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The Dialect of New Mills

Linguistic Change in a North-West Derbyshire Community

Part 1

Methodology

Grammar

Lexis

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Abbreviations

A	Adjunct
Adj.	Adjective
Adv.	Adverb
<i>ALE</i>	<i>Atlas Linguarum Europae</i>
C	Consonant
C[x]	Cardinal Vowel, x = vowel
Ch(s)	Cheshire
	(n,e,s,w = north, east, south, west)
<i>CG</i>	<i>Cheshire Glossary</i>
CEDE	Collins' English Dictionary
Der(bys)	Derbyshire
	(n,e,s,w = north, east, south, west)
<i>EDD</i>	<i>English Dialect Dictionary</i>
IPA	International Phonetic Alphabet
La(ncs)	Lancashire
	(n,e,s,w = north, east, south, west)
ME	Middle English
eME	early Middle English
lME	late Middle English
Merc	Mercian
eModE	early Modern English
ModE	Modern English
n.	Noun
NP	Nominal Phrase
neCh	north-east Cheshire
nwDer	north-west Derbyshire
OA	Old Anglian
OE	Old English
IOE	late Old English
OED	Oxford English Dictionary
ODa	Old Danish
OF	Old French
OIc	Old Icelandic
OM	Old Mercian
ON	Old Norse
ONor	Old Norwegian
ONmFr	Old Norman French
Obj.	Object
OS	Open Syllables
PrW	Primitive Welsh
<i>PD</i>	<i>Pegge's Derbicisms</i>
p. p.	past participle
pa. t.	past tense
Pred.	Predicate
pr. p.	present participle
p. t.	present tense
RP	Received Pronunciation
S	Subject
SE	Standard English
<i>SED</i>	<i>Survey of English Dialects</i>
SVow	Short Vowel
St(fs)	Staffordshire
	(n,e,s,w = north, east, south, west)

V	Vowel
vb.	Verb
VP	Verbal Phrase
WGer	West Germanic
WM	West Midlands
WMerc	West Mercian
WSax	West Saxon
Yks	Yorkshire
	(n,e,s,w = north, east, south, west)

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Appendix - New Mills: The Historical and Social Background

CHAPTER 1

METHODOLOGY: THEORETICAL CONSIDERATIONS

Aims and Purpose

The primary aim of this study is to gauge linguistic change in a north-west Derbyshire community over approximately the last fifty years. This will be achieved by the analysis of data which entails the synchronic comparison of several age-based groups. From this it will be possible to build a diachronic picture of the linguistic characteristics of the area, spanning a chronological period between that of the oldest and youngest informants, thus demonstrating any linguistic change in ‘apparent time’ during this period.

This study, however, differs in some respects from a considerable amount of contemporary variationist research. In accordance with the aims of the research, the present investigation does not utilise the random sampling methodology typical of many quantitative sociolinguistic studies. Rather, the informants in New Mills will be selected from a single social class,¹ i.e. a ‘judgement sample’. Moreover, the study does not attempt to provide a comprehensive synchronic description of social variation, nor does it intend to gauge linguistic change throughout the community. However, even though this study is not a sociolinguistic profile of the community, variables portraying sociolinguistic patterning necessarily form part of any relevant analysis, as these inevitably play a significant part in contemporary linguistic change. The aim is to focus on changes in the ‘traditional dialect’ (working class vernacular). In order to achieve such a description, the selected informants are all working class males between the ages of thirteen and ninety. Such a methodology - i.e. the selection of informants, according to restricted extra-linguistic variables - as is used in this study is open to criticism, especially from a sociolinguistic point of view. However, the adopted methodology is part of a framework that is constructed upon the aims and purpose of the study as a whole; this includes extra-linguistic considerations as well as ideas relating to theory.² Both methodology and theory are discussed at length below.

¹ However, it should be noted that the linguistic characteristics of a potential informant were paramount in determining suitability for selection, rather than allowing social classification to solely determine selection – see also below, pp. 110-112.

² Shorrocks, G., *A Grammar of the Dialect of Farnworth and District*, unpublished* PhD thesis, University of Sheffield, 1980, pp. 31, 32, 33 - * however, see Shorrocks, G., *A Grammar of the Dialect of the Bolton Area*, Frankfurt, Peter Lang, 1998, which is basically a reworked, revised and updated version of the PhD thesis.

Even though this study consists of analyses and descriptions on the linguistic levels of syntax, grammar and lexis, there is a considerable emphasis on the level of phonology; this is applicable to both the synchronic and diachronic analyses. Similarly, this investigation does not focus on only a few variables, but adopts a far more extensive and comprehensive ‘systematic’ approach (especially with respect to phonology). Consequently, the synchronic descriptions and, particularly, the comparative analyses are undertaken on a qualitative and not a quantitative level. To attempt such an extensive quantitative analysis based upon the evident number of variables, and the considerable amount of data, would be beyond the scope of this study, and, indeed, any work of a similarly restricted length; such a proposal would require many more volumes and years of research! However, the intention remains to provide a relatively extensive age-based synchronic comparison (rather than the intensive, narrow focus description inherent in quantitative studies), as well as a similarly comprehensive description of linguistic change. As phonology lends itself readily to systematic description, it will be this level which is described thus (below, Part 2), while the focus at the levels of lexis, grammar and syntax will be primarily on those non-standard items of the traditional dialect which display a local or regional distribution. Furthermore, the traditional dialect of the older members of the community (hitherto unrecorded) will be recorded in an era when significant change is apparent in the traditional vernacular.

Dialectology and Variationist Linguistics: development and general theory

Previous and existing approaches to dialectology reflect much of the contemporary linguistic method, theory and practice apparent during various periods since linguistic investigation first became a recognised science. Although dialectology may be viewed as a sub-branch of linguistics, and therefore, unsurprisingly, is both an influence upon and is influenced by mainstream linguistics, it has sometimes been in contention with general linguistic thinking, as the result of theories forwarded by some dialectologists. The following, however, is only a general outline of the main approaches; far fuller descriptions, and relevant bibliographies, are provided in numerous accounts elsewhere.³ Where appropriate, comments on these approaches, where they are relevant to the theory and

³ See (particularly) Chambers and Trudgill (1980); Dieth, Orton et al (1962); Labov (1966, 1972); Milroy, J. (1984, 1993); Wakelin (1991).

methodology adopted in the present study, are included in this section. Some other aspects of theory, relating to fields of linguistics specific to the study, are dealt with in the relevant sections, including those on phonology, phonological change and other aspects of linguistic change.

Linguistic Geography and Historical studies

These two approaches are intrinsically linked and are therefore dealt with under the same heading here. Indeed, theories connected with historical linguistics were not only an influencing factor upon early dialectal studies, but also a strong motivating force for these studies. Prior to the rise of ‘scientific’ linguistic study in the nineteenth century, dialect study had consisted mainly of isolated collections of words, glossaries and other treatises, a surprising number of which contained phonological information.⁴ However, it was linguistic developments elsewhere during the nineteenth century that were to have a profound effect on dialect study. During this period, the Germans became the leaders in philological studies. One particular theory, advocated by the so-called ‘Junggrammatiker’ (‘Neo-Grammarians’), relating to the principle of the inviolability of sound-laws, caused considerable controversy. Adherents to this doctrine put forward the hypothesis that a particular sound change was regular and applicable to all examples and therefore any anomalies were the result of external influences, e.g. such as borrowing and analogy. The ensuing bid to resolve this dispute resulted in the formation of new approaches and ideas. Consequently, linguists were compelled to test this theory on contemporary dialects. It was decided that rural dialects, which were relatively free from external influence, would provide the best examples of ‘natural speech’ on which to base their studies.⁵ This last point is extremely important, as far as dialect studies were concerned, as this notion became fundamental to the methodology and theory of subsequent dialect geography studies.

This new linguistic focus resulted in the first such systematic study of dialect, and subsequent planning of the first linguistic atlases, initially by George Wenker in Germany in 1876 and later by the publication of Gillieron’s *Atlas Linguistique de la France* from 1902 -

⁴ For a full description of early dialect study see: Wakelin (1991), pp. 34-46.

⁵ Wakelin (1991), pp. 7,46.

1912.⁶ Of equal, if not greater, importance for the future of dialect study was the foundation of the methodology which prompted these studies and which ultimately produced, and facilitated the production of, the atlases. It was Wenker who, along with Johann Andreas Schmeller, first made the pivotal observation concerning the connection between the single linguistic unit and geographical and ethnological distribution (i.e. the ‘cartographical - descriptive method of ethnology’).⁷ A similar observation was also made by Uriel Weinreich, who put forward the idea that the borders and dynamics of a linguistic area should be correlated with ‘culture areas’, and that the study of ‘folk speech’ must always be co-ordinated with that of ‘folk life’, such as local customs etc.⁸ These ideas formed the basic notions of linguistic geography, and were major influences on method and theory. However, the initial purpose of such studies was paramount in determining the methodology of these fledgling investigations. In order to produce comparable data, questionnaires were designed and utilised for the recording of linguistic items across an extensive network of localities; these could then be mapped so that any differences and similarities would become apparent. However, the end result merely served to show that such borders were somewhat arbitrary, and the provenance of one linguistic item did not correspond with that of another of identical origin. One good example is that of the reflexes of OE /a:/ (e.g., in *home* and *stone*), which are /ʊə/ and /ɪə/ in the north midlands and north respectively; the boundaries between these dialect areas vary according to the distribution of different lexical items. Prior to this, it had already become apparent that the initial results from the first studies contradicted the Neo-Grammarians, as in various localities many words failed to demonstrate an identical development. This resulted in a rift between the early dialectologists and contemporary, mainstream linguistic thinking.

The early continental studies provided the foundations and motivation for similar research in England. One of the first linguists to take up the ‘new’ dialectological cause was Joseph Wright, who had been trained in the Neo-Grammarians school in Germany.⁹ Such was the rise in dialect study during the latter part of the nineteenth century that another philologist and dialectologist, W.W. Skeat, founded the English Dialect Society in 1873, with the primary purpose of producing an English Dialect Dictionary. During the next twenty or so

⁶ Wakelin (1991), p.46.

⁷ Shorrocks (1980), p. 33.

⁸ Wakelin (1991), p. 10.

⁹ Wakelin (1991), p. 46.

years, over eighty glossaries were published.¹⁰ However, when Joseph Wright began work on the *English Dialect Dictionary* (1898-1905) in 1896, the society was deemed to have fulfilled its objective and was discontinued. It was Wright who also produced the first systematic description of a single English regional dialect,¹¹ which became the model for numerous subsequent monographs. Thus, the influence of Wright's work upon accepted methodology was of paramount importance. Being of a Neo-Grammarians background, and thus being primarily interested in chronological development (with consequent focus upon 'genuine' forms), his description was written from a diachronic perspective. Wright chose to describe the sounds as reflexes of OE forms. This was still evident in consequent studies.¹² However, later studies¹³ generally consist of a systematic treatment of individual vowels and consonants, described from a contemporary and historical perspective; this was achieved by listing sounds as reflexes of ME antecedents, in addition to those of OE. Harold Orton's *Phonology of a South Durham Dialect* (1933), as its title suggests, was one of the first monographs to concentrate purely on phonology. Its format consisted of an extensive description of the sounds, and, in keeping with the diachronic methodology of the time, also included a description outlining the development of these sounds from ME antecedents. However, just prior to this H. Kökeritz produced a study¹⁴ which was innovative in the fact that it included the speech of younger people.¹⁵ Against this background, the methodology of dialect geography was formulated.

Despite the origins of systematic dialect study, no comparable extensive geographical surveys were undertaken in Britain until the Dieth-Orton survey of 1947-1961. However, one study must be mentioned because it is not only remarkable in the fact that it is the only work that approaches a national survey over seventy years before the *SED*, but that it concentrated on phonology in an era when much dialect study was primarily lexically

¹⁰ It was during this period that two such publications, which are relevant to this study, were published : Leigh, Egerton, L., *A Glossary of Words used in the Dialect of Cheshire* (1877); and Pegge, Samuel *Two Collections of Derbichisms* (1896). The former is basically a glossary with some preliminary remarks on pronunciation. However, the Derbyshire glossary was actually published for the English Dialect Society and is edited by Skeat, as well as being contributed to by Thomas Hallam in the form of an extremely intricate and extensive phonological description.

¹¹ Wright, Joseph, *A Grammar of the Dialect of Windhill*, London, Frowde, 1892.

¹² For example, T.O. Hirst's *A Grammar of the Dialect of Kendal*, 1906.

¹³ For example, P.H. Reaney's *A Grammar of the Dialect of Penrith*, 1927.

¹⁴ Kökeritz, H., *Phonology of the Suffolk Dialect*, Uppsala, Lundequist, 1932.

¹⁵ See Wakelin (1991), p. 48.

orientated. A. J. Ellis' monumental work¹⁶ was primarily designed to describe the 'traditional' vernacular of each dialect area, and thus focused on the speech of the 'peasantry'. The adopted methodology was based upon these objectives, in addition to being influenced by contemporary linguistic theory. Thus, although the study is descriptive, the material is described from a historical perspective. Ellis himself was aware of the problems associated with gathering data and he tried various different methods of obtaining information.¹⁷ Indeed, Ellis was probably the first to utilise word-lists as a means of gathering data, which is a method more often associated with modern approaches.

Subsequent geographical surveys adopted methodologies that were similar to those used by Ellis and the authors of the various monographs. Nevertheless, many later surveys, including the *SED* and many of the later monographs,¹⁸ adopted modified methodologies of earlier studies. Although many of the surveys continued to focus primarily on the speech of the rural over-sixties, the primary aim was to record exactly what was being spoken, rather than attempting to focus solely on 'pure' forms and / or editing the speech in any way. Nevertheless, the format of the presentation of the data remained the same; in the case of monographs, descriptions continued to be followed by a historical examination. Data from geographical surveys was also often presented from a historical perspective, and much criticism has since been directed at this type of diachronic study (see below, pp. 8-18). However, much of this criticism is misplaced and ignores the aims and purposes of dialect geography; traditional geographical studies involve an investigation into how a specific form has developed, and how and why these forms vary according to geographical distribution. It is apparent that diachronic information is required for the former task, though less so for the latter. Nonetheless, the need for diachronic material becomes obvious, even vital, if a *comparative* investigation is to be carried out, not least in helping to explain differences in development. It is for this reason that historical information is generally included in comparative geographical studies, and not, despite the belief held by some linguists,¹⁹ because it has its origin in nineteenth century linguistic principles. This point is expanded on below (pp. 34-37), as it is not only relevant as far as dialect geography is concerned, but also

¹⁶ Ellis, A. J., *On Early English Pronunciation, part V: The Existing Phonology of English Dialects*, London, published by the Early English Text Society, 1889.

¹⁷ See Wakelin (1977), pp. 49-51.

¹⁸ One such work of distinction was Orton's study of 1933, which became a model for subsequent studies.

¹⁹ Milroy, L., "Urban dialects in the British Isles", in Trudgill, P. (ed.), *Language in the British Isles*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 200.

fundamental to the methodology of other comparative studies (and therefore of central importance to the present research). Criticism has also been levelled against diachronic frameworks on the grounds that the historical presentation of a dialect does not reflect the system on which communication is based.²⁰ Further criticism of geographical studies in the areas of theory, methodology and fieldwork, such as that of failure to provide sufficient accounts of linguistic variation, from sociolinguistic and other linguistic perspectives is discussed in the following sections.

Despite the many problems associated with the theory and methodology of geographical studies, dialect geography is still important in many respects, especially in view of the fact that it is responsible for the recording of many traditional dialects, which would have otherwise remained unrecorded, at the beginning of a period that is still witnessing great change. This fact aside, it is apparent that this approach will continue to perform an important role in dialect study and linguistics in general. Apart from obvious philological information, dialect geography has another advantage over more modern approaches. The projection of information onto maps has been highly illuminating in many respects. One major development to arise from the mapping of linguistic items was the creation of 'isoglosses' (which defined different dialect areas according to varying linguistic features) by delineating the border between them. The study of these isoglosses, and the distribution of speech forms, became a primary objective for dialect geographers. These maps and isoglosses are highly useful tools in demonstrating areas of dialect mixing, as well as showing "how linguistic features radiate from centres of culture and influence",²¹ both of which are important areas of investigation in studies concerned with linguistic change. Therefore, it is apparent that a geographical approach can facilitate and complement research in various fields of dialectology, and it is perhaps ironic that these areas of study (linguistic change and modes of change) are also a popular contemporary focus of modern approaches which have been highly critical of dialect geography. Whatever its shortcomings, much dialect study remained predominantly geographical and / or historical in its framework until the rise of sociolinguistics in the 1960s and 1970s.

²⁰ For counter arguments to this see Wakelin (1991), p. 59.

²¹ Wakelin (1991), p. 9.

Synchronic studies

It was during the early part of the twentieth century that the theory of contrasting ‘synchronic’ and ‘diachronic’ aspects of language was first put forward by Ferdinand de Saussure.²² This held that synchronic study of language was not only desirable, but, being a matter of scientific study, had more validity than diachronic investigations, i.e. it contended that language in a specific time period could be studied to better effect without recourse, or reference, to earlier forms. Saussure may also be considered as the major influence upon the theories of ‘structural’ linguistics. These ideas became the foundations upon which synchronic studies were carried out.

As far as dialectology is concerned, synchronic studies “are primarily orientated in time and space”.²³ Their predominant aim is to attempt to construct the system (phonemic or otherwise) of the dialect that is being investigated. Since this approach is essentially based upon structuralist theories, it is necessary to explain these in more detail. The term ‘system’ is that which Saussure described as *langue* (i.e. the abstract model) in his ‘langue-parole’ distinction, *parole* being the physical realisation of ‘langue’. These same basic principles are mirrored by, and correlate with, Chomsky’s *competence-performance* theory. Most subsequent synchronic studies have tended to focus almost exclusively on phonology as it is apparent that dialects vary more, in relation to structure, at this level. The application of structuralist theory gave rise to systematic phonological investigations, where a given variety was described in terms of a phonemic inventory (sound system).

Whereas traditional dialectology has concentrated on the investigation of a given sound at a number of geographical locations, structural dialectologists have investigated in what manner that sound is integrated into the phonemic system of each locality, i.e. the theory being that linguistic items should not be investigated in isolation,²⁴ but as part of a system or ‘structure’.²⁵ Problems with this theory are immediately apparent, a major one being that of

²² For a synopsis of Saussure’s work and his major theories see Bright, William (ed. in chief), *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992, pp. 163-165.

²³ Shorrocks (1980), p. 36.

²⁴ This criticism may also be levelled at sociolinguistic studies, which often consist of research that solely involves the study of a few linguistic items (variables) in any one variety.

²⁵ See Chambers, J.K., and Trudgill, P., *Dialectology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980, pp. 38-45; and Wakelin (1991), pp. 58-59.

method: the range of variation in a system must be known before the means of eliciting phonological data can be decided upon and constructed. Furthermore, bidialectalism and code-switching in speakers will also cause problems for an analysis and description based upon a structural model.

Despite these drawbacks, structuralist theories were adopted by dialectologists. The notion that these theories could be applied in the field of dialectology was first tentatively suggested by Uriel Weinreich in 1954.²⁶ The reason for the apparent cautious tone of this paper's title lies within the contemporary linguistic perspectives of the time. It was a common view (held by structuralists) that a given system should be analysed without any reference to other systems (such comparisons, of course, being a vital part of dialectology). As systems were described using the principles of phonemic distribution and the existence of minimal pairs, it was argued that contrasting one phoneme of one particular system with the same phoneme in another system, which had a different phonemic inventory, was pointless. The solutions to this problem are central to the questions and conflicting opinions surrounding the various approaches and attendant methodologies of dialectology, and consequently are discussed at some length in the description of the approach utilised in the present study (pp. 29-37).

Structural theories are apparent in various British dialect studies in the 1950s and 1960s. One such study by Viereck²⁷ included a substantial synchronic systematic description. It was also innovative in the fact that it was carried out in an urban area and included a section on RP and the influence of this upon urban varieties. Prior to this, the Linguistic Survey of Scotland²⁸ had utilised a questionnaire that basically consisted of a word-list which was designed to elicit complete phonemic inventories by means of minimal pairs. However, despite the apparent improvement in some aspects of theory and methodology, structural approaches were not beyond the criticism of other linguists. Early synchronic studies still concentrated on describing the 'traditional vernacular' of a certain locality, and thus focused on the oldest stratum of speech in the area. Methodologies were adopted that, in many ways, resembled that of the geographical / historical studies: selected informants were preferably

²⁶ Weinreich, U., "Is a Structural Dialectology Possible?", *Word*, X (1954), 388-400.

²⁷ Viereck, W., *Phonematische Analyse des Dialekts von Gateshead-upon-Tyne*, Co.Durham, Hamburg, Cram, de Gruyter and Co., 1966.

²⁸ See McIntosh, A., *An Introduction to a Survey of Scottish Dialects*, Edinburgh, Nelson, 1952; and Catford, J.C., "The Linguistic Survey of Scotland", *Orbis vi* (1957), 105-121.

locally born and bred men over sixty years of age, with a minimum of formal education and who were in manual or semi-skilled employment. In short, these were the people who were thought most likely to speak the local vernacular. Viereck's study was based upon the speech of twelve retired manual workers, all men, whose average age was 76. Such an approach has since received some criticism;²⁹ though convincing counter-arguments, based upon the fact that the population profile was overwhelmingly working-class, have been put forward in support.³⁰ Consequently, in common with the earlier geographical studies, these early synchronic investigations were criticised for failing to demonstrate any variation that existed at a particular locality. From another perspective, the very fact that certain factors, such as social and situationally conditioned variation of language, are generally unaccounted for in an idealised synchronic description is seen as a strength as "communication does not take place on the basis of infinite variation".³¹ However, it is such variation that came to dominate linguistic thinking, and studies began to focus on the connection between extra-linguistic and linguistic variables.

Sociolinguistic approaches

It was during the early 1960s that dialectology came to be influenced again by mainstream linguistics³² and also by the social sciences. Although structural synchronic studies were deemed to be a methodological improvement, such influences upon dialectological thinking raised new concerns about theory and method. So far, the focus on linguistic variation had been from a geographical perspective, and researchers had mainly investigated forms that were considered to represent the local vernacular. In addition to this, research had concentrated almost entirely upon rural dialects.³³ Thus, criticism was aimed at existing methodology, and particularly that of traditional geographical or historical studies. This criticism claimed that social variation had been overlooked (at the expense of geographical), that the selection of informants was heavily restricted and therefore was unrepresentative of

²⁹ See Milroy, L. (1984), pp. 200-201.

³⁰ Wakelin (1991), p. 60.

³¹ Shorrocks (1980), p. 38.

³² For a short account on the early arguments between dialectologists and mainstream linguists, and the influence of general linguistics upon dialectology see Chambers and Trudgill, pp. 16-17, 37-52.

³³ One notable exception to this is Hunter's *The Hallamshire Glossary*, a study conducted in Sheffield during the period 1790 -1810 (published 1829), which is not only one of the earliest dialect studies, but undoubtedly one of the first urban studies in England.

the population of any given locality, and that, because of these factors, such data failed to demonstrate the heterogeneous nature of language in any given locality.³⁴

These concerns led to the rise of sociolinguistics, primarily developed by the American linguist William Labov.³⁵ The principles, theories and methodologies were highly influenced by those of the social sciences, particularly that of sociology.³⁶ The studies based on this new methodology aimed to correlate extra-linguistic variables, such as age, sex and social class, to linguistic variables, though primarily much research was concentrated upon the link between the socio-economic status of the informants and their speech. It is hardly surprising that most of the early sociolinguistic studies were aimed at urban areas, hitherto largely ignored, which were particularly suitable for this method.³⁷ Nevertheless, not all of the early urban studies were conducted within a sociolinguistic framework. Despite employing synchronic frameworks and systematic descriptions,³⁸ these studies attracted heavy criticism from some proponents of sociolinguistic methodology because they were “carried out in the manner of traditional dialectology, ignoring the social dimension”;³⁹ these include Viereck’s study, criticised for non-representation of the population as a whole, while Gregg’s Larne study (1964), Sivertsen’s London study (1960) and Weismann’s Bristol study⁴⁰ have all been criticised for attempting to focus on ‘pure’ or ‘genuine’ forms and, consequently, for being restrictive in the selection of informants.⁴¹ The aims and criticisms of the early sociolinguists are amply summed up by Trudgill:

³⁴ Concerns such as these were not new; the New England fieldworkers, working on the “Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada” during the 1930s, were specifically instructed to select informants of varying social classes, so that the survey became one of the first to record (some) social variation.

³⁵ See Labov, William, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, Philadelphia, Pennsylvania University Press, 1972.

³⁶ See Trudgill, P., *The social differentiation of English in Norwich*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1974, p. 1.

³⁷ This concept, that the dialect study of urban areas would comprise the study of social factors, had already been expressed by both G.L. Brook (1968) and J.T. Wright (1966) before the development of sociolinguistics in England - see Shorrocks (1980), pp. 40-41.

³⁸ It has been argued that traditional dialect studies use a framework that is inherently sociological anyway, and that the Labovian approach has merely “quantified certain relationships, which were already known to exist” - see Shorrocks (1980), pp. 52-53.

³⁹ Chambers and Trudgill, pp. 55-56.

⁴⁰ Gregg, R.J., “Scotch-Irish urban speech in Ulster”, in Adams, G.B. (ed.), *Ulster dialects: an introductory symposium*, Belfast, Ulster Folk Museum, 1964; Sivertsen, E., *Cockney Phonology*, Oslo, Oslo University Press 1960; Weismann, E., “Phonematische Analyse des Stadtdialekts von Bristol”, *Phonetica*, 21, 151-181, 211-240.

⁴¹ See Milroy, L. (1984), pp. 201-202.

*It is also true to say that urban dialectology is by no means necessarily sociological. Many linguists have attempted to describe the speech forms of urban areas without recourse to any of the methodology of sociology. The inadequacies in the work of these linguists, both linguistic and sociological, stem from the fact that most if not all speech communities are more or less socially and linguistically heterogeneous. This heterogeneity is, moreover, much more marked in urban areas than it is in other linguistic communities. For this reason, the inadequacies of non-sociological urban dialectology are all the more serious.*⁴²

Apart from such methodological innovations as the random sampling techniques, Labov was responsible for further important developments in urban dialectology. This came about as a result of the variability encountered in a single informant's speech according to situation. Labov studied various styles, ranging from 'conversational' to 'reading', in each speaker. Five styles were discerned, according to the amount of attention being paid to speech, and these were then arranged on a continuum from formal to informal. The extremely difficult task of comparing and analysing such large amounts of data that could be produced as the result of so many linguistic and non-linguistic elements led to the Labovian concept of the 'sociolinguistic variable'. This is a linguistic element that can vary according to social factors, as well as linguistic ones. Consequently, instead of just assessing whether a speaker uses a particular variable or not, it became possible to gauge to what extent the variable was used: in other words it enabled the quantification of language use. The means of presenting this information, by the calculation of linguistic scores or 'indices', was also first developed by Labov in his famous New York study.⁴³ These scores were originally used to demonstrate the link between social class and certain phonological variables.⁴⁴ This quantitative method has been used in many similar studies since,⁴⁵ in order to demonstrate the connection between a certain linguistic item and other extra-linguistic variables such as sex, age and even stylistic variation. Such studies usually focused on phonological variables, though some have investigated the linguistic variable at the syntactic level.⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the concept of the linguistic variable, and sociolinguistic theory in general,

⁴² Trudgill (1974), p.2.

⁴³ See Labov, W., *The social stratification of English in New York City*, Washington D.C., Center for Applied Linguistics, 1966.

⁴⁴ For a short analysis of the t variable see Chambers and Trudgill (1980), pp. 59-64.

⁴⁵ See particularly Petyt, K.M., *Dialect and Accent in Industrial West Yorkshire*, Amsterdam, J.Benjamins Publishing Co., 1985; and Trudgill, P. (1974), op. cit.

⁴⁶ One example is Cheshire, J., "Present tense verbs in Reading English", in Trudgill, P. (ed.), *Sociolinguistic patterns in British English*, London, Edward Arnold, 1978.

have come under criticism. One aspect concerns the small number of variables that usually constitute such a study:

*The mere handful of variables employed in sociolinguistic studies to date might also cause one to question the claim to be giving full descriptions. Certainly, detailed phonetic transcription shows that there are far more variants than those considered by sociolinguists.*⁴⁷

The shortcomings of such a description, or definition, based upon only a few variables may be amply demonstrated by Trudgill's classification of modern dialects.⁴⁸ In Trudgill's study dialect areas are established on the basis of a highly restricted number of variables - e.g. long 'a' / short 'a'; pronunciation of 'u' in 'up'; pronunciation of 'a' in 'gate'; pronunciation of 'ng'; rhoticity; 'l' vocalisation. It is made explicit that "a number of places are actually rather hard to allocate to regions" on account of the fact that "the boundaries of the regions are in actual fact not nearly so clear-cut as they appear".⁴⁹ It is evident that the already difficult task of defining dialect areas can only be exacerbated by a method that employs a limited number of variables. Apart from problems with delineating dialect areas, difficulties with the actual definition of these areas are apparent. Trudgill defines the 'Northwest Midlands' area as constituting Derby, Stoke-on-Trent, Chester and Manchester, based upon the apparent coincidence of certain variables.⁵⁰ However, such a definition is wholly unreasonable if fuller descriptions of the varieties therein are considered. It is apparent that significant differences exist, for example, between the accent of the towns of south-east Lancashire and those of the Potteries;⁵¹ while the Manchester accent, being a highly localised and distinct urban variety of north-west England, also differs greatly from that of Derby which shares many affinities with the accents of the East Midlands. Indeed, the differences are such that each of these accents is immediately discernible, and any non-linguist local is aware of the differences in pronunciation; one informant actually described the dialect of north-west Derbyshire as being "northern" while that of Derby was described as being "midland" (cf. Trudgill's classification with that of A. J. Ellis who sub-divides the

⁴⁷ Shorrocks (1980), p. 51.

⁴⁸ Trudgill, P. (1990), pp. 54-66.

⁴⁹ Trudgill, P. (1990), p. 64.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ For example : SE Lancs /e:/, Potteries /eɪ/ (< ME /a:/); SEL /a:/, Pot. /aɪ/ (< ME /i:/); SEL /ɛ:/, /ʌv/, Pot. /aʊ/ (< ME /u:/); SEL /ɹ:/, Pot. /u:/ (< ME o: 1); SEL r-colouring / / type, Pot. - non-rhotic.

northwest midlands area into many more localised areas, and places New Mills within the same area as south-east Lancashire and north-east Cheshire).

A further objection concerns the random sampling technique, which results in a wide base of informants. It is argued that such a large base of informants inevitably produces a large amount of variation, whether social or situational, and that consequently, knowledge of the entire range of linguistic features is unlikely to be gained.⁵² Knowles also criticises the random sampling technique for being a ‘time wasting exercise’, and claims that the concept of the variable is simplistic in that it fails to account for the full range of phonological choice available to any speaker.⁵³ A further study, being critical of Labov’s methods, adopted a methodology that did not pre-determine any link between social and linguistic factors and included any speaker, in the area. By neither prioritising linguistic features nor social factors, such a method produced innovative results.⁵⁴

Some of the general concepts of the linguistic variable, particularly those of quantification, have also come into conflict with some of the formal models engendered by structuralist thinking.⁵⁵ Despite this dichotomy, some studies (such as that of Trudgill in Norwich) incorporated these types of formal models (i.e. generative phonology and the structural ‘diasystem’ model) within a sociolinguistic framework. However, other synchronic studies which, rather ironically, do not employ a quantitative methodology based upon the linguistic variable, have themselves been critical of the utilisation of formal structuralist models in the sphere of dialectology and language, these criticisms being based upon the inadequacies of such models to accommodate linguistic variation.⁵⁶

Quantitative studies were responsible for further developments in linguistic theory. It became apparent that certain patterns emerged: the higher social classes and women had linguistic scores that indicated the dominant use of standardised variants. However, certain sociolinguistic variables sometimes did not conform either partially or wholly to this pattern, and such non-conformity could be indicative of linguistic change in progress. The role of

⁵² Shorrocks (1980), p. 50.

⁵³ Knowles, G.D., *Scouse: the urban dialect of Liverpool*, PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 1974 - see Milroy, L. (1984), pp. 207-208.

⁵⁴ See Pellowe, Nixon, Strang, and McNeany, “A dynamic modelling of linguistic variation: the urban (Tyneside) linguistic survey”, *Lingua*, 30 (1972), 1-30.

⁵⁵ Milroy, L. (1984), p. 206.

⁵⁶ See Heath, C.D., *The pronunciation of English in Cannock, Staffordshire*, Oxford, Blackwell for the Philological Society, 1980, pp. 28-37 ; and Shorrocks (1980), pp. 54-56.

women, particularly, in the process of linguistic change has been noted and remarked upon.⁵⁷ The observation and study of such phenomena have become a major area of research in quantitative urban dialectology. As the present study is partially concerned with linguistic change, this particular theory and its implications are discussed in the relevant section (below pp. 39-69).

Despite some criticism, the general principles and methodology associated with sociolinguistics (in particular those of urban and synchronic orientation), sampling techniques, social and situational variation, linguistic variables and quantitative analyses, have been widely accepted and overwhelmingly adopted, in varying degrees, by dialectologists over the past thirty years and continue to be so. Therefore any modern study must either adopt such an approach, whether wholly or partially, or justify the adoption of a different methodology.

The general acceptance of sociolinguistic ideas was undoubtedly facilitated by the belief that it employed a 'superior' methodology, supported by lucid and apparently justifiable criticism of earlier theories and approaches which were exposed as being inadequate for modern studies of dialect.

In conclusion, the main criticisms, which were particularly aimed (though not wholly) at traditional dialectology (historical and geographical) studies in the areas of methodology, fieldwork and description, are as follows:

- 1) These type of surveys were primarily aimed at obtaining and describing the most 'conservative' and most 'genuine' form of dialect. The consequences of this were:
 - a) Surveys were carried out in mainly rural locations - thus ignoring the speech of urban areas, which constituted the majority of the population.
 - b) Informants were chosen on the basis of those who were most likely to produce this type of speech (traditional dialect); the criteria for this being the selection of old males (preferably uneducated) who had been resident in the area for all or most of their lives - so-called 'NORMS'.

Thus these types of surveys were criticised for being non-representative of the community in which the studies were carried out, and not representative of the population as a whole - concentrating only on one sex, class and age group in rural areas.

⁵⁷ See Chambers and Trudgill (1980), pp. 97 – 100.

2) Fieldwork techniques were criticised - the earliest surveys normally used postal questionnaires (Wright). A later technique involved the utilisation of fieldworkers (trained in phonetics). However, criticism was mainly aimed at the method of obtaining data, which consisted of a questionnaire utilising sentence frames to elicit single answers. This has been criticised on the grounds that such methods were primarily designed to obtain lexical data, and, more importantly, that such data gathered in this fashion was situationally conditioned - i.e. that questionnaires of this type produced a situation that was fairly formal and thus, correspondingly, the data was stylistically formal.⁵⁸

3) One of the major criticisms of the traditional framework is that dialects were described from a historic (diachronic) perspective. Thus the phonemes of a specific dialect are described as reflexes of ME and not, as many modern studies are, as systematic realisations, “which can be used for synchronic comparative purposes”.⁵⁹

All of these points have been, and remain, a matter of contention between the various factions in the sphere of dialectology. However, much of the criticism aimed at traditional / geographical dialect studies is misplaced in that it fails to take into consideration the widely differing aims and purpose of these investigations. Theoretical criticism, in particular, is not wholly justifiable; there is little fundamental difference in some respects between traditional dialectology and sociolinguistic theory – both acknowledge a link between social factors and speech, and this link is utilized by both models to determine the respective approaches and to satisfy the respective aims and purposes. Criticism of traditional studies, therefore, may only be valid with respect to aims and purpose, and not in relation to methodology.

One of the root causes of this wholesale criticism has its origins in the adoption and unmodified application of Labovian principles (which are American in origin) for dialect studies in Britain. As is often the case with any theory, particularly new or innovative theories, there is a tendency for people to adhere to a particular one at the expense of all others, consequently dismissing older theories and leaving no room for overlap. Labovian principles apply well to dialect studies in the USA, where concentration upon social variables is paramount, and in some cases, absolute. In many parts of the USA (apart from the so called “eastern seaboard”, where regional variation is evident), extra-linguistic variables such as social class, ethnicity, age and sex are solely responsible for any linguistic

⁵⁸ See Milroy, L. (1984), p. 204; Chambers and Trudgill (1980), p. 58.

⁵⁹ Milroy, L. (1984), p. 200.

variation. This is obviously not the case in England. The importance of an areal dimension in England can be exemplified by the fact that the speech of a thirty year old white male manual worker from Southampton differs considerably from the speech of a thirty year old white male manual worker from Newcastle; so much so that there is a good probability that the man from Southampton may even find it difficult to understand his northern counterpart. Thus, being merely another social variable (but an extremely important one in England), dialect geography is not necessarily at odds with sociolinguistic thinking in this respect. Problems such as this merely serve to highlight the difficulties associated with any particular theory and, far more importantly, the need to construct methodologies that are based upon the research being undertaken, and not to modify the research to fit the methodology. The importance of purpose upon the methodology of a study has also been acknowledged by Shorrocks:

*Whilst the theory of a subject undoubtedly determines the research undertaken,... there are choices to be made which probably owe more to the researcher's interests than anything else; theory may indicate a variety of problems and permit a variety of approaches ...alternatively, the researcher may be working on problems outside of current theory. In both cases, the researcher's interests and purposes may be of paramount importance... the theory of linguistics alone does not set that task as such, although it relates closely to the possible range of tasks and suggests a variety of approaches.*⁶⁰

It is clear from the above that the aims, purposes, and theory⁶¹ of a dialectological investigation should be the major determining factors in the choice of methodology and approach, and not vice versa.

Many studies have been, and continue to be, largely undertaken as a result of the introduction of various theories and approaches, i.e. in most cases the type of research was determined by the theory and methodology of a particular approach. These include some of the urban studies which were prompted by sociolinguistic theory.⁶² Following this impetus, many urban studies adopted a particular framework that took into account the following general research ideas, aims and specific research criteria associated with these types of studies: the urban dialectologist is concerned far more with social variation than with

⁶⁰ Shorrocks (1980), pp. 32-33.

⁶¹ Theory, in this sense, is "the framework within which an explanation is attempted" - see Shorrocks (1980), pp. 30-31 - and not that which is synonymous with 'hypothesis'.

⁶² Examples of these are Trudgill's Norwich survey (1974) and Petyt's study of a West Yorkshire urban area (1985).

geographical variation; the urban dialectologist must also adopt a methodology and fieldwork technique accordingly, to ensure that the data gathered will be representative of the community (see also 'Fieldwork', below, pp. 109-113); furthermore, the data should demonstrate the correlation between linguistic and social variables. This approach enables the study to fulfil one of its main aims: to produce contemporary profiles of a limited number of social and linguistic variables, and many recent Labovian studies have demonstrated this correlation by quantitative means. It is apparent that a framework has been adopted that is ideal for the purposes of the study. Moreover, it follows from this that other studies, whose principal aims differ markedly, should adopt other frameworks accordingly. The shortcomings of sociolinguistic method, some of which have already been discussed, become more marked when applied to studies where sociolinguistic criteria do not necessarily apply, for example in comparative or diachronic studies. As stated above, the purpose of a study should not only influence, but also determine the theory and methodology employed. With respect to the investigation in New Mills, this is discussed fully in the next section.

Approaches to dialect description and analysis

Firstly, it is necessary to explain and define what is meant by ‘traditional local dialect’ or ‘local vernacular’, which are used synonymously in this study, in order to clarify its use in this research. This issue aside, much controversy and debate still surround such terminology within the sphere of linguistics.

Dialect

The definition of the term ‘dialect’ has been the focus of much linguistic debate, and it is probably true to say that an adequate definition has not yet been forthcoming. One major problem that has yet to be solved, concerns dialect in relation to language: in what ways is a dialect different from a language, and how can we distinguish between them? One view has been put forward that it is “useful to regard dialects... as sub-divisions of a particular language”.⁶³ It is implied, therefore, that a “language is a collection of mutually intelligible dialects”.⁶⁴ Indeed, the mutual intelligibility of dialects is deemed, by some linguists, to be an essential criterion in defining the difference between dialect and language: “if two speakers cannot understand each other, they are speaking different languages”;⁶⁵ if “they do understand each other, they must be speaking different dialects of the same language”.⁶⁶ However, such a criterion as this is neither wholly adequate nor entirely correct: it is quite possible that a ‘broad’ dialect speaker from, say, rural Devon, will not understand (either fully or, in some cases, at all!) a ‘broad’ dialect speaker from rural Northumberland. Conversely, as Chambers and Trudgill remark, some languages, such as those of Scandinavia, are considered to be different languages, although they are mutually intelligible.⁶⁷ From another perspective, it has also been pointed out that such terms as ‘dialect’ and ‘language’ are not valid because they fail objectively to determine when “two

⁶³ Chambers, J.K., and Trudgill, P., *Dialectology*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1980, p. 3.

⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Petyt, K.M., *The study of Dialect : An Introduction to Dialectology*, London, Deutsch, 1980, p.13.

⁶⁶ Crystal, D., *The Cambridge Encyclopedia of the English Language*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1993, p. 25.

⁶⁷ Chambers, and Trudgill (1980), op. cit, p. 4.

varieties will be seen by their speakers as sufficiently similar to warrant calling them the same language”.⁶⁸ One definition of a dialect is that by Ulrich Ammon:

*A dialect is a language such that (i) there is at least one other language with which it has a high degree of similarity; (ii) there is no language which is regionally included within it as a proper part; and (iii) neither its writing system nor its pronunciation nor its lexicon nor its syntax is officially normalised.*⁶⁹

Many linguists avoid using the evidently controversial term ‘dialect’ altogether, and simply use the term ‘variety’ to express this notion. Most people’s idea of a dialect is what Trudgill, amongst others, has referred to as ‘traditional dialect’, i.e. a specific rural geographical variety. However, the terms ‘dialect’, and ‘variety’ have increasingly been used (under the influence of sociolinguistic theory) to “refer to any user-defined variety associated with speakers of a given type, whether geographically or otherwise defined e.g. members of a given social class, males / females, people of shared ethnic background, etc.”⁷⁰ Nevertheless, the many different foci of dialect study, both former and contemporary, have all influenced any ideas or notions associated with traditional dialects; consequently the term itself remains unsatisfactorily accounted for (and without a universal definition) by contemporary linguists.

Traditional Dialect

In one such modern study, the notion of ‘traditional dialect’ is dealt with very briefly, and is restricted to a description of provenance rather than what it actually constitutes:

*It is also found in various parts of England which are well removed from London, particularly the north and the rural west. In England it is usually referred to as ‘x dialect’, where x is the name of a traditional county, as Lancashire dialect, Devon dialect.*⁷¹

This ‘definition’ is expanded to a minor degree, in that some hints are given about the conservative nature of traditional dialects in addition to some clues as to what is deemed to be the provenance and class of such speakers, though it is obvious that this description is

⁶⁸ Romaine, S., *Language in Society: An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1994, p. 22.

⁶⁹ Bright, William (ed. in chief), *International Encyclopedia of Linguistics Volume 1*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1992, p. 349.

⁷⁰ Malmkjaer, Kirsten (ed.) *The Linguistics Encyclopedia*, London, Routledge, 1991, pp. 93-94.

⁷¹ Wells, J.C., *Accents of English Volume 1: Introduction*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982 (a), p. 4.

still rather indistinct:

*working-class speech is often relatively old-fashioned, and... it is only the working class in the north of England who still use traditional dialect.*⁷²

Such a definition as this, however, must also be questioned on grounds of accuracy: firstly, is all working class speech old-fashioned? What about the numerous instances of working class urban speech, some of which are highly dynamic and innovative.⁷³ Secondly, and more importantly, can the statement that “only working class people in northern England speak traditional dialect” be upheld? Such a suggestion that traditional dialect is thus confined and not spoken in the south-west, midlands, East Anglia, lowland Scotland or, indeed, places outside the British Isles is obviously not only questionable but completely untenable in the light of all the available evidence. Therefore, such a notion of traditional dialect as that put forward by Wells must be regarded, at best, as wholly insufficient.

Trudgill attempts a definition, firstly, by classifying dialects as either ‘traditional dialects’ or ‘mainstream dialects’ (which consist of RP and other ‘modern non-standard dialects’). However, the definition which follows is only partially explanatory, traditional dialects being described as those which “differ very considerably from Standard English, and from each other, and may be difficult for others to understand when they first encounter them. People who say... Hoo inno comin... are speaking traditional dialect”.⁷⁴ However, it is not surprising that traditional dialects are dealt with rather briefly by many contemporary linguists of the sociolinguistic mould, as they are not considered to play a major role in modern language variation as a whole. Indeed, Trudgill affirms this belief, which partially mirrors Wells’ description (above), by stating that traditional dialects are:

*spoken by a probably shrinking minority of the English speaking population of the world, almost all of them in England, Scotland and Northern Ireland. They are most easily found, as far as England is concerned in the more remote and peripheral rural areas of the country.*⁷⁵

However, many dialectologists whose primary interest is in the study of traditional dialects do not wholly agree with this view. Wakelin states that “traditional vernacular [is] the sort of

⁷² Wells (1982a), p. 104.

⁷³ Ironically, Wells cites several examples - see pp. 106, 252, 259.

⁷⁴ Trudgill, P., *The Dialects of England*, Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1990, p. 5.

⁷⁵ Ibid.

English characterised by old regional features and spoken mainly, but by no means exclusively, by older people in rural areas”.⁷⁶ Indeed, the study of these dialects is given an added importance:

*The continuing use of dialect by younger speakers, however, means that much of the material cited here is still relevant at the present day.*⁷⁷

It is also the case that, in addition to rural areas, “some urban areas of northern and western England still have many Traditional Dialect speakers”.⁷⁸ It is plainly the case, then, that traditional dialect is spoken more widely than is often believed, and is not merely confined to older or rural inhabitants.

Those studies which have focused on traditional dialect necessarily need to define exactly what stratum of language is under investigation. Harold Orton, who, along with Eugen Dieth, instigated the largest study of traditional dialect ever undertaken in England (the *Survey of English Dialects* [1947 - 1961]), referred to this type of dialect as “traditional vernacular, genuine and old”⁷⁹ - sometimes defined as a ‘basilect’.⁸⁰ In the introduction to a linguistic atlas based on the *SED*, Upton and Widdowson define this vernacular as “speech that was not greatly influenced by outside pressures or by radio and television and other developments in communication”, and that, consequently, this type was more likely to be spoken by “elderly, locally born people with little formal education”.⁸¹ Wakelin equates traditional dialect with ‘regional dialect’, and defines this as a “dialect associated with a particular geographical area - a subject known as *linguistic geography* or *dialect geography*”, which is the “oldest type in use in England today, often embodying features of a stratum of language that is different from that of Standard English, in many cases the direct descendants of ME features”.⁸² This notion, which establishes the link between historical linguistics and dialect studies, is an important part of dialect geography studies;

⁷⁶ Wakelin, M.F., ‘Rural dialects in England’, in Trudgill, P. (ed.), *Language in the British Isles*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, p. 70.

⁷⁷ Ibid.

⁷⁸ Trudgill (1990), p. 5.

⁷⁹ See Wakelin, M. F., *English Dialects - An Introduction*, London, Athlone Press, University of London, 1991, p. 3.

⁸⁰ See Bright (1992), op. cit, p. 350.

⁸¹ Upton, C., and Widdowson, J.D.A., *An Atlas of English Dialects*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1996, p. x.

⁸² Wakelin (1991), p. 3.

and one which was recognised by the earliest dialectologists.⁸³ Wakelin is also explicit about the characteristics and likely provenance of regional dialect speakers:

*In order to obtain the ‘traditional’ features of the dialect (as distinct from extraneous ones borrowed from elsewhere) which had been present from early times, it has been the practice of most of the dialect surveys so far established to use as informants older members of the population living in relatively undisturbed rural communities.*⁸⁴

Another factor which was largely responsible for the initial focus upon traditional dialects was the decline and apparent erosion of regional dialects in the modern period, following population movement and influence from Standard English.⁸⁵ This development was also recognised by some of the earliest dialectologists.⁸⁶ Hunter was obviously aware of the external pressures upon traditional dialect which existed towards the end of the eighteenth century. He states that the “process of extinction is going on more rapidly at the present moment than at any former period”.⁸⁷ These rather dramatic remarks may have been induced on account of the fact that such external pressures, which continue to exert themselves upon dialects today, were first beginning to make an effective impression. Hallam (in his introduction to *Pegge’s Derbichisms*, 1896) also commented that “the number of words collected by Dr. Pegge little more than a century ago, and now unknown or obsolete, is very large”; more precisely, “the proportion of obsolete words in the whole list is almost precisely a third of the whole”.⁸⁸ Strang puts forward the view that the urbanisation of the population at this time had a considerable effect upon regional dialects:

*By 1770 all regions of the country had witnessed some measure of urban concentration; the movements of population at the Industrial Revolution brought a situation in which the norm for speakers was experience of a geographically mixed rather than an unmixed local community. Of course, the inherited character of local dialects was still extremely marked, and had a special emotional status, but it was no longer the only kind of speech experienced by the majority of speakers.*⁸⁹

⁸³ See Hunter, J., *A Hallamshire Glossary*, Sheffield, CECTAL facsimiles no. 3, 1983, p. xiii - “amongst them may be found fragments of our antient tongue, relics of what, three or four centuries ago, constituted the language not of the common people only, but of all ranks from the king to the peasant”.

⁸⁴ Wakelin, M. F. (ed.), *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles*, London, Athlone Press, University of London, 1972, p. 1.

⁸⁵ See Wakelin (1991), pp. 28-30.

⁸⁶ See Hunter, op. cit, p. xxv –xxvi.

⁸⁷ *Ibid.*, p. xxvi.

⁸⁸ Pegge, Samuel, *Two Collections of Derbichisms*, London, published for the English Dialect Society by Henry Frowde, 1896, p. xvi.

⁸⁹ Strang, Barbara M.H., *A History of English*, London, Methuen and Co. Ltd., 1970, p.105.

It is also argued that such geographical mixing was accompanied by a restructuring of society, and that another linguistic consequence of urbanisation was the “subordination of the old local structuring of language-varieties to a new social structuring, until eventually the whole fabric of ‘dialects’ is altered”.⁹⁰ It is evidently the case that the same external pressures have steadily increased until the present day, and that factors such as population movement and Standard English⁹¹ have been magnified by vast developments in mobility, communication and education, in addition to ever increasing exposure to the media (broadcasting - television, radio, newspapers - and advertising) which gives access to a globally orientated popular culture. Such pressure has inevitably resulted in (at least) a partial levelling of dialects. This has led to the notion, held by many linguists, of dialect ‘convergence’; though other linguists have suggested that this process is being counter-balanced by dynamic and innovative urban varieties which are acting as ‘divergent’ forces.⁹² Contemporary social and demographic changes have arguably contributed to even greater pressure being applied to the continuing existence of traditional dialects and the stratum of society who speak local vernacular. The post-modern period has witnessed the most significant social reorganization since the Industrial Revolution; the almost total decline of industry has led to the depletion (and sometimes disappearance) of old close-knit industrial communities; a significant movement of population from the suburbs into surrounding and more remote rural communities has occurred over the past thirty years – initially, relatively small numbers of older retiring people, but recently large numbers of professionals (middle-class) with families. Moreover, economic factors (specifically house-pricing) at the turn of the millennium have led to an increase in this type of migration, increasingly inter-regional, predominantly from the south-east of England (where house-prices are highest) outwards.

Moreover, a growing number of people are acquiring second homes in much sought after ‘holiday’ localities. This has had a significant impact on rural areas remote from urban suburbs and / or the south-east; data from the 2001 Census shows the greatest demographic change, involving large numbers of non-local incomers (according to home ownership), has occurred in Devon, Cumbria (Lake District), and, to a lesser extent, in Derbyshire (Peak

⁹⁰ Ibid.

⁹¹ Hereafter referred to as SE.

⁹² See Labov (1994), pp. 73-112.

District) and North Yorkshire (Yorkshire Dales / North York Moors). It is inevitable that these changes will have an impact upon local culture, not least the traditional dialects.

Conversely, other social change, largely the result of the social reorganization (outlined above), such as the blurring of class distinction, the popularization of urban / working-class culture (this may be observed by the emergence of [modified] regional accents on BBC television, once the bastion of RP) and associated re-emergence of local identity (see also below, pp.115-117, 127-130) may have little, if any, negative impact upon regional dialect. Indeed, it is probable that increasing notions of (and pride in) local identity may have a positive impact, as far as local dialects are concerned.

Despite the concerns outlined above, it is perhaps the case that traditional dialect is more enduring than the early dialectologists believed or modern linguists would have us believe, and remains more widely spoken than is generally supposed, though whether it will remain so (in the face of significant social change), only time will tell. There are two possible reasons for the survival of traditional dialect today. Firstly, these varieties continue to be spoken by the working class in urban areas, who, in some places, still constitute the majority of the population. Secondly, the fact that “most dialect speakers are nowadays bilingual (speaking their own native dialect and also a version of Standard English)”⁹³ could, paradoxically, be responsible for preserving dialect forms, in that such speakers will tend to use either traditional dialect or a modified version of SE (as distinct from Received Pronunciation), instead of abandoning traditional dialect forever in favour of a single modified dialect variety. The research undertaken for this investigation certainly suggests that this applies to the older speakers (i.e. old and mid age groups) in New Mills.

As far as the present study is concerned, the terms ‘traditional / regional dialect’ and ‘local vernacular’ agree largely with those definitions expressed above (p. 22) - in so far as they designate the stratum of language that is the oldest type and one that exhibits the least influence from outside forces. These varieties have remained largely resistant to those pressures, outlined above, and therefore have preserved many conservative features. This is evident by the fact that, despite the reservations expressed by Hunter in the late eighteenth century and J. Wright in the nineteenth century, many of the linguistic features (phonological, grammatical, lexical, and syntactic) have remained relatively stable from the early Modern English (eModE) period until the first half of the twentieth century. Therefore,

⁹³ Wakelin (1991), p. 30.

the term ‘traditional dialect’ can equally be applied to the language which appears in eighteenth century dialect studies, the *SED*, or, indeed, the speech of the oldest informants in the present study. This presents an obvious problem: how can the term ‘traditional’ be applied to various dialects spanning more than two centuries? What chronological point and what criteria determine whether a dialect is traditional? It has rightly been pointed out that, like all types of language everywhere, dialects constantly change, “and such change - phonological, grammatical, lexical and semantic - is taking place all the time”.⁹⁴ Therefore, regional varieties were subject to the same forces of intra-linguistic change, such as the ‘Great Vowel Shift’ of the late ME / eModE period, as the forerunner of SE. The effects and rates of change of this shift differed considerably throughout the various regional dialects of England, and it is this difference in the precise nature and speed of change which is partially responsible for regional variation today. Moreover, the last significant change to regional dialects was largely restricted to this period (i.e. the late ME / eModE periods), before mechanisms of change became predominantly subject to external forces following the establishment of SE and coincidental social reorganisation during the Industrial Revolution. It is during the ModE period that external varieties (such as SE / modified SE) driven by external factors (such as social class and social interaction) have become influential in the development of / change to traditional dialects. Nevertheless, until the middle of the twentieth century at least, regional dialects have proved to be remarkably resilient in the face of such pressure from external factors. That this may not always be the case is clearly shown by the data below, which amply demonstrates the effects of contemporary and ever-increasing external pressures upon traditional dialect.

The notion of a traditional dialect in the present study may be defined, therefore, as the oldest (base) stratum of language, being one which exhibits features of regionally differentiated intra-linguistic change from ME antecedents, one that has remained relatively unaffected, or which has been minimally affected, by external factors - including Standard English, demographic / social reorganisation during the industrial period, and later advances in communication, education and mobility (both geographical and social) – and consequently one which contains many conservative features. Whether or not such a dialect would have continued relatively unaffected, if the acceleration and magnification of external pressures (which had begun in the industrial period) had not occurred in the post-industrial

⁹⁴ Wakelin (1991), p. 1.

period, remains a matter of conjecture; nevertheless, the considerable amount of current research (including the present investigation), which is focusing upon linguistic change in regional varieties, will at least shed some light as to the extent of this change.

Many of these studies have adopted a sociolinguistic framework – i.e. a methodology that attempts to equate linguistic variation with social factors – and consequently have largely focused on urban areas where social stratification / demographic profiles are more complex. The data from these types of investigation provide a profile of the entire linguistic community, an analysis of which may reveal any ongoing / disseminating change that is taking place. One charge often levelled by sociolinguists against more traditional frameworks is that data from these investigations is not representative. However, as we shall see below, sociolinguistic considerations of representation are not essential when investigating change, especially when that change is concerned with one stratum of the language only – i.e. the traditional dialect.

As discussed above, traditional dialect is largely restricted to a certain stratum of the population - i.e. some rural and some urban dwellers, the proportion of which varies according to location (i.e. some northern cities may have a larger ‘working-class’ population than those in the south). More importantly, as far as urban dwellers are concerned, speakers of regional dialect are predominantly working-class. Thus, studies investigating this stratum of speech will inevitably focus their research on a particular social-class, in which this type of speech occurs. In this way, the thinking behind so-called ‘traditional’ frameworks is essentially no different from sociolinguistic theory – it is well documented and accepted that regional dialects are largely the provenance of working-class speakers, and it is readily acknowledged that those in higher socio-economic classes will speak modified varieties, on a continuum from modified dialect through modified SE to RP. This has always been recognised by investigators of traditional dialect,⁹⁵ and today this is still the case:

*Apart from the non-regional form, Standard English, class dialects are always associated in some way with regional dialect, and regional dialect features are often to be explained as social in origin.*⁹⁶

⁹⁵ See Hunter, p.xiii ; and also Ellis, A.J., *On Early English Pronunciation, Part V: The Existing Phonology of English Dialects*, London, published by the Early English Text Society, 1889.

⁹⁶ Wakelin (1991), p. 4.

Similarly, the contemporary position of traditional dialects (as only one stratum of language amongst others) was commented on by Harold Orton in a paper about the *SED*:

*Many grades of vernacular exist in England today. They vary from the oldest forms of regional dialect, localised in our rural communities, down through the numerous mixed dialects of our towns and cities, to the widely acceptable type of English often called Standard English.*⁹⁷

The *SED* was concerned with isolating the base stratum in many different localities, for the sole purpose of exposing regional variation. In order to achieve this, informants chosen for the *SED* were necessarily mainly old working class males who had been resident in a specific rural locality for all their lives. However, such criteria (as adopted for the selection of *SED* informants) do not necessarily apply to studies investigating traditional dialect in the late twentieth century. The position of traditional dialect amongst the population has altered on account of further demographic change that has occurred in the contemporary post-industrial period. It is now no longer possible to assume that a rural dweller will be a speaker of local dialect. Wakelin attributes this to the fact that “village life is slowly breaking down [as] more young people migrate to the towns, and contrariwise many business people from towns have come to live outside the towns in surrounding villages”.⁹⁸ In Derbyshire, these processes have undoubtedly accelerated during the 1980s and 1990s, with significant immigration from the suburbs of the large cities which surround the Peak District. This is evident throughout much of rural Derbyshire. Indeed, in many villages in the north of the county (e.g. Castleton, Stoney Middleton, Hathersage), recent incomers easily outnumber born and bred inhabitants.

Such social change has inevitably led to linguistic change, and Wells cites a Derbyshire example as evidence of linguistic change in rural areas;⁹⁹ nevertheless, the existence of what are evidently standard / southern forms as being the norm in rural Derbyshire is definitely open to question!¹⁰⁰ The proximity of the small towns of the High Peak to the Manchester conurbation has also inevitably resulted in some influx of outsiders. However, this is

⁹⁷ Wakelin (1991), p.1.

⁹⁸ Wakelin (1991), p. 30.

⁹⁹ See Wells (1982 a), p. 7.

¹⁰⁰ Wells claims that in a “Derbyshire village with which I am familiar, forms such as /wɔm/ ‘home’ ...have been replaced by the General English equivalent /hʌʊm/” – see Wells (1982a), p. 7. In north-west Derbyshire, a modified dialect form /o:m/ or standardised form /oʊm / exists alongside /wɔm/.

generally far less (proportionately) than in the village communities, and New Mills (the old industrial outlook of which is probably less appealing), in particular, has escaped large-scale immigration.¹⁰¹ The communities in the towns of the High Peak, and their immediate environs, have remained relatively stable, and it is perhaps ironic that today this is where the traditional local dialect of north-west Derbyshire will largely be found.

The present investigation into the dialect of New Mills also focuses on the base stratum, primarily to provide a description of the traditional dialect, but also to gauge and analyse contemporary change and to assess what influences, internal or external (social or otherwise) are responsible for changes to the traditional dialect.

Research and the Traditional Dialect of New Mills: theoretical considerations

As far as the present investigation of New Mills dialect is concerned, the following criteria are paramount. As noted earlier, one of the primary aims is to gauge linguistic change in a north-west Derbyshire community. This will be achieved by the comparison of synchronic age-based descriptions, based upon fieldwork data collected during 1997, 1998 and 1999, which indicate change in apparent time. Therefore, the study is both comparative and diachronic in perspective, and consequently the data must be presented in a form that, firstly, enables comparison, and, secondly, reflects the diachronic nature of the research. Furthermore, the other principal aim is to gauge change to the ‘traditional’ dialect of the area *only*. Consequently, the study concentrates upon a selective, but by no means insubstantial, section of the population, i.e. working class males. Therefore, a suitable methodology needs to be constructed around these criteria. There now follows a discussion of these criteria, and as the last point is undoubtedly the most contentious, it will be dealt with first.

Such a limitation upon the selection of informants will obviously attract the criticism of some linguists, this criticism being based upon the sociolinguistic principle of representation. However, there are both linguistic and social reasons for focusing upon this particular stratum of the language of the community. Firstly, such a restriction does not necessarily constitute non-representation (see following), as the social profile and characteristics of one town may be markedly different from those of another. New Mills, although classified as urban, is essentially a small town in a predominantly rural setting. Therefore, social

¹⁰¹ However, data from the 2001 Census suggests that this type of immigration has increased slightly during the 1990s.

stratification is far less marked than in a larger urban centre.¹⁰² Furthermore, in common with other urban areas that developed in the industrial revolution, the history of such towns is different from those which are politically and historically important urban centres. Consequently, the population of New Mills had always been overwhelmingly working class from its expansion in the nineteenth century until the demise of industry after the war; and today, despite an influx of middle class ‘incomers’ during the 1970s and early 1980s and the virtual extinction of local industry, it still remains predominantly working class.¹⁰³ Therefore, the local vernacular is the most dominant stratum of speech within the area. That this is so, however, is not the primary reason for focusing upon the traditional dialect of the area. Of more importance than this are various linguistic considerations, which are relevant with respect to one of the main objectives of the study; in order to assess and determine the factors (social, linguistic or otherwise) responsible for change, it was deemed necessary to analyse a particular stratum without involving other strata of speech that may be influencing factors.¹⁰⁴ It is because the local vernacular is the base stratum, being obviously not only the oldest, but more importantly, the *natural* speech of the locality, that this is the variety of speech which should be the focus of attention. By doing so, it will be possible not only to identify which features (segments [phonological], items [lexical], or constructions [grammatical]) of the base stratum are subject to change, but also (more importantly), if the change is endogenic or exogenic in origin.

If it would be more difficult to attempt such a task within a sociolinguistic framework.¹⁰⁵ The random sampling technique of informant selection (inherent in sociolinguistic methodology) would necessarily produce a cross-section of informants from all social classes. Consequently, data from this type of study would clearly demonstrate that numerous varieties (modified dialect, modified SE) exist in a given locality; such variation is often held to be indicative of change. Nevertheless, while such data provide a true picture of the

¹⁰² Trudgill states that “heterogeneity [social, linguistic] is much more marked in urban areas than it is in other linguistic communities”.

¹⁰³ Population profile based upon the 1991 Census.

¹⁰⁴ It has been suggested that dialects are not operated upon directly by the standard, but are influenced by the next level above, i.e. by modified dialect or regional standard - see Shorrocks (1980), p. 71.

¹⁰⁵ A sociolinguistic framework is defined here as a methodology that investigates the correlation between linguistic and extra-linguistic variables. It may be argued that the present investigation is essentially a sociolinguistic one, as it focuses upon one specific stratum of speech and the part of the population who are most likely to speak it. However, the aim is purely to investigate linguistic change to this stratum, and not solely to equate any features of this speech with a particular social group, the focus being primarily for linguistic and not sociolinguistic purposes.

linguistic profile of a specific area, they do not necessarily indicate that change is underway; it is readily accepted that there is a correlation between social class and speech, with those from higher socio-economic groups speaking modified varieties, ranging from modified dialect to RP. The existence, for example, of modified varieties (middle-class speakers) in a specific locality does not necessarily indicate that the traditional dialect of the area is undergoing change / has undergone change; the only way to determine this is to examine the base stratum alone. The danger of a sociolinguistic approach is that the wood may not be seen for the trees.

By analysing the basilect only, it will be possible not only to determine the mechanisms and factors responsible for change, but also the extent to which other strata of speech are influential / directly responsible in this respect. As the traditional local vernacular is the type of speech that represents as well as possible the natural form of language in a locality (it is directly descended from an earlier ME spoken variety), it is a particularly suitable stratum for the investigation of linguistic change; if linguistic change is observable in the basilect, it is probable that change is actually taking place, rather than the possibility of merely indicating variation, on account of the presence of modified varieties. It could be argued that any traditional dialect today is no longer isolable from SE, and therefore will already exhibit some form of modification. That this is not necessarily so is reflected by the fact that these concerns have consistently been voiced by dialectologists over the past two hundred years,¹⁰⁶ yet the evidence from surveys in the modern period, such as the *SED* (mid twentieth century) demonstrates that traditional dialects have remained remarkably resilient to the influence of SE. Surveys such as the *SED* demonstrate that traditional dialects have remained relatively uninfluenced, until the mid twentieth century at least, by modern sociological factors. This research aims to ascertain whether this still pertains, with respect to the traditional dialect of New Mills; it is apparent that sociological factors are major agents of influence upon language today, particularly mobility (both social and geographical) and communication. The linguistic effects of these extra-linguistic factors are intrinsically linked to SE. Moreover, contemporary change is socially orientated because it is only relatively recently, in the history of the English language, that a prestige variety (SE) has come into prominence, along with the rise of the association between social class and SE. The relative

¹⁰⁶ This is exemplified by the 'Introduction' in Hunter's *Hallamshire Glossary* (1795), *op. cit.*

resilience of traditional dialects to the influence of SE¹⁰⁷ meant that significant divergence took place historically (during the late ME and eModE periods particularly), and it is the same resilience which preserved these dialects after change slowed down at the beginning of the modern period (see also below, p. 75). However, a considerable amount of modern research suggests that SE has begun to impinge upon traditional regional dialects today; the effects of this upon the traditional dialect of New Mills form the basis of this research. Nevertheless, it has become apparent that SE is only partly responsible for linguistic change today (so-called ‘overt prestige’), as significant influence is currently being exerted by other non-standard varieties (‘covert prestige’).

Another major linguistic consideration is the recording of the speech of the oldest informants. This will provide a description of the oldest, and thus least externally influenced, type of the traditional vernacular of the locality (hitherto unrecorded).¹⁰⁸ It is the speech of the older informants which may be defined as the traditional dialect, and it is the data from these speakers which form the basis for the extensive description of the dialect in this investigation.¹⁰⁹ Moreover, the description of the traditional dialect will obviously provide the base from which apparent-time linguistic change will be analysed. These related areas of investigation have inevitably resulted in research that is essentially broad-based and extensive.

As far as the present research is concerned, the comparative and diachronic perspectives of the study must be taken into account when devising a framework on which to base a description. Much contemporary criticism has been targeted at traditional studies, because of their diachronic focus and their failure to provide systematic descriptions of the phonology of a particular dialect - i.e. the failure to describe a dialect in terms of the system in which communication takes place, and thus not providing a complete description of the phonemic inventory. These shortcomings led towards the general acceptance of synchronic frameworks (see above, pp. 8-10). Indeed, it has been suggested that historical studies could benefit from synchronic research, as they “can be better carried out subsequent to a thorough synchronic investigation”. This notion is further reinforced by the fact that “A synchronic study may

¹⁰⁷ As no spoken standard existed at this time, SE here refers to the prestige variety spoken in and around London, and primarily associated with the court.

¹⁰⁸ The recording of traditional dialect was deemed to be, and still remains, a matter of urgency - see McIntosh (1961), p. 86.

¹⁰⁹ This is fully discussed in Chapter 2, Fieldwork, ‘Selection of Informants’.

later be reworked in a historical framework, but the reverse does not obtain”.¹¹⁰ Nevertheless, as far as dialectology is concerned, an inherent weakness exists within a purely synchronic systematic framework, specifically that of ‘comparison’.

Language variation, whether geographical, social or otherwise, is a fundamental part of dialect study. This was also remarked upon by Shorrocks who states that a comparative framework “facilitates concentration on those aspects of the dialect which make it distinctive vis-à-vis other dialects”.¹¹¹ The structuralist approach possesses a methodology that focuses on the systematic description of the language systems of one variety only, and, consequently, makes no provision for comparison. Although the benefits of a systematic description were accepted by many scholars, the comparison anomaly brought about suggestions that “these descriptions should be made on parallel lines, so that the material in each can be compared readily; but phenomena peculiar to one area which require special attention must receive it, so that the plan of each description should not be in any way rigid”.¹¹² Consequently, many modern dialect studies (based on synchronic / structuralist frameworks) usually adopt a methodology that includes a comparative component. Nevertheless, the framework suggested by McIntosh, whereby studies are carried out on “parallel lines”, would suffice for large scale comparative surveys (such as the *SED*), but would be less suitable for individual monographs, which inevitably have differing aims and / or possible temporal differentiation. Single variety studies, therefore, must necessarily find other solutions to the comparison anomaly; the method usually adopted consists of the inclusion of references to a comparative base, enabling comparisons to be made with other descriptions which use the same reference point. The chosen reference point is normally the standard variety, due to the fact that “Standard English is the best comparative base, because it is the most widely known.”¹¹³ Criticism of this aspect of methodology has been dismissed by similar reasoning:

*As for Knowles’ criticism of the use of RP as a basis, there really is no practicable alternative. RP is the only English accent that is fully described in books easily available to the general public; there is no option but to use it as a reference point.*¹¹⁴

¹¹⁰ Shorrocks (1980), p. 36.

¹¹¹ Shorrocks (1980), p. 79.

¹¹² McIntosh (1961), p. 105.

¹¹³ Shorrocks (1980), p. 79.

¹¹⁴ Heath (1980), op. cit, p. 13.

The ready adoption of this methodological component was also partially due to the fact that the problem of devising a suitable comparative synchronic framework had not been fully resolved. Despite this, criticism of geographical studies, which *are* comparative, was still forthcoming from adherents of the structuralist approach. Such criticism has recently been targeted at studies centred on the SED, which, in itself, is beyond reproach in this matter as it provides a large amount of synchronic phonological data. Most of the criticism, however, was primarily aimed at the various descriptions which arose as a consequence of the publication of the SED data,¹¹⁵ in an era when the majority of dialect studies are undertaken within synchronic structuralist / sociolinguistic frameworks. These SED based studies have been accused of having a “historical orientation” and of using a dialectological framework that was developed “in the nineteenth century to reconstruct earlier forms of the language, rather than for synchronic comparative purposes”.¹¹⁶ Therefore, the facilitation of comparison is, rather ironically, one of the reasons put forward for adopting the systematic synchronic framework above. In the case of traditional dialectology, comparison between varieties (which vary on a geographical basis) is a fundamental part of the framework. This was usually achieved by describing phonemes as reflexes of earlier forms, normally ME, and comparisons could then be made on this basis. The fact that such a framework was adopted for the description of *SED* data demonstrates the suitability of this particular comparative component. It will now be suggested that the use of reflexes of earlier forms actually facilitates the comparison between synchronic phonological systems.

In order to expand on this point, it is necessary to examine the development of synchronic systematic description as a linguistic framework. Up until the 1950s, synchronic study and description of language had developed following Saussurean principles, as noted above. However, contemporary linguistic theory of the time consisted of the belief that a linguistic system needed to be studied without reference to, or comparison with, another system; phonemic systems were described using the principles of complementary distribution, existence of minimal pairs, and phonetic similarity. It was considered futile to compare a phoneme /x/, which contrasted with /y/ in one variety, with phoneme /x/ in another variety

¹¹⁵ Examples of this type of description, which include historical information in addition to geographical representation are : Orton, H., Sanderson, S., and Widdowson, J., *Linguistic Atlas of England*, London, Croom Helm, 1978; Kolb, Eduard, et al., *Atlas of English Sounds*, Bern, Francke, 1979.

¹¹⁶ Milroy, L. (1984), *op. cit.*, p. 200.

when no such contrast existed there.¹¹⁷ It was Weinreich who, in 1954, tried to demonstrate that comparisons between varieties were not only possible but also linguistically informative. He attempted to devise a system which could compare two or more dialects - his so-called 'diasystem'.¹¹⁸ The results were useful for demonstrating partial differences and similarities as well as systematic correspondences. This type of theory formed the foundation of modern comparative frameworks, but some of the problems which existed then remain only partially resolved now.

One of these problems concerned phonemic distribution and incidence. For example, two varieties may have the same inventories, but could still differ significantly, because of the incidence of phonemes within the lexicon (e.g. north /a/ and south /a:/). The problem of determining lexical correspondences – matching a particular phoneme in a lexical set in one variety to a phoneme in the same set in another variety - is at the heart of the difficulties concerning the incorporation of a suitable comparative component for structural synchronic studies of dialect. Using the Weinreich type of diasystem, it is difficult to state that a vowel /x/ is the same vowel in both varieties, as lexical correspondences have not been accounted for. The linguist, W.G. Moulton, tried to resolve this problem. His solution, or improvement, in method lay in “illustrating lexical correspondences based on the fact that related varieties differ because they are descended from a common source as the result of different linguistic changes. “In the case of English, the common source can be regarded as being Middle English, where the incidence of vowels ... was as follows: do, lose, school, food /o:/; go load, home, stone /ɔ:/” etc.¹¹⁹

So here methodological thinking has come full circle, and synchronic linguistics had to resort to the much criticised tool of the 'historical' dialectologists in order to provide accurate comparative descriptions . That this is still the case is evidenced by the frequent citation of certain phonemes /x/ or /y/ < ME /z/ in many contemporary synchronic studies, including those by such eminent dialectologists / sociolinguists as Trudgill and Milroy. Other contemporary linguists, such as J.C. Wells, who have been critical of traditional frameworks, also utilise such a system that relies, at least partially, on previous historical

¹¹⁷ Chambers and Trudgill (1980), p. 39.

¹¹⁸ For a brief history of structural dialectology, and an outline of the intrinsic theoretical problems, see : Chambers and Trudgill (1980), pp. 38-45.

