency' towards negative concord (Kroch, 1978). For this reason, we would expect negative concord to recur 'ubiquitously all over the world' (Chambers, 1995:242).

The internal constraints demonstrate that negative concord is used more with pronominal indeterminates than NP indeterminates. What is the explanation for this? Pronominal indeterminates such as *nothing* and *no-one* form a closed lexical set, so each one is used fairly frequently. NP indeterminates on the other hand are an open lexical set, which means that each individual NP will be used far less frequently than a pronominal indeterminate. This is demonstrated by the data in Table 4, where *nothing, nowhere* etc. are twice as common as full NPs (N=246 vs. N=91). According to Tottie (1996), frequency contributes to the preservation of older forms, and the historical record shows that *any*-forms were much rarer in negatives than *no*-forms until the 16th century. In contrast, the *no* forms had been common since Old English (see Section 2.2).

The likely explanation for the following indeterminate constraint is linked to older vs. newer patterns of use, with the more frequently used pronominal indeterminates preserving the older *no*-form. This old vs. new pattern of use is shown in the distribution by age (Table 12). With the older speakers, there is no distinction made between pronominal indeterminates and full NP indeterminates. However, as standard norms exert more influence, the older, frequently occurring pronominal forms are more resistant to pressure from standardisation. This results in a more to less hierarchy between pronominal forms and NPs amongst the middle aged and younger speakers.

This explanation of frequency also neatly accounts for the fact that *nothin'* shows the highest rates of negative concord, as it is the most common pronominal indeterminate in the data (71% of all these types are *anythin'/nothin'* (Table 8). In addition, it also explains the high rates of use with conjunctions (70%), which are all *nothing*.

Recall that in Howe's study, indeterminate type was the most significant conditioning effect across all communities. He also explains this as the preservation of older, more frequent forms. However, he includes generics and singular count nouns in these figures. This begs the question of whether the same constraint hierarchy would exist if Howe removed generics from his variable context. Would they pattern in the same way as the older Buckie speakers. That is, at the same rate across all indeterminate types? Given the available data, this is impossible to establish.

Cheshire (1982:65) found no such effect of following indeterminate - full NP indeterminates were used just as much and in some cases even more with negative concord than pronominal indeterminates. However, this may be the result of statistical fluctuation. In total, the Reading data has 141 tokens spread over 18 cells. No information is provided on how many tokens there are per cell, but these must be small.

Without more information from a wide range of dialects, it is difficult to establish whether other varieties have the same constraints across indeterminate types. I hypothesise however, that if frequency is a motivating factor, then all dialects would follow the same path.

The quantitative analysis of negative concord in Buckie and comparison with other dialects suggests that the use of non-assertive *any* forms is imposed from above, rather than an integral part of the grammar. Second, apparent time results are a reflection of influence from prescriptive norms, rather than an indicator of change in one direction of another. The internal conditioning across indeterminate type argues for resistance of more frequent forms to this process of standardisation. Further information is needed to establish if this effect is evident across all varieties.

5.6 Qualitative comparison

However, a quantitative analysis does not provide the full story on cross-variety comparisons. An overview of the literature reveals that there are other environments in which negative concord is used in addition to the structures seen earlier. These fall into six main types, detailed below:

The first is the type already discussed, with negated indeterminates to right of the verb, as in (68).

Type 1: following indeterminate

(68) a. I *ain't* got *no* money. (Howe & Walker, 1999:110)

b. We *never* had *nothing*, so it didn't bother us too much. (Feagin, 1979:229)

Labov (1972:806) describes the second type as 'negative transfer to verbs', where the negative element appears on both the subject indeterminate and the verb as in (69):

Type 2: Negative transfer to verbs

(69) a. *No* stranger *ain't* got to come. (Howe & Walker, 1999:124)

b. *Nobody couldn't* handle him. (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:112)

In some cases, negative concord can extend to the verb in the next clause. This is Type 3 in (70):

Type 3: clause external - to verb

(70) a. I *wasn't* sure that nothing *wasn't* gonna come up a'tall. (Wolfram & Christian, 1976:113)

b. We *ain't* never really had no tornadoes in this area here that I *don't* remember. (Feagin, 1979:229)

It can also extend to the indeterminate in the next clause, as in (71)

Type 4: clause external - to indeterminate

(71) a. I *don'* 'spect I ever kin reckomember much no more. (Schneider, 1989:195)

b. I *don't* think that takes off *no weight.* (Howe 1995:67)

c. I *wouldn't* let him touch me *nowhere.* (Cheshire, 1982:63)[22]:

d. [I *don't* feel][like *nobody* pets me]. (Feagin, 1979:229)

These types of negative concord are known as wide scope negation, as the negative is copied across clause boundaries, rather than being restricted to the same clause.

Type 5 is known as negative inversion, and is shown in (72).

Type 5: negative inversion

(72) a. *Won't nobody* catch us. (Labov, 1972c:811)

b. *Warn't nobody* embalmed dem days. (Schneider, 1989:195)

Some structures may also originate from the expletive *it* or *there* when used with the verb *be,* which has been deleted in the surface structure (Feagin, 1979:237), as in (c and d):

c. I don't bother nobody and *ain't nobody* gon come to my door here and bother me. (Feagin, 1979:240)

d. She told me that *wasn't nobody* gon run her out tonight. (Feagin, 1979:240)

In Type 6, the indeterminate *ever* is also involved in negative concord in some dialects, as in (73).

Type 6: never

(73) a. He *wouldn't never* have been president, I don't think. (Feagin, 1979:230)

b. *Nobody never* took an airplane, none of us took a bus neither. (Labov, 1972c:808)

Therefore, a wide range of other structures which give rise to negative concord exist. I submit that the important question here, however, is which structures are used where and by whom? I now compare the use of these types across varieties. The communities included in the comparison may be differentiated on two major criteria: 1) their geographic location, and 2) ethnic background of their speakers. The first category is one well established in traditional dialectology (Chambers & Trudgill, 1980), while the second has often been invoked to account for differences in varieties of English (DeBose, 1994; Rickford, 1977; Rickford, 1995; Winford, 1992).

Table 15 summarises the qualitative comparison of dialects from the various communities. A tick signals that the structure is present in the grammar, a cross that it is not. A question mark signals that there is not enough information in the available literature to establish use or otherwise of a particular structure.

Table 15: Qualitative differences between dialects with negative concord structures

geographic location	Britain		North America						
ethnicity	British		mainly British			African American			
	Buckie	Read-ing	Inwood	Appal-achia	Alab-ama	Ex-slave narra-tives	AAE	New York AAVE	Detroit AAVE
Type 1 postverbal indeterminate	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√	√
Type 2 to verbs	x	x	x	√	√	√	√	√	√
Type 3 clause external - verb	x	x	x	√	√	√	√	√	√
Type 4 clause external - indeterminate	?	?	x	√	√	√	√	√	?
Type 5 inversion	x	x	x	√	√	√	√	√	√
Type 6 *ever*	x	x	?	√	√	?	√	√	?

Going from left to right along the table, note that every variety employs Type 1, that is negative concord to indeterminates following the verb. However, this is the only pan community structure used. Reading from top to bottom on the table, there is a qualitative split in the use of negative concord. The first three varieties employ only Type 1, but the remaining varieties have much broader usage. It might be proposed that the split is due to geography, i.e. a difference between British and North American varieties of English. But that would not account for the patterning seen with the Inwood group in New York from Labov (1972), which look like the British varieties. Similarly, the split may be attributed to different ethnic heritage. However, the speakers from Appalachia and Alabama are largely British in origin, in contrast to those of EAAE and AAVE. If neither geography nor ethnic heritage can account for these qualitative differences, what are they due to? Development from different roots? Retention of relic forms? Extension of original patterns?

Following from the continuing debate over the last ten years as to the origins of present day AAVE (Hannah, 1997; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1989; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1991a; Rickford, 1997; Singler, 1991; Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999; Winford, 1992; Winford, 1997; Winford, 1998), one hypothesis is that AAVE may have creole roots and hence have very different grammatical structures from those of British dialects. These structures may have then spread to other varieties which were in contact with these creole based languages, that is, varieties such as Alabaman and Appalachian English in the southern states. Hence the synchronic qualitative split with those dialects which have had little or no exposure to creole influences and those which have had sustained contact. However, at least two types of negative concord are not found in English based creoles - clause external negative concord to verbs (Type 2) and negative inversion (Type 5) (Bickerton, 1975; Holm, 1988). Therefore creole roots cannot be directly attributed with the development of Types 2 or 5.

Another explanation may be that the structures seen in Table 5 have been retained from earlier English by some varieties, but not by others. Indeed, it clear that some of these forms have occurred at one time or another in the history of English, attesting to the cyclical nature of negation (Jespersen, 1917). These earlier forms would have been transported with the speakers from the British isles to North America during the colonial period. However, the historical record shows that in the 18th century, the time of greatest migration into North America, only negative concord to indeterminates existed in English (see Section 2). Negative concord to verbs had disappeared by the early Middle English period, and negative inversion is attested only until the early Middle English period (Jespersen 1917). Wide scope negative concord, where the negative is copied over a clause boundary, began to decrease at the turn of the 16th

century, and had disappeared by the first half of the 17th century (Ukaji, 1999:274). Therefore Types 2, 3, 4 and 5 would not be part of the available linguistic model for the speakers in the New World as these had become obsolete from the language before the majority of immigrants from Britain went to North America.

If the structures seen in Table 5 are not remnants from diachrony, or attributable to creole influences, what then can explain the qualitative split we see in Table 5? Labov (1972c:774) observes that 'as far as the rules of negative concord ... are concerned, we are looking at the further development of traditional, well-established English rules'. What we witness here is that some North American varieties have since extended these 'traditional' rules to other environments. Hence, Type 1 is the default form used since the Old English period, and Types, 2, 3, 4, and 5 are 'newer'[23]. (Type 6 is returned to below). The quantitative differences in use between negative concord to indeterminates and other types lend weight to this claim. While the former is robust in every dialect studied, Types 2 and 4 are less common (Feagin, 1979:229; Howe & Walker, 1999:128; Labov, 1972c:788/806/808) while 3 and 5 are very rare indeed, with only a handful of cases reported for each study (Howe, 1995:95; Labov, 1972c:774). These quantitative differences suggest established vs. new pattern of use.

I have proposed that the major split seen in Table 5 is due to the innovation of features in the North American context. But a crucial question remains - why haven't all the varieties adopted the extended negative concord forms? A closer look at the different histories of these communities may shed light on the different linguistic patterns evidenced here. Instead of dividing the communities by way of geography or ethnicity, a more revealing picture emerges if we think of them in terms of the socio-historical context in which they arose. Migration patterns from the 18th century demonstrate sustained contact between African and British origin speakers in many areas of the southern states. In the period 1717-1775 in particular, plantations flourished with the arrival of the Scots-Irish, with the result that Africans and whites were in close contact (Mufwene, 1996; Winford, 1997; Wood, 1989). In the northern areas, in sharp contrast, there were far fewer African Americans until relatively recently. Indeed, it is estimated that 90% of the African American population in the 1890's were in the south (Bailey & Maynor, 1987:466), and movement of large numbers of African Americans northwards only took place after World War 1 (Winford, 1997; Wolfram, 1969). These very different socio-historical contexts are reflected in the different patterns of use of negative concord. In the case of the south, the context of ethnic heterogeneity that pertained from the 18th century onwards is an ideal situation for contact induced change as Mufwene (1996) and Winford (1997; 1998) have discussed in detail. This

includes not only the spread of existing linguistic models, but also restructuring due to the competing influences on the emerging vernacular(s).

More specifically, Mufwene's (1996) Founder Principle proposes that during the colonial period, the contact phenomena which arose due to the influx of both British and African origin speakers gave rise to a competition and selection approach to language contact, where one of the factors influencing the linguistic features to emerge in a contact vernacular is the frequency and nature of structural features of the varieties spoken by the dominant population groups (Mufwene, 1996:122-123). That is, 'the elements that are central to the systems are most likely to have come from the founder populations' who were 'indentured servants and other low class employees of colonial companies'. In the southern states, the vast majority of these were the British migrants. 'Elements central to the system' in the varieties studied here is demonstrated in the use of Type 1 negative concord, which is used robustly by all communities.

However, it might be argued that negative concord to indeterminates is a product of 'substratum transfer', one of the key components in AAVE development, as proposed by Winford (1997; 1998), Rickford (1998) and Singler (1989; 1991; 1997) amongst others. This conclusion appears warranted, as this is a prototypical feature of negation which is, in fact, obligatory in many creoles (Bickerton, 1981:65). But I have already demonstrated that it is also a core component of non-standard British dialects such as Buckie. It may simply be that negative concord is one of the core patterns which natural language uses to express negation (Jespersen, 1924:333), which 'cut across genetically unrelated languages' (Malkiel, 1981:566). In other words, this may be a primitive feature (Chambers, 1995:242). Whatever the explanation for the presence of Type 1 negative concord, in the contact situation of the colonial period, there are 'instances of natural adaptations of languages qua populations to changing ecological conditions' (Mufwene, 1996:85). These natural adaptations are thought to come about through ethnographic factors such as demographic proportions, attitudes of speakers to one another and their social status. In this scenario, the 'forms may have syntactic distributions and semantic functions which are sometimes not identical with those of their etyma' (ibid:117). This appears to be the case with the forms seen in Table 5. I suggest that what we see here are innovations extended from strategies already available in the grammar of the speakers. In other words, the adaptation of an original system through restructuring and extension to other environments, such as the extension of scope of negative concord across clause boundaries (Types 3 and 4). Only in contexts of linguistic heterogeneity however, would these structures arise.

This approach to the development of negative concord in varieties of English demonstrates that the most revealing interpretation is one which takes into account historical and linguistic factors in the analysis of language change (Thomason & Kaufman, 1988:61).

5.7 Negative concord across clause boundaries and the case of ever

Two types of negative concord need further explanation - Type 4, which is clause external negation to indeterminates and the use of *ever* in negative concord (Type 6).

Note the question-marked status of Type 4 in Reading and Buckie in Table 5. It is not clear from the available literature on Reading English or the Buckie data whether negative concord to indeterminates across clause boundaries can occur freely. In the Buckie data, only four examples of the context for negative concord occur, as in (77):

(77) a. *Dinna* think she's doin' *ony* mare courses (£:13.33)

b. I *dinna* think she would tak *onythin'*. (£:104.3)

c. She jist said 'Well, I *didna* think I'd get *onywye'*. (v:101.27)

d. I swore that I would *never* let *onybody* bide with me again. (640.19:v)

None of these occur with negative concord, but my own native speaker grammaticality judgements suggest that while it is unlikely to occur with 17a, b and c, negative concord can be used with (17d)[24]. These examples are syntactically different however - 17a, b and c have a finite following clause, but 17d, non-finite. This suggests that negative concord is allowed in across clauses when the subordinate clause is non-finite[25]. Given the paucity of available contexts in the data, however, this hypothesis remains very tentative.

The only available example of negative concord across clause boundaries in Cheshire's data is non-finite, as in (78), and repeated here:

(78) I *wouldn't l*et him touch me *nowhere.* (Cheshire, 1982:63)

Given that Cheshire (1982) does not directly address the question of negative concord across clause boundaries, it is not possible to establish whether this same constraint applies in the Reading case. From the available literature, this constraint does not seem to apply to other varieties of English compared here (see, for example Howe 1995), and

may again be another area in which the use of negative concord has extended into other environments.

What can explain the fact that the indeterminate*ever* is not involved in negative concord in Buckie? A closer look at the use of *never* in Buckie Scots may shed light on this.

In Standard English, *never* is used to mean 'not on any occasion' as illustrated in (79):

(79) a. She *never* seems to cairry onythin' through. (j:971.j)
b. Since they come up here he's *never* been back. ($76.3)

Despite Labov's (1973:59) reluctance to include it in 'a general grammar of English', *never* can also be used as a negative preterit in Buckie, i.e. referring to a single event that took place in the past, as in (80):

(80) a. I *never* had that the last time. (x:126.0)
b. First day I broke even. I *never* went the second day. (l:41.47)

In both these sentences, the meaning of *never* clearly relates to one specific occasion in the past. This means that sentences such as (81) are syntactic variants of the same underlying structure:

(81) a. So I *didn't* have that the last time.
b. First day I broke even. I *didn't* go the second day.

What is the correlation between this and the fact that *ever* is not involved in negative concord? Cheshire (1999:35) states that '*never* should be seen as a negative item in its own right' rather than only equivalent to *not ever*. In other words, as an independent marker of negation. In the Buckie dialect, sentences such as (82) are not semantically equivalent, as (82a) actually gives a positive reading.

(82) a. He *wouldn't never* have been president, I don't think. (Feagin, 1979:230)
b. He *wouldn't ever* have been president, I don't think.

Thus, it may be the case that in dialects where *never* is used as a pure negative marker of negation, there is complementary distribution between the negative marker *never* and the indeteminate *ever*.

Use of *never* in at least two other varieties support this hypothesis - Reading (Cheshire, 1982) and the Ex-Slave Narratives (Schneider, 1989). In Cheshire's data, *ever* is not involved in negative concord, but *never* can be used in place of *didn't.* This leads her to question the status of *never* as an indeterminate, suggesting instead that it is a temporal adverb, which 'accounts for the fact that it does not enter into negative concord' (Cheshire, 1982:66). Schneider (1989:195/6) does not mention negative concord to *ever,* presumably because it does not occur in the data, but does mention *never* used in place of *didn't.* However, until there is clear evidence that *never* does not have the function in examples such as (80) in varieties in which *ever* is involved in negative concord, this hypothesis remains highly speculative.

6. Discussion

What does this study of negative concord in Buckie reveal about this variable?

I began by detailing the use of this feature in the historical record. Negative concord has been in use since the Old English period, but different types have existed. Some of these types are part of the broader process of the Negative Cycle, and appear and disappear due to language internal processes which are common to many languages. The disappearance of negative concord to indeterminates in the late Middle English period, on the other hand, is said to have been a change from above, dictated by the ruling classes who were heavily influenced by the Latin grammar dictate of 'two negative make a positive'. This led to the rise of the non-assertive any forms in the later Middle English period. Despite the growing use of *any* forms in the writing and speech of the upper classes, however, the use of negative concord to indeterminates continued to be used by the lower classes. The extra-linguistic conditioning on this feature and the reasons for its demise in certain sectors, therefore, is apparent in previous centuries.

Results from synchronic studies demonstrate that use of negative concord in the lower classes continues today. The high frequencies of use of negative concord across Buckie and many other non-standard dialects studied suggest that this feature continues to be the default setting in these varieties, with the use of the *any* forms imposed from above, and correlated with distance from prescriptive norms. Hence, it is not surprising that this feature appears in widely dispersed geographic areas, as it simply turns up whenever prescriptive pressure is lessened.

Further, the quantitative analysis of this feature in Buckie revealed that the extra-linguistic constraint of age had the strongest effect on use. Results in apparent time in Buckie showed that the older speakers use negative concord the most and the middle

age speakers the least. The younger speakers were situated somewhere in between. I argued that these different frequencies were again the result of prescriptive norms, with concomitant standardizing influences exerting a greater or lesser effect on these groups.

These apparent time results address the question of whether there is any linguistic change involved here at all. The near categorical use of negative concord in the teenage AAVE speakers from New York (Labov, 1972c), coupled with the apparent time study results from Appalachia (Wolfram & Christian, 1976) have lead to claims that the high rates of use of negative concord is a recent innovation (Howe & Walker, 1999:135). However, results from the Buckie data and Alabama (Feagin 1979), contradict these claims. In these communities at least, there is no evidence to suggest change across time towards higher rates negative concord. Nor is there gradual change towards the standard. Moreover, I suggested that the near categorical use of negative concord in the variety of AAVE in New York cannot be accounted for in terms of ethnic heritage. If categorical use of negative concord partitioned according to ethnic heritage, then AAVE speakers of all age groups in Detroit (Wolfram 1969:163) would also have categorical use. In fact, only the 10-12 year olds do so; the adults have much lower rates. Moreover, in terms of frequency of use, the older speakers from Buckie were closest to Labov's young inner city speakers. Thus, I argue that the results for the frequencies of use of negative concord cannot be the result of ethnic heritage, nor change over time, but a product of the socio-cultural context in which it occurs. The different rates of use are much more likely to be the result of a speaker's, or a community's position vis-a-vis mainstream norms. What the older speakers in Buckie have in common with the inner city teenagers in New York is relative immunity from 'pressures from above' (Labov 1972).

A closer look at the conditioning of negative concord in Buckie Scots revealed that it is more likely to appear with pronominal indeterminates than NP indeterminates. I suggested that this was due to a frequency effect. The older speakers showed no differentiation in use, but the imposition of standard norms on the more recent generations is manifested in the constraint hierarchy of pronominal indeterminate->full NP indeterminate. There is no data in the literature on how non-assertive forms entered the grammar of English, but what we see here, at least in the Buckie data, is an innovation in use. The fact that the EAAE speakers (Howe, 1995) also showed the same constraints in use may be the product of variable context, or simply an independent development which has arisen due to the frequency effect of Full NP indeterminates vs. pronominals. Whatever the reasons behind these patterns of use, what is needed is more information on internal constraints on negative concord in order

to assess whether the patterns found in Buckie are community specific, or merely part of a broader process of psycholinguistic processing common to all dialects.

To provide a comprehensive account of the use of negative concord in both the Old and New world, a qualitative cross-variety comparison was needed, as 'it remains unclear whether the other types of negation (other than negative concord to indeterminates) had sources in the superstrates models or were independent developments' (Winford 1998:109). I suggest it is the latter. While the communities subject to comparison here were differentiated on two major criteria - geographic location and ethnic heritage - the results of this research suggest that the most important influence on the use of negative concord is neither of these. In fact, the key factor in explaining the linguistic patterning of negative concord - both in terms of quantitative similarities and qualitative differences - was shown to be the different socio-cultural conditions under which the emerging vernaculars arose. The mechanisms involved in the contact situation during the colonial period seem to be 'adoption' and 'adaptation'. What is adopted and what is adapted is inextricably linked to the historical, cultural, and demographic nature of the communities during their history, as Mufwene 1996 has argued. By ignoring these extra-linguistic facts, or relegating them to limited significance, we risk losing a great deal of explanatory power when attempting to account for cross-variety similarities and/or differences. In contexts where there was intense linguistic mixing in the colonial south, the existing patterns of negative concord (Type 1) were restructured via extension to additional environments. Environments in which linguistic homogeneity was the norm, on the other hand, did not allow for such restructuring processes.

Given the fact that negative concord 'occurs ubiquitously all over the world' (Chambers, 1995:242), the existence of this variable in Buckie comes as no surprise. However, this study contributes to research on this feature by highlighting the effects of prescriptive norms (mainstream vs. peripheral) and is further evidence for the primitive status of negative concord. The findings also suggested possible pathways of development within the grammar itself (pronominal NPs> full NPs). It remains to be seen whether these results are applicable to other varieties. This cross-variety comparison allows a broader picture to emerge of the differing pressures brought to bear in different ecological settings (e.g. heterogeneous vs. homogeneous linguistic contact) and the linguistic repercussions of these.

1 This is not the same as the use of negative concord to describe those languages which require two negatives in the sentence.
2 Note that the indeterminate any may attach to another morpheme, resulting in anything, anymore, anybody etc.
3 Austin (1984:139) terms these 'sentence element negation'.
4 It should be noted that these types were not always mutually exclusive. For example, it is possible to get negative concord with the adverb *ne* but also the conjunction *ne*. However, this state of affairs is rare, with two negatives rather than three or more dominant at least in the ME period. (Iyeiri, 1999:126).
5 Feagin (1979:228) states that 'skipping' of indeterminates is rare in her data - only one example exists in her data.
6 The percentage for Appalachia is an average of all age groups considered. The actual percentages range from 52-72%.
7 The first percentage represents overall percentages without the inclusion of indefinite singular *a*.
8 Only this group had different interview situations.
9 The generic/specific distinction is well established in the theoretical literature (see, for example, Hale, 1964), and is clearly illustrated in (a):
(a) 1. A Cadillac is always big.
2. A cadillac drove down the street.
10 However, Wolfram (1969) does not explicitly state whether he operationalises this distinction in his analysis.
11 The high number of Ns in the data may seem initially surprising, given the rather formal style of postposed negatives. However, most of these are in existential constructions, or contracted have, and have 'an unmarked character' (Labov 1972:143) in comparison with examples like (35a).
12 Note that most adjectives do not undergo negative concord - only good, different and better.
13 Cheshire (1982:66) proposes that negative concord in this environment is used as an emphatic device.
14 Labov also includes either is in this category, which is a clause modifier. There were no examples of this in the data.
15 Tests on co-occurrence constraints (Klima, 1964) suggest that hardly is negative for some people and positive for others.
16 Cheshire's (1982:65) limited data (N=8) precludes her from reaching any conclusions regarding its status.
17 There are too few adjective contexts (N=4) to make any assumptions about their use with negative concord.
18 Only five of these were have got.
19 In fact, Macaulay's (1991: 57), results for *do* support with have show extreme for class stratification. He found that while the middle aged speakers used do support in this context 93% of the time, the working class speakers used it only 23%.
20 When this factor group is removed, the results remain the same.
21 When these speakers were removed from the analysis, the constraints in Table 4 remained the same.
22 The only studies which explicitly mention this type of negation are Feagin (1979:229), Schneider (1989:194) and Howe (1995:).
23 Of course, these are not strictly newer, as they may have occurred at one time or another in the historical record. a more appropriate term may be 'recycled'.
24 These examples were taken from speakers who exhibited variable use of negative concord.
25 Attestations from the historical record indicate that 'there seems to be hardly any syntactic constraint on the type of subordinate clause to which negative concord can be extended' (Ukaji, 1999:286).

CHAPTER 4

DO ABSENCE IN NEGATIVE DECLARATIVES

1. Introduction

One of the many changes that has taken place in the English language over the past few centuries is in the formation of negatives. In Middle English and Early Modern English, the negative particle appeared in post-verbal position, as in (1):

(1) a. It perteyneth *not* to hym of the scheep. (c1380: Wyclif John, 10, 13)

b. Thai play *not* the fole. (1426: Audeley, Poems 29)

c. I *wrote not* so unto yow. (1475-88: Cely Papers (Malden) no. 109)

d. But *looked not* on the poison of their hearts. (c1594: Shakespeare, Richard III: III, i, 12)

e. We *know not* how to affect you. (1616: Ben Jonson, Devil an Ass, Prol 19)

f. Caesar *thinks not* so. (1678: Dryden, All for Love, (Mermaid) II, i)

But by the end of the 14th century, negation formed with periphrastic *do* and the negative particle before the verb, as in (2), came into use (Denison, 1993:265).

(2) a. I have grete mervayelle ... that they *do not* attaine an accion ayenst Sir Thomas. (c1450: Fastolf, Paston Letters No 162, line 198)

b. Ye *do not* speke as ye thynke. (1548: John Bale, Kynge Johan 317)

By the eighteenth century, this new construction had largely, though not entirely, replaced the original one (Ellegård, 1953:162) and, of course, is the construction used in Modern English.

However, language change does not proceed uniformly across all varieties at the same time or in the same way (see, for example, Andersen, 1988), particularly in those areas which are relatively uninfluenced by standard norms. A case in point is the variable use of periphrastic *do* in present tense negative declaratives in Buckie; sometimes *do* is present, as in (3), and sometimes it is not, as in (4), resulting in the classic 'form-function polyvalence' (Sankoff, 1988:141).

(3) a. I *dinna* mine fa taen it. (a:391.34)

b. You *dinna* ken fit tae dee wi' quines. (t:881.39)

c. They *dinna* ken they're gan to wear a kilt. (i:31.3)

(4) a. I *na* mine fa come in. (a:972.36)

b. You *na* ken athing aboot me' (u:65.27)

c. They *na* seem to bide in the Beacons lang. (3:208.13)

To the best of my knowledge, variable use of *do* in this linguistic context in present day English is unique to dialects from north-east Scotland[1]. This alone makes it a particularly intriguing object for study, but more interesting is to establish the mechanisms which underlie such variability. Is it merely random, with *do* present or absent with no particular pattern? Or is it constrained in any way? If so, are these constraints extra-linguistic, internal to the language system, or both? Can the historical record shed any light on this variability?

This chapter seeks to answer these questions through a quantitative analysis of the presence vs. absence of *do* in negative declaratives in the Buckie dialect. The historical background of negation, with particular reference to Scots, is detailed in Section 2. Section 3 describes the data and method, Section 4 presents the results, and the findings are discussed in Section 5.

2. Historical precursors

To contextualise the rise of periphrastic *do* in negative declarative sentences, it is first necessary to situate it in the broader context of the history of negation in general.

2.1 A brief history of negation

As stated in Chapter 3, in Old English, the earliest negative particle is *ne*, in pre-verbal position, as in (5):

(5) ic *ne* secge (Jespersen, 1917:9)

I not say

But later, this was frequently strengthened by the addition of *noht* (from *nawiht/nowiht* meaning *nothing*) in postverbal position (Jespersen, 1917:9). *Noht* became *not* resulting in the typical Middle English form in (6):

(6) I *ne* seye *not* (Jespersen, 1917:9)
I not say not

As a further development, '*ne* was pronounced with so little stress that it was apt to disappear altogether' (Jespersen, 1917:9). This process, known as the negative cycle (Jespersen, 1917:9) resulted in constructions such as (7)[2]:

(7) Of what nature the wrongs are thou hast done him, I know *not*.
(1601:Shakespeare, Twelfth Night, III, iv, 228)

By the fifteenth century, *ne* had disappeared and post-verbal *not* only was used (see, for example, Jespersen, 1917).

2.1.1 The history of negation in Scots

Scots followed the same development as in more southern regions, that is, from pre-verbal to post-verbal negation, but the use of pre-verbal *ne* in Old English 'continues in Older Scots, especially in Early Scots' (Macafee, 1992:33)[3], i.e. postverbal negation was introduced later in these northern regions. The alternative form *na*, as in (10) also existed (ibid:33):

(8) a. To suffir exile he said that he *ne* couth. (Dictionary of the Older Scottish tongue (Craigie, Aitken, Templeton, Watson & Stevenson, 1937-) (henceforth DOST) s.v. *ne*)
(9) a. That thai *na* will...flei. (DOST s.v. *na* adv. 2)
b. That we *na* gang forth. (DOST s.v. *na* adv. 2)

A second negative, chiefly *nocht,* also appeared after the verb, as in (10).

(10) a. The messall *na* sall *nocht* enter in the toune. (DOST *na* adv. 2)

In line with the changes in negation south of the border, *na/ne* disappeared, leaving only *nocht* in postverbal position, also with the reduced forms *not* and *no* (Macafee, 1992:33) as in (11):

(11) a. Quha labouris *nocht* he sall *not* eit. (DOST, s.v. *nocht*)

Thus, there appears to have been a three stage evolution in the history of negation in English before the introduction of periphrastic *do* - 1) use of the pre-verbal negative particle *ne* in Old English, and later 2) the appearance of *noht* post-verbally. These two negative particles co-existed for some time, until the gradual disappearance of pre-verbal *ne* which resulted in 3) the use of the postverbal particle only. Scots followed these same changes, although they took place later and different phonological forms were employed.

2.2 *Development of periphrastic* do

The first appearance of *do* in negative declaratives is attested in 1280 (Visser, 1963-73:1530), as in (12):

(12) ȝwane we In godes seruise beoth, we ne *doz nouȝt* ore ordre breke. (Early South East English Legendary 198, 23)

However, this is attributed to a scribal error (Davis 1961) and 'safe' examples (Denison, 1993:265) first appear at the end of the 14th century. Once periphrastic *do* appeared, its frequency increased over time. Ellegård (1953) in a seminal quantitative study of this feature, traces its frequency of use in different contexts from 1400 to 1700. He notes that *do* in negative declaratives increases greatly from 1650 onwards and states that 'the modern state of things was practically achieved around 1700' (ibid:157) in reference to the fact that in most contexts the change had gone to near completion. But the fact that it took six hundred years for *do* to move from optional to obligatory status in the language suggests that it may have been subject to internal and external conditioning. Several constraints are attested in the literature. Internal constraints include lexical verb type (Ellegård, 1953; Engblom, 1938; Jespersen, 1954; Nurmi, 1997; Ogura, 1993; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1987; Traugott, 1972), where percentages for use of *do* were not uniform across each lexical verb; following complements (Ellegård, 1953; Kroch, 1989b), in which transitive sentences were more likely to contain *do* than intransitives and presence of adverbs (Ellegård, 1953; Engblom, 1938), where *do* was more frequent in clauses which contained an adverb modifying the verb. Extra-linguistic constraints include dialectal distribution (Ellegård, 1953:46; Klemola, 1996) where *do* is a 'southern innovation which only spread to the north and north midland dialects during the Early Modern English period' (Klemola, 1996:158); education and class had an influence during the development of *do*, as it

was more frequent with 'learned writers and people of high social rank' (Ellegård, 1953:166). I return to some of these points in Section 3.

However, 'around the time of the changeover (from postverbal to preverbal negation) a sort of intermediate pattern became common' (Denison, 1993:451) where the negative particle appears before the main verb, but without *do*, as in (13):

(13) a. I *not* doubt he came alive to land. (1610: Shakespeare, The Tempest, I, ii, 121)

b. We *not* now fight for how long, how broad. (1611: Jonson, Cataline. 1 ii 147)

c. Whose all *not* equals Edwards moiety. (Shakespeare: Richard III, I, ii, 250)

Ellegard (1953:198) and Jespersen (1917:13) maintain that this construction is rare, but Visser (1963-73:1532) concludes that it has 'escaped the attention of grammarians', claiming that its usage increased in the 16th and 17th centuries i.e. during Shakespeare's time, but declined after 1700[4]. The prominent grammarian, Lowth, condemned this usage in his 1762 *A Short Introduction to English Grammar* suggesting that it must have been relatively frequent to merit such censure. Further, all examples used by the above scholars in exemplifying this construction are taken from drama. This leads Salmon (1967) to conclude that it was a characteristic of colloquial language, or 'speech in writing' (Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1987).

2.2.1 The development of *do* in Scotland

Although Ellegård's research concentrates only on the English of England, Scots also followed the same grammatical change. Aitken (1979:88) states that the internal history of Scots 'in part ... proceeded on lines common to all varieties of English, including *he cums nocht* becoming *he's no comin*, *he cam nocht* becoming *he didna cum*'. With specific reference to periphrastic *do*, Beal (1997:370) states 'this development of *dae* as the operator in Scots is probably ... not so much due to the influence of English as such, but to a parallel development in two closely related languages'[5]. However, Scots showed a much greater degree of conservatism than in more southern areas in the introduction of periphrastic *do*, with post-verbal negation, continuing well into the nineteenth century (Beal, 1997:371; McClure, 1994; Murray, 1873:216; Tulloch, 1980:295) as 'in some verbs, the custom is retained of adding *-na* as in auxiliaries, *as aa cayrna, he geadna'* (Murray 1873:216).

This later development is confirmed in Meurman-Solin's (1993) extensive analysis of the *Helsinki Corpus of Older Scots* (1450-1700), where *do* was not introduced until the latter half of the 16th century[6].