¹¹⁹ Chambers and Trudgill (1980), p. 44.

development. In addition to a few direct references to ME forms in his work,¹²⁰ Wells employs an innovative system of grouping phonemes under specific lexical sets, the headwords of which represent the phonemes of each set. Nevertheless, this system still recognises sounds which are grouped according to earlier forms / developments - e.g. the lexical sets *Foot* (< ME /o:/, later shortened) and *Strut* (<ME /ʊ/) demonstrate the split of eModE /ʊ/ in the southern dialects, though, of course, the vowels of both these lexical sets remain homophonous in the midlands and north (i.e. /ʊ/). Indeed, the realisation that historical information is extremely relevant in dialect studies has resulted in the comprehensive inclusion of such data in the descriptions of some recent structural dialect studies.¹²¹ Such a notion has been reinforced by Anderson in his innovative structural study of English Dialects (based on *SED* data) which, by its very nature, required a mixing of theories and approaches, where a comparative aspect is highly prominent:

*Further difficulties arise when many sound systems have to be compared rather than just a few. A purely synchronic approach cannot provide a solution. What is needed is an overall system, primarily defined in terms of phonemic incidence, which embodies or is able to generate the structural contrasts of the dialect systems. A historically based analysis does just this by setting up a basic phonemic system which underlies all forms of English.*¹²²

The conclusions to be drawn from this are that any systematic phonological descriptions which are to be used for synchronic comparative studies need to rely on a framework that incorporates a system whereby an accurate correspondence of phonemes can be made, and a satisfactory way this can be achieved is to compare particular phonemes as reflexes of an earlier form. As such a framework is used here, it will enable the data from the present study to be compared with that of any other dialect. More importantly, however, and of primary concern in relation to the aims and purposes of the present investigation, is the fact that this study consists of various synchronic age-based descriptions, which are used for comparative purposes in order to gauge linguistic change in apparent time. Therefore, a framework based on a systematic description, containing both synchronic and historical information, will be used here. Moreover, this type of framework demonstrates that not only is a historical

¹²⁰ Wells, J.C., *Accents of English : An Introduction; Part 2: the British Isles*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982 (b).

¹²¹ One such study is Rydland, Kurt, *Vowel Systems and Lexical - Phonemic Patterns in South - East Cumbria: A Study in Structural Dialectology*, Bergen, published PhD thesis, Department of English, University of Bergen, 1982.

¹²² Anderson, Peter M., *A Structural Atlas of the English Dialects*, London, Croom Helm, 1987.

component possible in a systematic description, but that it is also essential if comparison is an objective of the research.

Whatever the conflicting arguments or debates are which surround the assertion that the inclusion of historical data in comparative studies is not only justifiable, but necessary, no such arguments may be put forward against the inclusion of such data in studies dealing with linguistic change. These are, by their very nature, diachronic. One such study, therefore, which describes a dialect in terms of a synchronic age-based description - although it does not specifically deal with linguistic change based on the variation that occurs between the different age groups, but merely describes the variation - contains a lengthy section on the historical development of the phonemes.¹²³ Those linguists who adhere to the theory that contemporary ongoing change may be evaluated without recourse to previous synchronic forms fail to recognise that it is not possible to isolate sound change to one particular period. The reasons for this are, firstly, that previous change is obviously responsible for the contemporary form; secondly, many ongoing sound changes may have begun earlier than the period under investigation and / or may be part of a change that started a considerable time before (for example, the ‘Great Vowel Shift’¹²⁴) – see also below, pp. 71-87. Moreover, a diachronic analysis helps to demonstrate the particular direction an ongoing sound change may take, as well as helping to explain why one particular phoneme may be realised differently and / or is subject to relatively large degrees of variation. This may be demonstrated by the phonemes /e:/, /eɪ/, /ɛɪ/ in the current speech of north-west Derbyshire. The vowels in the words *eat*, *tea*, *face* and *clay* are all homophonous in the traditional dialect and are realised as /e:/, while the vowel in *eight* is /ɛɪ/. A change towards standardisation is in process, which is affecting the phoneme /e:/. However, the phoneme /e:/ is realised not by one other, but by several other phonemes in the modified varieties of the local vernacular; the vowels in the words *eat*, *tea* are realised as /i:/, and the vowel in *face* and *clay* as /eɪ/ among some younger members of the community. If these sounds are described historically, the reasons for this variation are immediately apparent - i.e. the vowel /e:/ in *tea* and *eat* is the reflex of ME /ɛ:/ (> SE /i:/), that in *face* is the reflex of ME /a:/ (> SE /eɪ/), and the

¹²³ See Tidholm, Hans, *The Dialect of Egton in North Yorkshire*, Gothenburg, Boksmaskinen, 1979.

¹²⁴ For convincing arguments about the early chronological origins of various sound changes, such as the ‘Great Vowel Shift’ see: Milroy, J., “The history of English in the British Isles” in Trudgill, P., *Language in the British Isles*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 14-21.

vowel in *clay* is the reflex of ME /ɛɪ/, /aɪ/, which later became merged with ME /a:/ (> SE /eɪ/).

Furthermore, the non-inclusion of such historical information and /or sole reliance upon Standard English equivalents, could lead to erroneous interpretations of the data. This is best exemplified by the vowel phoneme in *eight* which is realised as /ɛɪ/ in both the traditional dialect and modified varieties. The vowel in this particular lexical item in the traditional dialect already appears to have undergone some form of standardisation, as from the above synchronic data it would appear that diphthongised variants correspond to traditional dialect /e:/. Indeed, it would be feasible to deduce from this that this particular sound change (i.e. /e:/ > /ɛɪ/) had already begun in the traditional dialect and could be proceeding by the theory known as lexical diffusion, in which the more commonly used words (such as numerals) are affected first. This hypothesis is reinforced by the fact that far more words containing /ɛɪ/, (corresponding to dialectal /e:/) occur in the speech of the younger generation. Nevertheless, in this instance, such an assumption would be erroneous; the reflex of ME *ei* / *ai* followed by a fricative /x/ ([ç]) is /ɛɪ/, and not the usual /e:/, in the traditional dialect of New Mills (and many other dialects in the north and north-west midlands). Far from demonstrating a change in progress, the presence of /ɛɪ/ amongst speakers of all ages is an indication of stability. It may be concluded from this that the inclusion of data relating to earlier forms (i.e. ME antecedents) is essential, not only for facilitating accurate comparisons, but also for forming a background from which to observe contemporary change.

Linguistic Change

As apparent-time variation forms an important component of the research undertaken in New Mills, some aspects and theories of linguistic change relevant to this investigation will now be discussed.

Historical linguistics basically comprises the study of linguistic change in previous periods of time. These chronological locations, however, can vary greatly, and while one particular study may focus on a relatively short period over a thousand years ago (such as the differences between early OE / late OE), another may deal with a far longer period stretching from the fifteenth century to the present (the study of change between late ME, eModE and Modern English). Historical linguists are therefore concerned with attempting to accurately reconstruct earlier forms and /or reconstructing consequent forms from the earliest discernible forms, for the purposes of producing a history of the language. However, this type of research is problematic, particularly concerning phonological change, in that all such research relies on written evidence. Some problems associated with this, amongst many others, are obvious: records from some periods (e.g. the early OE period) are scanty and the documents that have survived have done so purely by chance. Therefore, any gaps in the knowledge of linguistic forms that may result from fragmentary evidence are merely subject to hypothetical reconstruction; documents may be subject to scribal error, hypercorrection, dialect mixing or merely reflect a form of language that is a written register and not the vernacular of the writer. Therefore, much of the data from the past is likely to be incomplete and / or defective.

Nevertheless, it is generally accepted that fairly accurate descriptions of change have been achieved from what is essentially poor, but nonetheless extensive data, which is both geographically and temporally wide-ranging. Historical linguists are consequently able to identify particular processes of linguistic change over very long periods of time. Even so, descriptions of change cannot always be inferred with such relative certainty. Some studies dealing with relatively recent historical development have resulted in conflicting conclusions about sound change, even when there is an abundance of written data, most of which is based on a standardised written form (e.g. the phonological change of the 'Great Vowel Shift' during the late ME / eModE period). As phonological records from previous eras

(such as the OE, ME, eModE periods) do not exist as such,¹²⁵ any conclusions remain essentially hypothetical, what Labov has referred to as the ‘Historical Paradox’:

*The task of historical linguistics is to explain the differences between the past and the present; but to the extent that the past was different from the present, there is no way of knowing how different it was.*¹²⁶

Such a lack of verifiable data meant that linguists had to look for suitable alternatives. From the very beginning of the scientific study of language, historical linguists realised the importance of contemporary languages, as a tool to help explain historical change.¹²⁷ Subsequently, research tended to focus on the contemporary reflexes of earlier forms, rather than on contemporary change in progress. The first study of this type was carried out in Switzerland between 1899 and 1904 by Gauchet.¹²⁸ The data from this research demonstrated that some phonological features varied according to the age of the informants, which appeared to contradict the regular sound change theory of the Neo-Grammarians. Therefore, this was the first linguistic study to demonstrate phonological change (albeit unwittingly) using contemporary, empirical *spoken* data. It is apparent that the problems of the ‘historical paradox’ do not exist in this type of diachronic study, which is undertaken using the type of contemporary synchronic data just mentioned. Nevertheless, synchronic data that demonstrates variation according to age is not the only means of indicating contemporary change; another method involves the collection of data at a defined location and time. The same data is then gathered again at the same location, but separated in time by a suitable period such as several decades, thereby covering a similar chronological period as the age difference between old and young inhabitants. Thus, change can be determined by variation across age levels (as in Gauchet’s study), so-called change in ‘apparent time’, or by variation in data across time, so-called change in ‘real time’.

¹²⁵ In this context, ‘phonological records’ is defined as primary source material, consisting of contemporary audio recordings. Indeed, secondary source material (i.e. the type of specific phonological description [contemporary analysis], typical of the monographs observable from the late 19th / early 20th centuries onwards), which are generally deemed to provide a fairly accurate non-audial record, have only come into existence relatively recently.

¹²⁶ Labov, W., *Principles of Linguistic change Volume 1: Internal Factors*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1994, p. 21.

¹²⁷ See Lehmann, W.P. (ed.), *A Reader in Nineteenth-Century Historical Indo-European Linguistics*, Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1967, p. 202.

¹²⁸ See Labov (1994), p. 19.

Change in Real Time

The problems associated with the interpretation of data resulting from ‘apparent time’ studies (below) do not exist in ‘real time’ studies. Indeed, linguistic change is defined by the differences in data that emerge from real time studies, whether this is a matter of years, decades, centuries or longer. Furthermore, such data may also be used to confirm linguistic change that is only *inferred* from the data of apparent time studies. Nevertheless, some problems relating to real time studies do exist, although these are of a different nature from those encountered in apparent time. There are two directions in which to approach real time studies. The first, and simplest, is to compare the results from an earlier study with those from a contemporary one. The second involves the utilisation of a far more time-consuming (and consequently more difficult) method. This requires that a study is carried out in a community and that the same study is repeated after a specific period of time. These two approaches present various problems which, on account of the differences in methodology, inevitably differ. Although the present study primarily relies on an apparent time framework, such problems that apply to real time studies are, for reasons which will become apparent, relevant here also. Moreover, these concerns are also valid in relation to the general area of linguistic change, with which the present investigation is also involved. These will now be discussed.

As far as the first approach is concerned (the comparison of results from a contemporary investigation with those of a previous and unrelated earlier study), two basic and intrinsically linked problems exist, which primarily concern the chronological period on which the research is focusing, and the source of data that is used. If the period to be studied involves a relatively lengthy timespan, it is certain that the earlier data will be in written form, whether this entails, for example, a medieval manuscript or eighteenth century records. The problems concerning written data have already been discussed above. However, such data does have one advantage: a complete detachment (in time as well as in purpose) from the aims of a modern investigation ensures that this evidence (earlier written forms) is highly objective.¹²⁹ More contemporary research will use previous linguistic studies, whether these are purely written and / or contain audial evidence in the form of tape recordings. The disadvantage of this method is that many of these early investigations may be difficult to utilise for the purpose of comparison, as the methodology and aims will almost certainly differ from those

¹²⁹ Labov (1994), p.74.

of the real time study being undertaken. For example, some previous studies may contain no phonological data (being primarily lexical), or phonological data that is extremely limited, or otherwise contain a type of phonetic transcription which has since been replaced (such as Glossic). Moreover, the exact representation of sounds in this type of source may be uncertain, and consequently the data therein could be rendered unreliable; therefore exact comparison with earlier investigations may not be possible in many cases. Furthermore, in those studies which are generally deemed to constitute an acceptably accurate phonological description, it is likely that only a few of the variables will coincide with those being researched by a modern investigation.

Similar problems also exist with audio recordings: there is no guarantee that any of the variables will coincide with those of the contemporary study. Any real time studies relying on this type of data cannot adopt a modern quantitative approach to gauge linguistic change, but instead must necessarily rely on a qualitative description; not only do most previous studies contain little or no information concerning variation, but, moreover, no useful comparison can be made with any previous information relating to such variation where this is not specifically quantified.¹³⁰

Bearing these concerns in mind, several comments may be made in relation to the present research. Although there are no previous studies relating specifically to the dialect of New Mills, several geographically more extensive studies of the type just discussed have been carried out. These include Egerton Leigh's *Cheshire Glossary* (1877), Pegge's *Derbicisms* (1896) and A.J. Ellis' *The Existing Phonology of English Dialects* (1889). The first two relate to county dialect descriptions, while Ellis' study relates to a dialect area, which, unlike the other studies, was not determined by geographical location (i.e. related to a specific administrative area, such as a county), but by common linguistic characteristics. Hence, New Mills is in Ellis' D 21 division (which also incorporates a part of north-east Cheshire and south-east Lancashire) of the southern North Midland area. While Leigh's study is primarily lexically orientated, Ellis' and Pegge's studies both include extensive phonological information. Such data is useful in that it may be used as evidence of linguistic change in real time, subject to the difficulties and limitations just discussed. Nevertheless, this type of

¹³⁰ Ibid.

data is primarily used in the present study, along with more recent data such as the SED,¹³¹ to corroborate the assumption that the speech of the oldest informants (who form the basis of this apparent-time study) constitutes the ‘traditional’ dialect. This is of the utmost importance, as it is change to this stratum of speech which constitutes the primary area of research.

The focus of the present research upon the traditional local vernacular is of further benefit in that it facilitates comparison with earlier studies, whose foci were essentially the same, and thereby enables a fairly accurate analysis of linguistic change in real time to be made. This type of information may be used to add an extra dimension (chronologically speaking) to that gained from the apparent time study, and may also help to elucidate any findings, on account of the fact that differences in the data between previous investigations and the speech of the oldest informants from New Mills, may provide some evidence of the type of change (if any) which occurred at an earlier period, i.e. between roughly the late nineteenth century and circa 1930. This may then be compared with the results from the research presently being undertaken (which obviously encompasses a period where social conditions are radically different), and any differences in type and rate of change may be illuminating in this respect.

The second approach involves returning to a community after a lapse in time, and repeating the investigation. As linguistic investigations of this type are a relatively recent phenomenon, the time period covered by real time research (i.e. the period between the initial investigation and the later undertaking) is small. Moreover, as the primary aim of such research is to ascertain contemporary ongoing change, a relatively short time-span is usually considered ideal. Such considerations, however, are not optional if the investigation is to be undertaken by the same researcher; the time frame of a particular study is restricted by external circumstance (i.e. the life span / personal circumstances of a researcher).

As far as this approach is concerned, one particular method involves the execution of an investigation at a particular location and time. The researcher then returns after a specific period of time and repeats an identical study. Following the methods employed in sociology, research of this type may be undertaken using a *trend study* - an investigation that is carried

¹³¹ However, any significant differences between the earlier data and that contained in the SED, limitations aside, will be noted. Any such differences will indicate change (in real time) to the ‘traditional’ dialect.

out on a representative sample of the population, according to the same methodology, x number of years apart - or a *panel study* - an investigation which is undertaken on a sample of the population and then repeated x number of years later upon the same individuals used in the initial study.¹³² However, there are problems associated with this type of investigation. Most obvious is the fact that the researcher has to wait for a considerable amount of time before the repeat investigation can be undertaken. As such a time span is usually about twenty years,¹³³ it is obvious that such a method is not always practical.

One way to avoid this problem is to utilise research that has already been carried out the required number of years previously. The researcher goes to a given location and undertakes a study that follows as closely as possible this earlier investigation, namely a comparative study based on real time.¹³⁴ While it is possible to carry out ‘trend studies’ using this approach, this procedure may prove problematic for a ‘panel study’, where the replication of methodology is of great importance. Problems with panel studies in this respect may occur on two levels: material and methodology. As far as the former is concerned, the existence of material is an obvious consideration: does a previous study exist? No previous investigation may have been undertaken at the chosen location, or the particular location of the previous study may not coincide exactly with that of the succeeding investigation. Possible methodological problems concern the replication and / or the comparability of the initial study. The methodology and fieldwork practices of the initial investigation may differ considerably and consequently be extremely hard to replicate. Moreover, the aims and purpose of the previous study may differ so much as to render the data of the initial study useless for comparative purposes.

The first problem certainly applies as far as New Mills is concerned; there is no evidence of any previous linguistic studies, nor are there any extant linguistic descriptions specific to the locality. However, as stated above, extensive surveys containing large amounts of phonological, lexical and syntactic data have been carried out at locations nearby, as part of the nationwide *Survey of English Dialects* - namely SED localities (Derbyshire 1)

¹³² For a full description of these methods see: Labov (1994), p. 76; for an extensive explanation of all aspects of ‘real time’ studies also see: Labov (1994), pp. 73-112.

¹³³ One such study was Trudgill’s repeat investigation in Norwich (1988), based upon his original investigation in 1968 - See Trudgill, P., “Norwich revisited : Recent linguistic changes in an English urban dialect”, *English World-Wide*, no. 9 (1988), 33-49.

¹³⁴ See Chambers and Trudgill (1980), op. cit, p. 165.

Charlesworth - four miles north-north-east; (Cheshire 2) Rainow - six miles south-west. It is apparent from the data contained in these surveys that the linguistic features, if not identical, are unsurprisingly extremely similar to those of the traditional local vernacular of New Mills. This is particularly applicable to Charlesworth, which is only four miles distant. More importantly, although smaller in size (both geographically and demographically), Charlesworth is similarly situated,¹³⁵ and has a similar population profile, as well as sharing a similar social and economic history. Although this data cannot be applied directly to New Mills for the purposes of a real time study, it can be applied to the broader dialect area as a whole (Ellis' classification), and therefore is suitable for comparison with some of the earlier studies, as well as being useful for corroborating data from the oldest informants in this study.

Although the methodology of the present study obviously differs in many respects, the comparative suitability of the SED data (for the purposes just mentioned) is strengthened by the fact that it only attempted to record the traditional dialect, concentrating solely on the speech of the oldest informants. It is for these reasons that the majority of the headwords in the questionnaire in this study are identical to those in the SED, so enabling direct comparisons to be made.

Change in Apparent Time

On account of the difficulties encountered in real time investigations, much recent research into linguistic change has depended on 'apparent time' studies. This is mainly because such an approach is relatively simple, being based upon the analysis of differences in the speech between informants of various ages. Other independent variables are normally kept constant, though a 'multivariate' approach has also been developed that takes into account several inter-related independent variables.¹³⁶ The theory behind apparent time studies relies on the assumption that, for example, the speech of fifty-year-olds today is that of twenty-year-olds about thirty years ago, and that any differences in the contemporary speech of fifty-year-olds and twenty year olds is the result of linguistic change in the intervening thirty years. However, this approach presents a fundamental problem: do the differences between the various age-groups equate to real linguistic change, or are they merely indicative of 'age -

¹³⁵ In the north-western extremity of Derbyshire, at the foot of the western escarpment of the high gritstone moors which constitute the southernmost end of the main Pennine watershed.

¹³⁶ See Labov (1994), pp. 56-60.

grading' (this being defined as change in linguistic behaviour, according to age, that repeats itself in every generation – see following, and Part 2, 'Conclusion', pp.195-198. Research in the USA¹³⁷ has shown that social aspirations between various age groups can indeed produce patterns where generational differences are repeated: young speakers are influenced by their peers, while adults and middle aged people are influenced by social aspirations and wider social circles (thus coming into contact with, and being influenced by, the standard prestige variety), and old people are once again subject to less social pressure and possibly smaller social networks.¹³⁸ However, such a patterning obviously depends on many other factors and will almost certainly either differ or not apply at all, according to the different social conditions that exist in a particular community. This is well demonstrated by Milroy's study in Belfast, which focused on three distinct communities within Belfast city.¹³⁹ Labov has also demonstrated that the speech of children will progressively conform to their parents' speech as they get older, undergoing a process of what is called acculturation.¹⁴⁰ The evidence presented by Ruoff¹⁴¹ - that certain dialect features, collected over a hundred years ago, were still to be found a hundred years later, although when first collected, these features were said to be the speech of old people only - could be indicative of age-grading. This also suggests that generational differences are not only apparent at any given time, but that the specific linguistic features of a particular generation do not necessarily disappear along with the passing of the generation. In this respect, it may be difficult to separate the variation that is indicative of generational age grading from the variation that is indicative of linguistic change in apparent time. Indeed, the processes of generational behaviour and general linguistic change may be interrelated to a greater extent than is recognised, and more research needs to be undertaken in this area. The only reliable way to confirm the findings from an apparent time study is to corroborate them with the data from a real time study, but clearly in many cases this is not possible.

There are many obvious advantages of apparent time studies. Firstly, as the investigation is undertaken by one and the same person, areas such as methodology and transcription present

¹³⁷ See Chambers and Trudgill (1980), pp. 92 – 93.

¹³⁸ Chambers and Trudgill (1980), p. 92.

¹³⁹ Chambers and Trudgill (1980), pp. 77-79.

¹⁴⁰ Labov, W., "Stages in the acquisition of standard English", in Shuy, R. (ed.), *Social dialects and Language Learning*, Champaign, Illinois, National Council of Teachers of English, 1964, pp. 42 – 77.

¹⁴¹ Ruoff, A., "Grundlagen und Methoden der Untersuchung gesprochener Sprache", *Idiomatica*, Vol. 1 (1973), 50 - see Shorrocks (1980), pp. 71-72.

none of the difficulties associated with the real time studies outlined above. Such a situation as this will inevitably facilitate any subsequent analysis. In addition, the exact specifications of the data are not limited, as the researcher is easily able to acquire more data as and when it is needed.

However, one advantage of apparent time studies - specifically that other independent variables are kept constant, so facilitating analysis of variation solely according to age, which could indicate change chronologically - has tended to be disregarded, in favour of a multivariate approach, in which other independent variables such as sex and social class are included.¹⁴² Such studies are essentially sociolinguistically orientated, and closely related to this is the utilisation (in nearly all of these same studies) of another sociolinguistic concept, quantification.¹⁴³ However, the inclusion of other independent variables in a study whose primary aim is to gauge change by means of analysing age variation merely serves to cloud the issue under observation; there is a danger that the wood cannot be seen for the trees. This may be exemplified by one of Labov's investigations in New York City, which focused on two phonetic variables.¹⁴⁴ This study, in which, ironically, a multivariate approach was not intended or used, consisted of a representative population profile (independent variables, other than age, were *not* kept constant). The results from this analysis differed considerably from the results of the same test when other independent variables were restricted, according to social class or ethnicity.¹⁴⁵ Indeed, Labov states that "where only a vague distribution in apparent time appears at first, ... it is the analyst's task to disengage the stronger relationship that may lie within the data."¹⁴⁶ It is evident that in some instances at least, a multivariate approach merely makes the task of analysing apparent-time change more difficult. In the present study such a problem does not exist, as the principal aim is to analyse change to the traditional local vernacular only. In order to achieve an analysis of the desired stratum of language, other independent variables have been restricted and remain constant; therefore, this study has necessarily focused on the social group in which this type of speech typically occurs (i.e. working class males). Thus, any variation that is revealed is theoretically age-based only, this being the means of indicating linguistic change in apparent time. Moreover,

¹⁴² See Labov (1994), p. 56.

¹⁴³ Labov (1994), pp. 48-56.

¹⁴⁴ Labov (1994), p. 50.

¹⁴⁵ Labov (1994), pp. 52-54.

¹⁴⁶ Labov (1994), pp. 49-50.

such a restriction of independent variables can facilitate not only the identification of the innovations, but also the innovators, and thus possibly provide an indication as to the mechanisms of change.

Whatever the advantages or disadvantages of an apparent time methodology over that of real time framework are, they have little relevance to the use of an apparent time approach in this study. Moreover, the adoption of an apparent time framework was not primarily based upon its intrinsic principles or theoretical considerations. The utilisation of an apparent time framework here is almost entirely due to the fact that it is the only feasible method available for the purpose of analysing linguistic change. Nevertheless, this framework was necessarily modified to suit the aims and purpose of the research (see directly below). The concept of measuring linguistic change in apparent time (or real time) largely developed from sociolinguistic theory. Consequently, the principles of quantifiable variables and their distribution patterns are inherent in the methodology of the vast majority, if not all, of apparent time or real time studies.¹⁴⁷ However, the aims and purposes of this investigation rendered a quantifiable approach (particularly one using quantifiable linguistic variables) both unsuitable and highly impracticable, on account of both the large amount of data and the extensive analysis resulting from this. Amongst other aims, this primarily involves the production of a systematic phonological description, which differs considerably, in scope as well as purpose, from the narrow focus type analyses (i.e. a few linguistic variables) typical of sociolinguistic studies; thus it was decided that an essentially qualitative approach would be required for an undertaking involving systematic description.

¹⁴⁷ For a comprehensive explanation of change in apparent time or real time, and an explanation of the linguistic variable, its role and its distribution patterns, in relation to linguistic change, see: Labov (1994), pp. 43-112; Chambers and Trudgill (1980), pp. 163-181.

Theoretical Considerations

Most modern studies of linguistic change concentrate solely upon the level of phonology. This is hardly surprising; as phonology is more dynamic than either syntax or lexis, any change is more noticeable on a general level, as well as being more easily observable. Furthermore, the structural nature of phonology lends itself readily to any analysis of change. Nevertheless, some recent studies which have focused on other aspects such as syntax suggest that contemporary syntactic and grammatical change may be partially subject to some of the same processes responsible for phonological change.¹⁴⁸ Labov has suggested, from data gathered in real time and apparent time studies, that linguistic change follows four basic patterns in any individual and the community of which they are a part: ‘stability’; ‘age-grading’; ‘generational change’ - the increase in use of a particular variable over time leads to linguistic change in the speech community; and ‘communal change’ - all members of a community adopt a new form at the same time.¹⁴⁹ It is suggested that communal change is the most common pattern of lexical and syntactic change, while generational change is the usual process associated with sound change and morphological change. The sometimes inter-related process of phonological and morphological change (and thus possible grammatical change) is demonstrated by a relatively recent study in Sweden which focuses on the change of the past participle suffix of some verbs.¹⁵⁰ The same processes were largely responsible for the reduction in inflections in English during the late OE and ME periods. These changes were wide-ranging and were not only responsible for morphological change, but ultimately grammatical and syntactic change. It is evident from this that sound changes in earlier periods of the English language had more effect upon the language as a whole than sound change has today.

The following section deals with some of the contemporary theories surrounding the processes and causative factors of phonological change. All relevant theories and comments concerning lexis and grammar will be discussed in the appropriate analytical chapters.

¹⁴⁸ One such syntactic study carried out in the southern Appalachians (USA) focused on the use of ‘done’ as an aspect marker in verbal phrases - see Chambers and Trudgill (1980), p. 90.

¹⁴⁹ Labov (1994), pp. 83-84.

¹⁵⁰ See Chambers and Trudgill (1980), pp. 90-91.

Phonological change

The various factions in dialectology and linguistics have approached the subject of linguistic change accordingly. Indeed, some of the early theories on linguistic change, such as the 'uniformitarian' beliefs held by the Neo-Grammarians, resulted in the first dialect surveys. The type of change advocated by the Neo-Grammarians was essentially endogenic; this consisted of complete and uniform changes that resulted in the internal restructuring of the linguistic system of a particular variety. However, the results from these actually heralded a move away from beliefs that were responsible for the early surveys, as it became apparent that language at a particular locality was rather more heterogeneous than had been previously supposed, and, moreover, sound changes did not exhibit uniformity. These concepts are now generally accepted amongst linguists of all the different dialectological traditions, though ideas surrounding these basic concepts have developed differently according to the diverse theories and frameworks of the various models. What have arisen are rather complex theories based on the variationist concept (individual / speech community) outlined above and below, which assume that linguistic change is essentially external in nature.

Contemporary traditional dialectologists, structuralists and sociolinguists will all agree that today not only is the language of a community heterogeneous, but that the same is true of an individual speaker (in varying degrees) according to the influence of several extra-linguistic factors. This notion is central to the modern idea that such variety is also ultimately responsible for linguistic change. It forms an inherent part of sociolinguistics and its principle of measuring such variety by means of the linguistic variable. Modern structuralist thinking also admits to and accommodates variability within dialect systems. This follows concern about variability within individual systems, which was voiced by some of the early adherents of the structuralist approach to dialect description:

The speech of monolingual natives of some languages is comprised of more than one phonemic system; the simultaneously existing systems operate partly in harmony and partly in conflict. No rigidly descriptive statement of the facts about such a language accounts for all the pertinent structural data without leading to apparent contradictions. These are

*caused by the conflict of statements about another system or part of a system present in the speech of the same individual.*¹⁵¹

This concept gave rise to the principle held by some modern structuralists that any one dialect was “a particular system [which] can be seen as the interaction of a number of co-existent systems, some of which are present only in fragmentary form”, and that these “partial phonemic systems can be expected to arise whenever two differing systems come into contact with each other”.¹⁵² It is apparent from this that if one or more elements of one partial system replace those of another, linguistic change will have occurred. It has also been suggested that contact between one system and another, resulting in partial absorption, can be due either to internal or external mechanisms, and be geographical, social or historical in the mode of contact. Six types of contact, which may result in partial phonemic systems have been identified : *historical internal* - contact between a contemporary system and an earlier historical system; *historical external* - influence of an earlier form of the language on a contemporary variety ; *geographical internal* - structural change in a particular variety, on account of analogy with the structure of a neighbouring dialect; *geographical external* - direct borrowing from neighbouring systems; *social internal* - contact between the different systems of various social classes within the same community; *social external* - contact with a socially prestigious variety.¹⁵³ Nevertheless, terminology such as ‘internal’ and ‘external’ in the contexts above may be somewhat misleading, as these types of change (i.e. *geographical* and *social internal / external*) are all essentially exogenic in relation to the linguistic system in which change is taking place, whether this is the basilect (traditional dialect) or some other variety of a particular locality.

Of particular relevance for dialect study in England are the last four of these mechanisms. Indeed, the last two have specifically formed the basis of the vast majority of recent research, particularly in the field of sociolinguistics. A general belief held by some sociolinguists is that social internal mechanisms are largely responsible for contemporary (or relatively recent) dialectal change. Ruoff has suggested that the standard variety is not necessarily responsible for dialect levelling as the standard does not come into contact with,

¹⁵¹ Fries, C.C., and Pike, K.L., “Coexistent phonemic systems”, *Language*, Vol. 25 (1949), 29-50; from Anderson (1987), p. 2.

¹⁵² Anderson (1987), p. 2.

¹⁵³ Anderson (1987), pp. 2, 3.

or engage directly with dialects; instead, the immediate stratum above is the main operator responsible for levelling.¹⁵⁴ However, this ignores the major influence exerted by education where contact with the standard does occur. Indeed, this mechanism of change, which involves a prestigious variety such as the standard - *social external* - may arguably be of the greatest relevance to dialect varieties, as it is evident that “in nearly all the dialects evidence can be found of partial phonemic systems corresponding to Standard English.”¹⁵⁵

Some modern theories analyse phonological development from a purely linguistic perspective, and these theories advocate that change is essentially driven by endogenic processes; both system internal and system external mechanisms (these being defined according to the general theory of cognitive segmental representation) are proposed as factors of change. Most of these theories (including the latter, which revolves around subconscious and mainly physical processes) are somewhat controversial in that they propose that the cognitive production of speech and / or phonological change do not operate on a segmental level. These theories on sound-change challenge the traditional segmental / phonemic approach adopted by structuralists and, indeed, other scholars of linguistic variation, including sociolinguists, traditional dialectologists and historical linguists. The following outlines some of the major principles and arguments behind these theories.

Ohala has put forward the view that all sound change is solely due to the physical properties of the auditory and articulatory systems, in the sense that change is instigated by alterations to the articulatory apparatus involved in the production of speech and / or the ability of the auditory system in perceiving changes in frequency.¹⁵⁶ Other non-segmental theories of change have been provided by two contemporary yet opposing theories of phonology. One of these, Government Phonology, proposes that change is internally motivated but on a purely cognitive level. The theory is forwarded that change is instigated by modifications to the structure of the phonological system and that surface representations, such as phonetic

¹⁵⁴ Ruoff (1973), p. 51; see also Shorrocks (1980), p. 71.

¹⁵⁵ Anderson (1987), p. 3.

¹⁵⁶ See Ohala, J. J., and Jaeger, J. J. (eds), *Experimental Phonology*, Academic Press, Orlando, 1986; Ohala, J. J., “Sound change is drawn from a pool of synchronic variation”, in Breivik, L., and Jahr, H. (eds), *Language Change: Contribution to the Study of its Causes*, Berlin, 1989, pp.189 – 216; and Ohala, J. J., “The segment: primitive or derived?”, in Docherty, G. J., and Ladd, D. R. (eds), *Papers in Laboratory Phonology II: Gesture, Segment, Prosody*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 163 –183.

realisations, have no bearing in the process and are thus irrelevant.¹⁵⁷ An opposing view is taken by the proponents of ‘Articulatory Phonology’ models. Variation and change are credited to external rather than internal factors. This theory revolves around articulatory movements, called “gestures”, which are the sole cognitive representations (there is no segmental level) directly coordinating the physical movement involved in the production of speech. Variation occurs as a result of change(s) in the execution of a gesture, whether this is due to changes in the magnitude of a single gesture or whether this is because of the influence or interference of another gesture created by temporal overlap. Therefore, any modifications can be said to arise from factors concerning the physical production of speech rather than any system-internal cognitive (segmental) factors.

Indeed, models in other areas of theoretical phonology, such as psycholinguistics, have also dismissed phonemic representation.¹⁵⁸ However, this should come as no surprise; segmental phonology has necessarily come about as a means of analysing and describing spoken language, and is therefore a category that has arisen because of the demands of the analyst (who is a listener), rather than it necessarily being a de facto process in the production of speech on the part of the speaker.

Other evidence that segmental phonology may indeed play little or no part in the production of speech is provided by studies which demonstrate that segmental awareness is less amongst illiterates and speakers of languages which do not have alphabetic writing systems.¹⁵⁹ This suggests that phonemic processing may indeed be controlled, at least in part, by orthographic knowledge on the part of the speaker. The influence of spelling on phonology may be clearly demonstrated by an example from ModE. The RP pronunciation of the final syllables of words such as *yellow*, *pillow* etc. is /əʊ/. In eModE period, these syllables were unstressed and realised as /ə/. Spelling convention is largely held responsible for the restoration of the full vowel. A similar situation may be responsible for the phenomenon involving the re-tensing and lengthening of word final /ɪ/ (> /i:/) in items such

¹⁵⁷ See Tollfree, L. F., *Modelling Phonological Variation and Change: Evidence from English Consonants*, unpublished PhD dissertation, University of Cambridge, 1996.

¹⁵⁸ See Cutler, A., “Psychology and the segment”, in Docherty, G. J., and Ladd, D. R. (eds), *Papers in Laboratory Phonology II: Gesture, Segment, Prosody*, Cambridge University Press, Cambridge, 1992, pp. 290-295.

¹⁵⁹ See Bertelson, P., and de Gelder, B., “The emergence of phonological awareness: comparative approaches”, in Mattingly, I. G., and Studdert-Kennedy, M. (eds), *Modularity and the Motor Theory of Speech Production*, Lawrence Erlbaum, Hillsdale NJ, 1991, pp. 393-412.

as *city* (in RP or modified varieties). It is also probable that the written word was instrumental in the pronunciation of initial /h/ in the spoken standard from the eighteenth century onwards (see below, pp. 81-85). Data from the present study also provides evidence of the influence of spelling upon phonology. The traditional dialect pronunciation of certain place-names within the High Peak area, such as [tɪdzə] (*Tideswell*) and [bradə] (*Bradwell*), demonstrate /l/ and /w/ elision typical of the dialects of the north-west midlands. Such pronunciations in the speech of traditional dialect speakers now exist alongside forms without elision - [tɪdzwəl], [tɑɪdzwəl]; [bradwəl]. This suggests that spelling convention, at least partially, has influenced the emergence of these new forms.

On a less controversial note, other phoneticians have put forward theories that attempt to describe and categorise the exact nature of phonological change on a purely linguistic basis. Gimson has identified four ‘types of change’, all of which are relevant (in varying degrees) to dialectology: *internal isolative* - a type that is not instigated by any immediate external forces and is thus independent, which affects a phoneme in all its occurrences (particularly applicable to vowels, for example during the ‘Great Vowel Shift’); *internal combinative* - this type is part of a dependent mechanism which involves certain phonemes in specific contexts, for example vowel rounding due to the influence of the preceding bilabial approximant /w/ in, for example, *watch* (/wɑ/ > /wɔ/); *external* - a type where the phonetic context remains irrelevant, consequently being neither independent or dependent, and is thus external to the main courses of change; *length and accentual pattern* - this type applies to changes that are not changes in quality, but involve length (e.g. *breath* ME /ɛ:/ > ModE /ɛ/) or syllabic emphasis (for example the Anglicisation of *garage*, /gə'ra:ʒ/ > /'gɑrɪdʒ/).¹⁶⁰

The role of sociolinguistics, in relation to linguistic change (the focus of which has been mostly phonological) has been overwhelmingly influential over the last twenty years or so. From a sociolinguistic perspective it is the variation which occurs in any community that is deemed to be largely responsible for linguistic change. Consequently, the focus upon variation determines the methodology of the vast majority of current studies dealing with linguistic change. Such studies utilise a method that incorporates the linguistic variable (a system that links specific linguistic features - dependent variables - to non-linguistic features

¹⁶⁰ See Gimson, C., and Cruttenden, A. (rev.), *Gimson's Pronunciation of English - Fifth Edition*, London, Edward Arnold, 1994, pp. 64 - 65; first published as Gimson, C., *An Introduction to the Pronunciation of English*, London, Edward Arnold, 1962.

- independent variables) as a means of demonstrating variation, and indicating the manner in which this variation is distributed. In studies that attempt to illustrate change in progress, the linguistic variable is used to demonstrate the nature of the innovation and the way in which it is diffusing throughout the community.

In addition to the description and analysis of change, theories and principles regarding the mechanisms and causative factors of linguistic change have been put forward as a result of sociolinguistic studies. These theories are principally based upon the idea that linguistic change may be attributed to sociolinguistic factors, i.e. the notion that as linguistic variation occurs primarily as a result of social factors, so linguistic change is also determined by social factors. Indeed, this concept has been emphasized by some contemporary linguists. Milroy puts forward an argument¹⁶¹ which advances the sociolinguistic principles outlined above; specifically that intra-linguistic change is purely describable in linguistic terms only, but that the causal factors behind change are always social. He concludes that “linguistic change is social, just as variability is social, and no given state of the language at any time can be fully accounted for by purely intra-linguistic description”.¹⁶²

This particular notion has been further developed and modified. Smith argues that linguistic change is a combination of both intra-linguistic and extra-linguistic factors and that both are inextricably linked:

*the various changes at an intralinguistic level...cannot be meaningfully accounted for without reference to the extra-linguistic contexts (historical, geographical, sociological) in which these phenomena are situated... If we attempt to explain language change entirely intralinguistically, without ultimate reference to extralinguistic factors, then, it is argued here, it will ultimately fail.*¹⁶³

It is implicit from the above that the causative factors of linguistic change are irrevocably extra-linguistic in origin, whatever the nature of the development taking place. This concept is a fundamental part of sociolinguistic theory – i.e. social and linguistic variation, and the correlates that link these, are the causative agents of linguistic change. Nevertheless,

¹⁶¹ Milroy, J., “On the social origins of language change”, in Jones, Charles (ed.), *Historical Linguistics: Problems and Perspectives*. London, Longman, 1993, pp. 215-235.

¹⁶² Milroy, J. (1993), p. 216.

¹⁶³ Smith, Jeremy, *An Historical Study of English: Function, Form and Change*, London, Routledge, 1996, p. 3.

contemporary research in the field of sociolinguistics has led some linguists to re-assess this theory; Trudgill, in his recent investigation into Norwich English, asserted that “some of the phonetic and phonological changes... appear to be truly endogenous.”¹⁶⁴ He concluded by stating that “we seemed forced to accept the possibility that change can be truly system-internal.”¹⁶⁵

It is not surprising that re-assessment of some sociolinguistic theories (in relation to linguistic change) was eventually forthcoming; the social aspect emphasised in sociolinguistic theories of language development sits rather uneasily in the field of linguistic change, which has long been the domain of historical linguistics that developed from the Neo-Grammarian principles of the nineteenth century. The dichotomy created by these contrasting / conflicting notions is discernible in other relatively recent works. Labov’s sociolinguistically orientated publication on linguistic change¹⁶⁶ is divided into three volumes, according to ‘internal factors’, ‘social factors’ and ‘cognitive factors’. While it is always made implicit throughout Volume One that sociological reasons are responsible for linguistic change, this volume (i.e. Internal Factors) only differs from Volume Two (Social Factors) according to the weight given to ‘Internal’ and ‘External’ factors; each volume deals both with the basis of actual change and the causative factors, with the focus skewed towards one or the other. In light of the emphasis of social factors upon change, Labov recognises the dichotomy caused by the division of his work into internal and external volumes, and attempts to remedy it in his introduction to Volume 1 (Internal):

*The separation of “internal” and “external”, “linguistic factors” from “social factors” may not seem practical to those who view language as a unified whole where ‘tout se tient’, or to those who believe that every feature of language has a social feature. My own approach to the problems of language change has most often been associated with the use of sociolinguistic data to establish the social motivation of change. In the light of the foundations laid in such works..., it is reasonable to ask whether internal factors can be successfully separated from social factors. No complete separation is intended.*¹⁶⁷

¹⁶⁴ Trudgill, P., ‘Norwich: endogenous and exogenous linguistic change’, in Foulkes, P., and Docherty, G. J. (eds), *Urban Voices – Accent Studies in the British Isles*, London, Arnold, 1999, p. 139.

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ Labov (1994), op. cit.

¹⁶⁷ Labov (1994), pp. 1-2.

Two observations may be made with regard to sociolinguistic concepts and the notions intrinsic to the more traditional theories of linguistic change. Firstly, the dichotomy addressed by Labov (above) has probably arisen because of the attempt to reconcile traditional models of linguistic change (such as ‘Neo-Grammarians theory’) with modern sociolinguistic principles and within a sociolinguistic framework. This is exemplified by the following, in which Labov not only confirms the validity of traditional models, but also suggests that such an approach could be beneficial in analysing contemporary change:

*Since the social context of ongoing change is clearly observable, its mechanisms and causes may be easier to perceive than those of completed changes, for which the context is often not recoverable. Findings may then be generalised from change in progress to completed changes, provided that we accept the Uniformitarian Principle.*¹⁶⁸

The second point refers to the somewhat confusing, and often conflicting terminology used by the various models / theories in relation to linguistic change. In this respect, it is apparent that the terms ‘internal’ and ‘external’ are complex and ambiguous; this is because the terms are defined according to the various concepts and theories of each model. Consequently, neither is there precise correspondence of these terms amongst the various theories, nor are the definitions of each term entirely comparable; for example, ‘internal’ and ‘external’ are both used by phoneticians and structuralists to differentiate types of change relating to systemic and non-systemic processes (with respect to cognitive segmental representation), while the same terms may refer to intra-linguistic and extra-linguistic mechanisms in sociolinguistic theory. The complex nature of such terminology is not only attributable to the diverse concepts of the various theories; they are complicated further because they are applied equally to both the mechanism of linguistic change and the agent responsible for instigating / driving the process.

As far as the present investigation is concerned, a somewhat more simplified terminology will necessarily be used in relation to mechanisms of change. The mechanism responsible for change will be described in terms of origin, these being ‘endogenic’ and ‘exogenic’.¹⁶⁹ The former can be defined as a process that has originated within the linguistic system of the

¹⁶⁸ McMahon, April, *Understanding Linguistic Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1994, p. 233.

¹⁶⁹ These terms have been used by Trudgill in a similar context, with reference to features of linguistic change – i.e. as a means of assigning features of phonological change as ‘internal’ or ‘external’ – see Trudgill (1999), *op. cit.*

variety, and one where no obvious external factors are observable, and the latter may be defined as originating from the linguistic systems of other varieties. While it may be observed that linguistic factors are largely responsible for the former (social factors are not directly responsible), extra-linguistic factors (particularly social factors) are largely responsible for the latter. This is represented in the graph overleaf; some of the theory specific terminology outlined above has been placed within this model. While the graph may give the impression that internal and external factors play an equal role in contemporary linguistic change, no such impression is intended; the equal space allocated to both endogenic and exogenic is purely for graphic purposes only. Indeed, the data from this investigation suggests that exogenic factors are dominant. Moreover, this system concurs with the view outlined above (p. 55); while contemporary linguistic change may be described in purely linguistic terms only, many of these changes can be correlated to, or are directly attributable to, extra-linguistic factors / contexts (in varying degrees) in the majority of instances concerning contemporary linguistic change. It is suggested that endogenic change is generally initiated from ‘below’ (i.e. below the level of consciousness), while exogenic change is generally initiated from above. Nevertheless, while it may also be observed that ‘endogenic’ and ‘exogenic’ change in this model corresponds to the ‘change from below’ (i.e. changes that appear first in the vernacular, which represent “the operation of internal, linguistic factors”) and ‘change from above’ (“introduced by dominant social class, with full public awareness”) processes according to Labov,¹⁷⁰ the correspondence is only partial; it is evident that exogenic change is not necessarily introduced by a dominant social class. Moreover, this type of exogenic change (i.e. from the lower levels of the socioeconomic hierarchy), which certainly appears first within the vernacular, is not necessarily below the level of awareness, e.g., the realisation of intervocalic /t/ as [ʔ].

Some factors (i.e. Analogous) have been placed within an overlapping area. Their inclusion here is for the following reasons. The placement of ‘change from within the system’ in the overlapping area is primarily because the causative factors are necessarily extra-linguistic (i.e. not triggered by purely phonetic factors), although the exact process of change is endogenic in nature - for example, the adoption of certain dialectal features in new environments; the age-stratified alternate adoption and rejection of particular dialectal

¹⁷⁰ See Labov (1994), p. 78 – changes from above and below are defined as such, according to their “positions in the socio-economic hierarchy” and “levels of social awareness”.

features outlined by Hickey in his ‘Ebb and flow’ theory.¹⁷¹ A secondary consideration is that sometimes it may be impossible to disentangle purely intra-linguistic processes from the type of socially motivated internal change (just mentioned) or from genuinely exogenic change; this may be exemplified by the contemporary lowering of [ɔ:] towards [ɒ:] in an item such as *paw* in New Mills – see /ɔ:/, below. As far as influence from modified varieties is concerned, it is apparent that the motivation behind this type of change is again social in origin, although the actual change represents influence from a stratum of language that also occurs within the speech repertoire of traditional dialect speakers – i.e. several variants and / or systems exist in the speech of traditional dialect speakers, the use of modified varieties being largely determined by extra-linguistic factors such as formality of situation etc.

A further development within sociolinguistic theory, particularly relevant to the present investigation, is the part played by “language ideology” in linguistic change. This was first defined by Silverstein (1979) as “sets of belief about language articulated by users as a rationalization or justification of perceived language structure or use”,¹⁷² and later by Irvine (1989) as “the cultural system of ideas about social and linguistic relationships, together with their loading of moral and political interests”.¹⁷³ These criteria were later integrated into a theory developed by Silverstein (1992, 1995),¹⁷⁴ which accounted for ‘language ideology’ by the notion of ‘second-order indexicality’. This contrasts to ‘first-order indexicality’, which refers to the sociolinguistic concept of associating a linguistic variable with a social category; second-order indexicality “is a metapragmatic concept, describing the noticing, discussion, and rationalisation of first-order indexicality.”¹⁷⁵ Inherent in this is the notion that linguistic change occurs largely at the level of consciousness, and that members of a

¹⁷¹ Hickey, Raymond, *Ebb and Flow: A cautionary tale of language change*, in Fanego, Teresa, and Seoane, Elena (eds), *Sounds, Words, Texts and Change. Selected papers from 11 ICEHL, Santiago de Compostela, 7 – 11 September 2000*, Amsterdam / Philadelphia, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2002, pp. 105 – 129.

¹⁷² Silverstein, Michael, ‘Language Structure and Linguistic Ideology’, in Clyne, Paul R., and Hanks, William F. (eds), *The Elementary Para Session On Linguistic Units and Levels*, Chicago, Chicago Linguistics Society, 1979, p. 193.

¹⁷³ Irvine, Judith T., ‘When Talk Isn’t Cheap: Language and Political Economy’, *American Ethnologist* 16, 1989, 255.

¹⁷⁴ Silverstein, Michael, ‘The Uses and Utility of Ideology’, *Pragmatics* 2 (3), 1992, 311-323; and Silverstein, Michael, ‘Indexical Order and the Dialectics of Social Life’, Keynote address, delivered at SALSA III, University of Austin, Texas, 1995.

¹⁷⁵ Milroy, Lesley, ‘Language Ideologies and Linguistic Change’, in Fought, Carmen (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Variation: Critical Reflections*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, p. 167.

speech community are “agents, rather than [as] automatons.”¹⁷⁶ It has also been suggested that language ideologies play an “important role in delimiting and defining salient social groups and, indeed, whole nations.”¹⁷⁷ Furthermore, it is suggested that language ideologies “involve not only beliefs about language variation and language users but also the creation of lineages and histories for national standard languages”, which “are historically deep-rooted and thoroughly naturalised – hence their resistance to analysis or argument”.¹⁷⁸ While this argument is convincing, it may be observed that these notions are not wholly innovative. Indeed, what is being essentially suggested is that perceptions surrounding national standards are responsible not only for the correlation of first-order indexicality between social-class and the standard, but also for the influence of the standard upon regional dialects, an area which has been the focus of a considerable amount of dialect research. The language ideology theory attempts to demonstrate the conscious level at which linguistic change of this type operates. However, sociolinguistic theory has also accounted for this before; influence from a prestige variety operates as change ‘from above’. However, as “language varieties are likely to be differently noticed, rationalised and evaluated from community to community”, and because “particular ideologies need to be explained in terms of local histories and local social [and] political conditions”,¹⁷⁹ this suggests that varieties other than the standard can be involved in this type of change. While the notion of influential covert prestige varieties has long been accepted in sociolinguistics, such thinking is innovative in that this allows for non-standard varieties to be the innovators of linguistic change at the level of awareness. Certainly, the data and the comments of the informants in New Mills, specifically the teenagers, suggest that this is, indeed, very much the case.

¹⁷⁶ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁷ Milroy, L. (2004), p. 166.

¹⁷⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁷⁹ Milroy, L. (2004), p. 167.

Phonological Change: past and present

It has been suggested by Labov that contemporary sound change may be utilised to explain historical change, and it is stressed that “the application of data from changes in progress to the problems of the past is dependent upon the linguistic version of the *uniformitarian principle*”,¹⁸⁰ this being originally defined as “the claim that the same mechanisms which operated to produce the large-scale changes of the past may be observed operating in the current changes taking place around us”.¹⁸¹ It is implicit in this that not only can the past be used to interpret the present, but that the present may be used to interpret the past.

Such a notion may be deemed controversial at first sight; objections to this hypothesis may be raised on both a linguistic level and also on a purely sociological basis. These include issues relating to theory and methodology. In this respect, questions may be raised in relation to the theory and application of variationist models of linguistic change. The sociolinguistic principles of the linguistic variable and independent social variables, and the connection between these and apparent and / or real time linguistic change, were developed by Labov principally for the linguistic conditions that existed in urban areas of the USA during the late twentieth century. Bearing this in mind, can such a methodology be applied unequivocally to research analysing linguistic change (of any given variety) in the British Isles? Moreover, is this model valid for explaining historical linguistic change, whether this refers to England, the USA, or indeed, anywhere else in the world? These issues are discussed further (below), but first it is necessary to look at sociological conditions and the types of linguistic theory that particular social and linguistic characteristics engender.

The rather different character of American dialect study is amply demonstrated in works such as those by McDavid,¹⁸² and of course Labov, in which the main focus is sociological variation such as that according to ethnicity or social class. Trudgill and Milroy both undertook early sociolinguistic studies in the UK, largely based on the methodology developed by Labov. Nevertheless, Romaine has pointed out that “problems are encountered in applying Labovian methodology in what are essentially Old World communities (as opposed to North American ones, which are clearly less varied)”, and that consequently

¹⁸⁰ Labov (1994), p. 21 - for an explanation of the uniformitarian principle, see Labov (1994), pp. 21-23.

¹⁸¹ Labov (1972), p. 161.

¹⁸² McDavid Jr., Raven I., *Varieties of American English*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 1980.

“Labovian models and methods were not directly transferable in all respects to varieties of urban English.”¹⁸³ If this is so, it follows that this assumption may also be applied to historical change; society, culture and linguistic conditions differ chronologically as well as spatially.

Moreover, dissimilarities in linguistic development and characteristics are mirrored by sociological ones; obvious differences are apparent between the UK and the USA, with respect to society, culture and social history. This concern is merely accentuated by the fact that sociological conditions vary considerably within the UK itself (i.e. urban / rural / regional variation). Many of these differences in the social profile of the population of England can be attributed to historical events, and the resulting sociological differences are mirrored by contemporary linguistic variation.

The development of urban England falls into two main categories. Many of England’s cities, particularly in the North and Midlands, developed relatively late from previously small settlements. The growth of population in centres such as Manchester and Birmingham was extremely rapid following industrialisation, the vast majority of people being drawn in initially from the surrounding rural areas, as well as from places further afield. Thus, they were overwhelmingly working class in character, and many northern cities remain so. In many instances, a local / regional accent was, and still is, spoken by the majority of the population. Distinct urban accents have since emerged, probably from the influence of non-local immigration and the consequent levelling of highly localised dialectal features. Further urban variation (on a social level) followed the development of marked social stratification. For example, the contemporary Manchester accent sounds like a native regional north-west accent, yet it differs in many respects from the accents of the surrounding satellite towns and rural areas of Lancashire and north-east Cheshire; it is a distinct and highly localised urban variety. In common with other urban varieties, it is also highly dynamic. Modified versions of this accent are apparent in higher social classes, ranging on a continuum from modified dialect through regional standard to modified RP.

The northern and midland urban areas are in stark contrast to London which, being a longstanding administrative and political centre, not only of a particular region but of the

¹⁸³ Romaine, Suzanne (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities*, London, Edward Arnold, 1982, p. 2.

country as a whole - as the seat of royal administration and national government - has been the most populous and important city for a considerable time, at least since the medieval period,¹⁸⁴ and its development since has not only maintained but increased its status and importance. The combination of these factors means that a distinct social stratification has been in existence there for considerably longer than in other urban areas. The previous presence of the royal court and later national seat of government, attendant nobles and aristocracy, and the presence of a major trade and financial centres largely determined the social profile, ensuring a more defined social class system, with greater numbers in the higher social classes. It is evident from this that both social and linguistic conditions vary greatly throughout urban England; even the social profiles of two comparable urban areas (for example, Southampton and Liverpool) are unlikely to show similar, let alone identical stratification.

Of the most important events, linguistic and social, two are foremost in determining the modern social and linguistic conditions in the UK: the emergence of a universal spoken standard, and the Industrial Revolution. These events are relatively contemporaneous, and both have had a significant impact upon the contemporary linguistic situation. Prior to these events, linguistic and social conditions were markedly different. The view has been put forward that there was a significant change in class stratification after the middle of the sixteenth century (i.e. at the beginning of the eModE period). This principally involved the emergence of a defined middle class, which consisted of professional people (doctors, lawyers, government officials etc.) at the top end, and wealthy merchants and craftsmen etc. at the bottom end.¹⁸⁵ As this professional and merchant class largely formed an “urban elite”,¹⁸⁶ any significant effect upon social (and thus linguistic) conditions of England as a whole, engendered by the emergence of a middle class at this time must be questioned; “in Renaissance England, only a small minority of the population lived in towns (perhaps 10-15

¹⁸⁴ In early English history, however, the centre of power shifted constantly, according to which of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms was in the ascendancy, although London always remained an important centre. Nevertheless, it is generally held that York was both more populous and more important (as a centre of trade) than London during a significant part of the tenth century. However, in the early eleventh century, Edward the Confessor (a West Saxon king of England) located his court in London, ensuring that it became the centre of the fledgling English kingdom.

¹⁸⁵ See Nevalainen, Terttu, and Raumolin-Brunberg, Helena, *Historical Sociolinguistics*, Harlow (Essex), Pearson Education Limited, 2003, pp. 26 – 43.

¹⁸⁶ Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003), p. 36.

per cent, depending on the way of counting)”,¹⁸⁷ and the majority of these were in London. It is probable, then, that social markers on a linguistic level were far less marked in the north and midlands during the ME period than they are today; linguistic variation was largely geographical. Despite the development of a prestige variety in the eModE period, the emergence of a spoken standard was to have little influence (outside London) upon the speech habits of the upper social classes until probably at least the eighteenth century. The date of the emergence of a standard remains controversial.¹⁸⁸ References were made to a prestige variety of spoken English as early as the sixteenth century: John Hart (1569) stated that “it is at Court and London that the flower of the English tongue is used”, but, nonetheless, also stated that “though some would say it were not so, reason would we should grant no less”. Puttenham (1589) claims that the preferred speech is “the usual speech of the Court, and that of London and the shires lying within sixty miles”. However, there are indications that it was restricted geographically - Puttenham continues: “Northern Men, whether they be noblemen or gentlemen, or of their best clerks, [use an English] which is not so courtly or current as our southren English is”. Even at the court itself, high ranking noblemen, such as Walter Raleigh, are reputed to have spoken regional varieties of English. It may be concluded that there was little differentiation in speech between the various social classes in the provinces.¹⁸⁹

Despite the increasing dissemination of a spoken standard during the eighteenth century, it was the urbanisation of the population following the Industrial Revolution that resulted in the expansion of a spoken standard. The reason for this was that urbanization heralded the beginning of the huge increase in the numbers of the professional and middle classes. This resulted in a more marked social stratification among the population outside London. This had two intrinsically linked effects upon the linguistic situation: firstly, the middle classes aspired to speak RP; this resulted in the dissemination of the spoken standard through the middle levels of society, which subsequently resulted in the relegation of local varieties to the lower classes. Secondly, language became inextricably linked to social class; both RP and local varieties became class dialects, though while the latter remained geographically variable, the former did not. It is probably true to say that this social reorganisation was to

¹⁸⁷ Nevalainen and Raumolin-Brunberg (2003), p. 38.

¹⁸⁸ See Gimson (1994), pp. 77-78.

¹⁸⁹ This was recognised by the earliest dialectologists - see Hunter, pp. xiii –xiv.

have a greater effect upon the English Language than any other event since the Norman Conquest.

Thus, it may be observed that the influence of sociological factors upon the development of a language is paramount. As far as linguistic change is concerned, it is assumed that internal and external mechanisms have often acted in tandem. However, if it is accepted that sociological conditions are a major factor in language development and that such conditions vary chronologically, then it begs the question as to what extent internal and external processes are responsible for linguistic change, both past and present. As far as historical change in England is concerned - particularly the major developments involving phonemic restructuring, such as that which occurred during the 'Great Vowel Shift' - it is often assumed that such change was largely endogenic. The type and extent of phonological change taking place at this time (i.e. lME / eModE period) is the major reason for the premise that internal mechanisms were responsible for such far-reaching change; this assumption would be reinforced by the fact that external factors would have had less of a role at a time when social correlations of language were less marked. It follows from this that as social stratification and language became increasingly linked, so external factors would have become increasingly responsible for linguistic change. Bearing this in mind, major differences between the ME / eModE and the ModE periods (Industrial Revolution onwards) are apparent: the population was predominantly rural before the eighteenth century; the population was far more static, both in terms of geography and social mobility; social stratification was less marked outside London; a prestige spoken variety had not become widespread until probably the eighteenth century; and indeed it is said only to "have been finally fixed, as the speech of the ruling class, through the conformist influence of the nineteenth century".¹⁹⁰ Thus, it may be concluded that different mechanisms of linguistic change would be likely to operate in such diverse social and linguistic environments; mostly endogenic before the Industrial Revolution, and predominantly exogenic after. However, several problems exist with this rather tidy model and these will now be discussed.

Firstly, this model does not take into account major social events and upheavals; it may only apply to a language whose population is static.¹⁹¹ In those languages in which the population

¹⁹⁰ Gimson (1994), p. 78.

¹⁹¹ This is used by the researcher to define a language that is established in a defined geographical area and is not subject to extreme external events (i.e. sustained mass population movement or invasion / conquest over a

is in a non-static state (e.g. mass population movements or conquest), factors of change / influence are undoubtedly exogenic; this certainly applies to early historical linguistic change in England. Indeed, during its earliest days (i.e. from the time of the arrival of the first English speaking peoples in the former Roman province of Britannia), the development of the English language in England is dominated by external factors. A specific variety of English (OE) was largely determined by factors such as settlement patterns, and influenced by other extra-linguistic factors such as population migration and invasion (Viking, Norman). These external social factors (applicable to a non-static population) differ from modern external social factors of change (in a static population), in that factors such as population movement necessarily have a direct, dramatic and extensive impact, rather than the relatively minor effects created by external factors in the ModE period. In the case of ancient population movement, such as the settlement of the Anglo-Saxons in England, such factors were paramount in that they pre-determined the characteristics of the language, such as dialect variety. As far as dialectology is concerned, the external factors which governed linguistic change in the OE period were instrumental, both socially and linguistically, in that the linguistic and cultural characteristics of distinct geographical areas were established and defined. It may be concluded, therefore, that the assumed dominance of endogenic processes in historical linguistic change does not necessarily apply to all historical periods.

Secondly, the assumption that major historical phonological change, which occurred during the lME/ eModE periods, is predominantly endogenic in nature has been challenged. Such assumptions revolve around the Neo-Grammarians principles, which perceive sound changes as relatively regular, uniform and instantaneous. However, as Lass points out, historical changes may only appear as such because they are fully completed. None of these qualities may be observed with contemporary developments in process; it is probable that the same type of situation applied historically, when these changes (now completed) were ongoing.¹⁹² It is inferred from this that sound changes “need time to become exceptionless; they don’t start that way”.¹⁹³ These changes move gradually through the lexicon. This process of so-called lexical diffusion may be represented by an S-curve graph (with time on the horizontal axis and diffusion on the vertical axis); the extent of variation and diffusion will obviously

lengthy period of time - non-static population). These events necessarily have a dramatic and sudden impact upon language, and subsequently differ from those external factors which affect static population languages.

¹⁹² See Lass, Roger, *Phonology: An Introduction to Basic Concepts*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 315 – 332.

¹⁹³ Lass (1984), p. 32.

differ according to where the curve is dissected. Moreover, not only are changes lexically gradual, but they are also lexically selective. It is not always the case that diffusion will affect 100% of all lexical items in the affected class; therefore sound changes only “tend to become regular, given enough time, and if curves go to completion”.¹⁹⁴ It may be concluded that the actual process of sound change does not differ significantly on a chronological level. The same situations may be observable in the early or middle stages of change / non-completed developments, and as “contemporary studies of change in progress seem to reveal the variation–and–diffusion pattern with great consistency, we must always assume it to have been the case in the past as well.”¹⁹⁵

Indeed, if it is accepted that linguistic change operates by a process of diffusion (on a temporal level by ‘lexical diffusion’, and from variety to variety by geographical diffusion), then it may be observed that endogenic change occurs only in the variety in which the innovation first takes place; external processes are necessarily responsible for the dissemination of the innovation to other varieties. Moreover, it may be observed that varieties will develop differently, both temporally and in extent. Indeed, there is some evidence that suggests such a process operated during instances of major historical change, such as the Great Vowel Shift; the development of some of the long vowels occurred earlier and developed more quickly in the north midlands,¹⁹⁶ which suggests that this region may have been the source of the innovation, from where it disseminated. Although it must be conceded that the mechanisms and motivation behind the Great Vowel Shift are not clear,¹⁹⁷ evidence such as that just mentioned not only supports the notion that such processes are complex, but also that purely endogenic mechanisms are not solely responsible. Nevertheless, when compared to the relatively minor and restricted sound changes engendered by contemporary mechanisms of change (these being predominantly exogenic), the extensive and far reaching effects of phonological change that occurred during the IME / eModE period, which resulted in large-scale phonemic restructuring, suggests that endogenic processes were operating, whether the original stimulus was exogenic or not. However, it should be noted that the degree and extent of phonological change (phonemic / phonemic

¹⁹⁴ Lass (1984), p. 329.

¹⁹⁵ Lass (1984), p. 331.

¹⁹⁶ See Wakelin (1991), *op. cit.*, p. 108.

¹⁹⁷ It is clear that this process was both far-reaching and extensive. The motivation behind the process remains unclear; the search for the origin and motivating force is merely complicated by the fact that a similar type of change also occurred in other West Germanic languages, including German and Dutch.

restructuring vis-à-vis allophonic) is not necessarily indicative of the type of change (i.e. system internal change or exogenic); there is historical evidence (OE) which demonstrates that original allophonic variation resulted in new phonemic contrasts, so-called ‘phonologization’.¹⁹⁸ There is no reason to suppose that relatively minor contemporary change, given time, should not develop in the same fashion.

We can now return to the issue concerning the validity or otherwise of Labov’s assumption that the observations from the present can be used to interpret the past and vice versa, and whether or not the same processes that are observable in contemporary / ongoing change also operated in the past. As far as the latter is concerned, it would be unwise to consider historical change as predominantly endogenic. The evidence suggests that similar processes to those observed with contemporary change were at least partially responsible, though to what degree is impossible to determine. Moreover, if this is accepted, it is also not possible to hypothesise that external change is more dominant now than in previous periods. Indeed, there is little reason to suppose that processes governing linguistic change should differ chronologically at all; Labov has put forward the view that as “far back as we can trace the history of language, the forces which have been producing its changes, and their general outlines of the modes of operation, have been the same”.¹⁹⁹ Nevertheless, the differences in social conditions (to which external factors are intrinsically linked) between the present and past do suggest that the way in which external factors operated may have differed. While this does not necessarily suggest that external factors played a more minor part in the process of linguistic change, it does imply that external social factors were more restricted in their operation (i.e. social and geographical mobility, communications and education etc. were highly restricted compared to the present day) and thus far less potent, as far as effect is concerned. This notion partly answers the validity of Labov’s assumption that the present may be used to interpret the past and vice-versa. Labov believes that a modern sociolinguistic approach can be used as long as the uniformitarian principle is adopted. However, it would be unwise to use observations utilising a methodology constructed around modern social and linguistic conditions to help explain historical change in which social and linguistic conditions varied considerably. Labov recognises this may be the case, but only applies this restriction to pre-historical societies:

¹⁹⁸ Lass (1984), pp. 315 – 318.

¹⁹⁹ Labov (1994), pp. 21-22.

*We must also be wary of extrapolating backward in time to Neolithic, pre-urban societies with an entirely different social organisation.*²⁰⁰

Indeed, Lass warns against correlating linguistic change with social factors at all. The idea is put forward that “a synchronic social fact” may merely be the result of a “huge complex of factors”,²⁰¹ and that ultimately there may be “purely non-social reasons for what is superficially a social patterning.”²⁰² Moreover, it is argued that “because of the historicity of culture, one cannot argue by default that any given behaviour is motivated by social (or any other factors) present in the *contemporary* environment.”²⁰³

Historical Change and Traditional Dialects

While there is no way to determine if either exogenic or endogenic processes were dominant as far as historical change on a dialectal level is concerned, it is evident that exogenic change is largely responsible for many of the contemporary / ongoing changes occurring in the dialects and varieties of English (in England) today.

With respect to New Mills, historical change has proved decisive, as far as the characteristics of the contemporary dialect are concerned: non-static external (OE period) and internal / external (ME period, Industrial / Post-Industrial) factors have all played a major role in determining the present-day linguistic and social characteristics of New Mills. More specifically these are: initial settlement patterns (Mercian); devastation following the Norman Conquest; restriction and ‘fixing’ of population (due to strict Forest laws - the Royal Forest of High Peak) for almost 600 years under the jurisdiction of the Crown and Duchy of Lancaster; end of Forest laws and industrialisation resulting in large population increase and additional immigration of many working class people, mainly from surrounding areas; vast improvement in communications during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries; minor immigration of mainly middle class people in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s (for a full account of the social history of New Mills, see Chapter 2 in the Appendix).

²⁰⁰ Labov (1994), p. 23.

²⁰¹ Lass, Roger, “*Historical Linguistics and Language Change*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1997, pp. 372, 373.

²⁰² Lass (1997), p. 374.

²⁰³ Lass (1997), p. 373.

While it would appear that the external factors which operated in the OE period differed somewhat from the internal / external processes of the ME period, they may be grouped together and contrasted with the predominantly exogenic processes of the post-industrial period, both in terms of effect and complexity, in that the establishment of regional varieties in the OE period and differences in development during the ME period / eModE produced divergence. Conversely, the predominantly exogenic nature of change of the ModE period (one of the major factors being the emergence of a prestige variety) being more wide-ranging and complex, has led to convergence and / or levelling of traditional dialects. The data from the present research suggests that the SE (and / or modified varieties thereof) and, particularly, non-standard urban ‘covert prestige’ varieties are the major influences upon the contemporary traditional dialect of New Mills. However, whereas exogenic change is dominant in traditional dialects, instances of contemporary endogenic change may be observed in those varieties, such as RP and some dynamic urban varieties,²⁰⁴ which are the main influences upon traditional dialects. In addition to the dominance of prestige varieties (RP and / or urban ‘covert’ prestige varieties), as far as contemporary change to traditional dialects is concerned, the markedly complex social factors of the late twentieth century are largely responsible for restricting endogenic change within those varieties that are subject to influence from prestige varieties, adding further impetus to the process of levelling:

*Today there are a number of reasons why we might expect these processes of change to operate less rapidly. The fact that communication throughout the whole country is easy, the spread of universal education and the resultant consciousness of the printed word, the constant impact of broadcasting with its tacit imposition of a standard speech, these are all influences which are likely to apply a brake in pronunciation. They are, however, factors which have operated only in comparatively recent times. In former stages of the development of English, there are no mass, nationwide, influences likely to lead to stability and levelling... With such freedom from restraint, especially before the eighteenth century, it was not unexpected that there were considerable changes of pronunciation.*²⁰⁵

Although increased mobility, both geographical (migration / communications) and social (movement from lower social classes to higher ones) should theoretically increase the rate of change, the opposite situation is actually the case, for the reasons just mentioned, though whether this will continue to be the case remains to be seen. On a historical level, the dissemination of innovations demonstrate considerable and wide-ranging dialectal variation.

²⁰⁴ Examples of this type of change are: (in some north midlands urban dialects) the retraction and lowering of final [ə] to approximately [ɐ], and the tensing of word final /ɪ/ to /i:/ in RP.

²⁰⁵ Gimson (1994), p. 64.

It is probably true to say that the emergence of a prestige standard is at least partially responsible for applying a brake to those innovations which have progressed further and / or more speedily in a particular traditional dialect than in SE, and for effecting change in those features of a traditional dialect which have not undergone change / remained conservative (vis-à-vis SE).

Contemporary sound change

Some of the issues discussed above are relevant with respect to some instances of contemporary sound change, not least because these sound changes are not necessarily contemporary; the view will be put forward (below) that these changes are temporally wide-ranging. These include those developments which have been widely observed in many varieties of modern English and which, consequently, have been the focus of considerable research; specifically the vocalisation of /l/, the erosion of /r/ in those dialects which have retained pre-consonantal / final /r/, ‘h’ dropping and the intervocalic glottalisation of /t/. These developments share some similarities in that they are evidently changes that have not reached completion or been aborted, in that they have not fully diffused either lexically and / or geographically / socially; these differences in development may be observed on a dialectal level. Moreover, some of these developments (‘r’ loss, ‘l’ vocalisation, h-dropping) exhibit various stages of development over a considerable period of time, the degree and extent of which are also subject to dialectal variation – i.e. one or more of these stages of development may have been completed in some dialects, partially completed in others, and absent in others.

Based on the fact that these changes exhibit contemporary sociolinguistic patterning, these developments are generally considered to be recent innovations, and the analysis of them has subsequently been undertaken from a sociolinguistic perspective; this includes theories relating to factors behind the change, and the manner in which these factors have operated. Implicit in this, as far as the former is concerned, is the assumption that social variation is one of the primary factors. With respect to the latter, it is presumed that social diffusion - if standardisation is being observed, from higher social classes to lower social classes, or in the case of covert prestige markers, such as /t/ glottalisation, from lower classes to higher – and geographical diffusion – following the hierarchy model; in England, this generally entails diffusion from London / south-east to provincial urban areas and their hinterland – are the *modi operandi*. Nevertheless, as will be seen, the assumption that the developments (outlined

above) are purely recent phenomena is untenable, as are the subsequent presumptions concerning the origins and diffusion of these sound changes. Indeed, the evidence presented below suggests that these developments are chronologically wide-ranging (some more so than others). Furthermore, the evidence also suggests that these developments have not geographically diffused according to the principles of the hierarchy diffusion; indeed, it appears that the opposite is the case (i.e. towards London).

As far as explaining these phenomena, J. C. Wells is fairly typical in this respect. He forwards the view that many sound changes have spread from higher social strata to lower, which is why working class speech is old-fashioned and only working class people in northern England speak traditional dialect.²⁰⁶ He uses rhoticity as an example of phonetic conservation to support this point. It is stated that rhoticity is found only in certain geographical areas which are “overwhelmingly rural” and only in certain socio-economic classes, because “it is here that the RP custom of ‘r’ dropping has been slowest to catch on”.²⁰⁷ Such an assumption as this implies that phonetic change in this instance may be largely explained by sociolinguistic factors. However, several problems and apparent contradictions exist with respect to this viewpoint.

On a geographical level, Wells’ definition of rhotic areas is, at best, incomplete; rhoticity may be confined to certain geographical areas, but it certainly is not “overwhelmingly rural” – the accents of the major cities of Bristol, Exeter, and Plymouth as well as many of the large towns of south and central Lancashire are all rhotic. On a social level, Wells’ assertion that rhoticity is confined to “certain classes” is similarly lacking; for example, rhoticity occurs in the speech of all socio-economic classes in Scotland. Furthermore, some highly conservative northern working class dialects, such as those in west, south and non-coastal parts of north Yorkshire, are not rhotic; this alone suggests that ‘r’ dropping cannot be attributed solely to the influence (direct / indirect) of RP. The present social and geographical distribution of rhotic / non-rhotic varieties also suggests that ‘r’ loss is neither a recent innovation nor a process which is purely the result of sociolinguistic distribution. Indeed, the historic evidence (see also /r/, Volume 2, below) suggests that the process of ‘r’ loss probably commenced earlier than sociolinguistic theory would have us believe; the evidence points to a process (the effects of which have differed both in extent and nature, on a geographical

²⁰⁶ Wells (1982a), p. 104.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

level) that has been ongoing for centuries. Moreover, the geographical distribution of ‘r-less’ varieties suggests that the loss of rhoticity is neither because of the influence of RP, nor as a development that diffused from London. The reasons why some varieties (and not others) have been affected are unclear at present, though it is possible that purely linguistic factors may be responsible. This may involve differences in the precise phonetic nature of rhotic /r/ (i.e. [ɹ], [ɹ̥], [ɹ̥] and [ɹ̥] etc.) and supra-segmental factors (i.e. syllabic accentuation); no doubt focused research, both historical and contemporary, would be illuminating in this respect.