When it was introduced, it normally appeared with the negative enclitic *-na*, as in (14), as opposed to the *not* (later *n't*) form in more southern regions.[7]

(14) a. 'Tis an ill wind that *disna* blaw some body good. (1721: Ramsey, Poems 24)

In addition Scots (and northern English) had an alternative form, *div-* as in (15) from the 19th to the early 20th century (CSD s.v. *dae*). This form is said to have arisen in analogy with *hiv*, the emphatic form of *hae*. (Scottish National Dictionary (Grant & Murison, 1931-76) (henceforth SND) s.v. *dae*).

(15) a. We *div* look at our tauties on the saubath, div we nay? (SND s.v. *dae*)
b. For the plain fac' is, Mr St Ivy, that I div not ken. (SND s.v. *dae*)

Preverbal negation without *do*, as in (12) above, is also recorded in Scots, as the examples in (16) demonstrate:

(16) a. I *no* mind o' over hearin her saying onythin o' the sort. (1894: SND s.v. *no*)
b. I *no* want to see the man that put ma Wullie in prison. (1906: SND s.v. *no*)
c. I *no* want onything, I said. (1924:SND s.v. *no*)
d. It's weel for you that *no* kens what it is to be a footba' at your ain fireside. (1835: SND s.v. *no*)

These examples, from a variety of locales within Scotland, including Lothian, Angus, and Berwick, are attributed in the SND as 'absorption of the auxiliary'.

The history of negation in both Scots and English is summarised in Table 1.

Table 1: Forms of negation used for Old English to late Middle English			
OE	**Early ME**	**ME**	**late ME**
ne V	*ne* V *ne* V *not*	*ne* V *not* V *not*	V *not* *do not* V

3. Data and Method

3.1 Negation in Present Day Scots and Buckie Scots

The formation of verbal negatives in present day Scots need some explanation as it differs both distributionally and phonetically from other varieties of English. The non-cliticised, stressed form is *no* [no] in dialects south of the Tay, and *nae* [ne] is used north of it (McClure, 1994:73)[8]. This is the phonetic form used in Buckie, as in (17).

(17) a. They 're *nae* gan in nae cattle boat. (h:134.28)

The unstressed enclitic is *-nae* [ne] or *-na* [nʌ], again depending on regional distribution. *Nae* was used in the east midlands of Scotland, but has in the last few decades spread to more western areas (Macafee, 1983:47). *Na* is used in the remaining areas, including Buckie, as in (18):

(18) a. There *wasna* sik a thing as this forty hoor weeks. (3:654.9)

In common with most Scots dialects, negative question forms in Buckie Scots differ from standard English. The negative enclitic cannot appear with the auxiliary in these constructions, as in (19):

(19) a. **Dinna* you ken her?

In this case the negative particle in non-cliticised form, appears after the verb, as in (20):

(20) a. Do ye *nae* ken her? (t:568.2)

The form *div* from the historical record, as an alternative to *do*, continues to be used in some dialects as the stressed form in the present tense (Macafee, 1983:50). It is also

used in Buckie in non-3rd person singular contexts, although not necessarily in stressed form, as in (21):

(21) (d) My crowd *divna* like barley. (q:27.45)

Having examined the phonetic forms and syntactic distribution of negative particles in Buckie, I now turn to the variable under study.

3.2 Circumscribing the variable context

The context of periphrastic *do* variability is highly circumscribed in Buckie - *do* absence only occurs in negative declarative sentences in the *simple present tense*[9]. Past tense negative declaratives are categorically standard, therefore examples like (22b) are not used. In cases where *do* is absent, stress falls on the pronoun, and the negative particle is unstressed, i.e. appears as the cliticised form *na*, as in (23b):

(22) a. He *didna* say nothin'. (a:150.23)
b. *He *na* said nothin'.

(23) a. Cos usually I *dinna* like bobbies. (j:445.28)
b. I *na* like nothin', ken too hot. (y:275.2)

Every context of negative declaratives in the present tense where *do* is obligatory in contemporary standard English was extracted from the data, regardless of whether *do* was actually present or not. This amounted to a total of 756 variable contexts.[10]

Using information from both the historical record and contemporary literature, each variant was coded for a series of internal and external features that could have an effect on the presence or absence of *do*.

3.3 Coding

3.3.1 Person and number of the subject

Although there are no attestations in the historical record regarding a grammatical person constraint on *do*, it is a well documented conditioning factor for other morphosyntactic features (see, for example, Montgomery, 1994; Poplack & Tagliamonte, 1989; Stein, 1986). Moreover, initial observations and my own grammaticality judgements suggested a person and number constraint. Therefore, a distinction was made between 1st singular, as in (24), 2nd singular[11], as in (25), 1st

plural, as in (26). For 3rd person singular and plural pronouns, as in (27) and (28) were categorised separately from full NPs, as in (29) and (30):

(24) a She's in the huff if *I* dinna let her. (g:659.13)
b God, *I* na ken far my ain face is here. (a:654.18)

(25) a *Ye* dinna think ye'll be drunk. (n:349.56)
b *Ye* na hear o' him onywye, ken. (u:54.86)

(26) a *We* dinna really socialise that much. (k:329.53)
b *We* na hae raffles. (%:32.30)

(27) a *He* doesna get word fae the loon. (c:526.19)
b *It* doesna cost nothin' to walk ower the hill. (1:604.21)

(28) a *They* dinna gie them great pay, like. (4:493.26)
b *They* na lose trade. ($:44.32)

(29) a No, *Willy* doesna play much golf. (3:455.56)
b *The car* doesna ging in the garage. (x:58.0)

(30) a *Bairns* dinna coont. (u:492.20)
b *My crowd* divna like barley. (q:27.45)

3.3.2 Lexical verb

Lexical verb type has been shown to have an effect on language variation and change in synchronic data (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming; Wang, 1977) where certain verbs favour one variant over another. This constraint is also observable in the diachronic record, including the development of *do* (Ellegård, 1953; Engblom, 1938; Ogura, 1993; Traugott, 1972). For example, the verb *know* is singled out as resisting *do* as late as the 18th century (Ellegård, 1953; Engblom, 1938; Nurmi, 1997; Ogura, 1993; Tieken-Boon van Ostade, 1987; Traugott, 1972), while the verb *think* had a much higher rate of *do* use (Ellegård, 1953:201). Ogura (1993) attributes these different rates of *do* usage to word frequency - the more frequent a word, the less likely it was to appear with the innovative *do* construction.

Following from these findings on the differential status of frequent lexical verbs, every verb which had over 15 instances was coded separately. These were *ken* (*know*), as in

(31), *mine (remember),* as in (32) *think,* as in (33) *like,* as in (34) and *get* as in (35). The remaining verbs were grouped together due to small Ns.

(31) a. We dinna *ken* fit they've been dabbling in. (w:56.0)
b. I na *ken* fit I imagined Edinburgh to be like. (w:175.12)

(32) a. I dinna *mine* you fae nae wye. (j:349.29)
b. And I na *mine* hoo al' he was. (u:168.24)

(33) a. I dinna *think* I could handle hotel work. (i:277.33)
b. Cos I na *think* I ever went tae a school. (u:192.23)

(34) a. Cos usually I dinna *like* bobbies. (j:445.28)
b. I na *like* nothin', ken, too hot. (y:75.2)

(35) a. You dinna *get* dole at that time, see. (q:276.19)
b. I dinna *get* the chance tae drink. (i:56.45)

Constructions with VP ellipsis, as in (36) were coded separately.

(36) a Alison dees hers wi' butter but I *dinna.* (q:16.41)
b Nae in the Sloch, you *dinna.* (!:31.18)

3.3.3 Following complement

The conditioning effect of following complement on sentence structure is documented in both the diachronic and synchronic record. Ellegård (1953:195) found that during the development of *do*, transitive sentences were more likely to contain *do* than intransitives. Cheshire (1997) demonstrates that verbal *-s* does not appear on the verb when the complement of the verb is a clause. This is explained in terms of information packaging, where clausal complements do not integrate into the verb phrase. Verbal coda deletion in the study of topic restricting *as far as* was shown to have a strong correlation with the complexity of the following complement (Britain, 1998; Rickford, Mendoza-Denton, Wasow & Espinoza, 1995). The more weighty/complex the following complement, the more likely verbal coda deletion will occur. This can be attributed to the fact that 'long complex elements put an extra burden on the parser' (Wasow, 1997:94), therefore the processing load is less if certain elements in the clause are deleted.

These studies concur in suggesting that following complement of the verb has an effect on the observed variation. To test whether it had a conditioning effect on the use of *do* in the Buckie data, I differentiated the following complement types: sentential, as in (37), no complement, as in (38), pronouns (39a), full NPs, (39b) both with and without modifiers. Other types of infinitival clauses as in (39c), and prepositional phrases, as in (39d) were coded together due to small Ns.

(37) a. I says 'I na ken *fa's wi' him.* (e:587.21)
b. I dinna think *they wid've gien it up.* (a:215:6)

(38) a. Well, I na ken, me and Nan might go back. (y:276.35)
b. Mention nae names, I *dinna* suppose. (m:510.24)

(39) a. Oh, you probably na mine *this.* (m:597.18)
b. You na really see *her face.* (t:635.4)
c. I says 'Well, I dinna like *to tell* ye.' (e:142.32)
d. Ye dinna bide *in the camp*, ye see. (q:1155.22)

3.3.4 Extra-linguistic features

The sample is stratified by age and sex only. Three generations are represented in order to allow for apparent time analysis of the data.

I now turn to the results.

4. Results

4.1 Overall distribution of forms

Table 2 shows the overall distribution of *do* absence, the non-standard form, is 40%, demonstrating that this is a robust variable in the Buckie dialect.

Table 2: Overall distribution of periphrastic *do*

	with *do*	without *do*	Total
N	451	305	756
%	**60**	**40**	

I now conduct a distributional analysis to establish the factors conditioning the presence or absence of *do*.

In all cases, the percentages are expressed in terms of *do* absence, that is, in sentences such as (4) above.

4.2 Person and number of the subject

Table 3 shows the distribution of *do* absence by person and number of the subject.

Table 3: Distribution of *do* absence by person and number of the subject		
	N	%
1st person singular *I*	460	**63**
2nd person singular *you*	86	**13**
3rd person sing. *he/she/it*	120	**0**
3rd person sing - full NP	22	**0**
1st person plural *we*	16	**19**
3rd person plural *they*	40	**5**
3rd person plural - full NP	12	**0**

Note the dramatic split in absence/presence of *do* by grammatical person. 3rd person singular pronouns, and both singular and plural full NPs show categorical use of *do*. In other words, they are categorically standard. The remaining contexts, on the other hand, are variable. This categorical versus variable use of *do* is crucial for the study at hand, as it demonstrates that grammatical person is an important effect on the use of *do*. This finding will be returned to later in the discussion (Section 5). Within the fully variable contexts, there is a further split. Observe the wide range of percentages of *do* absence in these contexts - 63% for 1st person singular, while 2nd person singular *you*, 1st person plural *we*, and 3rd person plural *they*, show relatively little *do* absence.

Table 4 shows the overall distribution of presence or absence of *do* when the invariant contexts are removed. When the data are reconfigured in this way, there is almost a fifty/fifty split in presence or absence of *do*.

Table 4: Overall distribution of periphrastic *do* in contexts of 1st and 2nd person singular, 1st and 3rd person plural			
	with *do*	without *do*	Total
N	297	305	602
%	**49**	**51**	

The remaining internal factors said to condition this variability are now examined.

4.3 Lexical verb type

Table 5 shows the percentages of absence of *do* according to lexical verb type.

Table 5: Distribution of *do* by following lexical verb		
	N	%
mine (remember)	15	**73**
ken (know)	327	**65**
like	23	**57**
think	85	**47**
get	22	**5**
VP ellipses	19	**0**
other	113	**23**
total	602	

Two main points arise from these results. Firstly, *do* absence is not uniformly distributed across the lexical verb type. The table shows a wide range of percentages of *do* absence - from 73% to 5%, therefore verb type plays an important role in the distribution of this variable. However, the equation 'more frequent = less *do*' as proposed by Ogura (1993) in the development of *do* (see Section 2.2) does not apply here. For example, *mine* (remember) has relatively few contexts (N=15), but has the highest percentage of *do* absence. *Think*, on the other hand, has many more contexts (N=85) but a much lower percentage of *do* absence. Finally, contexts of VP ellipses show categorical *do* presence.

Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, one verb, *ken* (*know*), accounts for 54% of the entire data set. Moreover, it has one of the highest rates of *do* absence. This may impact on all results, as what we might be viewing is a history of *ken* with periphrastic *do*, rather than a general picture. For this reason, I shall separate this verb from all others in the following factor by factor analyses to control for such an effect.

4.4 Ken vs. other verbs

4.4.1 Person and number of the verb

Table 6 presents the percentages and Ns for *do* absence by person and number of the verb, but with *ken* separated from the rest of the verbs.

Table 6: Distribution of *do* absence by person and number of the verb				
	ken		other verbs	
	N	%	N	%
1st person singular *I*	296	**71**	164	**48**
2nd person singular *you*	21	**14**	65	**12**
1st person plural *we*	5	**0**	11	**27**
3rd person plural *they*	5	**0**	35	**6**
TOTAL	327			275

Firstly, observe the number of 1st person singular contexts with *ken* (N=296). These account for 49% of the data in which *do* is variable and are a factor which must be taken into account in the analysis of the data. The percentages show that there are very high rates of *do* absence in first person singular with *ken*, but lower rates with other verbs. Compare 71% and 48%. However, the patterning of *ken* vs. other verbs is very similar - *do* absence very frequent in 1st person singular contexts but much less frequent elsewhere. The only exception to this is with 1st person plural with other verbs, but here there are very few tokens (N=11). Thus, the pattern is the same, with no independent effect of *ken*.

4.4.2 Following complement

Table 7 shows the distribution of *do* absence by following complement.

Table 7: Distribution of *do* absence by following complement.				
	ken		other verbs	
	N	%	N	%
sentential	166	**75**	77	**56**
no complement	109	**58**	26	**23**
pronoun	17	**53**	32	**28**
full NP	23	**43**	57	**30**
VP ellipses	-	-	19	**0**
other[12]	12	**67**	64	**23**
total	327		275	

Ken shows higher percentages than other verbs but again the pattern is the same. When the following complement is sentential, the percentages of *do* absence are high. When there is no following complement or other types of complement, percentages of *do* absence are lower[13]. Ellegård's (1953) findings from the historical record demonstrate

that transitive sentences will be more likely to have *do* than intransitives (see Section 2.2), but the split in this synchronic data is between sentential complements and everything else. Obviously a different mechanism is at work in this data.

4.4.3 Summary of internal factors

The factor by factor analysis of internal factors reveal that person and number of the verb, lexical verb type, and verb complement all have an effect on the absence of *do*. Moreover, although the verb *ken* accounts for more than half the data, separate analyses have shown that it patterns exactly the same as other verbs. Therefore, what is demonstrated here is the constraints on *do* absence in general, not the constraints with one particular verb.

4.5 Extra-linguistic features

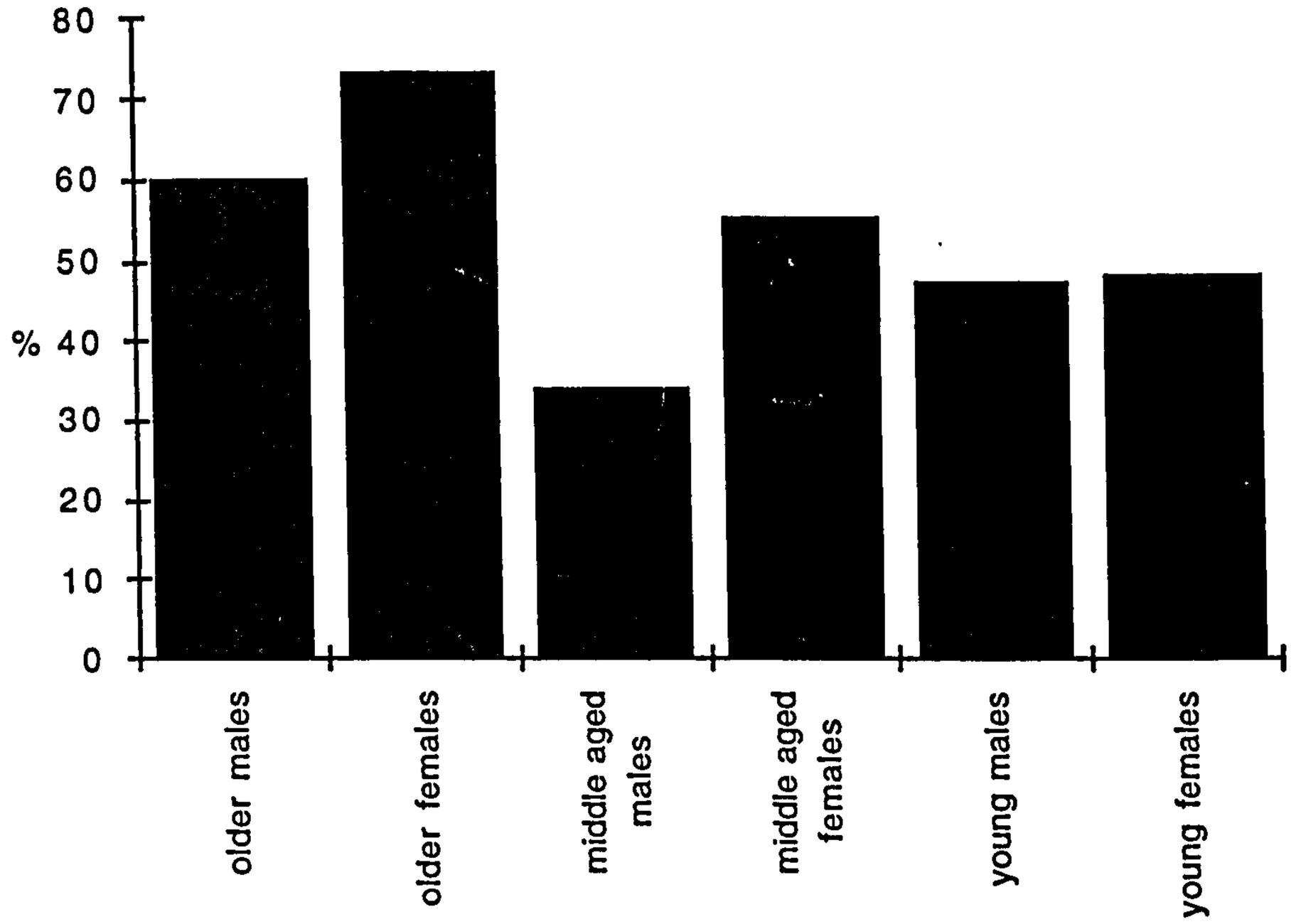
4.5 1 Individual speaker

Of the 37 speakers in the sample, 34 exhibited variability in the presence or absence of *do*[14]. Of the three remaining speakers, one demonstrates categorical *do* presence, whereas the other two, categorical *do* absence. However, these three speakers had very few contexts of use (2-5). Therefore, *do* variability is a community wide variable, rather than idiosyncratic to certain members of the community only. Of the 34 variable speakers, there was a wide range of percentages of *do* absence (20-89%), but due to the differences in total contexts of use for each speaker as well as the inventory of verbs they used, these cannot be objectively compared.

4.5 2 Age, sex and the intersection with internal constraints

A more revealing picture of extra-linguistic factors can be made by stratifying the results by age and sex. I begin by analysing all verbs together. Figure 1 shows the distribution of *do* absence by age and sex.

Figure 1: Distribution of *do* absence by age and sex - all verbs



With age, the older speakers have the highest rates of *do* absence overall. With sex, women have more *do* absence than men in the middle aged and older speakers. However, these differences level out in the youngest generation with practically identical rates of *do* absence for both.

Again, these results may be skewed by the verb *ken*. Table 8 shows how this verb is this distributed across the age groups in terms of overall percentage.

Table 8: Percentage of *ken* in entire data set for each age group

	old	middle	young
N	99	173	330
%	**73**	**49**	**52**

These percentages are cautionary, as they demonstrate that the data are unevenly distributed. *Ken* accounts for 73% of the entire data set for the older speakers, but only 49% and 52% for the middle and younger speakers. Therefore the higher rates in Figure 1 for the older speakers may by due to this. Table 9 shows the distribution of *do* absence by age when *ken* is separated from other verbs.

Table 9: Distribution of *do* absence by age				
	ken		other verbs	
	N	%	N	%
older	72	**76**	27	**48**
middle	84	**62**	89	**30**
young	171	**63**	159	**32**

Observe the partitioning of percentages with this view of the data. Middle aged and younger speakers have nearly identical rates of *do* absence, while the older speakers have higher rates. These percentages suggest that age has an effect on the rate of *do* absence - the middle aged and younger speakers use less of the non-standard form.

Table 10 shows the distribution of *do* absence by sex.

Table 10: Distribution of *do* absence by sex				
	ken		other verbs	
	N	%	N	%
male	92	**70**	100	**20**
female	235	**64**	175	**41**

Table 10 shows that males have slightly more *do* absence than females with the verb *ken*, but this hierarchy is reversed with other verbs. In fact, males use *do* twice as much as females in these contexts. This result seems rather suspicious, and leads me to conclude that some other factors are at work here, namely that males have simply used constructions with verbs which have been shown to have lower rates of *do* absence more generally (for example, the verb *think*). To test such a hypothesis, Table 11 shows the distribution of *do* absence by individual lexical verb and sex.

Table 11: Distribution of *do* absence by lexical verb and sex				
	male		female	
	N	%	N	%
mine (remember)	4	**75**	11	**73**
like	10	**30**	13	**74**
think	25	**24**	58	**57**
get	8	**13**	14	**0**
VP ellipses	9	**0**	10	**0**
other	44	**16**	69	**29**

These percentages are more graphically illustrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2 Distribution of *do* absence by lexical verb and sex

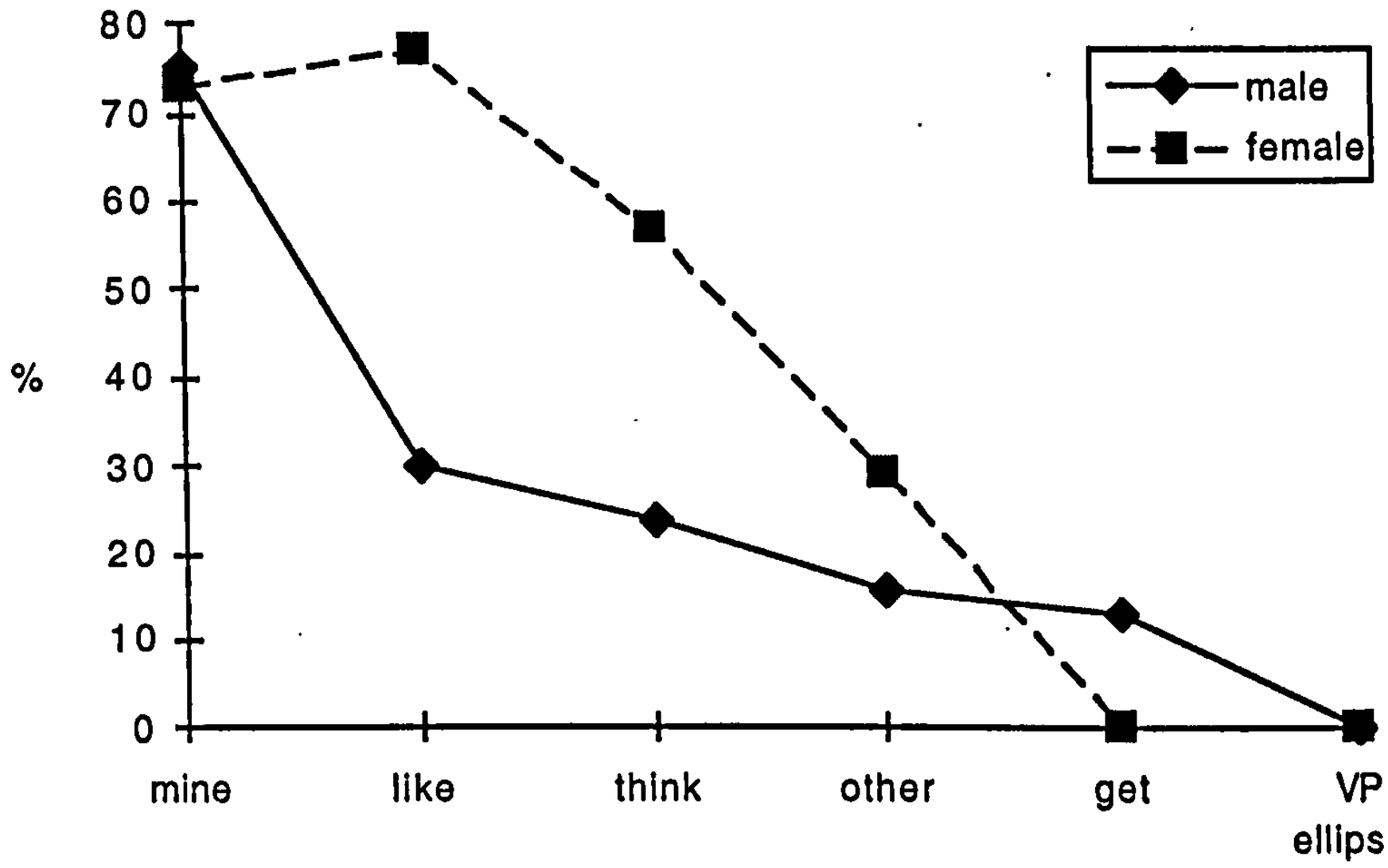


Figure 2 shows that men have less *do* absence with all verbs except *get* and *mine*. However, when the data are divided in this way, note the very small Ns in all verbs except *think* and other - these differences may be the product of statistical fluctuation. Accordingly, they should not have too much importance placed on them.

Recall the results for grammatical person, which showed high rates of *do* absence with 1st person singular *I*. Table 12 shows the distribution by age and grammatical person to test whether this patterning is found across all age groups.

Table 12: Distribution of *do* absence by grammatical person and age

	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1st person sing *I*	85	**78**	125	**57**	250	**61**
2nd per sing *you*	12	17	26	12	48	13
1st person plu *we*	0	0	7	43	9	0
3rd person plu *they*	2	0	15	13	23	0

Table 12 shows that all age groups have the same pattern - high rates of *do* absence in 1st person singular and much less in other grammatical persons.

Table 13 shows the distribution of *do* absence by following complement and age.

Table 13: Distribution of *do* absence by following complement and age						
	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
sentential	53	79	65	62	125	68
no complement	21	67	44	43	70	51
other	25	48	64	31	135	27

Again, the patterning, and indeed the hierarchy, is the same across the generations - sentential complements>no complement>other.

4.5.3 Summary of extra-linguistic features and intersection with internal constraints

Age and sex appear to have an effect on the rates of *do* absence. With age, the older speakers have more *do* absence than the middle aged and younger speakers. More importantly, however, each generation patterns in the same way with respect to grammatical person and following complement.

The results for sex are not so clear - while males have less *do* with the verb *ken*, females have less *do* with other verbs. Overall, middle aged and older women have higher rates of *do* absence than men, but there is no difference with the younger generation. The differences in lexical verbs between men and women were probably due to statistical fluctuation.

However, a distributional analysis can only provide information on the individual effects. As this factor by factor analysis has shown, the constraints on the presence or absence of *do* are undoubtedly simultaneous. To model the combined effect of the factors laid out above, I now turn to a variable rule analysis of the data.

4.6 Variable rule analysis

As with the distributional analysis, *ken* will in the first instance be separated from all other verbs in order to disentangle the real effects from those effects which are simply a result of the strong influence of *ken*.

Only the variable contexts are included in the multivariate analysis. All 3rd person singular pronouns and singular and plural NPs and contexts of VP ellipsis (N=19) were not included as these were categorically standard[15]. In the following complement group, NP and pronoun complements are collapsed with all other types of complements

in this and following analyses as the distributional analysis demonstrated that there was no differentiation between these. This results in a three way distinction - sentential complement, no complement, other type of complement.

4.6.1 Other verbs

Table 14 shows a VRA analysis of the probability of *do* absence according to grammatical person and number, lexical verb, following complement, sex and age in verbs other than *ken*.

Table 14: Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of *do* absence in Buckie - other verbs only

	%	Factor weight	Ns
Corrected Mean .29			
Person and number of the verb			
1st person singular *I*	51	**.66**	154
1st person plural *we*	27	**.50**	11
2nd person singular *you*	13	**.28**	61
3rd person plural *they*	7	**.17**	30
Range		49	
Lexical verb type			
mine	73	**.80**	15
like	57	**.74**	23
think	47	**.44**	83
get	5	**.22**	22
other	22	**.51**	113
Range		58	
Following complement			
sentential	56	**.66**	77
other	27	**.42**	22
no complement	27	**.43**	157
Range		24	
Speaker sex			
female	43	**.60**	165
male	22	**.33**	91
Range		27	
Age			
old	50	[.54]	26
middle	33	[.51]	82
young	34	[.49]	148
TOTAL N			250

The variable rule analysis indicates that with the exception of age, all factors are significant. The ranges show that lexical verb type has the strongest effect (range 58) although person and number of the verb is also significant to the conditioning of *do*, with a range of 49.

With lexical verb type, while less frequent verbs neither favour nor disfavour *do* absence, with a factor weight of .51, more frequent verbs are very mixed in their factor weights, ranging from .80 for *mine*, to .22 for *get.*

With person and number of the subject, 1st person singular *I* highly favours *do* with a factor weight of .66. 1st person plural *we* neither favours nor disfavours at .50, but note the very small Ns (11). 2nd person singular *you and* 3rd person plural *they*, on the other hand, highly disfavour *do* absence.

Following complement also has an effect. Sentential complements favour *do* absence at .66, while both constructions with other complements or no complement disfavour. The clear partitioning of sentential complements vs. everything else, evidenced in the distributional analysis, is maintained here.

Sex is also selected as significant in the variable rule analysis, with females favouring the non-standard form. Age is not selected as significant, with practically no difference in factor weights between the three age groups.

4.6.2 *Ken*

Table 15 shows variable rule analysis of the contribution of *do* absence by person and number of the verb, lexical verb type, following complement, age and speaker sex.

Table 15: Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of *do* absence in Buckie - *ken* only

	%	Factor weight	Ns
Corrected Mean .66			
Person and number of the verb			
1st person singular *I*	71	**.58**	296
2nd person singular *you*, 1st person plural *we*, 3rd person plural *they*	10	**.05**	31
Range		53	
Following complement			
sentential	75	**.62**	166
other	52	**.41**	52
no complement	58	**.37**	109
Range		25	
Speaker sex			
female	64	[.47]	235
male	70	[.57]	92
Age			
old	76	[.64]	72
middle	62	[.43]	84
young	63	[.47]	171
TOTAL N			327

Internal factors only are selected as significant with *ken*.

Person and number of the verb is significant to *do* absence, with a range of 53. 1st person singular *I* has a factor weight of .58. 2nd person singular *you,* 1st person plural *we* and 3rd person plural *they*[16] have a combined factor weight of .05. Most importantly, however, is that this patterning is very similar to that of other lexical verbs - 1st person singular a highly favouring context, while others disfavour.

Following complement is also significant. Sentential complements favour *do* at .62, while other complements, or no complement at all, disfavour. Again, this is the same hierarchy as with other verbs.

Age is not selected as significant to the absence of *do* in *ken* constructions, despite a relatively high range of .21. This leads to the conclusion that although age may be an effect on the absence of *do*, the internal factors of person and number and following complement are more significant.

In sum, there are consistent parallels between these two analyses. The internal factors of person and number of the verb and complement of the verb show nearly identical hierarchies. Both analyses highly favour 1st person singular and sentential complements[17]. Despite the fact that *ken* accounts for over half the data, these separate analyses demonstrate that *do* absence operates under the same constraints, regardless of verb type. Crucially, the difference between *ken* and all other verbs is a matter of *frequency*, not *patterning*.

4.6.3 Verbs analysed together

As these two separate analysis have shown almost identical patterning, the data can now be considered together. Table 16 shows the results of the analysis when all verbs are analysed together.

Table 16: Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of *do* absence in Buckie - all verbs

	%	Factor weight	N
Corrected Mean .49			
Person and number of the verb			
1st person singular *I*	64	**.63**	450
1st person plural *we*	19	**.24**	16
2nd person singular *you*	13	**.17**	82
3rd person plural *they*	6	**.08**	35
Range		49	
Lexical verb type			
mine	73	**.73**	15
ken	65	**.58**	327
like	57	**.59**	23
think	47	**.33**	83
get	5	**.15**	22
other	24	**.43**	113
Range		58	
Following complement			
sentential	69	**.63**	243
other	33	**.41**	209
no complement	53	**.40**	131
Range		23	
Speaker sex			
female	55	**[.52]**	400
male	46	**[.45]**	183
Age			
old	69	[.61]	98
middle	48	[.48]	166
young	50	[.48]	319
TOTAL N			583

All language-internal factors are selected as significant to the absence of *do*.

With person and number of the subject, in line with the distributional analysis discussed earlier, only 1st person singular favours *do* absence with a factor weight of .63. All other persons and numbers disfavour.

Note the factor weights for lexical verb type. Some of the frequent lexical verbs, namely *mine*, *like* and *ken*, favour *do* absence, with factor weights of .73, .59 and .58 respectively, but *think* and *get* disfavour, with a factor weight of .33 and .15. Verbs with less than 15 tokens in the data (categorised under *other*) disfavour *do* absence at .43.

In the following complement factor group, sentential complements favour *do* absence at .63, while other types of complements, or no complement at all, disfavour.

None of the extra-linguistic factors was selected as significant to the absence of *do*, despite this being a productive community norm with 35 of the 39 speakers exhibiting variable use of *do*.[18].

5. Discussion

How can these results be interpreted? I have described the rise of negative *do* in the historical record and presented a quantitative analysis of data from a contemporary dialect in which variability exists in this context. A number of questions regarding the conditioning of this variability need to be addressed.

1. What best explains this variability? A phonological process? A relic feature?

2. Why is *do* variability so highly circumscribed, i.e. to negative declaratives in the present tense only and to certain grammatical persons only?

3. In the variable contexts, what is the explanation for the differing probabilities of *do* absence across internal factors?

I now consider these points in turn.

5.1 Phonological deletion?

Recall the examples in (16) from the SND (s.v. *no*), where constructions without *do* were attributed to 'absorption of the auxiliary', in other words, simply a product of phonological deletion. However, a number of arguments militate against such a conclusion in the data seen here. All phonological environments are the same in each pronominal person and number of the subject in which *do* occurs - preceding vowel and following nasal. For example, *I...na/he...na*. If this were a case of phonological deletion, then it would be predicted that it could be deleted in all environments which are phonologically similar[19]. Instead, the variation is highly constrained to specific grammatical persons. Similarly, negative declaratives in the past tense and cases of VP ellipsis have the same phonological environment, but are not variable. The highly specific distributional facts that this analysis reveals make it unlikely that phonological deletion provides the answer to *do* absence.

5.2 A relic feature?

It may be argued that the pattern of *do* absence comes from the Old English pre-verbal negator *ne/na*, as documented in Section 2. In its surface syntactic form, the construction employed in this dialect is identical to the one employed in Old English, a use which continued in Older Scots, as in (10) in Section 2.2.

However, the distributional facts of *do* absence in Buckie differ significantly from the Old English/Older Scots preverbal negator *ne/na*. In (40), the construction is 3rd person singular and past tense.

(40) He *na* dyd it bot in saufte of the schyp. (DOST s.v. *na* adv.2)

These are the two contexts which do not allow *do* absence in the Buckie data. Moreover, 'the grammar of Scots has been well documented' (Macafee, to appear), therefore it would be curious if the continuation of this structure was not attested in the literature. From the available evidence, no such constraints existed in Older Scots during the use of pre-verbal negation. Therefore, the distributional facts are not compatible with a 'relic' argument.

Is it possible that the later examples from the historical record seen in (16) in Section 2.2 are the precursors of the patterns of variability seen in present-day Buckie Scots? Although these more recent examples have the same distributional patterns (i.e. non 3rd person), the phonetic realisation of the negative particle appears to be different. The orthography of the examples in (13) - *no* - suggests that the negative particle is stressed (see Section 3.4), as this is the Scots equivalent of Standard English *not* in the historical record (see, for example, Beattie, 1787:59; Murray, 1873:216). This is in contrast to the Buckie data - in the cases of *do* absence, the negative particle is the unstressed, enclitic form (see Section 3.5).

Therefore for phonetic and distributional reasons, I suggest that these examples are unlikely precursors to the structures with *do* absence seen in present day Buckie. But if *do* absence cannot be explained in terms of phonological deletion, nor continuation of older patterns, how can it be accounted for? It looks like the Buckie data has a pattern all of its own, and is therefore an innovation.

5.3 A syntactic explanation

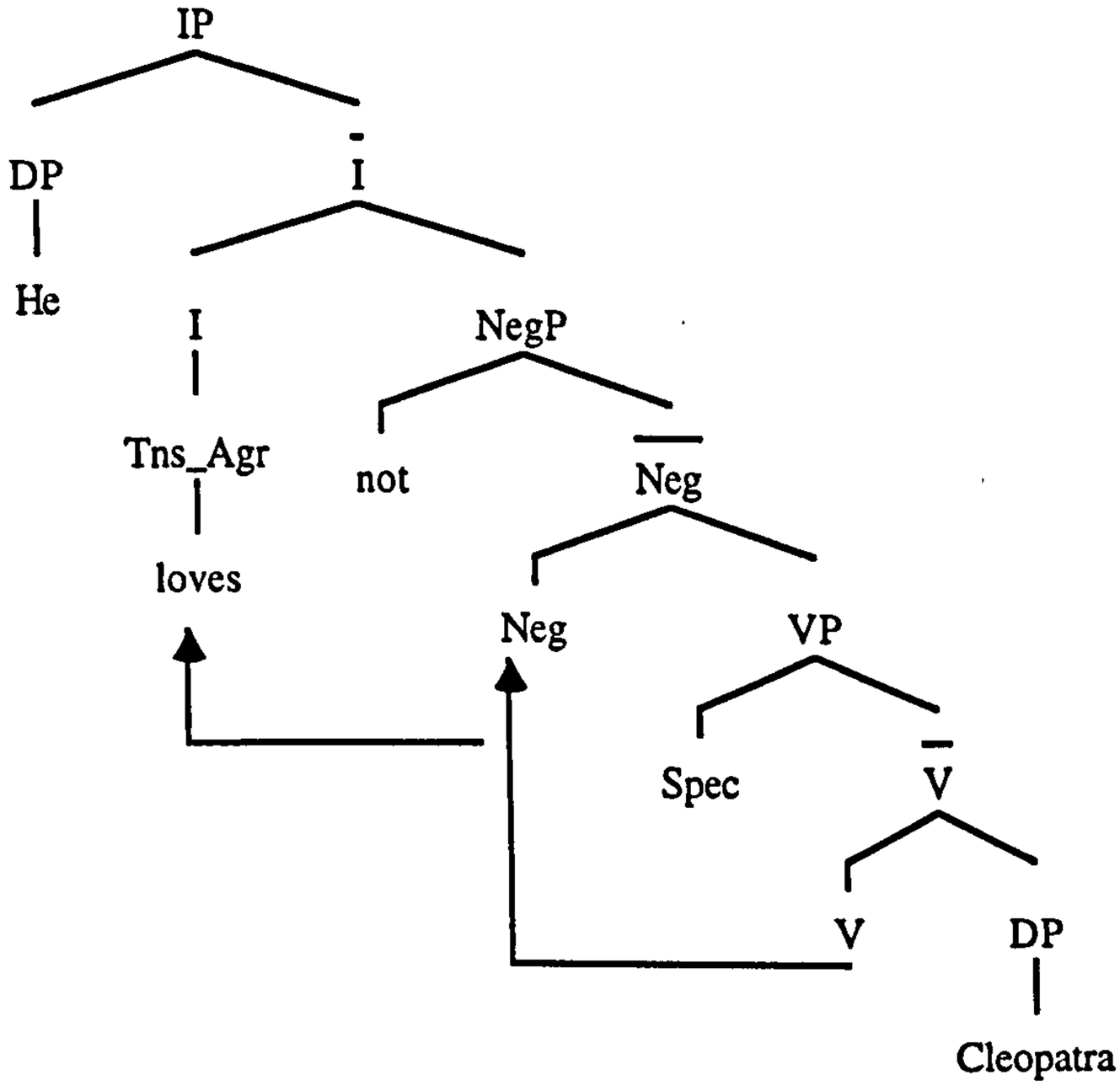
I submit that the categorical versus variable absence of *do* in Buckie English looks much more like a phenomenon whose variability is determined by syntactic factors. A

comparison of the underlying structure of negative sentences in Middle English and Modern English tells us why.

Recall that in the Middle English and Early Modern English period, negatives were formed by placing the negative particle *not* immediately after the tensed verb, but in Modern English, negatives are formed with preverbal negation and periphrastic *do*.

In current syntactic frameworks which deal with the historical development of negation in English (see, for example, Kroch, 1989a) the change from postverbal to preverbal negation is explained in terms of the position of the verb. Specifically, as shown in Figure 3, the earlier verb-negation order is assumed to arise because the verb, initially in V, moves to INFL where it receives tense and agreement marking (e.g. 3rd person *-s*, past tense *-ed*). This results in structures such as (41) below:

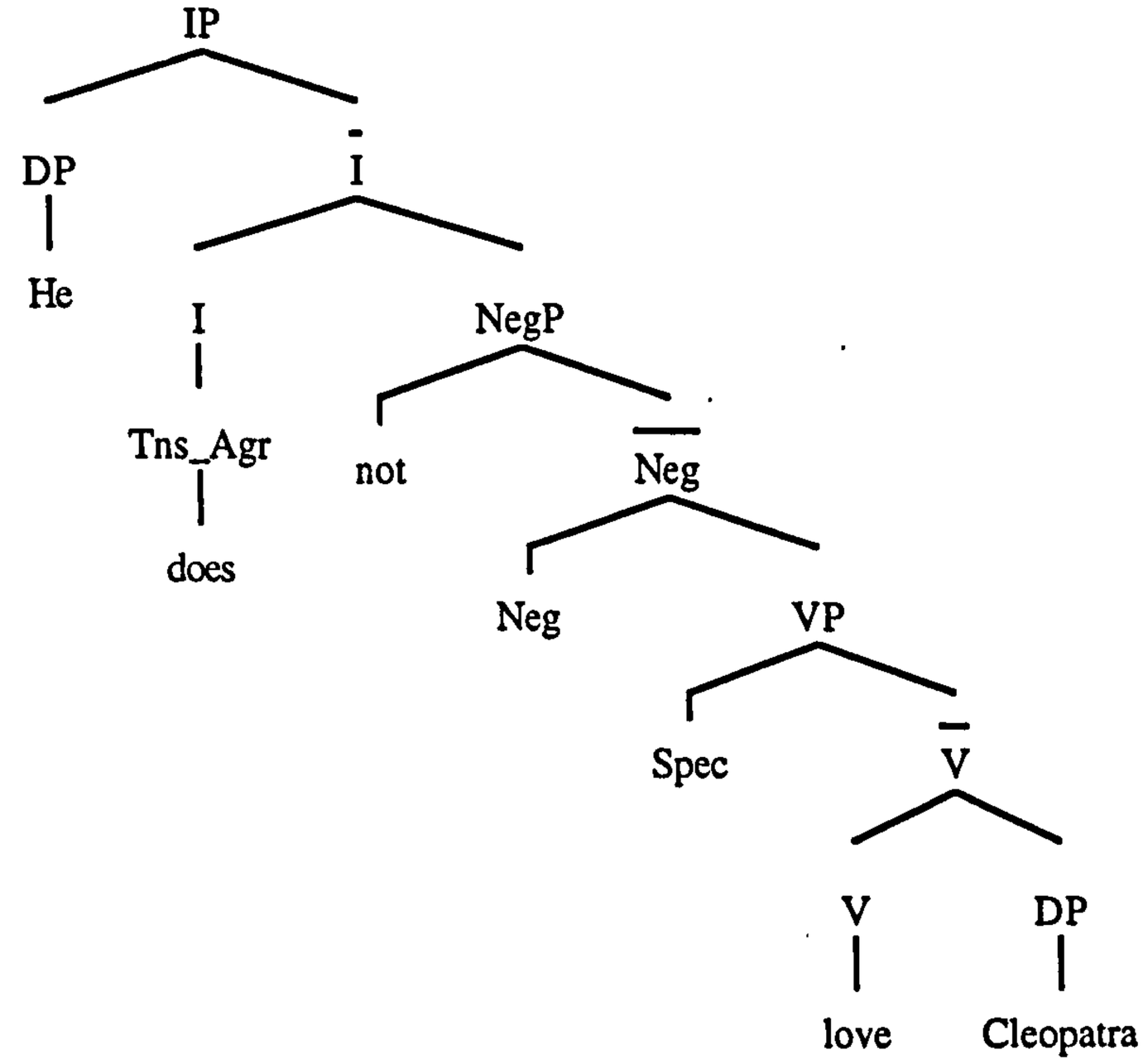
Figure 3: Underlying structure of postverbal negation in Middle English



(41) He loves *not* Cleopatra. (1678: Dryden, All for Love (Mermaid) ii, i)

In Modern English, however, the verb does not receive its tense and agreement marking in the same way, as it remains in post-negation position[20]. In order for tense and agreement features in INFL to be expressed in Standard English, *do* is inserted as a support for these. This is illustrated in Figure 4, resulting in sentence types such as (42) below:

Figure 4: Underlying structure of pre-verbal negation with *do* in Modern English



(42) He *does not* love Cleopatra.

How can the underlying structure of these sentence types be related to the categorical versus variable use of *do* in the Buckie data? It seems safe to assume that the Buckie community followed the same developmental path as other dialects of English in the formation of negatives in the history of English, i.e. from postverbal to preverbal negation, but the surface realisation of these forms differ. Crucially, *do* is categorical only in contexts which carry an overt inflection - the *-s* suffix in present indicative and past tense verb marking. Moreover, the fact that the negative particle is unstressed in cases of *do* absence, and is therefore the cliticised form, suggests that underlyingly, *do* is present, but is not obligatorily pronounced. In other words, there are different realisations at the surface level conditioned by variable constraints.

This predicts that only 3rd person singular has categorical *do* presence, but recall Table 3, which showed that plural NPs are also categorically standard. While this may simply be the result of statistical fluctuation due to small Ns (N=12), a more likely explanation is the fact that the inflectional system for the present tense in Buckie is subject to the northern personal pronoun rule (Ihalainen, 1994; Montgomery, 1994; Murray, 1873), attested from as far back as the 13th century (Murray, 1873:212). In northern Middle English and Middle Scots, the *-s* suffix was not only present with 3rd person singular, as in present day standard English, but also with plural NPs, as shown in Chapter 2[21]. This resulted in a system where 3rd person singular pronouns, and both singular and

plural NPs appeared with the *-s* inflection, albeit variably, making the subject *type*, rather than person and number of the subject, the important trigger in agreement (Murray, 1873:212). This pattern from the historical record is still evident in the Buckie data[22]. The correlation between this paradigm and the use of *do* in the Buckie data is demonstrated in Table 17.

Table 17: Northern personal pronoun rule with adjacent pronoun (EModE period)

person and number of the subject	*-s* inflection	categorical use of *do* in negative declaratives in Buckie
<u>singular</u>		
1st person pronoun *I*	X	X
2nd person pronoun *you*	X	X
3rd person pro *he/she/it*	√	√
3rd person full NP	√	√
<u>plural</u>		
1st person pronoun *we*	X	X
2nd person pronoun *you*	X	no data available
3rd person pronoun *they*	X	X
3rd person full NP	√	√

The variable vs. categorical use of *do* in these data are closely related to the constraints attested in the historical record for inflection in the present tense paradigm in the diachrony of Scots. The only place that it is variable is in the contexts in which there is no inflection to be supported[23]. Therefore, there is a strict correlation between obligatory *do* and those categories which carry overt inflection on regular verbs.

The syntactic explanation I propose predicts categorical *do* presence vs. categorical *do* absence in these contexts, but what we witness here is variable use of *do* in the contexts which do not require it to support tense and agreement features. Furthermore, there are highly differential rates of *do* absence amongst these variable contexts - *do* absence is overwhelmingly favoured by 1st person singular, but much less so with other subject types which show variable use of *do*. What can account for these findings?

Table 3 in Section 4.4.1 shows that 1st person singular is by far the most frequent in the data set, with a total of 460 tokens. 2nd person singular, 1st person plural and 3rd person plural pronouns, on the other hand, are far less frequent.

Tottie (1991:440) states that 'the more frequent a construction is, the more likely it is to be retained in its older form for a longer period of time'. Ellegård (1953:200) also proposes a 'fixed phrase' explanation for the fact that some forms resist *do* longer than others, as does Nurmi (forthcoming). The 'fixed phrase' argument can equally apply in the Buckie data. Due to its frequent use, I suggest that 1st person singular without *do* has become fixed in the community grammar, and through repeated use is less likely to be subject to pressures from standardisation.

A fixed phrase explanation can also account for the extremely high rates of *do* absence with 1st person singular and the verb *ken*. This combination accounted for 49% of the data set and had 71% *do* absence - considerably higher than in other contexts. This is not to imply that the structure is purely formulaic and non-productive in the grammar, seen from the wide range of other structures where *do* absence is found, but merely that certain tendencies arise due to a frequency effect.

What part does lexical verb type play in this variability? The most common verbs in the dataset show a range of factor weights in Table 4, so a frequency argument cannot be invoked to account for the variability here. Note, however, that along with *ken*, another verb which favours *do* absence is a dialectal form also - *mine* (remember). It is perhaps not surprising therefore that these local forms are used more with the non-standard structure.

The important point here is that not all verbs are equal with regard to *do* absence, and it is in fact likely that 'each verb has its own history' (Ellegard 1953:201).

How can the favouring effect of sentential complements be explained? One hypothesis is that processing constraints are involved, as 'long complex elements put an extra burden on the parser' (Wasow, 1997:94). In the data under investigation here, the majority of sentential complements (56%) were over 5 words long, and therefore put a heavy load on the listener in terms of processing. Compare this to verbs with no complement at all, or other types of complements (labelled *other* in Table 4) in which the majority (66%) were only one word long. The processing burden is much less in such cases. A tentative suggestion for this patterning may be that when the processing burden is high, in the case of sentential complements, the speaker can dispense with 'additional' items in the preceding clause, in this case, *do*, in order to lighten the load and allow the hearer to concentrate on the new information in the following clause. This hypothesis would account for the split between sentential complements on the one hand, and verbs with shorter complements or no complements at all in the other.

No extra-linguistic factors were significant to *do* absence, despite 'the social situation (being) the most powerful determinant of verbal behaviour' (Labov, 1972b:212). The results for age showed that although the older speakers had higher rates of *do* absence in the distributional analyses, this factor group was not selected as significant. Moreover, distributional analyses demonstrated that each age group patterned similarly across the linguistic constraints of grammatical person and following complement. Preston (1991:42) states that 'in general, apparent time studies reveal that the previous linguistic boundaries no longer constrain the variation', but here we have the same constraints. This leads to the conclusion that *do* absence has not undergone significant change over the last 70 years, in other words, it is stable variation. The stability of this feature across apparent time, in addition to the paucity of information from the historical record, leaves us with a number of unresolved questions, namely what is the origin and development of this variable? Was *do* absence previously robust throughout the verbal paradigm and is now restricted mainly to 1st person, or did it start in this context and is now moving into different persons of the verbal paradigm? In the move from post verbal to preverbal negation, did *do* initially appear in all contexts or did it appear only in those contexts with overt inflection and not at all in others? Alternatively, has it always been variable in those contexts without overt inflection? What will be the projection of change over the next fifty years? Only a real time study can shed light on such questions.

Most striking in this study was that categorical vs. variable patterning of negative *do* suggests a syntactic process, and this leads to questions at a more theoretical level. Formal theories of *do*-support, based on standard English, assume that *do* must be present whether the inflection is overt or not. In this dialect, however, only overt tense and agreement features force *do* to be present, while in other contexts it is variable. This raises interesting questions for current theories of *do* support (Lasnik, 1974). If *do* is really in this position to support tense and agreement feature, why is it not obligatory in the Buckie dialect? Which processes allows for variability in this dialect, but not in most others? These questions are beyond the scope of this research.

Finally, and perhaps most importantly for a theory of language change, why is this variable highly circumscribed to Buckie and other proximate rural dialects? Andersen (1988:39) states that 'the observation that central and peripheral parts of a speech area typically develop differently is one of the most durable insights in historical dialectology'. Moreover, 'the innovations by which changes originate are of diverse kinds and have diverse kinds of motivation' (ibid:54). The type of divergence here points to an internally motivated innovation and may be an 'evolutive change' where 'the same linguistic system is transmitted from generation to generation in communities

which by reason of their location in space are more or less closed and which as a consequence, present different conditions for the maintenance and elaboration of complex norms' (Andersen, 1988:78). Therefore, the location of Buckie and its isolation on more socio-psychological grounds allows for the maintenance of this non-standard feature. Moreover, it is not surprising that this feature has not spread to other areas, as it does not have the social, political and environmental factors associated with a focal area (McMahon, 1994; Weinreich et al., 1968) in order for this change to diffuse. This, despite the fact that *do* absence could be regarded as an 'elegance innovation i.e. one that introduces a neat, pleasingly designed pattern' which in other circumstances might have 'caught on' (Ferguson, 1996:190).

6. Conclusion

These findings on *do* absence have revealed a hitherto undocumented variable in the Scots dialect literature, as represented by Buckie. These findings have implications firstly for a theory which stipulates that *do* support must always be present in certain syntactic environments. The empirical data detailed here demonstrate that this is not the case, and present an intriguing puzzle from a theoretical perspective which may warrant further investigation.

The scant documentation in the historical record on this feature leads to the conclusion that the particular patterning of *do* absence in the Buckie dialect is an innovation which probably appeared with the change from postverbal to preverbal negation with *do*. Given the relatively isolated nature of the community, this may not be surprising, as in more peripheral areas, 'local peculiarities of speech' develop (Saussure, 1916:281).

Crucially, however, a non-standard dialect such as this can provide insights into language variation which may be inhibited in varieties more influenced by prescriptive norms, and demonstrates that 'the real life of language is in many respects more clearly seen and better studied in dialects' (Sweet 1908:74).

1 It is attested in Huntly, a small community 20 miles from Buckie (pers. comm. J Marshall). There are attestations of *do* absence in other linguistic contexts. For example, there is 'a small amount of evidence' that negative imperatives without *do*, and the negative particle in preverbal position, as in '*Not go*!' are used in the south-west of England (Wakelin, 1977:125). This type of construction is frequently reported for child language, and is also used idiomatically in Scots as in (a):

1. Eat her up, man, an' no haiver'. (SND s.v. *no* adv)

2 Some types of negative declaratives without *do* exist in present day English. For example, phrases which form a semantic unit, such as *he uttered not a word* and *I think not.* However, these are fixed expressions, rather than forming a productive part of the grammar, and should therefore not be considered as bona fide variants.

3 The period to 1450.

4 Tieken-Boon van Ostade (1987) found very few instances in her 18th century writing, and points out that most of Visser's examples are from the first half of the 17th century, lending support to the his claim that this construction was in decline after this point.

5 Macafee (1992:29) notes, however, that the introduction of *do* in Middle Scots in affirmative declarative contexts in Chaucerian influenced styles of verse, is an indication of the influence of English on Scots with this particular feature.

6 In addition to this later development of *do*, Scots (and northern English) also had an alternative form of *do* - *div*- as in (b). This form is said to have arisen in analogy with *hiv*, the emphatic form of *hae*. (SND s.v. *dae*).

(b) 1. We *div* look at our tauties on the saubath, div wĕ nay? (SND s.v. *dae*)
2. For the plain fac' is, Mr St Ivy, that I div not ken. (SND s.v. *dae*)
3. Diven ye ken that a lass may be meryt...? (SND s.v. *dae*)

7 The forms *den no*, *din-not* and *dinnie* is also attested.

8 The latter is said to be the result of an assimilation of the verbal negative to the negative quantifier, which is *nae* in all dialects (McClure, 1994:73).

9 There is one example of *do* absence in the data in an interrogative construction, as in (c):

(c) You nae like bairns?' (q:522.8).

This may be indicative of the same underlying processes operating on *do* absence in negative declaratives. It may, on the other hand, be simply an intonation question. In addition, this deletion phenomenon also appears to apply to aux. *have*, as in (d)

(d) I na seen G for ages. (k:334.5)

However, these structures cannot be explored quantitatively, given their rare occurrence in the data.

10 This number may appear relatively low - however, negative contexts are generally rare in corpus based data. For example, in Tottie (1991) study of negation, negative contexts represent only 2.76% of the spoken data.

11 There are no examples of negative declaratives with 2nd person plural in the data.

12 The distributional analysis demonstrated that there was no differentiation between these.

13 The exception to this is with *other* in *ken*, but here there are very few tokens (N=12) and these results may therefore be the product of statistical fluctuation.

14 One speaker had no contexts of use.

15 Only 19 of these constructions were found in the data, but it is clear from both my own and others grammaticality judgements that these are not variable in Buckie. The categorical presence of *do* in these contexts may be due to the fact that overt inflection is required to 'identify' the null VP (Bresnan, 1973; Lobeck, 1995).

16 These were collapsed, as *we* and *they* were knockouts (0% *do* absence) Note however, that there contexts had only five tokens each.

17 Note the exception of 1st person plural *we* with other verbs. However, this could be due to very small Ns (N=11).

18 The fact that age is not selected as significant to *do* absence, despite having a range of 13, suggests that there may be interaction between this factor group and others. To test this, I conducted separate multivariate analyses with each age group. These revealed that while the older age group had higher frequencies of *do* absence, the three age groups patterned identically. Therefore, the results shown here indicate that while age has an effect on the use of *do*, it is not significant compared to the internal factors.

19 Of course, the possible forms within this context - *do*, *does* and *div*- are not the same, but the environments in which they occur are.

20 This is evident from word order facts such as placement of adverbs (Pollock, 1989).

21 The *-s* inflection also appeared with 2nd person singular *thou*. This is no longer used in the present tense in Buckie, but is with preterit *be* (see Chapter 2).

22 Although negative contexts make up a small percentage of the entire corpus, this pattern pertains for present tense affirmatives too. In fact, examination of the corpus reveals only one case of the *-s* inflection used with 2nd person singular *you* in the present indicative in the entire data base. On the other hand, the *-s* suffix is a productive element with full NP plurals, as considerably more examples were found. From the 12 tokens of negative contexts with *do*, two appear with the non-standard *-s* inflection, as in (e)

(e) 1. A lot of families *does na* get what that cats get. (e:478.28)
2. But eh, maybe some- maybe some churches *does na* do it. (e:820.46)

This is obviously an area of the grammar which exhibits great variability, which is reflected in the use of *do*.

23 It might be argued that 3rd person plural pronoun *they* should be considered categorical as *do* appears 94% of the time in this context. The dichotomy between categorical and variable status indicated on Table 14 is only maintained when 'categorical' refers to 100% use.

CHAPTER 5

STRONG VERB MORPHOLOGY

1. Introduction

The English strong verb system has changed substantially, or 'disintegrated' (Krygier, 1994) since the Old English period. Jespersen (1954:23) states that 'on no other point, perhaps has the Old English grammatical system been revolutionised to the same extent as in the formation of tenses of the verbs'. Despite the influence of standardisation over the last two centuries, these dramatic changes continue today, evidenced from the variable use of strong verb forms in many dialects including Buckie, as in the same speaker pairs in (1)[1]:

(1) a. I *taen* three of them and the other lad *took* the rest of them. (n:210.40)

b. They've just *broke* up. (t:228.52)
They've *broken* up, so I think...(t:242:0)

c. So that 's what she *did*. (u:785.39)
I canna mine if she *done* anything aifter the factory. (u:704.30)

d. I went oot for a walk and *saw* thon little birdies dashin' aboot the bushes. (l:600.9)
You *seen* bits floatin' in it. (l:528.39)

e. We *gied* across atween Christmas and New Year. (£:312.23)

f. We picked her up in Glasgow and *went* across and bade there. (£:297.39)

g. And eh, she'd *put* hame a lovely velvet frock. (r:813.25)
And we was *putten* into the black hole. (r:846.22)

h. You could've *had* a lovely museum. (b:1008.37)
And it couldna been better laid even though you'd *haen* a right ain. (b:573.53)

i. He would raither've *got* settled in and *gotten* a job or somethin'. (x:48.37)

j. So Doctor Paterson *told* her it was multiple sclerosis. (a:206.43)

Doctor Paterson *telt* him right up, right out. (a:196.29)

This chapter seeks to examine the conditioning effects which give rise to the variability shown in (1). Specifically, it seeks to determine whether the processes involved are the result of simplification of the past tense forms; whether Buckie follows the same patterns as those reported for other dialects of English; what part does the unique nature of the Scots dialect play in this variability in English more generally?

I attempt to contribute to these questions by a quantitative analysis of the strong verb system in Buckie. Section 2 details the historical precursors of this variability and Section 3 examines contemporary research in this area. The methods section follows. The results are in Section 5, with a discussion of these in Section 6.

2. Historical precursors

The general changes that have taken place in the English strong verb system since the Old English period is a vast subject area. I will provide only a brief outline of the most important points which may have an impact on the present study. I also provide an outline of the development of the strong verbs in Scotland, highlighting differences that arose between Scots and English.

The majority of Old English verbs were formed by the addition of a dental suffix *-d* or *-t* (Baugh, 1951:70; Mitchell & Robinson, 1992:46; Mossé, 1952:68; Pyles & Algeo, 1993:123). Such forms were part of the weak verb category and were further categorised into three different types. Through phonological processes and analogically based developments, these subclasses were finally reduced to one by the Middle English period (Baugh, 1951:70; Mitchell & Robinson, 1992:46; Pyles & Algeo, 1993:123).

In more northern areas the inflection was /(i)t/ or /(i)d/ for weak verbs. These forms were regularly descended from later Northumbrian (-(a)de and (e)de (King, 1997:177). This past tense morpheme is one of the defining characteristics of Scots (Devitt, 1989), but had nearly completely disappeared from writing by 1700 due to the process of Anglicisation (Devitt, 1989; Meurman-Solin, 1997:11)[2].

In Old English, the strong verbs fell into seven major classes, formed by gradation (vowel change) in their principle parts (see, for example, Jespersen, 1954:24; Mitchell & Robinson, 1992:36), with their class category mostly based on the vowel in the present tense stem (Baugh, 1951:69; Pyles & Algeo, 1993:124). There were four

principle parts for strong verbs - infinitive, preterit singular, preterit plural[3] and past participle, as opposed to the three principle parts seen in present day English (Jespersen, 1954:24; Mitchell & Robinson, 1992:36; Pyles & Algeo, 1993:124). Within these classes, 'a perfectly regular sequence can be observed in the vowel changes in the root' (Baugh, 1951:69).

Table 1 shows the seven verb classes and typical examples. Within these classes, there were variations, but I concentrate here on the main patterns.

Table 1: 7 Classes of strong verbs used in Old English and typical examples (adapted from Pyles and Algeo 1993:125)

	infinitive	preterit singular	preterit plural	past participle
Class I	drīfan	drāf	drifon	gedrifen
Class II	clēofan	clēaf	clufon	geclofen
Class III	drincan	dranc	druncon	gedruncen
Class IV	beran	bær	bǣron	geboren
Class V	metan	mæt	mǣton	gemeten
Class VI	faran	fōr	fōron	gefaren
Class VII	cnāwan	cnēow	cnēowon	gecnāwen

Type 1 had the root vowels ī, ā, i, i. Type 2 had ēo, ēa, u. o, but in the first principle part, a few had ū instead. Type 3 had two consonants after the root vowel, and the first of these consonants determined the vowel gradation: (1) nasal = i, a, u, u; (2) l = e, ea, u, o; (3) r or h = eo, ea, u, o. Class IV verbs had the root vowels e, æ, ǣ and o followed by r or l. Class V verbs had a single consonant other than r or l, following the root vowels e, æ, ǣ, and e. Class VI had the gradation a, ō, ō, a. Class VII verbs differ slightly from the others in that they had the same root vowel in the first and fourth principle parts so-called reduplicating verbs (Baugh, 1951; Jespersen, 1954:25; Mitchell & Robinson, 1992:37), but ones which were not predictable, and the same in the two preterits, usually ē or ēo.

The seven strong verb classes continued into the Middle English period (Mossé, 1952:68), although there was a reduction of the four vowel grades to three, mostly with the preterit singular vowel being adopted for both singular and plural preterits (Long, 1944:268; Mossé, 1952:69). Moreover, during this time 'there were serious losses suffered by the strong conjugation' (Baugh, 1951:194). In fact, nearly a third of these verbs had disappeared by the Middle English period, many becoming weak (Baugh, 1951:194; Mossé, 1952:69; Strang, 1970:306; Wright & Wright, 1928:179). The

strong to weak shift reached its peak in the 14th century, with a further 30+ changes. This process slowed down in the 15th century, with only about a dozen new weak formations, while the whole of the modern period does not show many more (Baugh, 1951:196).

The numbers quoted highlight the rapid decline in strong verbs from the Old English period onwards[4]. Of approximately 360 strong verbs that existed in Old English[5] (Krygier, 1994; Strang, 1970), 80 are retained in present day standard English (Baugh, 1951:197; Görlach, 1994:162; Krygier, 1994:1)[6].

With the remaining strong verbs, there was a great deal of reorganisation of the seven classes, as phonological changes, analogical influences and movement from one class to another eroded the defining characteristics of class membership (Baugh, 1951:198; Jespersen, 1954:24; Lass, 1994:88; Pyles & Algeo, 1993:195). The result of these processes is 'scattered clusters of words which still cling together' (Jespersen, 1954:23).

2.1 Strong verbs in the Scottish historical record

Scots was earlier, more radical and more systematic than Southern English in spreading the weak preterit to verbs that historically had vowel gradation, as it was 'first and foremost common in OSc (Older Scots) whence in some cases it must have penetrated south to become established in metropolitan English' (Gburek, 1986:121). The loss of the singular/plural distinction in preterit contexts also originated in the north and filtered south (Gburek, 1986:121) As Long (1944:270) states 'innovation is Northern; conservatism is Southern'.

In some cases the innovations towards weak forms did not penetrate south, particularly with later developments, as a 'few verbs which retain in English the old strong form, have in Scotch adopted a new weak one' (Murray, 1873:203). For example, *tell* originally belonged to the strong class of verbs with the vowel alternation in the preterit form *tauld*. However, from the 16th century onwards, the vowel of the present tense was levelled to the preterit form, resulting in the weak form *telt*. (CSD s.v. tell). *Go*, which was a strong verb of class V, had the Old English preterit *eode*. However, in Modern English it was replaced by the suppletive form *went* (Bybee, 1985:91; Jespersen, 1954:75; Pyles & Algeo, 1993). The form maintained the strong form in Older Scots, but from the 18th century, a weak inflection *gied* is attested (Görlach, 1994; King, 1997).

In tandem with innovation, there was also retention in the Scottish context, where 'several verbs, which in the Literary English have a new weak from, retain in Scotch the strong form of the Anglo-Saxon and Old English' (Murray, 1873:203). Indeed, the Scottish language was said to have 'retained all the ancient forms of (Old English) verbs, and can say 'I *cast*, I *coost*, and I have *casten* a stane, or 'I *put*, I *pat* of I have *putten* on my coat'. 'I *hurt*, I *hurted* or I have *hurten* myself' and 'I *let*, I *loot*, or I have *letten* fa' my tears, etc' (Mackay, 1888:xiv).

2.2 Variation in the diachronic record

The move from strong to weak resulted in a great deal of variation during the Old and Middle English period, where speakers could use either the original strong or innovating weak form (Görlach, 1994; Long, 1944; Price, 1910; Pyles & Algeo, 1993:159; Strang, 1970:148) thus we 'find *stope* beside *stepped*, *rewe* beside *rowed*, *clew* beside *clawed*' etc. (Baugh, 1951:196). This resulted in a 'confused picture' (Strang, 1970:148), but 'ultimately, the strong verbs were lost altogether in these and many other verbs' (Pyles & Algeo, 1993:159.)[7].

But the variation was not limited to competition between strong and weak verbs only. The process of 'syncretism of past tense and past participle' (Aitken, 1979:109), has existed in the English language for at least a century (Beattie, 1787; Lass, 1994; Pyles & Algeo, 1993), as demonstrated in (2):

(2) a. The troubles we had *went* through. (1895: Austen, Sense and Sensibility)
b. If I had stayed and *took* tea. (1900: Keats, The Complete Works)
c. Her attendant may have *shook* her fist behind her. (1900: Thakeray, The Newcomes)

Lowth (1762/1967:90) states that 'our ears have grown familiar with *I have writ, I have drank, I have bore* which are altogether ... barbarous'. Indeed, even Shakespeare was 'guilty' of such use, as in (3):

(3) a. I have already *chose* my officer. (1603: Shakespeare, Othello 1, i)
d. The altitude Which thou hast perpendicularly *fell*. (1596: Shakespeare, King Lear IV, vi)

Despite these processes being evident in literary styles in the past, Jespersen (1954:70) now consigns it to vulgar or dialectal speech, as he does the use of past participles in preterit contexts as in (4):

(4) a. But I *seen* a bookseller's shop before now. (1890: Defoe, The Complete Gentleman 140)[8]

A preterit form of verbs such as *sing*, *swim* and *drink* often had the vowel /ʌ/ in the preterit, resulting in *drunk* for *drank* etc. (Greenwood, 1711/1968; Hume, 1760:686). However, the standard preterit is now the /a/ form, and it seems that 'this is one case where prescriptive grammarians have had a lasting effect on usage' (Cheshire, 1994:122).

A regularisation process was also attested in the diachronic record (Beattie, 1788/1968; Jespersen, 1954), as in (5).