While it is not possible to make definitive conclusions with regard to the diffusion of ‘r’ loss and the causative factors behind it, contemporary rhotic and semi-rhotic varieties, in addition to historical evidence of the loss of rhoticity in well documented prestige varieties (i.e. RP),²⁰⁸ provides some evidence as to the phonological processes leading to r-loss. This evidence indicates that r-loss may essentially be driven by endogenic processes, involving phonetic simplification in specific environments, rather than by exogenic influence from a prestige variety: weakening then loss (vocalisation) of /r/ in preconsonantal and word-final (syllable unstressed) position.²⁰⁹ Indeed, in a study undertaken in Edinburgh, the data led the researcher to conclude that “r-lessness is a separate competing development in Scots and is *not* being adopted in conscious imitation of a Southern English prestige model such as RP.”²¹⁰

In this respect, the dialect of New Mills is an excellent example; the traditional dialect is essentially rhotic, though this feature is highly regressive. Even in the speech of the oldest informants, the nature of rhoticity demonstrates that the dialect has reached a semi-rhotic stage; this suggests that the process of /r/ loss has been operating for some time. The fieldwork data provides evidence of intermediate stages of what are evidently endogenic mechanisms which indicate weakening and then vocalisation. It is probable that this process began (from the 18th century onwards), with a change in the quality of /r/ (i.e. from [ɹ] to [ɹ̥], [ɹ̥], and / or [ɹ̥]), which became effective in specific environments initially – see /r/, Vol. 2, below. In the contemporary dialect of New Mills (i.e. in the speech of the older informants),

²⁰⁸ For an account of historical r-loss in RP, see Beal (1999), pp. 163 -171.

²⁰⁹ There is some evidence from a 1970s Scottish study, which suggests that endogenic processes are responsible for the development of /r/ loss – see Romaine, S., ‘Postvocalic /r/ in Scottish English: Sound change in progress?’, in Trudgill, P. (ed.), *Sociolinguistic Patterns in British English*, London, Edward Arnold, 1978, pp. 144 -157 – and directly below.

²¹⁰ Romaine (1978), p. 156.

a slightly retroflex /r/ only occurs in a limited environment (intervocalic); in other environments (pre-consonantal and morpheme final in monosyllables), /r/ has been reduced to vowel colouring; in final syllable position (i.e. unaccented word final), rhotic /r/ has been generally vocalised. Further progression of this process may be observed in the speech of the informants from the middle of the age range (i.e. mid age-group); some of the informants use speech which may sometimes exhibit similar rhoticity as the speech of the old age-group, though non-rhotic variants (i.e. /r/ has been completely vocalised) are very common. Moreover, the speech of the mid age-group (both rhotic and non-rhotic) is generally characterised by the preservation of a relic phoneme /ə/, the production of this vowel being originally influenced by the process associated with /r/ breaking – [fo ə] *four*; cf. [fo əʹ].

It may be concluded that data such as this, and, indeed, the evidence concerning r-loss in RP itself, very much suggests that the loss / weakening of rhoticity in those varieties where this has occurred is not a recent innovation. Moreover, it also suggests that the influence of RP as a main causative factor is overstated. Rather the evidence suggests the loss of rhoticity is primarily a relatively slow moving endogenic process (i.e. a development whose origin is historical yet continuous). On a broader dialectal level, it is apparent that this process is proceeding at various speeds and with varying effect (according to phonetic context and by a process of lexical diffusion) throughout the different varieties of English, the speed and effect of which may have been influenced in the modern period, to a lesser degree, by RP.²¹¹ Conversely, the preservation of /r/ in some contemporary varieties (e.g. most Scots dialects)²¹² may be accountable to extra-linguistic factors (cultural, socio-political);²¹³ these factors are acting against the long-running intra-linguistic process of /r/ loss and the more recent exogenic influence of RP. Indeed, a study undertaken in Edinburgh (1975) suggests that, where a change in the realisation of /r/ occurs, both endogenic and exogenic processes

²¹¹ It is almost certainly the case that RP had little or no influence in this respect during the eighteenth century; despite the fact that /r/ loss had established itself (to a greater or lesser extent) in some varieties of the south-east, including RP, non-rhotic speech was still highly stigmatised, and generally considered rustic - see Beal (1999), p. 163.

²¹² However, non-rhotic speech was observed in the speech of some working-class children in Edinburgh during research undertaken in 1975 - see Romaine (1978), *op. cit.*, pp. 144 -157.

²¹³ This assumption is made on a broad and general level – many varieties of Scots remain rhotic, a situation which may be partly accountable to a link between national identity and the Scots language. It is interesting to note, however, that the rise of r-lessness and introduction of /ɹ/ noted by Romaine in the 1970s coincided with a period when Scottish nationalism was evidently less strong – a ‘No’ vote to devolution was recorded in 1979. Conversely, in 1997, another referendum produced a ‘Yes’ response and the introduction of a Scottish parliament; only time will tell in what ways this renewed rise of national identity will impact culturally and linguistically.

are observable. The data from this research (which, like the investigation in New Mills, focused upon the speech of working class informants only, albeit only children of varying age) demonstrated that dialectal [r] was being replaced by [ɹ] and, to a lesser degree, by [∅] (zero) in pre-pausal and pre-consonantal positions. However, whereas [∅] realisations were more prominent amongst the males, females remained largely rhotic, preferring the “use of [ɹ] more often than [r] and ∅.”²¹⁴ While it is evident that “both males and females seem to be innovating in this Scottish instance”, Romaine attributes this gender patterning to the fact that “the females are quite clearly the innovators in a prestige form.”²¹⁵ In Scotland, [ɹ] is generally associated with “middle-class, and particularly female speech (and ... with Highland English which is one of the few...English accents native to Scotland which does have prestige in and outwith Scotland).”²¹⁶ While it appears that the male use of [∅] coincides with “a much larger national norm” (i.e. RP), Romaine dismisses any influence from “a Southern English prestige model such as RP”, on account of the fact that, if this were the case, “we would have expected the females to lead the shift of the norm in this direction.”²¹⁷ It is concluded that “r-lessness and the use of [ɹ] would appear to be simultaneous trends which are examples of two different types of linguistic change: *change from above and change from below*.”²¹⁸

A similar situation pertains in relation to theories concerning developments that have occurred / are occurring to another semi-vocalic sonorant, /l/. In this instance, an obverse process is deemed to be in operation, non-standard (south-eastern) varieties being the primary influence. The current spread of the vocalisation of /l/ in certain environments has been attributed to the fact that “mainstream RP is now the subject of imminent invasion by trends spreading from working-class urban speech, particularly that of London”;²¹⁹ so-called ‘covert prestige’. The vocalisation of /l/ is considered to be a relatively recent innovation, and Wells believes that a possible date for its introduction may be some time in the

²¹⁴ Romaine (1975), p. 148.

²¹⁵ Romaine (1975), p. 156.

²¹⁶ Ibid.

²¹⁷ Ibid.

²¹⁸ Romaine (1978), p. 155.

²¹⁹ Wells, J.C., *Accents of English I - An Introduction*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1982(a), p.106.

nineteenth century, though he admits that the facts are “more difficult to establish”.²²⁰ This uncertainty arises from the fact that historic vocalisation of /l/ is evident and well documented in earlier periods of English (e.g. the ME vocalisation of /l/, in for example, SE *walk*, *talk* and *palm*). Despite the fact that this is recognised by Wells, he puts forward the view that “the precise development now under discussion is probably less than a century old in London”.²²¹

However, historical evidence (and evidence from contemporary dialects) suggests that “recent” innovation of ‘l’ vocalisation is part of a historically initiated and ongoing process. The separation of the current development from earlier instances of ‘l’ vocalisation (by categorising it as an innovation) is untenable, for the following reasons.

Firstly, it is necessary to describe the “innovation” that is taking place. The current vocalisation of /l/ is described by Wells as taking place when the dark ‘l’ allophone, which occurs before consonants and in word final position, is vocalised as a back vocoid, such as /o/ or /ʊ/.²²² Such a description as this is purely phonological, and does not illustrate why this type of vocalisation is deemed to be an innovation; after all, the vocalisation of /l/ before consonants had already taken place in earlier periods of English (i.e. the ME period and circa 16th century – see following). An examination of the phonological contexts in which contemporary vocalisation is taking place reveals why this is a new development; the current vocalisation of /l/ before a consonant occurs in the environment of mid and close front vowels, and in final position. Historic vocalisation only affected /l/ in a restricted environment: before a consonant and following an open back / central vowel, in particular /a/, /ɑ/, /ɒ/ and /ɔ/; for example, /kaʊd/, *cold* (< OE [OA] *cald*). This vocalisation affected many regional varieties throughout the west midlands, north midlands and also some areas of the east and south of England, from the sixteenth century onwards, for example: Suffolk ‘owd’;²²³ Lincolnshire ‘owd’;²²⁴ South Yorkshire ‘owd’, *cowd*’;²²⁵ South Lancashire /εʊd/,

²²⁰ Wells (1982a), p. 252.

²²¹ Wells (1982a), p. 259.

²²² See also Gimson (1994), pp. 182-186.

²²³ See Claxton, A.O.D., *Suffolk Dialect*, Ipswich, Boydell Press, 1973, p. 58; and *SED East Midland Counties and East Anglia Part 2*, VI.13.17 (‘cold’), and *Part 3 VIII.1.20* (‘old’).

²²⁴ See Claxton (1973), p.49; and *SED* (Ibid.)

²²⁵ See Hunter, p. 70; and Addy, S.O., *A Glossary of Words used in the neighbourhood of Sheffield*, Felinfach, Llanerch Publishers, 1998, pp. 52, 167; also *SED Northern Counties Part 2 VI.13.17*, *Part 3 VIII.1.20*.

/kɛʊd/ etc.;²²⁶ Cheshire, Derbyshire, Staffordshire, Shropshire, north Herefordshire, north Worcestershire.²²⁷ The earlier ME vocalisation of /l/, which occurred in a similar environment (i.e. pre-consonantal in the environment of open central / back vowels) in items such as *talk*, *walk*, *palm* and *folk*, affected the vast majority of dialects throughout the south, midlands, north midlands and north; these lexical items also remain as purely vocalic realisations in RP (for a detailed analysis of the history of /l/ vocalisation, see directly below, pp. 78-80).

Two observations may be made concerning historic vocalisation; firstly, it is evident that the earlier ME and the later fifteenth / sixteenth century developments are linked, the latter being an extension of the former; secondly, the sixteenth century vocalisation (of items such as *old*, *cold* etc.) was predominantly centred upon the dialects of the north midlands (whence it was probably initiated), and to a lesser extent, the north, the west midlands and parts of eastern England (to where it diffused), i.e. those varieties derived from the OA dialects of OE, in which open front vowels did not break before /l/, but were retracted to /a/, thus allowing the later vocalisation of /l/ in the required environment (i.e. in the environment of open back vowels) – cf. OE (WSax) *ceald*, /tʃɛald/, and OE (OA) *cald*. In the south (i.e. in those varieties descended from the Saxon and Kentish dialects of OE), this type of vocalisation is very rare (the usual realisations are V + [ɾd]), with isolated examples only being recorded in Surrey, Sussex, Berkshire and Kent.²²⁸

It is assumed that the modern innovation of /l/ vocalisation, which is deemed to have originated in the speech of London, is now starting to disseminate from the south-east to other urban areas and into RP (i.e. according to the hierarchy diffusion model). However, an urban origin is not confirmed by data from previous dialect surveys. Data from the *SED*, which, as is persistently pointed out by sociolinguists, was designed primarily to record traditional rural dialects only, contains some examples of the modern /l/ vocalisation “innovation”. The dialects in which this type of /l/ vocalisation occurs are located in the south, primarily Surrey, Sussex and Kent; examples of vocalisation in the environment of

²²⁶ *SED Northern Counties Part 2*, VI.13.17; *Part 3 VIII.1.20*.

²²⁷ See *SED West Midland Counties Part 2*, VI.13.17; *Part 3*, VIII.1.20.

²²⁸ See *SED Southern Counties Part 2*, VI.13.17; *Part 3*, VIII.1.20.

mid / close front vowels and in final position are: /ɛʊm/, *elm*;²²⁹ /ɛʊp jəʃɛʊvz/, *help* (*yourselves*);²³⁰ /mɪʊkɪn stʊʊ/, *milking-stool*;²³¹ /ɪʊ/, *ill*;²³² /kɛʊ/, *kettle*.²³³

This evidence suggests that contemporary /l/ vocalisation is the progression and extension of a somewhat complex process that initially began in the ME period. In the beginning, vocalisation only affected /l/ in specific, restricted environments (i.e. open central / back vowel + /l/ + fortis velar plosive, bilabial nasal, and labiodental fricative, e.g., *talk* ([aʔk] > [aʊʔk] > [ɔʊʔk] > [ɔ:k]); *folk* ([ɔʔk] > [ɔʊʔk] > [ɔʊk] > [ɔ:k] > [o:k] etc.; and *palm* ([aʔm] > [aʊʔm] > [aʊm] > [a:m]) – it is assumed, in items such as *palm*, that the /a:/ stage had not been reached at the onset of the ‘Great Vowel Shift’; nevertheless, variation in pronunciation (/a:/, /ɔ:/) is apparent during the sixteenth century, and as late as the eighteenth century.²³⁴ The development of items in the *half* class demonstrates variation in some of the contemporary dialects of the north midlands; in some varieties, items such as *half* became /e:f/, following the early monophthongisation of /aʊ/ to /a:/ (/aʊ/ > /a:/, then > /æ:/ > /ɛ:/ > /e:/); in other dialects, both *half* (/ɔ:f/) and *calf* (/kɔ:f/) developed from the later monophthongisation of ME /aʊ/ with subsequent rounding and raising (> /ɔ:/). In addition to these environments, this phase of /l/ vocalisation also affected final /l/, preceded by /a/ (in monosyllables) in some of the dialects of the north midlands, e.g. *all* ([aʔ] > [aʊʔ] > [aʊʔ] > [ɔʊʔ] > [ɔ:] > [ɔ:]), *ball*, *call* etc., contemporary north midlands dialect /ɔ:/, *all*; /bɔ:/, *ball*.

The general process of /l/ vocalisation continued to disseminate on a linguistic level – i.e. to /l/ in other environments. During the fifteenth / sixteenth centuries (late ME period / beginning of the eModE period), the environment in which /l/ was vocalised was extended, though it was still relatively restricted (i.e. open central / back vowels + /l/ + alveolar plosive / nasal consonants, e.g., *old*, *bolt*, *cold*, *told* and *Colne* [place-name]). This development in the north-west midlands is somewhat complex and obscure; it results from the

²²⁹ *SED Southern Counties Part 2*, IV.10.4.

²³⁰ *SED Southern Counties Part 2*, V.8.13.

²³¹ *SED Southern Counties, Part 1* III.3.3.

²³² *SED Southern Counties, Part 2* VI.13.1.

²³³ *SED Southern Counties*, V.8.7.

²³⁴ Beal, Joan C., *English Pronunciation in the Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 120, 124.

diphthongisation of /ɔ:/²³⁵ before /l/ (i.e. [ɔʊʔ]) and then subsequent vocalisation. It is not possible to trace the further development of [ɔʊ] in the north midlands, though in many instances, the present day reflexes in the north-west midlands correspond to those which have evolved from ME /u:/ (see also /æʊ/, below, Volume 2, p. 82).

Finally, /l/ vocalisation has progressed, in the ModE period, to other environments consisting of front / close vowels + /l/ + consonant, or in morpheme / word final position (i.e. the modern “innovation”).

It is also apparent that this long running process has affected the various dialects differently, both in speed and effect, and that other historical factors may have played a part in this respect. Most dialects were subject to the initial vocalisation of /l/ during the ME period; the northern and midland dialects were generally affected by the extension of vocalisation in the fifteenth /sixteenth centuries, though the southern varieties were largely resistant to this (see above). Conversely, while some of those which were affected by historical vocalisation (particularly those in the north midlands) exhibit no signs of further vocalisation,²³⁶ some of the southern dialects have undergone vocalisation in other environments (front vowel / final position etc.). Some dialects of the north have not been affected by vocalisation at all since the ME / eModE periods, and, indeed, have relatively clear /l/ realisations in these new environments (i.e. front vowel / final position), where other varieties such as RP (which also have not undergone vocalisation of /l/ since the ME period) have ‘dark’ realisations, i.e. velar [ʔ]. Finally, there is evidence to suggest that the speed at which these various phases of /l/ vocalisation operate also differs dialectally – in the West Country, some dialects demonstrate what appears to be an intermediate stage towards full vocalisation, in environments where full vocalisation occurred in the north and midlands at the beginning of the eModE period; *owld*, *auld* (i.e. probably [aʊʔd]) occurs in dialect literature.²³⁷ This could suggest that the modern phase of /l/ vocalisation may yet effect those dialects, which so far

²³⁵ This /ɔ:/ resulted from the homorganic lengthening of OE [ɑ] before [ld] (i.e. in OA *cald*) to [ɑ:], followed by rounding and raising of [ɑ:] to [ɔ:].

²³⁶ One possible reason for this may be attributable to the fact that the quality of /l/ (in some dialects of the north midlands at least) is partly determined by the preceding vowel – before a front vowel, /l/ is of a less velar quality – i.e. medium quality - and is thus less likely to be vocalised than velar [ʔ], which assumes a vocalic [ʊ] resonance.

²³⁷ See Leeds, Winifred, *Herefordshire Speech*, n.p., n.p., n.d., p. 82; Dartnell, G.E., and Goddard, E.H., *Wiltshire Words*, Avebury, Wiltshire Folk Life Society, 1991, p. 206 - see also *SED Southern Counties, West Midland Counties*.

have remained unaffected. It may be concluded that the contemporary process of /l/ vocalisation is merely the latest phase of a continuous change (the effect and speed of which has been subject to regional variation) that has affected the English Language over the past 700 years or so.

That the process of /l/ vocalisation should be so long-standing, and that it should exhibit such variety (in terms of effect) throughout the dialects of English is unsurprising; in this respect, /l/ demonstrates a remarkable correspondence to, and has many similarities with, /r/. Both these so-called liquid consonants (as this term itself suggests) are volatile phonological segments. Indeed, such is their phonological similarity (sonorant approximants), that in some languages of the world, such as Japanese, no distinction exists. This phenomenon is also observable in England: in at least one local dialect in England, rhotic /r/ is so lateralised that it is sometimes realised as [l].²³⁸ The history of [l] in English also shares remarkable similarities with that of /r/, exhibiting many corresponding areas of development: change was initiated a considerable time ago and has continued over a relatively long period, with varying speeds and effect throughout the dialects of English; the vocalisation of both /l/ and /r/ have both affected RP, in varying degrees; the process of vocalisation occurs in some of the same environments - pre-consonantal and in final position. Both these processes of change are still occurring, and it will undoubtedly be a considerable time before they are completed.

The “contemporary” phonological phenomenon of ‘h’ dropping is similar in many respects to that of contemporary /l/ vocalisation above; ‘h’ dropping is also considered to be a relatively modern development that may be explained in sociolinguistic terms, though some evidence indicates that the phenomenon of “h dropping” demonstrates a similar chronological patterning to that of /l/ vocalisation – i.e. extended, continuous and slow moving (both geographically and linguistically).

The former (i.e. ‘h’ dropping) is considered to be a socially marked feature - “in the working class accents of most of England, H dropping prevails” - ²³⁹ as well as a relatively recent urban innovation in England, having “been known in popular London speech since at least

²³⁸ See Widdowson, J. D. A., *A Pronouncing Glossary of the Dialect of Filey in the East Riding of Yorkshire*, unpublished MA thesis, University of Leeds, 1966.

²³⁹ Wells (1982a), p. 253.

the eighteenth century”.²⁴⁰ The evidence certainly confirms that this phenomenon demonstrates contemporary sociolinguistic patterning,²⁴¹ though this does not necessarily confirm its status as a recent innovation. Wells suggests a relatively recent date on account of the fact that “h dropping is unknown in North America”,²⁴² and consequently this “strongly suggests that it [h dropping] arose in England only well after the American colonies were founded”; though it is also admitted that “historical details of the spread of H dropping through England are lacking”.²⁴³ This is primarily because orthographic representation became fixed towards the end of the ME period, with the advent of the printing press; consequently, spelling rarely reflected changes in pronunciation after this date. However, prior to this, there is some evidence that demonstrates that ‘h’ dropping was already occurring during the ME period. Variant spellings without ‘h’ are recorded in early French loanwords (13th century) such as *herb* (*erb*, first recorded late 14th century) and *host* (*ost*, 1290; *host*, 1330). Indeed, this evidence has prompted Milroy to put forward the view that ‘h’ dropping was not a feature of the Germanic languages, but was introduced into English from French.²⁴⁴ Nevertheless, there is evidence of much earlier /h/ loss (early 12th century) in a lexical item of OE origin - *hit* (*it*), recorded as *it* - in an early ME text (*The Peterborough Chronicle* [continuation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicles*]) that exhibits almost no linguistic influence from French. Initial /h/ in this item first became lost in unemphatic positions and then in all positions, in many dialects of England at this time (i.e. ME period).²⁴⁵ It may be significant that /h/ dropping was first recorded in such an extremely common word as *it*; this could indicate the beginning of a process whereby a specific phonological development disseminates by a mechanism now known as lexical diffusion.

Whatever the origins of /h/ loss are, the examples from the French loan words (cited above) demonstrate that it had become more widespread during the ME period. This is supported by other thirteenth century evidence which suggests that variation between /h/ and /ø/ existed;

²⁴⁰ Wells (1982a), p. 255.

²⁴¹ See Trudgill (1974), p. 131.

²⁴² This statement disregards the fact that ‘h’ dropping is found in some parts of North America, such as Newfoundland.

²⁴³ Wells (1982a), p. 255.

²⁴⁴ Milroy, J., “On the Sociolinguistic History of /h/ dropping in English”, in Davenport, M., et al (eds), *Current Topics in English Historical Linguistics*, Odense, Odense University Press, 1983, cited in Beal (1999), op. cit, p. 171.

²⁴⁵ See McIntosh, Angus et al., *A Linguistic Atlas of Late Medieval English Volume 2: Item Maps*, Oxford, Aberdeen University Press, 1986.

Jones analysed the text from *Lazamon's Brut* (early 13th century) and found both dropping and insertion of 'h'.²⁴⁶ Nevertheless, the presence of 'h' dropping or insertion in such a formal and stylised context (alliterative / rhyming poetry) renders the evidence somewhat unreliable in this respect; poetical requirements and / or spelling convention could have influenced either the dropping or insertion of 'h'. Nevertheless, there is enough evidence from the ME period to suggest that the process of initial /h/ loss began considerably earlier than the time frame suggested by Wells.

The fact that orthographical representation changed little after the advent of the printing press (the late 15th / early 16th centuries), and the later introduction of a written standard, means that it is impossible to determine the extent of initial /h/ loss (dialectal and SE) from the written record after the ME period; nevertheless, modern dialectal evidence and some references from orthoepists in the eModE period provide glimpses that suggest that the process of /h/ dropping had progressed.

Data from the present investigation (New Mills) provides some evidence that loss of initial /h/ had occurred in some common lexical items during the late ME / eModE periods; the vowels in the north Derbyshire dialect words *wom* and *yed* (SE *home* and *head*) developed from ME /ɔ:/ and /ɛ:/ respectively, which only became /wɒ/ (/ɔ:/ > /ʊə/ > /wɔ/ > /wɒ/) and /jɛ/ (/ɛ:/ > /ɪə/ > /jɛ/) word initially, following a change from a falling diphthong to a rising one,²⁴⁷ the usual reflex being /o:/ and /e:/ respectively. These developments suggest that /h/ had been lost at or before the onset of the raising of the long vowels in the late ME / eModE periods. Dobson cites evidence from some seventeenth century orthoepists that /h/ loss occurred before vowels, but equates such evidence, when it referred to stressed syllables, as dialectal or vulgar. However, as Beal points out, "there is no direct evidence that this loss of /h/ was recognized as a vulgarism in the seventeenth century: it is notably absent from Cooper's (1687) list of 'barbarous' pronunciations."²⁴⁸ This suggests that 'h' dropping (in common with many other dialects) was present in the variety(ies) that was the forerunner of RP at this time.

²⁴⁶ Jones, Charles, *A History of English Phonology*, London, Longman, 1989, pp. 266-274.

²⁴⁷ For a detailed analysis of the development of dialectal *wom* and *jed*, see /ʊə/ and /ɪə/, below.

²⁴⁸ Beal (1999), op. cit, p. 172.

It was not until the second half of the eighteenth century that /h/ dropping was first stigmatised by the orthoepist Sheridan.²⁴⁹ The association of Cockney speech with the phenomenon of /h/ dropping was first made by another orthoepist Walker (1791), who stated that they (i.e. the Cockneys) were guilty of “not sounding *h* where it ought to be sounded, and inversely.” This sudden stigmatisation of /h/ dropping in the latter half of the eighteenth century may be traced back to Samuel Johnson’s comments (1755) that “for pronunciation the best general rule is, to consider those as the most elegant speakers, who deviate least from the written word.”²⁵⁰ Further to this, regardless of the actual phonological situation, rules were developed by the orthoepists which included lists of words (mostly of French origin) where /h/ was not pronounced. The artificiality of these rules is evidenced by the fact that no two lists were the same, though several words appeared on all of them (these lists contained more items with silent ‘h’, than the number which occurs in modern RP, e.g. *humble*, *humour*). Moreover, such was the stranglehold of the belief concerning the authority of the written word (first aired by Johnson, above) that subsequent orthoepists began to insert /h/ in those words (from French or Latin origin) in which /h/ was formerly listed as silent:

*From the mid-eighteenth century onwards, consciousness of the ‘vulgarity’ of h-dropping leads to a tendency to realize the orthographic (h) as /h/ in some words in which it had been silent. This process was a very gradual one, certainly involved lexical diffusion, and carried on through the nineteenth and into the twentieth centuries.*²⁵¹

It is debatable, had it not been for the stigmatisation of ‘h’ dropping by the orthoepists at the end of the eighteenth century (with the result that, today, ‘h’ dropping has become the “single most powerful pronunciation shibboleth in England”),²⁵² whether initial /h/ would largely have been lost in SE. In order to ascertain the extent of /h/ loss in English, it is necessary to examine dialectal evidence. Data from the *SED* indicates that initial /h/ had generally been lost (by the middle of the twentieth century) in the majority of traditional dialects in the south, midlands, north midlands, and the southern part of the northern area; conversely, /h/ has been retained in the dialects of the far north (as indicated by the

²⁴⁹ See Muggleston, L., *Talking Proper*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 113.

²⁵⁰ See Muggleston (1995), pp. 97-98.

²⁵¹ Beal (1999), p. 174.

²⁵² Wells (1982a), p. 254.

responses for the notion *hand*).²⁵³ This certainly suggests initial /h/ loss would have become prevalent in RP (being largely derived from southern dialects) had it not been for the earlier stigmatisation of this phenomenon.

Several observations may be made in relation to the evidence outlined above; /h/ dropping is a process that is historical in origin, and one that is also slow moving, both geographically and in terms of effect; secondly, extra-linguistic factors not only restrained the effects of this process upon RP, but actively reversed it from the eighteenth century onwards; finally, the influence of RP has had a significant impact in the modern period – the rise of spoken SE may have checked the process of /h/ loss, though this influence appears to have affected modified varieties, rather than traditional dialects (see /h/ in Part 2, p. 189). Undoubtedly, RP is still exerting its influence on this phonetic phenomenon, and the full effects of this have yet to be seen. The diffusion of dialectal /h/ loss and the checking of the general process of /h/ loss by a prestige variety (RP) is probably the best example which demonstrates the mixing of two chronologically different linguistic mechanisms of change.

If we now return to Wells' assumption – i.e. that 'h' dropping is a relatively modern innovation, and one which is assumed to have diffused outwards from London – several points may be made. This theory has largely resulted from a viewpoint based on modern sociolinguistic patterning, relatively recent historical evidence equating the phenomenon with Cockney speech, and not least because of the stigmatisation of the feature based on its apparent absence in RP, rather than from an analysis of the historical evidence. In short, this view of 'h' dropping has come around because the phenomenon (and analysis of the data surrounding it) has been approached from the perspective of the chicken rather than the egg. The very name of the phenomenon (i.e. 'h' dropping) implies that initial /h/ was present / is present in those regional dialects (in which /h/ dropping contemporarily occurs) until relatively recently. As we have seen, the evidence outlined above suggests the opposite; initial /h/ had been lost (in varying degrees) in the majority of dialects by the middle of the twentieth century, the result of a long running process involving lexical diffusion over several hundred years (those in the far north were never affected by this process and remained 'h'-ful). It would be more appropriate, therefore, to abandon the term 'h' dropping

²⁵³ See *SED The Northern Counties Part 2* VI.7.1 *hand* - the difference is evident between the north part of the northern area (Northumberland, north Cumbria, Durham, north Westmorland, extreme north of Yorkshire) where /h/ is retained; and the south of the northern area (south Cumbria, north Lancashire, north and east Yorkshire), as well as the north midland area (south and west Yorkshire, south Lancashire) where /h/ is lost.

completely, and, instead, refer to RP (and modified varieties thereof) as ‘h’ retaining and / or ‘h’ restoring varieties, and the phenomenon as ‘h’ retention / ‘h’ restoration.

The dangers of explaining current change solely by accepted modern models, and within the bounds of a purely modern framework (without reference to historical evidence) is also exemplified by the contemporary phenomenon of /t/ glottalling (i.e. the realisation of intervocalic /t/ as [ʔ]). Although this is not a feature of the traditional dialect of New Mills, it has some relevance here because it occurs in the speech of the teenagers and some adult informants. This feature shares some similarities with the phenomenon of /h/ loss (above), in that it is deemed to be a modern and ongoing innovation and one which is generally associated with London speech – Wells cites the replacement of [t] by glottal [ʔ] as a Cockney feature. Although it was originally deemed to be a stigmatised feature, being “a lazy sound” and one that “is widely regarded as ugly”,²⁵⁴ it nevertheless may be currently found in many of the major urban areas of the north, north midlands, midlands and south-east.²⁵⁵ This type of distribution has led to /t/ glottalling “being widely perceived as a stereotype of urban British speech.”²⁵⁶ Moreover, it is also evident that this phenomenon has also affected more prestigious varieties, being cited as a feature of Estuary English.²⁵⁷ This extension of provenance on a social level is confirmed by Trudgill, who states that /t/ glottalling is “spreading socially from lower-class to higher class accents” and “from informal into formal speech.”²⁵⁸ He concludes that the “glottalling of intervocalic and word-final /t/ is one of the most dramatic, widespread and rapid changes to have occurred in British English in recent times, and that Norwich is no exception to this particular trend.”²⁵⁹

On account of its general distribution in many urban varieties, and its general association with London speech, the urban hierarchy model of sociolinguistic theory has often been cited as an explanation for the dissemination of this innovation (i.e. a change that has spread from a major urban area to smaller urban areas via large provincial centres). Trudgill is fairly

²⁵⁴ Wells (1982a), p. 35.

²⁵⁵ Evidence of this is presented in Foulkes and Docherty (1999), op. cit.

²⁵⁶ Milroy, J., Milroy, L., and Hartley, S., ‘Local and supra-local change in British English: The case of glottalisation’, *English World Wide*, 15:1, 1-33.

²⁵⁷ Rosewarne, D., ‘Estuary English: tomorrow’s RP?’, *English Today*, 10, 3-8.

²⁵⁸ Trudgill (1999), op. cit, p. 136.

²⁵⁹ Ibid.

typical in this respect, and remarked that “almost all linguistic innovations occurring in Norwich English are derived from London speech, and not from anywhere else.”²⁶⁰

Such assumptions were generally held, with regard to /t/ glottalling, despite the evidence provided by Andresen in 1968 (see also /t/, Part 2, pp. 126-133), which demonstrated that the glottal stop was first noted by A. M. Bell in the urban areas of south-west Scotland (i.e. Glasgow) in 1860. Moreover, it was noted by Henry Sweet as occurring in some North English and Scotch dialects at the turn of the nineteenth century, before it was eventually noted as a feature of London pronunciation by Daniel Jones in 1909. This strongly suggests that /t/ glottalling actually disseminated from the northern urban areas to London, rather than contrariwise. Nevertheless, this type of historical evidence remained largely ignored by linguists who described and analysed the phenomenon during the 1980s and early 1990s. However, the re-emergence of Andresen’s evidence has prompted some linguists to re-assess their conclusions. Trudgill used other historical evidence (i.e. data from the *SED*), which showed that intervocalic /t/ glottalisation was present in the northern area of East Anglia. Significantly, this was the only rural area in southern England in the 1950s where “the glottalling and glottalisation of intervocalic /t/ were at all prevalent.”²⁶¹ This led Trudgill to forward the view, in opposition to his former analyses, that it is “possible that this is a feature which has spread from – and not to – the area of Norwich in the last century or so.”²⁶²

It may be concluded from this that it would be unwise to view sound change solely from a contemporary perspective, particularly in those instances where such sound change may also be observed in previous periods, and, consequently, approaches which are designed to deal with contemporary linguistic conditions may not be wholly adequate; it is apparent that some current developments cannot be explained by modern theories of linguistics that focus only on contemporary social variables as factors of change. It follows that a modern approach should only be utilised when there is absolute certainty about the chronological nature of the innovation being analysed. Other approaches, or a combination of approaches, may be required for an accurate analysis or description. Sociolinguistic methodology may be highly appropriate for the analysis of current sound change in a large urban setting, but it is

²⁶⁰ Chambers and Trudgill (1980), *op. cit.*, p. 198.

²⁶¹ Trudgill (1999), p. 136.

²⁶² *Ibid.*

evidently not so for sound change that is not restricted to a contemporary or specific geographical locus, in which social and linguistic conditions may differ greatly.

CHAPTER 2

METHODOLOGY: METHOD AND FIELDWORK

The Investigation in New Mills: Research and Analytical Format

This study can be roughly summarised as follows: an investigation determining ‘apparent time’ linguistic change in the traditional dialect of a single community in north-west Derbyshire, by means of a comparative study of age-based variation. It has been suggested that the aims and purposes of a study should be the main determining factor for the utilisation of a particular framework, and therefore it is apparent that such a broadly based study as this requires not only a multilateral approach, but also one which is suitable for the aims and purposes of the research.

In the field of data gathering, the concentration upon a single stratum of language (the local traditional vernacular) necessitates the restriction of informants to those who are the most likely to speak this variety, i.e. working class males, while the purpose of the study (to gauge change in apparent time) requires that the informants are drawn from various age groups, ranging from teenagers to older retired persons. The aim to acquire data that is as natural as possible, in addition to considerations concerning several processes of the investigation - such as systematic description on a phonological level (of the traditional dialect) or comparison (phonological, lexical, syntactical) - has necessarily determined that various different means of eliciting data are utilised. These include ‘free speech’, word-lists for confirming oppositional phonemes,²⁶³ and a questionnaire for purposes of comparison.

In the area of description and analysis, focus upon the levels of lexis, syntax and grammar will be restricted to those items which exhibit a local or regional distribution. Lexical and grammatical items will be partially drawn from data gathered from free speech, but, as a more structured method is required (not least for the purpose of comparison),²⁶⁴ from data elicited via the questionnaire. The main focus of the investigation, however, is on the level of phonology. This includes a systematic description in the form of a phonemic inventory, thus necessitating the use of all available data: free speech / questionnaire / wordlists. For analytical, and particularly for comparative purposes, phonological data will also be

²⁶³ For comments regarding the effectiveness (or otherwise) of this elicitation method, see below, pp. 103-104.

²⁶⁴ For comments regarding the methods of elicitation for lexical and grammatical items, see the introduction to the relevant sections, below.

presented in terms of the reflexes of ME forms. This is necessary for two reasons. Firstly, historical information of this type is useful in a diachronic study such as this. Secondly, and more importantly, the inclusion of historical data is necessary to provide an *accurate* comparative component (see above pp. 33-37).

In addition to considerations of purpose, such a multilateral approach is important in another respect. McDavid has put forward the view that such an approach could yield interesting and innovative results:

*In fact it is doubtful ... whether one should work all the time within any single framework. The mere fact that there are differences in approach should lead to cross-fertilisation, to the discovery of phenomena that might be overlooked if one stuck to one framework.*²⁶⁵

Although the present investigation will necessarily include a minimal amount of quantitative data (in the lexical analysis),²⁶⁶ the intrinsically broad-based and extensive nature of the study requires a general qualitative approach. This begs the question as to how linguistic change may be analysed without recourse to quantification. The answer to this is straightforward: the investigation makes no attempt to quantify variables, rather to describe the presence of all variables according to age-group. Comments concerning these variables will be made where these demonstrate variation according to age-group, or absence in one (or more) age-groups. Similarly, a particular variable may be described in terms of being rarely used or encountered, where it is apparent that this is the case (i.e. although present in speech, it appears that other variables are normally used). As stated above, and elsewhere, the broad-based (with respect to aims) and extensive nature (e.g., the inclusion of a systematic phonological description) of the research demanded a qualitative approach; to attempt quantification of all the phonological variables described below (let alone grammatical variables) would be well beyond the scope of a doctoral thesis and the time frame available. Furthermore, a qualitative approach facilitates the collection of informal and random data, a basic requirement of the research, in accordance with the aims - this is discussed fully below.

²⁶⁵ See Anderson (1987), p. 2.

²⁶⁶ Analyses regarding other data (i.e. not lexical), which is solely based upon questionnaire responses, such as some of the grammatical data, will enable similar quantification, though this will not necessarily involve precise percentages; rather comments such as 'to a greater extent' or 'lesser extent' will be used to communicate the differences suggested by the data.

Qualitative research

The reasons for adopting a qualitative approach require a definition of ‘qualitative’ in relation to research in general, and a short explanation of the objectives behind qualitative studies, the types of research for which it is specifically suitable, if not necessary, and also its particular advantages. Qualitative studies are “generally intended more to determine ‘what things exist’ than to determine how many such things there are”.²⁶⁷ Investigations using a qualitative approach are common in the area of social research. The reasons for this are two-fold. Firstly, they are generally very useful for instigating preliminary or pilot studies in specific areas where very little or no research has been carried out. Secondly, and consequently, the results from such preliminary studies may create further areas of research or produce specific hypotheses for more narrowly based and intensive quantitative research.²⁶⁸ There has been much debate, particularly in the field of social science, as to the scientific validity, or otherwise, of qualitative methods. To counter such doubts, arguments have been put forward expressing the view that “qualitative data provide the only empirical foundation on which social science can be built”.²⁶⁹ Furthermore it has been suggested that qualitative methods can produce valuable and important data in some research situations where other research methods would have failed.²⁷⁰

There are also several other advantages intrinsic in a qualitative approach. Firstly, the less structured format ensures a flexibility that allows research techniques to be moulded around the subject matter and aims of the study. Such a flexibility also allows topic areas to be researched that are evidently not appropriate for initial research by quantitative methods because these areas are either too complex or because they deal with non-static occurrences such as mechanisms of change. The less structured format of a qualitative method also produces a framework that not only allows, but can accommodate unforeseen information or results. This procedure will also often generate large amounts of rich and varied data, partly on account of the fact that this approach enables researchers to take advantage of a system that does not rely on a fixed method of data collection which is necessarily inherent in quantitative studies. This is highly relevant, as far as data collection in dialect research is

²⁶⁷ Walker, R., “An Introduction to Applied Qualitative Research”, in Walker, R. (ed.), *Applied Qualitative Research*, Aldershot, Gower, 1985, p. 3.

²⁶⁸ Macafee, Caroline, *Traditional Dialect in the Modern World - A Glasgow Case Study*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 1994, p. 3.

²⁶⁹ Walker (1985), p. 3.

²⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 3-4.

concerned (see final paragraph, below). Furthermore, a qualitative approach is able to utilise such varied data, much to the study's and researcher's benefit, as it is not bound to eliminate or remove data that does not conform to the "pre-conceived analytical format"²⁷¹ of quantitative studies. The present investigation consists of proposed research whose aims are varied and extensive (see previous section). A multi-dimensional approach is therefore required, and this means that the particular qualities of a flexible qualitative approach are not only beneficial, but absolutely necessary for meeting the demands of the present study.

Walker has identified four different methods of qualitative research as being amongst the most important of the techniques employed in qualitative studies: 'depth interviews'; 'participant observation'; 'projective techniques' and 'group interviews'.²⁷² Of relevance to this study are all but the last of these techniques. Depth interviews are described as those in which "the researcher encourages the informant to relate, in their own terms, experiences and attitudes that are relevant to the research situation", and participant observation as being one where the "observer seeks to study people in their 'natural' environments".²⁷³ It is evident that both of these are highly relevant in the field of dialectology, particularly in relation to data gathering which is achieved by fieldwork involving personal interviews in the community that is the focus of the study. Of more relevance still for the interview situation are the 'projective techniques'. These essentially involve a method that:

*encourages in respondents a state of freedom and spontaneity of expression ... where there are topics on which respondents may hesitate to express their opinions directly for fear of disapproval by the investigator or when respondents are likely to consider direct questions as an unwarranted invasion of privacy or to find them threatening for some other reason.*²⁷⁴

The aims of the depth interview and participant observation techniques are highly relevant for data gathering that involves the collection of spontaneous spoken data. This applies to all types of data eliciting methods in dialectology, but is particularly relevant for the collection of data gathered by means of 'free speech'. The same observation applies to the method outlined by the projection technique. The circumstances (described above) where such a method should be used are often encountered in a fieldwork situation, and although it also

²⁷¹ Macafee (1994), p. 4.

²⁷² Walker (1985), p. 4.

²⁷³ Walker (1985), p. 6.

²⁷⁴ Kidder, L.H., *Sellitz, Wrightsman and Cook's research methods in social relations*, New York, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston for the Psycho, 1981, p.233 - see Walker (1985), pp. 6-7.

applies to a free speech situation, it is extremely relevant to the process of eliciting data by means of a questionnaire. Moreover, it is evident that this method is highly suitable for qualitative studies in the field of dialectology. The benefits of this method are immediately apparent; generally unconstrained by the need to elicit specific data, the fieldworkers and informants operate in a relatively free and informal environment, which is an ideal situation for generating natural speech. As quantitative studies attempt to elicit specific forms in sufficient quantity to enable a quantitative analysis to be undertaken, the researcher necessarily has to direct proceedings towards this aim, with the result being that the data elicitation method will be more constrained and inflexible, producing a more formal situation; this will inevitably impact upon the type of speech being generated (i.e. less natural and / or formal)²⁷⁵ – see also below, pp. 103-109.

In conclusion, the flexible nature of a qualitative approach is appropriate for studies where a variety of data gathering methods are required and utilised, such as free speech, questionnaire, word-lists etc., and highly suitable for research where the elicitation of data consisting of natural speech is the ideal. These notions apply to the present study, where the various aims of research are reflected in the fieldwork, involving the collection of data elicited by several different means.

Method

The investigation in New Mills constitutes research based upon empirical data collected during fieldwork. The aims and purpose of this research, defined above, necessarily determine the fieldwork undertaken. On account of the vastly differing aims of research throughout linguistics, it follows that there is no generally defined procedure for fieldwork operations. Furthermore, another consideration is that fieldwork constitutes a major part of the investigation, if not the sole, in those studies which rely on empirical data. Therefore, “it may be considered to be very much a part of method”.²⁷⁶ Consequently, much of this section of the study is devoted to an explanation and definition of the fieldwork undertaken.

²⁷⁵ However, one essentially quantitative sociolinguistic study attempted to overcome this by recording informants in self-selected groups, with the fieldworker playing a minimal role – see Docherty, Gerald J., and Foulkes, Paul, ‘Derby and Newcastle: instrumental phonetics and variationist studies’, in Docherty, Gerald J., and Foulkes, Paul (eds), *Urban Voices: Accent Studies in the British Isles*, London, Arnold, 1999, pp. 47 – 71.

²⁷⁶ Shorrocks (1980), p. 92.

Although the aims of the present research depend almost entirely upon fieldwork data, several other sources are used in a lesser capacity and in a supplementary role. These sources comprise earlier investigations in or around the dialect area consisting of north-west Derbyshire / north-east Cheshire / south-east Lancashire. These include county glossaries and numerous other more local investigations stretching over a span of approximately 150 years. Of particular relevance is the most recent data provided by the two nearest SED localities (Derbyshire 1, Cheshire 2) and data from SED pilot investigations in the High Peak, most notably at Castleton and Edale. This data will be used and presented in an additional capacity, as will some data from the other sources, although it will necessarily be excluded from any description based upon the fieldwork data. This additional material is useful in two respects. Firstly, it enables a comparison with the speech of the oldest informants in the present investigation and thereby corroborates, or otherwise, the status of their vernacular as being the traditional local dialect of the area.²⁷⁷ Secondly, this type of data is valuable in a diachronic investigation as it provides information about the extent and speed of any previous linguistic change. This broadens the view centred on contemporary linguistic change, and thus facilitates any analysis concerning general directions of change. The suitability of using data from the nearest SED locality (Derbyshire 1 - Charlesworth, four miles NNE)²⁷⁸ as evidence of change in real time is discussed in ‘Theoretical Considerations’.

The investigation utilises a descriptive / analytical procedure that is essentially corpus-based. This procedure consists of, and may be defined as, tape recorded speech which has been elicited by several methods, including free speech, questionnaires and wordlists, in addition to other data that has not been collected by audio recording. Supplementary data from various other sources mentioned above is included as a purely corroboratory and comparative component.

²⁷⁷ This essentially being the area defined by Ellis (i.e. north Midlands D21) – the nearest SED localities (Charlesworth and Rainow) are also situated within the area defined by Ellis.

²⁷⁸ No previous studies of this type have been carried out in New Mills.

Questionnaires

The fundamental effectiveness of questionnaires is due to the fact that they are intrinsically comparative. They enable valid comparisons to be made between any number of studies that may differ on a geographical and /or temporal dimension, as well as facilitating the elicitation of equivalent data from different localities and /or people within a single investigation. Nonetheless, there are two sides to every coin and this very same advantageous characteristic is perhaps responsible for the production of rather artificial and constrained data. This has led to criticism in some quarters, much of which is similar to that voiced by Shorrocks:

*they [questionnaires] predetermine the data in a manner which renders them almost useless for extensive, thorough surveys of particular localities.*²⁷⁹

Despite this, questionnaires remain a highly valuable device in the sphere of linguistic geography and other related disciplines which involve the study of variation on an areal dimension. However, the use of questionnaires and the questionnaires themselves have been further criticised recently by those linguists whose primary interests lie in the social variation of language. Much of this criticism is aimed at the type of data that is being elicited and the validity of such data. It has been suggested that a system which encourages “informants to respond, most usually with one-word answers” will only draw “*considerable* attention to their [informant’s] language.”²⁸⁰ This leads to the conclusion that any speech produced in this way will be “more formal and careful”.²⁸¹ Indeed, it has been suggested that questionnaires create a situation in which the recorded speech is anything but typical of the way in which people normally speak:

*It is likely that the single items elicited using the sentence frames favoured by traditional dialectologists correspond most closely to the formal end of Labov’s stylistic continuum.*²⁸²

This criticism is perhaps justified in some instances, but it is better applied to the workman rather than the tool. The formality or otherwise of any interview situation is as much to do with the fieldworker, the fieldwork situation and the phrasing of the questionnaire itself as it

²⁷⁹ Shorrocks (1980), p. 94.

²⁸⁰ Chambers and Trudgill (1980), p. 58.

²⁸¹ Ibid.

²⁸² Milroy, J. (1984), p. 204.

is with the use of such a system. The data from the fieldwork in the present investigation suggests that this type of elicitation produced data that was relatively informal and casual (middle to informal end of stylistic continuum). Although this type of data does not approach the informality levels engendered by the free speech elicitation method, it nonetheless produced data that was evidently more casual than that gathered by other methods, such as word-lists, which are favoured by sociolinguists (see below, pp.103-104). It is perhaps significant that one-word answers were uncommon; the majority of responses usually consisted of clauses in which the specific item was included. In addition to this, a substantial amount of incidental material was also forthcoming as a result of using the questionnaire. The method of obtaining data via a questionnaire is also considered inadequate by some linguists, because they perceive questionnaires as being primarily designed to elicit lexical information.²⁸³ It is certainly the case that the early dialectologists used questionnaires to compile glossaries. The notion that questionnaires are lexically orientated is probably due to the adopted format - e.g. “what do you call this?” - and the presentation of responses as single items. Nevertheless, it is still possible to extract phonological and, indeed, grammatical information from questionnaire responses, even when these consist of one-word answers - see below, pp. 99-101. The elicitation of grammatical information proved to be rather difficult by means of a questionnaire, whether the desired data was syntactical or, more specifically, morphological. The example quoted by Shorrocks²⁸⁴ is highly relevant in that similar difficulty was encountered with exactly the same item in the present investigation. In attempting to elicit the various tense forms of the verb *to catch [a cold]*, the usual response of many of the older informants was *cop* and *copped*; the form *catch* was semantically restricted to other contexts, such as *catch a bus*. While the desired data was not forthcoming, therefore, unanticipated lexical and semantic information was. This did not present a problem as such because much of the desired grammatical data was provided and /or confirmed by occurrences in free speech.

Other criticism revolving around questionnaire-elicited data concerns the extent to which it may be considered valid / relevant to a particular study – i.e. one whose aims and purpose may differ considerably from those studies which primarily utilise questionnaire data.

²⁸³ See Chambers and Trudgill (1980), p. 58.

²⁸⁴ Shorrocks (1980), p. 94.

Shorrocks sums up these concerns:

*To the linguistic and social geographer, they are indispensable tools; to the descriptive linguist they offer little more than the possibility of ensuring that his study includes a certain amount of data that is comparable to that elicited via the same questionnaire in other localities.*²⁸⁵

It is evident from the above that the validity of this criticism depends entirely upon the aims and purposes of any research. However, the concerns relating to the use of questionnaires in descriptive surveys (outlined above) need not necessarily apply if data gathered by such means merely forms part of a wider survey which also utilises several other methods of elicitation.

The use of a questionnaire in the present study is absolutely necessary on the grounds that the investigation is based upon comparative research, i.e. of age-based speech. In addition to internal comparison, the use of a questionnaire also facilitates external comparison. The relatively large questionnaire, comprising around 300 questions, was constructed to elicit numerous examples of phonological, lexical and grammatical variables, whose headwords correspond to *SED* notions in the majority of instances, thus allowing comparison if so desired.

Construction of questionnaire

The questionnaire was primarily designed to elicit features of the traditional dialect, this being the variety under investigation. As no previous studies have been carried out in New Mills specifically, and in consideration of the fact that a questionnaire must be constructed before any fieldwork is undertaken, features of traditional dialect were necessarily identified from numerous other sources. In this respect, the most relevant of these is the *SED* data from Cheshire 2 (Rainow – six miles west-south-west) and Derbyshire 1 (Charlesworth – four miles north-north-west) localities. In addition, *SED* pilot investigations in the High Peak and more recent monographs from in and around the dialect area (as defined previously by A.J. Ellis) also provided useful information. Earlier investigations, such as *Pegge's Derbyisms* (late eighteenth century), and Leigh's *Cheshire Glossary* (part of the county investigations prompted by the English Dialect Society in the latter part of the nineteenth century) were

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

useful in corroborating the traditional status of much of the later lexical, grammatical, and, to a lesser extent, phonological data. Other nineteenth century studies, such as A. J. Ellis' nationwide dialect survey and J. Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* also proved to be highly useful resources in this respect, the former particularly on a phonological level and the latter on all levels. Indeed, some of the sources used in Wright's dictionary which are relevant to the present investigation, e.g. Thomas Hallam's *A Collection of North-West Derbyshire Words*, are, according to the British Library, no longer extant. Data from other media, tape recorded speech from the SED locality Db1 (Charlesworth) and several recordings of the south Lancashire area (deposited in the North-West Sound Archives), were also utilised. In addition, and of greater importance, a tape-recorded interview (1988) of a local New Mills man born at the end of the nineteenth century was made available.²⁸⁶ All the sources just mentioned are only included in the present investigation in a purely supplementary role – i.e. for comparative and corroboratory purposes.

One additional and important factor concerning any notions of traditional dialect is the fact that the researcher himself is a native, having lived for most of his life either in New Mills or in the immediate dialect area constituting north-west Derbyshire / north-east Cheshire / south-east Lancashire. Additionally, the researcher considers himself not only to be familiar with, but also a speaker of, the local dialect. In this respect, in the course of preparing the questionnaire, particular features of local dialect were inevitably identified from personal knowledge /experience and local contacts. This intuition can be valuable in the preparation of any fieldwork, but such an approach is obviously open to criticism.²⁸⁷ This criticism may be avoided by initially treating any such intuition as hypothetical until such material is corroborated by other data. As far as the questionnaire is concerned, the headwords were chosen to elicit items that demonstrated local features of the traditional dialect on the levels of phonology, lexis, and grammar (morphology /syntax).

It was decided at the outset to construct a questionnaire with headwords that were the same as those used in the SED. The primary reason behind this was to enable comparison, not only with the SED itself, but also with any number of investigations, past, present and future,

²⁸⁶ This tape was kindly donated by informant HF at the start of the investigation. Its importance and relevance cannot be overstated. The interviewee, who has since unfortunately died, provided what is surely the only surviving record of speech from a native of the area living at the turn of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

²⁸⁷ See Shorrocks (1980), p. 106.

which have also adopted this type of methodology.²⁸⁸ Such comparisons can prove useful in any linguistic survey, but assume a greater importance in studies, such as the present investigation, which are essentially diachronic. However, unlike some previous research which utilised the SED questionnaire unchanged, it was decided that the wording and format of the questions themselves would be disregarded in favour of a new and specifically designed format based upon the aims of the fieldwork. As this is an extremely important aspect of the research, it will now be discussed in more detail.

Wording, Format

The primary aim of the fieldwork was to obtain data that was as natural as possible whatever the means of eliciting data, and not to utilise such material to demonstrate degrees of formality; considerable research has already been conducted by sociolinguists to demonstrate the formality of speech according to the situation in which it is recorded or the way it is elicited.²⁸⁹ The primary consideration concerning the use of a questionnaire in this study is so that a proportion of the resultant data is directly comparable. In the light of criticism that questionnaires produce data that is significantly affected by this method of elicitation, and is therefore relatively formal, it follows that difficulties may arise when classifying this type of data as “natural speech”. However, such an assumption does not necessarily apply rigidly to all instances of questionnaire elicited data. The degree of formality is to a large extent determined by the perceived formality (on the part of the interviewee) of the questionnaire in general, and the manner in which it is delivered. Additionally, external factors such as environment and situation play a major part in determining conditions, and will be discussed in the section on fieldwork; it is the format of the questionnaire which is of interest here.

Initial pilot studies were originally undertaken using the SED questionnaire. However, it soon became apparent that the wording and phraseology of certain question formats (i.e. the ‘completing type’ - see below) produced a rather formal atmosphere during the interviews. The reasons for this are unclear, though one major factor may be that the language used in this type of format does not resemble natural speech or conversation. This inevitably has a negative effect upon data, in consideration of the fact that the aim is to elicit as natural

²⁸⁸ Examples of these include Viereck, *op. cit.*, and Shorrocks (1980), *op. cit.*

²⁸⁹ See Chambers and Trudgill (1980), pp. 82-84.

speech as possible. Another possible factor is that the language used in the questionnaire is now dated (circa 1950). This was commented on, not only by some younger but by some older respondents (age 60 +) in the pilot study. Personal intuition on this matter was confirmed by responses such as “people wouldn’t say it like that today”. This formality may manifest itself in different ways. Firstly, it may appear as a specific lexical item: “*And if he is doing it day after day, you say he is, what sort of fellow ...**Drunken***”.²⁹⁰ Secondly, it may also occur in other questions which on the surface do not seem to be particularly formal (no specific lexical item could be pinpointed as being dated or formal), but which have a phraseology which produces a rather formal and / or artificial effect: “*Sometimes there are so many people in a room and it gets so hot, that you think you are going to ... **faint***”;²⁹¹ “*When you get up after being ill in bed for a long time, you are sure to feel very... **weak***”.²⁹² Consequently, it was decided to completely reword questions in an attempt to produce a less formal approach that more closely resembled natural speech and / or conversation. Questions such as “*If you haven’t eaten any food for a long time, you’re bound to be very... **hungry***”,²⁹³ were reworded as “if you hadn’t eaten anything for ages, you’d be very...” (see questionnaire: Part 4 – Question 11).

As in the SED, the subject areas of the questionnaire deal with objects, actions and qualities. Similarly, many of the questions employed in the present investigation use what is referred to as a ‘naming’ type. This involves questions of the type ‘what do you call this?’, usually involving indication by either pointing to something (e.g. nose) or by the less frequent use of pictures or diagrams. Any of the subject areas were used to elicit grammatical features of language, both morphological and syntactical, such as past tense / past participles, prepositions, and pronoun variants.²⁹⁴ This usually involved the ‘working in’ of such questions so that they followed on from a previous one that attempted to elicit some other feature, lexical or phonological. For example, in some rare instances it was possible to elicit grammatical features in the same question that was aimed at eliciting another feature, thus providing a type of two-in-one question. Although some of these responses could be elicited using ‘completing’ type questions, many necessarily had to be elicited using what Orton

²⁹⁰ Orton, H., *Survey of English Dialects : Introduction*, Leeds, E.J. Arnold, 1962, p. 81 (VI. 13.11).

²⁹¹ *Ibid.*, (VI.13.7).

²⁹² *Ibid.*, (VI.13.2).

²⁹³ *Ibid.*, (VI.13.10).

²⁹⁴ See Orton (1962), pp. 44-45.

calls the ‘conversion’ type.²⁹⁵ It is conceded that this method is somewhat “makeshift” and is used “only as a last choice”, but it is also stated that it “works quite satisfactorily”.²⁹⁶ Whatever the shortcomings of this type of question, the end result is the successful elicitation of some grammatical forms. The fact that such a method needs to be employed merely testifies to the difficulty of eliciting grammatical forms via a questionnaire. This problem has long been recognised by other linguists involved in fieldwork.²⁹⁷ This is not so relevant in studies, such as the present investigation, that also rely on other means of data gathering. In addition to that which occurred in free speech, a significant amount of grammatical information was gathered through incidental material during questioning.

Regarding this type of elicitation (i.e. questionnaires), it is appropriate to discuss the criticism aimed at the supposed lexically orientated nature of questionnaires in general. Orton actually admits that the *SED* questionnaire is designed mostly for “eliciting lexical features”.²⁹⁸ However, subsequent criticism directed at the *SED* questionnaire is partially the result of misunderstanding the term ‘lexical’. As far as the *SED* is concerned, it applies in a broader sense, as the purpose is to elicit such responses “whether in the form of synonyms or phonological variants”.²⁹⁹ Although the aim of the present investigation is to elicit a more even mix of dialect features (lexical, phonological, grammatical), the notion that lexis can refer either to synonyms or phonological variants may also be applied here; any response, whether specifically lexical, grammatical or otherwise, also provides phonological information. Similarly, but conversely, questions designed to elicit phonological information may also provide lexical or grammatical information, and desired grammatical information may yield lexical information. It follows from this that some of the criticism aimed at the rigid and restricted nature of questionnaires may be unfounded. Indeed, the notion that the nature of questionnaires raises the possibility that data other than purely lexical (i.e. phonological and / or grammatical) may be elicited is partially responsible for the revival of this method as a tool in social dialectology. Llamas has devised a method where informants are given a written questionnaire, to be filled in by the informants in their own time (i.e.

²⁹⁵ Ibid., p. 45.

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ See, for example, McDavid, R.I., “What happens in Tennessee”, in Burghardt, L.H. (ed.), *Dialectology: Problems and Perspectives*, Knoxville, Tennessee University Press, 1971, p.128; Viereck, p. 339; and Ruoff, pp. 39, 63.

²⁹⁸ Orton (1962), p. 45.

²⁹⁹ Ibid.

without the researcher present), usually over a time period of a week or so. The questionnaires consist of several graph type images which represent major topic areas associated with everyday speech; these topic areas are sub-divided into separate notions.³⁰⁰ The informants are encouraged to respond to these notions with the term(s) they would use. It is hoped that the absence of a researcher would provide data that is relatively informal. The collection of these questionnaires is followed by tape-recorded interview, in which the researcher converses with the informant about the responses they have given. This not only provides the researcher with phonological data, but also incidental material in which other relevant phonological, grammatical or lexical data may be elicited.³⁰¹ Although this methodology differs somewhat from that adopted in the investigation in New Mills, some parallels may be drawn in that incidental material forms a major component of the research.

In the present investigation, questions have been banded together into subject areas (à-la *SED*), for instance, those concerning parts of the body or geographical features. Nevertheless, the format of these questions is not generally the same as that utilised in the *SED*. Rather the questions are not arranged according to any specific subject area or desired linguistic type,³⁰² but according to a structure that was built around the aims of a more conversation orientated questionnaire - this is discussed more fully below in the section on 'Interview situation'. The division of the questionnaire into sections is purely for analytical and referential purposes.

Revision

Several pilot studies that were carried out in the preliminary stages of the research were useful in revealing ambiguities and difficulties within the questionnaire. Many of the difficulties arose because of misunderstanding on the part of the informants as to what precisely they were being asked. This was almost universally with 'completing' type questions and, to a lesser extent, with the 'conversion' type. Rewording often solved the problem. However, sometimes this either met with no success, or the question was such that there was no other possible way to phrase it. It also became apparent that the rate of success

³⁰⁰ Many of these subject areas and notions correspond to some of those used in the *SED* questionnaire.

³⁰¹ Llamas, C., 'A New Methodology: Data Elicitation for Social and Regional Language Variation Studies', *Leeds Working Papers in Linguistics and Phonetics*, 7, 1999, pp. 95 – 118.

³⁰² In the *SED* questionnaire, most of the grammatical questions were situated in the last two books of the questionnaire - see Orton (1962), p. 45.

in overcoming such difficulties very much depended on the informant. There appeared to be no rhyme or reason as to which questions would prove difficult - one informant might have trouble with a question that everybody else answered immediately, while the same informant instantly answered a question that everybody else had either hesitated over or not answered at all. It was decided that a solution to the problems with this type of question would be to provide a written copy for the informant to read, with the appropriate word missing. It was also decided that such action was only to be used as a last resort. In the event, this type of situation proved to be rare, such a course of action being used less than twenty times during the entire fieldwork.

In addition to revealing difficulties with certain questions, the pilot studies were also useful in another respect. In spite of the attempt to word questions as colloquially and as near to natural speech and / or conversation as possible, it became evident that completing and conversion type questions still sounded relatively formal, probably on account of their rather artificial nature. The situation was partially rectified by the development of a conversation type approach (see above, pp. 98-99, and below, pp. 117-118). It was also improved by the insertion of colloquial interjections, such as 'you know', 'you see', and tags such as 'like'. As far as the precise wording of the questions is concerned, the use of such language by the fieldworker inevitably resulted in some variation; i.e. although the basic sentence frames remained the same, the exact wording would differ (to various degrees) according to the informant being interviewed. The end result was the same, however, and the desired feature was elicited. Moreover, rather than being a hindrance, this variation actually contributed to the maintenance of a relatively informal atmosphere during the fieldwork situation. It also became evident that such flexibility within the questionnaire sentence frame often produced excellent results, based on the aims of the fieldwork. This subject is discussed at greater length below.

Despite the benefits gained from pilot studies, no questionnaire will be completely adequate for the intended task. Indeed, even after four revisions, the SED questionnaire was still not considered to be the finished product or final version.³⁰³ The problem is this: fieldwork inevitably reveals minor problems or omissions which then result in revision of the questionnaire; such is the nature of fieldwork that such a process could continue indefinitely. As far as the present investigation is concerned, fieldwork technique and questionnaire

³⁰³ See Orton (1962), p. 43.

content were paramount in meeting the aims of the research, specifically to record as natural speech as possible with the intention of eliciting pre-determined dialect features. Although every effort was made to refine fieldwork technique and to ensure that the questionnaire covered the particular features of dialect as comprehensively as possible, any questionnaire will always be incomplete. This is best summed up by Gillieron who remarked that “one can devise a perfect questionnaire only after all the fieldwork is done”.³⁰⁴

Word-Lists

Although Shorrocks questions the value of word-lists in analyses based upon extensive transcriptions of tape recordings, he also concedes that they may have some beneficial supplementary uses.³⁰⁵ The use of word-lists is a method much favoured by sociolinguists, particularly in studies where a limited number of variables are being investigated. In the present broad-based investigation, it was initially decided to utilise word-lists as a means of recording any phonological items that may have been omitted or not recorded via the questionnaire or during free speech, and /or for confirming data elicited by other means – i.e. as a means of providing extra comparable data. The wordlists used in the present investigation consisted of two different sets, namely those compiled and published by Hughes and Trudgill (1987) and J.C. Wells (1982). It became evident during fieldwork, however, that word-list elicited data differed considerably from other types of data, in that it was clearly more formal and /or standardised. For example, when reading from wordlists, intervocalic /t/ was universally realised as [t] by informants in the teenage age-group (usually [ʔ], [tʔ]); in the speech of the older informants, the non-contrasting dialect homophones *meat* / *mate* (i.e. /me:t/) always became contrasted (i.e. /mi:t/, /me:t/ respectively), while, conversely, the dialectal vowel contrast in *poor* and *pour* (/və/, /oə/) became eliminated (i.e. /oə/ or /ɔ:/); initial /h/, generally absent in the free speech of all informants, was nearly always retained when reading from word-lists. There is no doubt that the type of data generated by the word-lists consisted of speech that was highly artificial, and this artificiality / formality was primarily engendered by the artificiality / formality of the

³⁰⁴ See Davis, A.L., McDavid, Raven I., and McDavid, Virginia G. (eds), *A Compilation of the Work Sheets of the Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada and Associated Projects*, Chicago, University of Chicago, 1969, p. ix.

³⁰⁵ Shorrocks (1980), p. 96.

activity being undertaken, and the somewhat formal environment that the activity (i.e. reading aloud) produced. Consequently, the value of this type of data, as far as the aims of this investigation are concerned, is not only clearly limited, but also generally unsuitable.

Free Speech

It is certainly recognised by many dialectologists that spontaneous speech provides the most appropriate data as far as recording dialect is concerned. The type of natural, colloquial conversation that is spoken between family members, friends or members of a community is the medium of dialect. This type of free conversation may be defined as one that takes place between particular members of a social group who speak the same dialect, that being the natural speech of their locality, in an informal environment where any external factors which could exert a linguistic influence are at an absolute minimum. It is immediately apparent that the presence of a fieldworker with recording equipment could have a largely negative effect (as far as the fieldworker is concerned) in such an environment. Such a concept has long been recognised in the field of linguistics - the so-called 'observer's paradox' referred to by Labov,³⁰⁶ but nowhere, perhaps, is it more relevant than in fieldwork situations that attempt to record natural, spontaneous conversation.

Apart from fieldwork considerations, there are other factors to be taken into account; it is not just the presence of a fieldworker that may influence the production of spontaneous free speech. Such speech is susceptible to external influences and it does not necessarily follow that two dialect speakers from the same community, observed or not, will speak dialect to each other at all times. Even the broadest of dialect speakers will modify their speech to varying degrees according to situation, such as when speaking to obvious strangers, people in authority or in formal situations. This observation has provided the focus for research which has suggested that dialect speakers are 'bi-dialectal',³⁰⁷ being capable of switching from broad dialect to either a modified form and /or a standardised type, or another non-standard variant form, as the situation dictates.³⁰⁸ On a phonological level, it is evident that

³⁰⁶ See Chambers and Trudgill (1980), p. 58.

³⁰⁷ Blom, J. P., and Gumperz, J., "Social meaning in linguistic structures: code-switching in Norway", in Gumperz, J., and Hymes, D. (eds), *Directions in Sociolinguistics*, New York, Holt, Rhinehart and Winston, 1972, pp. 407-434.

³⁰⁸ See also Thelander, Mats, "A qualitative approach to quantitative data of speech variation", in Romaine, Suzanne, *Sociolinguistic Variation in Speech Communities*, London, Edward Arnold, 1982, pp. 65 – 83.

many speakers of traditional dialect today operate not only two (dialect, modified form) but several phonemic systems at the same time;³⁰⁹ for example, among the middle-aged and older informants in New Mills, the reflex of ME *o* + *r* (SE /ɔ:/) in words such as *door* and *floor* may occur as either traditional dialect /və/ or modified variants /oə/ and /ɔ:/ ([:], [:] etc.). Rather ironically, considering the significant amount of contemporary research that has been undertaken into such variation, it is the failure to acknowledge that situational conditioning is at least partially responsible for this type of variational data that has led some sociolinguists to claim that traditional dialect is now spoken by only a very small minority. Indeed, during fieldwork undertaken in the present investigation, many responses included qualifying remarks such as “I’d say it like that if I was talking to my mates, but not at other times”, or “I would say it like this if I were speaking to my dad, but not out and about.” In a study that is essentially investigating local dialect, the importance of undertaking fieldwork in a situation where natural spontaneous language is spoken is clearly evident; this is discussed in the fieldwork section.

Finally, as free speech data forms the basis of the present investigation, recordings necessarily need be relatively extensive. Most of the recordings of field interviews are between one and one and a half hours in duration. The problems of analysing such data are remarked upon by Shorrocks, particularly the greater variation that is produced and the consequent implications for transcription.³¹⁰ However, his dual concern over the assembly of a phonemic inventory that enables a comprehensive descriptive analysis, and also about being able to obtain all the required phonemes,³¹¹ has less relevance in the broader based present investigation where such a detailed phonological description is not necessarily required, and one where substantial data can be drawn from other sources, such as questionnaires.

³⁰⁹ See Anderson (1987), pp. 2-6.

³¹⁰ Shorrocks (1980), p. 98.

³¹¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 98-99.

Data from other sources

The validity of using written material in dialectology is open to question and indeed has often been widely criticised.³¹² This is mostly due to the failure of the written medium to provide an accurate, consistent or even sufficient representation of the spoken language. This is obviously of the utmost importance as far as phonology is concerned, but less relevant for the study of lexis and syntax. Additionally, there are various types of written data, and some distinction is necessary as it would be unwise to dismiss this material as inadequate or useless. Such sources include old documents, dialect literature, previous studies and glossaries, and collecting slips used during research. Furthermore, the specific aims of any research may determine the usefulness or otherwise of any written material. As far as the method of using collecting slips is concerned, this has no bearing on the present investigation: such a method of data collection does not form part of the research, nor is any previous collection used, though only on account of lack of older material of this type.³¹³ The use of glossaries and previous studies as part of the methodology has already been discussed above. The relevance of old documents for dialect study is probably limited only to the field of onomastics.³¹⁴ Although dialect literature is hardly appropriate for the provision of phonological data, it can be useful on a lexical and syntactical level. There is a small amount of such literature from the High Peak area, including a poem composed in New Mills in the 1860s.³¹⁵ In addition to this, there is a large amount of dialect literature from the south-east Lancashire area.³¹⁶ As far as the utilisation of such written data in the present investigation is concerned, the same criteria apply here as that in previous linguistic studies; it is used in a purely supplementary capacity for the purpose of corroborating traditional features of dialect and for providing additional diachronic information.

Random data which may be collected in the locality, i.e. in addition to that collected during fieldwork recordings, is undoubtedly of the greatest importance. Shorrocks has also

³¹² Viereck, op. cit, p. 61.

³¹³ The apparently non-extant eighteenth century *A Collection of North-West Derbyshire Words* by Thomas Hallam would undoubtedly have provided useful data, particularly for corroborating traditional dialect lexis.

³¹⁴ See Shorrocks (1980), p. 100.

³¹⁵ See Smith and Symonds, pp. 33-34 - this poem relates an incident in one of the coal pits.

³¹⁶ See Shorrocks, G., "Non-Standard Dialect Literature and Popular Culture", in Klemola, J., Kytö, M., and Rissanen, M. (eds), *Speech Past and Present: Studies in English dialectology in Memory of Ossi Ihalainen*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 1996, pp. 385 – 411.

remarked that this type of data is “an excellent source of material”,³¹⁷ not least because this type of material represents the most *natural* speech³¹⁸ of a locality. Indeed, Labov has commented on the importance of this type of speech, as it is “of central importance for understanding linguistic change, since it is more regular in structure than formal styles, which often show erratic influence from prestige dialects”.³¹⁹ Random data includes incidental material collected during fieldwork, or more often, that collected when listening to or engaging in conversation. Such a method of data collection is usually only possible if the researcher lives locally, or if a considerable amount of time is spent in the locality. The advantages of this type of data are immediately obvious: firstly, there are none of the confinements and disadvantages associated with fieldwork and methods of elicitation; secondly, it is collected in a most unaffected and informal environment, consequently providing data of the most natural type. In these instances, the data collected by this means was either recorded within a few minutes, in a notebook or on a slip of paper, or committed to memory and recorded as soon as possible, in those cases when there was either a lack of facilities or an unwillingness to disrupt the conversation and / or affect the informality of the situation. This method of data collection proved particularly valuable for ascertaining certain grammatical and syntactical features which proved difficult to elicit via a questionnaire or which had been absent from the free speech data. Furthermore, this type of random data is also useful for verifying the natural status of other material.³²⁰ Indeed a not inconsiderable amount of data was collected in situations of this type, over a period of approximately one year (teenagers) and two years (other informants) during many repeated visits to New Mills by the researcher, some of which coincided with recorded fieldwork situations. The validity and value of this type of data cannot be overestimated. This is best exemplified by dialectal /i:/ in lexical items such as *right* and *night*. This phonological feature was not recorded at all in the speech of the teenage informants during formal fieldwork situations (either tape recorded or otherwise); in all instances, /aɪ/ occurred in these items. However, during one particular casual visit (during which the researcher was able to observe two of the teenage

³¹⁷ Shorrocks, G., *A Grammar of the Dialect of the Bolton Area: Part 1. Introduction; Phonology*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 1998, p. 75.

³¹⁸ A definition of this term is provided on the next page.

³¹⁹ Joseph, John E., Love, Nigel, and Taylor, Talbot J., *Landmarks in Linguistic Thought II : The Western tradition in the twentieth century*, London, Routledge, 2001, p. 146.

³²⁰ Shorrocks, G., *A Grammar of the Dialect of the Bolton Area: Part 1. Introduction; Phonology*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 1998, p. 75.

informants in social interaction within a restricted peer group and controlled / intimate environment – i.e. small group [four] within the informants' home), the use of dialectal /i:/ was observed a number of times, e.g., /ɔ:ɪ:t/, *alright?* (greeting); [ɪtl bɪ ɪ:t], *it'll be right*. While the use of the former can be attributed to a possible formulaic use of a greeting (see also /i:/, Part 2, below), the use of the latter particularly is somewhat telling in that it demonstrates that traditional dialect /i:/ (< ME /i/ + /x/) is not restricted to the older speakers, as the fieldwork data had previously suggested.³²¹

Several observations, on both linguistic and methodological levels, may be made with respect to these findings. Firstly, on a linguistic level, it is also possible that other traditional dialectal features, which the fieldwork data suggested had been levelled – i.e. they were not recorded in the speech of the younger informants – may have been retained (at least partially). This precise phenomenon was also commented on by Ruoff; although he acknowledged that young and old spoke differently, he concluded that the speech of a particular generation did not simply disappear with the passing of that generation – he demonstrated this by showing that material collected a hundred years before was still to be found, even though it was deemed to be the provenance of old people only when it was first collected.³²² Secondly, on a methodological level, questions arise concerning elicitation methods and data validation. While it is acknowledged that such extensive (and extended) fieldwork practises are not feasible (or even desirable) in the majority of linguistic investigations, for a variety of reasons, it is reasonable to suggest that such a method is the ideal, particularly in those studies whose primary aim is to research 'natural speech'. This type of speech is also referred to as 'casual' (defined as the 'vernacular' by Labov), and may be defined as that which is used in everyday contexts; for example, "the kind of language used when talking to friends and family members in informal situations".³²³ Moreover, the example quoted above (and the circumstances in which it was obtained) does bring into question the validity of data in those studies where such data is collected via one-off recordings that use relatively formal styles of elicitation, e.g. word-lists.

³²¹ For further analysis of these findings, see /i:/, Part 2, pp. 12-13.

³²² Ruoff, A., "Grundlagen und Methoden der Untersuchung gesprochener Sprache", *Idiomatca*, Vol. 1 (1973), 50, cited in Shorrocks (1980), p. 72.

³²³ Joseph et al (2001), p. 146.

Fieldwork

Selection of Informants

The selection of informants was generally determined by the research considerations (aims, purpose) discussed above. The intention to focus upon the basilect meant that the ‘random sampling’ technique long established in the social sciences and pioneered in linguistics by Labov, was inappropriate. Such a method of selecting informants ensures that all social classes in a community are represented. This would inevitably result in the inclusion of a significant number of informants who do not speak traditional dialect. This type of framework is undoubtedly valid in studies whose purpose is to provide extensive synchronic descriptions with a broad social profile. Nevertheless, the rather different aims of the present investigation accordingly require a different approach. In deciding these, two criteria were paramount: the informants must be local dialect speakers; and informants of all age groups were to be included.

In order to satisfy the first criterion, it was decided that only working class male speakers were to be included. While it is generally accepted that local dialect is largely restricted to the lower classes, the restriction of the informants on the grounds of sex may be open to question. There has been much debate over the validity of so-called NORMS³²⁴ in dialect surveys. Whatever the arguments, many surveys which have focused on traditional dialect, including the *SED*, necessarily used this type of informant.³²⁵ The sometimes vehement criticism of these studies, which was particularly forthcoming from adherents of modern variationist studies, seems somewhat ironic in view of the fact that it was sociolinguistic research which suggested that women are less likely to be dialect speakers.³²⁶ In spite of this, however, research conducted into the traditional Cockney dialect, for example, relied only on female informants.³²⁷ It is certainly the case that many working class women are dialect speakers and would be ideal informants for studies focusing upon traditional dialect. Indeed, it came to the attention of the researcher that some of the older women in New Mills speak some of the broadest local dialect. The exclusion of women in the present investigation is for

³²⁴ This term was first coined by Chambers and Trudgill (1980), p. 33, as an acronym for ‘non-mobile older rural males’.

³²⁵ Although Orton and Dieth preferred old male informants, the ‘domestic’ section of the questionnaire necessitated the inclusion of female informants.

³²⁶ Trudgill (1974), pp. 91-93 - “women consistently use forms which more closely approach those of the standard variety or the prestige accent than those used by men”.

³²⁷ Sivertsen, *op. cit.*

methodological rather than linguistic reasons; the focus upon changes to one stratum of speech necessarily requires that independent variables are kept constant and to a minimum. The inclusion of a sex-based component would obviously not meet this requirement.

Similarly, the notion regarding the suitability of older informants as the best purveyors of dialect has also been the focus of much debate. Some research³²⁸ has suggested that age is not always a significant factor while later sociolinguistic research³²⁹ also suggests that youngest speakers are liable to be dialect speakers on account of the fact that they are less influenced by the standard. The debate surrounding these studies is redundant in the present investigation: the inclusion of dialect speakers of all ages is necessary on account of the primary objective of gauging change in apparent time. The informants were grouped together in age bands: teenagers, 20-40, 40-64, 65 + (or 60 + retired person).

The number of informants was restricted to three per age group for the older and adult informants, and four for the teenage age-group, totalling thirteen in all. As the present study is primarily qualitative, the debate surrounding the specifics of what constitutes statistically valid research (with respect to quantitative surveys) does not apply here. The number of informants in this investigation may be compared with other essentially qualitative surveys of traditional dialect, such as the *SED*, which relied on only four or five informants (sometimes fewer) per locality. Furthermore, the sheer quantity of data, averaging roughly two hours of tape recorded free speech per informant, totalling some thirty hours (plus questionnaire responses), in addition to a considerable amount of recorded written material, certainly provides a more than adequate corpus for the purposes of the research.

Apart from the main informants, several free speech recordings were made of younger informants in the age range 7-10. This decision was taken after observation suggested that this data could be useful in a diachronic study. Indeed, Labov has remarked that “the evidence indicates that we must take into account data from speakers as young as eight years old in tracing a variable through apparent time”.³³⁰ In spite of this, however, few studies include such data: “it is rare to find a community sample that allows us to compare the speech of the youngest speakers with the full age range of speakers of comparable social

³²⁸ Hameyer, K., “Variation in Dialect Proficiency and Restructuring”, *Phonetica*, 32/1 (1975), 29.

³²⁹ Chambers and Trudgill (1980), pp. 91-92.

³³⁰ Labov (1994), p. 49.

background.”³³¹ It became evident that such data could be beneficial as part of the apparent time analysis in the present investigation. The obvious difficulty of obtaining data via a questionnaire from informants of this age brought about a situation where such data was incomplete for the purposes of the present comparative study, and could, therefore, only be used in a supplementary capacity. Even so, it proved to be a very useful component of the investigation.

As it is the local vernacular that is being investigated, one of the most important criteria in the selection of informants is that they are local natives. This can be defined as being “born and bred” in the locality, but the place of birth is not an important factor as such. One of the informants, whose mother was a native of New Mills, was born in Macclesfield (nine miles west-south-west), and only moved to New Mills at the age of three. It is evident that this informant can still be regarded as a local. Indeed, if place of birth was an accepted criterion, the vast majority of the informants under the age of fifty would have to be excluded as they were nearly all born at the maternity hospital at Hazel Grove near Stockport (seven miles west). Rather, the most important factor in this respect is that informants should necessarily have lived continuously in the area from an early age. Similar criteria were adopted for potential *SED* informants and, consequently, any “whose residence in the locality had been interrupted by significant absences were constantly regarded with suspicion.”³³² As far as the present investigation is concerned, this does not mean that any such informants were automatically excluded, but rather that their speech was not influenced by any periods of absence. Thus social factors such as residence should only be a guideline, and not a definitive rule, in the selection of informants. It need not necessarily follow that a lifelong native will speak local dialect. Of greater importance are linguistic considerations, and these must be taken into account when selecting informants: “dialect speech cannot be wholly defined in terms of social categories: linguistic features must be allowed to define linguistic groups.”³³³ Such criteria, as far as the selection of potential dialect speakers is concerned, would obviously be problematic with regard to the majority of dialectal research, which often involves the selection of informants who are unknown to the researcher: how is it possible to determine if an informant is a dialect speaker (or not) before interviewing them? With respect to the research in New Mills, this problem was mostly offset by the fact that the

³³¹ Labov (1994), p. 47.

³³² Orton (1962), pp. 15-16.

³³³ Shorrocks (1998), p. 80.

researcher was already acquainted with nearly all the potential informants (see ‘Securing Potential Informants’, below).

The same principles apply on the basis of social class. Working class locals are not necessarily dialect speakers, though it is highly likely that they will be. Shorrocks, who also intended to record traditional dialect, concluded by remarking that “dialect speech cannot be wholly defined in terms of social categories”, and that consequently “there is no infallible rule for choosing good informants”.³³⁴ This issue is complicated by the exact definition of social class. The restructuring of society in the post-industrial period and the huge increase in social mobility are largely responsible for fudging any definitive categorisation. Factors such as parents’ occupations and socio-economic status - including factors such as type of housing and car ownership - are no longer indicators of social class. For example, one informant in the present investigation who lived and grew up on a council estate, and still considers himself to be working class, is currently a civil engineer. Another teenage informant, whose father was initially a postman, is classified as working class on account of his father’s occupation. However, after taking a degree as a mature student, his father worked for a short period as a university lecturer before being employed as a postman again. Another informant, a self-employed window cleaner, lives on a council estate and owns two cars as well as being a home-owner. It is evident from these examples that the categorisation of social class is extremely difficult in many instances - a task which has been rendered almost impossible following the government reclassification of social class at the end of 1998.³³⁵ The *SED* had no such problems: rural dwellers were almost universally considered to be working class - a situation, however, that is very different today. The informants in this study, while overwhelmingly considering themselves to be working class, inevitably include some who would be categorised as lower middle class in some classifications. As with the *SED*, however, the inclusion of any informant depended more on their linguistic features than on social categorisation.

³³⁴ Shorrocks (1980), p. 109.

³³⁵ This classification was released by the Office for National Statistics (ONS) and the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) on 30 November, 1998, and entitled the ‘National Statistics Socio-Economic Classification’ (NS SEC). It replaces the old government classification ‘Social Class based on Occupation (the Registrar General’s Social Class)’. However, the new classification is still based upon occupation.

Securing potential informants

As the researcher is a native of the locality, having lived and worked there for a considerable time, social networks were already in existence. This is just one of many advantages of being known in the locality in which the research is being undertaken. Another advantage is that knowledge of potential informants, particularly on a linguistic basis, facilitated the procedure of acquiring informants who were suitable for the aims of the investigation. Most informants were obtained in this way, though some, with whom the researcher had little or no acquaintance, were suggested by other informants as being particularly suitable. No difficulty was experienced in securing informants; many former workmates and friends were willing to participate. Such a situation is not typical of fieldwork in general: those who may be familiar with an area, or even resident, often have to adopt procedures along the lines of those suggested in the SED³³⁶ or those suggested by other linguists involved in fieldwork.³³⁷ However, not every person approached, especially one or two who were not well known by the fieldworker, agreed to participate in the investigation. This was easily solved by acquiring an alternative informant. Such a situation would have repercussions for those investigations which rely on random sampling, but as this does not apply to the present investigation, no such problems arose on this account.

Once informants had agreed to participate in the fieldwork, it was necessary to explain the research being undertaken. In the case of the present investigation, a brief explanation was put forward about the general aims of firstly recording the speech of the oldest members, so as to preserve this in recorded form, and secondly to record people of various age groups to ascertain the extent to which the dialect had changed over a number of years. This was readily understood, to varying degrees, by the majority of informants. Some others, as Shorrocks also noted apropos his own fieldwork,³³⁸ were under the impression that the research was basically a local history undertaking, but this in itself could only be beneficial, in that informants therefore did not focus specifically on speech. Further explanation was required in some instances, particularly among the older informants, to allay fears that tape recordings would not be used for any purposes other than research. It was also explained that the fieldwork would form part of a thesis. All informants were happy with this situation. It is

³³⁶ Orton (1962), pp. 16-17.

³³⁷ See Platt, J.T., and Platt, H.K., *The Social Significance of Speech: An Introduction to and Workbook in Sociolinguistics*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1975, p. 168.

³³⁸ Shorrocks (1980), p. 130.

undoubtedly the case that the status of the researcher as a native, and in many cases an acquaintance, was very advantageous in obtaining willing participants and gaining their trust.

There are complex factors concerning the construction of a suitable relationship with informants that facilitates fieldwork procedure. A detailed account of the procedures and possible difficulties is presented by Shorrocks.³³⁹ However, the fact that the researcher in the present investigation is a native and an acquaintance of many of the informants ensured that most of these difficulties were not encountered and that the procedures for ‘getting to know the informant’ were redundant. Shorrocks, himself a native of the community whose speech he investigated, remarks that the effect upon the informant is significantly determined by the extent to which the fieldworker was able to be a part of the culture being researched. He notes that his own position was “ambivalent... on one hand I was a native of the area... on the other I had been away, and I had been educated”, and that consequently he was “both an insider and outsider to the culture of the area”.³⁴⁰ He concludes that “more specifically... I had not worked down a pit, and residual dialect was not my customary means of communication, even if I did understand it.”³⁴¹ It is apparent that intimate contact with, and understanding of a culture have an important bearing upon any fieldwork undertaken. In the case of the present investigation, several of the remarks just made are relevant to the researcher who, similarly, is a native of the locality and who also has been away from the area and received an ‘education’. This last fact has far less relevance today than it did almost twenty years ago when university students were a small minority: higher education is commonplace today and there has been an enormous increase in the numbers of people with university degrees, so that people are used to this situation now. Conversely and more specifically, however, there are two major differences. Firstly, the researcher in the present investigation has worked in the locality as a drystone waller, park ranger and lastly as a postman. As noted elsewhere, intimate knowledge of a culture is an important aspect of dialect research. Wakelin remarks that “folk speech must, however, always be closely associated with that of folk life”,³⁴² and concludes by suggesting that “the study of language

³³⁹ Shorrocks (1980), pp. 144–148.

³⁴⁰ Shorrocks (1980), p. 146.

³⁴¹ *Ibid.*

³⁴² Wakelin (1972), p. 2.

must always be linked with that of its environment”.³⁴³ Secondly, the researcher also considers himself to have a fairly broad dialect which can be and often is used when conversing with people in the area. These factors will obviously have a significant affect upon the researcher’s relationship with the informants and the fieldwork situation and are discussed below.

Attitudes to Dialect and the Research in General

During his investigation of Farnworth (south Lancashire [pre1974]) during the late 1970s, Shorrocks observed that many people in the locality felt “ashamed of their speech”.³⁴⁴ This was attributed to the fact that “it has been drummed into people - often in school, and certainly in society at large - that dialect speech is incorrect, impure, vulgar, clumsy, ugly, careless, shoddy, ignorant and altogether inferior”.³⁴⁵ He also remarks that amongst some informants dialect and slang are considered to be the same thing, and a “very bad thing at that”.³⁴⁶ During the present investigation, this same general ignorance about dialect was also observed. It is still a common belief that dialect is a type of slang, that it is incorrect, and that it is substandard. It is also still the case that social values and education are largely responsible for these misconceptions. One young informant (aged eight), who is well acquainted with the researcher, only ever said /sku:l/, although his usual realisation corresponding to SE /u:/ (< ME /o:/) was generally /ɜ:/, apparently on account of the fact that he had been told that realisations such as /skɜ:l/ were “wrong” by a teacher. Another informant (age group 20-40) was told by his wife during the interview that he “shouldn’t use that type of bad speech in front of the baby”, when he said “nowt” in response to a question.

However, there certainly appears to be a shift in attitude on one count. Unlike those in Farnworth, no New Mills informants ever stated that they felt ashamed of their speech. Indeed, there was a general consensus to the contrary. Despite the view that dialect was somehow “incorrect”, many of the middle-aged and older informants openly stated that they were proud of the way they spoke. Consequently, these informants generally demonstrated a great amount of interest in the research that was being undertaken. Many also stated that the

³⁴³ Wakelin (1972), p. 4.

³⁴⁴ Shorrocks (1980), p. 131.

³⁴⁵ Shorrocks (1998), pp. 90-91.

³⁴⁶ Shorrocks (1998), p. 92.

research was valuable as it would preserve the traditional dialect which they felt was threatened. While such attitudes are perhaps a new development, it will be interesting to note what effects, if any, these will have concerning the preservation of traditional dialects. While the younger informants also showed some interest in the subject matter of the research, their attitudes to dialect generally differed from those of the older generation, in that contemporary urban dialects were evidently prestigious. At best the younger generation were indifferent towards traditional dialect, at worst some openly scorned it. The importance of these attitudes lies in the fact it demonstrates that popular contemporary ideas relating to speech and culture are very much a conscious process. One teenage informant criticised the dialect speech of his father as sounding “daft” and outdated, although when pushed about his use of [ʔ] for intervocalic /t/, he would defend it on the grounds that it was “cool”. Furthermore, when asked why he used certain features of dialect, just like his father, such as /ɜ:/ and /a/, instead of RP /u:/ or /ʊ/ and /ɑ:/, he replied that he would never use /ɑ:/ as only “posh people say that”.

It may be concluded that some of these attitudes will obviously have implications as far as research is concerned, notably in fieldwork situations where speech may be modified in the opposite direction to that which is normally encountered; for example, an informant may use a broader style than that which is normally adopted in natural, casual speech, or conversely, an informant may deliberately avoid using dialectal features, for reasons outlined above.

Interview situation

The familiarity between the researcher and the informants meant that little or no contact was necessary before fieldwork, and that suitable times for interviews were usually arranged over the telephone. The advantages of being an acquaintance in this respect are obvious. Firstly, there is no need for the time-consuming procedure of building a relationship with the informant before fieldwork commences, thus allowing more time in which to conduct interviews and generally mix with the informants and the wider community to a greater extent. It is in just this type of situation, i.e. outside the constraints of tape-recorded interviews, that random data gathering may be undertaken in the most natural of environments.

Interviews were universally undertaken in the informant's home, with the exception that one recording was carried out in the home of a friend, who was also an informant. However, it should be noted that the interviews with these two informants were not conducted simultaneously. Despite some concerns to the contrary, such as minor environmental noise, it was considered that recordings made in the home of the informant were technically more than adequate. Whatever the shortcomings of such recording situations, the advantages clearly outweigh the disadvantages: the informant is likely to be less nervous, more relaxed and open, and consequently more likely to use the style of intimate, informal speech normally spoken at home.

The fieldworker also attempted to create an atmosphere in the informant's home that was as natural as possible given the constraints of the interview situation. It was decided that the exact location of interviews in parts of the house that were normally considered to be living areas, as opposed to a deliberately secluded room, was far more preferable. Although this maximised the possibility of external noise, the somewhat formal atmosphere of a typical interview situation was greatly lessened. In addition, there was also the possibility that another person would intrude upon the interview. The presence of other parties in an interview situation has caused debate as to the effect or otherwise upon the informant and /or interview being carried out. Ruoff has argued that the presence of third parties may have stylistic implications, by making the informant more nervous. Furthermore, there is the possibility that the third party will interfere with the fieldwork by contributing to the

conversation or questioning.³⁴⁷ Shorrocks countered this by remarking that the presence of close family was advantageous as it produced an environment that induced the use of dialect, and that in such a situation “it hardly matters if one person answered a question addressed to another, as the interviewer is seldom asking questions to which he really needs an answer from a given person”.³⁴⁸ Nevertheless, problems may occur in relation to transcription, if two or more people talk at the same time.

As far as the present investigation is concerned, it is necessary to make some points in relation to third parties. The informant was told that the other members of the family should go about their business as they saw fit and that the presence of third parties was perfectly acceptable, if the informant was happy with this situation. This helped to ensure that a natural environment was maintained during the interview. However, during some parts of the interview, notably when the questionnaire was used, any contribution by parties other than the informant had methodological implications; as this type of data formed the basis for comparative analysis, it was paramount that any responses were solely those of the informant, free of direct interference or influence. This situation was easily obtainable, as the informant was asked that he should politely request that any third parties present should not contribute in any way during the part of the interview which involved the questionnaire, and to explain the reasons for this if necessary. Such a situation arose only once, and no difficulties were encountered. As far as the recording of free speech was concerned, no restrictions were placed either upon the presence or the contribution of third parties. The type of microphone used (collar clip) ensured that the voice of the informant was easily the most prominent, in terms of volume, quality and clarity, thus greatly reducing any possible difficulties associated with transcription. Outside the interview situation, third parties were positively encouraged to participate in any conversations. In these situations, which often occurred before and after an interview, it was possible to record large amounts of random data. These records were made in a notebook or other handy piece of paper on which the data was written using the IPA, along with the appropriate biographical details of the speaker, so as to facilitate later identification.

³⁴⁷ See Shorrocks (1980), p. 180.

³⁴⁸ Ibid.

The Recording Equipment

This consisted of a relatively large tape recorder that could be carried over the shoulder by means of a strap. The microphone was external to the machine and connected to it by means of a lead. The specifications of the microphone were advantageous for the purposes of gathering spoken data. The possible negative effects (as far as natural speech is concerned) of recording equipment upon informants are well known. The relatively small size (approx. 50mm diameter, 3 cms long) and design (collar / tie clip) of the microphone meant that it was extremely unobtrusive, with the effect that informants would often forget that it was there. One informant who got up to make a cup of tea actually dragged the recorder off to the kitchen! In order to maximise upon the unobtrusiveness of this interviewing method, the recorder itself was not placed in a prominent position, such as a table top, but on the floor between the researcher's feet. This often ensured that the recorder was not within sight of the informant, whilst still enabling the researcher to keep an eye on the recording level indicators without interrupting the flow of the interview and maintaining eye to eye contact and other normal conversational interaction with the speaker. In order to minimise any technical difficulties, the fieldworker made sure that he was well acquainted with the operation of the recorder and any specific recording procedures before fieldwork commenced.

Interview Technique

Before any recording commenced, there was a substantial period during which the researcher chatted to the informant on everyday topics ranging from sport to news of mutual friends. This undoubtedly created a relaxed informal atmosphere. Even when the equipment was set up and ready to record, it was decided that there should be no indication as to when recording started, and thereby reduce any effect this may have had upon the informant. It proved relatively easy to release the pause button on the recorder, without being observed by the informant. Similarly, the format of the interview was designed so as to minimise any formality. All recordings commenced with free speech and it was only after a significant time that the questionnaire would be attempted. Interviews would also end with a substantial amount of free speech. Once the recording equipment had been switched off, further social chat continued. It was often during this period that other members of the family would become involved in social conversation, and such periods proved extremely useful in

collecting random data. The length of interviews varied, being mostly determined by the length of time available to the informant, the number of interruptions and the speed with which the questionnaire was answered; this varied enormously, the younger generation being far quicker in delivering responses. Most interviews lasted at least three hours, while others continued for the best part of a day.

Ever since Joseph Wright remarked upon the benefits or otherwise of a researcher using dialect in an interview situation, much debate has continued.³⁴⁹ Viereck agreed with Wright in believing that dialect was much easier to elicit if the researcher spoke the dialect himself, and recommended that fieldworkers should speak dialect with the informants. Shorrocks was uncertain that such conscious acting could benefit research, using what was perhaps an unnatural style for the researcher. Instead he advocated the type of natural, casual speech that he himself used which, as he was a local, was a type of modified regional accent “appropriate to a younger person from that area”.³⁵⁰ A natural type of speech was also adopted by the researcher in the present investigation, although it differed somewhat in that it was a broader dialect style than that advocated by Shorrocks, although it was a natural casual style for the researcher involved in the present investigation. As such a natural style was evidently highly acceptable in Shorrocks’ study, it probably would have been unwise to adopt any other style in interviewing the New Mills speakers, especially with informants, some of whom were old workmates and therefore acquainted with the researcher’s speech. On meeting an old workmate, the greeting /ɔ:ɪ:t/ - *alright?* - would have been perfectly normal. The topic of conversation during free speech recording ranged from general subject areas such as the weather, work, and the like, through to any subject the informant wished to talk about, such as sport, hobbies, and life in New Mills in the past. Informants were encouraged to talk freely on subjects of their choice and this undoubtedly helped to maintain a casual style. That this was possible was partially due to the fact that there was little pressure to try to elicit comparable data during free speech, as this was achieved via the questionnaire. Similarly, the qualitative nature of the present research ensured that free speech could be kept as natural as possible as there was no pressure, such as that in quantitative studies, to elicit a certain number of items that were necessarily statistically valid.

³⁴⁹ Wright, J, *The English Dialect Grammar*, Oxford, Frowde, 1905, p. iv.

³⁵⁰ Shorrocks (1980), p. 150.

Interview Technique and the Questionnaire

The type of stylistic approach just described worked well with free speech, but it would obviously be affected by the artificial nature of a questionnaire. Therefore, it was decided to try to disrupt the natural flow of conversation as little as possible during fieldwork. This was achieved by the adoption of a slightly different technique. Firstly, a ‘conversation type’ approach to the questionnaire was introduced. This process involved using hypothetical everyday ongoing situations as the background for questions. As the age groups and individual circumstances varied, it was necessary to introduce some flexibility, so that notions such as ‘your wife’ could be ‘your girlfriend’, ‘work’ would alternate with ‘school’ etc., as appropriate. This undoubtedly would not have been as successful if the informants and their personal circumstances had been unknown to the researcher. Secondly, the responses from the questionnaire were often interrupted by natural conversation about related or completely unrelated matters. In this way, the style of speech remained relatively unaffected by what is normally the formality of a questionnaire. These sentence frames in the questionnaires were only a guideline, and often many different ways of asking the same question materialised.³⁵¹ In addition to adding interjections such as ‘you know’ and ‘like’, being typical of speech, questions were often produced using the natural speech style advocated above. Therefore the already reworked ‘if you hadn’t eaten anything for ages, you’d be very...’ was often realised as ‘if you hadn’t et owt for ages, you’d be...’. Such an approach was at least partially successful in maintaining natural speech on the part of the informant; this is in evidence as the data from the questionnaires correlates relatively well with that of free speech, although, inevitably, formality levels rarely reached the casual status of language apparent in ‘free speech’.³⁵²

Such an interviewing style was difficult to achieve with those types of questions referred to as ‘naming’. The SED advocates attempting to achieve a ‘master-pupil’ relationship during such questioning, the informant being the ‘master’ and the ‘pupil’ the fieldworker. This may

³⁵¹ Such a method, to an even broader extent, was also adopted for the “Linguistic Atlas of the United States and Canada” survey, where fieldworkers were not constrained to ask certain questions, but merely to elicit certain responses.

³⁵² This is evidenced by the occasional presence of initial /h/ in the speech of informants in all age-groups, in data elicited via the questionnaire (initial /h/ is generally absent in free speech data), though the presence of /h/ in these instances (i.e. questionnaire) may have been partly engendered by phono-syntactic factors (i.e. one word responses), rather than being solely attributable to the increased formality produced by the questionnaire.

have been a valid technique concerning questions related to a specific aspect such as farming terminology, where undoubtedly the informant would be knowledgeable and the researcher relatively ignorant. However, it is not possible to achieve such a situation when questions refer to everyday objects known not only to the researcher and the informant, but probably to everybody. Such an obvious artificial mode of questioning could potentially be responsible for a situation arising that may be deemed rather patronising in the eyes of the informant, in which the researcher in effect becomes the ‘master’; i.e. the type of situation which Chambers and Trudgill have remarked upon as having “the flavour of an interchange between a schoolmaster and pupil, and not a particularly happy interchange at that when the response is trivial or obvious”.³⁵³ It is apparent that such a situation would not be conducive to eliciting natural language. No method is perfect, and the obvious benefit of gaining comparable information may be partially lost by eliciting data in this rather unnatural manner. This is one of the shortcomings of questionnaires. An attempt was made to offset this weakness, with at least partial success, by explaining to informants beforehand about the particular phrasing of certain questions. It was explained that this format was necessary, even though the answers were straightforward or obvious, so as not to suggest any specific response. This was understood by all the informants. Despite all attempts to the contrary, the reading of wordlists constantly produced responses that were far more formal than those gained by other methods of elicitation. This type of data therefore has a limited value, and, as stated above, is largely unsuitable for the purposes of the investigation.

Introduction: The Dialect of New Mills - an overview

The dialect of north-west Derbyshire: historical basis and linguistic classification

The area in which New Mills is situated (i.e. north-west Derbyshire, north-east Cheshire) was settled by Angles during the same period of expansion that also witnessed the settling of the Pennine fringe of south Lancashire (circa 7th century). Unlike other parts of the High Peak (which were settled from the south and east, up the tributary rivers of the Trent), this settlement occurred from the west, up the tributaries of the Mersey.³⁵⁴ This area became part of the Anglian kingdom of Mercia. The High Peak formed the border between Mercia and

³⁵³ Chambers and Trudgill (1980), p. 28.

³⁵⁴ For a detailed and extensive history and commentary of Anglian settlement, see ‘Dark Age Settlement’ in Chapter 2 (Settlement, Population and Pre-Industrial History) of the Appendix.

the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria (originally two distinct kingdoms; Deira in the south, and Bernicia in the north) to the north, this being delineated by the Mersey (< OE “boundary river”). During the OE period, the inhabitants of the High Peak would have spoken a variety of the Mercian [Anglian] dialect of OE. Nevertheless, because of the area’s borderland situation, and, more importantly, the settlement patterns (outlined above), which were accentuated by geographical factors, it is probable that the dialect of the inhabitants of the northern part of the High Peak area would have been very similar to, if not the same as, that of the Angles who had settled over the border in southern Northumbria (i.e. in what was to become south Lancashire). It is highly probable, then, that a distinct variety (applicable to south-west Northumbria / north-west Mercia), came into existence from the very beginning of English settlement in this area.

Later events during the OE period (including Viking invasion and the subsequent wars between the newly formed English kingdom and recently established Viking areas) altered the political landscape of the High Peak; this primarily involved the disappearance of the old Anglian kingdoms, the short-lived creation of a ‘Danelaw’ and the subsequent creation of the kingdom of England. Although the High Peak / south Pennine area became part of the fledgling ‘Danelaw’, its geographical position (in the north-west midlands) meant that little Viking settlement had actually taken place.³⁵⁵ Moreover, its position bordering the ‘English’ kingdom (essentially West Mercia and Wessex) to the south and west ensured that this was one of the first areas to be re-conquered by the English armies led by Edward, son of Alfred the Great; Bakewell was retaken in 921 and Manchester in 924. It is probable that significant further settlement of the north-west midlands took place following the acquisition of this former Danelaw area. Furthermore, at this time, the River Mersey lost its status as an important political divide; the River Ribble (in what was to become central Lancashire) fixed the boundary between the ever expanding English kingdom and the shrinking Danelaw. Following the unification of England during the tenth century, this division was reflected at a local level; the High Peak was situated largely within north-west Derbyshire and north-east Cheshire, while the area to the north (i.e. between the Mersey and the Ribble) did not have shire status and became loosely affiliated to Cheshire. For the first time, the political situation corresponded more closely to the actual linguistic landscape. Moreover, these new

³⁵⁵ Ibid.

divisions were reflected in the linguistic characteristics of England following the Norman Conquest.

During the ME period, north-west Derbyshire, north-east Cheshire and south Lancashire³⁵⁶ (i.e. south of the river Ribble) formed the northern part of the extensive West Midlands dialect area. However, significant differences between the north-west midlands and south-west midlands evidently existed, as a comparison between the texts of *Sir Gawain*³⁵⁷ and *Piers Plowman* (respectively) adequately testifies. These divisions have changed little since, and may generally be applied to ModE dialect areas. Following increased academic interest in local dialects during the nineteenth century, these dialect areas (including the north-west midlands dialect area, largely consisting of north-west Derbyshire, north Cheshire and south Lancashire) were further sub-divided by linguists, according to specific phonological criteria. These sub-divisions were based on localised, rather than regional variation. One nineteenth century linguist, A. J. Ellis, attempted a description of all the dialects of England. In order to facilitate such a description, the general dialect areas were further divided according to shared phonological features; several variables were used to define these dialect areas. The north-west midlands area (outlined above) was sub-divided according to these new criteria. The area in which New Mills was situated became part of Ellis' north Midlands D21 dialect area, which also extended into north-east Cheshire and south-east Lancashire (see map overleaf).

The dialect of New Mills: historical factors

The dialectal characteristics of New Mills were originally determined by the settlement patterns and political landscape of the Dark Ages and the early medieval period. Nevertheless, geographical, political and social conditions specific to the area were undoubtedly to have a significant impact on the later development of the dialect. This issue, per se, is further complicated by the fact that not all of these influencing factors – political, social, geographical - necessarily impacted upon the immediate environs, or, indeed, in all parts of the area that later became New Mills.

³⁵⁶ Lancashire became a county in 1291, stretching from the River Mersey to the southern part of the Lake District.

³⁵⁷ It is generally held that this text originated from the High Peak area, possibly somewhere near Gradbach (situated on the Cheshire / north-east Staffordshire border).

This is most easily observable on a political level. Most of the area that was later to become New Mills was situated in north-west Derbyshire, on the immediate border with Cheshire; this boundary (the River Goyt – a tributary of the Mersey) had originally and arbitrarily been defined by the Danish Army (encamped at Derby) during the establishment of the Danelaw in the ninth century. Thus, the High Peak (originally a ‘wapentake’, then a ‘hundred’) became part of Derbyshire, a political situation that was to have a significant social impact in the later medieval period. The High Peak area of Derbyshire passed into the hands of the Crown during the later Anglo-Saxon period; after the Norman Conquest, this royal holding became the ‘Royal Forest of Peak’, a hunting forest with extremely strict forest laws restricting both population and land use. On the other side of the River Goyt (i.e. in Cheshire), which runs through the centre of present-day New Mills, no such restrictions existed, though the geographical characteristics (i.e. hills and moorland) of the area ensured that this area remained relatively wild and sparsely populated. During the medieval period, New Mills as such did not exist; the area in Derbyshire was referred to as Bowden Middlecale and consisted of the hamlets of Beard, Ollersett, Whitle and Thornsett, and the area in Cheshire consisted of the hamlets of Wirksmoor and Redmoor.³⁵⁸

In addition to the political situation and its social consequences outlined above, geographical and socio-economic factors³⁵⁹ also ensured that the population (and thus the linguistic characteristics of the area) remained relatively local and conservative. The geography of the area affected communications³⁶⁰ during the medieval and later industrial periods; during the Middle Ages, road communications generally consisted of pack-horse tracks to enable the transportation of salt and dairy products from Cheshire, and the transport of wool into and out of Derbyshire. Later attempts at improving the road network, following demands created by the fledgling cottage wool spinning and weaving industry, were also hampered by the geography of the area. However, attempts to remedy this only resulted in a “Catch 22” type situation; decent roads only materialised after the ‘Turnpike Acts’, which allowed the construction of toll roads using private investment, in the eighteenth century. The result was that the High Peak area became the hub of toll roads, with New Mills being particularly affected; travel became so expensive as to become almost impracticable. Geographical

³⁵⁸ For an extensive commentary on the early political and social history of the area, see Chapters 2 and 6 in the Appendix.

³⁵⁹ A detailed commentary of the geography (Chapter 1), social (Chapter 2) and economic history (Chapter 3) of the area is provided in the Appendix.

³⁶⁰ For a detailed analysis of communications, see Chapter 4 in the Appendix.

considerations were also responsible for the relatively late arrival of rail communication in the second half of the nineteenth century; rail links afterwards provided easy access to other areas of the north-west, particularly the nearby large towns of Stockport (north-east Cheshire) and Manchester (Lancashire), which had for a considerable time been the centre of trade and commerce for the western areas of the High Peak. Moreover, these socio-economic factors, in addition to the geographical situation of north-west Derbyshire (i.e. on the west of the Pennines) were largely responsible for the fact that the industrial development of New Mills followed the same course as that of the expanding towns of north-east Cheshire and south Lancashire.

The construction of the roads, canals and railways inevitably attracted a large number of workers into the area during the industrial period. Manpower was also required by the newly mechanised cotton mills (and associated industries) in New Mills itself; although much of this labour was provided by local people, a not inconsiderable number of workers (from other areas of the High Peak and the towns of north-east Cheshire and south Lancashire) moved into the area to provide labour for the cotton and construction industries.³⁶¹ On a linguistic level, this was to have little effect; nearly all of these immigrants were necessarily working class (i.e. speakers of local dialect) and a large majority originated from either the same dialect area (as defined by Ellis) or a neighbouring area, in which the dialect differed little from that in which New Mills was situated. This would have the effect of strengthening, rather than levelling, many of the features of the dialect of New Mills, and do little to alter the localised nature of the dialect engendered by the political, social and geographical factors outlined above.

The dialect of New Mills: issues of identity and linguistic classification

During the modern period (particularly since the 19th century, when dialectology became a popular area of investigation in the field of linguistics), the major dialect area in which New Mills is situated has traditionally been referred to by linguists as the ‘north midlands’, this classification itself being largely based on the OE political and linguistic divisions and the later ME dialect areas. However, problems with this classification have arisen on account of political, social and cultural considerations, rather than on linguistic grounds. This has led some contemporary linguists to re-classify the dialect areas according to other criteria; J. C. Wells refers to the dialect areas traditionally labelled as the north midlands as ‘the middle

³⁶¹ A detailed social history of the industrial period in New Mills is provided in Appendix.

north' (encompassing the cities of Liverpool, Manchester, Sheffield and Leeds),³⁶² while this area is defined by several dialect areas according to Peter Trudgill's 'modern dialect' divisions: 'central Lancashire', part of the 'Lower North' and the 'Northwest midlands'.³⁶³ This re-assessment has largely come about because of geo-political classification: most of the area traditionally defined [linguistically] as the north-west midlands is classified as the north-west region, which encompasses the counties of Cheshire, Greater Manchester, Merseyside, Lancashire and Cumbria. Such classification is strengthened by cultural considerations; the inhabitants of the north-west and Yorkshire generally regard themselves as 'northerners', and, correspondingly, their speech as 'northern' (as opposed to 'midlands' and 'southern'). This type of classification is also reflected within the popular media, and most of the country north of Staffordshire, Nottinghamshire and south Derbyshire is usually referred to as 'The North'. However, it is evident that problems also exist with this type of classification, on both a cultural and political level. On a cultural level, regional identity appears to be a matter of perception, rather than geographical reality, though it also appears that such perception is mainly determined by geographical factors; while it is certainly the case that the inhabitants of the north-west of England and Yorkshire regard themselves as northern, people from areas further to the north, such as Sunderland, may regard Yorkshire as the midlands, while people from Newcastle may even consider people from Leeds or Sheffield (West and South Yorkshire respectively) to be 'southerners' (indeed, some Geordies consider all those who live south of the River Tyne to be southerners). Conversely, some Londoners deem that all places north of Watford Gap (the south midlands) are in the 'north'.³⁶⁴ These perceptions of regional identity are mirrored by linguistic notions, and, indeed, contemporary investigation into this phenomenon has developed into the relatively new field of perceptual dialectology.³⁶⁵

On a geo-political level, the labelling of regions is also problematic. In this regard, New Mills is a good example; being in Derbyshire, New Mills is technically classified as East Midlands, though geographically (being situated to the west of the Pennines, only eight

³⁶² See Wells (1982b), *op. cit.*

³⁶³ Trudgill, P., 'Spot your dialect area', in *Dialects*, London, Routledge, 2004, pp. 36-40.

³⁶⁴ The linguistic characteristics and cultural aspects (including issues of identity) of the north and south are discussed in Wales, Katie, 'North and South: an English linguistic divide?', *English Today*, 61 (2000), 4 -15.

³⁶⁵ For an overview of perceptual dialectology, see Long, D., and Preston D. R., *Handbook of perceptual dialectology*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 2002; and Preston, D. R., *Handbook of perceptual dialectology*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins, 2000.

miles from Stockport) it is in the north-west area, with which it has a close historical, social, economic, cultural and linguistic affinity, these ties being traceable to the beginning of English history.

The re-classification of dialect areas by some modern linguists may reflect notions of identity, though whether this re-classification is valid on a linguistic level is questionable. While Wells has based his classifications largely on cultural perceptions, Trudgill has ostensibly used linguistic variables to define his modern dialect areas. Although he acknowledges the existence of traditional dialect areas, he has, nonetheless, redrawn the map to reflect modern dialect areas and the modern varieties which occur within them. The problem with this is that the same criteria (as those which was used to define traditional areas) have not been adopted when defining these modern areas. The division between the north midlands dialects and the northern varieties has been traditionally defined by the reflexes of ME *ō*, *ē*, *ū*, *ā*, and *ō*.³⁶⁶ The boundary (separating the north midland and northern dialect areas), based on these reflexes, runs roughly north-westwards along the River Wharfe in north Yorkshire, then westwards over the Pennines to the River Lune in the north of Lancashire.³⁶⁷ However, Trudgill uses the following variables to define his modern dialect areas: pre-consonantal /r/, initial /h/, /ʊ/ (SE /ʌ/), /ŋg/ (SE /ŋ/), /e:/ (SE /eɪ/). Several problems become immediately apparent. Firstly, it is evident that the criteria traditionally used to define the north / north midlands areas are paramount in this respect; the variables utilised by Trudgill are primarily orientated more to exposing differences between southern / standard varieties from south-west, midlands and northern dialects. Moreover, it would probably be the case that if the traditional variables described above were used to define the 'modern dialect' areas, then Trudgill's 'modern' dialect areas would generally correspond to the 'traditional' dialect areas; rather than demonstrating any real differences between traditional and modern varieties, therefore, this classification merely produces a linguistic map based on a few general variables.

Secondly, the small number of variables used has produced dialect areas in which the linguistic characteristics of the varieties therein may vary enormously, although Trudgill does concede that "these areas do have differences within them."³⁶⁸ This particularly applies

³⁶⁶ See Tidholm (1979), *op. cit.*, pp. 5-6.

³⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁶⁸ Trudgill (2004), *op. cit.*, p. 38.

to Trudgill's modern Northwest midlands area (i.e. that in which New Mills is situated). Situated within this area are the large urban areas of Manchester and Derby, the accents of which are so different that any resident layman could immediately identify either, and certainly would not categorise them as anything like similar (see below). This is wholly unsurprising; the urban varieties of Manchester share many similarities with those of south Lancashire (in a different dialect area according to Trudgill's modern classification), while that of Derby has many features which are shared by the dialects of the East Midlands. Furthermore, some of the variables ascribed to the dialects within a specific area do not necessarily exist throughout that dialect area. This may be exemplified by /eɪ/, one of the defining features of the Northwest midlands area; throughout north Cheshire and north-west Derbyshire, however, /e:/ is the usual realisation (corresponding to SE /eɪ/). This realisation would necessarily place the dialects of north Cheshire and north-west Derbyshire within the central Lancashire dialect area to the north, with which, of course, they share many similarities.

Traditional studies also have struggled with the classification of dialects, particularly those of the north midlands and the north. The *SED* is a good example where this is concerned, although the problem was partly exacerbated by the decision to publish data according to county divisions. Moreover, the volumes were divided according to the traditional linguistic divisions of the OE period (i.e. the north and midlands were delineated by the Humber and Mersey), despite the fact that this linguistic boundary had migrated north during the ME period and continued to do so after this period.³⁶⁹ Nevertheless, in this way, both Yorkshire and Lancashire were included in the "Northern Counties" volume. While the inclusion of Yorkshire could be justified on the grounds that only the dialects of the West Riding localities could be categorised as north midland (while the dialects of the East, and particularly, the North Ridings were predominantly northern), no such justification could be made with respect to Lancashire, however; by the beginning of the modern period, the boundary between the north and north midlands area had migrated as far as the River Lune in the very north of the county. This is most noticeable when analysing the data in the Northern volumes; the Lancashire data is largely an anomaly, bearing many similarities with the data from the north Cheshire and north-west Derbyshire localities, included within the West Midlands volumes.

³⁶⁹ See Tidholm (1979), p. 5.

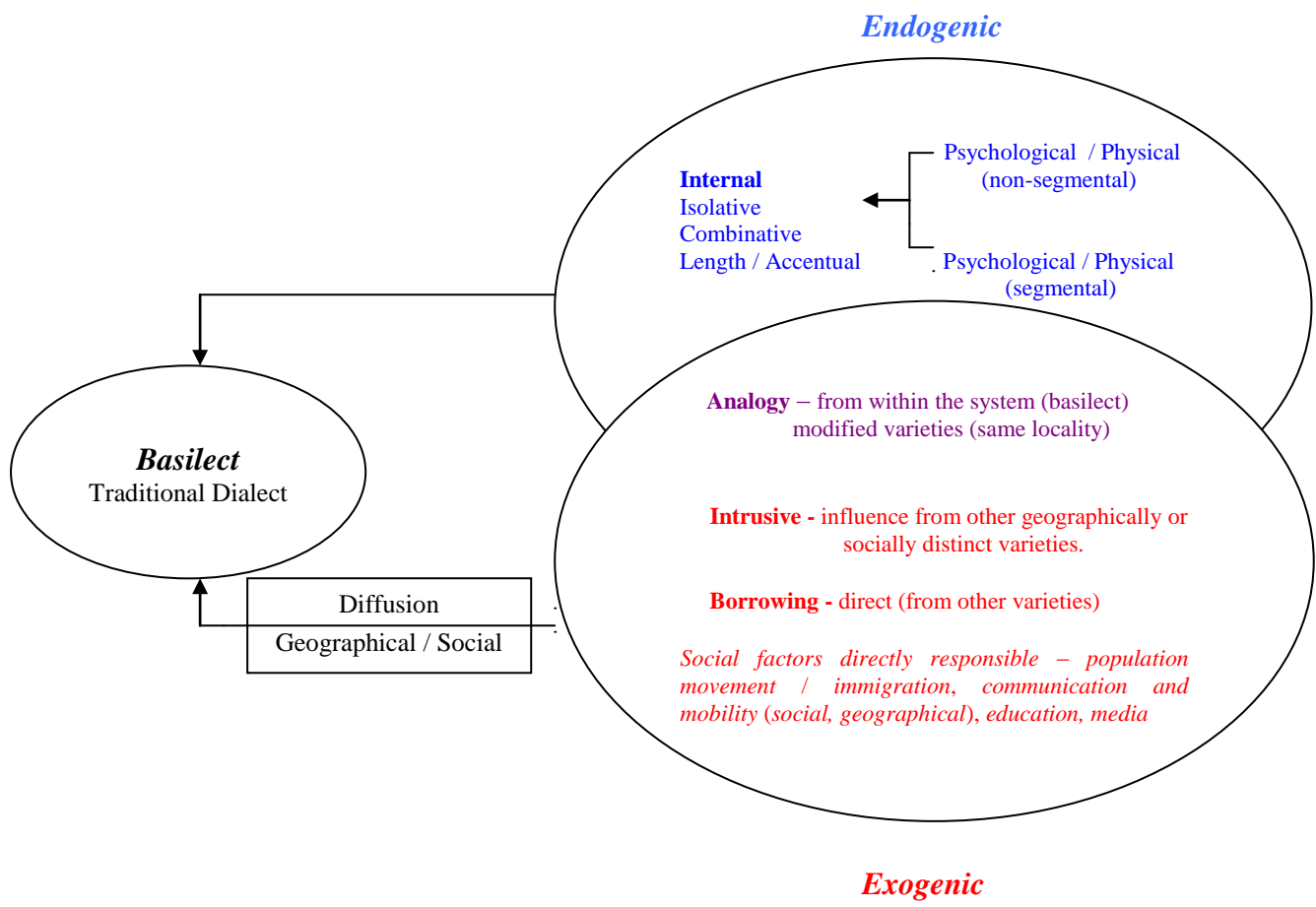
As far as New Mills is concerned, many of the older informants interviewed in the present investigation viewed county affiliation as the principal marker of identity, though this notion was viewed from a highly local perspective; moreover, regional notions of identity evidently also play a significant part as far as local identity is concerned. When asked what type of accent they had, the informants generally responded that they had a “Derbyshire” accent. When it was pointed out that people from Derby (fifty miles south-east) would consider themselves to have a Derbyshire accent, the usual response was that a Derby accent was not a real “Derbyshire” accent; several informants put forward the view that theirs was a “true” Derbyshire accent, while others stated that they had a “northern” or “north-western” accent, while people in Derby had a “midlands” accent. When asked about regional identity, the informants invariably responded that they were “northern”, and that they considered New Mills to be a part of the north-west of England. It is perhaps significant that these regional notions of local identity generally reflect the linguistic situation. Although county identity still plays a major role as far as local identity is concerned, the dichotomy provided by the notions of an accent based on county boundaries (commented on directly above) merely reflects the inadequacy of correlating speech areas with political areas. These problems are exacerbated in Derbyshire, which is unique in that it is situated within several major dialect areas (i.e. north-west midlands, west midlands, north-east midlands, east midlands).

In the present investigation, linguistic considerations have determined the definition of dialect areas; the term “north-west midlands” will be used to describe the general dialect area in which New Mills is situated (i.e. the sub-divided dialect area defined by Ellis) and other dialect areas within the north Cheshire / north-west Derbyshire / Lancashire area (i.e. according to the traditionally defined dialect areas). When referring to geographical areas, contemporary terminology, such as the ‘north’ and ‘north-west’, will be used to refer to areas that are commonly accepted as such (i.e. the ‘north of England’ refers to all areas roughly north of Staffordshire and Nottinghamshire; and the north-west refers to that area covered by Cheshire, Lancashire, Merseyside, Greater Manchester, and north-west Derbyshire).

The urban varieties of the Manchester conurbation

It became evident during the course of this research that the speech of the younger informants is influenced (to varying degrees) by the urban varieties of the Manchester conurbation, particularly those associated with inner-city Manchester itself. It is somewhat surprising, however, considering the size and importance of Manchester, both historically and contemporarily (being not only a major economic and industrial centre - generally considered one of the most important outside London - but also one of the most populous conurbations in the country), that no formal academic linguistic research has been undertaken in the city. The only research to date was conducted by Peter Wright as part of his investigation into Lancashire dialect during the 1970s. Despite the relatively large amount of fieldwork that was evidently undertaken during his research, the data was not presented in an academic format, but was instead presented in watered-down form in a publication generally designed for popular consumption.³⁷⁰ As part of the analyses and commentaries included in the present investigation, many references have necessarily been made to particular features of Manchester speech. While no formal fieldwork has been undertaken in Manchester by the researcher of this investigation, these particular features of Manchester speech have been categorised as such based on observation over a considerable period (i.e. approximately twenty years), in addition to contemporary observation of natives of Manchester, these being associates well acquainted to the researcher. In addition to this, the description of the Manchester accent provided by Wright has also been utilised where this has proved useful.

³⁷⁰ See Wright, Peter, *Lancashire Dialect*, Clapham (N. Yorks.), Dalesman Publishing Company Ltd., 1976.



CHAPTER 3

Grammar – Morphology and Syntax

Introduction and Methodology

As far as the description of a specific dialect or variety on a grammatical level is concerned, certain factors of paramount importance must be mentioned which necessarily have a significant and considerable bearing on any grammatical description. As far as this investigation is concerned (and, indeed, all previous monographs), the most obvious problem concerns the ability to provide a detailed description. Unlike phonology, a grammatical description based upon empirical data does not lend itself easily to a systematic description for a variety of reasons. Foremost amongst these is the fact that simply not enough data can be gathered to provide a detailed analysis, let alone a systematic description; any number of items, required to provide a detailed analysis, may simply not be elicited during fieldwork. Indeed, to attempt to produce a comprehensive and systematic empirically-based description within the constraints of an academic thesis would not be plausible because of the extremely large amounts of data required - such a study in its own right would be a mammoth undertaking. Additionally, the limitations rendered by the constraints just mentioned may be exacerbated further if, as is the case with this investigation, any grammatical description is merely part of a wider study. Indeed, as stated previously in the methodology section above, methodological considerations are necessarily of the utmost importance concerning linguistic description, grammatical or otherwise; as far as this research is concerned, the purpose of the study and thus the methodology are prime determining factors. It must be borne in mind that the grammatical description in this study constitutes one relatively small section of a rather broad investigation with varying aims: to provide primarily a description of a traditional dialect (with the emphasis on phonology) with an additional focus on linguistic change.

On account of the limitations imposed by the data, in addition to those imposed by the aims and methodology just mentioned, a description of the grammar, therefore, necessarily focuses on the most prominent grammatical features. Ideally, the aim is to include as many of these as possible, but in so doing, it is inevitable that the result will still be far from comprehensive; it is not necessarily the case that all prominent dialectal features will be described. In attempting to provide such a description, the following factors must be taken into account. Firstly, the limited nature of the data could have a significant bearing on any description: certain features that are indeed dialectal may not be recorded. Secondly, it is possible that some dialect features may have been overlooked or ignored by the researcher

because they are not deemed to be dialectal. In theory, therefore, the general aim is to provide a description of the grammatical features of New Mills (on a dialectal level – i.e. those features that display dialectal variation) and changes thereto, if any. However, because of the reasons just stated and the constraints imposed by the available data, in reality this part of the study will consist of, at best, a partial description of the most prominent features of the dialect on a grammatical level.

As a systematic description is not feasible – and indeed, a description of the most prominent features of the dialect will be far from comprehensive – obvious questions concerning a grammatical investigation remain: what defines a dialectal feature on a grammatical level and what criteria lie behind the inclusion of a specific feature in a grammatical description – in short, how are dialectal features identified as such? This question partly answers itself, and the obvious answer is to identify those grammatical features which display geographical variation, and which have already been noted as such. This may all be very well in a large comparative study ('comparative' here is used with the sense of the comparison of different varieties), but this criteria has an obvious weakness when applied to monograph descriptions: a local feature, which may be distinct and used in a unique context, could occur where no such variation exists elsewhere; thus it could be overlooked or remain unnoticed (see also immediately above). It would be unwise, therefore, for a field-worker to rely solely on previous general comparative grammatical studies as a base for identifying potential dialectal features, though it must be conceded that such studies do provide a useful initial tool. An extensive comparative study of various monographs would, of course, help to eliminate this problem by providing far more data, but again, such an undertaking would be a huge operation on its own.

One alternative would be to compare a specific regional variety with a variety that has already been extensively described on a universal scale and thus one which provides a ready reference point – i.e. Standard English. As such a component already forms part of the phonological description in this investigation, it would appear convenient to include it as a means of focus for a grammatical description. As it has been accepted that any grammatical description in this study would be far from complete, such a component would be extremely useful in identifying dialectal features, and thus be instrumental in providing a general framework for a grammatical description: as far as this investigation is concerned, dialectal features, therefore, will initially be identified by the fact that they differ from the Standard; in such a way, the description of this dialect grammar is usefully delineated. Needless to say, however, problems exist within this framework. Foremost among these is the variation that

is encountered with Standard grammars; being mainly prescriptive, these grammars often do not correlate exactly and some variation is apparent concerning what are ‘correct’ and ‘incorrect’ forms. If spoken registers of SE are added to the equation, it is evident that these problems are merely exacerbated. Nevertheless, comparing any variety with SE is still a fairly useful and accurate tool for determining grammatical variation on a dialectal level. Indeed, just such a framework – i.e. one which established non-standard grammatical forms as a basis - was adopted by Upton et al when producing their comparative description of dialect grammar based on the SED material.¹

As stated above, such is the nature of grammatical variation that a description thereof is not conducive to a systematic analysis. One consequence of this is that potential grammatical features necessarily have to be identified before the fieldwork commences, so that the fieldwork methodology can be organised with the purpose of recording such features. It follows from this that an entirely random process such as free speech would be useless in this respect. Grammatical features, therefore, would have to be acquired by more formal processes; thus, the grammatical data was elicited mainly from questionnaire responses. Relatively formal methods of elicitation, such as questionnaires, obviously affect the natural state of any spoken data (the so-called “observer’s paradox”) and this is discussed fully in the methodology section (above, pp. 94-109, 117-118). Nevertheless, the elicitation of grammatical features did not entirely rely on questionnaire responses. A considerable amount of data was gathered in the course of free speech, both with and without a tape-recorder. Often, data such as this merely confirmed (or otherwise) the data elicited from the questionnaire responses, but in a few instances, purely coincidental data provided previously unrecorded dialectal forms. An example of this is the use of the verbal phrase preposition *at*, in phrases such as ...*doing at it*, which corresponds to SE *to it*. The usefulness of incidental data for the purpose of grammatical description has been noted elsewhere: while the research undertaken for Upton et al’s SED grammar was primarily based on SED data that was specifically drawn up to elicit grammatical features, it, nonetheless also drew heavily on other material, whether this was from question responses designed to provide phonological or lexical data, or from incidental material; the latter, particularly, “proved to be specially rich in forms of grammatical interest.”²

¹ Upton, Clive, Parry, David, and Widdowson, J. D. A., *Survey of English Dialects: The Dictionary and Grammar*, London, Routledge, 1994.

² Upton et al (1994), op. cit, p. 479.

During the course of the fieldwork investigations for this study, it became apparent that grammatical variation is, indeed, fairly substantial on a dialectal level. It is rather surprising, then, that morphological and, particularly, syntactical variation have been largely ignored by dialectologists. It is possible that this situation has been engendered by the problems associated with data collection (outlined above) or by the common perception amongst some linguists that there is little variation on a grammatical level, specifically syntactical.³ Indeed, Wakelin makes precisely this observation. After providing a relatively substantial commentary on morphological variation, he states that “few contrasts with Standard English or between different dialects are found on the syntactic level”,⁴ though he also concedes that “syntax is an unwieldy subject which dialectologists have fought shy of.”⁵ Extensive comments contesting this belief have been made by Shorrocks,⁶ who forwarded the opposite view that “English dialects vary considerably at the morphological and syntactic levels”.⁷ This view was amply supported by his fieldwork data, which yielded a grammatical description displaying considerable syntactic variation.

In summary, it is probable, therefore, that considerable grammatical variation exists within the dialect of New Mills. However, an extensive description of such is beyond the scope of this study; as stated above, the primary concern is to provide a mainly phonologically orientated description of the dialect with an additional analysis of apparent time changes thereto.

Determiners

The Indefinite Article

Pre-vocalic forms consisting of *an* ([ən], [n]) are the norm (e.g., [ən ə], *a hare*), though at least one instance of *a* ([ə]) before a vowel was recorded – e.g., [ə ɔ:gəs bɑŋk kəʊlɪdɪ], [*on*] *a August bank holiday*. In the same environment (i.e. pre-vocalic), the indefinite article is sometimes realised as [Ø] – e.g., [wɪ jəd ɛl əv ə ta:m], *we had a hell of a time*.

Non-standard usage may be noted in the following contexts involving time or periods of time: the indefinite article is absent in expressions such as [*it's*] *quarter to eight*, [*it's*]

³ See Ruoff, (1973), op. cit, pp. 35, 62.

⁴ Wakelin (1991), p. 125

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ Shorrocks, Graham, *A Grammar of the Dialect of the Bolton Area, Part II, Morphology and Syntax*, Frankfurt am Main, Peter Lang, 1999, pp. 11- 23.

⁷ Shorrocks (1999), p. 15.

*quarter past ten.*⁸ The indefinite article occurs in expressions such as *of an evening* (SE in *the evening*); e.g., *I usually go running of an evening, in the summer.*

The Definite Article

In contrast to non-standard occurrences of the indefinite article (above), realisations of the definite article exhibit considerable variation, both within the dialect itself and vis-à-vis Standard English.

Allomorphic Realisations

Vowel-less forms of the definite article occur frequently, while full forms corresponding to those in SE are comparatively uncommon. The occurrence of vowel-less forms in many of the dialects of the north midlands and (to a lesser degree) the north has been referred to as the phenomenon of “Definite Article Reduction (DAR).”⁹ In New Mills, as in the other dialects in which reduced forms are present, vowel-less forms occur alongside standardised *the* ([ðə], [ði:]) in informal speech. Previous quantitative socio-linguistic studies, such as Petyt’s study of urban West Yorkshire, have calculated usage of vowel-less forms as 46% - 71% of all definite article occurrences within the sample,¹⁰ though other (more traditional dialect orientated) studies suggest the usage is considerably higher - calculations based on the SED corpus indicate 85%.¹¹ In his analysis of the reduced definite article, Jones divides reduced variants into supralaryngeal, laryngeal, affricated, and laryngeal and supralaryngeal hybrids.¹²

As far as New Mills is concerned, several different realisations of a reduced definite article occur – supralaryngeal ([θ]); laryngeal ([ʔ]); hybrid ([tʔ], [ʔθ], [ʔθ]). As these vary according to environment (though considerable overlap is evident), it is convenient to define these as variants which occur before consonants and those which occur before vowels. Indeed, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* remarks that “in those dialects in which it [i.e. the definite article] becomes both t and th, t is used before consonants and th before vowels. Thus one hears ‘t’book’ but ‘th’apple’”.¹³ Nevertheless, as previously stated, such strict delineation according to environment in those dialects where both ‘t’ and ‘th’ occur is not necessarily

⁸ This usage also occurs commonly in colloquial SE.

⁹ Jones, Mark, J., ‘The Origin of Definite Article Reduction in Northern English Dialects’, *English Language and Linguistics* 6, 2002, 325.

¹⁰ Petyt (1985), op. cit, p. 99.

¹¹ Jones (2002), 325 (see footnote 2).

¹² Jones (2002), 326.

¹³ Ibid.

the case (evidently so in the case of New Mills), while in other north / north midland dialects, fricative realisations occur in non-vocalic positions. Thus, as pointed out by Jones, a description such as that forwarded by the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* may be regarded as a “superficial analysis” based on “relatively small amounts of data,”¹⁴ rather than a definitive description. A common assumption concerning realisations of the definite article is the occurrence of a form [t] (as stated in the *Encyclopedia Britannica* – above). Indeed, there is a large area of the north and north midlands where these forms exist, according to SED data. Isolated plosive forms, before vowels and consonants were also recorded at the two nearest SED localities (Cheshire 2, Derbyshire 1) to New Mills. This presents a problem, as no plosive forms at all were recorded in the data of the present investigation. One possibility is that these occasional plosive forms represent dialect mixing; indicating that this is an area (i.e. north-west Derbyshire, north-east Cheshire, south Lancashire) where mixed lects occur – see below, p.138. Indeed, the isogloss for plosive realisations before vowels and that denoting plosives before consonants (in the north and north midlands) demonstrates considerable variation.¹⁵ However, recent research questions the dominance of plosive forms in some areas of the north midlands. Jones analysed the occurrence of [t], according to SED data, in the south part of the [t] area (i.e. West Yorkshire), and the apparent lack of glottal forms in this area; it was discovered, however, that laryngeal forms were in fact dominant in the incidental material and he concluded that “the analysis of the transcriptions... indicates an over-reporting of plosive forms in the SED” on account of the fact that it would seem “that there has been a tendency to normalise in the impressionistic transcriptions of the SED.”¹⁶ It is possible that the same phenomenon is responsible for the occurrence of plosive forms in the SED data for Ch2 and Db1; it is interesting to note that Ellis (1889) deliberately stated that the definite article was not realised as a plosive form in his description of dialect area D21 (the area in which New Mills is situated) - see below, p. 141.

Definite Article + Vowel

The data provided by Ellis’ study of English dialects (1889) and the SED material define the north-west midlands as an area where the fricative [θ] occurs before vowels. However, it is evident that the contemporary area is “rather smaller than that allowed for [θ] by Ellis, while

¹⁴ Jones (2002), 326.

¹⁵ Barry, Micheal V., *The Morphemic Distribution of the Definite Article in Contemporary Regional English*, in Wakelin, Martyn F. (ed.), *Patterns in the Folk Speech of the British Isles*, London, The Athlone Press of the University of London, 1972, p. 168.

¹⁶ Jones (2002), 333-334.

the SED responses, which “present a complicated and less clearly defined picture”, demonstrate that [θ] has “a rather scattered provenance in the region.”¹⁷ This would seem to suggest that either the [θ] area is shrinking or that [θ] has always existed alongside other variants. Nevertheless, [θ] occurs more frequently in the SED incidental material and “is recorded at La 3-4 / 7-8 / 10-13, Y 21 / 29 / 30, Ch 2 and Db 1.”¹⁸ Of importance here (as far as New Mills is concerned) are the recorded occurrences of fricative realisations at the two nearest SED localities: Ch 2 (six miles SSW) and Db 1 (four miles NNE). In New Mills, a fricative does sometimes occur before vowels, the more common variant being [ʔθ] – e.g., [ʊn tɒp ə ʔθɪt], *on top of the hill* (cf. [ʊp θɪt], *up the hill*). The hybrid variant [ʔθ] also occurred more frequently in the SED responses in all localities where fricative realisations occurred. Why this form predominates is unclear. A possible explanation is as follows. Another hybrid variant [tθ] was recorded in incidental material in south Lancashire and also at Ch 2. In addition to these, [ʔtθ] was also recorded at Ch 2. The occurrence of these allomorphs possibly “suggest that there is some blurring of the boundary of the stop [t] and fricative [θ] areas”; the “widespread use of [ʔθ] rather than [θ] may possibly be accounted for in the same way.”¹⁹ Indeed, the recorded occurrences of [t] (which is the usual realisation of the definite article + V in the northern area, excluding the north-east), at Ch 2 and Db 4, and the common occurrence of [ʔ] and [ʔt] in the southernmost enclave of the northern [t] area (as well as the data from this study - see following), suggest that there is indeed considerable overlap between the dialect areas; it is also possible that these variants have co-existed for some considerable time.

Jones comments on the lack of focus concerning preceding environment as a conditioning factor, which he believes is “particularly ironic given the assumption that DAR arose initially through assimilation to a preceding segment.”²⁰ As far as [θ] in New Mills is concerned, this may have some relevance as [θ] appears to occur more frequently in utterance initial position than elsewhere – e.g., [θævd man], *the old man...*; [θvudʔ ɹo:d], *the old road* – though the relative lack of data means it is not possible to make any definite claims. Similarly, there were no recorded instances of pre-vocalic [θ] following /t/, /d/ or /s/ in the data that could be used to compare with Jones’ study concerning assimilation and the

¹⁷ Barry (1972), p. 170.

¹⁸ Ibid.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Jones (2002), 326–327.

origins of DAR – i.e. there were relatively few occurrences of [θ] in the study and none of them occurred in the required environment, though one instance was recorded before consonants (below, p. 142).

In New Mills, however, the most common realisation of the definite article + vowel (and, indeed, the def. article + C) is [ʔ] - e.g., [ətʔ tɒpʔ pə ʔ ɪl], *at the top of the hill*; [bakʔ kə ʔ alɪ], *back of the alley*; [vɒn ʔ ɪt̪ ðeɪ], *down the hill there*; [bakʔ tə ʔ ævs], *back to the house*; [vɒn ʔ ɛndʒɪn], *on the engine*; [fɛtʔtʃt ʔ o:zɪz], *etched the hoses*; [ɪn ʔ ɔ:tm], *in the autumn*; [fəʔ stɒp ʔ oʊəs], *for to (SE to) stop the horse*; [ɪn ʔ ɛə foʊəs], *in the Air Force*; [ævtsa:ɪd ə ʔ ævs], *outside of the house*; [vɒn ʔ ɛdʒ], *on the edge*. The development of [ʔ] as the realisation of the definite article before a vowel is unclear; it is possible that [ʔ] in these instances may indeed be a variant of [t], which is the usual realisation of the definite article before a vowel in the neighbouring dialect area to the north and east. If this is so, it could be an indication that this and other variants, which are indicative of mixed lects (as was also suggested by the presence of [ʔθ] variants, as the usual realisation of [θ] – see above, p. 138), have either encroached from the north or have always been present in those areas that border the isogloss. Alternatively, [ʔ] may have resulted from a further development of [ʔθ] or merely developed by analogy with the usual realisation of the definite article + consonant (i.e. [ʔ]).

In addition to the variants described above, [ðɪ] also occurs before vowels. Whether or not these represent modified variants (under the influence of SE) is difficult to determine. Ellis (1889) recorded the occurrence of [ðɪ] forms in the [θ] area, so it is evident that such ‘modified’ forms have been present in the dialects of the north-west midlands for a considerable period. Shorrocks (1998) also noted the occurrence of [ðɪ] forms in the Bolton area (which also falls within the north-west midlands [θ] area, as defined by the data from Ellis’ survey and the SED material). He noted that the full form “is sometimes encountered in broader speech”, but that this is not necessarily indicative of a switch to a “more formal style.”²¹ This argument is reinforced by the fact that there is a lack of other formal markers which would normally “co-occur with the full forms of the article.” He attributes the use of the full form in some instances to a situation where an informant is “giving a careful and exact explanation.”²² It may be concluded then, in some instances at least, that [ðɪ] forms are

²¹ Shorrocks (1999), p. 30.

²² Ibid.

not necessarily attributable to modification as such, but due to pragmatic factors. Moreover, the presence of [ðɪ] forms in the nineteenth century does not support the assumption that the presence of apparently modified forms, in this instance, is largely a contemporary phenomenon.

Definite Article + Consonant

The definite article before a consonant is most frequently realised as glottal variants – [ʔ], [tʔ] - the exact nature of which is often difficult to determine, especially in fast connected speech. Indeed, Jones has chosen to label these types of articulations as ‘laryngeal’ rather than glottal stops as “they do not necessarily involve either a complete closure or only the glottis... Strictures above the glottis, such as the ventricular or false vocal chords, may also be involved, including a general tensing of the laryngeal (and related) musculature.”²³ Furthermore, Jones states that “there is evidence to suggest that forms transcribed as simultaneous or sequentially ordered oral and laryngeal gestures may in fact represent unreleased plosive forms”, which “can in theory be produced without any accompanying glottal closure”.²⁴ Shorrocks also comments on the difficulty of determining the precise nature of glottalisation for transcription purposes:

*Where the definite article is transcribed as [tʔ] or [dʔ] ...if the following consonant is not homorganic, then alveolar contact is not always made, and the symbol represents a movement towards the position indicated, rather than a definitely alveolar articulation... only rarely have I been tempted to transcribe a pure glottal stop, [ʔ].*²⁵

Despite the difficulties in determining the exact nature of the articulations, Shorrocks also admits that “where the articulation seemed neither bilabial nor velar, nor sufficiently open to warrant [ʔ], I have used [tʔ].”²⁶ This may partly be on account of the fact that he forwards the view that “/t/ is the phoneme that the speaker has in mind.”²⁷ Jones believes “that it is possible to differentiate impressionistically between a plosive and laryngeal form even where no oral release occurs”.²⁸

Nevertheless, it still remains difficult to determine the precise quality of the article and, specifically the degree and nature of glottalisation, on account of the speed of natural connected speech.

²³ Jones (2002), 326.

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ Shorrocks (1999), pp. 25, 26.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Ibid.

²⁸ Jones (2002), 333.

However, if the previous observations and remarks are taken into consideration, what can be said with certainty is that the realisations of the definite article before a consonant in New Mills consist mostly of laryngeal / glottal forms. The realisations of these are dependent on the phonological environment. If the preceding segment consists of a plosive, the glottalised article has the effect of reinforcing (post-glottally) the previous segment so that it remains audibly unreleased. The degree of glottalisation appears to be greater than when a final plosive merely remains audibly unreleased, which, along with the data from pre-vocalic realisations, suggests that the definite article is represented by glottal realisations – e.g. [ʌnəvɛ:t ? kəna:l], *renovate the canal*; [ʌʊnd ? bak^h], *round the back*; [spɪlt ? pe:nt], *spilt the paint*; [dæʊn ? ɹo:d], *down the road* etc. Shorrocks also found this to be the case in his study of the Bolton area (1998), in a neighbouring dialect area of the north-west midlands, and comments that “generally speaking, the degree of glottal stricture is greater, when the definite article is present.”²⁹ Similar remarks are made by Ellis, in his introduction to the dialect area north midlands D21 (i.e. the area in which New Mills is situated); he is careful to differentiate the article from usual unreleased plosives and also definitively states that it (i.e. the definite article) is not a released plosive. As far as New Mills is concerned, his description of some of the features correlate remarkably well with the present-day situation. It is also worth noting that his final remark relates to the difficulty of transcribing this feature:

*The suspension of consonants, however, is quite different from the suspended (t̚) for the definite article. The mode in which it makes its presence felt is peculiar. When it is possible, it hangs on by a glide to the preceding vowel or consonant, as in ‘the cart’ ..., but in ‘the cart is coming’, this is impossible... it never properly runs onto the following vowel... In no case must voice or flatus intervene. To say... (t̚ kaat) ‘the cart’, with introduced (̚) or (̚) would be quite wrong. It is almost hopeless to understand (t̚) without studying its effect from native lips.*³⁰

Where a final alveolar plosive has been lost (due to either a preceding or following homorganic consonant), the intervening definite article also occurs as a glottal realisation, whether the preceding consonantal phoneme is a plosive or otherwise. Similarly, glottal variants also occur in the environment of other non-plosive consonantal segments: [sta:v ? dɪəθ], *starved to death*; [fæʊn ? ki:z], *found the keys*; [tɪl ? mɪlkmən kʊmz], *till the milkman comes*.

²⁹ Shorrocks (1999), p. 25.

³⁰ Ellis (1889), p. 317.

In the environment of fricatives, the degree of glottalisation appears to be somewhat less forceful than that which occurs in a plosive environment, especially if the preceding and following consonants are both fricatives, e.g., [i:z ʔse:m famlɪ], *he's the same family*. In some instances, specifically in the environment of homorganic segments, the definite article may be realised as [ʔ]; it is evident, however, that the preceding rather than the following segment is instrumental, though the presence of [ʔ] does not necessarily indicate that the definite article is being articulated as a (unreleased) [t], rather the articulation is determined by the phonetic context – e.g., [ɪn ʔ ɛə foʊəs], *in the Air Force*; [dæʊn ʔ tɹak], *down the track*; [ʊn ʔ mʊndɪ], *on the Monday*; [wʊn ʔ dʒakʔpʊtʔ], *won the jackpot*; [ʊɪn ʔ kan], *oil in the can*; [ʊn ʔ bʊs], *on the bus*; [ʊn ʔ ɛdʒ], *on the edge*; [ɪn ʔ van], *in the van*; [dæʊn ʔ tɔ:ɪz], *down [to] the Torrs* (place-name); [sɔ: əʃɪt ʔ bʊgə ʊn ʔ no:z], *so I hit the bugger on the nose*. If the article is preceded by a vowel, it is usually realised as a pure glottal stop – e.g., [aftə ʔ], *after the war ended*; [ɹɛst ə ʔ wi:k], *rest of the week*; [ʊpʔ tə ʔ tʃɪŋki], *[he's gone] up to the Chinky* (Chinese take-away); [nɛks tə ʔ pɹɪntwə:ks], *next to the print works*; [ba: ʔ kəna:l], *by the canal*; [tə ʔ saɪd], *to the side*; [saɪd ə ʔ ɪvə], *side of the river*; In other instances, such as in the environment of labial plosives, it is difficult to determine whether the article should be transcribed as a pure glottal stop; sometimes creaky voice accompanies the preceding vowel indicating glottal constriction. In such cases the plosive becomes pre-glottalised but also remains unreleased – e.g. [ʊpʔ ʔ pəθ], *up the path*.

One example of a fricative allomorph preceding a consonant was recorded – [atʔ ʰkʷo:p], *at the Co-op*. It is not possible to determine whether this is an environmentally conditioned (i.e. devoiced) modified form of [ðə] (though its vowel-less nature suggests otherwise) or whether this is a reduced fricative allomorph corresponding to that which occurs before vowels. However, similar allomorphs (in the same environment) were recorded by Ellis in his north midlands D21 area, specifically at Chapel-en-le-Frith (five miles SE) and Glossop (six miles NNE). There is one recorded instance of the definite article being realised as [Ø] (i.e. zero), though it is possible that syntactic factors may be responsible for the zero realisation in this instance – [ʊp ʊn ʔ tɒps sʊðə de:], *up on the tops* (i.e. hilltops) *the other day*.