(5) a. They *blowed* up a watchman with gunpowder. (1888: Defoe, Journal of the Plague Year)

b. She's *throwed* up the sperrits. (1903: Hardy, Life's Little Ironies)

c. None are so purely *caught* when they are *catched*. (1605: Shakespeare, Love's Labour's Lost)

Several were still in use in educated English as late as the eighteenth century (Lass, 1994:101), including *catched* (Barber, 1976:22; Jespersen, 1954).

The competing pressures of innovation and retention are also highlighted in the variable use of *come* in the preterit (Pyles & Algeo, 1993:198), as in (6):

(6) a. Cred *come* and dined with me. (1666: Pepys Diary, 15 June)

The form *came* entered the language in the 13th or 14th century in more northern varieties of Middle English, and in southern varieties, even later, around the 15th century (OED:651)[9], and competition between these two forms continued in the following centuries. Jespersen (1954) states that 'the old prt *come* died out in the literary language about 1600'.

Despite Murray's assertion that Scots retained the strong form of many verbs, implying a purer system to that of its English counterpart, this was also 'muddied' by variation. For example, the retention of *-en* inflections (e.g. *letten*, *casten*) appear in the tables of strong verbs provided by Grant and Main Dixon (1921:126-32) and Murray (1873:203-9). However it is evident from the slightly later volume that these forms were also used

variably with the alternatives which are attested in present day standard English. This suggests that these forms were beginning to be replaced by the more modern ones in the timespan of 50 years, and by the 20th century were becoming obsolete in many dialects of Scots (Beal, 1997:355).

To conclude this section, Jespersen (1954:23) is justified in describing the verb system as 'revolutionised'. Moreover, there was a great deal of variation throughout this period. Strang (1970:148) states that 'the restoration of order in more recent English came after a break with tradition', but despite this, virtually every dialect studied shows variability in the use of strong verbs. I now turn to present day studies to assess this variation in contemporary data.

3. Contemporary research

3.1 Non-standard uses of strong verbs in varieties of English worldwide

Variation in this area of the grammar is documented through the English speaking world (Beal, 1993; Cheshire, 1982; Christian et al., 1988; Edwards, 1993; Feagin, 1979; Harris, 1993; Macafee, 1983; Macaulay, 1991; Miller, 1993; Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming; Schneider, 1989; Tagliamonte, to appear). A number of general processes can be identified across dialects:

1. past participle forms used as preterits (e.g *I seen it*)
2. preterits used as past participles (e.g. *I have forgot it)*
3. regularised forms (e.g. *throwed, knowed*)
4. the use of *come become* and *run* in preterit contexts
5. Strong replacement forms (e.g. *brung, driv*)
6. Weak verbs made strong (e.g. *drug, retch*)
7. Unmarked forms (e.g. *He give it yesterday*)
8. *-ed* added to standard past form (e.g. *woked*)
9. retention of relic *-en* forms (*sitten, putten*)

This long list of the most common phenomena in the non-standard dialects studied already suggests a great deal of variation is present, but what are the most common phenomena, and how is the data distributed, both within the verbal system and geographically? The data included here are from young teenagers in Reading, England (Cheshire 1982) and Inner-Sydney, Australia (Eisikovits, 1991b), Irish English (Harris, 1993:152), Appalachian and Ozark English in North America (Christian et al., 1988), Alabama English (Feagin 1979), Early African American English (Poplack &

Tagliamonte, forthcoming), the Ex-Slave Narratives (Schneider 1989), and York, England (Tagliamonte, 1996).

3.1.1 Past participle forms used as preterits

The use of past participle forms as preterits is a feature of many dialects, and indeed is 'in world-wide use' (CSD:xxxix). Its use is common with the verbs *do*, as in (7) and *see*, as in (8):

(7) a. Well, if you *done* things you shouldn't the bogeyman 'ud getcha! (Feagin 1979:82)
b. I told her I *done* it. (Christian et al., 1988:91)
c. I *done* the most to him, mate. I half killed him. (Cheshire 1982:48)
d. I *done* the secretarial course. (Harris, 1993:152)
e. We *done* that about four or five times. (Eisikovits, 1991b:135)

(8) a. I *seen* a bear. Bear got after me. EAAE (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming)
b. He *seen* something off this bluff. (Christian et al., 1988:91)
c. I *seen* Mr Saunders comin' up. (Eisikovits, 1991b:134)

With the verb *do*, it 'predominates rather strongly' in North American varieties of English (Atwood, 1953:9). For example, Schneider (1989:99) reports 71% use of the non-standard form and 53% use is reported for Ozark English (Christian et al, 1988:90). It is one of the 'most frequently occurring non-standard forms' in Alabama (Feagin 1979:89), but it only occurs 'sporadically' in EAAE (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming). It also has high frequencies of use (62%) in Inner-Sydney English (Eisikovits, 1991b:128). It is attested in British English varieties (Macaulay, 1991:109) Macafee 1983, Cheshire 1982:48, Miller 1993:107, Beal 1993:193, Edwards 1993:221).

Seen is also widely and frequently used. For example in Appalachian English, it has the highest percentage of non-standard use (70.9%). Francis (1971:120) states that in Britain this form is restricted to the south west Midlands, but more recent studies attest to its use in Scotland (Miller 1993:107) northern England (Beal 1993:193) and southern Ireland (Harris 1993:153).

The use of *taken* in preterit contexts, as in (9) is also reported (Christian et al., 1988; Feagin, 1979; Kurath, 1939; Miller, 1993; Viereck, 1972).

(9) a. I *taken* her outta the mill when she 'uz twenty-three. (Feagin 1979:82)

Atwood (1953:24) states that *taken* in preterit contexts is 'demonstrably newer' than *took*, as in the communities studied, the 'more old-fashioned informant gives *tuck* and more modern, *taken'*.

This process of using past participle for preterit also happens with verbs which change the root vowel only, as in (10):

(10) a. We *sung* it today. (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming)

This is attested in many varieties (Atwood, 1953:19; Eisikovits, 1987; Miller, 1993:107; Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming) and of course is cited in the historical literature.

3.1.2 Preterits as past participles

Another phenomenon widely reported in the literature is preterits used in past participle forms (Beal, 1993; Cheshire, 1982; Christian et al., 1988; Edwards, 1993; Feagin, 1979; Harris, 1993; Miller, 1993; Schneider, 1989), as in (11):

(11) a. One of the lights had *went* out. (Christian et al., 1988:91)
b. He may have *took* the horse and wagon. (Christian et al., 1988:91)
c. First time it's *went* up since we been here. (Feagin, 1979:83)
d. If we'd *went* to court, I'd probably have got done. (Cheshire, 1982:47)
e. And they hadn't never *saw* a ghost before. (Christian et al., 1988:86)
f. Some of them weren't *broke*. (Christian et al., 1988:86)
g. The woman was all *shook* up. (Eisikovits, 1987:138)

This process of syncretism, where there is 'identity in form between two grammatically different inflections' (Trask, 1997:215), is described by Aitken (1979:109) as a shibboleth of modern Urban Scots, but the literature demonstrates that it is common in *all* non-standard Englishes.

3.1.3 Regularised forms

This process results in verbs which are strong in Standard English having the regular *-ed* inflection, as in (12):

(12) a. I never *knowed* or seen of him doin' it, naw sir! (Feagin, 1979:82)
b. I wants to see how you're *drawed* the wings. (Cheshire, 1982:182)

c. We *throwed* them a birthday party. (Christian et al., 1988:47)
d. She was already *growed* up. (Christian et al., 1988:47)
e. I've *heared* tell of some. (Christian et al., 1988:46)
f. I never *knowed* much what slav'ry was 'bout, to tell de truf. (Schneider, 1989:82)
g. Papa never *knowed* 'til I got ready for to have her. (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming)
h. My two brothers, they have never *fighted*, you know. (Eisikovits, 1987:127)

Schneider (1989:90) describes this as the 'quantitatively strongest subcategory' in the Ex-slave Narratives and states that the verbs it is used most commonly with are *know, throw, blow, grow*. He also attests *heared, teached, dreamed, shined, waked, buyed* and *digged*. Wakelin (1977:122) states that regularisation is 'widespread in dialects ... as the adoption of weak endings has been going on since late Old English and early Middle English times ... and dialects have simply taken this process further.' The SED includes *drinked, speaked, weared. seed, comed, gived, doed*, and *stealed*, although these forms are subject to geographical constraints. Poplack & Tagliamonte (forthcoming) describe it as a 'minor phenomenon' in their data, affecting very few verbs, and Eisikovits (1987:132) implicational scale demonstrates that it is the least likely process to occur.

3.1.4 The verbs *come, become* and *run*

Come is widely cited as demonstrating non-standard use (Feagin, 1979; Harris, 1993; Hughes & Trudgill, 1979; Miller, 1993; Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming; Schneider, 1989; Tagliamonte, to appear; Wakelin, 1977; Wolfram & Schilling-Estes, 1998) as in (13):

(13) a. The state *come* by and they pushed it all out. (Schneider, 1989:98)
b. She was like taking the piss out of them, but she *come* back. (Tagliamonte, to appear)
c. He *come* here during the Civil War. (Christian et al., 1988:92)
d. When I *come* out from over here... (Feagin, 1979:327)
e. A little black dog *come* down and jumped on my head. (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming)

Indeed, Feagin (1979:83) states that it is one of the 'most commonly used non-standard preterits'. Its widespread use leads Chambers (1995:240) to characterise it as one of the 'markers of WC speech in widely scattered areas of the English speaking world'.

The use of *run* and *become* in preterit contexts, as in (14) is also cited:

(14) a. An' I never did know what *become* of him afterwards. (Feagin, 1979:327:83)
b. It *run* wild with my grandpa's plowhorse. (Christian et al., 1988:92)
c. You *run* away though, didn't you? (Cheshire, 1982:48)
d. We were talking about when she *run* away from home. (Eisikovits, 1987:127)

The high rates of non-standard use across many varieties of English is usually explained as a levelling of the preterit to the competing form *come* (Christian et al., 1988:108; Edwards & Weltens, 1985:110).

3.1.5 Strong replacement forms

Strong verb morphology is sometimes replaced with another strong verb, as in (15):

(15) a. That lady *fit* hard to carry me to New York with her. (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming:57)
b. He just *riz* up too soon. Sniper got him. (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming)
c. He *brung* it up there. (Cheshire, 1982:92)
d. I've *driv* that from there over here. (Cheshire, 1982:48)
e. We just *set* there and drank our tea. (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming)
f. She never *brang* them no more. (Eisikovits, 1987:127)

Although there is no quantitative data available on this use, it does not appear to be a highly productive process in most dialects, as it is limited to one-off instances in many cases.

3.1.6 Weak verbs made strong

This group of verbs is weak in Standard English 'but have an irregular formation type' in non-standard dialects (Christian et al., 1988:92), as in (16):

(16) a. They *drug* him outta there. (Christian et al., 1988:92)
b. She just *retch* up on the fireboard. (Christian et al., 1988:92)

Attestations are limited to very few dialects.

3.1.7 Unmarked forms

In this case, the verbs appear in their stem form, rather than the inflected past tense forms, as in (17):

(17) a. My mum *give* him a towel. (Cheshire, 1982:48)
b. He told her that she was *eat* up with cancer. (Feagin, 1979:327:83)
c. She *give* him a dose of caster oil. (Christian et al., 1988:86)
d. If ya doin' that, you coulda just *stand* still and ya woulda land on your feet. (Eisikovits, 1987:126)

This is a highly productive process in EAAE, particularly with the lexical verbs *say*, *send*, and *give* (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming). It is also reported for the Ex-Slave Narratives (Schneider, 1989:81), and Eisikovits (1987:126) reports *give*, *bring* and *stand* used by Inner Sydney teenagers for past temporal reference.

3.1.8 *-ed* added to standard past form

In some cases, there is a fusion of past tense forms and -ed participles, as in (18):

(18) a. It *woked* everyone up. (Cheshire, 1982:47)

Schneider (1989:103) remarks that in the Ex-slave Narratives, this use is confined to one or two informants. Despite this, its use is also attested in the diachronic record for items such as *sunged* and *runged* (Harrison, 1884:253).

3.1.9 Retention of *-en* relic forms

Although *-en* is the standard inflection of some past participles (e.g. *forgotten*, *broken*), it has disappeared in standard British English from other verbs such as *got* and *put*. However, in some areas, these relic forms can still be found, as in (19):

(19) a. If they'd *gotten* that ground at Washington. (Tagliamonte, 1999b)
b. Wrights Close, aye, must have *gotten* sold. (Tagliamonte, 1996)

Attestations of these forms in British English dialects are, however, extremely rare. For example, its use in York is restricted to one speaker, and Macaulay (1991:109) cites only one example of *gotten* in his data from Ayr in Scotland.

As can be seen from these examples, there are many different processes at work in the strong verb system. Some processes are quantitatively robust, (e.g. use of *done/seen* in preterit contexts and preterits in participle contexts), whereas others are used less

frequently. What is important to note however, is that these processes are not tied to particular dialects, but are rather pan-community effects. Furthermore, many of the variable forms evidenced in today's dialects have been around for centuries.

I now turn to the Buckie data in order to examine the processes that operate here.

4. Data and Method

4.1 Circumscription of the variable context

Utilising an index of strong verbs (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973), I extracted every occurrence of these from the corpus using the concordance programme Concorder (Rand & Patera, 1992). I also included all verbs which may be weak in Scots but strong in standard English (*sell*, *tell*, *go*).

4.2 Exclusions

4.2.1 Ambiguous cases

Certain verbs have a mixed usage in standard English, and the preferred standard is not clearcut (Christian et al., 1988:88). These include *spill*, *learn*, *smell* and *burn* and *dream*. Quirk and Greenbaum (1973:31) state that with these verbs 'suffixation is used but voicing is variable', resulting in for example, *spelled* or *spelt*. In a typical dictionary entry, both forms are given as alternatives for these contexts. Further, 'the regular /d/ form is especially AmE (American English) and the /t/ form especially BrE' (Quirk & Greenbaum, 1973:31). Jespersen (1954:32) states that 'the t-forms in all these verbs are much more common in speaking than in writing'.

There are 10 tokens on these in the Buckie data, which include two verbs only - *learn*, as in (20a), (20b) and (20c)[10] and *spell*, as in (20d):

(20) a. It was him that *learnt* me to swim in the sea. (y:447.5)
b. Ken, he's like *learnt* her a lot of things. (t:222.50)
c. We *learnt* all wir things there. (h:99.19)
d. I aie imagined it *spelt* as 'Louis'. (t:943.5)

In both preterit and past participle contexts, the voiceless variant is used. However, as both are acceptable, they have not been included in the data set, as the purpose here is to look at non-standard forms only.

4.2.2 The verb *ken*

The verb *ken* is the equivalent of *know* in standard English, and the preterit and participle form is *kent*, as in (21).

(21) a. She *kent* she did wrang, of course. (g:546.12)
b. I'd *kent* a' the rest of the folk. (v:531.19)

In the data set, there are 102 contexts of preterit and past participle. 97% are *kent*, rather than the standard English *knew*. However, I have not included *kent* in the analysis as there is a different stem form from standard English (*ken* vs. *know*). This is in contrast to other regularised verbs such as *sell/selt*, which have the same form in the present tense in both Scots and Standard English.

4.2.3 The present historic

The present historic is the use of the present tense form with past time reference as in the extract in (22):

(22) However, here *comes* the ambulance, but I was watching at the door and I gied out and I *says* to Hamish, the ambulance driver, 'Now,' I *says* 'look here. Take off that hat. Take off that cape. And I *says* 'Keep the nose of that motor away fae the window, 'cos' I *says* 'she 's sitting on the chair.' (a:1342.6)

Jespersen (1933) notes that 'the speaker, as it were, forgets all about the time and recalls what he is recounting as vividly as if it were now present before his eyes. Very often, this Present alternates with the Preterit'. This phenomenon is well documented for present-day varieties of English (see, for example, Wolfson, 1979), but is actually reported as far back as the 18th century (Murray, 1795/1968). This form is included in many studies which look at past temporal reference, but this study is restricted to the different realisations of strong verb forms, rather than an analysis of past tense marking more generally. Therefore I do not include the present historic in this study. Note that the verbs *come, run* and *become* are problematic when it comes to distinguishing present historic from unmarked past. Following Christian (1988:92), I initally treat these 'ambiguous' cases separately in the analysis. Cases of unmarked pasts (see Section 3.7) do not present a problem in this analysis as they are not used in this dialect (see Section 5.2).

4.2.4 The verb *be*

The verb *be*, with its suppletive past forms *was* and *were* is not included in this analysis. Due to its frequent use, it is dealt with separately in Chapter 2.

4.2.5 Scottish pronunciations of forms

A number of verbs in Buckie have different pronunciations from those of standard English - the most common of these is the deletion of consonants in intervocalic positions, as in (23):

(23) a. He would've *gien* her the world. (x:496.29)
b. And then that houses was *taen* down, ye see. (b:173.25)
c. And we'd lain down and *faan* asleep. (r:83.42)

Murray (1873:203) states that 'this contraction is as old as the 13th century' as demonstrated in (24):

(24) a. But bi the name of ded may be *tane*. (c1280:Hampole)

However, I have not labelled these non-standard in the data, as I do not concentrate on different pronunciations of the forms in this study. This is beyond the scope of the present analysis, as nearly all items have different phonetic realisations in the Buckie dialect from those of standard English[11].

4.3 Coding

Operationalising the findings from the historical and contemporary record, the data were coded according to factors which might be hypothesised to have an effect on the occurrence of non-standard forms. In some cases there were not enough data to code for specific internal constraints. In these cases, the data were divided by external factors only.

4.3.1 Standard or non-standard use

In deciding which forms were standard or non-standard, I used as a benchmark standard British English. Therefore past participles such as *gotten*, which are standard in North American varieties of English, were coded as non-standard. In cases where there is no equivalent in standard English (e.g. the verb *bide*) I coded these according to the forms attested in the Scottish historical record.

4.3.2 Preterit or participle context

Verbs in preterit contexts, as in (25), or participle contexts (identified by the presence of an auxiliary), as in (26), were treated separately.

(25) a. Paul's auntie *came* up fae Hull on her holidays and we *gied* roon Baxters. (q:122.0)

b. The teachers that was there all *teached* me. (g:928.18)

c. And they had to record what they *drunk* over a week. (p:342.33)

(26) a. He would've *sitten* with me. (g:1079.10)

b. She's *gotten* a loonie this time. (v:285.13)

c. I think it was the Wrens she'd *went* to. (u:74.0)

4.3.3 Person and number of the subject

It is well documented that grammatical features are constrained by person and number of the subject (Godfrey & Tagliamonte, 1999; Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999; Tagliamonte & Smith, 1999). Moreover, the diachronic record indicates that there was distinction between preterit singular and plural in Old English, which continued up to Middle English (see Section 2). In order to test the effect of different subject types in this analysis, a distinction was made between 1st singular, as in (27a), 2nd singular and plural, as in (27b), 3rd person singular pronoun, as in (27c), full NP singular, as in (27d), 1st plural, as in (27e), 3rd person plural pronoun, as in (27f), and finally full NP plural, as in (27g):

(27) a. When *I* came off the phone to you, I thought, 'I ken that name'. (v:179.2)

b. The mare *ye* selt, the bigger the commission. (c:652.14)

c. So, *he* catched the first trainie in. (g:1194.20)

d. *Her dad* kind of hut the drink. (j:279.16)

e. *We* gied in and saw Walt Disney On Ice last Saturday. (q:325.4)

f. Well, *they* just run four races. (3:111.22)

g. *A lot of folk* taen a smoke and a'. (j:371.0)

4.3.4 Temporal disambiguation

The use of adverbs in discourse may influence the use of strong forms, as past tense marking on a verb becomes redundant if a temporal adverb is present in certain varieties of English (Mufwene, 1984; Tagliamonte, 1998a:207). For example, in (28a) the verb is unmarked, therefore it is not clear whether the speaker refers to the present situation, or some time in the past. In (28b) however the presence of the temporal adverb makes this unambiguous:

(28) a. I come off the sea.

b. I come off the sea about *nineteen seventy*. (b:747.21)

For this analysis, I distinguished between whether the clause containing the strong verb form also included a temporal adverb. These included adverbs of a specific point in

time, as in (29a), generic adverbial reference (29b), and adverbial reference dependent on the discourse (29c)):

(29) a. Bill came home in *nineteen forty-six*. (a:1908.13)
b. We come in *one Saturday morning*. (b:303.29)
c. Otherwise I would've haen a letter in *afore noo*. (9:981.23)

4.3.5 Main or subordinate clause

Eisikovits (1991b:135) found that main clauses favour the non-standard form. I therefore coded the verbs according to whether they appeared in a subordinate clause, which included adverbial clauses, as in (30a), and complement clauses, as in (30b) or main clause, as in (30c):

(30) a. I wasna gan to go Jenny, *when* I seen him. ($:349.60)
b. But I na think she *done* it for long. (t:549.24)
c. They *come* aie here for years and years to see granny. (r:1192.6)

4.3.6 Narrative structure

Narrative structure can have an effect on the forms of the verb used . The speakers become 'deeply involved' in the telling of the narrative and no longer monitor their speech (Labov & Waletzky, 1967:354). Moreover, the creole literature shows that patterns of verbal morphology are affected by narrative structure (Bollée, 1977; Rickford, 1987). In this analysis I coded for whether the clause containing strong verbs was narrative or non-narrative. Narrative was further divided according to the framework proposed by Labov (1967), consisting of orientation, as in (31), evaluation, as in (32), and complicating action, as in (33). All other phenomena within the narrative structure, such as abstract and coda, were not separated due to small Ns[12].

Well, her dad died a long time ago and her mam died just near about three year ago she died of cancer and all.
(31) So they 'd put the house up for sale in Finichty
(31) and they 'd gotten it selt
so this was like a last kind of party they were gan to have afore they started moving and athin'.
(33) So we gied over to her house,
there were heaps of folk in the house
and M had- I mean, I kent J, I'd kent J for years
and I 'd kent all therest of the folk at the party.
[1] J's is his wife?

[022] Wife, aye. Cos like-
(33) and then E and D came in,
(31) DE and I had na seen DE for years
cos I used to be- pal about them ken,
when we was younger...
So, and as we got- as time progressed,
we realised there was more than just friends
(32) Well, it taen a long time.

4.3.7 Aspect

Aspect is a determiner of variable use of past temporal reference marking in some varieties of English (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming; Tagliamonte, 1998a:207). In this analysis I divided the data according to whether it was punctual, i.e. an event that had happened once, as in (34a), iterative (an event that takes place repeatedly) and in (34b), continuous, i.e. an event that extends in time (34c), or stative, as in (34d).

(34) a. I'd *got* the job in November and I left in January. (s:232.11)
b. Usually night, it *come* up to feed at night. (b:10.36)
c. Four years and he's never *came* across nothing like that. (j:166.27)
d. She's aie *haen* an old face. (%:511.42)

4.3.8 Type of construction in past participle contexts

Eisikovits (1987) found that the Inner-Sydney teenagers differentiated between perfective constructions and passive constructions in their use of suffixless participles such as *forgot*, *broke* etc. The non-standard form was used in perfectives, but the standard form in passive constructions, resulting in constructions such as *I've broke the window*, but *the window got broken*. She concludes that a semantic distinction is arising between the use of the two forms - the stative adjectival sense in passive constructions is differentiated from the more dynamic perfective constructions by the use of the two different variants. This analysis is supported in the historical record - when a participle had become established as a weak form, the *-en* form sometimes persisted as an adjectival form, as in *cloven*, *mishappen* and *swollen* (Baugh & Cable, 1978:164). To test whether this distinction was evident in the Buckie data, I divided past participle contexts into whether the data were perfectives - present, as in (35a), past as in (35b), modals, as in (35c) or passives, as in (35d):

(35) a. Since then I've *haen* course upon course o' peels. (3:177.43)
b. I just thought my world had *fallen* apart. (a:1653.35)
c. He would've *spoken* for her. (g:696.36)

d. It was *written* in Doric. (7:514.4)

4.3.9 Extra-linguistic constraints

The extra-linguistic features of age and sex were also coded in order to test for change in apparent time and gender related issues of stigmatisation and leaders in linguistic change.

The use across individual speakers will also be analysed, in order to examine issues of intra-speaker vs. inter-speaker use of non-standard forms.

I now turn to the results.

5. Results

Table 2 shows the overall distribution of non-standard forms in the Buckie data. Of a total of 5403 contexts of use of strong verbs, 21% of these are non-standard.

Table 2: Overall distribution of forms in strong verb paradigm			
standard		non-standard	
N	%	N	%
4285	79	1118	21

One major question arises here - do all verb types show some form of non-standard use, or is the variability restricted to certain individual verbs types only? I begin by situating the non-standard use of verbs within the categories that have been proposed for the present day strong verb system.

5.1 Categorisation

In Old and Middle English there was a far richer system of strong and weak verbs, as detailed in Section 2, with seven distinct classes of verbs. However, 'this classification is now purely a historical matter' (Pyles & Algeo, 1993:195), given the disintegration of these classes over the centuries. How to classify the modern day uses of strong verbs is a matter of debate. For example, Quirk and Greenbaum (1973:30-35) categorise the verb types into seven classes, whereas Poplack and Tagliamonte (forthcoming) use three. In line with Nielsen (1985) and Christian et al (1988), I categorise the strong verbs into five major types.

5.1.1 Type 1

Type 1 includes verbs which have the same forms in the present, preterit and past participle and consists of verbs such as *cast*, *cost*, *shut*, *let* and *rid* and contains 24 different lexical verbs (Neilsen, 1985:47). Examples of the variability in this class in Buckie Scots are in (36):

(36) a. I *cuttit* it and put a bit band round the top. (a:457.0)
b. I would have taen it out somewye and *letten* ye see it. (b:67.2)
c. They *splut* at some point and then come back thegither again. (7:746.0)
d. Her dad kind of *hut* the drink. (j:279.16)

5.1.2 Type 2

Category 2 includes verbs which have the same stem and participle form. Only 3 verbs belong to this class - *come*, *become* and *run* , as in (37)[13]:

(37) a. They *come* aie here for years and years to see granny. (r:1193.6)
b. We was awfu' friendly wi'- wi' the captain of the ferry that *run* back and fore. (1:405.96)

5.1.3 Type 3

Type 3 includes verbs which have the same preterit and participle form, and include *buy*, *find*, *have*, *sell* etc., as in (38):

(38) a. I'm tellin' ye, I *telt* her. I *telt* her straight. (a:265.30)
b. The mare ye *selt*, the bigger the commission. (c:652.14)

5.1.4 Type 4

This category includes verbs which have three different forms in stem preterit and participle, and includes 77 irregular verbs (Neilsen, 1985:42). These can be further divided into those with a change in root vowel only, as in (39), and those which have a change in root vowel, but also addition of *-n* suffix in participle contexts, as in (40):

(39) a. So Tommy *rung* up the head. (a:258.47)
b. And they had to record what they *drunk* over a week. (p:342.33)

(40) a. The loon's never *forgot* it! (9:390.14)
b. I had *drove* home fae Elgin heaps of times. (j:424.32)

5.1.5 Type 5

This category has the same form for both stem and preterit. The only verb which belongs to this category is *beat*, with the preterit and participle forms *beat* and *beaten*. This is said to be 'a residue which has not succumbed to analogical pressures' seen with other verbs (Neilsen, 1985:42). There are no examples of this verb in the data.

Nielsen (1985:41) states that there is an 'intense concentration of verbs' (i.e. the largest number of different types) in Type 3 (77) and Type 4 (90+).

Table 3 shows the different types of verbs found in the Buckie data. In line with Neilson's statement (1985:41), Types 3 and 4 contain the most verb types, and are therefore the dominant patterns which have arisen from the Old English strong verb system.

Table 3: List of verbs in data set according to type

Type 1	Type 2	Type 3	Type 4
cost	*come*	*build*	*begin*
cut	*run*	*buy*	*bide*
hit		*bring*	*blew*
hurt		*catch*	*break*
let		*dig*	*choose*
put		*feel*	*do*
shut		*find*	*draw*
split		*get*	*drink*
		have	*drive*
		hear	*eat*
		keep	*fall*
		lead	*fly*
		leave	*forget*
		lose	*go*
		make	*give*
		mean	*grow*
		meet	*ring*
		need	*sew*
		read	*shake*
		say	*sing*
		sink	*speak*
		seek	*take*
		sell	*throw*
		send	*write*
		sit	
		spend	
		stand	
		stick	
		sweep	
		teach	
		tell	
		think	

How do these categories relate to the non-standard uses in Buckie? Can non-standard use by attributed to one type or the other? Table 4 shows the overall distribution of non-standard forms according to category type.

Table 4: Overall distribution of non-standard forms according to category type							
Type 1		Type 2		Type 3		Type 4	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
174	**7**	547	**50**	2734	**11**	1948	**27**

Table 4 shows that there are a range of percentages of non-standard use across verb types when they are categorised in this way, ranging from 7% to 50%. Clearly the different types are not equal with regard to non-standard use. The question is what kind of non-standard uses are contained within these groups? Is one type associated with one category?

5.2 Non-standard use in Buckie

Recall that a number of non-standard processes are attested in the synchronic record (see Section 3). Closer examination of the Buckie data reveals that there are six non-standard processes.

Regularisation, as in (41), *-en* retention, as in (42), participle as preterit, as in (43), preterit as participle, as in (44), use of *come* and *run* in preterits, as in (45) and one not previously attested in this chapter, */i/* to */ʌ/* alternation, as in (46):

(41) a. The teachers that was there all *teached* me. (g:928.18)
b. So if you was *catched*, oh me! (g:966.29)
c. I said 'Though you hadna made them you coulda *drawed* little ains'. (b:1067.46)
d. I *cuttit* it and put a bow on it. (a:1604.36)

(42) a. So, they were *putten* bane the house. (c:677.38)
b. They had probably *gotten* scared. (w:518.63)

(43) a. And I *seen* his death in the paper. (w:465.41)
b. I na ken if it was him that threw them over the bankie or fa *done* it. (u:870.39)

(44) a. We would've *ran* up the hill. (g:952.37)

b. They'd *fell* out with their folks. (j:203.19)

(45) a. He *come* along in the car and telt me nae to be so stupid. (v:726.0)
b. They just *run* four races. (3:111.22)

(46) a. They *splut* at some point and the come back thegither again. (7:746.0)
b. Her dad kind of *hut* the drink. (j:279.16)

Table 5 shows the data by category type and non-standard process. The percentages indicate overall non-standard use in the particular types - not the corpus as a whole. The Ns indicate number of non-standard forms.

Table 5: Overall distribution of non-standard forms by verb type and non-standard process

	regularised		come etc		*-en* retention		participle as preterit		preterit as participle		i>u		total	
	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
Type 1	1	0	0	0	10	6	0	0	0	0	2	0	174	7
Type 2	0	0	261	47	0	0	0	0	12	2	0	0	547	50
Type 3	151	6	0	0	144	5	4	0	0	0	0	0	2734	11
Type 4	361	19	0	0	0	0	126	6	46	2	0	0	1948	27

Table 5 shows that a number of processes are tied to particular types. Regularisation and participles in preterit contexts in Type 4 verbs account for a substantial part of non-standard use, while regularisation and retention of *-en* participle in Type 3 are also prevalent.

However, certain verbs are very common in spoken data, therefore it may be the case that these percentages are purely the reflection of the most frequently occurring verbs. Table 6 shows the division of data into 19 common verbs and other less frequently occurring verbs.

Table 6: Distribution of data by very frequent verbs and other less frequent verbs

frequently occurring verbs		other	
N	%	N	%
4834	89	569	11

Table 6 demonstrates that the vast majority of the data (89%) are made up of the 19 most frequently occurring verbs. For this reason, it is necessary to treat these verbs separately in order to see their patterns of use within the separate verb type categories.

Moreover, it may be the case that more frequently occurring verbs account for most of the non-standard use. Table 7 shows the overall distribution of non-standard use by frequently occurring verbs plus *other*.

Table 7: Overall distribution of non-standard use by frequently occurring verbs and other			
frequently occurring verbs		other	
N	%	N	%
4834	21	569	6

Table 7 reveals that the percentage of non-standard use is not equally distributed across all verbs, but is concentrated on more frequently occurring verbs. This is an important result on its own, suggesting that non-standard processes may be affected by verb frequency.

5.3 Less frequently occurring verbs

I now examine more closely the verbs which do not frequently occur in the data. Given that there is very little non-standard data in this subsection (N=34), I provide individual token distribution only, and comment on these qualitatively. Table 8 shows the distribution of non-standard tokens by verb type and non-standard process

Table 8: Distribution of non-standard tokens by verb type and non-standard process							
	regularised	-en retention	participle as preterit	preterit as participle	i>u	total	
	N	N	N	N	N	N	%
Type 1	1				2	31	10
Type 2			4	1		15	33
Type 3	6	1				379	2
Type 4	1		9	9		144	13

5.3.1 Type 1 verbs

Table 8 reveals two non-standard uses in this context - regularisation, as in (47) and vowel alternation as in (48):

(47) a. I *cuttit* it and put a bow on it. (a:1604.36)

(48) a. They *splut* at some point and then come back thegither again. (7:746.0)
b. Her dad kind of *hut* the drink. (j:279.16)

The CSD (s.v. hit) reports the use of *hut* from the late 19th century in Scotland, but is now restricted to the Aberdeenshire area and only used sporadically. The preterit form of *splut* is not mentioned in the CSD or Grant and Main Dixon, which leads me to the conclusion that it is an idiosyncratic use in this dialect, presumably used in analogy with other verbs in the /i/->/u/ alternation.

The verb *cut* is not included in Grant and Main Dixon's list of irregular verbs, but is in Murray's (1873:203) volume, which includes the weak regular inflection *cuttit*, but not the uninflected form.

The fact that there are two different types of non-standard uses in this category indicate that these verbs continue to be differentiated in Buckie, despite their similarities in present day standard English. This is undoubtedly the product of different historical developments of these verb types.

5.3.2 Type 2

Only the verb *run* appears in Type 2, with five non-standard tokens. Four of these are past participle used in preterit, (N=10) as in (49a) and one is preterit used in past participle, (N=5) as in (49b).

(49) a. Well, they just *run* four races. (3:111.22)
b. We would've *ran* up the hill. (g:952.37)

Three of these tokens are attributable to the older and middle aged speakers, and the example in (50a) comes from an older speaker. The standard paradigm only (preterit *ran*, past participle *run*) are the only forms cited in Grant and Main Dixon (1921:129) and Murray (1873:207) although the use of *run* in preterit contexts is confined to the older speakers. This result suggests that this use is not an innovation, but has been in the grammar of the speakers for at least 80 years and probably much longer.

5.3.3 Type 3

Only seven tokens of Type 3 verbs are non-standard - six of these are regularised and one has retention of the *–en* participle, as in (50):

(50) a. If we was *catched* up the Funn Roadie, Jock Taylor just used to...(g:955.0)
b. So if you was *catched*, oh me. (g:966.29)
c. They were *catched* in a storm. (g:1071.19)
d. So, he *catched* the first trainie in. (g:1194.20)
e. The teachers that was there all *teached* me. (g:928.18)
f. God help them when they 're *catched*! (8:953.24)
g. He would've *sitten* with me and telt me all this kind. (g:1079.10)

Note here that six of the seven examples are attributable to one speaker – an older female, therefore this is not a community wide usage. Moreover, five of the six tokens are the verb *catch*, therefore this is restricted both lexically and to individual speakers.