Modified forms consisting of [ðə] also sometimes occur, especially in utterance / clause initial position; reduced forms in utterance initial position appear to be much less common

than in other contexts. In this position, realisations (of the reduced definite article) occur with less glottal constriction, and, although there is complete bilabial closure, there appears to be no other oral articulation; thus it was decided to transcribe these realisations as [ʔ] – e.g., [ʔge:mz sta:tɪd], *the game's started*; [ʔmɪɫ klo:zd], *the mill closed (down)*; [wɛəz ð gɒn] / [ʔmatʔtʃ], *Where's he gone, the match?* These types of realisations support the notion that the preceding environment is influential in determining the realisation of the following definite article.

[t] does occur in one instance, in the phrase *t'other* - [tʊðə] (SE *the other*) – e.g. [tʊðə wɒn], *the other one*; [ɪts sɒn ʔ tʊðə sa:əd], *it's on the other side*. This is an anomaly and it is assumed that [t] in this instance does not originate from the same source as all the other cases of the definite article; it is generally held to be derived from OE *pæt ðper*³¹ (i.e. from the neuter gender of the demonstrative). Indeed, the occurrence of a [t] realisation in this instance in New Mills, and the fact that a [t] realisation does not occur in any other examples of the definite article, would seem to support this theory.

It is highly probable that the glottalised forms described above are indicative of an underlying /t/ phoneme - the area consisting of [t] forms extends over a large part of northern England (except the north-east),³² with the heaviest concentration of related allomorphs ([ʔ], [tʔ]) occurring in south Lancashire, west Yorkshire, north-east Cheshire and north Derbyshire, indicating that “the Pennines are the main nucleus of these forms”.³³ What is apparent from the data of this study is that there has been remarkably little, if indeed any, change since Ellis' study over a century ago.

Historical Development

It is generally assumed that during the ME period, the initial [θ] of *pē* ('the') became voiced first in unstressed positions (in which nearly all instances of the definite article occur) and then in stressed positions in many areas of the south. Similarly, the vowel was reduced to [ə] or [ɪ].³⁴ The evidence also suggests that [ð] was an alternative weak form occurring mainly before vowels but sometimes before consonants.³⁵ In the north-west midlands, however, it is

³¹ See Barry (1972), p. 166.

³² However, as Jones (2002, 333-334) points out, glottalised forms occur in the [t] area far more frequently in the tape-recorded material than in the published SED data.

³³ Barry (1972), *op. cit.*, p. 173.

³⁴ See Barry (1972), pp. 164-166

³⁵ Barry (1972), pp.165, 166.

assumed that the voicing of [θ] failed to take place, and [θ] continued to be used in the north-west midlands as the realisation of the definite article before vowels.³⁶

The development of [t] and related allomorphs ([tʔ], [ʔ] etc.) in the north and north midlands, before consonants in some areas or before both consonants and vowels in other areas, has not been satisfactorily resolved. Theories have recently been forwarded that /t/ developed from the assimilation of *pe* to a preceding /t/, /d/ or /s/ during the ME period, as is attributable by spellings rendered as *te* in texts such as ‘The Ormulum’.³⁷ Jones, however, disputes this theory on the grounds that many other demonstrative and adverbs show similar assimilation in the text, but none of these have developed in the same fashion as the reduced definite article. Moreover, he argues that present-day dialects should exhibit the same assimilation of the definite article, in these environments. However, dialectal data from Ellis’ survey (1889) and the SED demonstrates that this is clearly not so in nearly half of all cases and, consequently, this theory is rejected.³⁸ Jones concludes, rather enigmatically, that “the relative phonological uniformity of reduced articles, involving three basic forms in various permutations (essentially [t], [θ] and [ʔ]) and phonological links between these phones crosslinguistically..., suggests that the reduced articles arose from these, possibly even in the OE period.”³⁹

Contemporary Change: apparent time development

Realisations consisting of modified forms of the definite article (i.e. [ðə], [ði:]) occur frequently in the adult age-group and, particularly, amongst the teenagers. Nevertheless, glottalised variants typical of traditional dialect realisations are common realisations in all age-groups. However, noticeably absent from the speech of the teenagers and, with one exception (CW), from the adult age-group, are the fricative allomorphs which occur before vowels (i.e. [θ]).⁴⁰ One possible reason for this is the avoidance by the younger informants of features that are overt markers of the traditional dialect of the area; moreover this feature is also not present in the nearby urban varieties of Manchester. It is possible that the apparent erosion of fricative allomorphs is due to the influence of SE or other modified regional

³⁶ Barry (1972), p. 166.

³⁷ Jones (2002), 329.

³⁸ See Jones (2002), 325 – 343.

³⁹ Jones (2002), 343.

⁴⁰ Petyt, in his study of West Yorkshire, also found a noticeable increase in modified /ðə/ realisations. More importantly, he also found a substantial decrease in local dialect fricative and plosive [t] realisations on account of the increase in glottalised variants (i.e. [ʔ]) – see Petyt (1985), op. cit, pp. 197-200.

standard, though this seems unlikely as other non-standard realisations – i.e. the glottalised variants – have not developed in the same fashion.

Possessive Determiners (see also ‘Pronouns’)

These are often classified as ‘possessive adjectives’ or ‘conjunctive possessive pronouns’ in traditional grammars. However, their functional characteristics (attributive) and, particularly, their syntactical positioning (e.g., these types of determiner occur in pre-modification position; possessive pronouns can also occur in final position etc.), has led to these morphemes being analysed as ‘determiners’ in some modern grammars; as such they will also be treated in the present study.

On a phonological level, it is necessary to distinguish between stressed and (more common in speech)⁴¹ unstressed forms. While SE speakers will use relatively stressed forms at all times, it is apparent that this is not the case in many dialects; in New Mills, unstressed forms are the norm - e.g., [wɛəz mī ˈtʌt], *where’s my hat* - except in semantically conditioned and certain other environments where emphasis is required – e.g., [ðʌts ma:ɪ paɪntʰ], *that’s my pint* [i.e. *mine* and not *yours*].

		Stressed	Unstressed
Singular	1	/maɪ/	/mɪ/
	2	/ðaɪ/, /joə ^(ɪ) /	/ðɪ/, /jə/
	3	/ɪz/, /ə: ^(ɪ) /, /ɪts/	/ə/
Plural	1	/æʊə ^(ɪ) /, /ʊz/	
	2	/joə ^(ɪ) /	/jə/
	3	/ðɛə ^(ɪ) /	/ðə/

Us, as the first person plural possessive determiner, occurs frequently (alongside *our*) – e.g., *us (our) feet; us (our) lift’s broken; then it were us (our) turn; we had to take us (our) time-off*. It is derived from the accusative / dative case of the first person plural pronoun and has evidently been introduced into other cases by a process of levelling (see also ‘Pronouns’ – below, pp. 157-159); indeed, the genitival use of ‘us’ has been recorded since the OE period. It has also been levelled into the first person singular – e.g., *it’s time for us (my) tea* – probably by analogy with dative case singular pronoun constructions such as *give it us (give it to me)*.

⁴¹ Gimson (1994), pp. 228-230.

The definite article *the* is often used to denote *my* in instances such as *the wife* (SE *my wife*). *Our* + personal name (n.b. never *us* + personal name) is a construction that often occurs with the meaning of *my brother / son / sister / daughter*- e.g., *our Colin*, *our Elaine* etc.

Contemporary Change: apparent time development

The second person plural pronoun *thy*⁴² occurs relatively frequently in the informal speech of the oldest speakers (alongside *your*) and to a lesser extent amongst the middle-age group informants. It is generally absent in the speech of the adults and the teenagers. Whether the apparent erosion of this feature is due to the influence of SE (regional standard / other modified varieties) or on account of the influence of nearby urban vernacular is unclear; this feature is noticeably absent in these varieties. What is apparent is that these forms of the second person are overt markers of the traditional dialect and, indeed, are regarded as such, particularly by the youngest informants, who equate such usage with old people. Moreover, on a broader level, they remain recognisably archaic due to their use in, and general association with, religious texts. However, another non-standard form, i.e. the genitival use of *us*, is present throughout all age-groups. It may be the case that the apparent stability of this feature is due to its provenance in other dialects throughout the north midlands, including some urban varieties.

Demonstrative Determiners

Demonstrative determiners generally correspond to those in SE, exceptions being the following ‘spatial’ / ‘temporal’ demonstratives:

1) The plural demonstrative corresponding to *that* is usually *them*, [ðɛm], (SE *those*) - e.g., *them days* (/ðɛm de:z/), *them fields* ([ðɛm fiːʌz]), *them lot*, *them lads*, *them mills*, *them shorts*, *them trains* etc. – the modified variant *those* ([ðo:z]) occurs only sporadically. The dialectal development of *them* as a demonstrative is not clear. It may be that it has developed by analogy with the disjunctive use of the pronoun, as is suggested by the following (this conversation was recorded by the researcher of this investigation):

- a) [pointing and laughing] *Who are you? Stanley Mathews?*
- b) *What’s up with ‘em?*
- a) [to third party] *Have a look at them shorts!*
- b) *What’s wrong wi’ ‘em?*

⁴² *Thy* [ðɑɪ] (among others) is also a frequent realisation for the nominative case of the second person singular pronoun, which suggests that either the possessive form has been levelled into the nominative case or subject *thy* [ðɑɪ] is a phonological development – see below, p. 154.

a) *They cover your bloody ankles, that's what!*

Another possibility is that *them* (as a demonstrative) may have developed from the dative case of the OE definite article – *pæm, þem*.⁴³ The EDD records *them* (as a demonstrative) in Lancashire, West Yorkshire, Cheshire, Derbyshire, Nottinghamshire, Lincolnshire and several other localities in the south-west of England and Kent. *Them* is recorded in the SED throughout Cheshire and Derbyshire and other localities in Lancashire and West Yorkshire. In present-day New Mills, *them* frequently occurs in all age-groups (alongside modified *those*), and thus demonstrates a relative degree of stability;⁴⁴ this may be (at least partially) because of its general provenance in the north-west midlands (and elsewhere in the north midlands), including some urban varieties.

2) *That there* (and less commonly *that over there*) corresponds to SE *that over there*. *Yonder* only occurs infrequently and is apparently deictic; it appears to be mainly used only when referring to more distant (in relation to the speaker and listener) objects – e.g., /jɒndə^(u) ɪ/, *yonder hill*. Nevertheless, it appears to be used more commonly in qualifying position as a locative adjective, e.g., *(that) up / out yonder* - see Questionnaire 15. 8. *Yonder* is restricted to the old, and (to a lesser extent) the mid age-group; the absence of this feature in the speech of the adults and teenagers may be on account of the fact it is an overt marker of the traditional dialect.

3) Nominal phrases containing *this* and *these* sometimes include the adverb *here*, while those containing *that* and *them* include *there*. The adverb may either follow the demonstrative (in pre-nominal position) or follow the noun. While it appears that the latter is indicative of a type of reiteration (at least semantically), there is evidently no semantic difference between those constructions where the adverb is in pre-nominal or those where the adverb is in post-nominal position; both constructions are used for emphatic purposes (most of the following examples have been recorded with both constructions) – e.g. *this here mail, this money here; that there road, that kind of behaviour there, these here lads, they want these here bit upper class, middle class..., when these here wotsits started muscling in, these young 'uns here,*

⁴³ If this is so, modern dialectal *them* (in this context) is evidently derived from a form that has undergone both case levelling (i.e. dative to accusative – cf. the 3rd person singular masculine and feminine object pronoun forms *him / her*, which are derived from OE indirect object forms) and a partial levelling / mixing of OE definite article and demonstrative forms.

⁴⁴ This is in contrast to Tidholm's study of Egton, north Yorkshire (1979), in which he concluded that there was "a clear trend towards a decreasing use of them" in the young age-group, so it was to be assumed that "them will remain in Egton for a couple of generations" only – Tidholm (1979), op. cit, p. 137.

them there days, them lot there. This feature does not exhibit age-based variation (i.e. it occurs in all age groups) and is thus assumed to be stable.

Interrogatives

The dialectal use of interrogatives is generally the same as that in SE, except in the following instances. There is a greater use of *what* in the dialect,⁴⁵ corresponding to several interrogatives used in SE:

- a) corresponding to SE *which* – *What pub are you going to? What train are you getting* ([wɒt? tɪ:n ə jə ɡɛttɪn]), i.e. *Which train are you catching?; What mill were you at?* (i.e. *Which mill did you work at?*), etc.
- b) corresponding to SE *why*, using a syntactic construction with a preposition (i.e. *What ...for?*) – *What did you do that for?* (SE *Why did you do that?*); *What are you going there for?* (SE *Why are you going there?*).
- c) corresponding to SE *how* + determiner (i.e. determining quantity) – *What hours did you work last week?* ([wɒt? æʊəz dɪd jə wɜ:k? las wi:k^h]), SE *How many hours did you work last week?*; *What did that cost you?* (SE *How much did that cost?*).

The dialectal use of *what* in the above instances exhibits no apparent-time change, and therefore it is reasonable to assume that it is a stable feature. The rather complex nature of *what* on a grammatical level, and its comparatively long history of varying functions – *what* was the first of the *wh*- interrogatives to be used in capacities other than the direct interrogative (see below, p. 166) – may be partly responsible at least for its widespread use in various non-standard grammatical functions in many contemporary dialects; in relation to the uses outlined above, it may be noted that the *OED* lists such usage as occurring in Scotland and the North, and defines one such construction (with *what*) as “*what way*”, corresponding to SE *how?*, *why?*

Adjectives

Morphology - Several instances regarding differences between the dialect of New Mills and SE are apparent:

Adjectival endings consisting of the suffix *-ly* (< OE suffix *-lic*) occur in *badly* ([badlɪ]) – e.g., *I'm feeling badly*, i.e. unwell, ill (cf. SE *poorly*) – and *gradely*⁴⁶ ([ɡræ:dli]), i.e. fine,

⁴⁵ Some of these dialectal constructions may also be observed in colloquial SE.

good, excellent etc. – *the weather were gradely, he's a gradely lad, they were a gradely team then* etc. Other *-ly* adjectives also occur in SE – e.g., *it's deadly*.

The derivational suffix *-en* in adjectives formed from a noun + suffix *-en* (< OE *-en*, 'made of') is sometimes omitted – *they built a wood bridge first* (SE *wooden*). Similarly, the suffix *-ous* (in words of French origin) is also omitted in one or two instances - e.g., *it's poison, /its pɔɪzn/* (SE *poisonous*).

Comparatives / Superlatives - So-called double comparatives / superlatives sometimes occur – e.g., *it's less slower; more cheaper; it's definitely more shorter that way; it were the most loudest noise* etc. Such constructions as these have been used (recorded) since the ME period, and were common in the eModE period, in regional varieties and SE. The SED records such forms in many (mostly southern) localities, though Shorrocks also notes their occurrence in Bolton,⁴⁷ as does Beal in Newcastle.⁴⁸

Comparison – Superlative forms are often used in the dialect when a comparison is made between two items (i.e. in situations where a comparative is used in SE) – *it's the shortest (of the two); it's the nearest (of the two), /its ðə nɪəɪst/*.

The comparative particle *nor* (SE *than*) is frequently used (alongside *than*) in comparative constructions – *he were bigger nor me; in them days, the Blues [Manchester City F.C.] were better nor them*. This type of construction was recorded in the ME period, but is now largely confined to various dialects in the north and north midlands.

On a syntactic level, a relative construction (with a nominal relative pronoun) often follows the comparative particle – e.g., *it's better now than what it used to be* (SE *it's better now than it used to be*); *it took longer then that what it does now; we work longer hours now than what we did ten or fifteen year ago*, etc.

That is often used in comparative constructions (where SE has *so*), even in instances where the result is repetition (i.e. of *that*) – e.g., *it were that cold that the diesel froze*.

There are apparent-time differences on a morphological level - *badly* does not occur in the speech of the youngest informants (some adults, all teenagers), *I'm feeling bad* – and on a

⁴⁶ This is apparently derived from ON *greiðligr*; the suffix ending *-ligr* is the ON cognate of OE *-lic*. It is first recorded in the ME period (14th century); there were sporadic examples in the west midlands area, but its distribution was mainly north-west midlands.

⁴⁷ Shorrocks (1999), p. 59.

⁴⁸ Beal, Joan, 'The grammar of Tyneside and Northumbrian English', in Milroy, J., and Milroy, L. (eds), *The Grammar of English Dialects in the British Isles*, London, Longman, 1993, p. 209.

lexical level – *gradely* is generally absent in the speech of the younger informants, particularly the teenagers. Similarly, the comparative particle *nor* (SE *than*) is mostly restricted to the older age-groups. It is possible that the absence of these features amongst the younger informants is because they are markers of the traditional dialect, although (with the exception of *gradely*) they are not highly restricted on a geographical level. Conversely, other morphological features (such as lack of *-en* suffix, e.g., *drunk*; superlative comparative forms), morphological / syntactic features ('double' comparatives), and syntactic features (comparative particle + relative pronoun; *that* in comparative constructions) exhibit no apparent-time development. These features are apparently stable, though the factors behind this are not clear; one possible reason may be that whereas *gradely*, *nor* and *badly* which (in addition to morphological and syntactic levels) all operate on a lexical level, the stable features operate on a mainly grammatical level.

Intensifiers

These are traditionally assigned to the adverb category. However, their function - modifying an adjective / adjectival phrase - dictates that they should be dealt with separately. Nevertheless, some of the comments concerning the formation of adverbs are valid here, notably the fact that forms with a *-ly* suffix (as in SE) are rare, *-ly* less forms being the norm (see below, p. 212). The general lack of *-ly* forms is problematic in that it is possible to analyse (intensifier + adjective + noun) as (adjective + adjective + noun) – e.g., *there were* (SE was) *this terrible loud explosion*.

Sometimes, these types of modifiers are distributed according to the semantics of the following adjectival phrase. The following have negative connotations and are generally restricted to circumstances /events/ things that are unpleasant or bad: *terrible* (/tɛɹɪb^(u)l/), *horrible* (/hɔɹɪb^(u)l/), *awful*, *shocking* (/ʃɒkɪŋ/). They may occur singly or as a combination – *terrible bad conditions*; *awful horrible black smoke*; *there was this shocking horrible loud bang* etc.

The majority of these types of modifiers, however, have the function of magnifying the semantics of the following adjective – i.e. have the meaning of *very*, *extremely* etc. The following are some of the more popular intensifiers: *bloody* – e.g., *this bloody great*; *blooming* – e.g., *this blooming massive*; *dead* – e.g., *dead good*; *gradely* – e.g., *it's a gradely long way*; *great* – e.g., *a great big*; *mighty* – e.g., *this mighty heavy*; *proper* – e.g., *a proper big*; *real* – e.g., *a real fat*; *right* (/ɹi:t/, /ɹaɪt/) – e.g., *right good*; *strapping*; *thumping* – e.g.,

this thumping great; *tremendous* – e.g., *this tremendous great*; *well / welly* – e.g., *well big*, *welly clemmed* [wɛɪ kɛmɪd] (SE *very hungry*); *whopping* (/wɒpɪn/).

Some of these – such as *bloody*, *great*, *right*, and *well* – occur very frequently and are extensively used by informants in all age-groups. Conversely, others, such as *gradely*, are restricted to the speech of the older informants, and, even amongst these speakers, are used infrequently. Again, these intensifiers may occur singly, though they more often than not occur in combination – e.g., *this thumping great, right bloody* – sometimes with three or more – e.g., *this bloody great whopping*. The common use of the expletive *bloody* as an intensifier is notable in that other expletives are also used in this capacity; *fucking* (/fʊkɪn/) occurs fairly frequently in the speech of the adults and teenagers – e.g., *this fuckin' great dog* (i.e. *this huge dog*) – and occasionally in the speech of the older informants, especially where extra effect and /or emotive force is required.⁴⁹

Nouns

Irregular plurals

There are several instances where the dialectal plural ending differs from SE:

a) Plurals with *-n* ([n]) – isolated examples of plurals (derived from the OE plural suffix of weak nouns) include *shoon* (/ʃy:n/) and *eyen* (/i:n/ - for a phonological explanation of the stem-vowel, see /i:/ in Part 2, below, p. 11). Such usage is generally restricted to the old and mid age-groups (alongside modified *shoes* and *eyes* /aɪz/).

b) Plurals with *-[ə]*; one example was recorded – *childer* (SE *children*). The reduced ending inflection of the present dialectal form is derived from the plural of the original OE neuter form with *-ru* (i.e. *cildru*), and has developed via /tʃɪldrə/ > /tʃɪldər/ > /tʃɪldə/. This realisation for the plural of *children* occurs only in the speech of the older (i.e. old and mid age-groups) informants. It is interesting to note that the SE / modified form with *-n* suffix (which not only occurs alongside dialectal [ə] in the speech of the older informants, but is also the usual realisation amongst the younger speakers) is a ‘double’ plural.

c) Phonological variants - a voiceless suffix [s] sometimes occurs (in free variation) after voiceless consonants (i.e. the ending of the singular form), where SE has voiced realisations – e.g., *calfs* ([kɑ:fs]); *roofs* ([ɹʊ:fs]).

⁴⁹ The occurrence of this type of data, which exhibits an apparent lack of inhibition on the part of the informants, demonstrates the usefulness of a data gathering methodology that incorporates fieldwork undertaken in informal situations, i.e. where the effects of the ‘observer’s paradox’ are somewhat neutralised.

Zero plurals (uninflected)

Plural nouns expressing measurements, both spatial and temporal, often occur unchanged (from the singular form) when preceded by numerals, and occasionally in other environments – e.g., *a few year since* (/ə fjɜː jɪə sɪn/). Some of these nouns are derived from OE neuter forms which had no ending in the nominative and accusative plural (e.g., *pound* and *year*); others such as *mile* and *ton* (often), and *inch* and *ounce* (to a lesser extent), were recorded with ‘singular’ plural forms in the ME / eModE periods, while *yard* (despite being derived from an OE strong feminine noun, with plural ending *-a* > ME [ə]) is nearly always recorded with an inflected plural *-s* ending in the ME period. It would appear, therefore, that the zero plural endings of measurements derived from inflectionless OE neuter forms have spread by analogy to other units of measurement over the course of the ME and eModE periods. Nevertheless, in present-day dialects, it appears that a zero plural ending occurs more frequently with some measurements than with others, while a few always occur with inflected plurals.

Ton (/tʊn/) – e.g., *it weighed a few ton-* and *pound* (weight) – e.g., *fourteen pound* - nearly always occur with zero plural endings; to a lesser extent, this also applies to *ounce*. Similarly, *mile* – e.g., *two mile* ([tɹ: ma:ɪ]) and *inch* (e.g., *about three or four inch*) are usually realised with no inflection; to this must be added *foot*, which normally retains its singular stem-vowel quality (i.e. the stem-vowel is not mutated to denote plurality - SE *feet*) – e.g., *about six foot*. Additionally, *yard* sometimes occurs with a zero plural realisation – e.g., *a few hundred yard*.

Year – e.g., *twenty odd year or so* (about twenty years or so); *month* (/mʊnθ/) – e.g., *about six month, twelve month, eighteen month* ([ɛɪtʔti:n mʊnθ]); and *week* – e.g., *two or three week back* (SE ago), *three week after* - frequently occur with zero plural endings, though *hour* (infrequently) and *minute* (infrequently) – e.g., *I had for’ (SE to) wait thirty minute or more* - differ in this respect, while *day* (/de:/) is always realised with an inflected plural form – i.e. *days* (/de:z/) - except in set phrases such as *five day week*, which also occur uninflected in SE. Similarly, the liquid measure *pint* always occurs with an inflected *-s* plural ending, though *gallon* sometimes occurs uninflected -e.g., *it uses about three or four gallon*.

Pound (money) - /pæʊnd/ - is frequently realised as a zero plural - e.g., *ten pound, nineteen pound* ([na:ɪnti:n pæʊnd]). Amongst the older informants, pre-decimalisation monetary units

(i.e. pre 1971) are still sometimes used; in such instances, these generally occur as zero plurals – e.g., *ten shilling*.

Deverbal nouns

A few instances of a gerund with the prefix *a-* (derived from a reduced proclitic form of the OE preposition *an, on*, which by the eME period had become [ə])⁵⁰ were recorded – e.g., *So, I told him, I'm going a-posting* (i.e. *I'm starting a job as a postman*); *Well, if he goes a-thieving, what does he expect?* – this type of construction only occurred (i.e. was recorded) in the speech of informants in the old-age group.

Pronouns

Personal Pronouns

When declining pronouns, the cases found in ‘traditional’ grammars – i.e. *nominative, accusative, dative* - will be used in the tables; the more usual ‘modern’ (and, some would say, more descriptive) terminology will be used in the commentary. Shorrocks concedes that modern terminology - such as *subjective* and *objective* - is not “altogether satisfactory”, but suggests that terms such as *nominative* and *accusative* “would be worse” on account of the fact that “objective-case forms occur in a large number of instances where the pronoun is not in object function.”⁵¹ While this is indeed the case, such reasoning ignores the fact that this situation (i.e. ‘objective-case’ forms with ‘nominative-case’ function and /or position) merely reflects the pronoun levelling that has occurred in many of the dialects of the north midlands and elsewhere. The dative (i.e. indirect object) case has been included not only for completeness of description (see also ‘Syntax’, below, p.159) but also because it clearly demonstrates the extent of the levelling that has occurred with some of the personal pronouns, notably the first person (cf. the levelling of the second person in SE). For a description of the ‘genitive’ case, see “Possessive Determiners (above, p. 145) and “Possessive Pronouns” (below, p. 157).

First person

			Stressed	Unstressed
Singular	Nom.	<i>I (me / us)</i>	/aɪ/, /a:/	/a/ ([a], [ä]), [ə]*
	Acc.	<i>me, us</i>	/mi:/, /ʊz/	/mɪ/, /əz/
	Dative	<i>me, us</i>	/mi:/, /ʊz/	/mɪ/, /əz/

⁵⁰ In this context (i.e. deverbal nouns), forms with an *a-* prefix were first recorded in the early sixteenth century.

⁵¹ Shorrocks (1999), p. 72.

Plural	Nom.	<i>we (us)</i>	/wi:/	/wɪ/
	Acc.	<i>us</i>	/ʊz/	/əz/
	Dative	<i>us</i>	/ʊz/	/əz/

*Clause non-initial

It is evident that the plural object and indirect object forms – i.e. *us* – have been levelled into the singular forms, which frequently occur as *us* (alongside *me*) – e.g., *he hit us* (SE *he hit me*); *he sold us this car* (SE *he sold me*); *give it us* (SE *give it to me*). By the same token, *us* also sometimes occurs (alongside *me*) as the nominative plural and singular forms in those instances where the object form is functioning where SE has the usual subject form – the singular subject form is often realised as *me / us* where SE has *I* – e.g., *you and me* (SE *you and I*); *him and us* (SE *he and I*) etc. Similarly, the plural subject is often occurs as *us* in constructions such as *us two* (SE *we two*) – also realised as *us both, both on* (SE *of us*).

It is apparent from the above that considerable levelling of the first person pronoun has occurred in New Mills (and evidently elsewhere) – indeed, *us* also frequently occurs as the realisation of the singular and plural forms of the possessive – see above, p. 145.

Phonological variants: the unstressed singular subject form in initial position is /a/ ([a] / [ä]),⁵² and [ə] in non-initial position – i.e. following interrogatives, e.g., [am ə], *Am I?*

The use of plural *us* in singular contexts and the use of object *me / us* in subject function occurs throughout all age-groups – it may be reasonably assumed, therefore, that these dialectal features are relatively stable.

Second Person

			Stressed	Unstressed
Singular	Nom.	<i>you, thou</i>	/jy:/; /ðaɪ/, /ða/	/jə/, /ðə/
	Acc.	<i>you, thee</i>	/jy:/; /ði:/	/jə/, /ði/
	Dative	<i>you, thee</i>	/jy:/; /ði:/	/jə/, /ði/

Plural	Nom.	<i>you</i>	/jy:/	/jə/
	Acc.	<i>you</i>	/jy:/	/jə/
	Dative	<i>you</i>	/jy:/	/jə/

⁵² This unstressed form is evidently widespread throughout the north; it has been recorded elsewhere in the north midlands – in Sheffield, see Stoddart et al (1999), p. 75; and in Bolton, see Shorrocks (1999), p. 72. – and the north, see Tidholm (1979), p. 133.

As is the case with SE, the former OE accusative / dative plural (OE *ēow*) case has been levelled into the subject (OE *gē* > ME *ye*) - a change which generally occurred during the IME / eModE periods in some varieties of English – and is increasingly being levelled into the singular forms as well. The traditional singular forms *thou* (subject) and *thee* (object and indirect object), derived from the OE singular forms of the second person pronoun (i.e. *þū*, *þē*) are restricted to the speech of the older informants, e.g., [wɛn ðəz fɪnɪʃ wɪð ɪt], *when thou's finished with it*. It is also apparent that the use of these traditional forms is situationally conditioned – i.e. with family members / close friends, particularly older ones, or among other traditional speakers - where they occur alongside *you* forms. Furthermore, outside these contexts, the occurrence of traditional singular forms is generally limited to a few common expressions / phrases – e.g., *Si' thi* (i.e. *see thee* – colloquial SE *see you* [goodbye]); *Sit thee down*; *me and thee*; *thou knows* (colloquial SE tag - *you know*), *I'll tell thee what / summat* (SE *something*) - which suggests that they are becoming lexicalised.

Cliticised forms

In addition to the full forms of the traditional singular second person pronouns, a reduced pronominal form of the subject case is suffixed / attached to a preceding auxiliary or the copula 'be' in interrogative constructions, the phonological realisation of which usually consists of a plosive /t/. While it is evident that this type of construction was relatively common only a short time ago (according to the *SED* data), it now generally occurs in a small number of common expressions / phrases:

e.g., *How at?* /æʊ at/ (literally *how art thou?* - SE *How are you?*); *At alright?* (greeting), /at ɔ:ɪ:t/; /kant(ə), kɒnt(ə)/, *Can thou..?*; /dʊst/ *does thou...?* The rather restricted occurrence of this type of construction suggests that a process of lexicalisation is also underway, further evidence of which is provided by the far greater occurrence of the first two of these phrases (i.e. the greetings), though this may be partly because of the general frequency of these phrases in everyday speech. Furthermore, the fact that some middle-age and adult speakers, in whose speech *thou* type pronouns generally do not occur, occasionally use these cliticised forms in greetings (and, rarely, in some of the other common expressions listed above) reinforces the assumption that these pronoun forms are becoming lexicalised.

Both the full singular pronoun and cliticised forms are noticeably absent in the speech of the teenagers – when questioned about this by the researcher, it became evident that these forms are regarded as highly conservative and / or typical of 'rural' speech, and therefore the

provenance of older speakers only. The teenagers' allusion to 'rural' in effect means 'non-urban' (i.e. 'urban' referring to the large conurbation of Manchester), as New Mills itself, although rural in aspect, is nonetheless a small post-industrial town. In linguistic terms, 'rural' may be defined as 'traditional'. This suggests, therefore, that overt markers of traditional dialect, such as *thou* pronoun forms, are deliberately avoided by the teenagers.

Third person

			Stressed		Unstressed	
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.	Masc.	Fem.
Singular Nom.	<i>he (him)</i>	<i>she* (her)</i>	/i:/	/ʃi:/	/ɪ/	/ʃɪ/
Acc.	<i>him</i>	<i>her</i>	/ɪm/	/ə:(ɪ)/	/ɪm/	/ə/
Dative	<i>him</i>	<i>her</i>	/ɪm/	/ə:(ɪ)/	/ɪm/	/ə/
			Stressed		Unstressed	
Plural Nom.	<i>they (them)</i>		/ðe:/		/ðɪ/	
Acc.	<i>them</i>		/ðɛm/		/əm/, /ʊm/	
Dative	<i>them</i>		/ðɛm/		/əm/, /ʊm/	

*For comments regarding traditional *hoo* realisations, see immediately below.

The traditional north-west midlands dialect subject form of the feminine pronoun – i.e. *hoo* (< OE *hēo*) – was recorded at the two nearest SED localities (Derbyshire 1, Cheshire 2). However, this traditional dialect feature was not recorded in New Mills during this investigation, either as part of the extensive fieldwork data or the even more extensive non-fieldwork incidental material; the only 'contemporary' instance occurs in a tape-recording (made by one of the informants) of a New Mills resident born at the end of the nineteenth century. When questioned on this matter, the older informants stated that they did not use it themselves but were aware of its existence; some stated that it was fairly commonplace when they were young and / or their fathers had used it, but they had not heard it for some considerable time. It must be assumed, therefore, that this feature has been entirely eroded (in New Mills) and generally replaced by the standardised / variant form *she*. The reasons for this are unclear; other fairly localised features have not suffered the same fate, nor is it the case that *hoo* has been entirely eroded elsewhere in urban areas in the north midlands.⁵³

As is the case with the first person pronouns (above), the object case often occurs in subject position in certain instances where SE has subject forms – e.g., *him and me / me and him* (SE *he and I*); *me and her* (SE *she and I*); *me and them* etc. Additionally, the object form of the feminine pronoun is sometimes used in subject position when referring to one's wife – e.g.

⁵³ See Shorrocks (1999), p. 73.

'*er there's going* (in response to a question), i.e. *my wife's going*. Such usage occurs even if the third party is unknown to the referent, and, therefore, phrases such as this differ semantically as well as grammatically from SE; it is certainly the case that such usage carries no negative connotations and it is not generally considered derogatory or rude.

In non-initial positions within the clause, realisations of the plural object and indirect object nearly always consist of the forms /ə̃m/, /ʊm/ even in relatively stressed positions (unless stress is required in certain semantic / pragmatic contexts) - e.g., *What about 'em* ? ([ʊm]); *Give it 'em* ([ə̃m]). As 'em forms also occur in spoken SE, (though they are generally frowned upon), there is a general perception that 'em forms represent a reduced form of *them*. However, forms without *th* are believed to derive from the OE dative *heom*, and therefore the almost ubiquitous 'em dialectal forms do not necessarily represent a reduced form of *them*; indeed, it is probably the case that forms derived from OE *heom* are represented far more frequently in the dialects. In New Mills, *th*-less forms occur universally throughout all age-groups.

Possessive Pronouns

The following possessive pronouns – that do not operate as modifiers and stand alone (i.e. they operate as the (sole) complement) - are sometimes referred to as 'disjunctive' possessive pronouns in traditional grammars – for a description of 'conjunctive' possessive pronouns, see 'Possessive Determiners', above, pp. 145-146.

Singular 1 st Person	<i>mine</i>	/maɪn/
2 nd Person	<i>thine, yours</i>	/ðaɪn/; /joə(ɪ)z/
Masc. 3 rd Person	<i>his</i>	/ɪz/
Fem.	<i>hers</i>	/ə(ɪ):z/
Plural 1 st Person	<i>ours</i>	/æʊə(ɪ)z/
2 nd Person	<i>yours</i>	/joə(ɪ)z/
3 rd Person	<i>theirs</i>	/ðeə(ɪ)z/

The use of the traditional second person possessive pronoun *thine* is restricted to the older informants (alongside *yours*, in free variation) – e.g., *that's thine*. The younger informants (i.e. adult and teenagers) only use the modified / variant *yours* form. However, apparent-time phonological variation exists with the realisations of *yours* – [jo·əz], [jɪ·əz], [jɔ:z] are common realisations among the older speakers (see /ɔ:/ in Part 2, below, pp. 21-27), and, although [jo·əz] may sometimes be heard in the adult age-group, monophthongal variants

with long open back vowel realisations – i.e. [jɔ:z], [jɒ:z] - are the norm, universally so amongst the teenagers.

The first person plural possessive pronoun can only be realised as *ours* (cf. first person plural ‘Possessive Determiners’ and ‘Reflexive Pronouns’) and is never realised as *us*; this has presumably developed so as to avoid any semantic ambiguity that may arise from expressions such as *that’s us*.

Singular 1 st Person	<i>me, mysel</i>	/mɪ/; /mɪsɛl/
2 nd Person	<i>thee, thysel, yoursel</i>	/ðɪ/; /ðɪsɛl/, /jəsɛl/
Masc. 3 rd Person	<i>hissel, himsel</i>	/ɪsɛl/, /ɪzɛl/; /ɪmsɛl/
Fem.	<i>hersel</i>	/əsɛl/
Plural 1 st Person	<i>oursels, ussels</i>	/æʊəsɛls/, /ʊsɛls/, /əsɛls/
2 nd Person	<i>yoursels</i>	/jəsɛls/
3 rd Person	<i>themsels, theirsels</i>	/ðəmsɛls/, /ðəsɛls/

N.B. All the singular forms listed above occur (in free variation) alongside modified forms with *-self* endings; all the plural forms above occur (in free variation) alongside modified forms with *-selves* endings.

On a phonological level, the /f/ less dialectal realisations of the suffix (i.e. *sel*, /sɛl/ < ME *selfen* > north midlands *sel* or *sen*; SE *self*) are generally restricted to the older and mid age-groups (and, to a small extent, the adult informants), and are noticeably absent in the speech of the teenagers. Whether this is because of the influence of SE (or modified varieties thereof) or other non-standard urban varieties, or whether this situation has arisen because of the avoidance of what is perceived to be a feature of the traditional dialect, is unclear; some or all of these factors are probably involved.

As far as morphology is concerned, the realisations of the reflexive pronouns are somewhat complex - there are three distinct types of formation: *a*) the object form (1st and 2nd person singular only); *b*) the object form + suffix (3rd person singular, 3rd person plural); and *c*) the genitive form + suffix (universal).

Type *a* occurs in a few instances in phrases involving common everyday actions – e.g., *wash me*; *dressed me up* (i.e. *dressed myself in formal clothes*); *lie thee down* ([la:ɪ ðɪ dæʊn]); *sit thee down*. In all these instances, the use of object type forms may be replaced (and often are) by *c* type variants (i.e. genitive form + suffix); in the last example, the pronoun form *thee* may also be replaced by a *c* type variant – i.e. *sit thysel down*. With the exception of the traditional form of the second person singular, object form variants occur in all age-groups, though they appear to occur less frequently amongst the younger informants. The other *b* type variants (i.e. 3rd person singular / plural - *himself* / *himself*; *themsels* / *themselves*) occur

in all age-groups; the *b* type in these instances (3rd sing., plural) is the usual (but not universal) variant amongst the younger informants, at the expense of the *c* type variant (i.e. *hissel*, *theirsels*), which occur in free variation with *b* type variants amongst the older speakers. The other *c* type variants occur in all age-groups and demonstrate no apparent-time development.

Syntactic variation

There are instances of pronominal syntactic variation; some of these merely concern pronominal position within the clause (as in the following example), but others are part of relatively complex non-standard syntax patterns.

In clauses with two pronouns, the dialect differs from SE in that the indirect object may (and frequently does) follow the direct object without a preposition – e.g., *give it us* (SE *give it to me* or *give me it*); *I gave it him last week* (SE *I gave it to him*); *he lent it me* etc.

In NPs, the object form occurs in subject position when the pronoun is modified (by a morpheme or a clause), either pre-nominally or post-nominally – e.g., *him who won it last time*; *them as worked at print-works*; *her what lived opposite*; *him at Knightwake farm*.

The following non-standard constructions commonly occur in free speech. These consist of clauses with either a Subject N + Pronoun (i.e. where the pronoun occurs anaphorically in apposition to the noun) – e.g. *Colin, he told me* - or Subject Pronoun + N (with a cataphoric pronoun / noun) – *he moved into the village this year, John did*. These types of pronoun have often been described in traditional grammars as ‘redundant pronouns’, and the clauses in which they occur as ‘emphatic’ or ‘reiteration’; contemporary linguists, however, prefer to use terminology such as *left-dislocation* and *right-dislocation* to refer to anaphoric and cataphoric pronouns (respectively). Moreover, terminology aside, there appears to be a lack of agreement amongst linguists / dialectologists as to the precise grammatical nature and function of these types of construction. Wales advances the view that any distinction between “anaphora and cataphora is effectively neutralised at a discourse level”, on account of the fact that she believes that “the significant impulse for both kinds of structures is that of emphasis.”⁵⁴ Shorrocks, however, contends “that not all of these constructions are necessarily emphatic: the type, *An t’ monager ’e said*, which is very common, may simply be a syntagmatically alternative way of expressing the topic (subject).”⁵⁵ Indeed, the relatively common occurrence of these types of construction in free speech (in New Mills, as

⁵⁴ Wales, Katie, *Personal Pronouns in Present-day English*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996, p. 43.

⁵⁵ Shorrocks (1999), p. 87.

well as in Bolton)⁵⁶ does suggest that this may be the case, not least because it is unlikely that emphasis would be required with such frequency. Nevertheless, as Shorrocks points out, a definitive conclusion about the precise nature and function of these constructions cannot be drawn “without a much more detailed study of pronominal syntax.”⁵⁷

It is generally assumed that left-dislocation is “used for topicalisation.”⁵⁸ Shorrocks remarks that this “forms part of a wider tendency of the dialect speakers to state what is of prime concern initially.”⁵⁹ Indeed, a similar type of linguistic phenomenon may be observed in other languages; in Japanese, for example, syntactic constructions consisting of ‘topicalisation’ (noun / pronoun + topic marker *wa*) are common in declarative and interrogative clauses.⁶⁰

Examples of anaphoric constructions in New Mills (Subject N + Pronoun – ‘left-dislocation’) – *this bloody great bomb, it landed right in the river; the spinning mill at Newtown, Victoria Mill, it didn’t shut down till 1986; well, Spring Bank, it’s not called that for nowt* (SE *nothing*); *the Eccles Pike race, it’s the oldest one; that road up there, it’s in a terrible state; well, Harold, he told me*, etc.

Right-dislocation, on the other hand, “is used mainly in constructions in which the referent is identical to that of a noun phrase or pronoun within the clause.”⁶¹ However, it is evident that cataphoric (Subject Pronoun + N – ‘right-dislocation’) constructions vary syntactically amongst the dialects of the north; “in the North-east, typically only the noun phrase or pronoun is repeated, whilst in Yorkshire, an auxiliary precedes it.”⁶² In New Mills, (as in Bolton),⁶³ both types occur. Examples of the former type (pronoun / noun reiteration) are: *he’s a rum (crazy) bugger, that bloke; it’ll never get finished, that job*, etc. The latter type occurs with either repeated copula ‘be’ or repeated or substitute auxiliaries (operators) in tag clauses, in which the subject - operator word order may be inverted – i.e. auxiliary / verb + N or N + auxiliary / verb:

⁵⁶ See Shorrocks (1999), pp. 84-89; these types of construction evidently occur in other dialects in the north midlands / north – see Tidholm (1979), p. 134 - on grammatical remarks concerning the dialect of Egton (North Yorkshire). In addition to these descriptions, right and left dislocation have been identified as features that are “northern” (in this instance, the term “northern” includes the dialects of the north midlands) - see Beal, Joan, “The morphology and syntax of English dialects in the North of England”, in Kortmann, B. (ed.), *A Handbook of Varieties of English*, Berlin, Mouton, 2005(b), §6.1.

⁵⁷ Shorrocks (1999), pp. 87.

⁵⁸ Beal (2005b), op. cit, § 6.1.

⁵⁹ Shorrocks (1999), p. 88.

⁶⁰ For example, *eki wa, doko desu ka?* (*the train station, where is (it)?*); *densha wa, jup pun mae sarimashita* (*the train, (it) left ten minutes ago*).

⁶¹ Beal (2005b), § 6.1.

⁶² Ibid.

⁶³ See Shorrocks (1999), pp. 84-89.

N + auxiliary / verb - e.g., *he said 'that's it, it's all over', the boss did; they were very noisy places, them mills were*; auxiliary / verb + N - e.g., *every now and then, they'd shoot out, would them shuttles; they come out of Stalybridge, did Lowe's* (SE *Lowe's came from Stalybridge*).

Such constructions are also found in object function within the clause. In left-dislocation clauses, the object NP occurs before the Subject + VP + Pronoun clause - e.g., *the raw cotton, we had to take it downstairs for (to) get it carded and spun first; junk mail, I always leave it in the frame*.

In right-dislocation clauses (Object Pronoun + Nominal Object), the Object Pronoun occurs as the complement of Subject Pronoun + VP, the Object NP occurring as a verbal noun / non-finite verb:

We used to do that every Saturday night, go out down Market Street and Union Road; I still do that regular, playing golf.

In some instances, more than one part of the clause may be reiterated; in the following instance, both the pronominal subject and adjunct (in a S + Pred. [VP] + A clause) are followed by nominal / pronominal reiteration in a tag consisting only of a NP (subject) or preposition + NP (adjunct). Needless to say, such constructions do not fit easily into either the anaphoric or cataphoric categories, not least because the syntax differs from the syntactic patterns typical of these types of construction - i.e. the pronominal subject is reiterated by another single morpheme pronominal NP that is not qualified by an operator, thus providing no extra information; consider the following:

I've never been up there, me, on Kinder (place-name [hill]).

In such cases, it would appear that the reiteration of the pronominal subject is for emphatic and / or confirmatory purposes, and may add credence, in this instance, to Wales' view (above) that the motivation behind reiteration is emphasis. Nevertheless, the apparent cataphoric reiteration of the adjunct (consisting of new information)⁶⁴ would indicate that alternative syntactic patterns (concerning reiteration) do exist on a dialectal level. Indeed, other examples where pronominal reiteration occurs suggest that such constructions are not necessarily for emphatic purposes, exemplified by the following where the initial pronoun is reiterated by a demonstrative - e.g., *it wants sorting, does that* (SE *that needs to be sorted out*). Moreover, the following cataphoric construction, which consists of 'double' reiteration,

⁶⁴ This only applies to the syntactic feature under discussion - the 'new information' in this instance is sub-clausal, i.e. it refers only to the previous pronoun ('there') of the adjunct - and is distinct from the level of theme / rheme (i.e. topic / new information) that occurs in consecutive clauses; the topic in this instance has already been mentioned previously and is readily understood.

also suggests that an emphatic / confirmatory function is not necessarily the sole factor behind these types of syntagmatic constructions; as the final verbal phrase evidently has an emphatic and / or confirmatory function in this example, this suggests that the reiteration within the preceding clause has another purpose: *I used to love going there, I did, I did really.*

Relative Pronouns

The dialectal use of relative pronouns differs from SE at both the lexical and syntactic level. The usual relative pronouns – with either personal or non-personal (i.e. inanimate) antecedents - are *as*, *what* and *that*; *who* (personal) and *which* (non-personal) occur only occasionally in modified speech.

	Subject	Object	Possessive
Personal	<i>as, what, that</i>	<i>as, what, that</i>	<i>whose</i>
Non-personal	<i>as, what, that</i>	<i>as, what, that</i>	<i>whose, what</i>

With a personal subject antecedent,⁶⁵ the relative pronoun is expressed by several variants in the dialect – *as*, *what* and *that* – which all occur in the speech of the older speakers – e.g., *everybody as lived here; him as lives opposite; them what worked there (those who worked there); the men that were down in the engine-room, them that come last (those who came last) etc.*

Nevertheless, while *what* and *that* are the usual forms used by the younger informants, *as* generally occurs in the speech of the older informants only; it is absent in the speech of the teenagers. *Who* sometimes occurs in the (modified) speech of all age-groups.

As part of a clause qualifying a personal / non-personal subject antecedent, where the topic functions as a complement within a nominal phrase, the relative pronoun is expressed by *what*, *that*, *as* and as a zero realisation - e.g., *the person what I seen (the person who I saw); them as was asked to come back (those who were asked to come back); them houses what the Germans built (those houses that the Germans built); the chap I told*⁶⁶ etc. In these types of clauses, where a preposition occurs within the verbal phrase, the preposition never precedes

⁶⁵ This is represented by the headword *that* in the SED questionnaire (III.3.7 *the man that looks after the cows*); nevertheless, one of the modern prescriptive standard grammars states that *who* is the usual SE form in subject position in this instance - ‘**who** is normally used ... but **that** is a possible alternative after **all**, **everyone**, **everybody**, **no one**, **nobody** and **those**’ – Martinet, A.V., and Thomson, A. J., *A Practical English Grammar*, Volume 1, London, Guild Publishing, 1991, p. 82.

⁶⁶ In this context (i.e. in object function within a NP), zero realisations may also occur in SE.

the relative pronoun, as in SE – e.g., *That passage what you can walk through; the bloke what I spoke to; him that he give it to; the pub we used to drink at* (contrast SE *the man to / with whom I spoke; he (that man), to whom he gave it;*⁶⁷ *the pub at which we used to drink*).

Zero realisations occur frequently in constructions *there* + copula *be* + relative clause (contact-clause) – e.g., *there's a bloke up Low Leighton worked there until it shut; there's only about four of us lives round here, that were bred and born here; there's an old woman on Ollersett told me her mother come from there; there's more than eight thousand [people] live in New Mills*⁶⁸ - and sometimes after *it* + copula *be* + relative clause⁶⁹ – e.g., *it were them lot broke it* (see also immediately below). This type of construction may also occur with non-personal antecedents - e.g., *there's a signpost there'll show you the way to go*.

With a personal object antecedent⁷⁰ (see also questionnaire responses Part 3. 22),⁷¹ the relative pronoun is expressed by *as*, *what*, *that* and, occasionally, as a zero realisation – e.g., *I know a man (SE who) will mend it*. As is the case with the subject expressions (above), all these variants occur in the speech of the older (i.e. old and mid age-groups) informants. Similarly, some of these variants exhibit a degree of apparent-time development: *As* and the zero realisation (particularly) are generally absent in the speech of the adults and totally absent in the teenage age-group; *what* and *that* are the norm. *Who* sometimes occurs in the speech of informants in all age-groups.

With a non-personal subject antecedent, the relative pronoun is expressed by *what*, *that* and, occasionally, *as* – e.g., *the road what goes to; the houses what was (SE were) built there; the torpedoes what were stacked...; the bridge that crossed the river there; the buildings as was there before; the railway as went to Hayfield* (place-name) etc. This contrasts with SE, which has either *which* or *that* ('*which* is the more formal'),⁷² *which*, nevertheless,

⁶⁷ The difficulty of reproducing this clause in SE (and the apparent clumsy rendering thereof) is an ample demonstration of the differences between SE and the dialect; notably the use of a pronominal object form in subject function (and position), the understanding of which is provided by the following relative clause, and the syntax of the verbal phrase (final preposition).

⁶⁸ Also note the apparent lack of concord between the copula 'be' and the referent (see below, p. 171); furthermore, note the use of the present simple (i.e. *live*) rather than the present participle (SE) which occurs in subordinate clause where the relative pronoun has been omitted.

⁶⁹ So-called 'cleft sentence' in prescriptive grammars – zero relative realisations are not an option – 'when the object is a proper noun, **that** is more usual than **who**.' – Martinet et al (1991), op. cit., p. 83.

⁷⁰ The noun to which the relative relates is often classified grammatically as being in 'subject function' - i.e. the noun is not the complement of a verb, rather the subject – contrast this to clauses such as "*the man I saw last week*", where, although the nominal phrase *the man* is obviously in subject position within the clause, it is the complement of a verb within the qualifying relative clause, and thus often categorised as being in 'object function'.

⁷¹ This is represented by the headword *who* in the SED questionnaire (IX.9.5 I know a man who will do it for you).

⁷² Martinet, A.V., and Thomson, A. J. (1991), op. cit., p. 83.

occasionally (rarely) occurs in the speech of informants in all age-groups. The apparent infrequent use of relative *which* in the dialect is mirrored by the use of the interrogative determiner in the dialect, which is often expressed by *what* in question constructions where SE normally has *which* (see above, p. 148). In constructions where the subject is qualified by a relative clause consisting of a verbal phrase and preposition, the relative is expressed by *that*, *what*, *as* and zero – *The place that I moved from; the job what I were going for; the mill as I worked at; this stuff as they cooked* ([ðɪs stʊf əz ðɪ kv:kʰ]); *twenty odd years as I know of* ([twentɪ ɒd jə:z əz ä no: ɒv]); *the place I were standing at, the farm I lived at, the one thing I was looking forward to* etc. On a syntactic level, it may be observed that the preposition never precedes the relative pronoun; this contrasts to constructions in SE where the relative, expressed by *which*, follows the preposition: e.g., *the farm at which I lived; the place from which I moved* etc.

With a non-personal object antecedent, the relative is expressed by *that*, *what*, *as* and zero⁷³ – e.g., *they could only re-work them that hadn't been long shut; most of them living in the houses, what have been built over the mineshafts, don't know; it's the best one as I know; they gave me the last one they had.*⁷⁴

With a non-personal antecedent, the possessive relative is expressed by *whose* and (sometimes) *what*⁷⁵ – e.g., *there aren't any parties what policies stick up for the working man.*

Historical Development

During the OE period, the relative was expressed by the indeclinable particle *þe*; *wh*-particles were used only in an interrogative function. *That* was first recorded as a relative particle in the early part of the ME period ('Ormulum' – *þatt*) and remained the principal device in relative constructions during the ME period (alongside 'contact-clauses' – i.e. relative constructions with no relative pronouns). It is only at the end of the fourteenth century that *who* began to gradually appear in a relative function, though its use was still mainly interrogative; it did not become widespread as a relative until the eModE period.⁷⁶ During the eModE period, *that* was still used extensively in both personal and non-personal

⁷³ This contrasts to SE in some respects – **which** or **that**, or no relative at all; **which** is hardly ever used after **all**, **everything**, **little**, **much**, **none**, **no**, or after superlatives. Instead we use **that**, or omit the relative altogether, if it is the object of a verb.' (Ibid.)

⁷⁴ In this example, zero relative realisations may also occur in SE – see footnote 72, directly above.

⁷⁵ It is possible that this form is more widely used, but the data is limited in this respect – i.e. there were very few instances of non-personal possessives recorded.

⁷⁶ Strang (1970), p. 198.

constructions; it was during the eighteenth century that prescriptivists first voiced opposition to the use of *that* in personal constructions, on the grounds of grammatical ‘correctness’ – i.e. *wh-* forms could specify gender (personal as opposed to non-personal) and case (subject – object distinction – i.e. *who* and *whom*).⁷⁷

As with the other relatives, *which* developed as a relative pronoun during the ME period (the first recording of which, in a non-restrictive clause, occurred in the late twelfth century) and was used with both personal and non-personal antecedents. It was not until the eModE period (from the sixteenth century onwards) that *which* began to be used specifically in non-personal constructions, and it was not until the eighteenth century that *which* and personal *who* assumed the gender specificity of present day SE.⁷⁸

The distinction between *wh-* pronouns and *that* remains rather indistinct in SE, and is still subject to change, “particularly in restrictive clauses.”⁷⁹ Nevertheless, in certain instances, the line between *wh-* relatives and *that* is more clearly marked; in present day SE, restrictive relatives in subject function with personal antecedents are generally realised as *who*, though this is not necessarily the case in other functions.⁸⁰ A shift away from *that* in constructions with personal antecedents began in the eighteenth century (see above, p. 165). This change has been researched by Ball (who analysed written data between 1700 and 1900), and it was found that use of *who* and *which* rapidly overtook *that* during the eighteenth century, before retreating somewhat during the twentieth century.⁸¹ The use of *that* in non-restrictive clauses also began to recede from the seventeenth century onwards in SE, though its use in such constructions is still sometimes encountered. In the eModE period (i.e. before the eighteenth century), *that* “was the preferred form even in non-restrictive use.”⁸²

The zero relative “is generally regarded as a variant of the marker *that*”, on account of the fact that constructions with zero relatives “alternate as complementisers of nominal clauses.”⁸³ However, any similarities between *that* and zero relatives are necessarily restricted to a grammatical and functional level. Moreover, “it is important to realise that contact-clauses are ancient structures of independent origin, not just relatives with pronouns

⁷⁷ Strang (1970), p. 142.

⁷⁸ Denison, David, “Syntax”, in Romaine, Suzanne (ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language, Volume IV 1776 – 1997*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1998, pp. 276-277.

⁷⁹ Denison (1998), op. cit., p. 278.

⁸⁰ Ibid.

⁸¹ Ball, C. N., “A diachronic study of relative markers in spoken and written English”, *Language Variation and Change* 8, 248-251.

⁸² Strang (1970), p. 142.

⁸³ Denison (1998), p. 280.

left out.”⁸⁴ As with *that* (immediately above), the use of zero relatives began to decline rapidly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in SE.⁸⁵ It was during the twentieth century that zero relative constructions became widely used again in written English,⁸⁶ but they were still largely confined to constructions with object relations, a restriction that had been observed in “good” written English since the eighteenth century;⁸⁷ in subject function, a zero relative still remained non-standard. Nevertheless, after *that* or *there* + copula *be*, zero relatives have “survived even in subject function.”⁸⁸

The development of *what* in relative constructions is difficult to unravel, not least because of the highly complex nature of its grammatical functions throughout the history of the English language. Indeed, the OED states that “the line of division between the dependent interrogative use and the pure relative use is in certain conditions, especially in the early periods, difficult or impossible to draw” – isolated examples are recorded of *what* occurring in indirect questions (referring to things) from the OE period (eighth century) onwards, and in predicative use (referring to persons) during the same period (ninth century onwards),⁸⁹ such constructions surviving in SE to this day – e.g., in modern SE (in indirect questions and dependent clauses): *I asked him what time the train left; I did not hear what he said.* Nevertheless, it was during the ME period that *wh*-interrogatives began to be frequently used in predicative use; it is perhaps significant, as far as the development of relatives is concerned, that *what* appeared first in this capacity and was initially preferred, even in personal constructions. It was not until 1300 that *who* began to be used on its own (i.e. without *that*).⁹⁰

It is also the case that *what* has a long history in relative constructions, a few examples (with non-personal antecedents) of which were recorded as early as the late OE period; it is during the ME period / eModE period, however, that *what* occurred frequently with both non-personal and personal antecedents.⁹¹ Such use survives only in non-standard varieties, being

⁸⁴ Strang (1970), pp. 142-143.

⁸⁵ Denison (1998), p. 280.

⁸⁶ Denison (1998), p. 281.

⁸⁷ Strang (1970), p. 143.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

⁸⁹ See the OED, headword - *what*.

⁹⁰ Strang (1970), pp. 269-270.

⁹¹ The significance of *what* as one of the earliest recorded relatives (derived from interrogatives) is reinforced by the fact that *wat* also occurs as a relative in modern Dutch (a closely related West Germanic language) in contexts where modern SE has *that* or *which*.

obsolete in SE by the end of the seventeenth century.⁹² After *who* had become established in SE during the eModE period, non-standard *what* occurred in constructions that corresponded to the SE relative *who*, in addition to SE constructions with the relatives *which* and *that*.

The ME period also witnessed the rise of other relative pronouns that had formerly operated only in non-relative environments: *as* in relative constructions was first recorded in the early fourteenth century. From the beginning, it occurred with both non-personal and personal antecedents, and continued as such, as the many examples from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries testify. However, it may be assumed that similar influences to the ones which resulted in the decline of *that* (above) were responsible for the demise of *as* (with either personal or non-personal antecedents). By the end of the eModE period / beginning of the ModE period, *as* in relative constructions had become mainly obsolete in written SE – according to the *OED*, isolated instances are encountered up to the middle of the eighteenth century; later (nineteenth century) examples are usually renderings of rustic speech. In the contemporary ModE period, the relative pronoun *as* is obsolete in written and spoken SE; it has survived only in non-standard varieties - it still operates with both personal and non-personal antecedents, where it is used in constructions corresponding to SE *who*, *which* and *that*.

Historically, *whose* is the genitive of both masculine / feminine (*who*) and neuter (*what*) and consequently has come to serve as a genitive determiner for personal and non - personal antecedents (SE *who* and *which*). There is, however, in contemporary SE, resistance to the latter (which possibly could be traced to the eighteenth century prescriptivists' use of gender as a criterion in the selection of relatives), presumably because of its association with personal forms - various constructions are often used to avoid the use of *whose* with non-personal antecedents; foremost among these are *of which* and *where*.⁹³ Nevertheless, *whose* (with non-personal antecedents) is commonly used in spoken varieties of SE and in many dialects. The historic origin of non-personal *whose* (genitive case of OE neuter *what*) is significant as far as non-standard realisations are concerned; in some dialects (including New Mills), *what* occurs as a genitive determiner - this has apparently developed by a process of case levelling (i.e. levelled to the nominative / accusative form), a phenomenon which also occurred extensively with personal pronouns in non-standard varieties (above, pp. 153-157).

⁹² Occasional examples are encountered in literature, however, until the middle of the nineteenth century, such instances usually emulating rustic speech – e.g., “Be like Long Forster, what walked to Colne and back before breakfast.” (T.W. Reid, *Life Forster*, v. 144).

⁹³ Denison (1998), p. 278.

Contemporary Change: apparent time development

As occurs comparatively frequently as a relative pronoun (with both personal and non-personal antecedents) in the traditional dialect; it is generally restricted, however, to the speech of the older (old and mid age groups), and is absent in the speech of the teenagers - i.e. it was not recorded. However, amongst the teenagers, standardised variants (i.e. *who* [personal] and *which* [non-personal]) are the exception rather than the rule; the relative pronoun is often expressed by other non-standard forms, specifically *what* – this is used with both personal and non-personal antecedents - and *that* (personal / non-personal). This strongly suggests that SE has had little effect in this instance. *What* is also expressed by the older informants and thus may be considered to be part of the traditional dialect of New Mills. There is some evidence to suggest that *what* was one of the first OE interrogative determiners to assume relative function (above) and this may account for its wide provenance in non-standard varieties. Nevertheless, the apparent use of *what* by the teenagers may reflect its occurrence in many non-standard varieties (both urban and non-urban) in the north midlands and elsewhere, in contrast to the more highly restricted (both spatially and temporally) *as*.⁹⁴ Conversely, *who* and *which* were rarely recorded, even less so amongst the older speakers, *that* being particularly favoured for the latter. Another non-standard relative to exhibit age-grading is the relatively rare zero construction; this is restricted to the speech of the oldest informants. These types of constructions also have a long history (above, pp. 165-166) and were recorded by the *SED* in many of the dialects of the north and north-west midlands (and elsewhere). Again, it unlikely that SE or modified varieties have been influential in the apparent decline of this traditional feature; as already discussed, alternative constructions expressed by the younger informants generally consist of other non-standard forms.

⁹⁴ Beal and Corrigan found that *what* occurred in the speech of older and younger speakers in Sheffield, south Yorkshire (1981), while it rarely occurred as a relative marker in Tyneside speech –see Beal, Joan C., and Corrigan, Karen P., ‘A Tale of Two Dialects: Relativisation in Newcastle and Sheffield’, in Filppula, M. Palander, Klemola, J., and Penttilä, E. (eds), *Dialects across Borders*, Amsterdam, Benjamins, 2005 (b), pp. 16-19.

Verbs

Non-Past (Present) Tense

As far as the categorisation of tense is concerned, some linguists have found it more convenient to refer to what is traditionally called the ‘Present’ tense as the ‘Non-Past’. This is based primarily on the fact that verbs either demonstrate present or past tense inflections / forms only (i.e. there are no specific future tense forms – these being constructed primarily with auxiliaries – or, for example, subjunctive; the OE subjunctive inflections survived in modified form only until the ME period); subsequently, present tense forms are used to denote a variety of temporal situations – e.g., future, habitual, present historic etc. – that often exhibit differing inflections in other European languages.

The following paradigm (traditionally referred to as the Present Tense Indicative) describing the regular Non-Past tense endings, is typical of the New Mills dialect.

	Singular	Plural ⁹⁵
1 st Person	- Ø	- Ø (/ -s/)
2 nd Person	- Ø, -s*	- Ø
3 rd Person	-s	- Ø (/ -s/)

* -s inflections occur with *thou* pronouns.

The usual realisations for the inflected ending –s (of the second and third person singular) follows the pattern evident in SE: [z] in verbs with a stem ending in a lenis consonant (except /z/ and /dʒ/) or a vowel; [ɪz] in verbs where the stem ends in /s/, /z/, /ʃ/, /tʃ/ and /dʒ/; [s] in verbs with stems ending in fortis consonants (except those just mentioned). However, it should be noted that the realisation of the inflectional ending does not always correspond to that in SE in some instances, in cases where the stem of the dialectal forms differs from that in SE (such as when the dialectal form is derived from an earlier metathetical variant) – e.g., /i: ɛksɪz ɪm/, *He asks him* (SE /asks/). Moreover, it is evident that an alternative plural inflection consisting of –s also occurs within the dialect. The sporadic and relatively uncommon occurrence of these variants suggests that they are relic forms; nevertheless, these –s endings (the so-called ‘Northern Present Tense Rule’, typical of some northern

⁹⁵ Data from the *SED*, and elsewhere, suggests that –n plural endings were common in many of the dialects of the north-west midlands (including Derbyshire 1 and Cheshire 2), around the middle of the twentieth century and before (see Shorrocks (1998b), pp. 115-116). With the exception of *have*, no –n plural endings were recorded in New Mills; although the oldest informants were aware of such forms, they all stated that these plural forms were “very old” and not used anymore. Nevertheless, variant forms consisting of a relic plural –s ending (typical of some northern dialects) are present in the first and third persons; it is probable that such forms also occur in the second person, though no examples were recorded. None of the informants were aware of these variants, despite these forms occurring sporadically in their speech.

dialects) appear to have survived, whereas the *-n* inflection (typical of traditional dialects of the north midlands) have not ⁹⁶ – e.g., *only about four of us lives round here now; these Johnny-come-latelys comes along* – see also ‘have’ (e.g., *my mother and father has*), and the plural forms of the past tense of ‘be’.

As far as verb stems are concerned, there are some notable differences between the dialect and SE, specifically in verbs with a close round vowel + /l/, e.g., *pull*, /pʊ:/ (SE /pʊl/). In this instance, final /l/ has become vocalised in the traditional dialect; the vowel has undergone what appears to be compensatory lengthening and also been fronted (i.e. the usual dialectal realisation for long, close rounded vowels) – cf. dialectal *school*, *fool* – /skɜ:/, /fɜ:/ etc. Forms consisting of long close vowels without final /l/ evidently also occur in south Lancashire (/pɜ:/),⁹⁷ but due to lack of data in the *SED* (no headword)⁹⁸, it is not possible to ascertain if this particular form is typical of the traditional dialects of the north-west midlands as a whole, or whether it is more locally restricted. It is recorded in Leigh’s *Cheshire Glossary* (1877), and the *EDD* records it as occurring in Lancashire, Cheshire and north and north-west Derbyshire, which does seem to suggest that it occurs throughout the region. Furthermore, it was recorded in Addy’s *A Glossary of Words used in the neighbourhood of Sheffield* (1888)⁹⁹ – i.e. in the north-east midlands area – but no mention is made of it in the earlier *A Hallamshire Glossary*. Contemporary data and the historical information just outlined suggest that /l/ less forms occur extensively over the north-west midlands area.

In addition to this, the verb *go* exhibits considerable variation, some of which contrasts with SE – /go:/, /gʊ/ (mainly unstressed) and /gɜ:/ . The first two of these variants commonly occur in simple present tense forms, while the last of these is mainly restricted to verb stem + present participle (*-ing*) constructions, where it occurs alongside the other two variants – e.g., /wɛə jə gɜ:ɪn/, *Where are you going?* The *SED* records /gʊ/ at both Derbyshire 1 and Cheshire 2, and /gɜ:/ at Derbyshire 1 (gʊ/ [and /gɜ:/, /gɜ:ɪn/] is the usual realisation at Cheshire 2; /gɜ:/ [/gɜ:ɪn/] at Derbyshire 1).

⁹⁶ Both *-s* and *-n* forms (present plural) occur in the north-west midlands ME texts *Patience* and *St. Erkenwald*.

⁹⁷ See Shorrocks (1998), pp. 110-111.

⁹⁸ However, /pɜ:/ is recorded at Derbyshire 1, under the headword *wring* (*its neck*) – IV. 6. 20.

⁹⁹ It is possible that the example quoted may be /l/ vocalisation in monosyllabic constructions consisting of /l/ + C (typical of the north midlands area) rather than vocalisation of final /l/; Addy quotes the example under *Poo*, v. *to pull*, though the example given is the past tense *pood* (presumably /pʊ:d/ with vocalisation of /l/). It is possible that the vowel in *pood* was construed as /ʊu/ or /ʊʊ/ (i.e. the usual reflex of ME /o:/ [> SE /u:/] in Sheffield), and consequently (by back formation), the verb was recorded as *poo* (pʊu) – see Addy (op. cit), p. 178.

Other morphological differences, concerning inflectional endings, exist between the dialect and SE, specifically in pronoun – verb concord in some relative clauses. After existential *there*, an –s ending (i.e. singular *is*) usually occurs in all instances, whether the following noun is singular or not – e.g., *there's more than eight thousand [people] live in New Mills; there's old mine shafts all over Ollersett Moor; there's only four of us lives round here now* etc. It would appear from this that the dialectal use of existential *there is* is fixed and remains unaffected by the following nominal phrase (i.e. verb [copula *be*] noun coordination is not required - *there are* is not necessary); Cheshire also commented on the non-standard usage of *there is*, but attributes non-coordinated usage as being determined by mainly pragmatic factors – i.e. by its use in interactional situations – such as a device for taking the floor. Its use in these circumstances has resulted in existential ‘be’ becoming “prefabricated”,¹⁰⁰ so that it remains unchanged regardless of the following grammatical context. Whether or not such factors, either wholly or partially are responsible for the fixed nature of existential ‘be’ is difficult to determine without further substantial research. It is apparent, nevertheless, that such usage occurs frequently in the dialect of New Mills in various situations and contexts. More importantly, it is evident that some of these are in situations where the pragmatic factors highlighted by Cheshire do not apply – e.g., a single informant talking to the researcher; everyday family conversation etc. This would suggest that factors other than those put forward by Cheshire are responsible. Indeed, such constructions may be observed elsewhere: the fixed dialectal *there is* exhibits remarkable similarities with the French equivalent *il y a* (SE *there is / are*) which precedes both singular and plural nouns – e.g., *il y a deux personnes* (SE *there are two people*). Moreover, non-coordinated realisations are not restricted to existential ‘be’: an -s inflection (singular *is*) is evident in plural pronoun constructions such as *them's yours* (SE *those are yours*); -s inflections (i.e. singular) occur suffixed to relative pronouns, even if the nominal / pronominal antecedent is plural - e.g., *it's alright for them that's getting it; them lot who's living up High Lea; them houses what's built on the side of Eaves Knoll* etc.

Other morphological differences between the dialect and SE, such as the negative particle suffix, are discussed below (pp. 203-205).

¹⁰⁰ Cheshire, Jenny, “Taming the vernacular: some repercussions for the study of syntactic variation and spoken grammar”, *Cuadernos de Filología Inglesa* 8 (1999), 61.

Historic Present

The traditional grammatical term for the tense form used in the narration of past events is the ‘Historic Present’, though it is also referred to as the ‘Narrative Present’, a term which more aptly describes the circumstances in which its use occurs, or the ‘Dramatic Narrative’, a term which suggests the effect the speaker is trying to create. In SE, usage of the historic present is generally confined to commentators at, for example, sports events, or narrators of plays / books etc. In such cases, the SE ‘present simple’ tense is used. However, its use at a dialectal level is more widespread, and the circumstances in which it is used are evidently less restricted. The historic present is frequently used when a speaker narrates past events to a second party (i.e. during everyday conversation, rather than the somewhat artificial situations in which it is used in SE). Moreover, differences not only occur in usage but also on a morphological level. In New Mills, the morphology of the verb forms does not always correlate to that of typical non-past tense forms; –s inflections occur in all persons, whether singular or plural (i.e. they are not restricted to the 3rd person [2nd person] singular – e.g., *I goes up to him and I says; so we all decides; then they all walks out; so he struggles a bit and then gives up*. In some instances, Past Historic tense forms may even occur alongside regular past tense forms, within the same utterance: e.g., *It come (SE came) straight at me, so I whacks it right on the nose; well, then they starts looking for it, but.. they found nowt (SE nothing)*. As far as the dialectal use of the historic present is concerned, an anomalous feature is apparent on a syntactic level: subject-verb inversion sometimes occurs, a feature of syntax that is typical of reported speech in written (mostly fictional) SE¹⁰¹ – e.g., “*What!*” *says I*, “*you must be joking*”; “*No chance!*” *says I*. Modal auxiliaries, unsurprisingly, are exceptions to the use of –s inflections, not only because of their highly irregular nature, but also because their function as tense indicators necessarily makes them redundant / impossible to use in circumstances where the historic present is used. In situations where they may occur – i.e. in reported speech – the usual form occurs. This may be demonstrated by *So I says “I’ve been there.”*

Past Tense

On a morphological level, past tense forms are either weak (expressed by the addition of a suffix) or strong (expressed by a root-vowel change). In general, the dialectal weak / strong

¹⁰¹ Subject-verb inversion has its origins in the (indicative) VS word order of main clauses in (written) OE, and still may be observed in ModE in instances other than reported speech: e.g., *Only after some considerable time was I able to leave*.

variation corresponds to that in SE, but there are notable differences; in some instances, a dialectal weak variant (which corresponds to a SE strong form) is derived from an earlier weak ME variant which occurred alongside a strong form – e.g., *catched* – while other dialectal weak forms (corresponding to SE strong forms) apparently developed comparatively recently – e.g., *seed* (SE *saw*). Dialectal weak forms, such as those just mentioned, often occur alongside strong variants.

Differences between the dialect and SE may also be observed in the forms of the past participles of some strong verbs; in many instances these exhibit levelling with the past tense forms. Historically, this is somewhat surprising as the *-en* suffix of strong participles were retained longest in the north and north midlands during the ME period – for example, *-en* endings are common for past participles in the north-west midlands *Gawain* manuscript, though are frequently recorded without a suffix in the south / south midlands.¹⁰² Nevertheless, it would appear, on a contemporary level, that substantial levelling has since occurred in the north midlands and elsewhere – there are many instances of inflectionless dialectal variants corresponding to inflected SE forms.

Weak verbs

The following tables of verbs are obviously far from comprehensive, primarily because of the limitations set by the available data, but also on methodological grounds – i.e. restrictions imposed by the aims of the research. The table directly below represents a mere snapshot, therefore, of weak verbs of the dialect. Apart from the obvious factor involving the actual recording of the verb form, the criteria for determining the inclusion of a verb is: primarily, contrast (vis-à-vis SE); and, secondly, distinctiveness – i.e. unusual forms that may be localised (i.e. contrasts with the corresponding form in other regional dialects). The table, therefore, consists of: a) verbs that correspond to SE strong verbs – e.g., *catch*; b) verbs that also have strong dialectal forms – e.g., *dig, fling, hang, swear, teach*; c) verb bases that differ phonologically (from RP) – e.g., *call, hold*; d) past tense forms that also differ phonologically – e.g., *call, hear, hold*; e) verb bases that differ significantly on a phonological level – e.g., *scrat* (SE *scratch*); f) dialectal lexical items – e.g., *cop* (*a cold*), SE *catch a cold*; g) lexical items whose meaning contrasts with SE – e.g., dialectal *learn* (SE *teach*).

¹⁰² See Burrow, J.A., and Turville-Petre, Thorlac, *A Book of Middle English*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1992, p. 36.