The *caught/catched* alternation is attested in the historical record, as is the retention of the *-en* participle in *sitten* (see Section 2), therefore these forms may be obsolescing in the Buckie dialect. Indeed, speaker (g), an 84 year old female, uses the most non-standard forms in other areas of the grammar and clearly retains relic patterns which have disappeared from the majority of the speech community.

In sum, the move from strong to weak categories that characterised the Old English and Middle English period is not one of the main non-standard processes in the Buckie dialect, at least with the less frequently occurring verbs.

5.3.4 Type 4

The verbs included in this category showed one token of regularised use, as in (51).

(51) a. Though you hadna made 'em you coulda *drawed* little ains. (b:1067.46)

However, most of the variation is accounted for by preterits used as past participles and past participles used as preterits. Verbs in this category can be divided into two groups - one in which the root vowel changes, as in *swim, swam, swum* (Type 4a) and the other in which there is a change in root vowel for the preterit form and *-(e)n* suffix in the participle form, as in *forget, forgot, forgotten* (Type 4b). Type 4a fall into the category of preterit forms used in past participle contexts, whereas Type 4b are past participles used as preterits.

Type 4a include the verbs *break, spoke, drive* and *fall*, as in (52):

(52) a. The loon's never *forgot* it! (9:390.14)

b. And I mean, I had *drove* home fae Elgin heaps of times. (j:424.32)
c. They'd *fell* out with their folks. (j:203.19)
d. Well, just cos- I suppose they thought I'd *broke* up the marriage. (l:211.51)

Of these nine tokens of preterit in participle contexts, eight are attributed to the younger speakers, with these spread amongst five different speakers. This is indicative of change in progress, and indeed may be the very start of a change, which appears to be at this stage rather lexically restricted but may in time spread to other lexical items. Recall however, Eisikovits (1991b:138), claim regarding passive vs. perfective use of preterit verbs used in perfect contexts (see Section 4.3.7). Does the same constraint apply here? Table 9 shows the distribution of Type 4a verbs by function in participle contexts.

Table 9: Distribution of *forgot* etc. in participle contexts by type

present perfect		past perfect		modal		passive	
N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
17	35	15	20	3	33	10	0

Despite small Ns, a clear difference can be seen between modal and perfective use on the one hand, and passive use on the other. The distinction found in Eisikovits data holds also for the Buckie data - the preterit form is not used in passive constructions. The process of preterits as participles has had long history in the English language, but Cheshire (1994:129) states that 'none of the eighteenth century grammars ... note the marking of a distinction between dynamic and stative senses of the past participle.' For example, (Johnson, 1755) states that '*the book is written* is better than *the book is wrote*'. The fact that he criticised the latter use suggests that it was in use. This distinction may therefore indeed be an innovation in the language and argues against explaining such changes as simplification in these cases.

Type 4b - the vowel alternation category of *swam*, *swum* etc. - are all past participles used in preterit contexts, as in (53):

(53) a. We worked hard work, mind, but we *sung* fae morning 'til night. (h:14.25)
b. They had to record what they *drunk* over a week. (p:342.33)

In contrast to the use of *forgot* etc. in preterit contexts, this process is not restricted to younger speakers only, but is used by all age groups. This again is a process which has a long history (see Section 2). Bybee (1982; 1983) found that the phonetic form /ʌ/ followed by a nasal and/or /k/ or /g/ have a morphological function of signalling past tense, which explains the historical trend towards substituting the past participle form in /ʌ/ for the past form in /ae/. The use of /ʌ/ 'has been brought to a stop in standard English, but has been freer to continue in non-standard, spoken English' (Cheshire, 1994:125), hence the use of *drunk* etc. in preterit contexts.

In sum, it can be seen that the non-standard use in many less common verbs is sporadic, often confined to a few tokens only, or the result of individual speakers use. However, results for the use of *swum* etc. in preterit contexts suggest that this process has been in use for at least three generations. On the other hand, use of preterits in past participle contexts (*forgot* etc.) is indicative of innovation in the last 30 years. This point will be returned to later in the light of findings for the more frequently occurring verbs.

Most importantly, these findings show that 'membership in a given verb class is not a good predictor of variant choice' (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming:40), as the overall percentage of non-standard forms are the result of individual verbs, rather than a pan-system effect.

For this reason, I now reconfigure the data by individual verb types which are used frequently.

5.4 Frequently occurring verbs

Table 10 shows the most frequently occurring verbs with percentages of non-standard forms in both preterit and past participle contexts.

Table 10: Most frequently occurring verbs with % non-standard forms					
lexical verb	*preterit*		*past participle*		*total*
	N	%	N	%	
go	855	**42**	57	**42**	912
get	704	0	116	**72**	820
have	562	1	105	56	667
come	507	**51**	25	**44**	532
do	168	**23**	119	2	287
say	242	0	18	0	260
take	187	**29**	71	3	258
think	200	0	0	0	200
see	73	**36**	84	0	157
put	114	0	29	**34**	143
bide	123	1	13	**69**	136
tell	93	**79**	28	**82**	121
make	66	0	22	0	88
buy	67	0	18	0	85
meet	64	0	0	0	64
give	33	0	21	0	54
sell	34	**88**	16	**81**	50

Table 10 demonstrates that use of non-standard forms does not affect all verbs. Moreover, in the variable verbs, there are a range of percentages of non-standard use according to both lexical verb type and context. Specifically, a total of six verbs (*say, think, make, buy, meet, give*) are categorically standard. Seven verbs (*have*, *come*, *do*, *take*, *bide*, *sell*, *tell*) have non-standard variants in both preterit and past participle contexts, but only three show robust variation in both - *come, sell* and *tell.*

What can explain these rather disparate results for individual verbs? Why are some verbs completely standard? Why do some verbs have non-standard use in one context only, but others, in both? Does the schema of the 4 types detailed in Section 5.1 offer any explanations? The majority of verb types with two distinct past terms forms (e.g. *see, take, do, bide*) show robust variation (with the exception of *give*), suggesting one tendency in the data. However, Type 3 verbs which have the same preterit and past participle forms do not initially conform to a unifying pattern. Five are categorically standard (*meet*, *buy*, *make*, *think*, *say*) while four (*get*, *had*, *sell*, *tell*) have robust variation. What can explain these diametrically opposed results?

In an attempt to answer these questions, I now turn to a more detailed analysis of the individual verbs which show variation in the data, to ascertain how they differ from the standard patterns. I have grouped them into the following categories:

1. lexical verbs which show robust variation in preterit contexts only - *seen, done taen.*
2. lexical verbs which show robust variation in participle contexts only - *bide, put, get have.*
3. verbs which show robust variation in both preterit and participle contexts - *go, come tell, sell.*

These sections will deal with overall distributions by age and sex, and use across individuals. If there are enough tokens of use, internal constraints will also be considered.

5.5 Lexical verbs which show robust variation in preterit contexts only

5.5.1 The verb *see*

Table 10 shows that there is no non-standard use in past participle contexts, but 36% non-standard use in preterit contexts, as in (54).

(54) a. And I *seen* his death in the paper. (w:465.41)
b. The last time I *seen* her was up in Woolies. (u:570.8)
c. Bonny craiters. I *seen* them over the town with J and V one day. (x:16.19)
d. The last time I *seen* you it was when J was born. (u:19.31)

Buckie is not unusual in this use of *seen* in preterit contexts, as it is used in 'ungrammatical speech' (SND s.v. *see*) in Scotland and elsewhere (see Section 3.1). From a historical perspective, this use is not cited in Murray's work of 1873, but is in the later work of Grant and Main Dixon (1921). However, the example in (55) suggests the use of *seen* in preterit contexts has been around in Scotland for more than one hundred years.

(55) a. The guidwife *seen* me staunin' as stout as hersel. (J.W. M'Laren. 1886: T Catchiron)

An investigation of how this use patterns in apparent time in the data may provide an insight into how old the use is in Buckie.

Table 11 shows the distribution of *seen* in preterit contexts by age.

Table 11: Distribution of *seen* in past participle contexts by age					
old		middle		young	
N	%	N	%	N	%
22	0	22	23	29	72

The results reveal an increase in use of *seen* in contexts of standard *saw* across the three generations. The older speakers do not use the non-standard form at all, while the middle aged speakers use it relatively frequently. The younger speakers use it 72% of the time. This result points to a rapidly expanding innovation, but one which has only come into use in the last two generations.

Table 12 shows the distribution of *seen* in *saw* by speaker sex.

Table 12: Distribution of *seen in* contexts of standard *saw by* speaker sex.			
Male		female	
N	%	N	%
33	30	40	40

Table 12 shows that females actually use the non-standard form more than males, in contrast to what might be expected for a non-standard form.

However, the results for age and sex may be due to individual speakers, rather than a pan-community effect. Although these must be viewed tentatively, as there are very few tokens per speaker, a number of points emerge. Of the 15 younger speakers, eight categorically use the *seen* form, six use *saw* only and one speaker is variable. This demonstrates inter-speaker rather than intra-speaker variability in the younger speakers. Only four middle aged speakers use the *seen* form.

What effect does grammatical person have on the use of *seen*? It might be hypothesized that 3rd person singular is propitious for non-standard use as this is a neutralisation context in the present perfect. 3rd person singular *-s* of *has* is indistinguishable from the *-s* of *seen*, as in (56), therefore it may be reanalysed as a preterit marker.

(56) She'*s seen* him a lot.

Table 13 shows the use of *seen* by grammatical person. Only the younger speakers are included, as the older speakers are categorically standard, and only four middle aged speakers use the non-standard form.

Table 13: Distribution of non-standard *seen* by person and number of the subject (young speakers only)

	N	% non-standard *seen*
1st person singular *I*	19	84
2nd person singular *you*	2	100
3rd person singular *he/she/it*	2	0
Full NP singular	1	100
1st person plural *we*	1	50
3rd person plural *they*	1	0
full NP plural	1	0
no overt subject	1	0
other	1	0

Due to small Ns in each cell, particularly with 3rd person singular (N=2) it is impossible to reach any firm conclusions regarding this hypothesis.

5.5.2 The verb *do*

Table 10 showed that in contexts of standard past participle use, only 2% are non-standard, as in (57):

(57) a. He's *did* really well. (w:268.6)
b. I mean, she's just like *did* things on her own. (v:160.25)

This is in contrast to the use of the past participle form in preterit contexts, as in (58), which has 23% use:

(58) a. Aye, well, I *done* it in Aberdeen, like. (l:388.20)
b. They worked with the bobbies and she *done* a couple of courses. (x:276.41)
c. Ken what he *done* yesterday? (t:126.53)
d. Ken, it was always her that *done* all the house work. (j:324.37)
e. I na ken if it was him that threw them over the bankie or fa *done* it. (u:870.39)

This use is not documented in either Grant and Main Dixon (1921) or Murray (1873), suggesting that its use may be even newer than *seen*. However, it is mentioned in contemporary sources, as 'occas. the form *dune* (i.e. the Pa.p) is found e.g. *he dune it*, but this is not good Scots and usu. occurs where the speaker has been in contact with vulgar Eng.' (SND s.v. *dae*).

Table 14 shows the distribution of *done* in *did* by age.

Table 14: Distribution of *done* in contexts of standard *did* by age					
old		middle		young	
N	%	N	%	N	%
31	0	46	0	91	42

Table 14 shows that the older and middle aged speakers are categorically standard, but the younger speakers show robust variability, with 42% *done* in *did*. These results clearly point to rapid change in progress, with the innovating form only appearing in the last thirty years. This innovative use would explain its absence from the historical record, even from those that are relatively recent (i.e. Grant & Main Dixon 1921).

Table 15 shows the distribution of *done* used in preterit contexts across speaker sex. The younger generation only are included as these are the only variable speakers.

Table 15: distribution of *done* in contexts of standard *did* by speaker sex - young speakers only.			
Male		female	
N	%	N	%
32	56	59	59

Table 15 shows that there is little to differentiate male and female use of *done* in standard did. Males use it 56% of all possible contexts and females, 59%.

Closer examination of individual speakers use within the younger age group reveals inter-speaker rather than intra-speaker variation, in line with the results for the verb *see*. Of the 13 speakers in the younger age group, four employ the non-standard form categorically, seven categorically use the standard form and the remaining two use the non-standard form in the majority of cases (83% and 88%). The speakers who employ the non-standard form comprise equal numbers of males and females, therefore the

innovating form cannot be associated with one particular sex. Thus, its use is more restricted than with the verb *see*. I suggest that these results are explicable in terms of the recency of the use of *done* in *did*. It has not spread to as many speakers in the younger generation as *seen* as it is even newer. But given the rapid rate of change in apparent time (Table 14), I hypothesize that the use would be much more widespread in the teenage community members.

5.5.3 The verb *take*

Table 10 shows that there is very little non-standard use in participle contexts (3%), as in (59). This is obviously a very marginal use within the community, therefore will not be dealt with further.

(59) a. I would've *took* him down here. (d:403.12)
b. She's said a few things and I've just like *took* it. (v:974.46)

In preterit contexts, the participle form, as in (60) is used 29% of the time, in line with the results seen for *seen* and *done*.

(60) a. I *taen* him to one afore, a Celtic, Rangers match. (k:254.18)
b. Well, it *taen* a long time. He aie says it *taen* him a long time. (v:565.16)
c. She just *taen* him to the bloody cleaners. (u:874.24)
d. I says 'I met Norman because I *taen* a stoner'. (j:399.30)
e. You ken K left B? *Taen* up with somebody fae Macduff. (t:119.18)
f. I *taen* three of them and the other lad took the rest of them. (n:210.40)

A number of different forms (apart from orthographic differences) are recorded in the historical record for the preterit and past participle of *take*. Although Murray (1873:208) cites *tuik* for the preterit and *teane* for the past participle, a number of other sources, both historical and contemporary, provide evidence of more variable usage. In the preterit, Grant and Main Dixon (1921:131) have *tuik*, and *taen*. SND (s.v. *tak*) states that 'In Modern Scots, in ungrammatical speech, esp. in urban and industrial areas, the past participle is commonly used for the preterit'. The fact that they mention 'modern' and 'urban' suggests a relatively recent innovation. This use of *taken* in *took* is attested in other dialects (see Section 3.1) but its use is not so widely reported as *seen* and *done*.

How does the use of *taen* in preterit contexts compare to *seen* and *done* in apparent time? Table 17 shows the distribution of *taen* in *took* by age.

Table 17: Distribution of *taen* in contexts of standard *took* by age					
old		middle		young	
N	%	N	%	N	%
73	8	36	8	78	56

The same pattern can be found in the use of *taen* as with *done* and *seen*. The older and middle aged speakers use it very minimally, but the younger speakers use it more than half of all possible contexts. These results point to the recent spread of this use to more rural areas like Buckie, but the fact that the older speakers have at least some use points to it being in the dialect longer than both *seen* and *done*.

Table 18 shows the distribution of *taen* used in preterit across speaker sex.

Table 18: Distribution of *taen* in contexts of standard *took* by speaker sex.			
Male		female	
N	%	N	%
84	31	103	26

Table 18 shows that there is little to differentiate male and female use of *taen* in standard *took*. Males use it 31% of all possible contexts and females, 26%. However, note the self correction in (61) from a middle aged female:

(61) a. Just this year that they *took* it over. That Sainsburys *ta*-- eh *took* it over. (9:171.26)

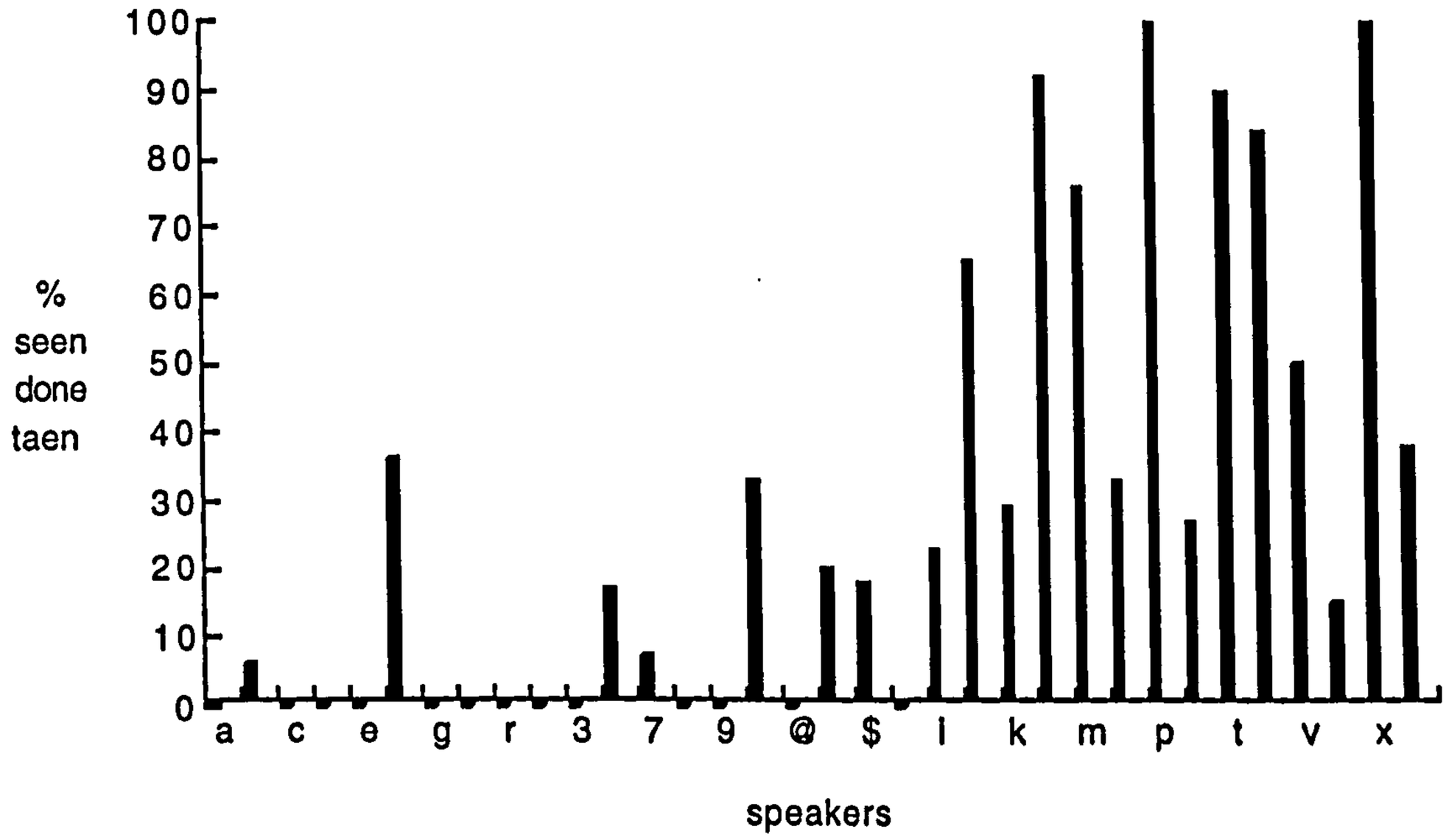
This may be indicative of stigmatisation, or perhaps indicates ambiguity on the part of the speaker regarding which form to use.

Recall that with the use of *done* in *did*, and *seen* in *saw* a substantial amount of inter-speaker variability existed. With *taen* in standard *took* contexts, there are very few Ns for each speaker, but from the information available in the younger speakers, six categorically use the non-standard form *taen*, three use the standard form and 6 are variable in their use. Here we see a higher percentage of intra-speaker variability. Moreover, of the 6 categorically non-standard users, 4 of these are women, suggesting that they are leading the change (Labov, 1990). These results by age and individual speaker indicate that *taen* in preterit contexts has been around for at least 80 years, but its *widespread* use is a recent innovation.

5.5.4 The verbs *seen*, *done*, and *taen* analysed together

Having now established that these verbs pattern in the same way with respect to change, I now conduct a multivariate analysis of the contribution of extra-linguistic and linguistic internal constraints on the use of *seen/done/taen* in preterit contexts. However, I suspect that it will be difficult to track the emergence of these forms in preterit contexts, due to the extremely rapid change in apparent time. Moreover, the prevalence of inter-speaker variability, demonstrated in Figure 1, is also problematic[14]. Therefore, I predict that no internal constraints operate on the use of *seen*, *done* and *taen*. Although the variability is confined to specific speakers, I have included all speakers in order to characterise norms at the community level, rather than a restricted set of speakers. On the x-axis (a-r) are the older speakers, (1-%) the middle aged speakers and (i-y) the younger speakers.

Figure 1: Use of *seen*, *done* and *taen* in preterit contexts by individual speaker



The analysis includes aspect, narrative discourse, type of clause, age and sex. Adverbial specification may also disambiguate perfect from preterit contexts, while the non-standard form may be used in the more relaxed speech of narrative discourse. Type of clause is included to test whether the constraints found in Eisikovits (1991b) data (see Section 4.3.8) also apply here.

I do not include grammatical person, as the justification for this constraint applies only to the verb *seen*. Table 19 shows the results.

Table 19: Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of *seen/done/taen* in preterit contexts in Buckie

	%	Factor weight	N
Corrected Mean .18			
Lexical Verb			
seen	36	**.66**	73
taen	28	**.60**	187
done	23	**.32**	168
Range		*34*	
Discourse Type[15]			
Narrative	20	**.39**	229
Non-narrative	36	**.63**	199
Range		*24*	
Adverbial Specification[16]			
No Specification	28	[.52]	361
With Adverb	25	[.41]	67
Aspect			
Continuous	33	[.61]	40
Iterative	28	[.58]	65
Punctual	27	[.47]	323
Clause Type			
Main	26	[.49]	357
Subordinate	33	[.57]	70
Age			
Old	5	**.18**	126
Middle	8	**.22**	104
Young	52	**.84**	198
Range		*66*	
Sex			
Male	27	[.53]	185
Female	28	[.48]	243
TOTAL N			428

These results mostly confirm my hypothesis regarding internal constraints. Age exerts the strongest effect on use of *seen/done/taen* in preterit contexts, and the different lexical verbs are also significant. The only exception to this is the selection of discourse type as significant to the variation.

The hierarchy of constraints for lexical verb type *taen->seen->done*, and age *young->middle->old)* are highly interrelated. *Done* is the only verb which is categorically standard with both the middle aged and older speakers. *Seen* is used by the middle aged and younger speakers, and *taen* is used by all groups. These results confirm two main points - 1) that the process of past participles used with preterits for these three verbs is relatively new in this community, and 2) some forms are newer than others.

I suggest the chronology of these verb is as follows in terms of when they entered the community grammar: *taen* first, then *seen* and lastly *done*.

Note that narrative discourse disfavours innovating non-standard forms. This might simply be the product of a few individual speakers use, but in actual fact all speakers show the same pattern, therefore it is a bona fide effect. Labov (1972b:355) states that during narratives 'the speaker is no longer free to monitor his own speech as he normally does in face-to-face interviews' resulting in a very informal style. Despite this, the speakers here use more of the standard form in narrative and less of the innovative non-standard form. I suggest therefore that informality in this case cannot be tied to use of non-standard forms, but use of the older, more traditional forms, which may in fact be standard. Therefore, I speculate that at the outset of a change, narrative discourse is slower to adopt the new forms.

In sum the use of *seen*, *done* and *taen* in preterit contexts is a rapidly expanding innovation which has taken place largely within one generation. Indeed, the dramatic changes seen here make it almost impossible to track its movement through the grammar as in many cases, there is a qualitative change in some speakers from one generation to the next. These points will be returned to in the discussion.

5.6 Lexical verbs with robust non-standard use in participle contexts only

5.6.1 The verb *bide*

This is the Scottish dialectal equivalent of *stay*. Given that this is an exclusively Scottish form, there is no benchmark in Standard English from which to compare it in order to establish standard/nonstandard use. However, the historical record notes the use of *bade*, as in (62a) for preterit and *bidden*, as in (62b) for past participle (Murray, 1873:203) All other forms, therefore will be treated as non-standard.

(62) a. He only *bade* about a month with us. (b:465.9)
b. I think he would still've *bidden* in. (8:500.38)

Table 10 showed that *bide* had 1% non-standard use in preterit context, which was a regularised form, as in (63):

(63) a. So I just *bided* with him. (f:57.33)

In past participle contexts only 13 tokens exist, but 69% (n=9) appear with the non-standard form *bade* as in (64):

(64) a. They've always *bade* here. (v:263.16)

Of these nine tokens, eight of these are from the younger age group. This appears to point to an innovation with the older *bidden* being replaced by *bade* in participle contexts. In fact, this is exactly the pattern we see for some other Type 4b verbs (*forget* etc.), i.e. those that have three different forms - movement of the preterit form into past participle contexts[17].

Three other verbs which show robust variability in past participle contexts are *had*, *put* and *got*. Examination of these contexts showed that these verbs retained the *-en* past participle form (see Section 5.2). I now consider these verbs in detail.

5.6.2 The verb *have*

From the surface morphology of *haen* - monosyllabic *-n* form - it might be hypothesized that it would follow the same path as the *seen/done/taen* group, in that this form would be used in preterit contexts. But Table 10 showed that it was used only 1% of the time, as in (65)[18]:

(65) a. And she got married and *haen* A and T and C. (t:567.3)
b. He just *haen* a baby in June. (t:447.8)

The four examples in the corpus are attributed to one speaker only, and therefore cannot be considered part of the community norms.

On the other hand, Table 10 shows that this non-standard form is used in past participle contexts 56% of the time, as in (66):

(66) a. We've *haen* your dad across. ($:16.0)
b. Otherwise I wid've *haen* a letter in afore noo. (9:981.23)

Görlach (1994:174) states that in the historical record, *haen* it is 'a new strong form' and may have arisen in analogy with other *-en* past participle suffixes (*sitten*, *gotten*, *casten* etc.). It is cited in Grant and Main Dixon (1921:205) but not in Murray (1873:205). Despite this, the CSD (s.v. *hae*) date it from the late 18th century, but state that it is now only used in the north of Scotland, pointing to obsolescence in other Scottish dialects. If this is the case, we would expect to see *haen* being used less by the younger speakers.

Table 20 shows the distribution of *haen* in standard *had* by age.

Table 20: Distribution of *haen* in contexts of standard preterit *had* by age					
old		middle		young	
N	%	N	%	N	%
19	79	35	63	51	43

Table 20 demonstrates that this dialectal form is being replaced by the standard *had* in the speech of the younger informants. However, this change is not nearly so rapid as the change in use of the innovating forms seen in the use of *seen/done/taen* in preterits. There is a much more gradual decrease in use across the three generations.

As to individual use, the number of variable speakers decreases through the generations. With the older speakers, all use *haen*. In the middle-aged, seven out of ten, and in the younger speakers, seven out of twelve. Despite this decrease, there is still more intra-speaker variability than with the verbs *seen*, *done* and *taen*.

In sum the use of *haen* in participle contexts is an obsolescing feature, which is being replaced by the standard form *had*. However the replacement of one form by another is not so rapid as with the verbs *seen*, *done* and *taen*.

5.6.3 The verb *put*

In present day standard English, *put* remains the same in both present, preterit and participle forms. But in Buckie, the *-en* form is retained in past participle contexts, as in (67), 34% of the time.

(67) a. So, they were *putten* bane the house. (677.38)
b. They made a flag with a Grant crest on it, so it was *putten* up. (3:76.49)

Table 21 shows the distribution of *putten* by age.

Table 21: Distribution of *haen* in contexts of standard preterit *had* by age					
old		middle		young	
N	%	N	%	N	%
9	89	5	40	15	0

Despite very small Ns, a pattern emerges - while the older speakers use this form in all but one token, *putten* is not used at all by the younger speakers.

5.6.4 The verb *get*

The form *gotten* is now archaic in standard British English (Jespersen, 1909/1949:49), but it is used in this data as in (68), 72% of the time[19].

(68) a. He says 'Now, I've *gotten* word ower'. (a:1574.27)
b. She's *gotten* a mixer but she winna use it. (1:294.16)
c. Her dad had *gotten* her a flat in Inverness. (t:522.0)

Given what we have seen for the verbs *have* and *put*, coupled with its relic status, I predict decreasing frequencies of use of *gotten* across the three age groups. Table 22 shows the distribution of *gotten* by age.

Table 22: Distribution of *gotten* in participle contexts

old		middle		young	
N	%	N	%	N	%
25	**84**	32	**69**	59	**69**

Although these results pattern in the same way as *have* and *put*, with middle aged and younger speakers using the *gotten* form less frequently, the decrease in use across the generations is far less striking than with the other verbs in this class. This point will be returned to in the discussion.

Analysis of *got/gotten* by individual speaker reveals that seven out of eight of the older speakers use *gotten*. Three are categorically non-standard and four are variable. Of the eleven middle aged speakers, eight use *gotten*. Five of these are categorically non-standard, and 3 are variable. Crucially, of the 12 younger speakers, nine use *gotten*, three are categorically non-standard and six are variable. Here we see the continued use of *gotten* through the generations, with 75% of the young speakers using it. This is in sharp contrast to the results for the other lexical verbs which showed not only a dramatic drop in percentages of forms used from one generation to the next, but also qualitatively different forms used from speaker to speaker. Here, on the other hand, there is continuity of variable use across apparent time. The verb *have* also showed the same patterns

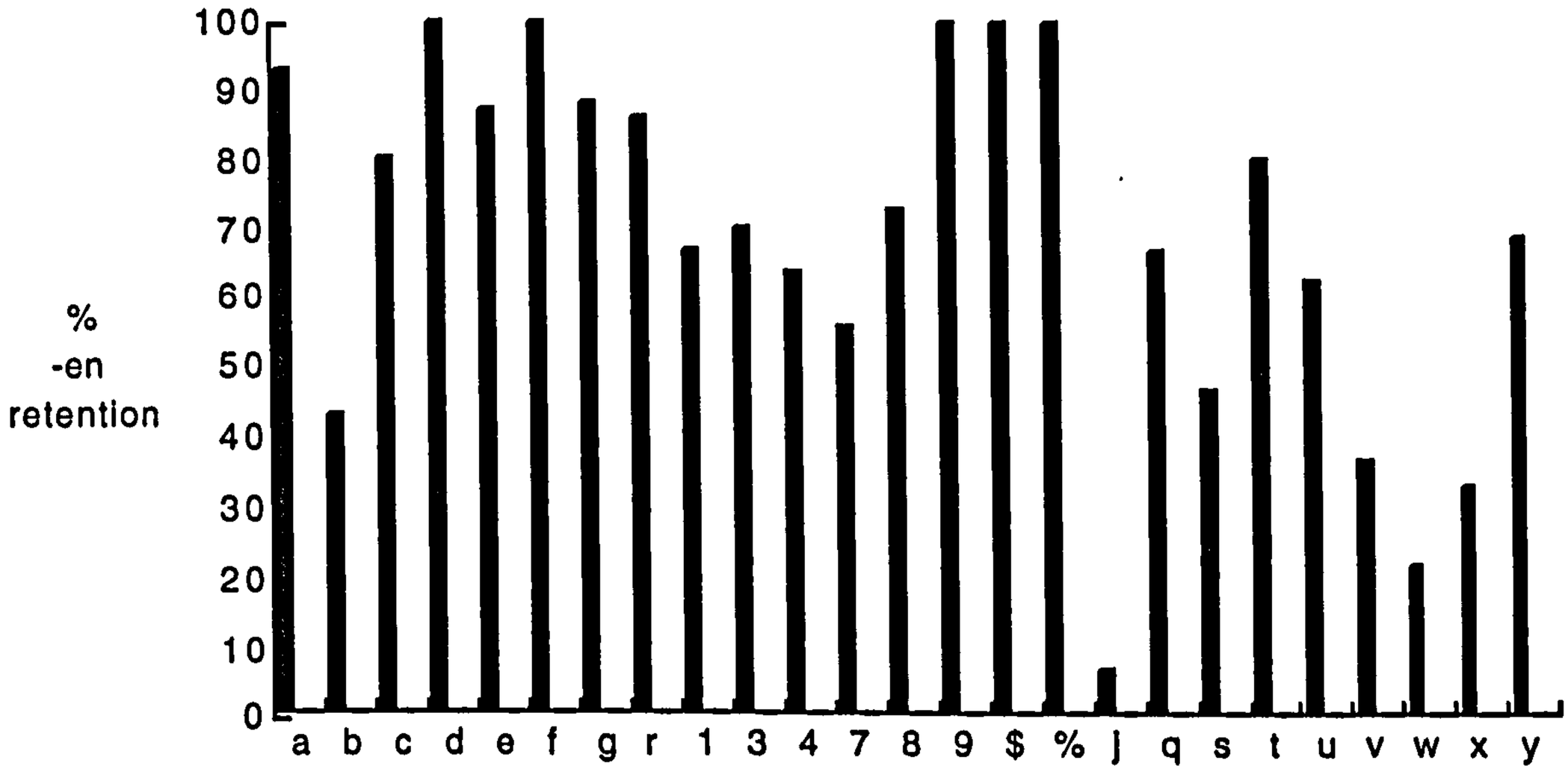
5.6.5 *Had/put/got* analysed together

The individual overall distributions for various factors have demonstrated that the verbs *put*, *had* and *got* all pattern in the same way, in that the non-standard form is decreasing across the generations. This is perhaps not surprising, given that the *–en* participle in these cases is a relic form which has long since disappeared from the standard

language. Although the verbs are changing at different rates, the same processes are involved and therefore can be considered in the same analysis.

Moreover, in this case it may be possible to determine linguistic constraints on this obsolescing form, as it exhibits much more intra-speaker variability than *seen/done/taen* in preterits. This is demonstrated in Figure 2.

Figure 2: Distribution of *gotten/haen/putten* by individual speaker



I now conduct a multivariate analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of relic *–en* participles in Buckie. Participle type is included, as the different structures employed may have an effect on the variability, as may the presence of adverbial specification.

I have not included aspect as this may interact with particular verbs. For example, *have* mostly occurs in stative contexts, as in (69):

(69) She's aie *haen* an old face. (%:511.42)

Get in the majority of cases, is punctual, as in (70):

(70) Her dad had *gotten* her a flat in Inverness. (t:522.0)

There were very few subordinate clauses (N=28) therefore this factor group was not included. Narrative discourse was also not included. There were very few narrative contexts, with the data mostly concentrated in perfectives. Table 23 shows the results.

Table 23: Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of relic *–en* participles in Buckie

	%	Factor weight	N
Corrected Mean .63			
Lexical verb			
got	72	.62	116
had	56	.46	105
put	34	.20	29
Range		*42*	
Adverbial specification			
No Specification	64	[.51]	209
With Adverb	46	[.42]	41
Participle type			
Present Perfect	62	[.47]	153
Past Perfect	65	[.62]	46
Modal	57	[.38]	35
Passive	50	[.73]	16
Age			
Old	83	.78	53
Middle	64	.55	72
Young	50	.34	125
Range		*44*	
Sex			
Male	49	.33	72
Female	66	.57	178
Range		*44*	
TOTAL N			250

Three groups are selected as significant to the probability of *–en* past participle use – lexical verb, age and sex. All exert an equally strong effect on the use of the *–en* forms, as all factor groups selected as significant have approximately the same range. The results for age show the quintessential case of an obsolescing form, viewed through change in apparent time. Besides the effect of lexical verb type, internal constraints have no significant impact on the variability, despite my suggestion that it would be possible to track these obsolescing forms.

The extra-linguistic factors of age and sex do contribute a statistically significant effect to the use of *-en* forms. We can see the gradual decrease in use across time, with the older speakers favouring the use of the *–en* participle, the younger speakers disfavouring, and the middle aged speakers situated somewhere in between.

The results for sex show that women actually use the relic form more than men, and Table 24 reveals that this is true in every generation[20]. This is particularly interesting

from the middle aged speakers point of view, as middle aged females have been shown to avoid non-standard forms with other linguistic variables such as negative concord and *was/were* variation. This suggests that use of these forms is not stigmatised within the community, despite the fact that they are slowly disappearing[21].

Table 24: Distribution of *–en* participle contexts by age and speaker sex

	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
male	15	67	34	59	23	22
female	38	89	38	68	102	57

In sum, the results for the retention of *-en* forms is that the variability is conditioned by 1) the lexical verb and 2) extra-linguistic constraints. No linguistic internal constraints exert a significant effect. This is the same result seen for the *seen/done/taen* group of verbs, and indicates the importance of age in the variation. The only difference between these two groups of verbs is that in the *-en* group, the change is much slower across the three generations. This point will be returned to in Section 6.

5.7 Verbs which have robust variation in preterit and past participle contexts

5.7.1 The verbs *selt* and *telt*

Two verbs which regularise in Scots is *selt* (sold), and *telt* (told), as in (71), 'where *sellt* is simply *sell+ed*, being realised as *t* in Scottish English' (Miller, 1993:106). The standard version of these, as in (72) is also used.

(71) a. It was your granny that *telt* me on Sunday. (a:27.12)
b. The more you *selt*, the bigger the commission. (c:652.14)

(72) a. She *told* me who the chef was. (%:83.0)
b. So when they *sold* the house, the lassie came down. (b:868.37)

The CSD (s.v. *sell*) dates the regularised form in the preterit to the late 18th century, but in past participle contexts much earlier, to the late 16th century. The form *telt* is dated from the 19th century (CSD s.v. *tell*). Table 10 showed that *sell* had 88% regularised use in preterit contexts and 81% in past participle contexts, and *tell* 79% and 82%. Therefore these peculiarly Scottish forms, some dating from the 16th century, are still used robustly in Buckie.

How do they pattern in apparent time? Given their relic status, I hypothesise that the younger speakers will use the regularised forms the least. Table 25 shows the use of the *selt* and *telt* by age.

Table 25: Distribution of *selt/telt* in participle contexts

	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
selt	9	78	12	75	29	93
telt	56	73	19	79	46	100

Table 25 shows that in actual fact, the younger speakers use the form more than the middle aged and older speakers. However, closer examination by individual speaker of *sold* and *told* reveals that use of these forms is not a pan community effect, but rather, is limited to certain speakers. Indeed, in contexts of past *tell*, one speaker alone accounts for 12 of the 19 tokens of *told*. In the *sell* contexts, only three speakers out of total of 17 speakers use the *sold* form. These uses may indicate switch to another register, as illustrated in the examples in (73), where the interviewee is talking to her young son who has entered the room[22]:

(73) a. Ye never *told* me what you got for your dinner yet. (w:684.6)

Whatever the explanation, the use of the standard forms is highly restricted to individual speakers and there is no trajectory of change comparable with the other verbs discussed so far.

5.7.2 The verb *go*

The verb *go* is also subject to regularisation processes, but is the use of forms also restricted to a handful of speakers? I now turn to an analysis of this verb.

Along with the verb *be*, *go* is suppletive, in that it combines 'historically unrelated forms' (Pyles & Algeo, 1993:127) within the paradigm. But in Scottish dialects, the diachronic record shows that it was regularised, as in (74):

(74) a. The third, that *gaed* a wee a-back. (Burns, Holy Fair ii:1786)

Table 10 shows that this form is used 42% of the time in preterit contexts, as in (75):

(75) a. We *gied* to Buckpool to her mother's like. (f:73.3)
b. And hees bones *gied* rattlin' up against the wa'. (g:1015.16)

c. We *gied* in and saw Walt-Disney-On-Ice last Saiturday. (q:325.4)
d. *Gied* in there, *gied* intae mam 's in tears of-course. (v:732.4)
e. I *gied* to the Slochie school. (8:200,0)
f. There was one medal *gied* atween the three of 'em. (9:602.20)

But the 'pa.t. is also freq. supplied by *went* as in Eng.' (SND s.v. gae), and this is also used in Buckie 58% of the time, as in (76):

(76) a. We *went* into the Banff-Springs for wir lunch the three of us. (y:267.0)
b. He 'd a car, it *went* for scrap. (s:102.17)
c. They *went* down to Peterhead and they built thon great big hairbour. (4:374.19)
d. Aye, cos she *went* tae the Slochie school. (!:686.37)

Table 26 shows the distribution of *gied* in preterit contexts by age.

Table 26: Overall distribution of non-standard *gied* across age

old		middle		young	
N	%	N	%	N	%
321	**83**	175	**32**	359	**10**

Table 26 shows that there is a sharp decrease in the use of the dialectal form *gied* as a variant of standard *went* across the three generations, with the younger speakers much less likely to use the non-standard regularised form.

Table 27 shows the distribution of *gied* in contexts of *went* across age and speaker sex.

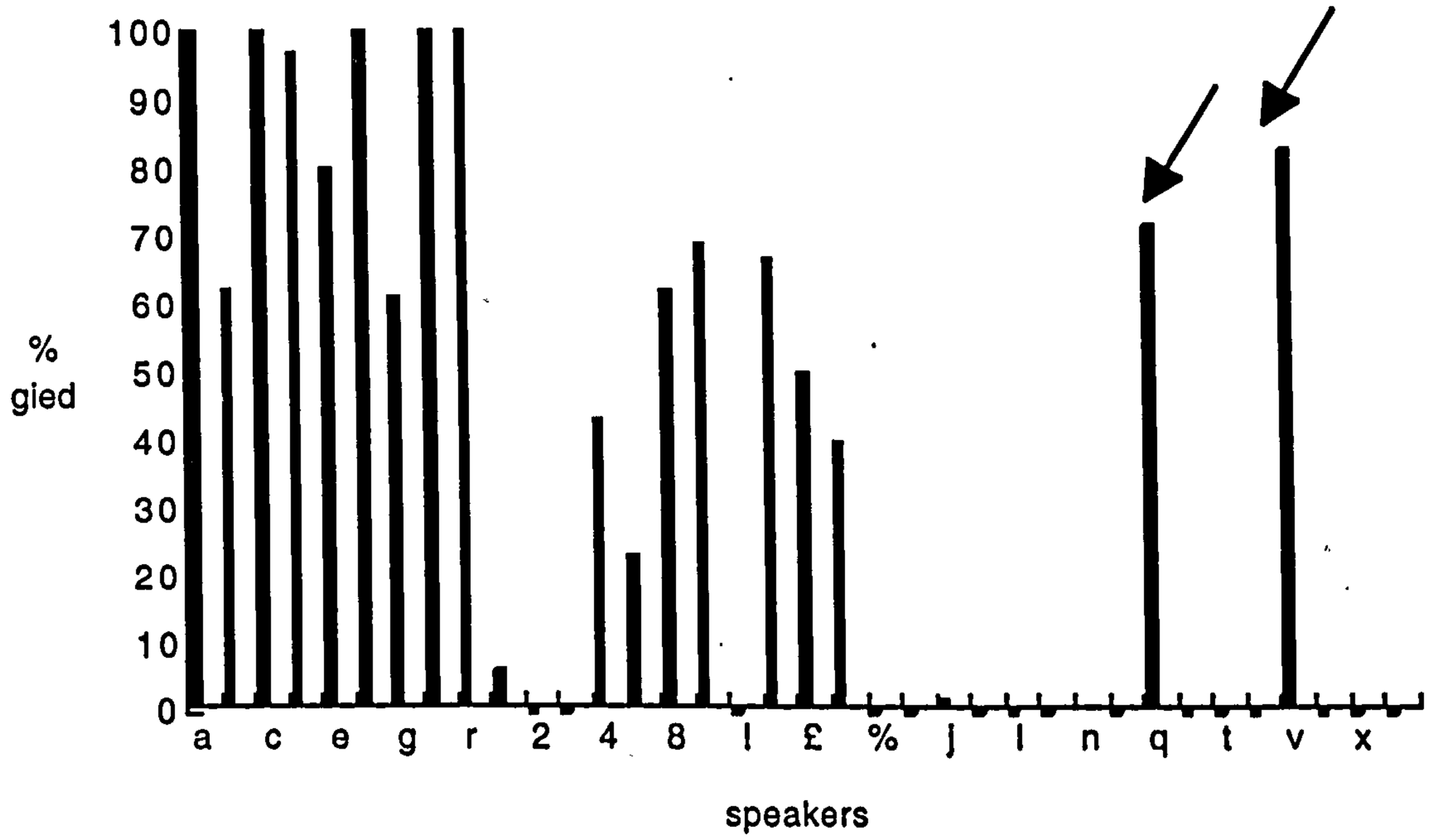
Table 27: Overall distribution of non-standard *gied* across age and speaker sex

	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
male	148	80	102	30	132	**1**
female	173	85	73	34	227	**16**

These results reveal that there is little to differentiate old and middle aged speakers, but there is a striking difference in use of *gied* vs. *went* amongst the younger group, with the females using it much more. What I have demonstrated so far in a rapidly changing grammar is extensive inter-speaker variability. Could one or two speakers be

responsible for the relatively high use of *gied* in the younger females? Figure 3 displays the results by individual speaker.

Figure 3: Use of *gied* in preterit contexts by individual speaker



The graph shows that the 16% use *gied* in the younger females is attributed solely to two speakers - q and v (speaker q will returned to in the discussion). With the exception of these speakers and one token attributed to speaker (j), the remaining 14 younger speakers have a non-variable system of use. Compare this to the categorical non-standard use by most of the older speakers and further contrast this with the highly variable use in eight of the 13 middle aged speakers. Thus, the middle aged speakers represent the transition period between the two stages with variable use.

This is the same as the patterns hinted at in other verbs, but here we have a clearer view of this process due to the fact there are more contexts of use overall (N=855), and more tokens per speakers (N=6-54) therefore less chance of statistical fluctuation.

However, due to the dramatic nature of this change, resulting in a qualitative rather than quantitative change, it is difficult to test for any possible internal constraints on the use of *gied/went* in these contexts.

I now turn to participle contexts.

Table 10 shows that past participle contexts have 42% non-standard use, as in (77):

(77) a. 'I've *went* to the city and I've lived'. (s:555.4)
b. I think it was the Wrens she'd *went* to. (u:74,0)
c. Since they've *went* to a trawler they've haen problems. (t:33.15)
d. He 'd kind-of *went* bad with drink and a-thing. (j:282.19)

This form is used variably with *gien* (the Scottish pronunciation of *gone*), as in (78):

(78) a. They'd *gien* up with the camera and taen photos. (b:1149.0)
b. He says 'I've *gien* you that little'. (g:800.16)
c. Yer granny would've *gien* in a minute. (a:1973.23)
d. Aye, maybe most of the folk's *gien* past. (4:62.63)
e. And he'd gien to school and he'd *gien* the bairns something. (7:433.54)

The non-standard use is the same pattern of syncretism seen with the verb *bide* and Type 4b verbs (*forget* etc.). In these cases the use of preterits in past participle contexts were restricted almost wholly to the younger speakers.

Table 28 shows the distribution of participle forms across age.

Table 28: Overall distribution of *went* in past participle contexts by age					
old		middle		young	
N	%	N	%	N	%
19	0	15	20	23	87

Table 28 shows that the older speakers have a non-variable system, but we see the use of *went* in participle contexts beginning to be used (although marginally) in the middle aged speakers, and a sharp rise in use in the younger speakers. Again we see rapid change in the use of these variants, with the *gien* form being replaced in the course of 3 generations by *went*. Of course, this use is not peculiar to this verb only and replicates findings from Type 4b etc. in that two distinct past tense forms (e.g. *drove*, *driven*) are being replaced by one for both preterit and past participle contexts (*I drove, I had drove*).

In sum, despite the fact that the verbs *go*, *sell* and *tell* share the same history of being regularised in Scots, the results here for the verb *go* contrast sharply with those found for *tell* and *sell*. There is erosion of the regularised form with *gied*, but not with *selt* and *telt*. This point will be returned to in Section 6.2.

5.7.3 The verb *give*

The use of *gied* in Buckie may have implications for another verb - *give*. Table 10 shows that this verb is categorically standard in both preterit or participle contexts, as in (79), despite the fact that a regularised form *gied* as preterit of *give* is documented for Scottish dialects (Grant and Main Dixon 1921).

(79) a. I *gave* her a row the other day. (s:884.33)
b. He would've *gien* her the world. (x:496.29)

However, Murray (1873:205) provides the forms *gie* in present and *gae* for preterit, with no mention of the regularised form[23]. The CSD (s.v. *gie*) sheds some light on this, stating that while *gave* was used in the 15th and 16th centuries, *gied* came in the later 18th century. King (1997:178) confirms this chronology, stating that *give* 'remained strong in Older Scots, but from the 18th century, written forms like *gied* are attested'.

Therefore although it appears that all speakers have moved towards the standard *gave*, in actual fact they have retained the older form from the 15th and 16th centuries[24]. This very old form has been maintained in the younger generations as it is also the standard form in present day English.

5.7.4 The verb *come*

Variable use of *come/came* in preterit contexts, where standard English permits *came*, is one of the most widely attested linguistic variables, as detailed in Section 3.4.

Table 10 shows that there is an almost 50/50 split in the use of *come* and *came* in preterit contexts, as in the same speaker pairs in (80):

(80) a. But he *come* to me aie day and he says 'Was ever ee in Uigg, John?'. (c:293.7)
I *came* home yesterday wi' a whale bag o' rhubarb, oot o' the gairden. (c:431.2)

b. It depended how much herrin' *come* in. (r:798.50)
They *came* fae all ways to get kilts made. (r:413.21)

c. This man *come* doon fae Inster. (d:502.0)
We *came* to Buckie when I was eleven. (d:168.42)

d. The pipe *come* down but I na ken fit happened. (1:476.35)
It was night, it was hot ye ken fin I *came* home. (1:478.66)

e. They splut at some point and then *come* back thegither again. (7:746.28)
She *came* back tae Main-Street so he could be born Scottish. (7:318.8)

f. When she first *come* up here she was awfu' homesick, ken. (2:161.15)
No, I never ever *came* back doon to my normal or the weight that I had aie been. (2:76.34)

g. He *come* along in the car and telt ma nae to be so stupid. (v:726.0)
When I *came* off the phone to you, I thought, 'I ken that name'. (v:179.2)

h. We *come* down to Buckie and eh, he hadna a job at 'at time. (q:1020.8)
Paul's auntie *came* up fae Hull on her holidays and we gied roon Baxters. (q:122.0)

i. Seven ounces she lost by the time she *come* oot of the hospital. (s:452.38
L went to Edinburgh and *came* back 'talking'. (s:538.32)

Recall Section 3.4, where the use of *come* in preterit contexts was explained as analogical levelling. Does this explain the variable use of *come/came* in the Buckie data? What are the external and internal constraints on the use of *come* in came and *came* in *come*? Does Buckie exhibit patterns which are common to other dialects or is it unique in its patterning? Is there change across time? Is the variability limited to a small number of community members?

The present day variability in the use of *come* is a continuation from as far back as the 13th century (see Section 2.2). How does this long term instability impact on Buckie?

Table 29 shows the distribution by age.

Table 29: Distribution of *come* in contexts of standard *came* by age					
old		middle		young	
N	%	N	%	N	%
242	78	106	45	159	13

Table 29 shows a dramatic decrease across the generations in the use of *come*, with the older speakers using it 78% of the time, the middle aged 45%, and the younger speakers considerably less at 13%. This indicates a dramatic move towards the standard in the space of three generations, much in line with the results for the verb *go*.

The Buckie data bear out Tidholm's (1979:147) prediction that *come* in *came* would become obsolete in the near future. But in actual fact, *come* in preterit contexts is used robustly by younger speakers of other non-standard dialects elsewhere (Feagin, 1979; Kerswill & Williams, to appear; Tagliamonte, to appear). Therefore the issue of retention vs. innovation is not easily disentangled. Moreover, the fact that the younger speakers eschew the dialectal form for standard usage is intriguing, as they have high frequencies of non-standard use with other lexical verbs.

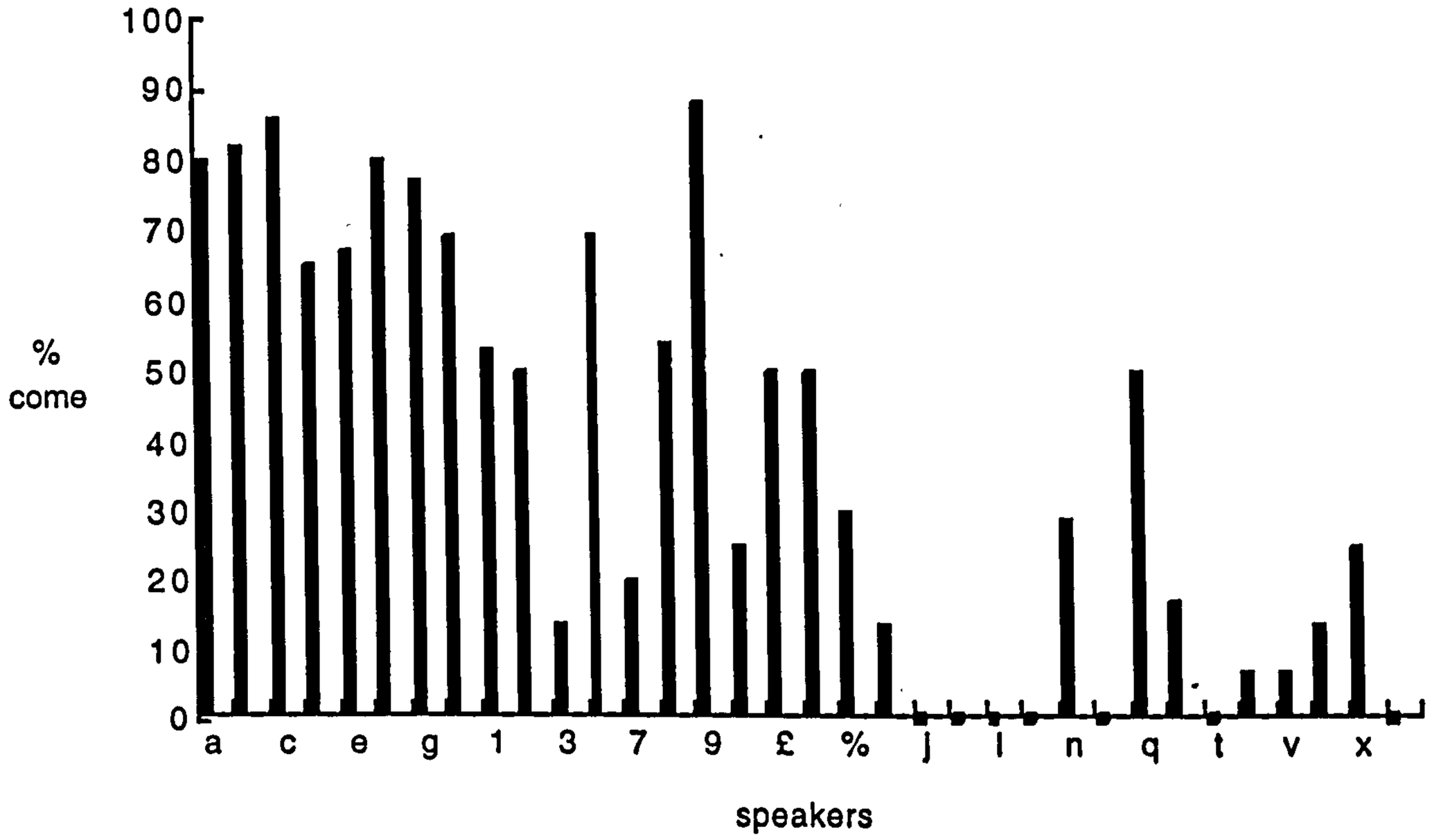
Table 30 shows the distribution by sex.

Table 30: Distribution of *come* in contexts of standard *came* by sex			
Male		female	
N	%	N	%
228	49	279	49

Table 30 shows that males and females have the same rates of use of *come* in preterit context.

The verbs *go*, *see*, *do* and *take* were subject to community level rather than individual variation, but *-en* retention showed intra-speaker variability. It may also be the case that *come* in *came* is the result of non-variable systems which differ from individual to individual. Figure 4 shows the use of *come* in *came* by individual speaker.

Figure 4: Distribution of *come* in *came* by individual speaker.



A number of points arise when the data is viewed by individual speaker. Despite the dramatic drop in frequencies of use of *come* across the generations, there is relatively extensive intra-speaker variability. Most older speakers (a-r on the graph) are variable in their use of *come* in *came* and all have very high percentages of the non-standard use, ranging from almost 90% non-standard use (speaker c), down to 65% (speaker d). All middle aged speakers are variable, although their frequencies of use are considerably lower than the older speakers. Eight younger speakers have variable use.

I now turn to the internal conditioning on this variable. Given the robust number of contexts of use with this verb, in addition to intra-speaker variability, it is possible to examine constraints across a number of internal factors. In this analysis, I explore a number of possible internal constraints listed in Section 4.3: grammatical person, discourse type, aspect, clause type and adverbial specification.

In the study of *come* in York English (Tagliamonte, 1999a) older men favoured *come* with singular subjects. Will the same pattern emerge here? Table 31 shows the distribution of *come* in *came* by subject type in the Buckie data.

Table 31: Distribution of non-standard *come* by person and number of the subject		
	N	% non-standard *come*
1st person singular *I*	47	32
2nd person singular *you*	12	50
3rd per. singular *he/she/it*	180	59
Full NP singular	93	41
1st person plural *we*	50	70
3rd person plural *they*	47	55
full NP plural	21	43
no overt subject	41	37
other	16	38

There is a range of percentages of non-standard use by person and number of the verb. 1st person plural *we* (70%), 3rd person singular *he/she/it* (59%) and 3rd person plural *they* (55%) have relatively high percentages of non-standard use, while 1st person singular *I* (33%) and full NPs, both singular (40%) and plural (43%), have relatively low percentages of non-standard use. What might explain the different uses across subject type? A division might be drawn between pronominal subjects on the one hand and full NPs on the other, with the former having higher rates of non-standard *come*. But this would not explain the low rates in 1st person singular. Alternatively, the data may be divided according to singular/plural subjects, but again this does not show a clear patterning. Recall however, that the generations behaved very differently with respect to the frequencies of non-standard *come*. It may be the case therefore, that patterns of use are obscured by the fact that the three generations are analysed together. Table 32 shows the patterns of use of *come* in *came* by grammatical person and age.

Table 32: Distribution of non-standard *come* by grammatical person and age						
	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
1st person singular	12	83	13	31	22	5
2nd person singular	3	100	5	60	4	0
3rd person singular	95	89	30	57	55	9
Full NP singular	47	62	24	21	22	18
1st person plural	33	79	7	71	10	40
3rd person plural	23	78	13	62	9	0
full NP plural	12	75	2	0	7	0
no overt subject	8	63	6	67	27	22
other	9	44	4	50	3	0

Are there any discernible patterns of use here? With the older speakers, a possible distinction is between pronominal subjects on the one hand, and full NPs on the other. Note for example, that while pronominal subjects are around 80% non-standard use and above, full NP singulars are have the lowest rate at 62%. Full NP plurals have a higher rate of use, but there are only 12 contexts of use for this subject type. Therefore with the older speakers, there is a pronominal/full NP split in the use of *come* in *came*.

With the middle aged speakers, this pattern obtains again, with full NP singulars having the lowest use of *come* in *came*. The exception to this pattern is 1st person singular, with relatively low rates of the non-standard use. No comment can be made regarding full NP plural with this age group due to small Ns.

Analysis of the younger speakers, however, does not reveal the same patterning at all. In fact, the reverse can be seen, with full NP singulars having one of the highest rates of non-standard *come*. Indeed, it is very difficult to discern any pattern of use across subject type for this age group.

Turning now to narrative discourse, I hypothesize that the older, non-standard *come* form will favour narrative contexts. Table 33 shows the distribution of *come* in *came* by discourse type.

Table 33: Distribution of *come* in *came* by narrative structure		
	N	*% come* in *came*
complicating action	258	**54**
orientation	72	**53**
when-clause	99	**58**
non-narrative	73	**29**
other (abs. coda, quote)	5	**20**

Table 33 demonstrates that while there is virtually no difference in the use of *come* in the different narrative structures (complicating action, orientation and *when* clauses), there is a significant difference when the data is non-narrative, with the non-standard form being employed much less (29%). This in fact may be an effect of data distribution, as the interviews from the older generations were characterised by long narratives, while the younger speakers tended to be more about everyday events. In other words, the relatively low occurrence of *come* in non-narrative contexts may be due to bad data distribution. Table 34 shows the distribution of *come* in *came* by narrative structure and age.

Table 34: Distribution of *come* in *came* by narrative structure and age						
	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
complicating action	125	82	38	63	95	14
orientation	45	67	16	44	11	8
when-clause	54	81	22	45	23	13
non-narrative	17	65	30	23	26	12
other (abs., coda)	1	100	0	0	4	0

Table 34 shows that the younger speakers have a proportionally larger percentage of non-narrative clauses than the older speakers. Moreover, only with the older and middle aged speakers do we see a lower frequency of *come* in non-narrative contexts. The younger age group show a much more even pattern (with the exception of orientation, which only has 12 tokens). Therefore the pattern is the same in the middle aged and older speakers, the non-standard variant is used more in narrative contexts.

This might be a result of the ambiguity of tense marking in the verb. As stated earlier, there are no unmarked forms in preterit contexts in the Buckie data such as *give*. However, in non-3rd person contexts, it might be impossible to tell whether the form is actually preterit *come* or simply use of the present historic, as in (81):

(81) I never spoke till him, I just come out. (g:751.31)

However, in the Buckie data, the present historic usually appears with *-s* on all grammatical persons and only with the verb *say*, therefore this cannot account for the use here.

Due to the narrative/non-narrative patterning apparent in the middle aged and older speakers, I have collapsed the factor groups into narrative (complicating action, orientation etc) vs. non-narrative. Table 35 shows the results.

Table 35: Distribution of non-standard *come* by discourse type

	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
narrative	225	79	76	54	133	13
non-narrative	17	65	30	23	26	12

Again, we see the pattern of more to less across middle aged and older speakers, but little effect with the younger speakers.

Table 36 shows the distribution of *come* in *came* by aspect and age.

Table 36: Distribution of non-standard *come* by aspect

	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
punctual	198	82	92	50	136	13
iterative	39	69	7	29	21	10
stative	5	0	7	0	2	0

A number of points emerge from the distribution of data by aspect. Note the categorically standard use of *came* in stative contexts across all generations. Despite the small Ns (N=14) this appears to be indicative of a non-variable context[25]. What can explain this categorical use? Closer examination of use of *come* and *came* in these types demonstrate that they are not semantically equivalent. In (82), where the standard preterit is used, the meaning is that the subject originated in a particular place, but in (83), what is implied is that the person arrived from that place, e.g. in the case of having made a journey from one place to the other:

(82) a. She *came* fae south somewhere. (b:999.32)

b. My mother *came* fae Lossie actually. (1:277.63)
c. Aye they *came* fae Dufftown. (1:348.65)

(83) a. There was a man *come* home fae Canada. (b:777.56)
b. After she *come* fae the school. (c:411.48)

Therefore there is a stative non-stative distinction operating in the Buckie dialect with regard to use of *come* and *came*. This semantic distinction can only be a hypothesis, given the lack of data, but my own native speaker intuitions lead me to believe that such a restriction does operate in the Buckie dialect.

An important point is the more to less ratio between punctual and iterative contexts. In all generations, the non-standard form is used more in punctual contexts, mirroring the results seen for discourse type. To test for interaction between the two groups, Table 37 shows the distribution of *come* in *came* across both aspect and discourse type.

Table 37: Distribution of non-standard *come* by aspect and discourse type

	iterative		punctual	
	N	%	N	%
narrative	52	52	374	56
non-narrative	15	27	52	33

Table 37 demonstrates that the effect is not aspect, but the result of discourse type. Both iterative and punctual contexts have high rates of the non-standard use in narrative discourse, and relatively lower rates in non-narrative contexts. For this reason, aspect will not be included in the multivariate analysis as the true effect is discourse type.

The presence of adverbial specification may favour *come*, as tense marking on the verb becomes redundant. To test the effect of adverbial specification, Table 38 shows the distribution of *come* in *came* by this constraint.

Table 38: Distribution of non-standard *come* by adverbial specification

	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
adverbial spec.	49	76	15	53	33	9
no adverbial spec.	193	79	91	44	126	13

Across the generations, the percentages show no substantial difference between whether *come* appears in a clause with adverbial specification or not, therefore the functional argument with respect to tense marking is not born out in this data.

Table 39 shows the distribution by clause type.

Table 39: Distribution of non-standard *come* by clause type

	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
main	170	75	69	46	131	13
subordinate	72	86	37	43	28	11

Only the older speakers differentiate between main and subordinate clauses, with higher rates of *come* in subordinate clauses.

In sum, it can be seen from the distributional analysis that the generations are not equal with regard to frequency of use of *come* in *came*, or, in some cases, patterns of use. The patterning of use across adverbial specification is similar across all generations, but differences emerge in the use by subject type and discourse type, with older and middle age speakers favouring the non-standard use in full NP contexts, and narrative discourse, but the younger speakers showing no distinct patterns of use across these two constraints.

I now turn to multivariate analyses of the use of *come* in *came*.

Table 40 shows three independent variable rule analyses of the contribution of factors to the probability of *come* in *came* in Buckie.

Table 40: Three independent variable rule analyses of the contribution of factors to the probability of *come* in contexts of standard *came* by age

	Old	Middle-aged	Young
Corrected mean	.80	.44	.11
Subject type			
pronominal	**.60**	**.60**	[.43]
full NP	**.29**	**.31**	[.62]
Range	*31*	*29*	
Discourse type			
Narrative	[.51]	**.61**	[.51]
Non-Narrative	[.33]	**.24**	[.47]
Range		*37*	
Adverbial specification			
No Spec.	[.50]	[.48]	[.52]
With Adverb	[.49]	[.61]	[.43]
Clause type			
Main	**.44**	[.51]	[.51]
Subordinate	**.64**	[.49]	[.45]
Sex			
Male	[.52]	**.66**	**.33**
Female	[.48]	**.34**	**.63**
Range		*32*	*30*
TOTAL Ns	242	106	121

Table 40 demonstrates that the significant factors in the conditioning of this variable amongst the older speakers is subject type and clause type. Pronominal subjects favour *come* and full NP subjects disfavour. Note too that although discourse type has a high range (19), it is not selected as significant. This is probably due to the small Ns in non-narrative contexts (N=17), but the direction of effect is narrative discourse favouring use of *come*. As suggested by the distributional analysis, adverbial specification and speaker sex are not significant to the use of *come* in preterit contexts.

Three factors are selected as significant to the use of *come* with the middle aged speakers – subject type, discourse type and speaker sex. The most significant factor is discourse type with a range of 37. Subject type is also a strong conditioning effect, as is speaker sex.

Only sex is selected as significant to the conditioning of *come* in preterit contexts, with women favouring and men disfavouring the non-standard form for the younger speakers. However, two of the younger speakers (q and j) account for 25% of all possible contexts in the young age group. Moreover, these two speakers are polarised with respect to use of *come* in *came* - one has 50% use while the other is categorically standard. Therefore these results are a reflection of these two speakers only. When they are removed from the analysis, sex is no longer significant.

Note that two important constraints in the middle aged and older speakers - subject type and discourse type - shows the reverse hierarchies in the younger speakers.

How can the internal conditioning found for the older and middle aged speakers be explained? The full NP/pro distinction may be the result of discourse level processes. Full NPs in discourse are normally introduced at first mention (see, for example, Schiffrin, 1994:240). I suggest that tense marking is needed in the first instance to ground the discourse in a particular time, then after this first mention, the verb does not need to be marked for tense (Tagliamonte, 1998a:208). This is consistent with Mufwene's (1984) functionalist account of verb marking, where zero marked verbs will be used once the frame of reference has been established.

Type of clause is significant in the older speakers, with subordinate clauses favouring the non-standard form. This is contrary to the findings in Inner Sydney (Eisikovits, 1991b). However, Eisikovits (1991) was looking at non-standard forms, whereas here we have a move towards the standard. It may be the case then that more salient contexts are the locus of change with these speakers[26].

The internal constraints on the use of *come* for the middle aged and older speakers are very similar. The younger speakers, on the other hand, show very different patterns of use. Not only is there a dramatic decrease in the frequencies of use of *come* in preterit contexts, but also a corresponding loss of patterning in the older generations. How can this be explained? I suggest that this is the result of rapid erosion of constraints on the use of this linguistic variable in the space of one generation. This is indicated not only by the fact that the younger speakers pattern so differently, but also the fact that no factors are selected as significant to the conditioning of *come* in this younger generation. What might have precipitated such a rapid change in the system of the younger speakers? I return to this issue in Section 6.

The results for discourse type accord with those found for *seen/done/taen*, where the innovative form is disfavoured in narrative contexts. Of course, these are not truly comparable, as one form is moving towards the standard (*came*) and the other verbs are non-standard (*seen/done/taen*). Nonetheless, these results may be indicative of the more conservative nature of narrative contexts.

I now turn to the use of *came* in past participle contexts.

Table 10 showed that there was 44% non-standard use in past participle contexts, as in (84):

(84) a. Whereas afore, she widna've *came* near's. (v:1008.33)
b. He could've *came* down. (t:19.0)
c. He's nivir *came* across nothin' like 'at. (j:166.27)
d. Aye, there was ain that hasna *came* oot. (y:684.56)
e. By the time M and them came, she wid've *came*. (s:140.31)

The use of preterit forms in participle contexts has been limited to the younger speakers with other verbs. Table 41 shows the distribution of *came* in contexts of standard *come* by age

Table 41: Distribution of *came* in contexts of standard *come* by age

old		middle		young	
N	%	N	%	N	%
8	0	6	0	11	100

Despite very small Ns, an apparent time change emerges when the data are viewed in this way. The middle-aged and older speakers have no use of non-standard *came* in past participle contexts while the younger speakers have 100% use[27]. A closer look at these 11 tokens reveals that participle contexts of use are spread across five speakers, but six of these tokens are attributed to one speaker (j). In fact, this is the same speaker who categorically uses standard *came* in preterit contexts (see Section 5.7.4). By looking at preterit contexts only, it might be tempting to surmise that this speaker has completely standardised the use of this verb, but what we witness here is a two way process. No use of *come* in preterit contexts, but also no use of *come* in participle contexts. Therefore he has one form only for preterit and past participle contexts. Of the four other speakers who have non-standard *came* in past participle contexts, three categorically use standard *came* in preterit context. Again *came* may be the only form that is an option for these younger speakers in both contexts.