The distribution of the phonological realisations of the dental suffix of the past tense / past participle - i.e. [t], [d] – corresponds only partially to SE. In SE, voiceless /t/ occurs in “verbal past tenses and participles after voiceless consonants other than /t/,”¹⁰³ which mainly resulted from the assimilation of earlier /əd/ to /t/ following voiceless consonants (other than /t/).¹⁰⁴ In addition to these, a voiceless /t/ past tense suffix also occurs after /f, θ, s, ʃ, tʃ/. However, dialectal /t/ frequently occurs after /l/ - e.g. *beilt* (*boiled*), *smelt*, *spelt*¹⁰⁵ – sometimes (less frequently) after the nasals /m/ and /n/ - e.g., /apnt/, (*happened*); /klɛmt/, *klemmed* (*hungry*); /lɛ:nt/, *learnt* - and sometimes after /ɪ/, /ə/ - e.g., /fɪɪt/, *fearred* (*frightened*). Nevertheless, it is difficult to determine whether this is due to any genuine difference in the allomorphic distribution of the unvoiced past tense / participle suffix (vis-à-vis SE), or whether this is merely on account of the general devoicing of final /d/ that is a characteristic of the traditional dialect.

Some of the following weak verbs – e.g., *bet*, *cut*, *put* and *shit* – apparently exhibit no dental suffix (as in SE), and, consequently, suggest similarities with non-changing root-vowel strong verbs. However, *put* (ME - past tense *potte*) and *shit* are derived from OE weak verbs (*bet* was first recorded in the 16th century - < 1ME [14th century] *abet*, which developed as a weak verb; *cut* is first recorded in the 13th century < prob. ON), and all these verbs have assumed their modern forms by an earlier process of assimilation of the past participle suffix with morpheme final /t/. The strong form variable of *shit* is a relatively recent development, probably by analogy with other strong verbs such as *sit* (dialectal and SE *sit*, *sat*, *sat*).

Infinitive	Past Tense	Past Participle	Incidental information
boil	boiled	boiled	[bɛɪl(d/t)]
call	called	called	pt / pp /kɔ:d/
catch	catched	catched	also s.f. (rare)
cling	clinged	clinged	also strong form
cob (throw)	cobbed	cobbed	/kɒbd/
cop (a cold)	copped	copped	/kɒpt/
dig	digged	digged	s.f. more common
fling	flinged	flinged	also strong form
grow	grewed	grown	also strong form
hang	hanged	hanged	/angd/; also s.f.

¹⁰³ Gimson (1994), p. 149.

¹⁰⁴ Gimson (1994), p. 151.

¹⁰⁵ Both *smelt* and *spelt* occur as variants (orthographic and phonological) in SE, as far as the past forms are concerned, according to the *OED* (in the case of *smell* at least), the variant with final /t/ is “the more frequent of the two in British English.”

continued			
hear	heard	heard	pt / pp [ɪəd], [ə:d]
knit	knit, knitted	knit, knitted	
lay (the table)	laid	laid	pt / pp /le:d/
lay (lie down)	laid	laid	np /le:/; pt /le:d/
lie (down)	lied, ligged	lied, ligged	pt / pp /laɪd/ <i>ligged</i> (rare)
learn	learnt	learnt	learn (also = SE <i>teach</i>)
make	made	made	np [mæk],[me:k] pt /pp [mɛd],[me:d]
melt	melted	melted	pt / pp[mɛltɪd]
say	said	said	np [se:, sɛ]; pt [sɛd]
scrat	scrat, scatted	scrat	SE <i>scratch</i>
see	seed, seen	seed, seen	also strong form
shit	shit	shit	/ʃɪt/, var. /ʃaɪt/; ¹⁰⁶ also strong form
smell	smelled	smelled	pt / pp [smɛlt]
spell	spelled	spelled	pt / pp [spɛlt]
squeeze	squeezed	squeezed	also s.f.
swear	swared	swared	also strong form
sweat	sweat, sweated	sweat, sweated	
teach	teached	teached	also strong form
throw	thrut	thrut	/θɹʊt/; also s.f.
treat	tret (mod. - treated)	tret (mod. - treated)	pt / pp /tɹɛt/
weave	weaved	weaved	s.f. less common
wring	wringed	wringed	also strong form

Abbreviations: np – non-past; pp – past participle; pt – past tense; s.f. – strong form; mod. – modified; var. – variant.

Strong verbs

In some of the following strong verbs – e.g., *come* and *run* - both the past tense and past participle forms demonstrate no change from the infinitive / non-past forms (i.e. they do not exhibit a root-vowel change). These verbs have been classified as strong on account of their derivation (< OE strong verbs), which is confirmed by modified realisations (corresponding to SE) that do occur with a root-vowel change. The dialectal realisations without an apparent change in the root-vowel have evidently developed independently from SE forms. Tidholm attributes the occurrence of past tense /kʊm/ (SE *came*) in the dialect of Egton (North

¹⁰⁶ The usual verbal realisation has developed from the OE nominal form with a short vowel (OE *scit*) while the modern variant has ultimately developed from the OE verbal form with a long vowel (OE *scītan*); it is perhaps ironic, therefore, that the modern variant pronunciation does not often occur in a verbal capacity, but is frequently used in a nominal context.

Yorkshire) as “analogical influence from the past participle and the infinitive.”¹⁰⁷ Moreover, singular past tense forms with short vowels were also recorded during the ME period, and it is possible that such forms could have had an additional bearing on the contemporary widespread dialectal past tense use of /kʊm/. Similarly, it is almost certainly the case that the past tense form /ʌn/ developed from analogy with the past participle (ME *runnen*) and / or from past tense forms (ME *ronnen*). It is also highly probable that the short vowel of past tense /bʌʊk/ (SE /bʌʊk/; modified dialect /bʌʊ:k/) developed by a process of levelling with the past participle.

Conversely, the morphology of many of the past participle forms has developed by analogy with the past tense forms; the usual *-n* suffix (associated with the past participles of strong verbs – cf. SE) has been lost and considerable levelling (with the past tense forms) has taken place. This process has had a greater impact in certain instances where the levelling has involved more than the loss of the suffix; in, for example, *draw*, *shake* and *take*, the past participle is frequently expressed in an identical fashion to the past tense (i.e. with the same root-vowel – *drew*, *shook* and *took*). In many instances, modified forms with an *-n* suffix occur alongside dialectal *-n* less past participles.

Infinitive	Past Tense	Past Participle	Incidental information
begin	begun	begun	
break	broke	broke, broken	pt /bʌʊ:k, bʌʊk/, pp +/bʌʊ:kn, bʌʊkn/
bring	brought	brought	pt / pp /bɹɔ:t, bʌʊt/
buy	bought	bought	pt / pp /bʌʊt/; mod. /bɔ:t/
catch	caught	caught	w.f. more common
cling	clung	clung	also w.f.
come	come	come	/kʊm/
draw	drew	drew, drawn	pt / pp /dɹɪ:/
drink	drunk	drunk	pt / pp /dɹʌnk/
drive	drove	drove	mod. pp - driven
dig	dug	dug	also w.f. (rare)
eat	ate	ate, eaten	np /e:t/; pt/ pp /ɛt/
find	found	found	pt / pp /fʌn/; mod. /fæʊnd/
fling	flung	flung	also w.f.
forget	forgot	forgot	mod. pp - forgotten
give	give	give, given	variant pp <i>given</i>
continued			

¹⁰⁷ Tidholm (1979), p. 147.

go	went	gone	np /go:/; pt /wɛnt/; pp /gɒn/
grow	grew	grown, grew	pt /gɹ:/
hide	hid	hid	pt / pp /ɪd/
hold	held	held	np /æʊd/; pt /ɛld/
read	read	read	np /ɹi:d/; pt /ɹɛd/
ride	rid, rode	rid, rode	mod. pp - ridden
ring	rung	rung	/ɹʊŋ/
run	run	run	mod. pt / pp - ran
see	saw	seen	pp /sɪn/, mod. /si:n/ also w.f.
shake	shook	shook, shaken	pt /pp /ʃɹ:k/
shit	shat	shat	also w.f.
shrink	shrank	shrank	
sink	sunk	sunk	pt /pp [sʊŋk]
spin	spun	spun	
squeeze	squoze	squoze	also w.f.
sting	stung	stung	
stink	stunk	stunk	
swim	swum	swum	mod. pt /pp - swam
take	took	took, taken	np /tɛk, te:k/; pt /tɹ:k/; pp /tɹ:k, tɛkn, te:kn/
teach	taught	taught	/tɔ:t/; also w.f.
tear	tore	tore	mod. pp - torn
tell	told	told	pt / pp /tæʊd/; mod. /tɒʊd/
throw	threw	threw	pt /pp /θɹ:/; also weak form
wear	wore	wore, worn	
win	won	won	pt / pp /wɒn/
wring	wrung	wrung	also w.f.
write	wrote, writ	wrote, writ, written	pp /ɹɔ:t, ɹɪt/, mod. /ɹɪtn/

Abbreviations: np – non-past; pp – past participle; pt – past tense; w.f. – weak form; mod. – modified; var. – variant.

Contemporary Change: apparent time development

Some of the traditional dialect weak forms (corresponding to SE strong forms), which have modified strong variants, are restricted to the speech of the older (old and mid) informants; strong forms of *catch* (i.e. *caught*) are usual (though not entirely) amongst the adult and (particularly) the teenagers, and, correspondingly, strong forms of *see* (i.e. *saw*) are also predominant amongst the younger informants. It would be reasonable to assume that SE has

had a direct or indirect influence (i.e. via the education system) in this development. Similar age grading is observable concerning the past realisations of verbs such as *swear*, *teach* and, especially, *dig*, whose weak past tense form is entirely restricted to the older speakers. Nevertheless, the fact that another non-standard variant of the past tense of *see* (i.e. *seen* – cf. traditional dialect weak form *seed*) occurs alongside the SE strong form in the speech of the younger informants suggests that SE may not be the only factor exerting influence in this development. Other weak forms with strong variants, such as *weave* (*weaved*), *wring* (*wringed*)¹⁰⁸ and, particularly, *cling* (*clinged*) and *fling* (*flinged*) exhibit no such apparent-time development; the weak forms occur throughout all age-groups. This again suggests that SE has had only a partial effect in the development of these non-standard weak forms.

Conversely, the non-standard strong variants of some weak verbs, such as *squeeze* (i.e. *squoze*)¹⁰⁹ are used by informants of all ages. It is evident that SE (or modified forms thereof) has had little or no effect upon the dialectal realisations of the strong verbs. Dialectal forms demonstrate extensive levelling of the past participle with the past tense forms; in many instances this has resulted in a difference of the root-vowel of the past tense (vis-à-vis SE) in verbs such as *begin* (dialectal *begun* – SE *began*), *drink* (*drunk*), *ring* (*rung*), *shrink* (*shrunk*), *sing* (*sung*), *swim* (*swum*) etc. These dialectal forms are the norm in all age-groups. Significant amongst these is the geographically widespread dialectal past tense of *come* (*come* – SE *came*), which was also ubiquitous amongst informants of all age-groups in New Mills. Tidholm found that non-standard *come* did not occur at all in the speech of the young age-group in Egton, North Yorkshire (1979), and that consequently it was concluded that SE *came* “will probably be used exclusively in a generation or so.”¹¹⁰ It is evident that the opposite is the case in New Mills, and it would be interesting to ascertain whether there are regional differences concerning the erosion / retention of this feature in the north, north midlands and elsewhere. Dialectal past participle forms in the dialect of New Mills (conversely involving the levelling of the past participle with the past tense) such as *shake* (*shook* – SE *shaken*) and *take* (*took* – SE *taken*) demonstrate similar stability. It is perhaps significant, as far as the stability of dialectal strong forms is concerned, that the past tense / past participle forms of *eat* (/ɛt/) similarly exhibit a lack of influence from SE (dialectal forms occurring in all age-groups), whereas the non-past realisations do

¹⁰⁸ This weak form has evidently developed by analogy with the weak past tense of the verb *to ring* (with the sense of ‘to encircle’).

¹⁰⁹ This has probably developed by analogy with strong verbs such as *freeze* (*froze*) etc.

¹¹⁰ Tidholm (1979), op. cit, p. 147.

demonstrate modification (towards SE) – dialectal /e:t/ (older speakers); /i:t/ (younger speakers). The stability of the dialectal strong forms may be due to the fact that such forms occur widely in the north-west midlands, in both rural and urban dialects.¹¹¹

Principal Auxiliaries

The following auxiliaries – *be*, *do* and *have* – also operate as lexical verbs. As is the case with SE, there is no variation between the realisations of the lexical or auxiliary forms. When operating as auxiliaries, they combine with the participles or infinitives of ordinary lexical verbs to denote tense and / or aspect. These types of construction generally correspond in form and meaning to their SE counterparts; any significant differences are noted in the syntax section (below). Unless otherwise stated, the phonological representation of unstressed forms appears to the right (i.e. after) of the stressed form. With regard to the verb *to be*, cliticised forms represent those incorporating a pronominal element + a reduced form of the verb or, as is the case with the second person singular *th-* pronouns, a reduced form of the pronominal element + verb form (*th-* forms appear in brackets).

Be (/bi:, bɪ/)

Non-Past (Present Tense Indicative)

Singular		Plural
1	/am/	/a:(r)/
2	/a:(r)/, (/a:(r)t/)	/a:(r)/
3	/ɪz/	/a:(r)/

Cliticised forms (pronoun + reduced verbal form; reduced pronominal form + verb)

Singular		Plural	
Stressed	Unstressed	Unstressed	Stressed
/aɪm/	/am/	/wɪə(r)/	/wɪ/
/joɛ(r)/, (/ða:(r)t/)	/jə/, (/ðat/)	/joə(r)/	/jə/
/i:z, fɪ:z, its/	/ɪz, fɪz/	/ðɛə(r)/	/ðə/

Non-past interrogative

Singular	Plural
/am/	/a:(r)/, /ə/
/a:(r)/, /ə/ (/a:(r)t/, /at/) ¹¹²	/a:(r)/, /ə/

¹¹¹ Identical dialectal strong past tense / past participle forms were recorded by Shorrocks in Farnworth, near Bolton (Greater Manchester, formerly south Lancashire) - see Shorrocks (1999), pp. 135 – 148.

continued	
/ɪz/	/a:(r)/, /ə/

Non-past negative

There are two basic paradigms constituting the non-past negative - type *a* (with the contracted negative particle suffix *-nt*, or enclitic verb + non-contracted *not*)¹¹³ is the most common realisation in that it occurs in the speech of all age-groups; type *b* (with the negative particle suffix *-na*) is characteristic of the traditional dialect (and, indeed, many others in the north-west midlands) and is restricted, though not entirely, to the speech of the older informants (see also below, p. 205). It is to be noted that the non-past negative is frequently realised as a pronoun + verb + non-contracted negative particle construction, with either cliticised or full verb forms (e.g. *he's not*; *I am not* and *it's not* etc.); constructions with enclitic verb forms are apparently very common, while constructions with full verb forms are used emphatically – see also ‘Syntax’, below, pp. 209-210.

a)

Singular	Plural
/aɪm nɒt/, <i>I'm not</i> ; /e:nt/ ¹¹⁴	/wɪə(r) nɒt/+, <i>we're not</i> ; /a:(r)nt/;
/a:(r)nt/, <i>you're not</i>	/jəə(r) nɒt/+, <i>you're not</i> ; /a:(r)nt/
/ɪnt/, [mod. /ɪzənt/]*; <i>it's not</i> etc.	/ðeə(r) nɒt/+, <i>they're not</i> ; /a:(r)nt/

* The usual contracted form (without /z/) occurs in both unstressed and stressed positions

+ Weak realisations are usual – e.g., /wə nɒt/, /jə nɒt/, /ðə nɒt/.

b)

/amnə/	/a:(r)nə/, /anə/
/a:(r)nə/, /anə/	/a:(r)nə/, /anə/
/ɪznə/, /ɪnə/	/a:(r)nə/, /anə/

Non-past interrogative (negative)

The apparent non-occurrence of 1st and 3rd person realisations is probably on account of the initial vocalic realisations of the following pronouns (*I*, *it*, *him*), variant forms of the a-type (with final /t/) evidently being preferable. In addition to the realisations below, the non-past negative interrogative is sometimes expressed as a verb + pronoun + negative particle

¹¹² The short vowel realisation (i.e. /ət/) is usual in phrases (typical greetings) such as /æʊ at/ (How are you?), and /at əɪ:t/ (Are you alright?), even in stressed position.

¹¹³ Forms consisting of pronoun + enclitic verb + uncontracted *not* (contracted auxiliary) are apparently more common than pronoun + verb + enclitic contracted negative particle /nt/. This contraction strategy, according to Trudgill and Hughes, occurs particularly in “Derbyshire, Lancashire... Cumbria and Scotland.” (Hughes and Trudgill (1987), op. cit, p. 20) - see also *has* (below).

¹¹⁴ This also occurs as a variant negative form of *have*.

construction (e.g., *is he not?*; *am I not?*). Indeed, this type of interrogative construction (i.e. non-contracted negative) occurs significantly more in the north and north-west midlands than elsewhere in England; data suggests that the use of uncontracted forms averages about 20% in these areas, while elsewhere the average is below 5%.¹¹⁵

a)

Singular	Plural
/amət/, /a:(r)nt/	/a:(r)nt/
/a:(r)nt/	/a:(r)nt/
/ɪnt/, [mod. /ɪzənt/]*	/a:(r)nt/

b)

	/a:(r)nə/, /anə/
/a:(r)tənə/*	/a:(r)nə/, /anə/
(/ɪznə/)**	/a:(r)nə/, /anə/

* /t/ here represents a cliticised pronoun

** only with following feminine pronoun (rare)

Past (Indicative)

The relatively common occurrence of *were* as a variant plural form, and, conversely, the rather infrequent use of *was* as variant singular forms, suggests that *were* may indeed be a variant plural form of the traditional dialect (see also negative forms, below), whereas *was* (singular) appears to be modified realisations of the 1st and 3rd persons; conversely, the relatively common *was* realisations of the 2nd person singular appear to be dialectal variants – e.g., *I said “you was”*; *you was in lumber* etc. The conditional (traditional grammar – subjunctive) realisations generally correspond to those of the indicative.

Singular	Plural
/wə:(r)/, /wə/; /wɒz/	/wɒz/, /wəz/
/wə:(r)/, /wə/; /wɒz/	/wɒz/, /wəz/
/wə:(r)/, /wə/; /wɒz/	/wɒz/, /wəz/

Past tense interrogative

This is expressed by the past tense forms (directly above) + subject. In addition to these, the 2nd person singular is sometimes realised as a variant verb + reduced enclitic pronoun construction (/wət/) in the traditional dialect.

¹¹⁵ Anderwald, Liselotte, *Negation in Non-Standard British English*, London, Routledge, 2002, pp. 81-82.

Past tense (Negative)

Additionally, constructions consisting of pronoun + verb + negative particle are used to express the non-past negative. As with all the other realisations which consist of non-cliticised negative particles (above and below), such constructions appear to be restricted to contexts where heavy emphasis is required, such as strong denial or contradiction.

Singular		Plural	
a	b	a	b
/wə:(r)nt/, /wənt/	/wə:(r)nə/, /wənə/	/wə:(r)nt/, /wənt/	/wə:(r)nə/, /wənə/*
/wə:(r)nt/, /wənt/	/wə:(r)nə/, /wənə/	/wə:(r)nt/, /wənt/	/wə:(r)nə/, /wənə/*
/wə:(r)nt/, /wənt/	/wə:(r)nə/, /wənə/	/wə:(r)nt/, /wənt/	/wə:(r)nə/, /wənə/*

* also variant /wɒznə/

Past tense interrogative (negative)

This may also be expressed by a construction consisting of verb (/wə:(r)/) + Pronoun + negative particle (e.g., *were they not?*), though the table below contains the usual realisations (verb + negative particle + subject).

Singular		Plural	
a	b	a	b
/wə:(r)nt/, /wənt/		/wə:(r)nt/, /wənt/	/wə:(r)nə/, /wənə/**
/wə:(r)nt/, /wənt/	/wə:(r)tnə/*	/wə:(r)nt/, /wənt/	/wə:(r)nə/, /wənə/**
/wə:(r)nt/, /wənt/		/wə:(r)nt/, /wənt/	/wə:(r)nə/, /wənə/**

* /t/ here represents a cliticised pronoun

** also variant /wɒznə/

Present Participle - /bi:ɪn/

Past Participle - /bi:n/, /bɪn/ - the latter variant (i.e. /bɪn/) occurs in both non-stressed and stressed positions.

It is evident that the dialectal past tense forms have developed independently from the corresponding SE forms. As is the case with many other European languages, the ModE verb *to be* is derived from three initially distinct (Indo-European) verbs. In OE, this is most noticeable in the present tense forms: e.g., indicative singular *eom*, *eart* [Mercian and Northumbrian *aran*, *earun*], *is* (ModE *am*, *are*, *is*); plural *sind*; singular / plural *bēo*, *bēoth* (ModE *be*); imperative *wes*. By the ME period, there is significant regional variation in the realisations of the present tense; some varieties demonstrated forms derived from either the *am* or *be* verb roots, while others exhibited variables derived from both *am* and *be*. The OE past tense forms were generally derived from the verb *wesan*, which mostly correspond to contemporary SE – singular *wæs*, *wære*, *wæs*; plural *wæron*. The SE past conditional

(subjunctive) has not developed from the OE past subjunctive *sīe*, but from the past subjunctive *wære*. In many dialects, it is evident that the plural / 2nd person singular form has been levelled into all singular / plural forms, or, conversely the 1st / 3rd person singular form has been levelled throughout the plural. In other dialects, and this apparently applies to New Mills, the plural / 2nd person singular form has been levelled throughout the singular, whilst the 1st / 3rd person singular form has been levelled throughout the plural (it is possible that the OE imperative plural form *wesath* may have been influential in this development). In the ME *Gawain* manuscript (north-west midlands), *watz* (i.e. *was*) has been levelled throughout the singular.

The dialectal non-past interrogative (negative) 1st person singular /amət/ has developed regularly from the 1st person non-past (present) indicative *am* by the usual addition of the contracted negative particle *-nt* (*amn't*), with assimilation of the alveolars /n/ and /t/; it is SE (*aren't*) which has developed irregularly from the 2nd person singular / plural form (cf. SE *Am I not?*).¹¹⁶ Data from the *SED* clearly shows that this construction is a dialect feature of the north-west midlands, being restricted to south Lancashire, south-west Yorkshire, Derbyshire, and parts of Cheshire, Staffordshire and Shropshire.¹¹⁷

Contemporary Change: apparent time development

Were realisations for the 1st / 3rd person singular forms of the past tense are mostly absent from the speech of teenagers (though not entirely), the preferred form *was* also regularly occurring as a variant in the speech of the adult informants. It would be reasonable to assume that the influence of SE (and / or modified varieties) is directly responsible for this development, were it not for the fact that plural realisations amongst the teenagers demonstrate no such influence - *was* occurs regularly. Consequently, it follows that other dialects (such as nearby urban varieties) or intra-linguistic factors (such as person and / or singular / plural levelling) are responsible.

The 1st person singular non-past negative interrogative dialectal realisation (/amət/, *amn't*) exhibits age- based variation in that it is restricted to the speech of the older informants only; /a:nt/ realisations are the norm in the adult and teenage age-groups. It is probable that SE is either directly or indirectly responsible, though the occurrence of other non-standard

¹¹⁶ The development of dialectal *amn't* and corresponding SE (and other regional) forms have been discussed and analysed extensively - see Anderwald (2002), op. cit, pp. 85-92.

¹¹⁷ Anderwald (2002), p. 87.

realisations – just mentioned, directly above – means that the influence of other varieties (either modified regional or urban) cannot be ruled out.

As stated previously, the negative particle suffix *-na* is restricted to the speech of the older informants (see also below, p. 205). The other suffix variant (*-nt*) occurs throughout all age-groups; phonetic realisations with the dialectal ellipsis of the preceding *-s* of the verb (i.e. /ɪnt/, /wɒnt/; SE /ɪznt/, /wɒznt/) is similarly ubiquitous throughout all age-groups (see also *has*, below).

Do (/dɪ:/, /də/)

As with *be* (above), alternative negative constructions consisting of non-cliticised negative particles occur – for comments regarding their usage, see (*be*) above, pp. 179-180.

Non-past (Present Indicative)

/dɪ:/ throughout, except 3rd person singular (/dʊz/)

Non-past negative

Type *a* is /do:nt/ throughout, except 3rd person singular (/dʊznt/, /dʊnt/).¹¹⁸ Type *b* is /dʊnə/ throughout – e.g., [a dʊnə θɪŋk ə wʊd ə dʊn], *I dunna think I would have done*; [ðɪ dʊnə tek ɛnɪ no:tɪs ə mi:], *They dunna take any notice of me* – with the exception of the 3rd person singular (/dʊznə/ - [ɪ dʊznə no: i:ðə], *He doesn't know either*). In some instances where *do* is acting as an auxiliary, and where the following verb begins with a homorganic consonant, the negative particle may be elided completely – e.g., /a dʊ no:/, /a də no:/, *I don't know*.

Non-past interrogative

/dɪ:/¹¹⁹ throughout, except the 3rd person singular (/dʊz/). Additionally, a traditional dialect 2nd person singular form with a suffixed cliticised pronominal realisation (/dʊst/), sometimes occurs. Furthermore, the 2nd person singular may also be realised as another (evidently rare) variant /dʊn/¹²⁰ - /dʊn jə/, *do you?* – though such realisations must be regarded as residual.

¹¹⁸ Reduced form may occur in both stressed and non-stressed position – see also modals below.

¹¹⁹ These are always realised as non-reduced forms (e.g. /dɪ: jə/) – cf. SE, where initial auxiliaries are often reduced, e.g. /də ju:/.

¹²⁰ Evidently derived from ME plural forms with *-n* endings (i.e. *don*), common in the north midlands and elsewhere.

Non-past interrogative (negative)

Forms are the same as the non-past negative (above). However, type *b* forms are not used for the 1st and 3rd persons singular (type *a* forms are the usual realisations), probably on account of the initial vowel of the following pronoun – e.g., /dɔ:nt ə/, *don't I?*; /dʊnt ɪ/, *doesn't he?*

Past Indicative

/dɪd/ throughout. However, the past participle form *done* sporadically occurs in past indicative function (without the preceding auxiliary) – e.g., *I done it last week; he done it alright.*

Past Negative

Type *a* forms are /dɪdnt/, /dɪnt/ ¹²¹ throughout. Type *b* forms are /dɪdnə/ throughout – e.g., /a dɪdnə/, *I didn't*; [ä dɪnə ɪ'ɪə æɪt], *I didn't hear aught.*

Past Interrogative

Forms are the same as the past indicative (above).

Past Interrogative (negative)

Forms are the same as the past negative (above). However, it appears that type *b* forms are not used for the 1st and 3rd persons singular (type *a* forms are the usual realisations), probably on account of the initial vowel of the following pronoun – e.g., /dɪnt ə/, *didn't I?*; /dɪnt ɪ/, *didn't he?*

Have (/av/, /əv/)¹²²

As with *be* and *do* (above), alternative negative constructions consisting of non-cliticised negative particles occur – for comments regarding their usage, see (*be*) above, pp. 179-180. Non-cliticised negative constructions consist of two basic types. These follow the same pattern as the corresponding constructions in SE; when *have* is operating as an auxiliary, the construction is pronoun + *have* + negative particle – e.g., *I have not (done it).* In negative

¹²¹ This reduced form may occur in both stressed and non-stressed position – e.g. /a dɪnt dɪ: ɪt/, *I didn't do it*; /a dɪnt/, *I didn't*.

¹²² Unstressed *have* (i.e. /əv/) only occurs when it operates alongside a modal – when it operates as a non-cliticised auxiliary, it assumes its full value. Moreover, when it operates in clause initial position, in interrogative constructions (e.g., *Have you been there?*) or reduced interrogative constructions (e.g., *Have you [been there]?*), it also assumes its full value – /av jə/ – cf. RP /həv ju:/.

interrogative constructions, the pronoun and *have* are inverted. When *have* is operating as a full lexical verb, the construction contains the auxiliary *do*; i.e. pronoun + *do* + negative particle + *have* – e.g., *I do not have it*. In negative interrogative constructions, the pronoun + *do* are inverted. Additionally, there is at least one recorded instance of the omission of the auxiliary *have* in the environment of other modals; in the following example, it is difficult to ascertain whether the omission of auxiliary *have* has been influenced by a function of the modal *would* based on its historical lexical status – *I'd rather (have) gone to Manchester* ([a:d ɪa:ðə ɡʌn mʌntʃɪstə]).

Non-past (Present Indicative)

/av/ throughout, except the 3rd person singular (/az/). As with ‘be’ (above), plural forms (3rd person)¹²³ sporadically occur with an –s ending (i.e. /az/) – e.g., *my mother and father has; the full-timers has four or five weeks now*.

Cliticised forms (pronoun + reduced verbal form)

Singular		Plural	
Stressed	Unstressed	Unstressed	Stressed
/aɪv/	/av/	/wi:v/	/wɪv/
/jɪ:v/, (/ða:z/)	/jəv/, (/ðaz/)	/jɪ:v/	/jəv/
/i:z, fɪ:z, its/	/ɪz, fɪz/	/ðe:v/	/ðəv/

Non-past Negative

Type *a* is /avnt/, /ant/ throughout, except 3rd person singular (/aznt/, /ant/)¹²⁴. Type *b* is /avnə/, /anə/ throughout with the exception of the 3rd person singular (/aznə/, /anə/). Additionally, a variant form *ain't* (/e:nt/) sometimes occurs with both singular and plural antecedents, regardless of person (e.g., *I ain't, he ain't, they ain't*).

Non-past Interrogative

/av/ throughout, except the 3rd person singular (/az/). Additionally, a traditional dialect 2nd person singular form with a suffixed cliticised pronominal realisation (/ast/, /astə/) sometimes occurs.

¹²³ These forms (i.e. –s endings) may also occur in the 1st and 2nd persons plural, though none were recorded during the present investigation. It may also be significant that the –s forms in these examples occur as a lexical verb, rather than in auxiliary function.

¹²⁴ As with the other elided (in this case –s) verb forms + negative particle, reduced forms may occur in both stressed and non-stressed position.

Non-past Interrogative (negative)

Forms are the same as the non-past negative (above). However, type *b* forms appear not to be used for the 1st and 3rd persons singular (type *a* forms are the usual realisations), probably on account of the initial vowel of the following pronoun – e.g., /ant a/, *haven't I?*; /ant ɪ/, *hasn't he?*

Past Indicative

/ad/ throughout. Cliticised forms of the past tense (suffixed to the pronoun) are realised as /d/ throughout - e.g., /aɪd ad ɪnʊf/, *I'd had enough*; /i:d gɒn/, *He'd gone*.

Past Negative

Type *a* forms are /adnt/ throughout. Type *b* forms are /adnə/ throughout - e.g., /ɪ adnə/, *He hadn't*. Elided forms – i.e. without /d/ - are rare; this is probably so in order to maintain differentiation / avoid confusion with the non-past negative - cf. *did* (above).

Past Interrogative

Forms are the same as the past indicative (above).

Past Interrogative (negative)

Forms are the same as the past negative (above). However, type *b* forms are not used for the 1st and 3rd persons singular (type *a* forms are the usual realisations), probably on account of the initial vowel of the following pronoun – e.g., /adnt ɪ/, *hadn't he?*

Modals

The following modals generally operate in the same way as SE; they function (by combining with the infinitives of ordinary lexical verbs) as a grammatical marker to indicate future tense – *shall* and *will* – or in a semantic capacity to denote possibility or obligation – *can*, *might*, *must*, *ought*, *should* etc. Differences (vis-à-vis SE) in occurrence, use or semantics are discussed in the relevant section. Where discrepancies do occur, dialectal modal constructions, on a general level, do not exhibit age-based variation; these dialectal features appear to be relatively stable.

Can (/kan/)

The syntactic patterning, function and semantics of the dialectal modal *can* generally corresponds to SE - i.e. with the general meaning of ‘to be able to’ in constructions consisting of modal + infinitive (without the particle ‘to’). Nevertheless, differences are evident on a phonological level and, in a limited number of instances, on a morphological level. Additionally, some disparity in use (vis-à-vis SE) is apparent: *can* is almost invariably preferred as a way of obtaining permission in interrogative constructions – e.g. *Can I have one?* (SE *May I have one?*).¹²⁵ Similarly, *can* occurs as the usual way of expressing permission where SE uses *may* – e.g., *You can give it us back next week.* Furthermore, it appears that the SE alternative construction ‘to be able to’ – in expressions such as ‘Are you able to drive?’ – rarely occurs in the dialect, constructions with *can* being the norm – e.g., *Can you swim? Can you come over on Friday?*

Non-past (Present Indicative)

Can (/kan/, /kɒn/)¹²⁶ throughout. Unstressed forms are realised as [kən].

Non-past Negative

Type *a* is /ka:nt/ throughout and type *b* is /kanə/, /kɒnə/.

Non-past Interrogative

As the present indicative (above). However, phonological differences in the realisations of initial *can* are apparent; dialectal initial *can* is rarely unstressed, whether this involves isolated constructions - /kan jə/ (RP /kən ju:/) - or complete verbal phrases – e.g. /kan jə dɪ: tɪ/, *Can you do it?*

On a morphological level, the traditional dialect has modal + suffixed cliticised personal pronoun + verb in the 2nd person singular (i.e. *can* + *thou* + verb) - /kantə/, /kant/ - e.g., [? tɛl mɪ], *Can you tell me?*

¹²⁵ Such differences between the dialect and SE may merely be stylistic – i.e. on the level of formality – though it should be noted that overlap between the verbs *cunnan* (‘to know how to’) and *magan* (‘to be able to, to be permitted to’) is evident as early as the OE period, with the meaning of *cunnan* sometimes “shading into ‘to be able’, and thus *magan*, with the sense of ‘to be able to’, often coming “close to *cunnan*.” (see Mitchell and Robinson, op. cit, pp. 113 – 114. It is possible, therefore, that the dialectal preference for *can*, in this instance, may have a historical basis.

¹²⁶ Realisations with /ɒ/ are typical of many traditional dialects in the north-west midlands and west midlands. Forms with *o* were dominant in the West Midlands during the ME period, while *o/a* alternation before nasals is also observable in OE, with *o* predominating in some of the Anglian (i.e. midlands / north) dialects of OE.

Non-past interrogative (negative)

As the non-past negative (above). Type *b* forms do not occur in the 1st person and 3rd person (masc., neuter) singular, probably on account of the following initial vowel of the pronoun.

Past tense

Could /kʊd/ has developed from the plural of the OE past tense form (*cuðe*) of the verb *cunnan* (ModE *can*). However, as the modal came to be used in time frames other than the past (also *shall* and *will*, below), so did a past tense marker (the auxiliary *have*) become necessary to indicate past temporal situations.

Could

The function and use of dialectal *could* generally correspond to that in SE. When it is used as an auxiliary to denote the past tense, the construction *could* + auxiliary (have) + past participle (optional, depending on context) is usual – e.g., *I could have (played)* – though instances where *could* is used without the following auxiliary (i.e. *have*) do occur in linked clauses, the time frame reference being indicated by the verb in the following clause, e.g., *I could but I didn't have enough time* (see also *should*, *would*, below). In non-past function, the general construction is *would* + infinitive, or, in certain contexts, the infinitive is deleted (i.e. pronoun + *would* only). The SE variants *is able to* (+ inf.) / *was able to* (+inf.) occur infrequently in the dialect; *could* (+inf.) / *could have* (+ p.p.) are the norm, even in those contexts where SE grammars dictate the sole use of *able to*¹²⁷ – e.g., (for ability + particular action, SE *were able to*), *it were that dark, we could only just make out what it were*; (past perfect form, SE *had been able*), *I'd lost my job and I couldn't pay the mortgage*.

Past Indicative (*should* + have + participle)

/kʊd/, /kəd/ throughout. The realisation of the following auxiliary (i.e. *have*) is /əv/, /ə/.

Past Negative (*should* + negative particle + have + participle)

/kʊdnt/,¹²⁸ /kʊnt/¹²⁹ throughout. In instances where strong emphasis is required, this construction may be expressed with a non-cliticised, non-suffixed negative particle – i.e. *could* + not + have.

¹²⁷ Thomsom and Martinet (1991), op. cit, p. 135.

¹²⁸ The apparent preference of negative forms with *-nt* suffix (instead of *-na* suffix) is probably due to the initial vowel of the following auxiliary.

¹²⁹ Realisations with the medial assimilation of /d/ and the preceding alveolar /n/ are extremely common; such realisations are the norm, even in stressed position.

Negative

Type *a* is /kʊdnt/, /kʊnt/ throughout. Type *b* consists of /kʊdnə/, /kʊnə/.

Interrogative (should + pronoun)

/kʊd/, /kəd/ throughout.

Negative Interrogative

These forms are the same as the negative (above), except that the 1st and 3rd person singular forms usually consist of type *a* constructions. When stress is required, the negative interrogative may be expressed as *could* + pronoun + negative particle (not) – e.g., *could we not?*

Dare

Dare functions as one of the so-called ‘semi-modals’ when it operates in negative and interrogative contexts (it also operates as an ordinary transitive verb). However, its function as a modal is apparently more restricted in the dialect than in SE; negative non-past constructions consisting of pronoun + *dare* + negative particle + infinitive (i.e. *daren’t / dare not*; e.g., *I daren’t / I daren’t +inf.*) are comparatively rare. Negative constructions of this type are usually expressed as pronoun + *would* + negative particle + infinitive (i.e. *wouldn’t dare / wouldn’t dare + inf.*; e.g., *I wouldna dare, He wouldn’t dare do that*). Similarly, negative past constructions are rarely, if ever, expressed as *durst* + negative particle (+inf.) or *dared* + negative particle (+inf.). Rather, the past negative is expressed as pronoun + *would* + negative particle + *have* + *dared* [+inf. / p.p.] (i.e. *wouldn’t have dared + inf. / p.p.*),¹³⁰ or pronoun + *did* + negative particle + *dare* [+inf.] (i.e. *didn’t dare +inf.*); e.g., *we wouldn’t have dared, they didn’t dare (do that)*.

May / Might

The SE use of *may* as a way of expressing permission rarely occurs in the dialect (see *Can*, above). As a means of stating possibility, dialectal *may / might* only partially corresponds to SE usage. Although *might* is theoretically the past tense form of *may*, the dialect functions in the same way as SE in that *might* is used to refer to time frames other than the past.

¹³⁰ Both past participles - e.g., *we wouldn’t have dared talked up like that in them days* – or infinitives - e.g., *I wouldn’t have dared be late* - may follow *dared* in past negative constructions. Alternatively, the past participle or infinitive may be omitted altogether.

Nevertheless, differences between the dialect and SE are observable on both functional and semantic levels. As far as semantics are concerned, the differentiation in SE between *may* and *might* – i.e. *might* indicates less certainty than *may* in clauses such as *he might come / he may come*¹³¹ – does not exist in the dialect; dialectal *may* and *might* are interchangeable with no apparent difference in emphasis or certainty – i.e. there is no semantic difference between *he may come* and *he might come*.¹³² On a functional level, differentiation between *may* or *might* is less restricted in the dialect;¹³³ either *may* or *might* are used for the conditional in the dialect – e.g., *if you go now, you may catch it*. This contrasts to SE where *might* “must be used in the conditional.”¹³⁴ Similar discrepancies between the dialect and SE are observable in past tense and indirect speech constructions – see below, p. 192. On a general level, the dialectal use of *may* is comparatively less; *might* appears to be the dominant form of expressing possibility.

Non-Past

/me:/ and /mɑ:t/ throughout.

Negative

Negative constructions with *may* are always *may* + non-contracted negative particle (+ inf.) – e.g., *I may not; I may not go*. Similarly, constructions with *might* are usually *might* + non-contracted negative particle (+ inf.) – e.g., *I might not*. However, constructions consisting of V + cliticised negative particle do occasionally occur – e.g., *I mightn't do that*.

Interrogative / Negative Interrogative

Interrogative constructions with *may* do not generally occur in the dialect – *can* usually operates in this function (above, p. 187). Interrogative constructions with *might* generally operate as tags indicating future possibility; this type of construction differs from SE in that an affirmative tag can occur with an affirmative antecedent – e.g., *If I play my cards right, I might get rich, might I?*¹³⁵ Negative interrogative constructions with *might* also function in

¹³¹ See Thomson and Martinet (1991), op. cit, p. 131.

¹³² Despite the assertions made in modern prescriptive grammars (see footnote 131), it is possibly the case that the semantic distinction between *may* and *might* no longer exists in contemporary colloquial SE.

¹³³ There may be some historical basis for the apparent lack of differentiation and interchangeability between *may* and *might* within the dialect – both *mæg* and *meht* occur in the present indicative singular of OE preterite – present verb *magan*.

¹³⁴ Ibid.

¹³⁵ This type of construction has also been noted in Tyneside (Northern England), where “tags which are positive occurring after positive main clauses are much more frequent in Tyneside than SBE” [Standard British

this context – *We may go there, mightn't we?* Although there is insufficient data to make any definite claims, it appears that the former (i.e. affirmative interrogative tag) is used for emphatic purposes only (see also above, 'Pronouns' – Syntax, pp. 159-162) while the latter is used when a response is required and /or there is uncertainty on the part of the speaker.

Past

While *might* is theoretically the past tense form of *may* (i.e. on a historical level at least – OE *meahte, mihte*), modern SE grammars assert that “*may* and *might* cannot normally be used to say that something was possible in the past.”¹³⁶ Nevertheless, instances in modern SE where there is a tense distinction between *may* (non-past) and *might* (past) - e.g., *Be aware you may have to queue for some considerable time; In the eighteenth century, a person might be deported for committing petty crime*¹³⁷ – demonstrates that the historical paradigm has had an influence in some contexts. Although the data is highly limited in this respect, it does suggest that in the same context there is no such distinction in the dialect of New Mills; consider the following – *In them days, in my time, you may get some of your wages docked, just for making the smallest mistake*. Similarly, the same situation may be observed in instances of indirect speech, where SE maintains the same *may / might* distinction¹³⁸ - *He told me he may do next week* (SE - *He told me he might...*). Furthermore, no dialectal difference (i.e. between *may / might*) is apparent in conditional clauses, where SE insists on the use of *might* – e.g., *You never know, if they pull their fingers out, they may even score; I might go if I can get the time off* (see above also, p. 191).

Past Tense (*may / might* + have + past participle)

When *may / might* are used to express possibility with a past time frame reference, the dialect uses the same constructions as those in SE (i.e. + *have* + p.p.) – e.g., *Watch it! You might have broke my window*. However, in some contexts of past time possibility, such as indirect speech, non-standard constructions do sometimes occur – e.g., *He told me that I might have to have waited* (*might* + infinitive + *have* + p.p.).

Must

On a general level, it would appear that the usual way of expressing obligation / necessity in the dialect is by using the construction *have to* + infinitive, or pronoun + *be* + infinitive;

English] – see McDonald, Christine, and Beal, Joan C., 'Modal Verbs in Tyneside English', *Journal of the Atlantic Provinces Linguistic Association* 9, 1987, 52-53.

¹³⁶ Swan, Michael, *Practical English Usage*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1995, p. 325.

¹³⁷ See Swan, M. (1995), op. cit, p. 324.

¹³⁸ SE uses *might* only, after a past tense reporting verb – see Swan, M. (1995), p. 324.

must is not frequently used. Additionally, there is some functional overlap with *need* (see below, p. 195). When *must* does occur, it is evident that there is a major difference (vis-à-vis SE). Modern SE grammars indicate that there is a distinction between *must* and *have to*: in the 2nd person, there is differentiation between speaker (*must*) and external (*have to*) obligation; in the 3rd person, a pragmatic distinction exists between written usage (*must*) and commenting (*have to*), with the proviso that if the speaker does use *must*, it implies the speaker has authority to order any sanctions; the difference in the 1st person is less important, though *have to* is better for habits and *must* is better when the obligation is urgent.¹³⁹ It appears to be the case that such differentiation does not readily occur in colloquial SE. Whether or not this is so, it is certainly the case that no semantic, pragmatic or contextual distinction between *have to* and *must* operates in the dialect of New Mills. The SE use of *must* + bare infinitive as the “usual way of expressing a casual invitation”¹⁴⁰ does not apply to the dialect of New Mills; other constructions which function in this capacity – e.g., *why* + *do* + negative particle + pronoun + bare infinitive, *Why don't you come over next week?*; pronoun + *should* / *could* + bare infinitive, e.g., *You should come round next Friday when I'm not working, You could come then if you wanted* – are the norm.

It also appears that the SE distinction between the use of *have to* (habitual action, sometimes single action) and *have got to* (single actions only) does not exist in the dialect; either may occur when referring to habitual or single actions – e.g., *I haven't got to work on Saturdays any more; We've been told that we've got to work extra without pay; I have to go back next Monday; I've got to wait and see what happens.*

Non-Past (Present Indicative)

Where *must* does occur, the paradigm remains unchanged throughout – i.e. /mʊst/.

Negative

As in SE, negative constructions generally operate as imperatives (as a way of expressing necessity or instructions). Unlike SE, however, negative realisations which consist of *must* + cliticised negative particle / negative particle (i.e. *mustn't* / *must not*) are uncommon. In the dialect, this function is commonly expressed by a pronoun + *is* / *are* (cliticised / non-cliticised) + negative particle + infinitive construction - e.g., *I've told you before, you're not to do that; Tell M, he's not to go out until I get back; You are not to start yet.* This type of

¹³⁹ Thomson, A. J., and Martinet, A. V. (1991), op. cit, pp. 139 – 142.

¹⁴⁰ Thomson, A. J., and Martinet, A. V. (1991), p. 141.

dialectal negative construction is mirrored by affirmative constructions which express necessity / instructions – pronoun + *be* + infinitive, e.g., *you're to be back by ten* (SE *you must return by ten* [o'clock]). When strong direct instructions / orders are being given with reference to the immediate present, constructions consisting of *do* + negative particle (suffixed cliticised / non-cliticised) + (bare) infinitive are sometimes used - e.g., *Don't do that!*; *Do not touch it* etc.

Interrogative

The SE interrogative use of *must*, which functions as a rhetorical device with the meaning of 'is it necessary that' (as a means of voicing opposition to the action taking place) – e.g., *Must you do that? Must you go now?* – is uncommon in the dialect. The construction *do* + pronoun + *have to* + bare infinitive is the norm in this context – e.g., /də jə av tə dv: ðat/, *Do you have to do that?*; *Do you have to go now?*

Negative Interrogative

As with interrogative *must* above, negative interrogative constructions (confirmatory tag) with *musn't* are not common in the dialect of New Mills. Various other constructions usually function in this capacity: *do* + suffixed negative particle + pronoun, e.g., *We have to work Good Friday, don't we?*; *have* + suffixed negative particle + pronoun, e.g., /ðev gɒt tv: ant ðɪ/, *They've got to, haven't they?*; (future) *will* + suffixed negative particle + pronoun, e.g., *He'll have to, won't he?*

However, *must* + enclitic contracted negative particle (*musn't*) is used to express 'epistemic modality' (i.e. possibility or probability) in negative clauses, where SE uses *can't* or *couldn't have* – e.g., *he's back already, it [the chip shop] musn't be open; well, I saw him yesterday...he musn't have gone.*¹⁴¹

Past

As is the case with SE, *had to* occurs in all instances - there is no past tense of *must*. Indeed, the universal use of *had to* in the past tense may have had some influence concerning the dominance of non-past *have to* in the dialect.

¹⁴¹ A similar use of epistemic *must* occurs in Tyneside – see McDonald and Beal (1987), op. cit, 87.

Need

Need is one of the so-called ‘semi-modals’ – i.e. it operates both as a modal and as a full lexical verb. As a modal, there is some overlap on a functional level with *have to* (above). In this respect, while there is little, if any, overlap with *must* (obligatory), there is considerable overlap with *have to*, which exhibits a semantic difference in affirmative and negative function (obligatory in the affirmative; in the negative construction *do* + negative particle + *have to*, it has the meaning ‘not necessary’, rather than obligation). Modal *need* does not operate in the affirmative. In negative function (*need* + negative particle + bare infinitive), it carries the meaning ‘it is not necessary’, whether this is instructional (speaker) – e.g., *you needn’t go, if you don’t want; you needna come bothering me* – or advisory (external) – e.g., *he told us we needn’t wear long trousers in this weather* (all these may be expressed by the construction *don’t have to*).

The lexical verb has the meaning ‘require’, though it is frequently substituted by *want* in the dialect where SE has *need* – e.g., *it wants a lot doing at it* (SE *it needs a lot [of work] done to it*); *he wants a good kicking, that lad* (SE *that lad needs to be soundly beaten*) – for the use of the present participle / gerund following *need* / *want*, where SE normally has the past participle, see below, p. 211.

Non-Past Negative

Type *a* is /ni:dnt/ throughout; type *b* is /ni:dnə/ (alternatively /do:nt av tɪ:/, *don’t have to* + bare infinitive).

Past (*need* + negative particle + *have* + past participle)

/ni:dnt əv/ – e.g., *You needn’t have bought that, W has fetched some back already*. In some instances, *need have* may be substituted by *should have*, with no apparent difference in meaning – e.g., *You shouldn’t have washed the car, ’cos it’s started raining.*¹⁴²

Ought

The function and use of *ought* generally corresponds to that in SE; although it is derived from the past of *owe*, it functions in non-past time frames (as with the other modals – *should*, *would* – which are similarly derived). It is used to indicate duty or obligation, (with reference to future time) to express probability, or to express desire on the part of the speaker. Its

¹⁴² This could be interpreted as “it was stupid to have washed the car, as the rain will make it dirty again”, but it was clear from the context that the speaker meant that “you have wasted your time washing the car because the rain is going to clean it.”

meaning and function correlate closely with *should*, and, consequently, *ought* and *should* are generally interchangeable. Nevertheless, SE grammars assert that *ought* operates differently from *should* by being the only modal which occurs with a following infinitive particle (the other modals are followed by the bare [i.e. without ‘to’] infinitive). However, data from this study (see following) suggests that this is not necessarily the case on a dialectal level.

Non-Past (Present Indicative)

/ɔ:t, vʊt/¹⁴³ throughout. *Ought* is followed by either the infinitive particle *to* – e.g., /aɪ ɔ:t tə/, *I ought to [do that]*– or *for to* – [a ɔ:t fə ? go: ɹi·əɪ], *I ought for [to] go really*. Nevertheless, a glottal articulation sometimes occurs in place of the following infinitive particle – e.g., [jə ? ɔ:t? dɹ:]. It is difficult to determine, in this instance, whether the infinitive particle is being realised glottally – a common feature of the dialect (see /t/ in Part 2, below, pp. 123-133) - or whether the preceding alveolar plosive is merely being reinforced (preceding a homorganic plosive). If it is the latter, then a third alternative realisation for the infinitive particle following *ought* exists – i.e. [Ø] zero (cf. *used to*, below); zero realisations could have developed by analogy with the other modals, which all occur in constructions that consist of a modal followed by the bare infinitive only (i.e. without an infinitive particle).

Negative

The form /ɔ:tnt/ is comparatively common; negative forms were usually expressed by constructions consisting of *should* + negative particle.

Interrogative

/ɔ:t/ throughout. Interrogative forms of *ought* are regularly substituted by interrogative *should*.

Negative Interrogative

Negative *oughtn't* functions in restricted interrogative contexts only; *oughtn't* only occurs (alongside *shouldn't*) in confirmatory question tags. In other interrogative contexts, only *should* occurs - e.g., *Shouldn't you be on your way? You'll miss your train*.

¹⁴³ The (apparent) traditional form /vʊt/ is uncommon, even amongst the older informants, and has been generally superseded by /ɔ:t/, which nevertheless is often realised with a lowered vowel – e.g. [v:t].

Past

Past tense forms sometimes consist of *ought* + *to* + *have* + past participle – e.g., /ɪ ɔ:t tə əv ɛlpt/, *He ought to have helped*. However, forms with apparently zero realisations of the infinitive and / or past tense indicator (i.e. *have*) also occur – e.g., [ɪ^j ɔ:t ɛlpt^h], *He ought to have helped*; [a^j ɔ:t ʔ dʌn], *I ought to have done*; [wɪ^j ɔ:t ʔ gʌn], *We ought to have gone*. It is possible that these types of past tense realisations (without a past tense indicator) may have a historical basis - ModE *ought* has developed from the past tense of the verb *to owe* (OE *agan* - past tense *ahte*); the original past tense form may have survived as a variant on a dialectal level when *have* became necessary to indicate the past tense after *ought* assumed modal status with non-past time reference. Realisations with zero past tense indicators are generally restricted to the older informants, as is the following non-standard past negative form. Negative constructions rarely, if ever, occur with *ought*; *should* + negative particle + *have* + past participle is the norm (as SE). Nevertheless, negative constructions sometimes operate with *do* – i.e. *did* + negative particle + *ought* + infinitive particle + *have* + past participle – e.g., *they didn't ought to have been there (they shouldn't have been there)*. Dialectal constructions such as this (i.e. auxiliary + *ought*) may reflect the original lexical status of the verb (rather than modal) – cf. *used to* (below) - and thus could have developed by analogy with the 'semi-modals'; the semi-modals, which can operate as lexical verbs, also occur in constructions with auxiliary *do*.

Shall

In formal SE, *shall* is used to indicate future time for actions where intention is not involved and *will* where intention is implicit,¹⁴⁴ though this distinction does not apply to modern colloquial SE where both are used interchangeably; in interrogative constructions particularly, *shall* predominates.¹⁴⁵ This type of differentiation does not operate within the dialect of New Mills; indeed, *shall* rarely occurs at all. The future tense marker is usually expressed by *will*, whether this occurs in a modal + infinitive construction (relatively unstressed) – e.g., *I'll do that tomorrow* - or without an infinitive in stressed clause final position - e.g., *Oh yes, I will*.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, in contrast to SE, *shall* (when it does occur) is

¹⁴⁴ This distinction has its origins in OE, where *sculan* and *willan* were two separate verbs with distinct meanings; *shall* was used to express obligation – 'to be obliged to' - and *will* to express intention - 'to wish, to will'.

¹⁴⁵ See Thomson, A. J., and Martinet, A.V. (1991), op. cit, p. 188.

¹⁴⁶ This distinction (between *shall* and *will*, with reference to future time) can be traced as far back as the OE period; it is probable that *willan* had already come to be used with future reference in OE – see Mitchell, B.,

evidently not restricted to the 1st person – e.g., *he shall*. The function of *shall* within the dialect appears to be largely restricted to instances where the speaker is conveying strong determination or promise (see previous example); this corresponds to one of its functions within formal SE.¹⁴⁷ The SE interrogative use of *shall* (mentioned above) does not generally occur in the dialect; corresponding constructions are usually expressed by *let's* – e.g., *let's go* (SE *shall we go?*). Nevertheless, in some instances where opinion / consensus is being sought, the use of *shall* does correspond to SE – e.g., *where shall we go tomorrow?* This may be contrasted to situations where information is being sought – e.g., *what will we do?*

As in SE, the past tense form *should* may denote future possibility / obligation – e.g., *I should pass* – or in constructions + *have* (but not always - see following), the past conditional – e.g., *we should have*. Occasionally, in past conditional constructions, the modal may occur alone, without the following auxiliary (i.e. the past tense indicator) – e.g., *he should, but he didn't*. In such instances, the linked clause verbal phrase indicates the time frame reference – cf. *I should, but I won't*.

Non-past (Present Indicative)

/ʃal/ - it is not possible to definitely state that this form occurs throughout the paradigm, as not all singular and plural forms were recorded, though it is highly likely; nevertheless, it is evident that it is not restricted to the 1st person (as in SE) - see directly above.

Non-past Negative

Only one example of type *b* negation was recorded - /ʃanə/ - i.e. /a ʃanə dɪ: ðat/, *I shan't do that*. Similarly, type *a* constructions - /ʃa:nt/ - are also rarely used. This is due to the infrequent use of *shall* as a future marker – above, p. 197.

Non-past Interrogative

In interrogative clauses, *shall* (/ʃal/) is apparently restricted to the 1st person, in constructions where the verbal phrase is the sole constituent of the clause – e.g., *Shall I?* - or in tag constructions – e.g., *We'll go tomorrow, shall we?* - where the verbal phrase / tag is for confirmatory purposes – i.e. when there is doubt on the part of the speaker, which requires a response / answer.

and Robinson, F. C. (1992, op. cit), p. 115. Conversely, it is doubtful whether *sculan* (ModE *shall*) ever represented the simple future in OE – Ibid., pp. 114–115.

¹⁴⁷ Thomson, A.J., Martinet, A.V. (1991), op. cit, p. 188.

Non-past Interrogative (negative)

No forms with *shall* were recorded, though, of course, this does not mean that they are completely absent from the dialect. What can be said with certainty, however, is that *shall* forms are extremely rare – negative interrogative forms are generally expressed by using *will* (below, p. 201).

Past tense

Should (/ʃʊd/, /ʃəd/) throughout. However, on account of its function in tense forms other than the past, and, consequently, its far greater occurrence than *shall* in the dialect of New Mills, *should* will be dealt with separately (directly below).

Should

On account of its development from the past tense of a verb that had an original meaning expressing obligation,¹⁴⁸ and its consequent development as an auxiliary indicating future time, *should* naturally developed as a way of expressing obligation / possibility in other time frames. The use of dialectal *should* generally corresponds to that in SE. When it is used as an auxiliary to denote the past tense, the construction *should* + aux.(have) + past participle (optional, depending on context) is usual – e.g., *I should have (gone)* – though instances where *should* is used without the following auxiliary (i.e. *have*) do occur in linked clauses, the time frame reference being indicated by the verbal phrase in the following clause. In non-past function, the general construction is *should* + infinitive, or, in certain contexts, the infinitive is deleted (i.e. pronoun + *should* only). The use of *should* overlaps somewhat with *ought* (above, p. 195), the function and semantics of both modals evidently being interchangeable.

Past tense (*should* + have + participle)

/ʃʊd/, /ʃəd/ throughout. The realisation of the following auxiliary (i.e. *have*) is /əv/, /ə/.

¹⁴⁸ OE *sculan* (a so-called preterite-present verb) had the meaning ‘be obliged to’ (cf. OE *willan* – to wish). When it developed as an auxiliary (alongside ‘will’) to denote future time during the OE and ME periods, this distinction remained.

Past Negative (*should* + negative particle + have + participle)

/ʃʊdnt/,¹⁴⁹ /ʃʊnt/¹⁵⁰ throughout. This construction is occasionally expressed by *ought to* + have (/ɔ:tnt/, /ɔ:tnə/). In instances where strong emphasis is required, this construction may be expressed with a non-cliticised, non-suffixed negative particle – i.e. *should* + not + have.

Negative

Type *a* is /ʃʊdnt/, /ʃʊnt/ throughout. Type *b* consists of /ʃʊdnə/, /ʃʊnə/.

Interrogative (*should* + pronoun)

/ʃʊd/, /ʃəd/ throughout.

Negative Interrogative

These forms are the same as the negative (above), except that the 1st and 3rd person singular forms usually consist of type *a* constructions. Occasionally, *oughtn't* is used instead (/ɔ:tnt/, /ɔ:tnə/) – e.g., /ɔ:tnt wɪ/, *oughtn't we?* When stress is required, the negative interrogative may be expressed as *should* + pronoun + negative particle (not) – e.g., *should we not?*

Used to

The function and operation of dialectal *used to*¹⁵¹ generally corresponds to that in SE; nevertheless, while there are few, if any, differences in usage (i.e. on a semantic and / or operational level) vis-à-vis SE, there is some notable variation on a phonetic level which is indicative of grammatical contrast. In constructions consisting of pronoun + *used to* + infinitive, the infinitive particle *to* is frequently realised as [Ø] (zero) in the dialect – e.g., [a^ɪ jʊ:s dɪ:], *I used to do*; [ɪt jʊ:s bi:], *it used to be* (for omission of final /t/ following /s/ – see /t/ in Part 2, p. 125). The historical development of *used to* may explain the development of dialectal constructions with [Ø] realisations of the infinitive particle.

¹⁴⁹ The apparent preference of negative forms with *-nt* suffix (instead of *-na* suffix) is probably due to the initial vowel of the following auxiliary.

¹⁵⁰ Realisations with the medial assimilation of /d/ with the preceding alveolar /n/ are extremely common – this applies to all the modals whose root form terminates in /d/, i.e. *could*, *would* and *should* – cf., *is*, *has* + negative particle (above).

¹⁵¹ Some SE grammars refer to this semi-modal as merely *used*. Other SE grammars prefer the form *used to*, primarily for the following reasons: *used*, when it functions as a modal, is the only semi-modal that always requires a following infinitive particle at all times; when it operates with an implied infinitive, it is followed by the infinitive particle *to*; to prevent confusion between the semi-modal and the past tense of *used*. Despite the fact that *used to* operates in many, but not all, contexts without a following infinitive particle in the dialect, the form *used to* is adopted here.

Although *used to* is classed as a semi-modal, it is defective (it has no participles or, theoretically, no infinitive) and cannot operate on its own (i.e. as a lexical verb) in verbal phrases; this is because it has developed from the past tense of the verb *use*, and, consequently, it generally occurs with past time reference only.¹⁵² In other respects, *used to* functions in the same way as a semi-modal in that it may occur with the auxiliary *do* in negative constructions – e.g., *I didn't used to go there* (cf. *ought*, above). Nevertheless, the fact that *used to* does not operate in the same fashion as the other semi-modals in many respects (in both the dialect and SE) suggests that it could have developed separately from the other semi-modals or modals. Moreover, its apparent similarities with the modal *ought* (also derived from the past tense of a lexical verb) suggests that both these verbs may have developed together in the dialect – both *used to* and *ought* can operate with the auxiliary *do* (SE *ought* does not operate with *do*); *used to* and *ought* frequently operate without a following infinitive particle (SE *ought* is the only modal that requires a following infinitive particle; *used*, when it functions as a modal, always requires a following infinitive particle, hence *used to*).

However, in contexts where dialectal *used to* occurs with an implied infinitive, the infinitive particle is always present – e.g., /aɪ jʊ:s tʊ:/, /aɪ jʊ:s tə/, *I used to* (cf., *ought*, above).

Will (/wɪl/)

The function and use of *will* generally corresponds to that in SE. Unlike SE, however, its use in the dialect (in the same capacity as SE, i.e. to indicate the future tense) is almost universal, to the detriment of the alternative future tense marker *shall* (above), even in positions / contexts where SE prefers *shall* – e.g., 1st person, stressed position etc. (see above, p. 197).

Non-past (Present Indicative) - Cliticised forms (pronoun + reduced verbal form)

Singular		Plural	
Stressed	Unstressed	Unstressed	Stressed
/aɪl/	/əl/	/wi:l/	/wɪl/
/jo:l/	/jʊl/, /jəl/	/jo:l/	/jʊl/, /jəl/
/i:l, fɪ:l, ɪtl/	/ɪl, fɪl, ɪtl /	/ðɛ:l/	/ðɪl/, /ðəl/

Pronoun + verb

/wɪl/ throughout.

¹⁵² It can operate, however, in adjectival function (< past participle *use*) in particular instances where a habitual aspect is being expressed, e.g., *I am used to getting only a few hours sleep*.

Non-past Negative

Type *a* is /wo:nt/, /wʊnt/. Type *b* realisations consist of /wɪnə/ and /wʊnə/. The former exhibits regular development, with the same root –vowel as the affirmative form (i.e. < *will*); the latter has evidently developed by analogy with type *a* negative realisations.

Non-past Interrogative

The same as the non-cliticised affirmative form - i.e. *will* (above).

Negative Interrogative

As non-past negative (above) + pronoun. When stress is required, the negative interrogative may be expressed as *will* + pronoun + negative particle (not) – e.g., *will you not?*

Past tense

Will demonstrates a similar history to *shall* (above). *Will* developed alongside *shall* as an auxiliary to indicate future time during the late OE and ME periods; originally it was a full lexical verb with the meaning of ‘to wish, want’. The ModE past tense form - *would* – is derived from the OE past tense of *willan* (i.e. *wolde*). The rise of *will* as a future tense auxiliary led to the parallel development of the original past tense in non-past (mainly conditional) function, indicating possibility / intention; the dialectal usage of *would* (/wʊd/) generally corresponds to that in SE. Nevertheless, instances of *would* (with the same meaning as the original ‘wish’) do occur - e.g., *I would that*; literally ‘I wish that was so / that to be the case’ (cf. eModE usage – *would*, with this meaning, was commonplace).

Would (/wʊd/)

Would generally corresponds to SE, in usage and function. The past tense forms consist of *would* + aux. (have) + past participle (optional, depending on context). Instances where *would* is used without the following auxiliary (i.e. *have*) do occur in linked clauses (see also *could*, *should*, above), the time frame reference being indicated by the verbal phrase in the following clause, e.g., *I would but I couldn't get a ticket*. In non-past function, the general construction is *would* + infinitive, or, in certain contexts, the infinitive is deleted (i.e. pronoun + *would* only). In non-past function, the general construction is *would* + infinitive, or, in certain contexts, the infinitive becomes redundant (i.e. pronoun + *would* only). On a phonological level, cliticised forms of the verb (suffixed to the pronoun) are realised as /d/ throughout - e.g., /ɑ:d go:/, *I'd go*; /i:d dɪ: it/, *He'd do it*.

Past tense (*would* + have + participle)

/wʊd/, /wəd/ throughout. The realisation of the following auxiliary (i.e. *have*) is /əv/, /ə/.

Past tense Negative (*would* + negative particle + have + participle)

/wʊdnt/, /wʊnt/¹⁵³ throughout. In instances where strong emphasis is required, this construction may be expressed with a non-cliticised, non-suffixed negative particle – i.e. *would* + not + have.

Negative

Type *a* is /wʊdnt/, /wʊnt/ throughout. Type *b* consists of /wʊdnə/, /wʊnə/.

Interrogative (*should* + pronoun)

/wʊd/, /wəd/ throughout.

Negative Interrogative

These forms are the same as the negative (above), except that the 1st and 3rd person singular forms usually consist of type *a* constructions. When stress is required, the negative interrogative may be expressed as *should* + pronoun + negative particle (not) – e.g., *would I not?*

Verbal MorphologyPresent Participle

The present participle suffix *-ing* is invariably realised as [ɪn] (RP [ɪŋ]) – e.g., /dʌ:ɪn/, *doing*; /gɔ:ɪn/, *going*; /lafɪn/, *laughing*; /ʌnɪn/, *running* etc. This has evidently been a feature of north-west midlands dialects for some considerable time – in his introduction to Samuel Pegge's *Derbicisms*, Thomas Hallam describes the use of [n] for [ŋ] as “very extensive” and “occurring mostly in the unaccented syllable *-ing* either in the middle or at the end of words.”¹⁵⁴ Furthermore, he states that this usage occurs in verbal nouns, in present participles, in participle adjectives and in place-names¹⁵⁵ (i.e. in the same contexts where it exists in the contemporary dialect of New Mills). The substitution of [n] for [ŋ] is not

¹⁵³ The apparent preference of negative forms with *-nt* suffix (instead of *-na* suffix) is probably due to the initial vowel of the following auxiliary.

¹⁵⁴ Hallam, Thomas, “Introduction”, in Pegge, Samuel (1896), op. cit, p. lxvi.

¹⁵⁵ Ibid.

unusual in itself (this occurs in many other modern regional varieties), but the fact that this realisation is universal (in the above contexts) in a dialect area where the velar plosive /g/ preceded by /n/ is still largely maintained – i.e. dialectal /ng/, [ŋg] (RP /ŋ/) - requires some explanation.¹⁵⁶

As Hallam noted, the substitution of dialectal [n] for [ŋg] occurs in unaccented syllables. It is generally assumed that the phonetic process of reduction in unstressed syllables is responsible for the development involving the loss of the velar plosive, i.e. [ɪŋg] >[ɪŋ]. This may certainly be the case in SE and many other varieties of English, but it is evident that the same development has not occurred in the dialects of the north-west midlands (and elsewhere) – i.e. [ɪn]. This apparent difference may have a historical basis. During the ME period, the earlier distinction between the present participle suffix (-*ande*)¹⁵⁷ and the gerund (-*ing*) was maintained in the north-west midlands and north; for example, the north-west midlands texts *Sir Gawain* and *St. Erkenwald* have the present participles *talkkande* and *blysnande*, and the gerunds *daunsyng* and *moulyng* respectively. Although *-nd* forms vanish from the written record in the late ME period (after the advent of the printing press in the 15th century and the subsequent general fixing of the spelling system), it is not unreasonable to assume the survival of *-nd* present participle forms in spoken varieties, particularly in more northerly areas, where influence from ON (present participle suffix *-ande*)¹⁵⁸ may also have strengthened the use of *-nd* forms. Whereas the gerund suffix *-ing* had generally become levelled into the present participle in the south and midlands, it is not unreasonable to hypothesise that a converse process may have occurred later in the north-west midlands and elsewhere – i.e. the present participle suffix with *-nd* was not only maintained but later extended to the gerund (in speech).¹⁵⁹ If so, it is a common process for homorganic /d/ to be elided following /n/ in unstressed position; the development of the termination would have been as follows - /ɪnd/ > /ɪn/. A further development would involve the analogical extension of /ɪn/ to all unstressed syllables (cf. SE, where [ɪŋg] became [ɪŋ] in unstressed position first,

¹⁵⁶ The same distribution of [n] and [ŋg] was recorded by Shorrocks in Bolton, a neighbouring dialect area of the north-west midlands.

¹⁵⁷ The extant form *-ande* suggests a derivation from the ON present participle suffix (OE *-inde*); however, it is not possible to ascertain whether the orthography is indeed a true representation of the vowel (i.e. /a/), or if it merely represents a neutral vowel in unstressed position (i.e. /ə/), this type of suffix occurring as such in ME.

¹⁵⁸ Scandinavian influence is derived from Norwegian ON in the north-west midlands, rather than the Danish ON of the north-east and east. Compared to the north-east midlands and east midlands, influence from ON in the north-west midlands is relatively slight and is most noticeable in the general vocabulary (see Appendix, pp. 35-37).

¹⁵⁹ Any evidence for this on a dialectal level would have been masked as spelling became standardised and fixed at the end of the ME / beginning of the eModE periods.

then in all positions), resulting in the situation described by Hallam at the end of the nineteenth century and evident in New Mills today – e.g., verbal noun (gerund) - [kaɪʊt sɪŋɡɪŋ], *carol singing*; [], *Bollington* (place-name); unstressed position [sʊmθɪŋ],¹⁶⁰ *something* (cf. dialectal [θɪŋɡ], *thing*).

The present participle realisation [ɪŋ] is universal and displays no apparent-time differences; it therefore exhibits considerable stability.

Suffixed Negative Particle

The cliticised suffixed negative particle /nt/ occurs in all age-groups – though note the common negative construction involving the alternative syntactic variant consisting of noun/pronoun + cliticised verb + *not* (see below, pp. 209-210) – whereas the variant traditional realisation of verb + suffixed negative particle *-na* (/nə/) is largely restricted to the older speakers. This feature occurs in many of the traditional dialects of the north-west midlands and in some of the dialects of the north (including Scots), and has developed from the ME negative particles *ne, na / no*, which originally occurred in pre-verbal position. In the dialects where this feature exists today, the negative particle became suffixed to the verbs *be* and *have* and the other auxiliaries and modals, in the same way that the cliticised negative particle /nt/ developed in SE and many other varieties of English.

The fairly restricted and localised nature (on a geographical level) of the suffixed negative particle *-na*, and its subsequent connotations as a traditional or ‘old’ dialectal feature, may have led to its apparent erosion (i.e. it is absent from the speech of the teenagers and – mostly, but not entirely – amongst the adult informants). It is perhaps significant that this feature does not occur in the nearby dynamic urban varieties of the South Manchester conurbation (though *-na* apparently still exists amongst the older speakers in the Tameside area [Hyde, Ashton, Stalybridge] – i.e. in the same dialect area as New Mills, as defined by Ellis).¹⁶¹

¹⁶⁰ Realisations (terminal) consisting of velar nasal + unvoiced plosive, i.e. [ɪŋk] - in, for example, *something* – which occur in many south-eastern and contemporary urban varieties (outside the south-east) were not recorded in New Mills (all age-groups); it may be concluded that such realisations do not exist in either the traditional dialect or the contemporary modified varieties spoken by the younger informants (adults / teenagers).

¹⁶¹ This information was obtained by the researcher, during a conversation with a middle-aged native of Hyde.

Syntax

Infinitive Particle

The infinitive particle is expressed by two main variants (*for to*, *to*), both of which have numerous phonetic realisations. While it is generally assumed that *for to* is the traditional way of expressing the infinitive particle, it is difficult to determine whether *to* is a genuine alternative variant of the traditional dialect, or whether it is merely a modified (standardised) variant; the phonetic realisations suggest the former.

For to

The infinitive particle *for to* was recorded at many localities during the *SED* investigation,¹⁶² and thus is not a localised feature of the north-west midlands area. The origins of *for to* can be traced back to the ME period, where it existed alongside the original OE infinitive particle *to*. During the ME period, the infinitive with *for to* “originally expressed purpose, as in: *com to him for to here*, ‘came in order to hear him’, though “increasingly it became used as an equivalent of the *to* infinitive.”¹⁶³ Indeed, the *OED* supplies two contexts in which *for to* occurs: “before an infinitive, indicating the object of an action = “in order to”, and ‘merely *for to* before an infinitive’ (the same contexts are given by the *EDD*). It is apparent from the data in New Mills that the infinitive particle *for to* readily occurs in both contexts: it often occurs as a direct equivalent of *to* (a development which had already occurred in the ME period, above) - e.g., *he went for to kick the ball and slipped...*; [i^j ast mi: fə ? go:], *he asked me for to go*; [Its sta:tɪd fə tʃ ɹe:n], *It’s started for to rain*; [a tʃ dɪg ? bəŋk ævt], *we had to dig the bank out*; [a tʃ tʃ: mʊtʃ fə ? sʊp], *I had too much to sup (drink)*; [am go:ɪn fə ? mo:], *I’m going for to mow...* – and in contexts equating ‘in order to’ - e.g., [iz ɡʊn bə fə tʃ pɪk ʊp], *he’s gone back for to pick up...* Furthermore, it occasionally occurs as the infinitive particle following the modals *used to* and *ought* – e.g., *it used for to be*; *they used for to let us* ([ðɪ jʊ:s fə ? lɛt ʊz]).

On a realisational level, the second element (i.e. *to*) is always glottalised (see also below, pp. 215-216). It appears that the realisation of the second element often consists of a glottal stop ([ʔ]) – e.g., [fə ? go:]. However, in connected speech, it is often impossible to determine exactly whether this realisation is a glottal stop or an unreleased post-glottalised plosive [tʔ]

¹⁶² See Wakelin (1991), p. 118.

¹⁶³ Burrow, J.A., and Turville-Petre, Thorlac, *A book of Middle English*, Oxford, Blackwell, 1992, p. 48.

(as is the case with the /t/ element of the reduced definite article, above). There are instances where it appears that the second element is a post-glottalised /t/ - e.g., [fə tʔ dv:], though it is also possible that, in this instance, the post-glottalised realisation may be conditioned by the following plosive (i.e. homorganic /d/). Consequently, it is only possible to describe the second element of the infinitive particle as glottalised; it is probable, however, that both glottal stop and unreleased post-glottalised variants occur, whether these are contextually conditioned or not. The existence of a glottalised realisation strongly suggests that the second element *to* is part of the underlying form (i.e. *for to*), and that realisations such as [fə ʔ] should not be confused with forms where the *to* element has been completely absorbed (i.e. *for* occurs alone); solitary *for* is common in the south of England,¹⁶⁴ and, indeed, was recorded (*SED*) as far north as the south of Cheshire.