Thus, in parallel with the rejection of *come* in all past tense reference contexts, there is a parallel development of *came* in past participle contexts. This point will be returned to in the discussion.

5.8 Summary of results

To summarise, I have described in some detail the historical literature on strong verbs in English, and their use in contemporary non-standard dialects. I have also provided a detailed quantitative analysis of the entire set of strong verbs in the Buckie data and the

extra-linguistic and language internal constraints on the use of non-standard forms. The primary findings of this research is 1) non-standard use is limited to particular verbs and 2) there are dramatic changes in this area of the grammar across three generations of speakers.

Five non-standard uses are identified:

1) past participles used in preterit contexts (the verbs *seen*, *done* and *taen*).
2) regularised forms (*selt*, *telt*, *gied*).
3) retention of *–en* forms (*gotten*, *haen*, *putten*).
4) preterits in past participle contexts (*went, came, forgot, fell, drove* etc.).
5) *come* in preterit contexts.

The change in apparent time, is shown in Table 42.

Table 42: Distribution of non-standard verbs by age

	old		middle		young	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
past part. in preterit						
done	31	0	46	0	91	42
seen	22	0	22	23	29	72
taen	73	8	36	8	78	56
preterit in past part.	14	3	15	13	28	77
-en retention						
gotten	25	84	32	69	59	69
haen	19	79	35	63	51	43
putten	9	89	5	40	15	0
come in preterit	242	78	106	45	159	13
regularised form						
gied	321	83	175	32	359	10
selt	9	78	12	75	29	93
telt	56	73	19	79	46	100

6. Discussion

6.1 Now you see it, now you don't

The results show that there is severe disruption in the strong verb system in apparent time, with many speakers adopting categorically different forms to those of the previous generations. Moreover, with many verbs, inter-speaker, rather than intra-speaker variation exists. This is in sharp contrast to the other variables studied in the preceding chapters, which exhibited continuity of variable patterns through three generations.

How can these results be interpreted?

I propose that the difference between strong verbs and the other variables studied results from their level within the linguistic system. W*as/were* (Chapter 2), negative concord (Chapter 3), and *do* absence (Chapter 4) are morphosyntactic variables, whereas the strong verb system is essentially lexical. Morphosyntactic features are learned by rule, whereas language at the lexical level is learned by rote (Bybee, 1985; Bybee & Slobin, 1982; Kiparsky, 1982; Kuczac, 1977; Pinker & Prince, 1988; Prasada & Pinker, 1993). Past temporal reference verbs highlight these diametrically opposed systems - weak verbs are created anew each time by rule, but strong forms are stored in the lexicon and accessed when needed (Kiparsky, 1982). In other words, 'the past tense forms of strong verbs must be memorised; the past tense forms of regular verbs can be generated by rule. Thus, the irregular forms are roughly where the grammar leaves off and memory begins' (Pinker & Prince, 1988:126). This distinction between rote learned and rule based structures is crucial to the transmission and subsequent maintenance of forms from one generation to the next. What these results suggest is that in contrast to morphosyntactic variation, strong verbs are much more susceptible to change, due to their primary reliance on memory, rather than forming an integral part of the internal grammar.

This is demonstrated in the case of the verb *go* with the preterit forms *gied* and *went*. While all older speakers used the *gied* form, only two younger speakers did. Moreover, the variability was characterised in the majority of cases by inter-speaker variation[28]. Even when the younger speakers exhibit some degree of variable use of forms (e.g. *come*), variable patterns were not passed down through the generations, as there was no continuity of constraints. Therefore if we think of language acquisition as 'a process in which the child arrives at adult grammar gradually by attempting to match to the speech it hears a succession of hypotheses of an increasing order of complexity' (Kiparsky, 1982:194) this is not a process which strong verbs undergo. Moreover, the

internal constraints were in almost every case outweighed by the extra-linguistic factor of age.

The question remains - where did the younger speakers get these forms? In most cases, they did not hear them from their parents.

Kroch (1994:185) states that when two forms exist for one function, 'speakers learn either one or the other form in the course of basic language acquisition, but not both' but 'later in life, on exposure to a wider range of language, they may hear and come to recognise the competing form ... and borrow this foreign form into their own speech or writing for its sociolinguistic value or even just because it is frequent in their language environment' (Kroch, 1994:185). I propose that this wider exposure explains the mismatch between the older/middle aged speakers vs. younger speakers forms used.

In fact, the results for some individuals are suggestive. Speaker q, a young female, matches most closely the forms used by the middle aged and older speakers (see Figures 3 and 4 for example). She has extremely close family ties, with her and her young family living with her grandmother. This lifestyle is demonstrated in her language behaviour, where she may simply have continued with the verb forms learnt and memorised in early childhood due to her relatively insular lifestyle[29]. Most other younger speakers on the other hand, have been exposed to wider influences and may have subsequently changed the forms.

Moreover, Labov (1980:261) comments that 'the most advanced speakers are the persons with the largest number of local contacts within the neighbourhood, yet who have at the same time the highest proportion of their acquaintances outside the neighbourhood'...thus we have a portrait of individuals with the highest local prestige who are responsive to a somewhat broader form of prestige at the next larger level of social communication' (ibid:261). This is demonstrated by j, a young, male speaker. He probably represents the loosest ties in the sample. He has lived abroad for 6 months and has a substantial number of acquaintances outside the community. Hence, this speaker has 'weak links to more than one group and forms a bridge between groups' (Milroy, 1992:184). Indeed, j's speaker profile makes him a prime candidate as innovator in the community, and in this case he is the most innovative in his use of forms, demonstrated in his high rates of use of, for example, *came* (see Figures 2) and and low rates of use of the dialectal *-en* forms (Figure 4)[30].

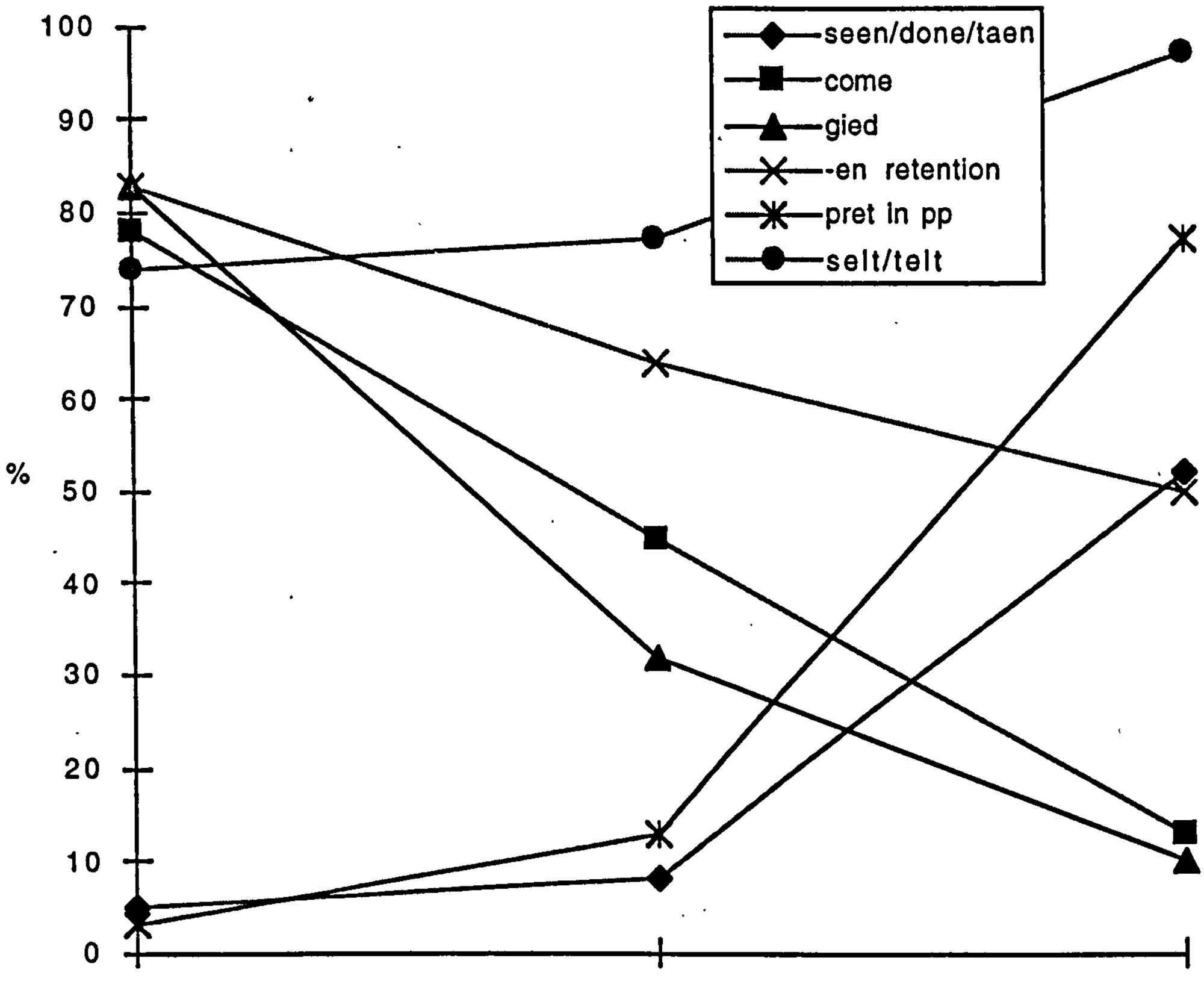
These two case studies further highlight the point that strong verbs are much more susceptible to change from wider influences. What these influences might be is returned to below.

If we accept the view, then, that strong verbs are learned by rote and not part of the grammatical system, the question arises as to why some verb forms proceed unchanged while others show dramatic change. That is, why have some verbs been replaced almost completely (e.g. *come*, *gied*), while others maintain the same frequencies of use across the generations (e.g. *sell*). Bybee (1985:119) suggests that frequency plays a part in the continuation of forms, as 'each time a word is heard and produced it leaves a slight trace in the lexicon, it increases in lexical strength', therefore etching 'deeper and darker lines each time' on the lexicon (ibid. 117). This assumption is also supported by Pinker and Prince (1988:126) who attribute change in strong verb forms to 'low strength memory traces of irregular verbs'.

The data here however showed that variation and change was more frequent with commonly used verbs (see Table 7), and is in fact, the opposite effect to what is predicted. Therefore, there is no correlation between frequency and stability in the Buckie data. However, the cases discussed by Bybee (1985) are strong verbs adopting weak inflections, as in the history of English, whereas in the Buckie data, there is syncretism (e.g. *seen/done/taen*, *come*) or weak forms being replaced by strong (e.g. *gied/went*)[31]. If frequency cannot provide an explanatory account in these cases, what mechanism is operating to produce these changes? A more 'holistic' view of the findings may shed light on this question.

Table 10 showed that the verbs *think*, *make*, *buy*, *meet* and *say* have no non-standard use[32], and these are also the verbs which have the same preterit and participle form. This is in line with the findings for Appalachia and Ozark English (Christian et al., 1988:89) where 'all verbs (in this class) in fact show no non-standard use'. Why are these types of verbs 'immune' to variability? Further, in the variable contexts, we see retention, innovation and stability, depending on the different lexical verbs under study. This is graphically demonstrated in Figure 5.

Figure 5: Distribution of non-standard use of strong verbs across three generations



How can these results be explained? Why is it the case, for example, that we have three verbs which share the same historical trend - regularisation of forms - but exhibit dichotomous patterns of use across the three generations - one is retained intact (*selt/telt*), while the other is fast becoming obsolete (*gied*). What can explain the remarkable loss of *come* in *came*, when other dialects are well documented as retaining this feature? Where did the use of preterits in participles in the younger generation come from?

6.2 Disparate processes - unified account

At first sight, it seems difficult to find common ground amongst these changes across three generations. There are preterits as past participles (*forgot, bade* etc.), past participles as preterits (*seen/done/taen*). There is loss of regularised forms (*gied*) and stability of regularized forms (*selt/telt*). There is move towards the standard (e.g. *came, went*) and move away from the standard (*seen, forgot* etc.). There is innovation in apparent time (preterits in past participles, past participles in preterits) and retention (*gotten, haen*). How can these seemingly disparate processes be reconciled?

Despite this apparent disorder, crucially, they have one major feature in common - the younger speakers have restructured the strong verb paradigm in order that they have a paradigm which consists of the same preterit and past participle forms, but a different stem form. This results in the patterns seen in Table 43.

Table 43: Strong verb paradigm for younger speakers

stem	preterit	past participle
see	*seen*	*seen*
do	*done*	*done*
take	*taen*	*taen*
come	*came*	*came*
go	*went*	*went*
get	*got*	*got*
have	*had*	*had*
sell	*selt*	*selt*
tell	*telt*	*telt*
bide	*bade*	*bade*
forget /fall etc.	*forgot /fell*	*forgot/fell*

Here we have a classic case of change by analogy where an irregular form is made to conform to a regular pattern (Hock, 1986; Kurylowicz, 1965; Manzak, 1958). The 'regular pattern' used as a model here is the most common one in irregular verbs - same preterit and past participle forms - as is the case with all weak verbs. With verbs with two different forms in these contexts, the alternation or allomorphy is eliminated within the paradigm, leading to a process of levelling (Manzak, 1958).

This also has consequences for the learning process. Because the strong verb system relies on memory and retrieval, rather than being rule-governed, it carries with it a high cognitive cost (Pinker & Prince, 1988). This cognitive cost is much lower, however, if all strong verbs follow this regularised schema.

This paradigm corresponds to Christian et als findings (1988:108), as they state that 'there appears to be a fairly strong tendency to reduce the number of form distinctions for a given irregular verb to two.' Moreover, this may be 'the first plateau of change in the system' (Christian et al., 1988:108). However, there is no analysis of change in apparent time in their study. What I have demonstrated here is a snapshot of this 'plateau of change' in progress through the three generations.

Hence, the use of *seen/done/taen* in preterits and the use of preterit such as *forgot* in past participles. The verbs *sell* and *tell* continue to be regularised as they already have identical forms for both preterit and past participle, therefore fit this schema.

This also explains the case of *come*. I posed the question of why the younger speakers in Buckie employed *came* in preterit contexts when other young speakers from other varieties employed *come* (see section 5.7.4). If the younger speakers continued with the use of *come* in preterit contexts, then this does not fit the schema they have constructed, as all forms are the same (*come/come/come*). Therefore they have adopted the standard variant, but then expanded this form to past participle contexts also.

Thus, the restructuring process that has been in evidence from the Old English period continues today in the Buckie dialect. Differences exist however, in the type of restructuring involved. Instead of a movement of strong verbs to the weak category, as was the case in the diachronic record, here we see restructuring of the existing categories in present day English, with a move towards one form for both preterits and participles (Type 3). The outcome of this system is a much more simplified one than that which currently exists. As Milroy & Milroy (1985:83) state 'non-standard varieties, when compared to the standard, have a compulsion to simplify and regularise: in doing so we reduce what we have called redundant distinctions and move in the direction of greater transparency'. These 'redundant' distinctions between preterits and past participles, for example, may have been on the point of disappearing from the language as far back as the 1600, but 'eighteenth century prescriptive grammarians were responsible for 'legitimising' many of these distinctions such as *saw* vs. *seen'* (see also, Hogg, 1988:38; Leonard, 1929:76). In this case, the effects of prescriptivism have played a significant part in the maintenance of the verb classes in standard English[33].

Christian et al (1988:108) state that 'there are indications that some of the levelled participle forms are more acceptable than other non-standard irregular verb forms'. This may be explained by the fact that 'for a child's analogical innovation to effect a change in the language at large, it must be acceptable to the speech community' (Bybee, 1980:179). The widespread adoption of these forms by the younger speakers points to the fact that they are acceptable to the middle aged and older speakers, whether they themselves actually use them or not. I propose that this is aided by 1) support from prescriptive norms (e.g. the change from *gied* to *went*) or 2) the fact that the forms used already exist in another context in the case of syncretism - they are not created anew - therefore are familiar to the speakers.

6.3 Direction of change

However, a number of questions remain unanswered if we adopt wholescale the theory of analogical change. Firstly, what governs the direction of syncretism seen here? Most verbs regularise from the preterit to the past participle (*went*, *came*, *bade* etc.), but *seen*, *done* and *taen* regularise in the opposite direction.

Recall Table 10, in which a comparison of Ns for these main verbs shows that in most cases, preterit contexts far outnumber past participle contexts. For example, 5% of all possible contexts of *come* are in past participle contexts, *say* and *go* are 7% and *get* is 16%. Contrast this with *take*, 38%, *do*, 71% and *see*, which actually has more past participle contexts than preterits. It may well be therefore that the prevalence of the past participle contexts with *take*, *do* and *see* makes it an ideal candidate on which to base the paradigm, rather than the preterit form.

Analogy also plays a part in the use of these participle forms. I suggested in Section 5.5.4 that *taen* in preterit contexts had been in the grammar of the speakers the longest, given the frequencies of use across the generations. That the verbs *seen* and *done* should then be adopted into the paradigm by analogy is not surprising.

Lastly, there may also be a general restriction on the use of mono-syllabic forms in this context, explaining why the disyllabic form *taken* in most British English dialects is not used in preterit contexts, but monosyllabic *taen* is[34]. This highlights the language internal mechanisms which come into play in the restructuring of the strong verb paradigm. These forms are not created ex-nihilo.

What about the regularised preterit *gied?* Instead of retaining this form and expanding it to past participle contexts, the young speakers have adopted the standard variant *went* and expanded this to the past participle as well. Why is this the case? I suggest that prescriptive norms have had an impact on the younger speakers. Due to the fact that this is a suppletive verb, there is nothing to connect the forms *gied* and *went*, therefore a mismatch arises between what the children hear in school and what they hear at home. In contrast, the other regularised verbs *sell* and *tell*, have much more in common with the standard forms *sold* and *told*, on morphophonetic terms, allowing them to be maintained. The mismatch between *gied* and *went* is resolved by abandoning the dialectal form in favour of the standard. It this case, it looks like the form *went* has the 'sociolinguistic value' (Kroch, 1994:181), and is favoured over *gied* by the younger speakers. Here, 'the social situation is the most powerful determinant of verbal

behaviour' (Labov, 1972b:212), with the effects of prescriptive norms ousting the dialectal forms.

However, is should be noted that while prescriptive norms explain the choice processes involved between *gied* and *went*, they cannot explain the use of some other verbs, as I have already demonstrated the rise of many non-standard forms in the younger speakers. Again, here the overriding principle is 'make the verb forms fit the schema' rather than 'use the standard form'. Therefore effects of education are in most cases subordinate to the more general paradigm restructure.

6.4 Rates of change

Within the unified theory of 'two contexts, one form', the issue of rates of change arises. The analysis demonstrates that some lexical verb forms are changing very quickly and others more slowly. For example, the use of *gied* as the regularised preterit of *go* is disappearing rapidly from the grammar of the speakers, while *-en* retention is much slower to change. Moreover, intra-speaker variability is the norm with the verb *got*, and to a certain extent *come*, in contrast to most other verbs analysed. How can this be explained?

Recall that strong verbs are stored in the lexicon, as 'suppletive forms, and most probably other irregular forms must be learned by rote' (Bybee, 1985:112). However, unlike the full scale replacement of *gied* with *went* what we see with some cases are morphologically complex forms, such as the *-en* inflection on *gotten*. Bybee (1985:12) proposes that some strong verbs differ on how they are learned and proposes a continuum of acquisition, shown in Table 44:

Table 44: Continuum of acquisition and learning processes involved

lexicon	rote
derivation	rote, combination
inflection	combination, rote
pure grammatical morpheme	combination
syntax	combination

This continuum implies that while forms such as *went* are situated in the lexicon, the inflectional form arising from *get* probably sits somewhere between syntax and lexicon. Therefore it is perhaps too simplistic to assume that all strong verbs are learned by rote, but rather, the process may be a combination of both syntax and lexicon.

If this is the case, then we can assume that *-en* retention is much more embedded in the grammar of the speakers, and hence less susceptible to quick replacement from one generation to the next. Indeed, an indicator that we may well be dealing with a phenomenon deeper than rote learning is suggested by the patterns of use seen for the other inflectional forms *spoken*, *forgotten* etc. A clear aspectual distinction seems to be arising in the grammar of the younger speakers (see Table 9) and it would be strange to assume that this subtle distinction is learned by rote, as simply as the past form *went* is learned.

6.5 Comparison with other dialects - shared linguistic heritage?

Recall Section 3 which documented the use of strong verb forms across a variety of non-standard dialects. Many qualitative patterns of use were common to all - regularisation, unmarked forms, strong form replacement etc. - and Buckie also shares many of these. But the similarities between Buckie and other varieties are striking not only in qualitative terms but also quantitatively.

For example, high rates of:

1) *come* in preterit contexts (Christian et al., 1988; Eisikovits, 1991b; Feagin, 1979; Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming; Schneider, 1989; Tagliamonte, to appear).
2) past participles in preterit contexts (Christian et al., 1988; Eisikovits, 1991b; Feagin, 1979).
3) preterits in past participle contexts (Christian et al., 1988; Feagin, 1979).

Also, there appears to be shared constraints in some cases:

4) syncretism to perfective contexts, but not passives (Eisikovits, 1991b).
5) use of *seen* and *done* in preterit contexts (Christian et al., 1988; Eisikovits, 1991b; Feagin, 1979).

And finally a trend towards:

6) restructuring to a single form for both preterit and past participle contexts (Christian et al., 1988; Eisikovits, 1991b).

With *was/were* (Chapter 2) I argued that such shared patterns of use across widely dispersed geographical locations were due to shared linguistic heritage, with the patterns being passed on through the generations. The same argument might be applied here. However, this research has proved that the patterns of use are not transmitted systematically from one generation to the next. Indeed, there is massive disruption in forms used in the space of 50 years in the Buckie data. If this area of the grammar has failed to be passed on in the course of just 50 years within the same community, then

the argument that forms are passed on through time (up to 200 years) and space (thousands of miles) seems untenable.

So what can explain the similarities in strong verb morphology across widely dispersed geographic locations? This appears to be the phenomenon where 'language moves down in a current of its own making. It has drift' (Sapir, 1921:150). Sapir argues that drift 'is constituted by the unconscious selection on the part of the speakers of those individual variations that are cumulative in some special direction. This direction may be inferred in the main from the past history of the language' (Sapir, 1921:155). Malkiel (1981:566) identifies drift as 'a single, isolated undisturbed evolutionary strain or streak'. The strain or streak we see here are the varieties of English in widely dispersed geographical areas having common patterns of variability. Given that these are all dialects of English, it is perhaps not surprising that they share some characteristics in the use of strong verbs[35]. In other words, this is a case of 'independent if parallel development within the same language family' (Malkiel, 1981:566) discussed in the Introduction.

But as Ferguson (1996:188) states, 'it is clear that drift does not proceed in a straight line but zigs and zags, regresses here and advances there, while the overall trend continues'. Indeed, the Buckie dialect provides an excellent example of this zig-zagging. On the one hand, there is widespread use of syncretism, which is innovative in this dialect, and on the other hand, retention of relic forms such as *gotten*. Despite this, the overall trend is towards one form for both preterit and past participles. Moreover, the ecological circumstances (Mufwene, 1996) in which these varieties arise result in inter-community differences. For example, the predominant use of unmarked forms in EAAE (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming), and Ozark English (Christian et al., 1988:98); and widespread regularisation in the Ex-Slave Narratives (Schneider, 1989).

The differences in developmental stages and rates of change also highlight the differential nature of drift. For example, Christian et al (1988:105) state that there is no 'perfect correspondence between the age factor and non-standard usage' but there is 'more advanced' behaviour by the younger speakers in the use of one form for two functions, at least in Ozark English. In Alabama English, on the other hand, (Feagin 1979:83), the percentages of non-standard forms are comparable across the generations in most cases, as is the case in York English (Tagliamonte, to appear) for the use of *come*.

These extra-linguistic findings in apparent time are in sharp contrast to the Buckie data, which demonstrated that age differences were significant in all cases. Such dramatic change in the last 3 generations is particularly intriguing when viewed against the backdrop of the historical record. Use of preterits in past participle contexts for example, is attested from at least 1600 (see Section 2.2). If this analysis included younger speakers only, the results might suggest that their use is a case of stable variation, inherent in the system for the last 400 years. But the apparent time analysis demonstrates that the levelling of the system to one form is a very recent phenomenon. The question arises of why it is now that the speakers in Buckie have restructured the system, when the potential has been around to do so for centuries?

The question could equally be put in the other way - why *not* here and now? Indeed, Lass (1980) suggests that language change is not amenable to explanation at all when we are confronted with the actuation problem (Weinreich et al., 1968). Many of the changes that have taken place since Old English seem to defy explanation. However, this should not preclude speculation as to the cause.

I speculate that the rapid changes in this data, but only with these variables, might be a product of emerging global mega-trends in a media rich culture. A view largely endorsed in sociolinguistics in the last few decades is that change cannot be actuated without face-to-face interaction, therefore the media cannot precipitate change in a linguistic system because it is not *interactive*' (Milroy & Milroy, 1985:30; Trudgill, 1978:40-41). It can 'give rise to an awareness of an innovation, but have little influence in promoting adoption' (Milroy and Milroy, 1985:30). Trudgill (1986:40-41) also plays down the effect of the media on linguistic behaviour, stating that television and radio serve only in the spread of vocabulary items, new idioms and fashionable pronunciations of individual words.

However, Kerswill (1996) in his study of three towns in widely dispersed geographic locations in England has found patterns of use spreading from one geographic area to another, without any obvious contact between these. This is also the findings of Stewart-Smith (1999:209) on the Glasgow dialect. In these cases, perhaps for reasons of covert prestige, supra-local forms such as *th*- fronting and glottalisation are being adopted by the younger members in widely dispersed communities. However, this spread is not limited to national boundaries, but also affects linguistic features across continents, such as use of quotative *like* (Tagliamonte & Hudson, 1999). Thus, the media does seem to be exerting a strong influence on speaker choice of at least some variants, as this is the only robust unifying contact between these communities.

How does the use of strong verbs in Buckie contribute to our understanding of the effects of media on linguistic behaviour? I have suggested that the supra-local trends we see here, shared across many dialects (preterits in past participle contexts, past participles in preterit contexts etc.) are the product of drift. But I also suggest that drift in the Buckie context has been accelerated by the widespread exposure to more widespread norms accessed through the media and globalisation more generally, loser networks in some of the younger speakers, in addition to standardisation through education. Therefore the younger speakers have been made aware of these norms through the media and outisde contacts *and* have adopted them rapidly over the course of one generation. This process of drift may have taken much longer, left to its own internal devices. In fact, it is as if the younger speakers 'are opportunistic, that when the language offers a feature that can be modifed in a direction that fits the drift an innovator may pick up on it and the community may go along with it' (Ferguson, 1996:194).

However, and most crucially, these external effects are limited to those superficial levels in the grammar in the Buckie dialect at least - strong verbs which are merely learned by rote and memorised. The more deeply embedded grammatical rules, such as *was/were* variation are not affected in such a way. This process of adoption is obviously aided by a combination of positive social attitude towards these forms and prescriptive ratification, coupled with the fact that the forms fit the paradigm discussed in Section 6.2[36].

7. Conclusion

I have summarised the most important findings on the use of strong verbs in Buckie and demonstrated that the flux in strong verb morphology attested since the Old English period continues apace today in this dialect. I appealed to the theoretical, historical and variationist literature to account for these results.

One major finding is that there is rapid change in apparent time in the use of strong verb morphology, not only with an erosion of constraints across the generations, but also qualitative changes in use of forms to express past temporal reference. I suggested that these results are explicable in terms of how the strong verb system is acquired. This component of the grammar is lexical and hence learnt by rote and memorised. These forms are therefore much more susceptible to rapid change. This also explains the lack of internal constraints in some of these verbs. In these cases there is no 'underlying grammar' which would allow us to track innovation and obsolescence.

The study of these changes also revealed apparently disparate processes at work in apparent time - obsolescence, innovation, and stability. However, a holistic view of these results revealed one common denominator - the rise of a simpler, less marked paradigm, where a verb form has the same preterit and past participle form. Chambers and Trudgill (1991:216), maintain that 'the tendency towards identical past tense and past participle forms is exerting a powerful influence on language change' and this is what we see in the Buckie dialect. This system can only evolve in non-standard dialects, given the pressure from prescriptive norms to maintain in Standard English a more 'complicated' paradigm.

I suggested that this restructuring is explicable in terms of drift, as Buckie is not the only dialect to follow this pathway of change. However, this drift has been largely limited to the last thirty years in Buckie, despite the fact that some of these non-standard uses have been attested for many centuries (see Section 2.2). I attributed this extremely rapid change to the trigger of supra-local norms, adopted through exposure to the media and prescriptive norms. For example, the selection of *went* over the dialectal form *gied* in the younger speakers is undoubtedly due to prescriptive norms. I suggested that the forms that these younger speakers originally used were copied from their parents, but in the face of decreasing lexical strength of these on exposure to wider linguistic influences, in tandem with internal pressures to regularise, caused them to switch their use of forms.

In sum, in providing a complete account of the strong verb system in Buckie and tracking its rapid change across time, I have been able to examine in detail the restructuring process which has taken place in the last few decades in Buckie. These results are in sharp contrast to the findings for the three morphosyntactic variables examined, due to the different levels of grammar in place in the production of strong verbs. Memory and retrieval are greatly aided in this non-standard dialect by the reorganisation of the strong verb system into one form, two contexts.

1 In discussing present day Buckie, I define weak verbs as those whose preterit and participle forms are formed by the suffix –ed (/-d/, /-t/,/-id/), and no vowel alternation. All other verbs are classified as strong. Under this definition, a verb such as *teach/taught* is strong. However, in discussion of the historical context, I use the traditional classification of strong and weak verbs (see, for example, Jespersen 1954).

2 Its loss in spoken Scots was due to regular, conditioned sound changes (Murray 1873:199), although it still exists in the Buckie dialect, especially amongst the older speakers, as in (a):

(a) 1. But she had a lot fae Aberdeen that she workit with in the P-and-J. (a:607.4)
2. He travelled over to the window and he walkit back and fore. (d:341.9)
3. When he was growing up a young loon, he just lookit after us, you-ken. (e:770.4)

However, the differing phonological realizations of weak verbs form an entirely different study and are not dealt with here.

3 This also included 2nd person singular (Baugh, 1951:69).

4 Strong participles were more likely to survive than their preterit counterparts, thus in present day English, we have retention of swollen etc. but the weak form swelled in the preterit (Baugh, 1951:197; Long, 1944:269).

5 This is an approximate number, as it is impossible to calculate exactly. For example, Görlach (1994) states that 248 verbs could be traced in the OE period.

6 These numbers do not include verbs such as *bring/brought* and *think/thought* As these have the characteristic –t ending of weak verbs, they are often considered to be members of the weak conjugation. However, there also exists root vowel alternation, as the I-umlaut affected the present tense root vowel in Germanic, but not the past. For this reason, they can be considered a subclass of weak verbs (King, 1997:177). However in the present study, these are treated as strong verbs.

7 There was also a certain tendency for historically weak verbs to become strong (Pyles & Algeo, 1993:195), around 15 in total (Baugh, 1951:197) (e.g. dive/dove, dig/dug), but this is negligible compared to the strong to weak paradigm.

8 In contrast to the use of preterits in past participle contexts, I cannot find examples from as far back as the 1600s.

9 However, in Scots, there was a parallel development, where after the gradual disappearance of the –en, -d or -it was added to distinguish the past participle from the present tense, as in 'thay're com'd' (Murray, 1873:201).

10 Note that this is used as an alternative to standard English teach in some cases

11 Certain exclusions apply to individual verbs. These will be dealt with in later sections.

12 The historic present is circumscribed to complicating action (see, for example, Dempsie 2000). As documented in Section 4.2, however, cases with this tense marking were not included.

13 There are no examples of *become* in the data.

14 In these and subsequent figures demonstrating individual use, speakers with less than four tokens are not included to avoid misleading percentages)

15 Complicating action, orientation and when clauses were collapsed into one group, as they patterned in the same way.

16 All clauses that were marked with a temporal adverb were collapsed due to small Ns.

17 The finding for perfective versus passive use of participle forms cannot be tested here, as the semantics of bide disallow it in a passive constructions.

18 Why is it the case that the form *haen* is not used in the preterit? Given that it is only the young speakers who participate to any significant degree in this process of syncretism, *haen* is not an ideal candidate as this group are using the form less and less.

19 Examples of stative *have got*, as in (b) were not included in the analysis as these solely refer to present tense, and are not variable in the data.

(b) 1. She's just got a richt Finichty tongue, her. (x:205.8)
2. If you've got a younger one, you 're tied. (s:875.0)
3. Aye, eh they've got Celtic in common! (w:127.17)
4. Every business's got a different way of running things ken. (v:168.18)
5. 'Nobody forced me to do anything. I've got my own mind.' (j:398.42)

The stative/non-stative distinction is highlighted in (c), where the first *got* cannot appear with the -en participle as it is stative, but the second one clearly has the function of present perfect:

(c) I think she's got- already got a quinie and she's gotten a loonie this time. (v:285.13)

Examples where the meaning is obligation i.e. functionally equivalent to *must*, as in (d) were also excluded, as these are also not variable:

(d) 1. I've got to be busy. (w:79.24)
2. I've got to give a bit more time. (s:596.36)

20 This result shows that this is not the product of one or two individuals.

21 The low rates of use for the young males is attributed to one speaker - Sandy Smith. He accounts for 14 of the 23 tokens, and has only 7% non-standard use.

22 In Macaulay's (1991) study of Scots, he found that this was a socially salient variable, with the use of the regularised forms restricted to lower class informants, and the standard English form used by all other classes.

23 He states that 'this contraction of *give* is as old as the 13th century.'

24 Moreover, it may be that they did not adopt the regularised form as this would result in homophony with the preterit form of go.

25 Stative contexts are attributed to variable speakers, therefore this is not the product of categorically standard use by individual speakers in other contexts as well.

26 This was not the effect of subject type. When these were cross-tabulated, there were more standard forms with both full NPs and pronominals.

27 These tokens are from a range of structures, including perfectives, both past and present, and irrealis contexts.

28 This matches the findings from the historical record, where 'variation in past tense use in the Middle English vernacular was more at the community than individual level' (Taylor, 1994:149).

29 Speaker q's traditional lifestyle is demonstrated in the extract below:
And granny says 'Well, ken come down and you can ging up the stair'. [018] And they 're aie here yet. Now I 'll never get rid of them. [017] No, you 'll never got rid of us. We 're here noo. [018] I'll never get rid of them noo! [1] Oh, but you're fine there. [017] Och aye. There 's plenty room. Well, we 'd you dad down last week to see about covering in the back stair to make it all-all into one, ken, so that- to save us gan out and at least it'll be closer, you-ken, for granny to roar up the stair if she needs us, rather than havin' to go oot in the cold winter.

30 This speaker's outlook on Buckie is also slightly different from the other speakers, as demonstrated in the following extract:
But a lot o' folk up here havena actually been ony-wye else other than Buckie, so they havena seen onythin' else about, ken ony other kinds o' forms of life apart fae their odd twa weeks in Spain where they 're just meetin' folk like themselves, onywye, ken.
This extract reveals his rather ambivalent attitude to his fellow community members and Buckie itself. On the other hand, Sandy is popular in the Buckie area with a wide circle of friends, and has opted to stay in the area, despite several subsequent opportunities since his return, to leave. These opposing pressures are manifested in his linguistic repertoire. Through the variables studied, his speech reveals a combination of new and old, innovation vs. retention.

31 According to the Elsewhere Condition (Kiparsky, 1982), either a strong form is stored and it can be accessed, or it is not and a weak form must be formed by rule.

32 In fact, the only other verb which has no non-standard use, but has three forms, is *give*.

33 But 'prescriptive ideology' also resists 'potentially useful innovations in colloquial forms' (Milroy & Milroy, 1985:85). This is illustrated in the aspectual distinction that has arisen with use of past participles in passives (Table 9).

34 Another verb which has one syllable and which may be expected to undergo syncretism is *gone*, but this is a suppletive verb, which has a preterit form which is not derived form the stem, making it a different case.

35 Chambers (1995:243) identifies such restructuring processes as one of the primitives of vernacular dialects. Whatever the term employed to describe this shared feature, the result is the same.

36 This hypothesis also raises issues regarding what types of change can be precipitated in this way (e.g. with phonetic variables only consonantal features?), but this is beyond the scope of the present study.

CHAPTER 6

CONCLUSION

1. Introduction

I have now completed four large scale quantitative studies of linguistic variation in the Buckie dialect - *was/were* variation, negative concord, *do* absence and strong verbs. What has been learned from this research? I stated in the Introduction that the aims of this study were two-fold - to describe and explain the patterns of use of non-standard forms in the Buckie data and second, to compare these results with other varieties of English, particularly in North America.

I summarised the socio-historical background of the Buckie community and I suggested that its relative isolation on geographic, economic and psychological grounds made it an invaluable source from which to examine linguistic variation. An important consideration in this dissertation was to go beyond mere description of non-standard features, or to simply provide overall frequencies of use. By employing quantitative variationist methods, my aim was to establish the external and internal pressures governing the choice processes made by speakers in discourse. This methodology enabled me to determine the underlying grammar which conditioned the surface variants observed.

I now review the major findings of this research and their contribution to the field of language variation and change more generally. I first turn to a summary of the findings for the four linguistic variables under study.

2. Summary of findings

The first linguistic variable examined was alternation between *was* and *were*. This analysis revealed that use of *was* in contexts of standard *were* was strongly conditioned by grammatical person. There were high rates of *was* with 2nd person singular *you* and plural NPs, but 3rd person plural pronoun *they* had categorical use of *were*. I argued that these differential rates across subject type could not be due to primitive status or analogical levelling. Instead, the specific patterns of use are explicable against the backdrop of the historical record, as these constraints are attested for Northern dialects as far back as the 13th century. In other words, the patterns in this contemporary dialect reflected those attested in diachrony.

However, the apparent time analysis revealed the gradual erosion of some of the historical constraints. This was highlighted in the increased use of *was* in plural existentials and second person plural *we*. This points to extension of the original constraints into new environments, viewed through apparent time.

In tandem with the increase in these contexts, there was a general decrease of *was* in *were* in absolute frequencies. This undoubtedly is a reflection of encroaching prescriptive norms, but crucially, the observed changes are quantitative rather than qualitative. The examination of these underlying constraints highlighted the importance of relic areas in the tracking of morphosyntactic patterns through time, as the tracks of the past can still be seen in the present.

Negative concord is widely reported in non-standard dialects, and indeed high rates of use were found in Buckie. Like the use of *was* in *were*, this finding can be interpreted in light of its use in previous centuries. Negative concord was the predominant form used until the rise of *any* forms in the 16th century. It was suggested that the rise of these forms was due to a Latin influence, in other words, it was imposed from above, rather than a language internal process. However, its use continued in the working classes, hence the high rates of use seen today in the Buckie speakers least affected by or indeed indifferent to, prescriptive norms.

Indeed, I observed that there was a direct connection between influence from the standard and use of *any* forms. Analysis of this variable across age demonstrated that the older speakers had higher rates of use compared to the other age groups, and I proposed that these speakers were only minimally affected by prescriptive dictates, as they are the most insular group in the sample. Hence, negative concord is the default setting in non-standard dialects, or in other words, is a primitive.

Examination of internal constraints revealed that there was a more to less hierarchy between pronominal indeterminates and NP indeterminates in the middle aged and younger speakers. There are no such constraints attested in the historical record, as quantitative studies carried out on this use provide overall frequencies of use only. But I proposed that these synchronic findings may highlight a possible pathway of change in the obsolescence of negative concord from the 16th century onwards. The patterns of use in Buckie suggest that NP indeterminates are the point of entry of *any* forms into the grammar of the speakers, with more frequent forms resisting the use of *any* forms imposed from above.

This analysis demonstrates the utility of the *uniformitarian principle* (Labov, 1994a:21) where knowledge of processes that operated in the past can be inferred from the present.

Negative concord is reported in many dialects of English, but in Chapter 4, I examined a hitherto undocumented phenomenon - the variable use of *do* in negative declaratives in the present tense. At a descriptive level, *do* absence has the same surface form as negative marking in the OE and ME periods, which might lead to the suggestion that this is a relic feature. However, closer analysis revealed that the specific distributional patterns could not be accounted for in this way. Instead, the categorical vs. variable distribution of *do* had a syntactic explanation. *Do* presence is categorical when there is overt 3rd person *-s* morphology. In all other contexts, it is variable. Thus, Buckie had followed the change from postverbal to preverbal negation along with the majority of dialects, but had further innovated the new system, as 'closed dialects are naturally correlated with a higher degree of norm elaboration' (Andersen, 1988:78).

This analysis highlights the drawbacks of a reliance on surface level description in accounting for the observed variability. Without recourse to the principle of accountability, I might have indeed been led to the conclusion that *do* absence is a relic feature maintained from the OE and ME periods. Instead, the analysis demonstrates innovation, rather than retention.

Further analysis showed that the variable contexts were conditioned by person and number of the subject, lexical verb and following complement. I appealed to frequency, collocation and processing constraints to explain this patterning.

Examination of use across the three generations revealed that the middle aged and younger speakers had slightly lower rates of *do* absence, but the constraints remained constant across apparent time. In other words, this was a stable variable, on which prescriptive norms have little impact. I suggested that this immunity to change was in part due to its lack of salience for the Buckie speakers, as its restricted geographic use has allowed it to go unnoticed.

This variable highlights the importance of isolation from more mainstream norms in the adoption of idiosyncratic features. A dialect such as Buckie diverges 'most markedly at the grammatical level from the already relatively well-known standard and other mainstream varieties of English' (Trudgill & Chambers, 1991:3) as it is relatively free from the suppression of standardisation.

Chapter 5 analysed the entire strong verb system in Buckie. The results demonstrated that the extensive reorganization of the seven strong verb classes documented in the historical literature continues today in this dialect. However, the type of restructuring differs. Instead of a move from strong to weak class of verbs evident in diachrony, there is a trajectory of change towards the same forms for both preterit and past participle contexts in this contemporary data. Moreover, this restructured paradigm is characteristic of the young speakers only, as there was dramatic change in the space of one generation towards use of the same forms. In many cases, qualitatively different forms were used by the younger speakers when compared to the previous generations, and the variation was typified by inter-speaker rather than intra-speaker variation. Therefore inherent variability at the individual level is not a feature of strong verbs in this dialect.

These results contrasted sharply with findings from the three other variables - *was/were*, *do* absence and negative concord showed extensive retention of variable constraints from one generation to the next. This begged the question of why variable patterning is passed from generation to generation in some cases, while strong verbs show catastrophic change.

I proposed that these findings shed light on the differential status of these variables within the grammatical system itself. Morphosyntactic variables such as *was/were* variation are rule governed, whereas strong verbs are learned by rote and simply memorised. Thus, the rapid change in forms used for strong verbs does not affect a change in the grammar of the speakers, but purely has an effect at a superficial level, i.e. the forms the speakers have been exposed to and memorised. Morphosyntactic variables, on the other hand, are deep within the grammar of the speakers and less susceptible to change.

Further, I tentatively suggested that strong verbs are more influenced by external pressures, such as prescriptive norms, given the different systems in place for learning these. It seems, therefore, that face-to-face interaction is not a prerequisite in *all* types of linguistic change.

Through the detailed analysis of these four linguistic variables, I have demonstrated the different mechanisms and factors affecting choice processes in the realisation of the alternating variants. I suggested that variation and change in some cases is externally motivated. This is exemplified in the use of negative concord, where speakers least influenced by standard norms (the older, insular speakers) have the highest rates of non-standard use. These external effects were also evident in the general decrease in

rates of *was* in *were* across grammatical person through the generations. The effects of standardisation could also be seen in the selection of particular past tense forms. In the case of *gied/went*, the prescribed form is favoured by the younger speakers, undoubtedly supported by prescriptive norms.

However, in all of these cases, language internal pressures were also evident. For example, the NP>pro distinction in the use of negative concord can have in no way been imposed from above, as no such distinction exists in the standard. This is an internally conditioned change, motivated by frequency factors. The increase in *was* in plural existentials has a syntactic basis. *There* in subject position does not trigger plural agreement. The younger speakers use of strong verbs may have been triggered by external influences, but language internal pressures towards a more simplified paradigm was the overriding force in the selection of competing variants.

In fact, only the results for *do* absence demonstrated that external pressures had no effect on the observed variability. This was an internally motivated innovation, with the further elaboration of existing systems made possible through the isolated nature of the community. The combination of results led me to suggest that the variables conditioned by external factors were salient and used consciously by the speakers, while those which exhibited internal constraints only were not. In other words, *do* absence is an indicator in the community, but negative concord is a marker (Labov, 1994a:78). Therefore conscious vs. unconscious use has an effect on which forms are used where and how often, leading to robust variability in the data.

Hence the mechanisms of change in these four variables differ - some are external, some internal and some a combination of both. Furthermore, the forms used in these dialects are not simply a move towards simplification of structures. There is elaboration of existing structures (*do* absence), maintenance of relic patterns (*was/were*), emergence of innovative constraints (NP vs. pro in negative concord). Indeed, only strong verbs demonstrate the simplification processes reported to be characteristic of non-standard dialects. Therefore, I have had to invoke different explanations are invoked to account for the observed variation. All play a part in the rich variability in the Buckie dialect.

2.1 The intersection of age and sex

In the Introduction, I discussed Paradis' (1997) research into the sociolinguistic interview, which demonstrated that although informants can have the same social

profiles, they do not 'act' with the interviewer in the same way. Those who claimed the most positive or prestigious face used the most conservative or standard variants.

With the older speakers, I proposed that due to their extremely close network ties and insular lifestyles, they do not have the 'tools' of variation at their disposal. The majority of them only have one register of usage and cannot therefore consciously manipulate their speech patterns in order to gain 'symbolic capital' (Labov, 1990:214) from use of standard variants. This hypothesis was supported in the data. The older speakers were demonstrated to have retained the most relic or non-standard forms across the four variables studied. On the other hand, it may be the case that this group of speakers have little social motivation to styleshift, given their limited contacts outwith the community. In contrast, the younger speakers have had the most exposure to supra-local norms and in theory, should have the greatest ability to 'manipulate' their speech. However, the middle-aged speakers, and in particular, the females, had the most conservative or standard variants. I suggest that this is the result of the middle aged speakers exhibiting a slightly more formal style of the vernacular to the other groups in order to project a more prestigious face.

But why are middle aged women so influenced by notions of correctness and projecting a prestigious face? The cultural environments in which these groups of women have grown up differ considerably. The middle aged women grew up in the 40s and 50s, an era of postwar conservatism. Contrast this with 60s and 70s, where women's rights began to gain a prominent place in a changing society. I suggest that these differing socio-cultural settings result in different linguistic behaviour. Trudgill (1972:91) suggests that 'the social position of women in our society is less secure than that of men. It may be ... that it is more necessary for women to secure and signal their social status linguistically'. The social changes that have taken place in the last 30 years may mean that females have other means of signaling their social status and do not have to rely on linguistic norms only. In sum, 'the effects of gender are strongly conditioned by generation, and the generations are strongly conditioned by the sociohistorical context' (Dubois & Horvath, 1999:311).

With stable sociolinguistic variables, men use a higher frequency of non-standard forms than women (Labov 1990), However, Eckert (1989) points out that not all linguistic variables behave alike with respect to gender. This is the case in the Buckie data, where the middle aged women actually have higher rates of *do* absence than the males. I propose that the middle aged women's use of these variables provides a window to what is stigmatized and what is not in the community. Middle aged females consciously

avoid structures such as negative concord due to notions of correctness, but features such as *do* absence are not subject to such conscious negative scrutiny.

3. Cross-variety comparisons

I have proposed that given its relic status, the Buckie dialect represents an earlier stage in the history of the language spoken in Scotland. The findings in this data were then used as a benchmark in assessing variation and change in other varieties of English dialects. This is particularly relevant in the case of transported varieties of English, many of which comprised a substantial number of Scots dialect speakers, as discussed in the Introduction. Therefore we have an opportunity to compare and contrast the findings in this data with those varieties which may have roots in the British Isles. For example, how does the specific ecology of the variety affect language use? Have subsequent contact situations substantially changed patterns of use? What best accounts for the observed similarities and differences - drift, diffusion, or primitive status, and is it possible to distinguish these? The variables that have been detailed in this research provide an opportunity to evaluate these competing hypotheses through cross-variety comparison.

Initial comparisons revealed that three linguistic variables - *was/were* alternation, negative concord and strong verb variability - were common to all the non-standard dialects studied. The observed similarities could be attributed to:

1) diffusion: the dialects have these shared features because they have a common linguistic heritage which has been passed on from generation to generation (Andersen, 1988; Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming).

2) primitive status: the dialects have these shared features because the features themselves 'have certain inherent privileges, and the standard dialects are characterised partly by resisting them' (Chambers 1995:246). These features may 'cut across genetically unrelated languages' (Malkiel, 1981:566).

3) drift: the dialects have these shared features because of 'the unconscious selection on the part of the speakers of those individual variations that are cumulative in some special direction. This direction may be inferred in the main from the past history of the language' (Sapir, 1921:155). These are 'independent parallel developments' (Meillet, 1921:63) within the same language family.

Not all of these explanations can be correct. This highlights the necessity of disentangling the real effects by taking account of the broader range of pressures which might produce similarities and differences across dialects.

3.1 Primitives

A cross-variety comparison of negative concord to indeterminates demonstrated that this was a worldwide pattern, affecting all non-standard English dialects which have been examined. Utilising information from the historical record, the high frequencies of use across all dialects including Buckie and its predominance in other languages of the world, I proposed that negative concord is the default setting, with the use of *any*-forms imposed from above. Higher or lower rates of negative concord are then explicable in terms of psychological distance on the part of the speakers from standard norms - the more isolated a community is, the more negative concord is used. Thus, negative concord has primitive status in these non-standard dialects.

However, a further qualitative comparison revealed that negative concord could occur in some dialects in a much wider range of structures, including negative concord across clause boundaries. The qualitative split could not be explained in terms of ethnicity or geography. Instead, I suggested that an examination of the socio-demographic conditions under which these different varieties arose could explain these qualitative differences. Varieties in which a context of linguistic heterogeneity pertained during the colonial period resulted in the restructuring of the existing grammar (Mufwene, 1996) and hence extension of the original environments of negative concord use.

This cross-variety comparison provided a test case for the effects of the different ecologies in which these varieties have arisen on language behaviour. Comparison of an isolated, homogeneous dialect (Buckie) to transported varieties which have evolved in heterogeneous settings reveals the impact of isolation vs. contact in language behaviour.

3.2 Diffusion

Was/were variation may also fall into the category of primitive, as qualitatively at least, all varieties exhibit the use of what Chambers (1995:242) refers to as 'default singulars'. However, quantitative comparison across a number of dialects demonstrated that there were different constraints on the variability. Relic areas which had arisen in contexts of isolation demonstrated hierarchies of use nearly parallel to the Buckie data. The differential rates across grammatical person shared by these dialects could not be

explained in terms of universals alone, or indeed, analogical levelling. If this were the case, we would expect to see *was* used in all contexts indiscriminately.

In fact, these shared patterns of use had all the hallmarks of diffusion. The migration history from the colonial period suggest that these 'morphological irregularities' (Poplack & Tagliamonte, forthcoming) are the result of 'common descent ... traceable to an earlier common stage' (Malkiel, 1981:566), maintained until present day in more isolated areas.

The different patterns of use in other dialects may be the result of the opposing pressures from prescriptivism on the one hand, and analogical levelling on the other. The effects of prescriptivism are demonstrated in York English, a northern dialect which has lost the historical patterning due to the influence of standardization. On the other hand, analogical leveling is visible in Alabama, in which historical constraints have been eroded by the overriding pressures of analogy.

Thus, the Buckie data play a crucial role in the interpretation of these similarities and differences as it represents not only a source dialect for transplanted varieties, but also an earlier stage in the history of English. Using the results for *was/were* alternation in this dialect can shed light on the opposing pressures of retention, analogical levelling and prescriptive norms.

3.3 Drift

'Conjugation regularisation' (Chambers, 1995:242) which is 'the tendency towards identical past tense and past participle forms' (Trudgill & Chambers, 1991:216) characterised the younger speakers use of strong verbs in Buckie. Cross-variety comparison revealed that Buckie was not unique in this restructuring process. Varieties in North America and Australia all demonstrated a move towards one form in both contexts. Moreover, many of the details surrounding this restructuring process - the use of *seen* and *done* in preterit contexts; the passive vs. perfective split; *-en* past perfectives being replaced by the two syllable preterit forms - were the same cross dialectally.

It is tempting to appeal to diffusion to account for these shared constraints. However, unlike *was/were* variation, these constraints have only arisen in the Buckie dialect in the past 30 years. If it were a case of diffusion, then we would expect the transported varieties which have historical connections to look like the older speakers in Buckie. In actual fact, they look like the younger community members, which precludes a theory

of diffusion in this case. Andersen (1988:76) states that 'there are cases in which the geographical spread of a linguistic innovation is best understood not as diffused, but as resulting from independent, internally motivated developments in structurally similar dialects'. In other words, I argued that the cross-variety similarities here look much more like *drift*, where languages of common origin follow certain pathways of change (Sapir, 1921). These result in independent parallel developments (Meillet, 1921) across a wide range of dialects, motivated by internal pressures. For example, the overriding pressure common to many non-standard varieties of English - one form for preterit and past participle contexts - can be explained in terms of lower cognitive cost.

Moreover, drift can occur at different times and at a different pace across dialects (Ferguson, 1996:188). This is highlighted by the use of strong verbs in Buckie compared to Appalachia and Ozark (Christian et al., 1988). All age groups participate in the restructuring process in the North American varieties. The change in Buckie is limited to the younger speakers, hence is taking place later, but at a much faster rate.

I have now examined the three competing hypotheses invoked to explain the similarities found in cross-variety comparisons and applied them to three of the linguistic variables studied in this dissertation. I concluded that the shared patterns of use in *was/were*, negative concord and strong verbs are the result of three different mechanisms operating on them - diffusion, primitives and drift. Moreover, these conclusions cannot be reached by looking at the mere presence of these forms in the dialects, but only through a detailed analysis of internal constraints, socio-historical context and apparent time changes. For example, if analysis was restricted to a descriptive level only, then we would be led to expect that use of *was* in *were* is indeed a primitive of vernacular dialects. Instead, the specific constraints found across some dialects are the result of diffusion. While the use of negative concord to indeterminates may be a primitive, the qualitative differences could not be accounted for in this way, as the variability was confined to certain dialects only. Nor could ethnic origin be the explanatory factor. Instead, the socio-historical context of linguistic heterogeneity was appealed to to explain the proliferation of negative concord structures in the southern states. Apparent time changes in the Buckie data showed that patterns of use in strong verb morphology could not have been passed on in previous centuries as only the younger speakers were involved in the restructuring process. These exemplify some of the criteria that are needed in order to account for the similarities and differences across a wide range of dialects.

I stated in the Introduction that there was a general dearth of materials from 1) this area of Scotland 2) grammatical variation and 3) internal constraints on the variation. By

presenting a detailed analysis of four linguistic variables in a peripheral community in the north east of Scotland, I hope I have gone some way to redressing the balance. More generally, this research contributes to a number of fundamental issues in language variation and change.

The most significant result in this research is that different variables behave in different ways, whether in response to the linguistic system itself, or external pressures. Some variables are in the process of rapid change (strong verbs) and some are completely stable (*do* absence). Some appear to be used consciously and are overtly stigmatised (negative concord), while other are used unconsciously, without being influenced by the dictates of standard norms (*do* absence). Community specific variables exist (*do* absence) but others are used across all non-standard dialects studied (negative concord, *was/were* alternation).

The key issue here is that if I had concentrated on one specific variable in one specific variety, I might have been led to completely different conclusions regarding the nature of linguistic variation and change. For example, taken on its own, the study of strong verbs would imply that the Buckie dialect was going through a process of obsolescence, with rapid loss of archaic forms over the course of three generations, adoption of supra-local norms, and eventual moribund status. The results for use of *was/were* strongly contradicted that view, as does the robust use of *do* absence.

If I had concentrated on external constraints only, again a misleading picture might have emerged. In fact, extra-linguistic constraints played only a minor role in the majority of the linguistic variables I studied. A focus on these only would have revealed little about the intricacies involved in the observed variation.

Cross-variety comparisons further developed the complexities of variation and change, demonstrating which variables were unique to the community, which were shared by a diverse range of non-standard dialects and most importantly what internal constraints were shared and why.

In sum, through an in-depth analysis of four linguistic variables in the Buckie dialect, I hope to have elucidated the broader processes which lead to the 'normal heterogeneity' (Labov, 1982:17) observed in everyday speech. I have demonstrated that language variation and change is the product of an interplay between extra-linguistic pressures such as prescriptivism, effects of isolation vs. integration and socio-historical context and forces internal to the grammar itself. The results of this research demonstrate that 'the greatest success in explaining linguistic structure will fall to that theoretical

perspective that can embrace both external and internal causation, integrating diachronic history with synchronic analysis' (Labov, 1982:84).

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APPENDIX A

In the following sections, I provide a brief inventory of some of the grammatical variables which appear in the Buckie data. It aims to exemplify the plethora of variability in the Buckie dialect and also provides a reference source for the range of structures used. This section is therefore descriptive and makes no attempt to provide frequency analysis, information on historical precursors, internal or extra-linguistic constraints. The observations derive from empirically based examination of the transcripts, but the list is by no means exhaustive.

Variation in agreement patterns

In addition to *was/were* variation (Chapter 2), *is/are* variation also occurs with plural NPs, as in (1):

(1) a. Nearly a' the hooses *is* bought wi' the English folk. (g:477.3)

b. Yer nets *is* goin' doon wi' herrin'. (b:29.2)

c. A couple of times there has been bad car crashes *is* the times he 's been on holiday. (j:5768.0)

d. I says 'Drugs *is* drugs. (j:789.3)

e. This cushions *is* green, but oh my goodness, this is screamin' green. (q:672.2)

Non-agreement with existential *there* in the present tense, as in (2) is almost categorical:

(2) a. If *there's strangers* in, he winna. (g:176.6)

b. But if there's just two adults, children do na count. (u:1840.1)

c. There 's three sauces there. Four maybe. (%:680.2)

d. It 's every couple of month or maybe, there 's more houses built. (£:121.7)

Verbal *-s* is also used with other main verbs, as in (3):

(3) a. I *says* 'thir a' ready tae gang...' (a:428.5)

b. So we gist *says* ach, we'll tak week aboot. (b:371.3)

c. Bit *they nivir tells* ye that in the paper. (c:279.9)

d. ye set yir engines, and *ye pits* it the gither. (b:471.6)

However, with the exception of the verb *say* in narrative, use with pronominal subjects is very rare in the data.

Full NPs, on the other hand, appear frequently in the data, as in (4):

(4) a. That's the way there's so muckle photos comes, you ken. (a:345.12)

b. I've a lot of folk goes out and in. (e:6940.77)

c. Now, when fish gets scarce, the wages get scarce. (c:493.1)

d. A lot of families doesna get what that cats get. (e:533.9)

e. B aie says 'Oh my bairns has put her off haein' bairns'. (t:583.5)

The present tense of *be* can be elided following existential *there*, both in singular and plural forms, as in (5):

(5) a. *Thir a lot o'* visitors aboot, ye see. (c:208.5)

b. Jordan, he thinks *thir naebody* like dale. (c:341.55)

<u>Stative verbs with *–ing*</u>

Some stative verbs are used with an *–ing* form, but seems to be restricted to the verbs *want*, *need*, *like* and *think*, as in (6):

(6) a. They're *wantin'* a loon tae ging and ca' oot the wifies fin the herrin' comes. (d:163.8)

b. Nettie *wiz needin'* up the stair...we'd the hale up the stair flat. (f:765.5)

c. Anythin' *that yer needin* tae ken...(d:947.3)

d. Oh, they 're *liking* it awful well, but his memories gan now. (g:674.2)

e. If you 're *wanting* to ging back, you can ging, but I 'm not going with ye. (g:833.3)

The use of *want/need + -ing/to be + past participle*, as in (7) is also used:

(7) I-mean, it *needs dyked* in and a-thing. (w:670.3)

Use of *have* as a main verb

In Standard English, when there is no auxiliary verb in the sentence, then the question is formed by the auxiliary *do*, but in Buckie, the relic form with main verb have is still in use, as in (8):

(8) a. Has she a brooch in? (a:592)

b. Have ee a mate's ticket? (b:377)

Wh- words

The question word *why* is substituted by *fit wye* (what way) or *fitna wye*, as in (9):

(9) a. So fitna way we 're still here ten year on I 'll never know. (a:887.1)

b. She says 'Oh, dinna mention that quine to me' ken. I says 'Fitna way?'. (u:410.7))

This can also be true of *what*, which is replaced by *fit* or *fitna*, as in (10)

(10) a. Can na mine fitna day it was. (8:890.5)

d. *Fitna dames* is a' that? (a:962)

In fact, all wh- words are pronounced with /f/, hence *fit/fitna* (what), *far* (where), *fin/fan* (when), *fitna wye/fit wye* (why) and in some cases *foo* (how).

Plural nouns

Nouns of measurement and quantity are often not marked for plurality, as in (11):

(11) a. Anywhere aifter ten of *eleven mile* ye could shoot yer nets. (a:24.1)

b. Ah've bin gettin' that for *sax seven 'ear*. (a:729.0)

c. Aboot *three month* afore i left tae be a cooper. (c:640.77)

d. Like, M was over nine pound, S was just under nine pound. (y:451.1)

Relic forms of nouns exist, as in (12):

(12) a. Look at the *sheen* ... look at the *sheen*! (a:731)

b. There 's Italian blood there. Dark, dark een. (y:699.3)

Adverbs of manner

Zero forms of adverbs appear in the data, as in (13):

(13) a. Wir nae ready, bit we can *easy git* ready. (b:465.1)

b. We wir *new mairit* that time. (d:234.2)

c. Well, nae wanting it maybe to happen so *quick*, ken. (x:241.8)

Intensification

A common intensifier is *right*, as in (14):.

(14) a. she wiz *richt apologetic* for strappin' her. (h:497)

b. i'm *richt glaed* we didna ging back. (g:449.2)

c. G and me was having a right laugh. (x:522.4)

d. She says it 's right funny. (v:535.9)

too is used as an adverb of degree in se, but in Buckie, *over* is also used, as in (15):

(15) a. oh aye, it's *o'er hate* in here. (a:68.1)

b. thir three bedrooms up the stair...it's *o'er big* a hoose for me masel noo. (f:273.8)

So is another common intensifier, but this is replaced by *that* or, less commonly, *as* in (16):

(16) a. I've geen ye *that little money*...i dinna ken how ye manage. (g:558.7)

b. But Greenlaw hid *that muckle* tae mairry that day.(h:567)

c. Wir first day at school...oh, *i wiz as dour!* (a:84.8)

Position of adverbs

The adverb *always* (*aie* in this dialect) is not subject to the same restrictions as SE, as is demonstrated in (17):

(17) a. *I gied aye up* wi' him every time that he socht ma. (a:687)

b. *And aye the edge o' the herrin'* are towards the edge o' the barrel. (c:77.6)

c. Well, eh, we gied aie to the Methodist kirk, you-ken, regular, you-ken-what-I-mean (a:571.2))

d. She come aie over every Monday to see-s. (g:1123.1)

This suggests remnants of verb raising (lost in Middle English) in the dialect.

ever also turns up in a different position to that of Standard English, as in (18):

(18) a. They'd bin awa a picnic this time *afore ever we kent them.* (a:947.5)

b. *Since ivir* that day we jist gied the gither. (d:85.4)

Prepositional adverbs as verbs

Prepositional adverbs are sometimes used as verbs, as in (19):

(19) a. Every month i'd tae get on ma bike *and awa' o'er* tae the sloch. (c:363.4)

b. So I out myself, took my time, in the back. (a:780.4)

The definite article

The definite article is used before institutions, even though they don't refer to one in particular, as in (20):.

(20) a. She's in the richt hans fin she's awa' tae *the hospital.* (a:641.2)

b. Even fin ah wiz it *the school*, he widiv been sayin'... (g:784.9)

c. Ye ocht tae come tae *the kirk* wi' me. (e:563.3)

d. Fin I left *the school* I went to the bulb factory, common achday bulb factory. (u:467.3)

e. Nae when we was lyke in *the high school* and a-thing. (s:676.9)

f. But he has na got a job since he come out *the university*- out *the college.* (g:620.7)

Certain illnesses take the definite article including *flu, measles* and *chickenpox* , as in (21):

(21) a. My father was nae well at the time. Well, it was *the flu*. (a:1940.8)

Trades often take the definite article, as in (22):

(22) a. No, jeannie wiz nivir at *the guttin'*. (f::237.6)

b. Aye, I was in Isle-of-Man at *the fishing*. (7:830.8)

c. Maybe my district or something but I enjoy *the nursing*. (w:342.8)

Plural numerals

The indefinite singular article is often used before plural numerals, as in (23):

(23) a. I gied awa' tae ma bed tae git *a twa hours*. (b:1986.1)

b. And this wiz *a three weeks* afore he gied across the channel. (rs:411)

Possessives

The definite article is often used when in se, a possessive pronoun would be employed, as in (24):

(24) a. *The troosers* is up o'er *the knees*! (a:943.8)

b. We noticed thit *the memory* wiz seemin' tae be goin. (b:708.1)

This is inalienable possession, where the possessed item cannot be separated from the possessor.

The possessive pronoun is often used where in Standard English the noun is normally unmarked, as in (25):

(25) a. I gied awa' tae *ma bed* tae get a twa hours. (b:289.5)

b. Well, I'd *my work* the next day. (u:540.1)

The construction *down/up* + NP contains the definite article, as in (26):

(26) a. Thir three bedrooms *up the stair* - it's o'er big a hoose for me masel noo (g:271.1)

b. I was *doon the toon* yesterday for ma messages. (h:5952.3)

Prefixing

The prefix *a-* is used instead of *be-* with the prepositions *before*, *beside*, *between*, *behind* and *below*, as in (27)

(27) a. He's doon at the fit o' the street and the cat's runnin' up *aside* the car.

(d::345.4)

b. They'd been awa' a picnic this time *afore* ever we kent them. (a:947.8)

Omission of prepositions

Omission of prepositions is observed in Buckie. With adverbs denoting periods of time, *for* is often omitted, as in (28):

(28) a. We *courtit three month* then we wiz mairrit. (ac:531)

b. *He wiz in lerwick 10 weeks.* (1:783.2)

The preposition *from* is is sometimes omitted in the structure *he is from....*, as in (29):

(29) a. His father *was Findochty.* (a:568.9)

b. Wir parents was both Buckie. (f:500.3)

Several open class quantifiers do not take *of*, including *bit* and *drop*, as in (30)

(30) a. Thir wir three hoosies in the wee *bitty gairden* we hae it the back. (b:181.5)

Alternative prepositions

Substitution of *at* with *to*, as in (31)

(31) a. Would ye like a bitty grun tae the back o' yir hoose? (b:593.2)

b. *Doon tae perth*...we wiz *doon tae perth.* (a:167.2)

by, with the meaning of *not later than* is replaced by *or* , as in (32):

(32) a. It'll be raining *or nicht.* (c:29.8)

b. It's nae use goin' then...it'll be finished *or that time*. (f:303.1)

By is substituted with*with* in passive clauses, as in (33):

(33) a. Nearly a' the hooses *is bought wi'* the English fowk. (e:477.3)

b. *It wiz bein' run wi'* the heritage centre doon the stairs. (b:1239.6)

Pronouns

The pronoun *you* is often substituted by *ee* in the singular and in subject position, as in (34)

(34) a. I says 'bit finivir *ee* come hame, yir ithir twa sisters is aye in. (g::357.3)

b. Have *ee* a mates ticket? (b:877.2)

This is likely to be a remnant of the Old English *thee*.

you ains (you ones) is often used for the second person plural to distinguish it from the singular, as in (35)

(35) a. I used to think 'Christ, *you ains* is old' ken. (u:45.1)

b. *You ains* are like walking about in a daze all the time. (j:129.8)

The pronoun *it* sometimes replaces *him/her*, as both of the examples in (36) refer to people:

(36) a. That's me taen *wi' it* again. (a::296.3)

b. We eest tae go up a lot *til't*. (d:509.3.)

The object pronoun *us* is replaced by the form *hes* , as in (37)

(37) a. A littler hoosie wid dee *wi' hes*. (e:1003)

b. Ye can come *wi' hes* if ye want. (a:675.2)

Non-standard relative pronoun deletion, as in (38) is used:

(38) a. *I'd a breether geen* in the bramble a lang time. (nj:419)

b. This wiz *the hendry's bade* in the top ain. (jb:347)

The reflexive pronouns *themselves* and *himself* can regularised to *theirselves* and *hisself* , as in (39):

(39) a. So we enjoy it, and he enjoys *hissel* (d:509.2)

b. But I says well, the boss *hisself*, he 's dead now. (e:320.8)

c. I-mean, they 're doing a lot of fundraising *theirselves*. (u:498.1)

Demonstratives

this and *that* are used for both the singular and the plural in most cases, as in (40)

(40) a. Fin *that hoosies* wiz taen doon...(b:1183.6)

b. But then thir wir *six o' that* war years. (a:379.8)

c. *tihs wiz great friends* o' bill's. (a:279.6)

d. All *this drole folk* that was gan by. (u:451.2)

e. I seen all this clothes lying. (s:496.2)

those can be replaced by *them* , as in (41)

(41) a. I thought you did na take them things. (j:456.0)

Buckie has a further degree of conceptual or physical distance, as it has the form *thon/yon*, as in (42):

(42) a. That wiz *thon* hame deen crochet tammies. (a:1452.3)

b. Fitever that twa on the TV did, they dee. Ye'll hae tae see *thon*. (c:334.5)

c. She went away to Germany mine with *thon* boy eh F, mine F. (u:342.1)