The infinitive particle *for to* is generally restricted to the older informants (i.e. old and mid age-groups) and, to a lesser degree, the adult informants; no examples were recorded in the speech of the teenagers. One possible reason for this is the absence of this feature in the covert prestige varieties (i.e. nearby urban varieties) and / or its perception as a feature of the traditional dialect.

To

The infinitive particle *to* is frequently realised as a phonetically reduced form (glottal), which operates in much the same way as the reduced definite article (above, pp. 136-142; see also preposition *to*, below, pp. 215-216); glottal realisations of *to* have the effect of reinforcing preceding plosives. As with the glottal realisations of the definite article, the degree of glottalisation is perceptibly stronger than the post-glottalisation of a final plosive when followed by an initial plosive only – e.g., [av sʊmɪt ʔ i:t], *have something to eat*; [ä dɪnt no: wʊt ʔ dv:], *I didn't know what to do*; [ɪts ɡʊt ʔ bi:], *it's got to be*; [ɪts sʊmɪt ʔ dv:], [ɪʲ ad ʔ ɡo:], *He had to go*; [ɪt ʔ dv: wɪ jɪ:], *nowt [nothing] to do with you*. Following a non-plosive consonant, (and preceding a plosive), the degree of glottalisation is noticeably less. The effect is to devoice the preceding non-plosive and / or pre-glottalise the following plosive - [wɪ af ʔ dv: ðat], *we have to do that*; [äʲ af ʔ ɡo: bak næʊ], *I have to go back now*, [ɪtʔ tas ʔ bi:], *it has to be*; [ɪts sʊmθɪn ʔ dv:], *it's something to do*; [brɪʲ e:bʊt ʔ dv: bo:θ], *be*

¹⁶⁴ See Wakelin (1991), p. 118.

able to do both. Glottalisation may also occur in non-plosive environments – e.g., [al af ? wɔ:k], *I'll have to walk*.

In addition to the glottal realisation above, *to* may also be realised as /tə/ – e.g., /al av tə fɛtʃ ɪt/, *I'll have to fetch it*; or /tɻ:/. The latter often occurs when the infinitive particle occurs finally (i.e. without a following verbal infinitive) – e.g., /a wantɪd tɻ:/, *I wanted to* – though this is not always so – e.g., /wɪ av tə/, *We have to*. While glottalised variants occur in the speech of all age-groups, it appears that /tə/ features more strongly in the speech of the younger informants, which could suggest that /tə/ is a modified development.

Zero

Despite the evidence provided by the *SED* (in addition to that provided by Ellis [1889]), and more recent descriptions such as Shorrocks' monograph on Farnworth near Bolton (1980), one relatively modern study has Zero + Infinitive as the general realisation in the North-West.¹⁶⁵ Indeed, the data from the present study confirms that *for to* and *to* are the norm in the more northerly areas of the north-west midlands dialect region. Shorrocks remarks on the “misconception that the dialects of pre-1974 Lancashire ‘omit’ the infinitive marker.”¹⁶⁶ Indeed, Shorrocks refutes the notion entirely by stating that:

*the glottalisation and devoicing associated with cliticised to... and occasional zero-realizations in certain phonological contexts (e.g. ‘he wants to see thee’) are not to be confused with the situation in parts of Cheshire and Staffordshire, where there is routinely no discernible trace of the marker.*¹⁶⁷

Whatever the case in Farnworth, it is apparent that zero realisations do occur in a small number of instances in the dialect of New Mills, specifically after *used* and *ought*¹⁶⁸ – e.g., [ɪt jɻ:s bi:], *It used to be*; [jɻ:s mɛk], *used to make*; [jɻ:s gɛt], *used to get*; [jɻ:s ple:], *used to play*; [jɻ:s sli:p], *used to sleep*; [jɻ:s se:], *used to say* etc.; [wɪ^ɪ ɒ:t? dɻ:], *We ought to do*. In the last one, it would be reasonable to assume that the infinitive particle is being realised as a glottal variant, though other examples – e.g., [ɪ^ɪ ɒ:t lɻ:k aftə ɪmsɛl], *He ought to look after*

¹⁶⁵ Edwards, V., Trudgill, P., and Weltens, B., *The Grammar of English Dialect. A Survey of Research*, A report to the Economic and Social Research Council's Education and Human Development Committee, London, Economic and Social Research Council, 1984, p. 22.

¹⁶⁶ Shorrocks (1999), pp. 245-246.

¹⁶⁷ Shorrocks (1999), p. 246.

¹⁶⁸ It is worth noting that the phonological context in which zero realisations occur in New Mills is not the same as that in which (phonologically conditioned) “occasional zero-realizations” occur in Farnworth (i.e. preceded and followed by fricatives).

himself; [i^h ɒ:t av], *He ought to have* - imply that the final plosive of *ought* in this instance is contextually conditioned (i.e. post-glottalised because of the following homorganic plosive), and that a usual realisation of the infinitive particle after *ought* is zero. The limited occurrence of zero realisations in New Mills may reflect the widespread existence of zero realisations in dialect areas to the south of that in which New Mills is situated (i.e. in the southern areas of the north-west midlands region). Additionally, there are isolated examples of zero infinitives in qualifying adverbial clauses – e.g. [fə ? mɪlkmən kʊm], (*I'm waiting for the milkman to come*).

Negation

Within the dialect, negation occurs in constructions that vary on a syntactic level (i.e. more than one way of expressing negation is evident); as in SE, negation may be, and sometimes is, expressed by the addition of a negative particle suffixed to the auxiliary / modal verb (i.e. pronoun / noun + auxiliary verb + suffixed /nt/). Nevertheless, a variant construction noun / pronoun + suffixed auxiliary verb + negative particle *not* (/nɒt/) is the usual way of expressing negation within the dialect. This type of negation occurs in all contexts where a suffixed /nt/ is usual in SE – e.g., (with following present participles, indicating both present and future time frames) *it's not raining now*, *it's not forecast to [rain]*, *I'm not going tomorrow*; (with following past participle) *it's [the train] not gone yet*; (copula *be* + adjective) *it's not cold* [ɪts nɒt? d]; (with *will*) *he'll not back down*. The general lack of data and comment concerning this type of construction (both vis-à-vis SE and other dialects) means that is neither possible to make any definitive claims about the dialectal status and / or provenance of this type of negation; however, this feature was recorded by Shorrocks (1980, 1998) in Bolton (Greater Manchester [pre-1974 south Lancashire]), a neighbouring dialect area of the north-west midlands, and by Beal and Corrigan in Tyneside¹⁶⁹ - see also above, p. 180. Other examples from New Mills: *he's not going now*; *I've not been yet*; *it's not late*; *we're not going on strike*; *they're not going to come* etc.

The syntactic origin and development of *not* may indeed point to the possibility that the non-suffixed full form in modern constructions has developed as a genuine variant, and that, therefore, this feature could indeed be dialectal. In the ME period, negative clauses were often formed with double negation; one syntactic pattern consisted of a negative particle (*ne*,

¹⁶⁹ Beal, Joan C., and Corrigan, Karen P. ‘“No, Nay, Never”: Negation in Tyneside English’, in Iyeiri, Y. (ed.), *Aspects of Negation in English*, Kyoto, University of Kyoto Press, 2005, pp. 143, 148-153.

na / no) in pre-verbal position followed by post-verbal *nought*. The latter eventually developed into *not*, the reduced form of which ultimately became suffixed to the verb (in some spoken varieties, including SE). It is possible that the process of reduction and suffixation did not occur (in some dialects at least) and the alternative syntactic pattern with the full form of the negative particle (evident in the ME period) became predominant.

In addition to the contexts described above, this type of negation occurs in constructions (principally with the verbs *have* and *be*) which also display differences on a morphosyntactic and / or lexical level (vis-à-vis SE): e.g., dialectal *he's not to go out; you've not to do that* (i.e. pronoun / noun + cliticised *be / have* + *not* + infinitive), corresponding to SE *he mustn't go out, you mustn't do that* (pronoun / noun + *must* + suffixed cliticised /nt/ + bare infinitive). Additionally, this type of dialectal negative construction may occur with non-cliticised verbal forms, in situations when particular emphasis / stress is required – e.g., *you are not to start yet* (see above, p. 180).

An alternative negative construction with dialectal *non* (/nɒn/) sometimes occurs in clauses consisting of copula *be* + adjectival complement, where SE has *not* – e.g., *I'm non so bloody sure about that; I'm non too happy about that, I can tell you*. This type of negative construction is largely restricted to the older (old and mid) informants, though it does sporadically occur in the speech of the adults.

Never is sometimes used as a negative particle, a so-called 'punctual negator' (denoting *not*, rather than *never*) in constructions consisting of pronoun + *never* + lexical verb (p.t.) - e.g., *I never did that; I never heard a thing; I never went there; I never knew nowt about it;*¹⁷⁰ – which correspond to SE pronoun + auxiliary + suffixed /nt/ + lexical verb (inf.) constructions, i.e. *I didn't do that, I didn't hear a thing; I didn't go there, I didn't know anything about it* respectively. While all the above examples refer to specific incidents occurring at one chronological point in time,¹⁷¹ *never* also occurs in the dialect as a negative particle without a specific temporal reference that equates to SE *n't, not* – e.g., *I've never seen him for years* (SE – *I haven't seen him for years*).

¹⁷⁰ It should be noted that the dialectal use of *never* in these clauses refers unambiguously to a specific, single event, and does not correspond to the SE definition of 'on no occasion'.

¹⁷¹ This particular function of *never* (i.e. "referring to a single action or a delimited span of time") also occurs in Tyneside – see Beal and Corrigan (2005), op. cit, pp. 144-145.

Multiple Negation

Multiple negation – usually double, but sometimes more¹⁷² – occurs in the speech of informants in all age-groups. Multiple negation is common on a dialectal level and evidently widespread, not only in England, but in varieties of English elsewhere.¹⁷³ The absence of multiple negation in SE has no historical basis whatsoever; multiple negation has been a feature of English from the OE period until the present - the contemporary situation in SE, and the generally held linguistic misconception (by speakers of SE) that double negation is ‘incorrect’ because ‘two negatives make a positive’, can be traced back to the introduction and proliferation of prescriptive grammars in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Examples from New Mills:

I haven't done nought (/aɪ ant dʌn næʊt/); I never knew nought about it (SE I didn't know anything about it); We couldn't see nought; I'm not growing nought; I've never heard nought like it; I hadn't done no weaving before that; I didn't think nought of it; We wouldn't go back neither; We couldn't do no more; We didn't go nowhere in them days; We never knew nought else (SE We never knew anything else); It wasn't so good, neither, etc.

Various other morphosyntactic differences between the dialect and SE are apparent:

dialectal modal + present participle – e.g., *it wants sorting; it wants a lot doing at it; the grass wants cutting; the clothes want bringing in*¹⁷⁴ – corresponds to SE modal + infinitive *be* + past participle (*it needs to be sorted out, it needs a lot [of work] to be done to it, the grass needs to be cut, the clothes need to be brought in* respectively).

There are also other notable differences, relating to expanded or periphrastic forms. Some expanded constructions can exhibit a greater degree of periphrasis than their SE counterparts; a good example of this is *we didn't ought to have done that* (pronoun + auxiliary [p.t. marker] + negative particle + auxiliary + p.t. marker + p.p.), which corresponds to SE *we shouldn't have done that* (pronoun + auxiliary + negative particle + p.t. marker + p.p.). Other periphrastic constructions involve the use of present participle forms. Again, these expanded dialectal constructions, which contain verbal phrases with a progressive aspect, correspond to simpler SE clauses, e.g., *I couldn't be doing with that* (spoken SE *I couldn't do with that*). Similarly, other clauses where progressive aspect occurs in the dialect – e.g., *I can't go, I'll be working next week; He'll be coming over this time*

¹⁷² For example, *I'm not doing nowt like that never again, I can tell you!*

¹⁷³ However, data suggests that this phenomenon occurs more in the south and the north-east than in the north midlands; indeed, the percentage figure for the north-west midlands dialect area is one of the lowest – see Anderwald (2002), op. cit, p. 105.

¹⁷⁴ For the dialectal use of *want*, see ‘Lexis’ (below).

tomorrow – correspond to SE clauses where the simple present is used (i.e. *He's coming over tomorrow, I'm working next week*).

Conversely, the dialect sometimes has a past participle form where SE uses the past continuous – e.g., *I were stood right in the middle; I were sat watching the telly; He were sat there* (SE *I was standing...; I was sitting; He was sitting there*). The past participles in these examples could be construed as being adjectival; indeed, the occurrence of past participles in such contexts may owe their origin to OE morphosyntactic constructions, where past participles were declined as adjectives.

Another dialectal periphrastic construction may be noted in past perfect conditional constructions where dialectal auxiliary *had* + negative particle + auxiliary *have* + past participle – e.g., *If I hadn't have done it* (/ɪf ə dnt ə dʌn ɪt/) – corresponds to SE *If I hadn't done it* (no double auxiliary). Similarly, the dialect has auxiliary + past participle where SE has past indicative only – e.g., *She's been finished a week* (SE *She finished a week ago*).

The simplification of verbal constructions in the dialect may be observed in some qualifying adverbial clauses, which apparently occur without a preposition (zero realisation) and only a finite / simple form of the verb – e.g., [sʊmθɪŋ ? dʌ: si: ə nə:s], *something to do see a nurse* (SE *something to do with seeing a nurse*).

In one instance at least, the dialect has lexical *have* + noun instead of the simple past – e.g., *he had a fight* (SE *fought*). This type of construction may also be observed in the non-past – *he's having a fight* – though pronoun + *be* + present participle constructions (e.g., *he's fighting*) are also common.

Finally, the dialect sometimes omits the conjunction *and* which occurs between two bare infinitives – e.g., *Go see who it is*, /gʊ si: ɪ: ɪz/ (SE *go and see who it is*).

Adverbs

In contrast to SE, many adverbs in the dialect occur without an *-ly* suffix (in free variation with *-ly* forms); in this respect dialectal adverbs often correspond to adjectival forms (see 'Adjectives', above) – e.g., *awful, bad, careful, quick, loud, proper, private, slow, reasonable, regular* etc.

Prepositions / Conjunctions

Wakelin states that “dialectal variants of the Standard English conjunctions and prepositions are really a lexical matter.”¹⁷⁵ It is undoubtedly the case that some of the dialectal variation occurs on a purely lexical level, but it is apparent that variation also operates on phonological (particularly realisational) and distributional levels. The following description will focus on those aspects of the dialect which vary from SE. Needless to say, the following analysis and commentary is only partial and will inevitably fall short of a thorough description of distinctive (vis-à-vis SE) dialectal prepositions, let alone constitute a reasonably comprehensive description of prepositions within the dialect; such restrictions have necessarily been imposed by the methodology and the limitations of the data.

Afore (/əfɔ:(r)/ - [əfɔ:], [əfoə]) – this operates as a less frequently used variant of *before*. It is mainly restricted to the speech of the older informants – e.g., *that were afore I went there*.

After – this is frequently used in a phrasal verb construction *be + after* (with the meaning ‘in search of’, ‘attempt to acquire’) – e.g., *I’ve been after one of them for ages; Watch that bugger! He’s after summat (SE something)*.

At – this sometimes occurs where SE has *to* – e.g., *it wants a lot doing at it* (colloquial SE *it needs a lot [of work] to be done to it*); *he went at it like a loony* (colloquial SE *he went to it*, in the sense of ‘carrying out a task’); [ɪf ɪts dɪ:ɪn ðæt at? jə], *if it’s doing that at you* (SE - *if it’s doing that to you*).

At also occurs alongside another preposition in some contexts where SE would use a different / single preposition: (corresponding to SE *behind*) – e.g., *at the back of the Post Office, at the back of Lowe’s, it were at the back of the Iron Works*; (corresponding to SE *beside*) – e.g., *just at the side of that (Town Hall)*; (corresponding to SE *in front of*) – e.g., *the wall that’s at the front of the terrace*.

Beside (‘apart from’) – corresponding to SE *besides*, a form without an /s/ termination is often realised by informants in all age-groups – e.g., *beside that, I’m fine; beside Lowe’s and the Victoria Mill, it had all gone; beside the last ten minutes, it were rubbish; beside the fact it would cost too much, I haven’t got the time*.

¹⁷⁵ Wakelin (1991), p. 118.

Bout (/bæʊt/) - this preposition has developed from OE *būtan* (> ME *bute(n)*) and is associated with many of the traditional dialects of the north midlands (cf. west Yorkshire /ba:t/). In New Mills, it occurs infrequently in the speech of the older informants as a variant corresponding to SE *without* – e.g., *in them days, we had to go bout*.

Except for – *except* frequently operates with additional *for* in contexts corresponding to SE *except* – e.g., *except for me; except for a few of us; except for that one*.¹⁷⁶

For (/fɔ:/ [fɔ:]; /fə/) – *for* operates in pronoun + *be* + *for* + pr. participle constructions where SE has pronoun + *be* + infinitive – e.g., *that's for binning* (/ðats fə bɪnɪn/); *that's for chucking out* (SE *that's to be put / to go in the bin; that's to be thrown away*).

Nor – In addition to the SE usage (conjunction / preposition coordinating alternatives), *nor* occurs in the dialect as a comparative preposition (the same usage I observable in the ME period) where SE has *than* – e.g., *he's better nor me; he were bigger nor me*. This type of usage is mainly restricted to the speech of the older informants (see also *than*, below).

Of (/ɒv, əv, ə/) – with adverbials of time, *of* operates where SE uses *in* or *every*, the precise meaning of which is determined by the context – e.g., *We used to go up Lyme Park of an evening* (i.e. *sometimes, we used to go to Lyme Park in the evening*); *I get up early of a morning* (i.e. *I get up early every morning*).

On - this sometimes operates in place of pre-vocalic *of* – e.g., *get out on it* (SE *get out of it*). Rather than being a substitution of one preposition by another, it is probable that *on* in such environments is a contextually conditioned (i.e. in pre-vocalic position) phonological realisation of *of*, having developed from the reduced form [ə] – [əv] > [ə] > [ə] + V > [ən]. *On* is also used in a specific context, as part of what is theoretically a phrasal verb, where a V + preposition would occur in SE – e.g., *I'm telling on you; I'm going to grass on you* (SE *I'm telling / going to tell somebody [person in authority] about your actions*) – see also *over*, below.

¹⁷⁶ This type of usage may also be observed in colloquial SE.

Out (/æʊt/)- dialectal *out* sometimes occurs where SE has *out of* – e.g., *get out the way; keep out the way*. Dialectal *out of* is sometimes used in contexts corresponding to SE *from* – e.g., *they come out of Stalybridge, did Lowe's* (SE *they came from*).

Over (/o:və/, /o:ə/) – In addition to usage denoting ‘above’ and ‘away from or on the other side of’ (corresponding to SE), *over* is frequently added to *to* (where SE has only *to*) with the meaning of ‘movement towards’ or ‘the action of going from one place to another’, particularly when this is a specific destination – e.g. *He's gone over to M's* (personal name); *I'm going over to Matlock*.¹⁷⁷ Similarly, *over* may occur in some contexts where there is no preposition at all in SE – e.g., *I'm going over that way tomorrow*. *Over* and *on* frequently occur in the dialects of the north-west midlands in a number of the same contexts, but there appears to be a distinction in distribution between the more southerly and the central / northerly dialects; for example, *on* occurs in some of the dialects in central Lancashire (the action of going from one place to another) – e.g., *He's going on to the pub later* - where New Mills has *over*. Conversely, the central Lancashire dialects use *over* - e.g., *I'm telling over you* - where New Mills has *on* (above, p. 213). A similar type of usage is also noted by Shorrocks in south Lancashire, e.g., *enquire over, grumble over*.¹⁷⁸ *Over* may also occur where SE has *across* – e.g., *he's gone over the road* ([ɪz ɡʊn oʊə ? ɹo:d]). This type of usage implies a known referent in the form of a specific location (in this case, a newsagents' shop). Shorrocks also recorded this exact usage in Farnworth, south Lancashire.¹⁷⁹

Round – this has a similar meaning to, and is used in the same context as, dialectal *over* (above) in that it implies movement from one location to another known destination – e.g., *He's gone round to J's* (personal name).¹⁸⁰

Than – this is a comparative preposition corresponding to comparative SE *than*. However, it may only occur as a comparative preposition with an object case personal pronoun – e.g., *he's better than me*. With a subject personal pronoun dialectal *than* operates as a conjunction – e.g., *you've done more than I have; he's cleverer than what I am*.

¹⁷⁷ This type of usage may also occur in colloquial SE.

¹⁷⁸ Shorrocks (1999), p. 222.

¹⁷⁹ Ibid.

¹⁸⁰ This type of usage may also occur in colloquial SE.

On a phonetic level, *than* is sometimes realised without the initial fricative ([əŋ]), when it is preceded by /r/ - e.g., [ɪts fə:ðə'ɪ əŋ ðatʰ], *It's further than that*.

Till – a common variant (preposition and conjunction) corresponding to dialectal *while* (SE until / till).

To /tə/, /tɹ:/ – The most common realisation of *to*, generally occurring as it does in unstressed position within the clause, is /tə/. However, *to* is unique amongst the prepositions in that, when it precedes the definite article (see above, p. 136), /tə/ often becomes completely assimilated to the following glottal realisation of the definite article – e.g., [ɪz ɡʊn ? matʔɪ], *he's gone to the match*; [ä wɛntʔ dɛʊn ? pʊb], *I went down to the pub* (cf. the infinitive particle *to*, above). Nevertheless, it is evident that, in some instances, *to* may also be realised as a glottal variant when it operates without the definite article – e.g., [sɛnt ʊz ? wɛst afrɪkə], *sent us to West Africa*; [wɛn wɪ ɡʊt ? ɪlɛvən], *when we got to eleven (years old)*. In at least one instance, the preposition *to* was recorded as zero in the dialect – e.g., [a:d ʝa:ðə ɡʊn mantʃɪstə], *I'd rather have gone to Manchester*.

Up – as is the case in SE, this is used in contexts to describe the perceived direction of travel from one destination to another (SE *I'm going up to Edinburgh*). In New Mills, this apparently depends on, primarily, whether the intended location is situated at a greater elevation or not (i.e. whether it involves an uphill or predominantly downhill journey) – e.g., *he's gone up to the chippy (chip shop)*; *I'm going to walk up to the station*; *he's down at the sports centre*; *they're going down to the Torrs* (place-name). Furthermore, the topographical nature of a specific location is often referred to by means of adjectival modification – e.g., *the top chippy*; *the bottom chippy*. However, *down town* does not usually occur with reference to the town centre of New Mills; rather it is used when referring to the nearby urban area, particularly the town centre / city centre of Stockport or Manchester respectively.

While – this sometimes occurs as either a preposition or conjunction in contexts where the dialect often has *till*, with the meaning 'until' - e.g., *I usually work six while twelve* (SE *I usually work from six [o'clock] until twelve*); *it's shut one while two* (SE *it's closed from one [o'clock] until two*); *we had for to wait while the all clear sounded* (SE *we had to wait until the all clear sounded*). *While* (meaning 'until') is a common feature of many of the dialects

of the north and north midlands,¹⁸¹ and has been recorded in this capacity since the ME period.

Without – on a phonological level, *without* is sometimes realised without the medial fricative – [wi^j ævt].

Additionally, some unusual conjunctive constructions were recorded, some of which also had other implications on a morphological and / or syntactic level. In the following example, dialectal *why* corresponds to SE *whether / if* - e.g., *it didn't matter why you work there or not, it (the siren) woke you up* (SE - *it didn't matter whether you worked there or not...*). In the following example, dialectal *only* functions as a preposition / conjunction (corresponding to SE *except, but*) – *everybody had malaria, only me* (SE ... *but / except me*).

Syntax

Some important aspects of prepositional syntax have already been discussed (i.e. preposition stranding – above, pp. 147-148, 162). The various realisations of *to* as an infinitive particle have also been discussed above (see above, p. 207); some aspects of this, however, merit reiteration as parallels may be drawn with the prepositional realisations of *to*, including glottalisation (see directly above). As far as positional realisations are concerned, the infinitive marker *to* in reduced clauses (i.e. in final position) is not always stressed (as in SE) – i.e. /tʌ:/ (SE /tu:/) – but may be realised as unstressed /tə/ (see above, p. 207).

Time reference prepositions (adverbial) are sometimes omitted in the dialect, in the following examples where SE would have *in* and *at* respectively – e.g., *we always used to do that back end* (SE *we used to do that in the autumn*); *I usually start six o'clock, when there's nobody about* (SE *I usually start at six o'clock*).

Verbal syntax constructions with *for* are discussed above. What are evidently dialectal prepositional verbal constructions may be observed in phrasal verbs such as *brew up* (SE *make a cup of tea*). The number of phrasal verbs and verbal idiomatic constructions (which differ not only vis-à-vis SE, but also other with other varieties) is probably large and, indeed, would probably constitute a thesis in its own right.

¹⁸¹ Wakelin (1991), p. 118.

CHAPTER 4

Lexis

Introduction

Without doubt, vocabulary is the one aspect most consistently associated with regional dialect and / or dialect studies by the average layman, not least because it is this level of linguistic analysis that is most obvious / readily perceptible to the public in general. This perception is reflected in much of the modern popular (i.e. non-academic) dialect literature, which is essentially lexical in nature, i.e. is primarily concerned in providing dialect glossaries, such as those produced for the Yorkshire and Lancashire dialects.¹⁸² This same interest was the driving force behind the apparent burgeoning of dialect study in the nineteenth century; these early studies focused mainly, though not entirely, on the lexical aspect of regional dialects. Much of this research was undertaken either by dialect societies (some of whose members had a background in linguistics) or other individuals (many of whom had no formal education in / knowledge of linguistics). This gave rise to numerous glossaries, both academic – e.g., *Pegge's Derbicisms* – and popular – e.g., Leigh's *Cheshire Glossary*. Some of these glossaries, such as the latter, sometimes made no distinction between phonological variants and lexical variants, especially where the phonological nature of these variants is not so obvious, with the result that they could easily be mistaken as 'lexical' variants – e.g., *yed* (SE *head*); *wom* (SE *home*).

As far as any analysis is concerned, a systematic description of the lexis of a dialect would be impossible (c.f. 'Grammar', above, with the proviso that this point is even more relevant to lexical analysis), both within the available time constraints and also because of the methodological constraints imposed by the present study; such a lexical description would be a mammoth task in its own right and would necessarily involve the production of a dialect dictionary. Moreover, the comparative component embedded in the present research (for the purpose of analysing linguistic change in apparent time) not only reinforces these constraints, but also determines that a suitable method (i.e. enabling comparison) is followed.

The method for obtaining dialect vocabulary necessarily involves the use of a questionnaire (in this respect, the sole reliance on obtaining data via free speech would be completely

¹⁸² These include: Kellet, Arnold, *Dictionary of Yorkshire Dialect, Tradition and Folklore*, Otley, Smith Settle, 1994; Crosby, Alan, *The Lancashire Dictionary of Dialect, Tradition and Folklore*, Otley, Smith Settle, 2000.

inadequate, as the desired lexical item may never be elicited). This type of data collection has traditionally been used in dialect studies and remains one of the most frequently used methods on account of its efficiency (i.e. by targeting the desired item) and convenience (for analysis), despite the constraints imposed upon ‘natural’ speech by the relative formality and / or artificiality of the situation, i.e. the ‘Observer’s Paradox’. It is evident that the advantages of this method are still considered to outweigh the disadvantages as many modern studies have primarily utilised questionnaires; these have been conducted orally (numerous, including the *SED* [1947-1961] and many sociolinguistic studies), by means of a written questionnaire (*The Survey of Sheffield Usage* [1997]),¹⁸³ or both written and oral (*The Survey of Regional English* [*SuRE*, 1999])¹⁸⁴. Oral questionnaires have the added advantage of providing phonological information. These factors aside, the comparative aspect of an apparent time investigation dictates that data must be comparable; questionnaire responses meet this requirement. Bearing this in mind, the lexical analysis in this investigation is based almost entirely on the questionnaire responses; those not included in the questionnaire responses consist of items which are so frequent in speech (e.g., *Yes*, *No*, and to a lesser extent, *something*, *terms of address* [*friends*, *strangers*]) that more than enough data may be gathered from non-questionnaire sources to enable an accurate comparison to be made.

As far as the questionnaire is concerned, approximately eighty questions were designed to elicit lexical information,¹⁸⁵ specifically words that demonstrated dialectal variation / were typical of the dialect of the north west midlands / north west Derbyshire (for design of the questionnaire, see above, pp. 94-103). The vast majority of these question types consist of notions that correspond to headwords in the *SED*. This comparative component is important in one respect in that it adds an extra temporal dimension to the study. This has two spin-offs: firstly, it enables data from over a longer time-span to be considered which may provide further evidence on / help explain lexical erosion / innovation (in relation to north-west Derbyshire / north-east Cheshire, rather than New Mills specifically). Secondly, considering that the data from the nearest *SED* locality (Db 1 – four miles NNE) is very similar in many respects, a fairly accurate real-time analysis (bearing in mind the fact that

¹⁸³ The data from this survey was published in Paynter, David, Upton, Clive, and Widdowson, J. D. A., *Yorkshire Words Today: A Glossary of Regional Dialect*, Sheffield, NATCECT Occasional Publications, No. 6, 1997.

¹⁸⁴ For example, Llamas, C, *Language Variation and Innovation in Teeside English*, unpublished PhD thesis, University of Leeds, 2001.

¹⁸⁵ These questions are marked with a bold **L** in the questionnaire responses – see Part 2: Phonology (Addenda).

the localities, though near, do not correspond exactly) could be made by analysing the *SED* data and the corresponding lexical responses of the oldest informants in the present investigation. Such a comparison will not form part of the lexical analysis in the present investigation; rather it may prove useful by shedding light on lexical change uncovered by the apparent time analysis.

While this investigation is essentially qualitative, the questionnaire-based apparent time analysis of the lexical data does provide an opportunity for small-scale simple quantitative analyses (i.e. percentage statistics) to be made; the use of simple quantitative data in the lexical investigation is possible on account of the relatively small amount of data (i.e. usually one item per question, per informant) that needs to be analysed. The use of simple quantitative data will be utilised where it is deemed that such statistics will facilitate the analysis. It is important to note, however, that any statistics will not necessarily be significant, on account of the small number of samples / tokens (i.e. three informants for age-groups old, mid, adult; four informants in teen age-group). Similarly, a quantitative analysis of the degree of erosion would not be appropriate in this investigation due to the relatively small number of tokens being analysed. As stated above, the statistics included in the lexical analysis are not intended to constitute a quantitative investigation per se, rather they are to be used to clarify the data. In addition to this, any conclusions drawn from the lexical investigation must be considered in light of the fact that the data was elicited via a questionnaire. The 'Observer's Paradox' is well documented and often quoted in relation to questionnaire interviews (and similar formal data gathering techniques, such as word lists) and the responses gathered from this type of data elicitation. Certainly, the evidence from the present investigation strongly suggests that the more formal situation connected with questionnaires produces more formal speech (i.e. away from the 'natural' ideal sought after by the researcher) - see above, pp. 94, 103-109. Moreover, if the fact that questionnaires often produce single response type data is also considered, it is apparent that this elicitation method is not the optimum for the purposes of analysing natural speech on a comparative level. This is not only because the naturalness of speech is affected, but also because it became apparent that the reaction of the informants, and thus the formality of responses, differed from person to person. All these constraints concerning the naturalness of the data being analysed (and thus the validity of this data, as far as natural speech is concerned) must be taken into account when drawing conclusions; the relative sparsity of data elicited from questionnaires, and its associated formality, mean that any conclusions or claims (arising

from this data) concerning linguistic change on a dialectal level must be seen within these constraints and not necessarily considered to be definitive.

Lexical change on a dialectal level has been the focus of a considerable amount of recent research. In many cases, studies have focused upon the apparent loss of traditional dialect forms (so-called ‘lexical erosion’). Indeed, just such a premise has been responsible for a considerable amount of dialectal research, with the main objective being to record these traditional forms before they disappear forever. Most notably, this was one of the main considerations behind the *Survey of English Dialects* (1947-1961). Nevertheless, the same concerns and motivation may be observed in many previous studies, going back as far as the eighteenth century – e.g. Hunter’s *Hallamshire Glossary*, and the *Cheshire Glossary*.¹⁸⁶

The term ‘lexical erosion’ implies that a local form has been replaced by a standard / standardised supra-regional variant.¹⁸⁷ A considerable amount of attention has been paid to this development in traditional dialects. Less attention has focused on the fact that traditional forms have also lost ground to other non-standard variants, which may or may not demonstrate regional or local distribution (lexical innovation). In some cases, the appearance of new non-standard forms may be explained by dialect borrowing (see, for example, *alleyway*, below, p. 236). On the other hand, non-regional neologisms may be contemporary colloquialisms or other ephemeral slang. A definition and comparison of this type of usage has been provided by Coleman:

*Colloquial language is the language of conversation. Dialect terms are restricted to a geographical region. Although both colloquial and dialect terms find their way into the dictionaries studied here, they remain peripheral. Slang is usually short-lived, and often belongs to a specific age group or social clique. It is used, like fashion, to define in-groups and out-groups. Jargon is the specialized language of an occupational or interest group, and functions as often to exclude as to include.*¹⁸⁸

There is no doubt that this type of non-standard vocabulary, particularly that associated with urban culture, plays a major role in the speech of teenagers today. Despite its association with modern youth culture, it is evident that this phenomenon is not confined to contemporary youth; several of the older informants in this study stated that they used contemporary slang when they were young, much of which they not only no longer use

¹⁸⁶ Hunter (1824), op. cit, pp. xxiv – xxvi; and Leigh, Egerton (1877), op. cit, p. iii, ‘Dedication’.

¹⁸⁷ An adequate example of this is the demise of local terminology for *left-handed*; local variants have either been replaced by the standard *left-handed* or the supra-regional non-standard (although once restricted to the south-east) *cack-handed* – see Upton, Clive, and Widdowson, J. D. A., *Lexical Erosion in English Regional Dialects*, Sheffield, NATCECT Occasional Publications, No. 7, 1999, p. 13.

¹⁸⁸ Coleman, Julie, *A History of Cant and Slang Dictionaries, Volume II 1785-1858*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 2004, pp. 1-2.

themselves, but which has also dropped out of general use. While many neologisms, therefore, may be attributable to youth culture slang or dialect borrowing, it is nevertheless the case that some fit into neither category and may indeed be new dialectal variants (i.e. locally restricted). In summary, linguistic change on a lexical level does not only involve erosion; lexical erosion and lexical innovation often operate in tandem.

Traditional Dialect Lexis

An obvious problem that exists in analysing lexical change on a dialectal level is determining whether a particular lexical item from which any change is being determined is indeed dialectal (i.e. a traditional dialect feature), and on what criteria an affirmative assumption is based. As far as New Mills is concerned, an obvious way this can be achieved is by assuming that those items elicited from the older (i.e. old and mid age-groups) will be dialectal. This data may be corroborated in a number of ways. Firstly, for those items that correspond to the headwords in the *SED*, the data from the two localities nearest to New Mills (Derbyshire 1 – Charlesworth, and Cheshire 2 - Rainow) can be used to ascertain whether there is any correspondence with the items elicited from the older informants in the present investigation. While it is possible that certain items may be specific to the traditional dialect of New Mills alone (and therefore unrecorded in the *SED* data), the *SED* data is useful in that it does provide dialectal lexical information concerning the general north-west Derbyshire / north- east Cheshire dialect area (both these localities are within the same dialect area [defined by Ellis] in which New Mills is situated). Other relevant historical dialect literature, such as Pegge's *Derbyisms* and Leigh's *Cheshire Glossary* are also useful in determining whether a particular item is a feature of the traditional dialect. Wright's *EDD* also provides substantial data concerning the provenance of many lexical items in the nineteenth century.

For those items whose headwords do not occur in the *SED*, the historical dialect literature (mentioned above) is the only available means by which to assess the dialectal nature of those items elicited in this study. Where no correspondence between the *SED* data (and /or the historical dialect data outlined above) and the data elicited from the older informants in New Mills exists, it may be assumed that either the item(s) is highly localised, i.e. specific to the traditional dialect of New Mills, or that it is a non-standard neologism – this is discussed in the relevant sections below. A further problem is the possibility of the existence of dialectal forms that may have gone unrecorded; numerous recent monographs suggest that this is the case concerning data in the *SED*, though it is improbable (but not impossible) that

an item would fail to materialise in any of the previous studies undertaken in a locality. Nevertheless, recent research on lexical erosion, which compared data from the *SED* and *ALE*,¹⁸⁹ has revealed that one headword (out of thirty notions investigated) elicited a lexical item that did indeed appear in the latter study (*ALE* [1976-1980]), which was not recorded in the former (*SED* [1947-1961]) – the notion *sun* was represented only by *sun* in all sixty six localities under investigation in the *SED*, but two of the corresponding *ALE* localities gave the variant *Phoebe* as a response.¹⁹⁰ Furthermore, the *ALE* recorded some items that were not found under the same headwords in the *SED*; these were elicited under several notions including *scarecrow*, *cross-eyed*, *scraps*, *ant-hill*, *rivulet* and *funnel*.¹⁹¹ Moreover, the *ALE* recorded more variants (per notion) than the *SED* in fifty-four instances (thirty notions, sixty-six localities), totalling 100 variants.¹⁹² Conversely, the *SED* recorded more items in seventy examples, totalling 184 variants.¹⁹³ Nevertheless, while the latter clearly suggests lexical erosion, the data from the *ALE* provides evidence that, firstly, not all lexical items are necessarily recorded in earlier surveys, and, secondly, that more than one variant often exists in a particular locality for the same notion.

As far as the present investigation is concerned, numerous lexical variants were elicited from the older informants (i.e. old and mid), which were not given as responses in the nearest *SED* localities (i.e. Db 1 and Ch 2). Before an accurate comparative apparent time analysis can be made, it is necessary first to determine as far as possible whether these items are traditional dialect features, and, if so, whether they are highly localised variants, regional variants that were not elicited by the *SED*, or whether they are relatively recent non-standard neologisms. Of the eighty or so lexical items under analysis, some seventeen notions¹⁹⁴ exhibited responses that were not recorded in either (*SED* localities) Db1 or Ch2. These fall into two types: responses that only included variants (more than one) not recorded in the *SED*, and responses that included the same lexical items elicited in the *SED*, in addition to other unrecorded variants. Only the notion *snack* falls into the former category. In the latter, there

¹⁸⁹ The *Atlas Linguarum Europae* was, as its name suggests, a Europe-wide survey of regional dialects conducted between 1976 and 1980. The sixty-six localities in England and Wales were all included in the *SED* network, these being recommended by Harold Orton (*SED*) as a representative cross-section – see Upton and Widdowson (1999), op. cit., p. 10. The *ALE* fieldwork in England and Wales was coordinated by NATCECT, University of Sheffield.

¹⁹⁰ See Upton, C., and Widdowson, J. D. A. (1999), pp. 11-12.

¹⁹¹ *Ibid.*

¹⁹² Upton, C., and Widdowson, J. D. A. (1999), p. 17.

¹⁹³ *Ibid.*

¹⁹⁴ The notions *living room* and *sitting room* are counted as one headword rather than two; the questionnaire responses in the present investigation revealed that not only is there considerable overlap between the two, but that many of the informants made no distinction between them (i.e. considered them as one and the same thing).

is a sub-category consisting of unrecorded non-standard lexical items concerning notions where the *SED* responses correspond to SE – *nose*, *left-handed*, *mouth* and *drunk*. The other headwords elicited unrecorded variants in addition to the dialectal items contained in the *SED* data for the localities Db 1 and Ch 2 – *stare*, *throw*, *stupid*, *exhausted*, *ill*, *sitting-room*, *dining-room*, *minnow*, *active*, *crying* (v. - pr. pa.), *meal out* and *money*. Of these, *stare*, *stupid*, *exhausted*, *meal out*, *money* and *drunk* (four or more items), and, to a lesser extent, *mouth*, *active* and *crying* (three variants) exhibited considerable variation. This data reinforces the evidence provided by other surveys (including the *ALE*) that not all dialectal forms were necessarily elicited during the *SED* fieldwork, and it also provides further impetus to the suggestion that there is often more than one dialectal form for a particular notion; indeed, the data from the present investigation provides ample evidence to support this (see Part 2: Addenda – Questionnaire Responses). The responses to the headwords listed above will now be analysed, in order to ascertain whether they may be classified as traditional dialect forms or otherwise.

Stare – In addition to *gawping* (*SED* Db1), *skinning*, *peering*, *ogling*, and *gazing* were all elicited from the older informants. The *SED* data shows that *skinning* occurs elsewhere in Derbyshire, Cheshire and south Lancashire. Its apparent provenance throughout the north-west midlands dialect area suggests that this is a genuine dialectal variant. There are no records of either *gazing* or *peering*, though the *EDD* lists *peerer* (n.) – ‘one who stares’ - and *gaze* (n.) – ‘a sight’ - as occurring in Scotland. Despite the lack of evidence, the occurrence of these items in free speech strongly suggests that both these variants are traditional (highly localised) forms. Indeed, the elicitation of another apparently restricted variant – *gaping* – at Bradwell, Derbyshire (*SED* pilot) – suggests that there is considerable localised variation concerning this notion. This may also be observed at a regional level, where *squinting* vies with *skinning* in Lancashire, Cheshire and Derbyshire. As far as the dialectal terms for *stare* are concerned, there appears to be considerable overlap with the notion *cross-eyed*, with evidently related items occurring for both (e.g., *sken* - cross-eyed); this overlap is also apparent in the *SED* responses for localities in the north-west midlands.

Stupid – Both adjectival and nominal responses were elicited for this notion. As well as adjectival *daft* (Db1) and *barmy* (Ch2), the nominal items *tubyed*, *dumbbell*, *duck head* and *nut case* were all cited by the older informants. Both *dumbbell* and *nut case* are cited by *Collins English Dictionary* (1992) – henceforth *CED* - as being slang. Similarly *duck* is cited as being slang (‘odd person’). The use of these particular items by the older informants

probably reflects the time (i.e. during their youth) when these were contemporary. There is no record of *tubyed* in either the *SED* or *EDD*, though *tup* is recorded in the *EDD* ('a stupid or foolish person') as occurring in Yorkshire, Lancashire and Derbyshire. The item *tubyed* (/tʊbjɛd/) has probably developed from *tup* + dialectal *yed* (SE *head*), and thus, in all likelihood, is a local dialect form.¹⁹⁵ Another term, *gormless*,¹⁹⁶ was not elicited via the questionnaire. Nevertheless, it occurs fairly frequently in free speech (all age-groups), with the meaning 'silly', 'stupid' or 'lacking in common-sense'.

Exhausted – In addition to the response that was elicited at Db1 and Ch2 (*jiggered* [up]), the older informants also cited *razzored*, *knocked up*, *goosed* and *buggered* for this notion. While the *EDD* lists *jiggered* ('p.p. exhausted, tired, usually with up') as occurring in Westmoreland, Yorkshire, Lancashire, Nottinghamshire and the Isle of Man, the *SED* data implies that its provenance was more extensive in the north-west midlands. The *EDD* also cites *razzor* (v. – 'to exhaust, wear out) as occurring in Lancashire and Cheshire, which confirms that this is a traditional regional dialect word. Both *goosed* and *knocked up* are more obscure and neither appears in the data from the *SED* or in the *EDD* in this context; nevertheless the *EDD* records *knocked up* (v. – 'to be intoxicated') as a local term occurring in Stf only. The *OED* cites the verb *knock up* ('to overcome or make ill with fatigue, to exhaust, tire out) as being recorded between 1737 and 1883 - *CED* states it is British slang. It is possible that the sense of being exhausted developed from the meaning 'intoxicated' (or vice-versa); however, if this was the case, it is not possible to determine if such a semantic development remained / became regionally restricted. Similarly, the *EDD* lists one of the definitions of *goose* (v.) as 'to do for, make an end of, do thoroughly', which is semantically close to the notion under discussion. Again, however, evidence to support a dialectal status is insufficient.

Meal Out – The items *tommy* and *dinner, meat* were recorded at Db1 and Ch2 respectively. The older informants in the present investigation responded with *snap*, *baggin*, *lunch*, *pack-up* and *dinner*. *Baggin* was recorded elsewhere in the north-west midlands (south Lancashire) by the *SED* (also recorded for the notion *snack* in Derbyshire, Cheshire and Lancashire), and it may be assumed that this is a genuine dialectal variant. While *lunch*

¹⁹⁵ Nevertheless, a derivation from *tub* + *yed* cannot be ruled out.

¹⁹⁶ This item occurs in many of the dialects of the north and north midlands, though it is evidently widely known outside these areas - see Upton and Widdowson (1996), op. cit, p. 95. According to the *OED*, it is ultimately derived from ON *gaumr* (OE *gome* < ON *gaumr*) meaning 'heed', hence 'heedless', 'stupid.' However, dialectal (n.w. midlands) *gawin*, 'wise', 'clever' (< OE *cneawan* – 'to know') + suffix *-less* (with labialisation of the nasal after labial /w/ - /n/ > /m/) > *gawmless* provides a possible alternative.

appears to be a standardised form, it is anything but – the response to the question attempting to elicit the notion for midday meal was universally *dinner* (amongst all informants of every age-group). Moreover, subsequent questioning revealed that *lunch* applies solely to the meal a person takes out of the house. Both *pack-up* and *snap* were similarly defined. Despite the apparent large number of variants (this is also observable in the *SED* data), it is reasonable to assume that all variants are dialectal, whose provenance is restricted to varying degrees – *baggin* (south Lancs, north-west Derbys, north-east Ches), *snap* (north midlands / north), *dinner* (north midlands / north), *pack-up* (north midlands?), *lunch* (?).¹⁹⁷

Money – The items *brass* and *money* were elicited at Db1 and Ch2 respectively; these two terms were ubiquitous throughout the northern part of the north-west midlands area, including central and south Lancs. In addition to the apparently dialectal form *brass*, the responses from the older informants in the present investigation were *ready money*, *cash*, *dosh* and *dabs*. The first of these, *ready money*,¹⁹⁸ has been in use for some considerable time and essentially has become a non-regional variant for *money*, with the sense of banknotes and coins. Both *cash*¹⁹⁹ and *dosh*²⁰⁰ are non-regional variants / slang. Conversely, it appears that *dab* may indeed be a rather rare – (unrecorded in the midland and northern volumes of the *SED*) regional variant; the *EDD* provides one definition of *dab* - ‘(with *down*) to pay down ready money, hence *dabs down*, payment, ready money’ - as occurring in Lakeland and Yorkshire, suggesting a north / north midland provenance. It is possible that this dialectal form may have developed from usage that once had wider currency.²⁰¹

Drunk – In addition to *drunk*, which was the standard response at Db1 and Ch2 (and, indeed, elsewhere in the north-west midlands), *pissed*, *kaylied* and *legless* were elicited from the older informants in New Mills. All these variants are cited in the *OED* as twentieth century slang, though it is possible that the origin of *pissed* is somewhat less recent than suggested –

¹⁹⁷ In this context (i.e. *meal out*), the term *lunch* was not recorded at any of the *SED* localities near New Mills. Moreover, although it exhibits a general midlands provenance, it is relatively rare on a dialectal level; the *SED* recorded this item (for the notion ‘meal out’) at one locality in central Lancashire and Shropshire, several localities in Nottinghamshire and Lincolnshire, and a sporadic distribution at several localities in the south-west midlands (i.e. Warwickshire, Herefordshire etc.).

¹⁹⁸ The *OED* cites the first example of this as ‘redi penijs’ in the northern text *Cursor Mundi* (c. 1300), while the first recorded example of ‘redy monay’ occurs c. 1420.

¹⁹⁹ The *CED* defines *cash* as readily available banknotes and coins (first recorded c. 16th C), while the *OED* cites its use as being formerly literary /general use but now only commercial or slang.

²⁰⁰ The *CED* cites *dosh* as being twentieth century British or Australian slang.

²⁰¹ The *OED* cites one definition as ‘a small amount, as of money given’ (first recorded in 1753 with this sense).

Grose (late eighteenth century) cites a *piss-maker* as a ‘great drinker, one much given to liquor’.²⁰²

Mouth – The standard form *mouth* was recorded at Db1, Ch2 and many of the other localities in Cheshire, Derbyshire and south Lancashire. In addition to the standard form, elicited from the older informants were *kisser* and *gob* (also Db3 and Ch 2). The *Cheshire Glossary* lists *gob* as a ‘silly person’, while Pegge’s *Derbicisms* defines *gob* as ‘a large piece of food’ (c.f. *saliva* - questionnaire responses). While these items are undoubtedly still used in these contexts, they are not recorded with the meaning *mouth*. In other lexicographical sources (*OED*, *CED*), both *kisser*²⁰³ and *gob*²⁰⁴ (with the definition *mouth*) are regarded as supra-regional, though the late nineteenth century *EDD* lists *gob* as occurring in Scotland, the north, north midlands and East Anglia. The former is cited as slang in *CED*. The latter is also cited as slang; the relative antiquity of this item (sixteenth century) may be responsible for its apparent contemporary universal provenance.

Active – There is evidently a fair amount of local variation associated with this notion; *active* was recorded at Db1 and *energetic* and *on the go* at Ch2 (*wick*, *active*, *fidgety* and *on the go* in central and south Lancs; *wick* and *wacken* Yks 29, 30). In addition to *active*, both *wick* and *agile* were elicited in New Mills. It is evident that the former is a common dialect form in the north-west midlands / north midlands; nevertheless, its apparent provenance in the more northerly areas (*SED*) suggests that it was either more extensive previously and has since receded (leaving a few relic pockets), or that it disseminated to a wider area. More probably, the item went unrecorded previously in those areas (such as north-west Derbyshire), and, consequently, its southerly limit is further south than the data in the *SED* suggests. *Agile* is not recorded elsewhere in the north-west midlands, and it is either a genuine local (i.e. New Mills) variant for this notion, or an aberrant response on the part of the informant.

Cry (v., pr. pa.) – This headword provides further evidence of the multi-variant nature of certain notions on a dialectal level; *skriking* (/skraɪkɪn/) and *yelling* were recorded at Db1

²⁰² *The 1811 Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*, London, Senate, 1994 (facsimile), first published as *Lexicon Balatronicum; A Dictionary of Buckish Slang, University Wit and Pickpocket Eloquence*, altered and enlarged by a member of the Whip Club, London, C. Chappel, 1811; this being almost entirely derived from Grose, Francis, *A classical dictionary of the vulgar tongue*, Third Edition, London, Printed for Hooper and Wigstead, 1796 (first published 1785).

²⁰³ The *OED* cites the origin of this item as nineteenth century boxing slang.

²⁰⁴ *Gob* is first recorded in the sixteenth century (*OED*).

and Ch2 respectively. The former was elicited at many localities in the north and north midlands by the *SED*, and is cited by the *EDD* as occurring throughout the north / north midlands; it is specifically cited in both the *Cheshire Glossary* (nineteenth century) and the *Lancashire Dictionary* (2000). The latter is evidently more localised – according to the *EDD*, its provenance was restricted to Lancashire. In addition to these variants, *yapping* was elicited from the older informants in New Mills. The *EDD* records the item *yapping* (with the sense of making a loud or shrill noise) in Yorkshire. With a similar sense, the *Cheshire Glossary* lists *yaff* (v.), an evidently related phonological variant. This evidence suggests that *yap* is a genuine dialectal (regional / local) variant, which operates alongside other the other regionalisms / localisms (*skriking* / *yelling*).

Nose – In addition to the standard response *nose*, recorded at all the Db and Ch localities, *snitch* was elicited from the older informants in New Mills. *CED* cites this as slang, though the *EDD* records it as occurring in Yorkshire, Lincolnshire and East Anglia only. This suggests two possibilities – firstly, it may be a dialectal item with a fairly extensive provenance (north midlands / east midlands); secondly, the regionalism may have entered mainstream colloquial English and become supra-regional slang. The fact that only the standard form was recorded in some parts of the north-west midlands (*SED*) may have more to do with the formal situation engendered by the questionnaire (which is not conducive to eliciting variants which may be considered to be rude / socially stigmatised – c.f. *left handed*, below) rather than the non-existence of local / regional variants (c.f. *neb* [nose] in the north).

Minnow – Dialectal *jacksharp*, recorded at both Db1 and Ch2, was elicited from the oldest speakers in New Mills. Nevertheless, the universal response given by informants in the mid age-group was *stickleback*. The *OED* defines this as a specific type of small fish, though it also cites its regional usage as a generic term for all small fish. The term *stickleback* was not recorded by the *SED* at any of the localities in the north-west midlands (La 13, 14 – *jacksharps*; Db, Ch – *jacksharps*, *minnows*, *silver bellies* and *tiddlers*), though, significantly, it did occur at Yk 29 (this locality borders [pre 1974] south-east Lancashire, north-east Cheshire); this suggests that it may already have existed in some of the localities within the north-west midlands, near the south-west Yorkshire border.²⁰⁵ However, it appears that *stickleback* has superseded traditional variants in some areas of the north-west midlands

²⁰⁵ These localities, being mainly urban – i.e. Oldham, Ashton, Stalybridge – were avoided by the *SED*.

(north-west Derbyshire at any rate). The apparent overwhelming dominance of this new term may be explained, at least partially, by the traditional dialectal use of *stickleback* in the north-west midlands as a term for ‘goose grass’ (*EDD* *stickleback* [Cheshire]; *stick-a-back* [Cumbria, Lancashire, Cheshire]). The existence of this item in the dialect lexicon of the north-west midlands (for ‘goose grass’) may have been responsible for the rise of *stickleback* (defined as ‘small fish’) in some areas of the north-west midlands, whether the source of this term was a highly localised variant in south-east Lancashire / north-east Cheshire or whether it diffused from the dialects of south-west Yorkshire.

Left-handed – The standard form *left-handed*²⁰⁶ was recorded at Db1 and dialectal *kay-pawed* (/gje:pɔ:d/) at Ch2. In addition to the standard form, *bang-handed* (/bangandɪd/) and *cack-handed* were elicited from the older informants in New Mills. The latter, although once a dialectal variant (south-east), has since assumed supra-regional status;²⁰⁷ indeed, it is contemporarily cited as informal / slang in the *OED* and *CED*. The former (*bang-handed*) appears to be a rather rare variant (it is not cited in any of the previous / contemporary dialect literature, both local (e.g. *Cheshire Glossary*; *The Lancashire Dictionary*, *Pegge’s Derbichisms*) and national (e.g., *EDD*);²⁰⁸ nevertheless, /bangandɪd/ was also recorded by the *SED* at Db4 (Youlgreave – 18 miles [30 kms] south-east). This does suggest that it is a genuine, relatively localised, dialectal variant.

²⁰⁶ This is remarkable, considering the high number of local variants recorded elsewhere in the *SED*; such standardised forms may represent reticence on the part of the informants when questioned about notions associated with social stigma.

²⁰⁷ See Upton and Widdowson (1999), op. cit, p. 13.

²⁰⁸ This item (i.e. *bang-handed*) is cited by Peter Wright as a dialectal expression for ‘left-handed’, though its provenance is not mentioned – see Wright, Peter, *The Language of British Industry*, London, The Macmillan Press Ltd., 1974, p. 59.

Throw – The SED recorded *chucking* ([tʃʊkkɪn]) at Db1 and *pegging* ([pɛɡɪn]) at Ch2. Only the former was elicited from the older informants in New Mills. However, the older speakers also responded with *cobbing* (/kɒbɪn/); this was not recorded by the SED in any of the Derbyshire and Cheshire localities, but was elicited in central Lancashire (La8) and west Yorkshire, notably Yk29 (one of the localities bordering [pre-1974] north-west Derbyshire, north-east Cheshire, south-east Lancashire). Nevertheless, the EDD cites *cob* (to throw) as occurring in Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, (notably) north-west Derbyshire and west Yorkshire, while it is also listed in the Cheshire Glossary. It may be assumed from this evidence that it is a dialectal (regional) variant.

Ill – The forms *bad* and *badly* were recorded at Db1 and Ch2 respectively, with additional *aught but right* ([æʊt bət ɹi:t]) at Ch2. While both *bad* and *badly* were elicited as alternative variants from the older informants in New Mills, the overwhelming response was *rough* (/ɹʊf/). The SED records one example of this in the south-west midlands area of England (Gloucestershire), while the EDD also cites it as occurring (in this context) in the south-west (Gloucestershire and Wiltshire). Although this points to *rough* as having a fairly localised provenance, the conclusive evidence from New Mills suggests that it is not completely restricted to the south-west; although it has gone unrecorded previously, it is apparent that this lexical item exists elsewhere.

Sitting-room / Living-room – The SED lists both *sitting-room* and *living-room* as headwords in its questionnaire. However, it became evident during the present investigation that the distinction between *sitting-room*, *living-room* (and, indeed, sometimes *dining-room*) had become blurred or no longer existed²⁰⁹ for a number of reasons - foremost among these concern the variety in layout that exists between smaller and larger houses; the change in design of modern accommodation; the change in use of rooms within the house since the introduction of appliances such as televisions, washing machines, dish-washers, microwave ovens etc. Bearing this in mind, the SED recorded *parlour*, *front parlour* and *front room* at Db1 and Ch2 (for notions *sitting-room* and *living-room*). Both *parlour* and *front room* were also elicited from the older informants in New Mills, along with *house place* and *lounge*. The former was also recorded at Db6, which suggests that it is dialectal. The latter is a

²⁰⁹ Peter Wright noted such change in his research on Lancashire Dialect, stating that “the old *parlour*, which in the 1930s was usually the *sitting-room*, is now generally the *lounge*.” - Wright, Peter, *Lancashire Dialect*, Clapham (N. Yorks.), Dalesman Publishing Company Ltd., 1976, p. 35.

standardised form, which may reflect the changing nature of room usage, rather than specific standardisation.

Dining-room – The *SED* recorded *kitchen* and *living-room* at Db1 and Ch2 respectively; these items may merely reflect the layout and use of a room on a personal and individual level, and may therefore be idiolectal rather than dialectal. Both *living-room* and *dining-room* were elicited from the older informants in New Mills. It became apparent that two factors were responsible for the use of one or other of these variants; responses were dependent on the layout of the informant’s house and also upon the general use to which the room was put.

In addition to the notions outlined above, some seventeen headwords, which form part of the lexical analysis in the present investigation, are absent in the *SED*. A substantial number of these consisted of personal adjectives – *attractive*, *bright*, *lucky*, *plump* (a baby), *soft*, *spoilt*, *stupid* – and the weather related adjective *hot*. The rest include some commonly used verbs – *annoy*, *borrow*, *catch a cold*,²¹⁰ *move house*, *rain (heavily)* – and common nominal notions – *alleyway*, *bread roll*, *common-sense* – as well as the exclamation *goodbye*.

Attractive – The items *bonny*, *a nice piece*, *fit* and *tasty* were all elicited from the older informants. The first of these is listed in the *EDD*, as occurring in the northern counties of England as far as Derbyshire, and the *Lancashire Dictionary*. Both *nice piece* and *tasty* are cited as slang.²¹¹ Although *fit* appears in a slang dictionary,²¹² it is ascribed as having popular usage in “N. England, esp. Greater Manchester and Liverpool.”²¹³ This suggests that, while both *piece* and *tasty* are evidently slang (supra-regional), *fit* is possibly a regional variant, albeit modern.

Bright – In addition to standardised *clever*, the items *sharp*, *smart* and *wick* were elicited from the older informants. *Smart* is listed in *CED* in this context, and is evidently non-

²¹⁰ The *SED* included the headword *catch*, but only in the context of physically taking hold of something – IX.3.8 “Our cat saw a mouse, but it was too slow to *catch* it.”

²¹¹ *Tasty* (adj.) is cited as a colloquialism for “sexually inviting” (dating from the 19th century), while *piece* (n.), although evidently of greater antiquity (dating from the 14th century), is defined as a derogatory colloquial term for a “woman considered as a sex object” – see Richter, Alan, *Dictionary of Sexual Slang*, New York, John Wiley and Sons, Inc., 1993.

²¹² *Fit* (adj.) is defined as “used mainly by males to describe females who are very sexually attractive; used less by females to describe men” – see Beale, Paul (ed.), *A Concise Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English*, London, Routledge, 1989, p. 159.

²¹³ *Ibid.*

regional. However, while *sharp* was apparently dialectal in the nineteenth century,²¹⁴ it is also listed in *CED*, with no contemporary reference to dialectal usage. Nevertheless, this does not necessarily mean that its use in the speech of the older informants is not dialectal; indeed, the age distribution of this variant (older speakers only) suggests that it could well be so. Conversely, the dialectal status of *wick*²¹⁵ (generally north midlands) is beyond dispute (*EDD*, *Cheshire Glossary*, *The Lancashire Dictionary*).

Lucky –while only the standardised form *lucky* was elicited from the oldest (i.e. old age-group) informants, the mid age-group also responded with the variants *jammy* and *scrawpy* (/skɹɔ:pɪ/). The former is cited in *CED* (with this definition) as ‘British slang’. The latter has proved to be completely obscure. It is not cited in any of the major English Language Dictionaries (i.e. *OED*, *CED*), contemporary slang dictionaries,²¹⁶ or dialect dictionaries (both historical²¹⁷ and contemporary²¹⁸). This points to two conclusions: firstly, *scrawpy* is non-standard; secondly, the fact it does not appear in any of the contemporary dialect and slang dictionaries suggests that it is either a recent neologism and / or a highly localised variant. Indeed, its apparent use amongst the mid age-group (and not the old age-group) points to its relatively recent coining (c. 1950s onwards); this supposition is supported by the absence of the variant in the *SED* data. Moreover, its non-occurrence in the dictionaries / glossaries of dialects elsewhere in the north-west midlands (see directly above) suggests that this variant is localised in its distribution; just how restricted is impossible to verify at present. The obscurity of *scrawpy* means that the origin of this lexical variant is particularly difficult to determine. Nevertheless, one possibility is that it is a phonological variant of *scrapey*, this having developed as a non-standard deverbal adjectival formation from *scrape*. The phrasal verb *scrape through* is defined in *CED* as ‘to succeed in with difficulty or by a narrow margin’, hence the association with being lucky. Somebody who *scrapes through* would then be described as *scrapey*, which has developed phonologically as *scrawpy* (/skɹɔ:pɪ/).

Plump – This question was asked with particular reference to an infant. The responses elicited from the older informants were *bonny* and standardised *chubby*. The former is cited

²¹⁴ The *EDD* cites it as occurring in this context in the north and north midlands, including Lancashire, Cheshire and north-west Derbyshire.

²¹⁵ This is technically a phonological variant of *quick*, involving the loss of the initial velar stop.

²¹⁶ For example, Beale, Paul (ed.), op. cit (1989).

²¹⁷ The *EDD* (19th C), *A Cheshire Glossary* (1884), *Pegge’s Derbichisms* (1896).

²¹⁸ The *SED Dictionary and Grammar*, *The Dictionary of Lancashire Dialect and Folklore* (2000).

in the *EDD* as occurring (in this particular context)²¹⁹ in the some areas of the north-west midlands, including north-west Derbyshire (also recorded as such in *A Cheshire Glossary*, *Pegge's Derbicisms*, and *The Lancashire Dictionary*).

Soft – This question was asked with reference to a person's moral / mental fibre (by considering, for example, their reaction to cold weather) and was designed to elicit an adjectival response. However, as was the case with several of the other questions so designed, both adjectival and nominal responses were elicited. Bearing this in mind, the adjectival item *mardy* was the usual response, but the nominal item *Moaning Minnie* was also elicited from one of the older informants. According to the *OED*, the latter is colloquial British English and was first recorded (with the definition of 'a moaner, a complainer') in the early 1960s; it is evidently derived from the name of a siren used as a warning during the Second World War. Its use by one of the older informants (mid age-group) may reflect the colloquial English of the informant's youth (i.e. 1960s). The adjective *mardy* is cited by the *OED* (with the definition 'spoilt, sulky, whining, moody') as 'regional English (chiefly north)'. The *EDD* cites *mar* (v. -'to spoil a child by indulgence') as occurring in west Yorkshire, east Lancashire, Cheshire, north west Derbyshire and Shropshire, 'hence *mard* or *marred* (adj. – 'spoilt') in the north-west and north-east midlands. The connotations of spoilt and / or pampered have evidently produced a semantic extension of this item (meaning 'soft' or 'cowardly') in the north-west midlands – *The Lancashire Dictionary* (2000) defines *marred* as 'soft, spoilt, pampered'.²²⁰

Spoilt (with particular reference to a child) – This notion appears to be inextricably associated with the previous (*soft*); the usual response was identical – i.e. *mardy* (see above) – though, in common with *soft*, a nominal item was elicited – *a brat* – from one of the older informants.

Stupid – In common with the two previous headwords, the notion *stupid* was associated with, and evidently interchangeable with, the notion *silly*. For an analysis of this headword, see above, pp. 225-226.

Hot – In addition to standardised *hot* / *very hot*, the older informants responded with *boiling*, *roasting*, *sweltering* and *warm*. Both *boiling* and *roasting* ('hyperbole') are listed as colloquial usage (in relation to the weather) by the *OED*, while *CED* cites *swelter* as a verb

²¹⁹ i.e., in contexts where it is defined as 'plump' or 'healthy'. It has a wider provenance throughout the north-west midlands (and elsewhere) with the meaning 'pleasant, attractive'.

²²⁰ Crosby, Alan (2000), p. 129.

and noun, with no reference to either colloquial or regional usage. While it is evident, therefore that none of these items is specifically dialectal, the apparent tendency to use present participles in adjectival function (in relation to the weather) may be non-standard (c.f. SE *warm* and *hot*).

Annoy (pr. pa.) – This notion elicited the response *mithering*, as well as *nagging* (one token), from the older informants. The latter is cited in *CED*,²²¹ with no reference to any regional provenance or dialectal status. The *OED* cites *mither* (phonological variant of *moider*) as being dialectal (north and midlands) with several related definitions, one of them being to ‘bother, pester and irritate’.

Borrow – Without exception, all the older informants responded with standard *borrow* /(**bɔɹə**)/.

Catch (a cold) – While this question was primarily designed to elicit the past tense of the verb *catch*, it soon became apparent that there was lexical differentiation between physically taking hold of something, and (as in this case) contracting something. Although one informant answered with *caught*, the usual response from the older informants was *copped a cold*. The *OED* lists *cop* (‘to capture, catch’) as northern dialect. The *EDD* cites *cop* (‘to catch, seize hold of, capture’) as being ‘general dialect and slang use in England and the colonies’; nevertheless, it quotes an example from Ashton, south-east Lancashire²²² in exactly the same context²²³ as the use specified by the older informants in New Mills (i.e. relating to catching an illness / disease).

Move house (pr. pa.) – Without exception, the item *flitting* (/flɪtɪn/) was elicited from the older informants in New Mills. The verb *flit* is cited in *CED* (with the precise definition ‘to move house’) as Scottish and northern English dialect, while the *EDD* records this specific usage in the north midlands (Lancashire and west Yorkshire). The same context is apparent in the *Cheshire Glossary*, where *flit* is quoted as ‘to remove from one habitation to another; to leave one’s house.’²²⁴

²²¹ According to *CED*, the verb *nag* was first recorded in the 19C (apparently of Scandinavian origin).

²²² Ashton is in the same dialect area (defined by Ellis – specifically north midlands D21) as New Mills.

²²³ “They both had t’scarlet fever together, in fact one copt it off the other.”

²²⁴ Leigh, Egerton (1877), op. cit, p. 79.

Rain heavily (pr. pa) – Several variants were elicited, including *pouring (down)*, *chucking it down*, *thrashing it down* and *teeming*. The first of these is cited in *CED* with no regional or dialectal reference, while *chucking it down* (by analogy with *throw it down* – ‘precipitate’) is colloquial usage. *Thrash down* remains somewhat obscure; no reference (in this context) occurs in either the *OED* or *CED*. Nevertheless, the *EDD* lists *trash* (v. – ‘of rain: to dash, beat, pour’) as occurring in Scotland and northern England. It is possible, therefore, that *thrash* in this instance is indeed dialectal (i.e. a phonologically differentiated north midlands variant). *Teem* is quoted in both the *Cheshire Glossary* (‘to pour out; generally used in Cheshire for to pour’) ²²⁵ and the *Lancashire Dictionary* (‘to pour out, to pour’). ²²⁶ The *OED* states that *teem* is ‘no longer dialectal, when used with reference to rain’. Nevertheless, the *EDD* cites *teem* (specifically in the context ‘to rain heavily, to pour in torrents’) as occurring in the north and north midlands. Despite its apparent extended provenance (in this context), therefore, its current use by the older informants in New Mills may be considered dialectal.

Alleyway – Without exception, the older informants responded with *gennel* (/gɛnl/), ²²⁷ with one or two replying with additional *snickit* (/snɪkɪt/). The latter is cited in the *OED* as a northern dialect word with this definition. ²²⁸ The former is merely cited as being dialectal (no reference to provenance); the form *gennel* only appears as the affricated variant (*ginnel* is cited as consisting of both affricated and non-affricated [initial velar plosive] variants). The *EDD* cites *gennel* as occurring throughout the north midlands. *The Lancashire Dictionary* (2000), however, lists only *ginnel*, ²²⁹ while the *Cheshire Glossary* only cites *gennell* (‘Macclesfield term for a long narrow passage between houses’); ²³⁰ this suggests that the variants with /ɪ/ occur in the more northerly areas of the north-west midlands, with the /ɛ/ variant being restricted to the more southerly areas. The *EDD* cites the variant affricated phonological form (i.e. /dʒɛnl/) as specifically occurring in north-west Derbyshire; this is plainly not the case in New Mills, as all responses consisted of initial velar stop variants. The

²²⁵ Leigh, Egerton (1877), p. 208.

²²⁶ Crosby, Alan (2000), op. cit, p. 194.

²²⁷ The pronunciation /dʒɛnl/, specifically for north-west Derbyshire, is quoted by the *EDD* – this is plainly not the case in contemporary New Mills, and it must be assumed that either the pronunciation (cited by the *EDD*) is a highly localised example, or that the pronunciation has since changed in the intervening fifty or so years; the variant with the initial affricate is a feature of the north-east midlands, so it is likely that the item recorded in the *EDD* (for north-west Derbyshire) is an unusual example.

²²⁸ “A narrow passage between houses, an alleyway.”

²²⁹ Crosby, Alan (2000), op. cit, p. 91.

²³⁰ Leigh, Egerton (1877), p. 88

form cited in the *Cheshire Glossary* (which generally attempts to use an orthographical system that reflects the phonology of the dialect) suggests that the velar initial variant also occurs / occurred in Macclesfield (nine miles SW).

Bread Roll - considerable variation was encountered with this headword; many informants responded with two or more variants. In addition to *bap* (one example; the *OED* quotes this as a Scottish usage),²³¹ *cob*, *barm-cake* and *muffin* were all elicited from the majority of the older informants. *Barm-cake* (Lancashire, Cheshire, Staffordshire, west Yorkshire), *Cob* (Lancashire, Cheshire, west Yorkshire), and *muffin* (Yorkshire, Lancashire, Derbyshire) are all cited by the *EDD* as dialectal variants.

Common-sense – In addition to standard *common-sense* (one example), the only other single item elicited was *gumption* (one example). The other informants responded with either phrasal answers (nominal [metaphorical]) – *oil in the can* ([ɒɪl ɪn ? kən]) – or clausal (expressing the negative, according to the format of the question); *dunna* (SE *don't*) *have sense* (/dʊnə əv sɛns/). *Gumption* is cited in *CED* as informal British English, with no reference to regional usage; indeed, its attested Scottish origin (18th century) implies that this item, once regionally restricted, is no longer dialectal, let alone specific to the north midlands.

Goodbye – The older informants invariably responded with either *see thee* (/sɪ ðɪ/) or *ta-ra* (/tə.rɑ:/). The former exhibits dialectal pronominal use of SE *you* (i.e. *thee*), and evidently corresponds to general colloquial *see you*. The latter is cited in the *OED* as a variant (mainly northern - first recorded 1952) of colloquial *ta-ta* (first recorded 19th century). This suggests that the variant form is, firstly, a relatively recent development and, secondly, its origin / provenance is the north midlands; the form *ta-ra* has evidently developed from the introduction of a variant realisation ([ɹ] or [r]) of intervocalic /t/, typical of some of the dialects of north-west midlands (see /t/ in Part 2, below, p. 124). Further evidence of a north midlands origin / provenance is provided by Wright, who recorded this item in Manchester during his 1970s survey of Lancashire dialect.²³²

Two other notions – *yes* and *something* – which do not appear in either the *SED* questionnaire or the questionnaire of the present investigation, are included in this lexical

²³¹ It appears to be the case that contemporary usage of this word has assumed supra-regional status.

²³² Wright, Peter (1976), op. cit, p. 39.

analysis. The fact that these items frequently occur in everyday speech (particularly *yes*) has enabled more than enough data to be gathered for comparative purposes.

Yes – This notion was usually expressed as *aye* (/aɪ/ - often [a:]), and sometimes as the standardised colloquial equivalent *yeah*. The etymology of *aye* is obscure; the *OED* cites a 16th century (uncertain) origin. It is possible that it may have developed from OE *ā* (ON *ei*) - ‘always’ (contemporary Scots) - via a process of semantic extension. *CED* assumes that it developed from the personal pronoun *I*, though this is discounted by the *OED*. Whatever its origin, it currently has a mainly north and north midlands provenance.

Something – This notion is almost always expressed as *summat* (/sʊmət/).²³³ Very occasionally, this notion may be expressed as standard *something* (/sʊmθɪŋ/). The *OED* cites *summat* as a dialectal variant of SE *somewhat*, and it is generally assumed that the dialectal form is derived from ON *sumvat* (*somewhat*). This hypothesis is based on the supposed predominant northern provenance of *summat* (the earliest recordings of *somewhat* [c. 1200 onwards] occur in northern texts), and the representation of the final unstressed vowel as *a*. However, none of these suppositions stands up to scrutiny. Firstly, unstressed vowels have often been represented by the graph *a* throughout the history of English; in reality *a* represented the phoneme /ə/ in many cases. According to the data in New Mills, the final vowel of *summat* (unstressed) is /ə/ (/səmət/). Of more importance, as far as the quality of the vowel is concerned, is the realisation of *summat* in stressed position ([sʊmɪt]). If it is accepted that little change in pronunciation has since occurred, this suggests that the graph *a* is not representative of the original phoneme. Secondly, *summat* occurs throughout the north (except the far north), the north midlands, the west and south-west midlands and large areas of the south-west.²³⁴ Of importance here is the widespread occurrence of *summat* in the West Country, in areas well outside the historical ‘Danelaw’ (i.e. in areas where there was no historical Scandinavian settlement, and which consequently exhibit little or no influence from Scandinavian sources).

The etymology of *summat* is obscure, not least because of its assumed derivation from *somewhat*, but also because of the apparent lack of written evidence that explains this variant; the earliest recordings of the form are 1790 ‘sumet’, and 1838 ‘summut’ (note the

²³³ This item usually occurs in an unstressed position within the clause and is realised as [səmət]. When it does occur in stressed position, it is realised as [sʊmɪt] – e.g., [wɛl sʊmɪt apənd], *well, something happened*.

²³⁴ See Upton, Clive, Sanderson, Stewart and Widdowson, J. D. A., *Word Maps: A Dialect Atlas of England*, London, Croom Helm, 1987, p. 168.

representations of the final vowel). The *OED* cites the earliest records of *somewhat* as c.1200 (*Ormin* – ‘sumwhatt’) and 1374 (Chaucer – ‘sumwhat’). The other citation (c. 1300 *Cursor Mundi* – ‘sumquat’) from a northern text, points to an origin from OE *sum* + *hwat* (as, indeed, do the others), rather than *sumvat*. It can only be assumed that *summat* is derived from an alternative source that has either gone unrecorded (restricted to speech only) or where the pronunciation is not reflected in the orthography (i.e. the pronunciation without the medial labial /w/ developed after the general fixing of the spelling system in the 15th century). One such possible source is OE *sum* + *wiht* (i.e. *some* + *thing*). If this is so, the dialectal form has developed from the assimilation of labial /m/ with labial /w/. Contemporary stressed realisations of the final vowel (/ɪ/) also suggest an origin from OE *wiht*. Moreover, not only does the form *sumwiht* readily accommodate the definition of the modern dialectal form *summat* (i.e. *something*), but it also fits into the dialectal sequence of *auht* (< OE *a* + *wiht* [SE *anything*]), *naught* (< OE *na* + *wiht* [SE *nothing*]) and *summat* (< OE *sum* + *wiht* [SE *something*]).

Lexical change in apparent time: analysis of the questionnaire data

It is apparent from the questionnaire data that the degree of lexical erosion varies considerably from item to item, not just on a quantitative level but also on a temporal level. In many instances, it is evident that complete lexical erosion has not occurred (the item occurs in all age-groups, though quantitatively less in the adult and /or teen age-groups), while in other cases, it appears that total lexical erosion has occurred (the item is absent from the speech of the adult and /or teen age-groups. In both cases (complete / non-complete erosion), the rate of change also varies: the traditional lexical item generally becomes quantitatively less / progressively replaced in each age-group (gradual change); indeed, it may be argued that some items which do not exhibit complete erosion would eventually do so, if the apparent time study was extended. Conversely, in several items which exhibit complete erosion, there is sudden and complete change (quantitatively and qualitatively) between two sequential age-groups (abrupt change).

In many cases of apparent time lexical change in New Mills, it is evident that the traditional dialect items have disappeared at the expense of standard / standardised items (lexical erosion). Nevertheless, in some instances, traditional dialectal lexis has been replaced by non-standard lexical items; in addition to lexical erosion, therefore, it is evident that a process of lexical innovation is also in operation.

Lexical Erosion

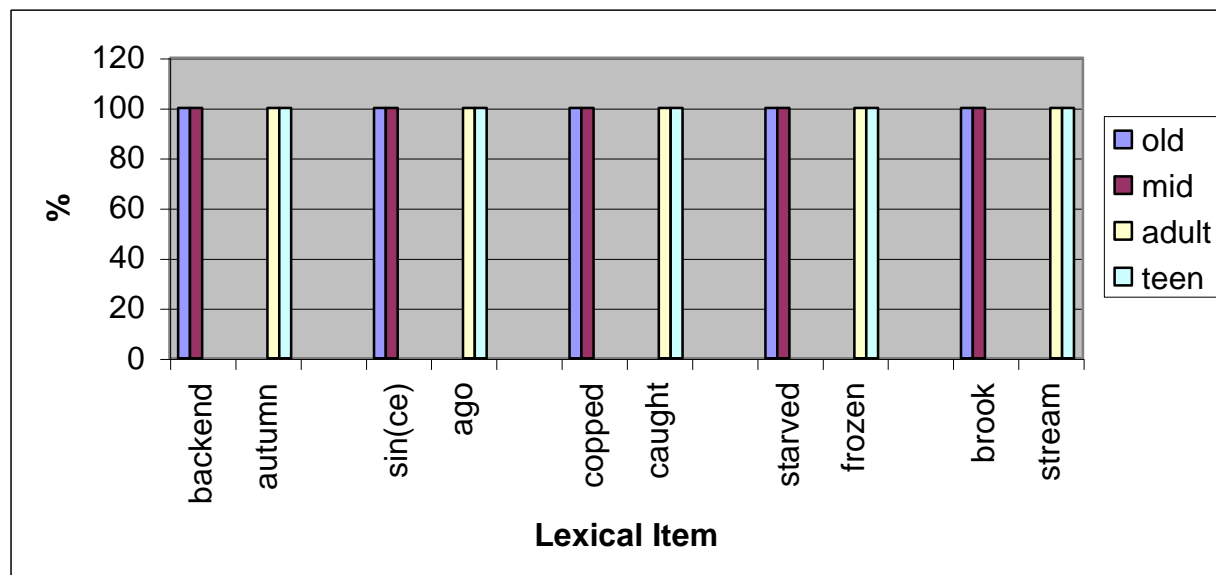
Of the eighty-six or so items under analysis, some twenty-one notions (24%) exhibit complete erosion. – *ago, alleyway, autumn, bilberry, bright, catch (a cold), cross-eyed, drink [tea] (v.), frightened, frozen (person), hungry, left-handed, move house (v.), over there (adv.), plump, snack, spoilt, stare, stream, tadpole, wrap (v.)* In the majority of cases, traditional forms have been replaced by standard / standardised items; however, in three cases - *alleyway, left-handed* and *plump* - isolated examples of non-local / supra-regional non-standard forms occur alongside the standardised items in the adult / teen age groups. These twenty-one items can be categorised as everyday nominal items (environmental – *alleyway; stream*; everyday living – *snack*; seasonal – *autumn*; common flora / fauna – *bilberry, tadpole*), personal adjectives (*bright, cross-eyed, frightened, frozen, hungry, left-handed, plump, spoilt*), common verbs (related to everyday living – *catch a cold, drink, move house, stare, wrap*), and a grammatical item (adverbial - *ago*). It may be observed that the majority of these notions can be classified as common / everyday terms; as far as this is concerned, the data from the present investigation supports the findings of the comparative analysis undertaken by Upton and Widdowson, where the majority of notions demonstrating erosion were “everyday terms”, with only about one-fifth of the total being “primarily agricultural or specialised terms.”²³⁵ Indeed, it was further commented that (among a group of terms exhibiting a high degree of erosion) the “highest degree of erosion seems to have affected the six less specialised items.”²³⁶ It was concluded that “erosion may occur in any sector of the dialect lexicon and, in the period concerned, does not appear to operate more among specialised or agricultural vocabulary than in the wider field of everyday usage.”²³⁷ Of the twenty-one notions that exhibit complete erosion, abrupt change is responsible in seven cases. The changes vary temporally (according to apparent time); in five cases – *autumn, ago, catch (a cold), frozen, stream* – there is a 100% qualitative difference between the responses of the mid age-group and that of the adult / teen age-groups, while two notions – *bilberry, move house* – exhibit a 100% difference between the adult and teen groups. Table 1.1 shows the responses of the old and mid age-groups (consisting universally of the dialectal items *backend, since, copped, starved* and *brook (/bɪ:k/, /bʊk/)* and the standard responses of the adult and teen age-groups respectively. Table 1.2 demonstrates the dichotomy that exists between the standard responses elicited from the teen age-group and

²³⁵ Upton and Widdowson (1999), op. cit, p. 22.

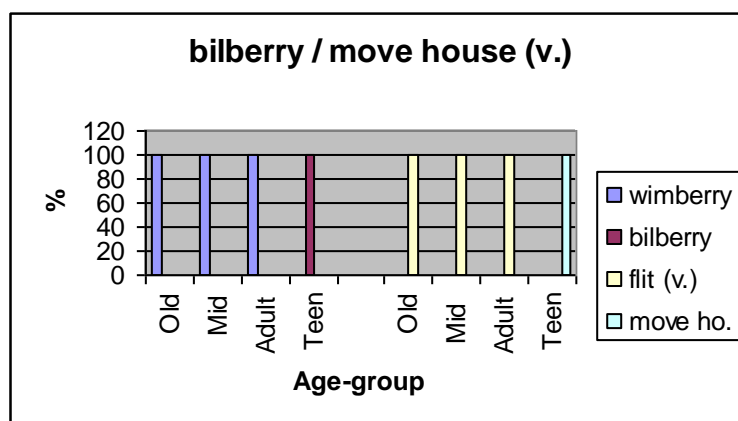
²³⁶ Upton and Widdowson (1999), p. 13.

²³⁷ Upton and Widdowson (1999), p. 22.

the universal dialectal responses of informants in the other age-groups. In all these examples of lexical erosion (abrupt change), it is apparent that SE, or modified varieties thereof, has been instrumental in influencing the speech of the adults and / or teenagers.



1.1

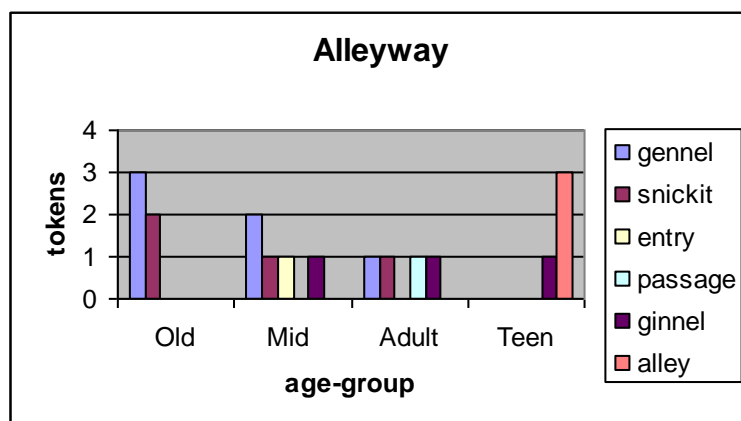


1.2

The motivation behind the change is less clear, in relation to the two notions – *bilberry* and *move house* (v.) – where lexical erosion is apparent only in the teen age-group. While it is evident that standardisation has taken place, the items' universal use by the adult age-group means that this is not because the terms are unknown to the teenagers; although it may be argued that terms for flora hold little interest for teenagers in general (though the same cannot be said for *move house*), it would appear that both *wimberry* and *flit* are deliberately

avoided by the teenagers, perhaps because they are traditional dialect markers. In the case of *wimberry*, these factors may be strengthened by the fact that such terms are perceived to be the domain of ‘rural’ inhabitants, which contravenes the image of modern urban youth that teenagers are anxious to promote.

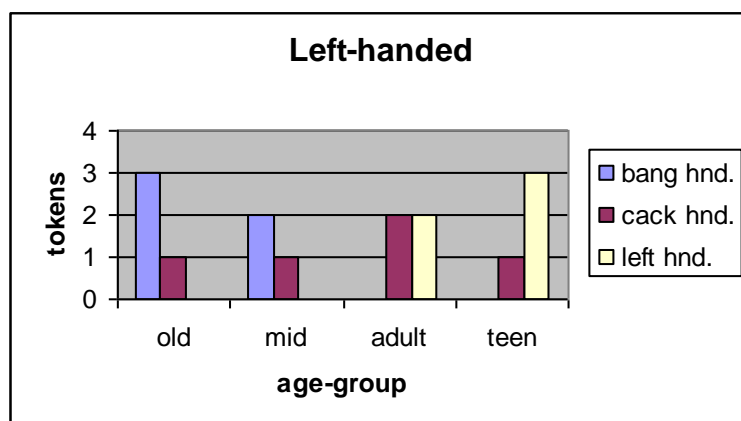
In addition to those items that have exhibited abrupt change, the remaining items which have undergone complete lexical erosion have done so via a process of gradual change. Foremost amongst these are the three notions – *alleyway*, *left-handed* and *plump* – which not only demonstrate some variation in traditional terminology (*alleyway*), but, more significantly, where standardised variants are not solely responsible for the replacement of dialectal items.



1.3

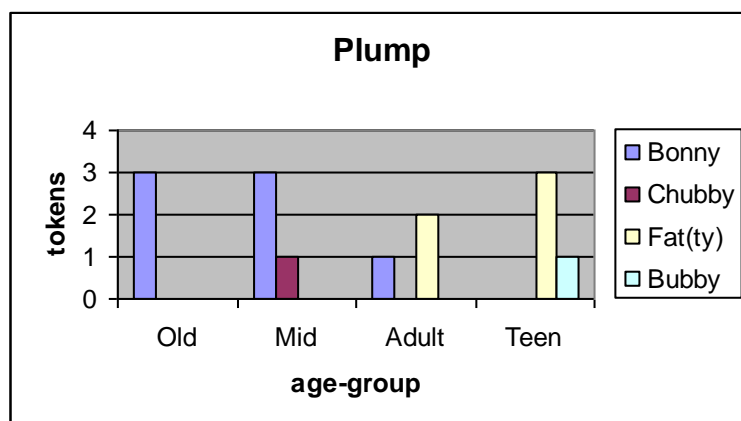
Table 1.3 shows a complex example of this process of increasing lexical variation and the simultaneous erosion of traditional local terms; the older informants all responded with the traditional terms *gennel* and / or *snickit* (see above, p. 236). In addition to these items, the non-standard variants *entry* (EDD – north midlands dialect) and *ginnel* (EDD – north midlands) were elicited from the mid age-group; *ginnel* (an obviously related variant of local *gennel*) is of particular interest, as it has evidently been borrowed from neighbouring dialect areas to the north (see above, p. 236). The adult age-group also responded with the recently borrowed variant (i.e. *ginnel*), in addition to both of the traditional local terms, and the standardised item *passage*. The data from the teen age-group demonstrates a total erosion of local terms; the majority of responses elicited from the teen age-group consisted of standard *alleyway*. Moreover, the isolated example of the non-local variant *ginnel* elicited from the teenagers is somewhat telling, in that this item (a term used in the urban dialects of the Manchester conurbation / Lancashire to the north and west) has evidently replaced *gennel* as the new non-standard term. The influencing factor (i.e. urban varieties) behind lexical

change in this instance is significant, as it appears to reflect the same factors behind apparent time phonological change (above).



1.4

Table 1.4 demonstrates the erosion of the local term *bang-handed* (see above, p. 230) - prevalent in the old and mid age-groups – in this instance ousted by a non-standard supra-regional variant (*cack-handed*), which occurs in all age-groups, and the increasing use of the standard term *left-handed*.



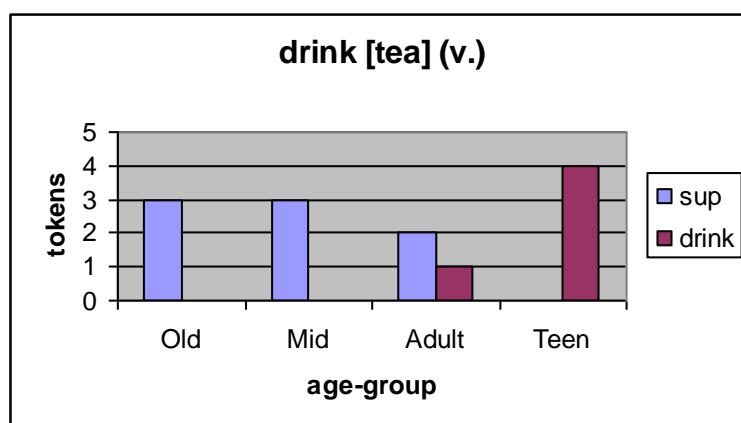
1.5

Similarly, table 1.5 shows the gradual decrease of the traditional term *bonny*, the introduction of standardised *chubby* (mid age-group) and *fat(ty)* (adult age-group), the latter becoming almost universal amongst the teenagers. Nevertheless, of interest, is the isolated occurrence of a non-standard variant (*bubby*)²³⁸ amongst the teenagers. This suggests that

²³⁸ This term is obscure; it does not appear in any of the main English language or contemporary slang dictionaries. Although an idiolectal status cannot be ruled out, it is to be assumed that it is contemporary slang, urban or otherwise.

traditional items are not being replaced solely by standardised variants; non-standard neologisms evidently contribute to the process of erosion of the traditional dialect lexicon.

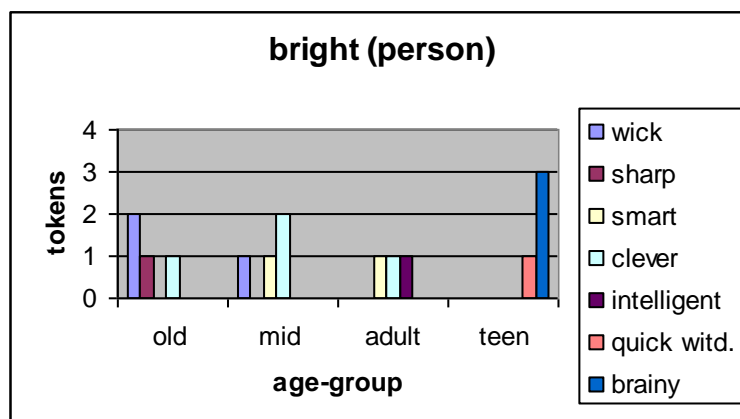
Of the remaining items which exhibit gradual lexical erosion, the verb *drink* [tea]²³⁹ is worthy of note, as it appears to have almost undergone abrupt change; table 1. 6 shows the sudden change between the responses from the informants in the old and mid age-groups and most of the responses elicited from the adults. The situation in relation to *drink* [beer] is somewhat different (see Footnote 58, and Questionnaire Responses [4. 25] in Part 2 [Addenda]).



1. 6

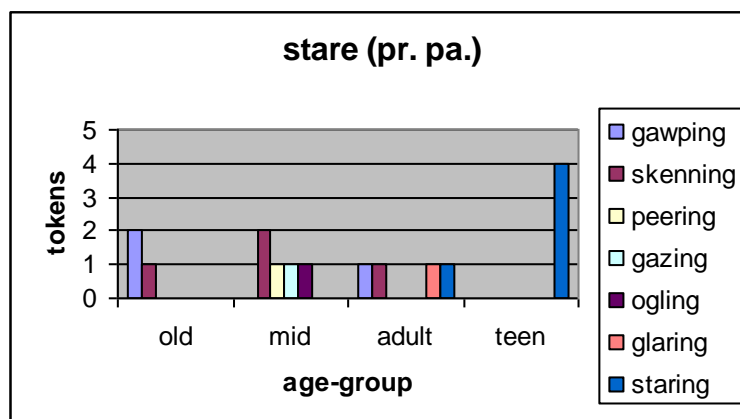
Both *bright* and *stare* are prominent in that more than one traditional dialect term occurs for each notion; these dialectal variants have all been replaced by standard terms (in the case of *bright*, by more than one). Table 1.7 shows the gradual replacement of the dialectal variants *wick* and *sharp* (see above, p. 232) by the standard terms *clever* (one token in the old age-group, prominent in the mid age-group), *smart* (mid and adult age-groups), *intelligent*, *quick-witted* and *brainy* (three tokens in the teen age-group).

²³⁹ It became evident (whilst undertaking the pilot study) that some teenagers (particularly those who were 16 years or older) make a lexical distinction between drinking non-alcoholic and alcoholic beverages (specifically beer); the questionnaire was amended accordingly, so that questions were formulated to elicit both terms. Needless to say, no such distinction was evident amongst the other age-groups.



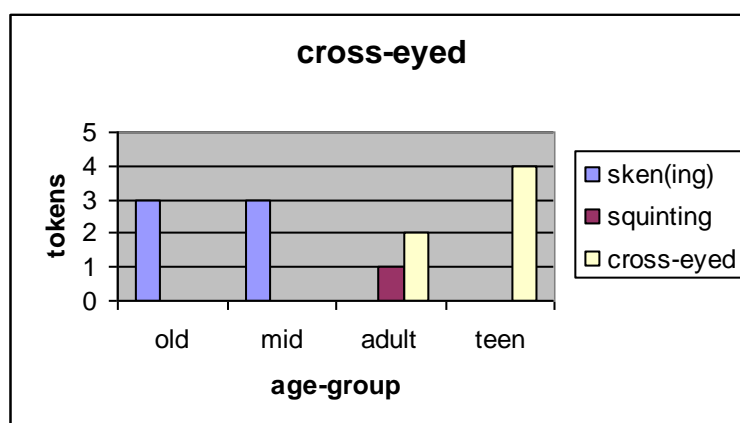
1.7

Considerable variation concerning dialectal terminology for the notion *stare* is apparent in Table 1. 7. In addition to the two variants elicited from the old informants (i.e. *gawping* and *skenning*), informants in the mid age-group responded with *peering* and *gazing* (see above, p. 225). The term *glaring*, elicited from the adult age-group, is another apparent dialectal variant. The favoured terms amongst the old informants (*gawping*, *skenning*) also occur in the adult age-group, which suggests a degree of continuity; one of these variants (i.e. *gawping*) is absent in the mid age-group, despite the largest number of variants being elicited from the middle-aged informants. Indeed, the absence of *gawping* in the mid age-group could have been considered as a contributing factor to the erosion of this term, were it not for the occurrence of *gawping* in the adult age-group. Whether or not the considerable number of dialect variants is a contributing factor to the erosion of these dialectal terms is impossible to determine; nevertheless, the standard form *stare* is universal amongst the teenagers. It is possible that the local variants are deemed as traditional dialect markers by the teenagers and consequently avoided, though standardisation is apparent in both the mid (*ogling* – one token) and adult age-groups (*staring* – one token), which suggests at least a partial influence from SE / modified standard varieties.



1.8

The notion *cross-eyed* (Table 1.9) - whose terms, although fewer in number, exhibit overlap with the notion *stare* (see above, p. 225) – demonstrates similar erosion; the teenagers all responded with standard *cross-eyed*. The adult age-group is significant, in that not only is a degree of standardisation apparent (one token), but also another dialectal variant (i.e. *squinting*),²⁴⁰ unrecorded in the old and mid age-groups, was elicited. In this instance, apparent standardisation and the replacement of the traditional term (*sken / skenning*) by another dialectal term (i.e. *squinting*) are probably instrumental in the evident erosion of dialectal *sken*.

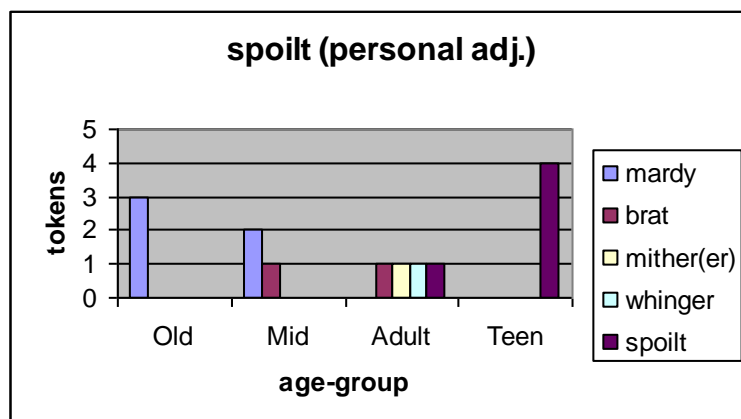


1.9

Dialectal *mardy* (for the headword *spoilt* - see above, p. 234) is similar to the notion for *cross-eyed*, in that considerable overlap is apparent between the responses for two notions - i.e. *spoilt* and *soft* (personal adj.). Nevertheless, any similarities concerning lexical change

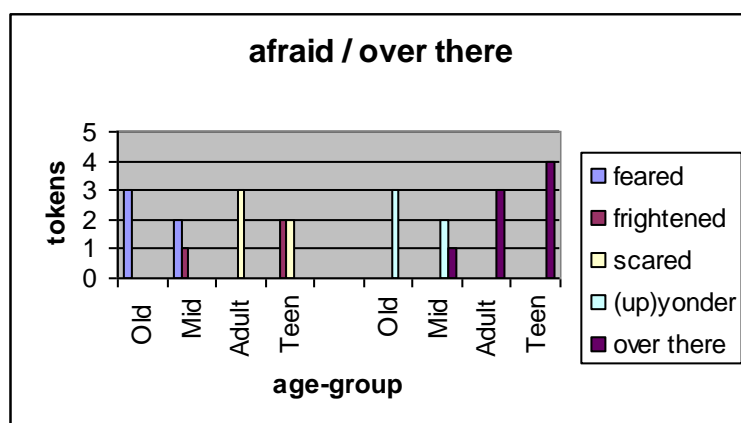
²⁴⁰ *Squint-eyed* was recorded by the SED at one of the Derbyshire localities; additionally, *squinting* was elicited at a number of localities in the north-west midlands for the notion *stare*, with which there is evidently considerable lexical overlap with the notion *cross-eyed*.

between the two notions themselves (i.e. *spoilt* and *soft*) end there; while the responses elicited for *soft* demonstrate considerable continuity, those for *spoilt* exhibit complete erosion (Table 1. 10).



1. 10

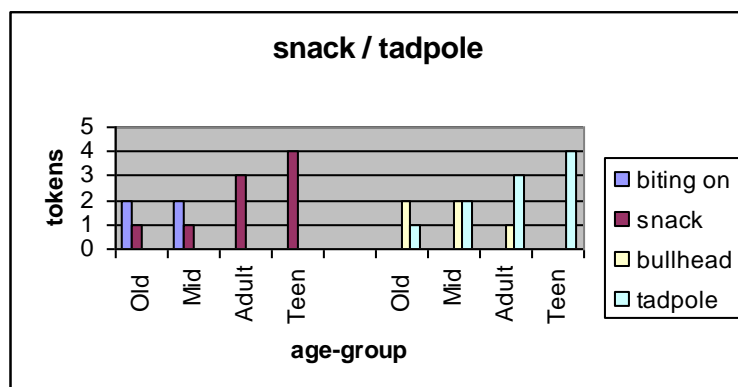
Table 1. 11 and 1.12 focus on the remaining notions which have undergone a process of total gradual erosion. These all exhibit an apparent straightforward decrease (according to age-group) of the traditional dialect items *feared* (/fɪəd/) ²⁴¹ – *afraid*; *(up) yonder* – *over there*; ²⁴² *biting on* – *snack*; *bullhead* (/bʊljɛd/) – *tadpole*. Of note, however, are the notions *hungry* and *wrap* (Table 1.13).



1. 11

²⁴¹ Dialectal (a) *feared* (< OE *āfæred*) has evidently survived amidst competition from *afraid* (< ONmFr) and *scared* (< ON). SE *frightened* is an eModE deverbal formation (< OE ‘to fright’).

²⁴² For further discussion on the use of *over there* (adverbial) and coincidental demonstrative pronouns, see below, pp. 259-260.



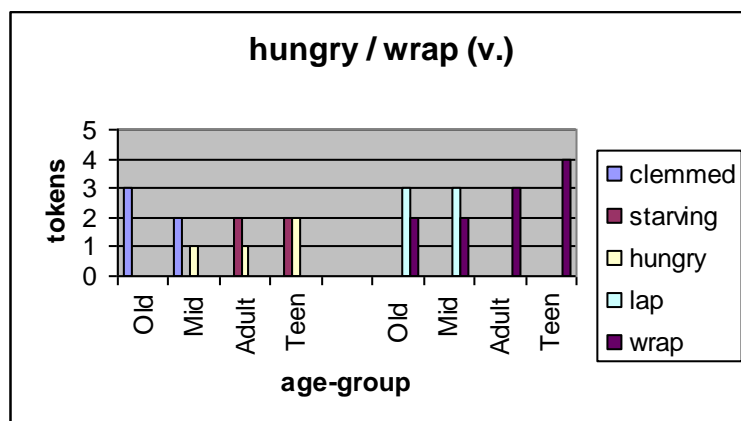
1. 12

Dialectal *clemmed* (for the notion *hungry*) has largely been replaced by the informal standardised equivalent *starving*, in addition to SE *hungry*. The use of informal standard *starving* (with the notion ‘to be hungry’) contrasts with the traditional dialectal use of *starve* (being defined as ‘to be very cold’); the standardised use of *starve* reflects the narrow semantic field of the word in contemporary SE (i.e. ‘to die from hunger’),²⁴³ whereas dialectal *starve* is a survival from OE / ME usage, when this word had a less specific semantic field (i.e. < OE *steorfan* –‘to die’). It is possible that the process of erosion affecting both dialectal *starve* and *clemmed* are intrinsically linked; nevertheless, the almost synchronous erosion of these items means that it is impossible to determine if the evident erosion of dialectal *starve* facilitated the rise of the informal standard term *starve* (‘to be hungry’), or whether the adoption of the latter was at least partially responsible for the demise of dialectal *starve*, or indeed, whether the erosion of dialectal *clemmed* and *starved* are related at all.

The dialectal term *lap* (for the notion *wrap*) generally occurs as an alternate variant to standard *wrap*, even amongst the oldest speakers (four out of the five informants, from whom *lap* was elicited, also responded with *wrap*). This suggests that either erosion of this term has been ongoing for some considerable time, or that *lap* has always operated as a variant alongside *wrap* in the dialect lexicon. Whatever the case, it is evident that *lap* has been entirely ousted by *wrap*. Dialectal *lap* occurs in many of the dialects of the north-west midlands. Shorrocks analyses its use in Bolton as a phonological dialect feature (i.e. dialect /l/ for SE /r/), and, consequently, treats forms with /r/ as modified phonological variants,

²⁴³ The SE form ‘to die’ is derived from OE *dīegan*, which, according to Collins English Dictionary, is ‘probably of Scandinavian origin; c.f. Old Norse *deyja*.’ The apparent preference of this variant ultimately led to the erosion (in this case, a narrowing of the semantic field) of the alternative form in SE (< OE *steorfan*).

rather than lexical variants.²⁴⁴ While this analysis may be appropriate for a synchronic study, such a conclusion merely highlights one of the weaknesses of a purely synchronic approach (i.e. the analysis of variation without reference to historical development); the term *lap* (< OE *laeppan*, /læppan/) clearly contrasts with *wrap* (< [earliest recorded form] ME *wrappe*, evidently /wrappə/) on a lexical level, and thus is analysed as such in the present investigation.



1. 13

A further ten items – *annoy*, *belly-ache*, *callosities*, *cry* (v.), *infectious*, *minnow*, *money*, *pigeon-toed*, *silly* and *to* (inf. particle) - exhibit partial erosion (i.e. the dialectal term(s) occur(s) quantitatively less in the adult and / or teen age-groups). If this number is added to the total of notions that demonstrate complete erosion, then approximately one third (35%) of the traditional dialect lexicon has undergone either partial or total erosion (if the traditional terms that have been replaced by non-standard neologisms are considered [see following], then this number is higher still). This figure correlates remarkably well with the comparative statistics (*SED* and *ALE*) cited in Upton and Widdowson’s lexical erosion study. One set of statistics (Tier C) concerns the number of records where the *SED* recorded more variants than the *ALE*, the conclusion being that this demonstrates “the clearest indication of lexical erosion across a significantly wide range of notions.”²⁴⁵ The statistics show that this occurred in 70 out of 192 records (i.e. 36%).²⁴⁶ Similarly, Skeat’s and Hallam’s analysis (1896) of Pegge’s Derbyshire dialect words (collected at the end of the

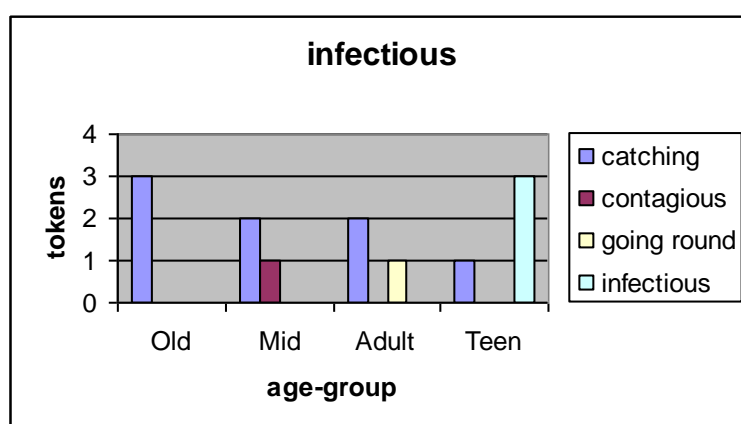
²⁴⁴ See Shorrocks (1998), pp. 383, 384.

²⁴⁵ Upton and Widdowson (1999), p. 20.

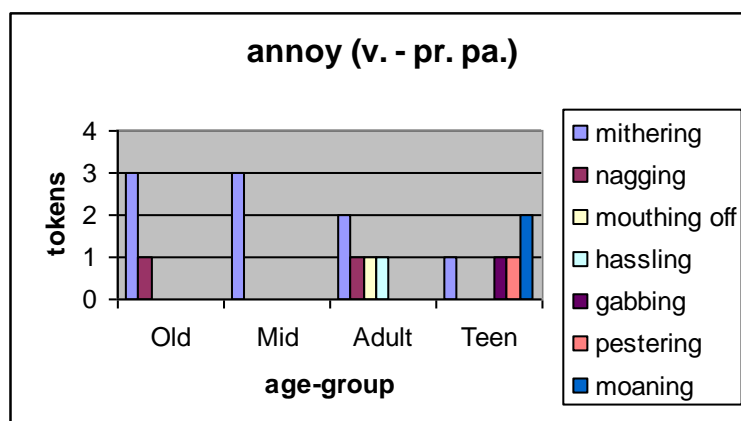
²⁴⁶ Upton and Widdowson (1999), p. 17.

eighteenth century) revealed that “the proportion of obsolete words in the whole list is almost precisely a third of the whole.”²⁴⁷

As with those notions above (i.e. which have undergone apparent total erosion), these items can also be classified as everyday vocabulary, rather than specialised terms. In two of these notions – *annoy* (see above, p. 235) and *infectious* – SE (or modified varieties) is evidently the agent responsible for change. In the latter, the dialectal term (*catching*, /katʃɪn/) has been partially replaced by a standard item (Table 2.1); in the former, the traditional dialect term (*mithering*, /maɪðəɪn/) has been superseded by a considerable number of informal standardised variants (Table 2.2).²⁴⁸



2. 1

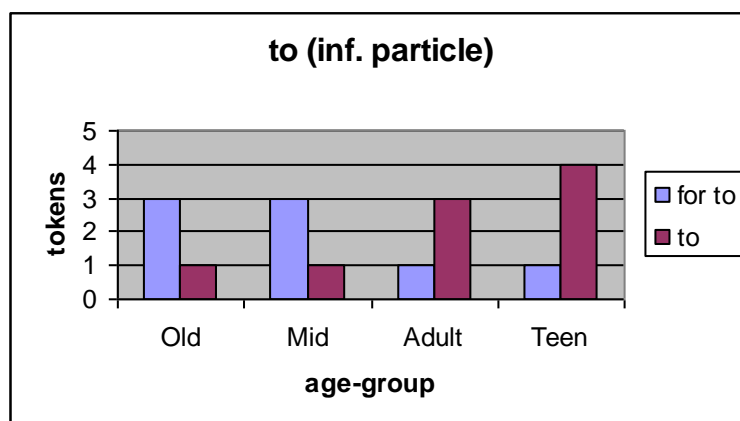


2. 2

²⁴⁷ Pegge (1896), op. cit, p. xvi.

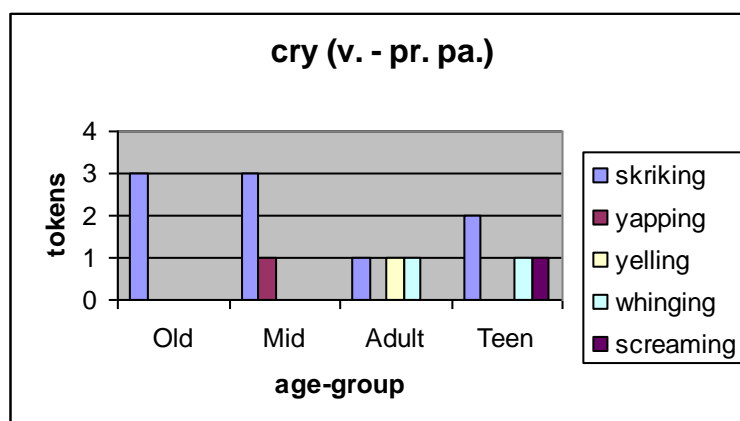
²⁴⁸ It is possible that the notion and / or context of the question may have been influential with regard to the elicitation of variants other than ‘mither’ - i.e. ‘mither’ may have a more specific semantic field in the speech of the younger informants, and thus would occur in these more restricted contexts.

The development of the grammatical item *to* (inf. particle)²⁴⁹ - dialectal *for to* - has evidently also been influenced by SE (Table 2.3).



2.3

The remaining seven notions are all similar, in that the dialect terms have largely been partially replaced by non-standard variants (in addition to standardised items). These notions, therefore, display partial lexical innovation as well as lexical erosion. Of these, the notions *cry* [v.] and *minnow* (see above, p. 229) are prominent in that the traditional dialect term has been replaced by other dialectal variants (Tables 2.4, 2.5). In addition to the dialectal variants *skriking*, *yelling* and *yapping* (above, p. 226), *whingeing* and *screaming* were elicited from the younger informants; the item *whinge* ('to cry') appears to have been dialectal from the earliest stages of the English language,²⁵⁰ while the variant *scream* may be seen in the same light as the other terms in this series (i.e. whose semantic field in SE is restricted to 'making a loud or piercing noise', rather than 'to cry').

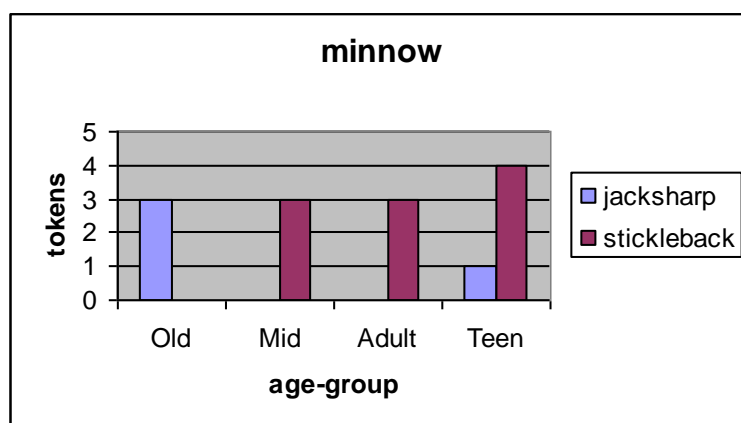


2.4

²⁴⁹ For a full discussion on the realisations of the infinitive particle, see 'Grammar – Morphology and Syntax', above.

²⁵⁰ According to *CED*, *whinge* (being defined as 'to cry') was a northern variant of OE *hwinsian* (ModE – 'to whine').

Dialectal *jacksharp* (for the notion *minnow*) has been almost entirely replaced by the dialectal generic term *stickleback* (see above, p. 229). Moreover, the development of dialectal *jacksharp* particularly deserves comment for another reason; if the responses elicited from the old and mid / adult age-groups are compared, complete erosion of the traditional item *jacksharp* appears to have occurred. However, the re-emergence of this item (one token) in the teen age-group is highly significant for a number of reasons; firstly, it challenges the assumption that once an item has apparently disappeared, it is deemed to have been completely eroded (obsolete); secondly, evidence (albeit slight) ²⁵¹ such as this may provide clues to the dynamics of linguistic change (at least by suggesting that the process and result of change is not uniform), and add impetus to the ‘ebb and flow’ theory; - this assumes that younger generations within a community may either adopt or reject features of preceding generations, sometimes reversing changes that had previously taken place; therefore, if a younger generation decided to adopt a feature of an older generation, then this “offers a principled explanation for the revitalisation of apparently moribund forms in a language.” ²⁵² Indeed, such a phenomenon has been noticed before; lexical items that were assumed to have been lost a century or more before suddenly re-appeared.²⁵³



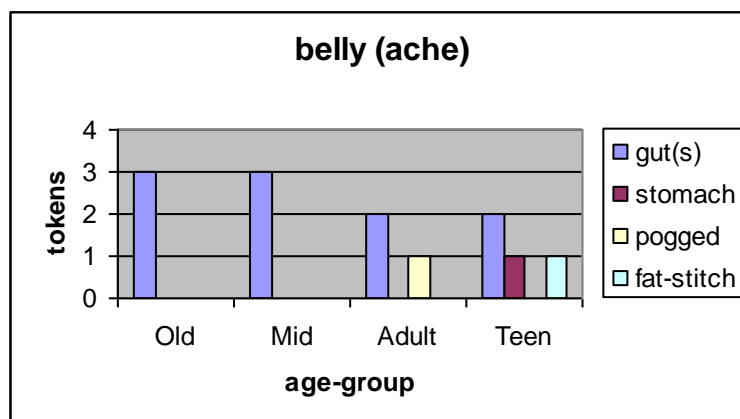
2.5

In addition to dialectal *guts(s)-ache* and standard *stomach-ache* (1 token), the younger informants responded with non-standard *pogged* and *fat-stitch* (Table 2.6).

²⁵¹ The fact that this evidence is provided by a single response (and the small number of informants / tokens in general) means that such data is insufficient, as far as making any definite conclusions is concerned.

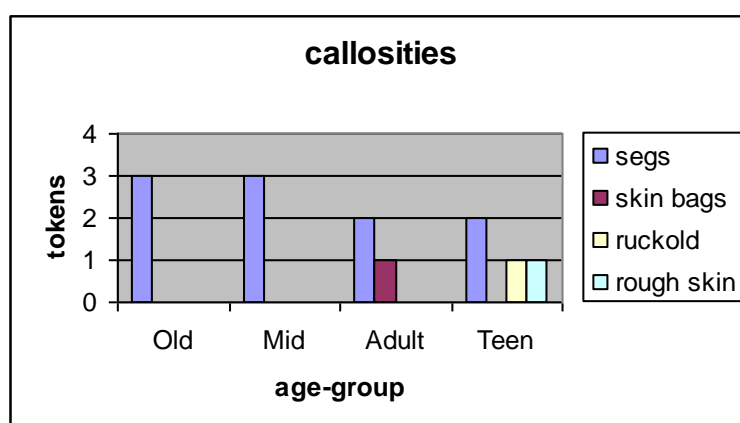
²⁵² See Hicky, Raymond, ‘Ebb and flow, a cautionary tale of language change’ in Fanego, Teresa, and Seoane, Elena (eds), *Sound, Words, Texts and Change. Selected Papers from 11 ICEHL, Santiago de Compostela, 7-11 September 2000*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company, 2002, p. 122.

²⁵³ Ruoff (1973), op. cit, 50.



2.6

Similarly, for the notion *callosities*, non-standard *skin-bags* and *ruckold* (evidently a phonological variant of *ruckle*) were elicited from the younger speakers, alongside dialectal *segs* and standardised *rough-skin* (Table 2.7).



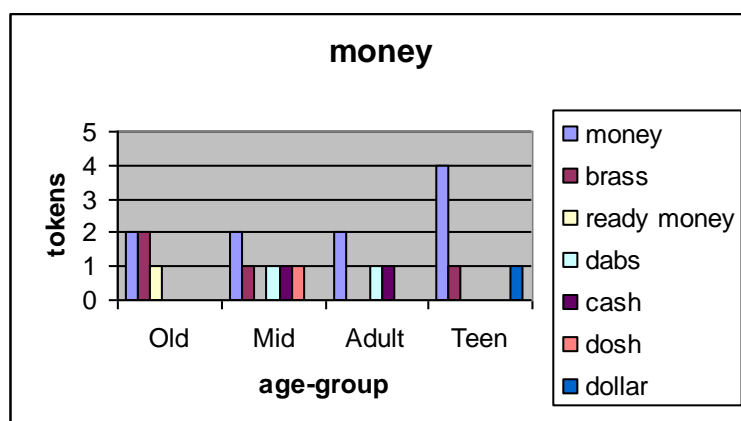
2.7

The notion *silly* overlaps considerably with the headword *stupid*. As with the latter notion, nominal and verbal responses were elicited (alongside adjectival) for *silly*. Also in common with *stupid*, considerable variation is apparent concerning the responses for *silly* amongst all age-groups. Similarly, parallels may be drawn between the type of responses according to age-group; while relatively benign terms such as *nutcase*, *daft* and *prat(ting about)* were typical of the older informants, expletive terminology was common amongst the younger informants (particularly the teenagers) – *dick* and *dickhead*²⁵⁴ (in addition to contemporary slang such as *clown*)²⁵⁵ were both elicited for *silly*, and *stupid twat*²⁵⁶ for *stupid*.

²⁵⁴ This is used with the sense *penis* - first recorded as such in the nineteenth century, though evidently extended (from its meaning referring solely to male genitalia) to a term of personal abuse during the twentieth century.

²⁵⁵ The term *clown* appears to be contemporary slang, though its origins with this sense may in fact be considerably older; *CED* records its archaic use as a term defining ‘a countryman or rustic.’ The connotations

In addition to dialectal *twiny-toed*, /twinɪ to:d/ (for the notion *pigeon-toed*), non-standard *crowed-feet*²⁵⁷ (/kɹɔʊd fi:t/ - 1 token [teenage]) and standard *pigeon-toed* (1 token adult, 1 token teen age-group) were elicited from the younger informants. The responses for the notion *money* are somewhat surprising in that relatively little variation is apparent amongst the younger informants, considering the large amount of contemporary slang that exists and evidently existed in previous times. Indeed, more variation is apparent amongst the older informants; alongside standard *money*, dialectal *brass* and the obscure *dabs* (see above, p. 227) were elicited from the old and mid age-groups respectively. Table 2. 8 highlights the predominance of standard *money* and the general (though not complete) replacement of the traditional terms by informal standard *cash*, the supra-regional slang term *dosh* (mid, adult age-groups) and the contemporary slang term *dollar* (teenagers).



2. 8

In addition to those dialectal terms (above) which have been largely replaced by non-standard terms (i.e. what may be considered as lexical innovation), non-standard variants may be observed alongside traditional dialect terminology and or standard / standardised terms, to a lesser or greater extent, in the following notions: *anytime*, *fight*, *goodbye* and *work-mate*. The standard term *anytime* (ubiquitous amongst the older informants) has been increasingly replaced by non-standard *whenever* (mid, adult), this being the response elicited from 100% of the teenage informants. Dialectal *mate* (for the notion *work-mate*) has largely

of backwardness associated with rural people and their lifestyle may have developed to the contemporary modern term of reference for silly or stupid people.

²⁵⁶ As with *dick* (above), the field of reference of this term, which also relates to genitalia (in this case, female), has been extended to refer to a foolish or despicable person.

²⁵⁷ Neither *CED* nor the *OED* cite *crow-feet* with this definition (i.e. with the meaning *pigeon-toed*). Furthermore, there is no reference in either traditional dialect dictionaries (*EDD*) or contemporary slang dictionaries – it is reasonable to assume, therefore, that this item is either a relatively recent non-standard innovation or idiolectal terminology.

survived (alongside standard *work-mate* / *colleague*), though non-standard *oppo* and the obscure *skin*²⁵⁸ were elicited from informants in the mid and adult age-groups respectively. In addition to *fight* (/fɛɪt/), the older informants responded with standard *fracas* (/fɹɑ:kɑ:/) and informal standard *punch-up* (for the notion *fight* [n.]). In addition to these, non-standard *scrap* was elicited from the younger (adult, teen) speakers. Dialectal *ta-ra* (see above, p. 237), *see thee* (/sɪ ðɪ/) and modified *see you* (/si: jə/), for the notion *goodbye*, occurred in all age-groups, though *cheers* (normally used in the context of a ‘toast’ – i.e. when drinking alcohol – or as an informal way of thanking somebody) was elicited from one of the teenage informants.

Lexical Continuity

Some sixteen²⁵⁹ dialectal terms demonstrate continuity (i.e. no erosion) – the notions *anything*, *bread roll*, *cup of tea*, *ear-hole*, *ill*, *may* (aux. – interrogative), *nothing*, *midday meal*, *packed-lunch*, *shall*, *slippery*, *soft* (adj. – personal), *throw*, the demonstrative series *this*, *that*, *that over there*; additionally, two more notions (not included on the questionnaire) – *yes* and *something* – exhibit a similar lack of erosion.

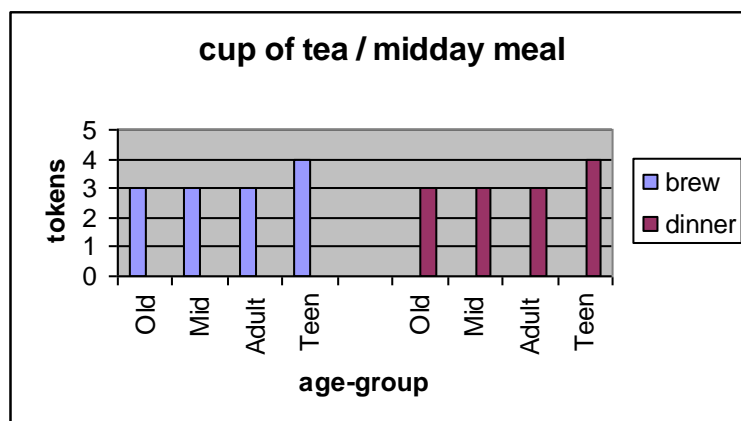
Of these, a considerable proportion (ten headwords) consists of responses that are universal across all age-groups. This is amply demonstrated by the dialect terms *brew* (the same profile exists for the verbal notion *making a cup of tea*²⁶⁰) and *dinner*²⁶¹ in Table 3.1.

²⁵⁸ CED cites one definition of *skin* as Anglo-Irish slang for ‘person’. Nevertheless, it became evident that this example referred specifically to a *work-mate*, and was not used in any other context when referring to people.

²⁵⁹ This total includes one item for each of the notions relating to the demonstrative series (three more if the plural forms are included), even though these notions are represented by one dialectal term.

²⁶⁰ This consists of the prepositional verb *brew-up* – e.g., *I’m going to brew-up*; *Are you brewing-up?* – and the denominal verb *brew* – e.g., *I’m brewing, do you want one?* CED cites the verb *brew-up* as informal British and New Zealand usage – ‘to make tea, especially out of doors or in informal circumstances’. Nevertheless, the term *brew* (n.) is generally restricted to the north-west midlands, and it is apparent that the verbal variants in this instance, being derived from the nominal term, share the same dialectal status – c.f. north-east midlands *mash* (*cup of tea*) and *mash* (v.)

²⁶¹ This term is common throughout the north and north midlands, and preserves the archaic usage (see the OED) when the midday meal was the main meal of the day; however, this term is still used in many dialects of the north and north midlands for the midday meal, regardless of whether it is the main meal or not (in SE and many southern dialects, the evening meal, being the main meal, is called *dinner*; conversely the midday meal is called *lunch*). In those dialects where the midday meal is called *dinner* (i.e. north and north midlands), the meals of the day are generally *breakfast*, *dinner* and *tea* (evening meal – which may constitute the main meal of the day), with an optional light evening snack, *supper*.



3.1

Similarly, the dialect term *slippy* (SE *slippery*) was the universal response of all informants. However, this notion is somewhat of an anomaly; the other notions are ones whose frequency of use is relatively high – common everyday terms, personal adjectives, common grammatical items (i.e. *may*, *shall*) - while *slippy* falls outside any of these categories. Its apparent dialectal continuity, however, may be on account of its similarity to the standard term.

In many instances, the informants responded with standard *anything* and *nothing* (/ɛnɪθɪn/, /nʊθɪn/), though the dialectal pronouns *aught* and *naught* (/æʊt/, /næʊt/) were also elicited from all respondents (Table 3. 2).

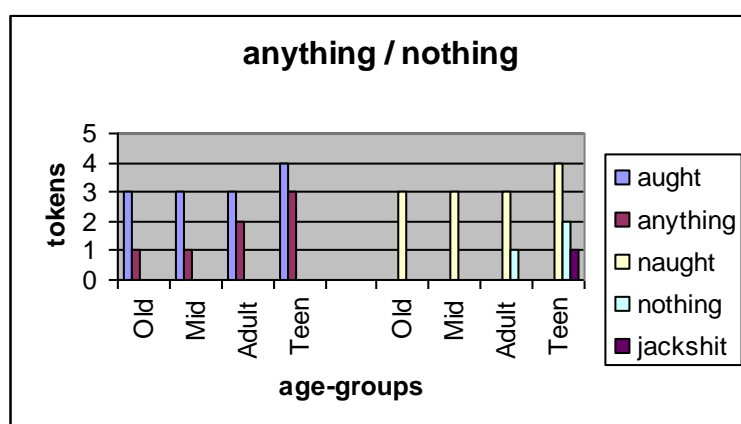
Responses consisting of standard variants were probably influenced by the relative formality associated with the method of elicitation (questionnaire); the dialectal terms *aught* and *naught* occurred overwhelmingly in free speech. It appears that both linguistic and extra-linguistic factors could be responsible for the strong continuity of these dialectal items: firstly, on a social level, it may be that these variants are linked to a sense of ‘northern’ identity; it became evident that these terms were viewed as being a marker of ‘northern’ dialects by informants in all age-groups. Secondly, on a linguistic level, the apparent lexicalisation of these forms may also be partially responsible; the traditional dialect pronunciation /æʊ/ (SE /ɔ:/ < ME /au/ + /x/)²⁶² has generally been lost in the dialect, and has developed to standardised /ɔ:/ amongst the younger speakers, except in the instances of *aught* and *naught*. Tidholm also recorded the same phenomenon in his apparent-time study of Egton (North Yorkshire).²⁶³ Unlike Tidholm’s study (it was found that *naught* had been “completely superseded by StE *nothing* in the Young age-group”, and *aught* seemed to have

²⁶² For analysis of this phoneme, see Part 2, pp. 77-87.

²⁶³ Tidholm (1979), p. 70.

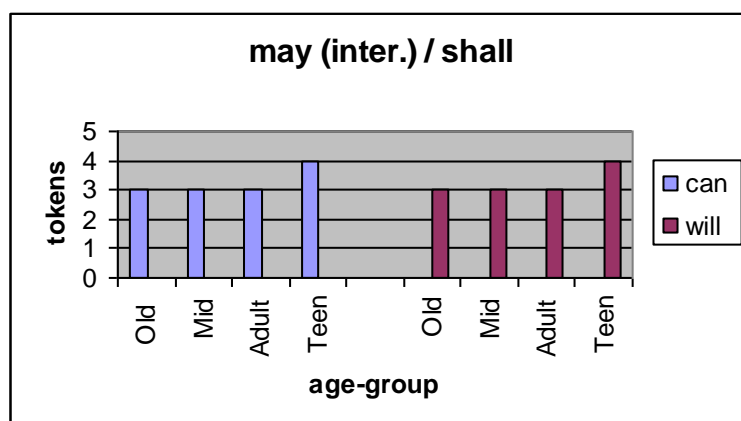
“come under strong pressure from StE *anything*”),²⁶⁴ however, which concluded that “*ought* and *naught* will probably have died out in two generations”,²⁶⁵ these items demonstrate strong continuity in New Mills, possibly on account of the social factors outlined above, which may reflect changing attitudes towards identity and dialect in the twenty years between Tidholm’s study and the present investigation.

Of note also is the slang term (*jackshit*), for the notion *nothing*, elicited from one of the teenage informants. Dialectal *summat* (see above, pp. 238-239) occurs alongside standard *something* in free speech, though, as with *ought* and *naught*, the dialectal term is overwhelmingly and universally used by informants in all age-groups.



3. 2

Two grammatical items - the auxiliaries *may* (interrogative) and *shall* – also demonstrate strong continuity; Table 3.3. highlights the universal responses of the dialectal variants *can* (elicited using a completer type question – *May I have one?*) and *will*.²⁶⁶



3. 3

²⁶⁴ Tidholm (1979), p. 141.

²⁶⁵ Tidholm (1979), p. 142.

²⁶⁶ This occurs overwhelmingly in all future tense constructions, both stressed (as elicited via the questionnaire) and unstressed – for the dialectal use of *will* (and *can*), see the ‘Grammar’ section, above.

Other grammatical items also exhibit similar lack of erosion. One of the questions (see questionnaire, section 15.4), was primarily designed to ascertain whether spatial description relied solely on demonstrative determiners (i.e. modifying the noun), or whether this was done both adverbally (qualifying the noun phrase) and with modifying determiners; the question was thus formulated to elicit the demonstrative determiners if these were used in conjunction with a qualifying adverbial phrase.²⁶⁷ It soon became apparent that responses generally consisted of one determiner only, and did not follow the usual three-tier demonstrative system of traditional northern / north midland dialects, which reflected the survival of the three type system inherent in OE (i.e. *this*, *that* and *yon*, corresponding to SE *this*, *that* and *that over there*).

For a singular item, the response in New Mills was *that* in all age-groups, regardless of where the item was in relation to the researcher / informant (i.e. *that*, *that* and *that*). When asked ‘where’, the adverbial response was usually *there* (near), *there* (further away) and (*up*) *yonder* (see table 1.11) amongst the older informants, and *there* (near), *there* (further away) and *over there* (remote) amongst the younger informants. Similarly, informants of all age-groups only responded with one demonstrative for plural items – *them*²⁶⁸ (Table 3.4). Several points may be observed, therefore, in relation to spatial description in the dialect of New Mills: this is achieved by the use of demonstratives and adverbs; in contrast to SE, these systems are composed of one demonstrative item (i.e. *that* [sing.], *them* [plural]) and binary adverbial usage respectively – i.e. *there*, (*up*) *yonder* or *there*, *over there* (c.f. SE – two demonstratives, *this*, *that* [sing], *these*, *those* [plural]; three-way adverbial use, *here*, *there*, *over there*).

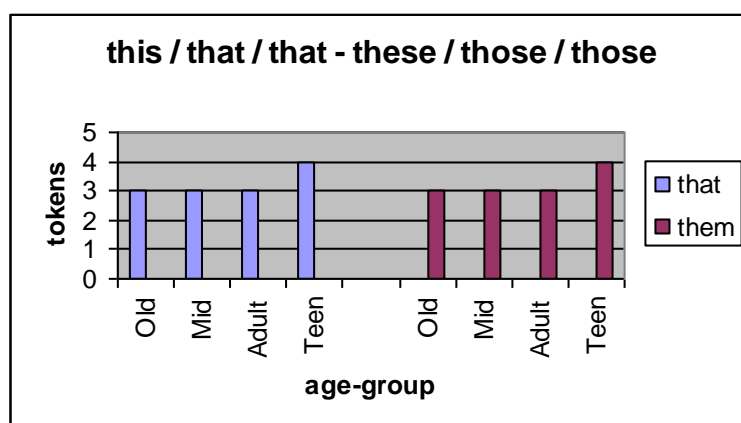
It is difficult to ascertain whether the system in New Mills is typical of the north midlands / northern dialects. Certainly the occurrences of the plural demonstrative *them* and the adverb *yonder* are indicative of a north / north midlands provenance. Data from the *SED* suggests that the situation regarding demonstratives is extremely complex, particularly regarding the combination of demonstratives and adverbial qualifiers in various systems.²⁶⁹ Moreover, a problem exists in that the use of *that* (corresponding to SE *this*) was recorded in a few localities in the south-west only; *this* occurred in the vast majority of localities (including

²⁶⁷ This was achieved by asking ‘which one?’ and ‘where’ if responses only consisted of determiners which did not contain spatial information (e.g. SE usage *this*, *that* and *that over there*).

²⁶⁸ For an analysis of dialectal demonstrative *them* (SE *those*), see above, pp. 146-147.

²⁶⁹ See Glauser, Beat, “This, That and Tothers”, in Fischer, Andreas, *The History and the Dialects of English*, Heidelberg, Carl Winter, 1989, pp. 253 - 277.

those in the north and north midlands). It was observed, however, that in those localities where *that* occurred for *this*, the demonstrative used for remote objects was also *that*.²⁷⁰ It is possible that the occurrence of one demonstrative system may be far greater than the data from the *SED* suggests; Glauser (a Swiss German speaker) points out that although his native Bernese German ostensibly has two three-word systems (demonstratives / adverbs), in reality this is reduced to one-word and two-word systems respectively.²⁷¹ It is further pointed out that those English dialects that have one-word systems (i.e. *that*, *that* and *that*) recorded in the *SED* (e.g. Worcestershire 3) “might resemble my Swiss German behaviour in spite of a more copious inventory of forms.”²⁷² This could explain the situation in New Mills; it is evident that the demonstratives *this*, *that* and *t’other*²⁷³ all exist in the dialect lexicon, though it is also apparent that they are not used in the context of spatial description – the demonstratives *that* (singular) and *them* (plural) were elicited from informants in all age-groups.



3. 4

The other dialectal terms, which demonstrate continuity, are notable for the number of dialectal variants associated with each notion. In the majority of cases, although the total number of terms may have been reduced, at least one (or more) of the dialectal variants has not been subject to erosion. The apparent loss of the dialectal variants *cob* (for the notion *throw* (v.)) and *baggin* (for the notion *packed-lunch*), and the retention of the dialectal terms *chuck* and *lunch*, *snap* (see above, pp. 226-227) respectively is shown in Table 3. 5 the survival of the terms *chuck* and *lunch* may be partially due to the relatively widespread

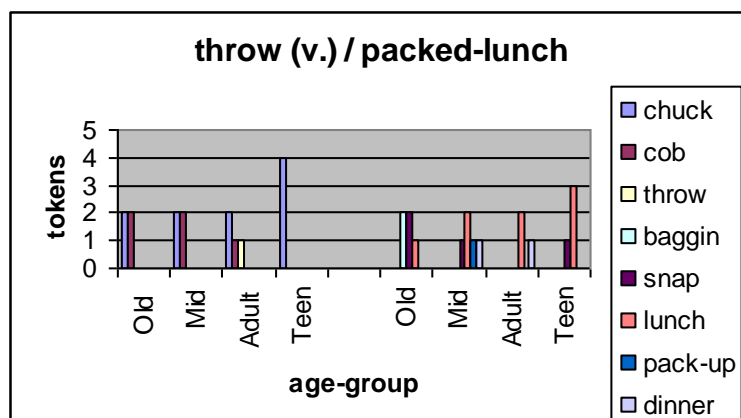
²⁷⁰ Glauser (1989), p. 258.

²⁷¹ Glauser (1989), pp. 254 – 245.

²⁷² Glauser (1989), p. 258.

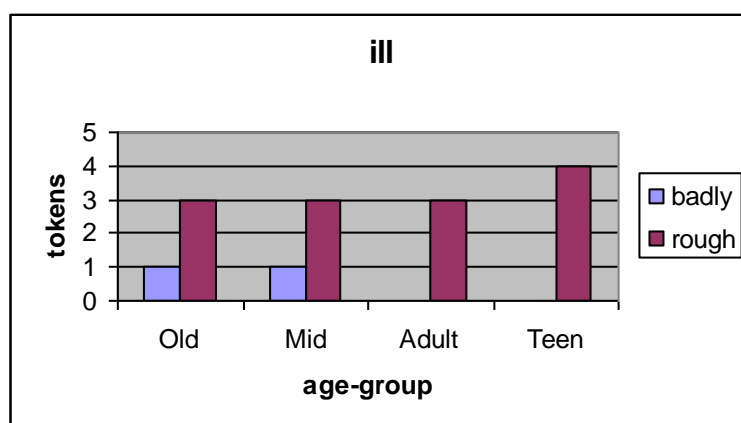
²⁷³ See above, pp. 143, 146-147.

provenance of these items and their use in informal SE (note, however, that the definition of dialectal *lunch* does not correspond to SE *lunch* – see above, p. 227).



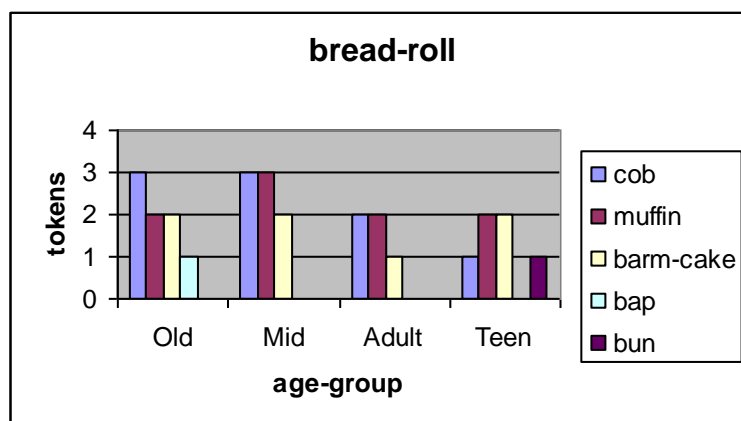
3.5

Similarly, the erosion of dialectal *badly* (for the notion *ill*), replaced by the dialectal variant *rough* (see above, p. 231), is shown in Table 3.6. It may be hypothesised that education and / or SE (such items - i.e. adjectives with *-ly* suffixes - being condemned as ‘ungrammatical’) may be responsible for the erosion of dialectal items such as *badly*; however, this seems unlikely, as other items that are ‘ungrammatical’ (i.e. adverbs without *-ly* suffixes) regularly occur in the speech of the younger (and older) informants.



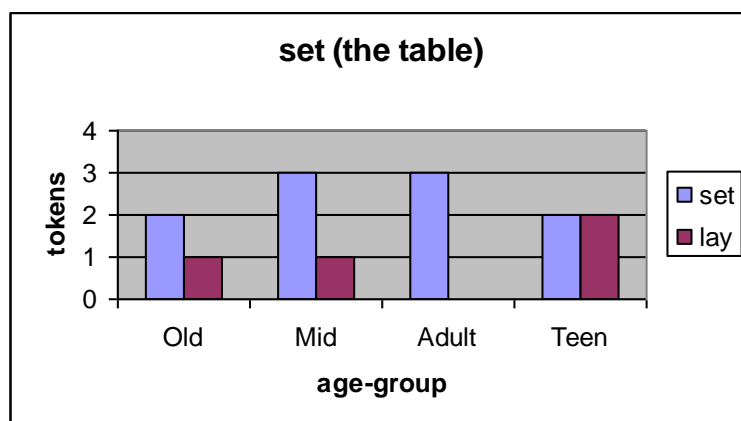
3.6

However, it is not always the case that one or more variants will always become obsolescent in those instances where more than one term exists in the traditional dialect (for one particular notion). The genuine variable nature of this notion is demonstrated by the fact that two or more variants were elicited from nearly all of the informants. Table 3.7 shows that the dialectal variants *cob*, *muffin* and *barm-cake* (see above, p. 237) occur throughout all age-groups, with no apparent loss of any of these terms.



3.7

Two dialectal terms - *lughole*, /lʊɡo:l/ (for the notion *ear-hole*) and *set* (*the table*) - are worthy of comment as variation is apparent that reflects the use of forms from both sides of an isogloss. Although New Mills is effectively situated in the *lay* area (sandwiched between two *set* areas to the west and east [north-east midlands]),²⁷⁴ *set* is dominant in all age-groups (almost entirely in the mid and adult age-groups), though *lay* also occurs in the old and teen age-groups (Table 3. 8).

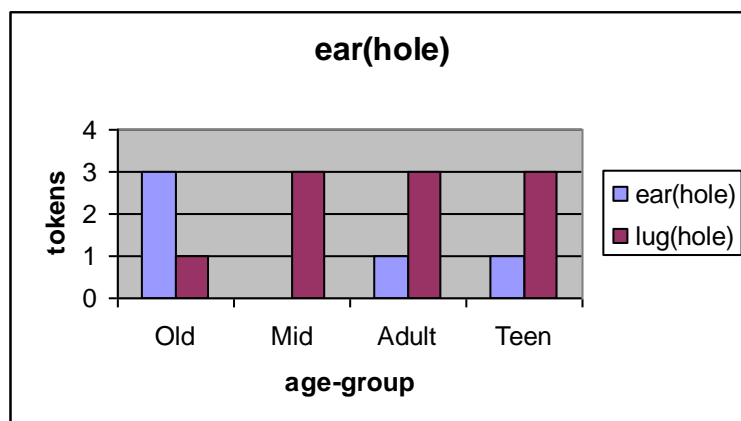


3.8

Dialectal *lug(hole)* differs in that the use of one variant appears to have strengthened, while the other, originally dominant, has regressed somewhat. The higher frequency of standardised *ear-hole* amongst the oldest informants is probably indicative of the fact that both the term *ear* and the non-standard variant *lug* both exist in the dialect lexicon (New Mills is situated [within the *lug* area] next to the isogloss dividing the *lug* and *ear* areas [to

²⁷⁴ See Upton et al (1987), op. cit, p. 113.

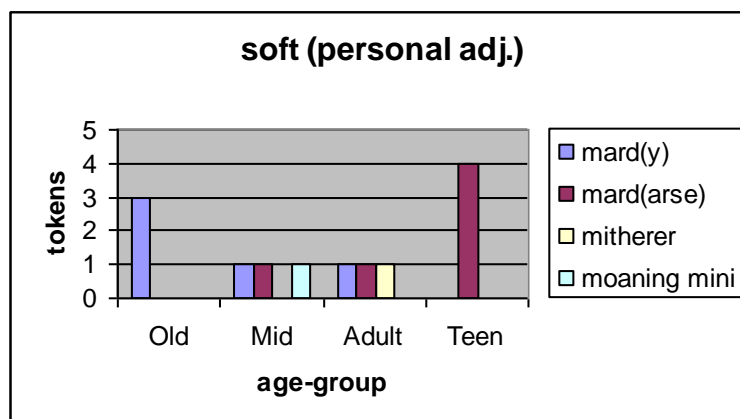
the west]).²⁷⁵ Nevertheless, responses from informants in the other three age-groups suggest that *ear(hole)* is losing out to the dialectal variant *lug(hole)* – Table 3. 9. One possible reason for the continuation and strengthening of *lug* is its widespread provenance throughout the north and north midlands, and its possible subsequent perception as a marker of ‘northern’ dialects.



3. 9

Dialectal *mard* (see also above, p. 234), for the notion *soft* (personal adj.), demonstrates similar strengthening. However, the apparent-time profile differs somewhat from that of *lughole* (above); the dialectal term *mard(y)* was elicited from all informants in the old and teen age-groups only, with apparent weakening in the mid and adult age-groups (though this may be indicative of age-grading only). The notion *soft* exhibits considerable overlap with the adjectival notion *spoilt* (see above, p. 234), and, in common with this, many of the responses consisted of nominal items rather than adjectival terms. Table 3. 10 shows the dominance of the adjectival term *mardy* in the old age-group, and the derived nominal item, *mard-arse* amongst the teenagers.

²⁷⁵ See Upton et al (1987), p. 65. It is interesting to note that the north-east midlands variant *tab* does not occur in New Mills (although the isogloss separating the *lug / tab* areas is relatively near). Conversely, it is evident that the variant north-west midlands term *ear* does occur within the traditional dialect of New Mills.



3. 10

Other common terms also demonstrate continuity. The dialectal term *aye*, /aɪ/ (SE *yes*) occurs in many dialects throughout the north and north midlands (see above, p. 238). In New Mills, it operates alongside standardised *yes* (usually realised as a reduced form *yeah*, /jɛ/) amongst speakers in all age-groups. Again, the retention of this item may be due to its wide provenance throughout the north and north midlands, and its associated perception as a marker of ‘northern’ identity.

Whether the converse term for *aye* (i.e. *nay*) has ever existed in New Mills is uncertain; it remained unrecorded during research for the present investigation. What is certain is that *no* (/no:/) occurs amongst speakers of all age-groups. Furthermore, a variant phonological form /na:/ is sometimes used by speakers (all age-groups), particularly when in doubt (e.g., /na: a do:nt θɪnk so:/, *No... I don't think so*) or when making an emphatic rejection (/na: am nɒt dɪ:ɪn ðæt/, *No, I'm not doing that*).

Terms of address (familiar) demonstrate a degree of erosion. The traditional term of address *surrey*²⁷⁶ (commonly used by speakers in the old and mid age-groups, and, to a lesser degree, by the adults) operates alongside *mate*; nevertheless, the former was not recorded at all amongst the teenage speakers. These terms of address are commonly used when greeting a friend / associate. Unlike the terms of address, however, greetings exhibit considerable continuity, not least because this type of phrase appears to be relatively ‘fixed’. It is apparent that familiar greetings are formulaic; these phrases generally conform to a set pattern, which are used by speakers of all age-groups (though the phonological realisations may differ somewhat). Greetings usually consist of an initial attention grabber (whether or not the

²⁷⁶ This is ultimately derived from OE *syryge* (a term of address, i.e. “sir”, “sire”), which is also observable in eModE (e.g., Shakespeare - *sirrah*) – c.f. contemporary north-east midlands (Sheffield) *love*, which is ultimately derived from OE *leof* (a term of address, “sir”, “sire”).

targeted person has already acknowledged the greeter), such as *Eh up!* (/e: ʊp/), which is then followed by the phrase ‘[are] you alright?’ (corresponding to SE *How are you?*). However, the phonological / morphophonemic realisations differ somewhat, according to age-group. Dialectal realisations such as /at əi:t/, *at alright* (*art thou alright*) - which display the suffixed cliticised pronoun realisations (see also above, p. 155) and /i:/ (< ME /i/ + /x/ > SE /aɪ/ realisations, typical of the traditional dialect - and /æʊ at/, *How art?* (with suffixed cliticised pronoun /t/ for ‘thou’) are common amongst the older informants; the younger speakers tend to use (though not entirely) modified /a: jə ɔ:ɹaɪt/, *[are you] alright ?* (both *are* and *you* are optional - either *are* or both *are* and *you* are frequently omitted). Nevertheless, the rather formulaic nature of this type of phrase may be observed by the occasional use of traditional dialect *at alright?* (i.e. with cliticised pronouns and /i:/ [SE /aɪ/]) by adult speakers whose speech does not usually consist of these traditional dialect features. Similarly, the use of the traditional dialect reflex of ME /i/ + /x/ (> dialectal /i:/, SE /aɪ/) (/ɔ:ɹaɪt /) by speakers of all ages (including teenagers) in *alright* (usually, though not entirely, as part of a greeting – see also /i:/ in Part 2, pp. 9-13) indicates the lexicalised nature of this type of phonological variant.

In summary, it may be observed from the lexical data in the present investigation and other lexical research that factors affecting lexical change (and the process itself) are highly complex, both in terms of the motivation behind any change and the items that are affected. As far as specific lexical items are concerned, it is unclear why some dialectal terms are subject to change (erosion and / or innovation) and others appear to remain relatively unaffected. It is evidently the case that frequency of use is not a determining factor; while many of those exhibiting erosion can be classified as “common vocabulary”, many of those demonstrating stability may also be classified as such (c.f. the lexical diffusion theory affecting sound change, where uncommon lexical items are the most conservative - i.e. they are affected last – or, indeed, remain unaffected completely). The frequency of word use is inter-related with the notion of salience²⁷⁷ as a motivating factor behind lexical change; just as the frequency of word use is not a determining factor, it would also appear that salience is similarly inconsequential – the data above contains examples of ‘salient’ features that have been subject to erosion – e.g., *backend* (SE *autumn*), *bonny* (SE *plump*), *feared* (SE *afraid*)

²⁷⁷ Salience in this instance refers to a feature that is dialectally prominent- i.e. the contrast with SE / other regional varieties is sufficient to mark it as an identifiable feature of the local dialect.

and *starved* (SE *frozen*) - and others that demonstrate stability – *aught* (SE *anything*), *naught* (SE *nothing*), *mard* (SE *spoilt, soft*) and *lug* (SE *ear*).

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