# MECHANISMS, MOTIVATIONS AND OUTCOMES OF CHANGE IN MORLEY (LEEDS) ENGLISH

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# ABSTRACT

In this thesis I examine the tension that exists within a situation of increased geographical and social mobility between the processes which bring about supra-localism and the retention of traditional features within a linguistic variety.

The notions of supra-localism and linguistic distinctiveness appear paradoxical, given that the mechanisms by which supra-localism occurs (namely, levelling and diffusion) typically involve the *loss* of regionally or socially distinctive features in favour of more widespread norms (Williams and Kerswill 1999, Milroy 2002b, Britain 2002c). However, "although levelling constitutes a pressure towards linguistic convergence, it does not follow that communities whose dialects undergo this process lose their linguistic distinctiveness" (Milroy 2002b:9). My aim is thus to illuminate whether (and if so, how) these two, seemingly incompatible outcomes of contact can co-exist with one another within a given speech community. The speech community chosen for investigation here is Morley, a suburb five miles south-west of Leeds, in the North of England.

In this thesis I address the following research questions:

I. In what ways are diffusion, levelling and retention of traditional dialect features observable within the same community?
II. How does a community negotiate linguistic identity in the face of increased contact and perceived homogeneity?
III. Which (if any) traditional features of the Morley variety are subject to levelling, and which are retained?
IV. Which (if any) external features are diffusing into the Morley variety as a result of increased contact?
V. How do the answers to the previous questions further inform our understanding of sociolinguistic variation and change?

In so doing I make an original contribution to knowledge in the field of contact-induced processes of sociolinguistic change.

# CONTENTS

# LIST OF TABLES

# LIST OF FIGURES

*For a certain [sa:fɛnd] supporter*

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# DECLARATION

Parts of the present research have been previously published or presented:

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Nov 05: *"Tintintin": change in Leeds English in real and apparent time.* Presented to the Department of Language and Linguistic Science, University of York.

Sept 05: *Real and apparent time: A study of Leeds English.* Presented at UKLVC5, University of Aberdeen.

This thesis has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree other than Doctor of Philosophy of the University of York. This thesis is the result of my own investigations, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by explicit references.



Signed

Date . .

# CHAPTER 1
# INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I present the key themes to be addressed in this thesis. I discuss my research aims and argue for the originality of my approach. I then present a brief overview of the content of the remaining chapters.

## 1.1 RESEARCH AIMS

This thesis examines the tension that exists within a dialect contact context between the processes that bring about supra-localism and those that favour retention of traditional dialect features within a linguistic variety.

The notions of supra-localism and linguistic distinctiveness appear paradoxical, given that the mechanisms by which the outcome supra-localism occurs (namely, levelling and diffusion) typically involve the *loss* of marked features in favour of more widespread norms (Williams and Kerswill 1999, Milroy 2002b, Britain 2002a). However, Milroy (2002b:9) claims "although levelling constitutes a pressure towards linguistic convergence, it does not follow that communities whose dialects undergo this process lose their linguistic distinctiveness." My aim is thus to investigate whether (and if so, how) these two seemingly incompatible outcomes of contact can co-exist with one another within a given speech community.

The terms utilised in the title require some explication. A glossary is provided with definitions for technical terminology referred to throughout this document. Throughout this thesis, I use the term *mechanisms of change* (following Trudgill 1986:98) to describe the processes by which change may (or may not) occur. Examples of such mechanisms are *dialect levelling* and *diffusion*, concepts which I further elucidate in Chapter Two. *Motivations for change* are taken to be the pressures towards supra-localism or linguistic distinctiveness, both of which arise from increased contact with a wider linguistic community (since there is neither pressure to retain distinctiveness nor become more similar when there is no linguistic alternative from which distinctiveness or similarity is demarcated). The term *contact*

is used throughout as shorthand for 'social and geographical contact with speakers from other speech communities.' *Outcomes* are the specific patterns of change (or, perhaps, lack of change) observable in the community at hand.

In order to test the impact of increased contact upon these themes, the community under consideration must be one to have experienced a sufficient change in social and geographical mobility over the course of recent history to make it suitable for the investigation of contact-induced language change. The community must have ample pressure from other, wider linguistic varieties to provide opportunities to adopt supra-localisms, whilst historically exhibiting the autonomy required for linguistic distinctiveness to have been present at some point. By sampling speakers from different generations within such a community, patterns of language use should emerge which permit us to identify if supra-localism and linguistic distinctiveness may sit concomitantly within the same language variety (and if so, how).

Such a community is Morley, a suburb five miles south-west of Leeds, in the North of England. As I will discuss in detail later, Morley has undergone dramatic change in recent decades, from an insular mill-town throughout much of the 20$^{th}$ century, to a post-industrial commuter community in the suburbs of Leeds. In-migration to Morley has brought native Morley inhabitants into more frequent contact with speakers from outside the community. Morley, whilst a prime site for the intended analysis, is not unique in its position. In many westernised societies, there exist communities for whom autonomy and traditional industry have made way for increasing urbanisation. The impact on language change that occurs as a result of in-migration, social upheaval and socio-economic growth must be addressed. In describing the situation in Morley, it is my intention to provide a more general theoretical framework within which these issues can be more widely understood. I further justify the selection of Morley for this research in Chapter Four.

In addition to selecting the right community to consider, it is also imperative that a range of appropriate linguistic variables are analysed. In order to examine supra-local and traditional forms a range of variables must be contemplated, some 'indigenous' to the community, others not so. By 'indigenous' I do not mean that the feature necessarily originated within the Morley community, nor that it is used *only* by speakers from Morley, but merely that the particular form is a traditionally

occurring feature of Morley English, as opposed to an 'immigrant', externally-originating form. To determine this, I utilise the dialectology literature: features observable in Morley that are highlighted by dialectologists whose work covers the Yorkshire area are taken to be indigenous to Morley (unless counter-evidence is available), whilst features not mentioned in the dialect record are taken to be of external origin. Furthermore, I consider here a range of variables that cover phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical aspects.

In taking such an approach, I seek to address the following research goals, discussed in further detail in Chapter Three:

I. In what ways are diffusion, levelling and retention of traditional dialect features observable within the same community?
II. How does a community negotiate linguistic identity in the face of increased contact and perceived homogeneity?
III. Which (if any) features of the traditional Morley variety are subject to levelling, and which are retained?
IV. Which (if any) external features are diffusing into the Morley variety as a result of increased contact?
V. How do the answers to the previous questions further inform our understanding of sociolinguistic variation and change?

In addressing the above issues, this thesis will make an original contribution to the current literature in sociolinguistics in three main ways. Firstly, I attempt to tie together the concepts of supra-localism and linguistic distinctiveness in a more tangible way than is currently available in the literature, showing that processes which bring about supra-localism, such as levelling and diffusion, do not necessarily erode more traditional or localised non-standard features. Secondly, I extend the research on processes of contact-induced change to look at morphosyntactic and lexical variables as well as phonological ones within the same study, a task which has been largely overlooked in the existing literature. Finally, I contribute to the ongoing research into variation and change in British English by illustrating the patterns of heterogeneity observable in Leeds, one of the fastest growing cities in the country, and yet hitherto overlooked by quantitative sociolinguistic investigation. In

providing data on this city I further illuminate our knowledge of structured variation across the British urban varieties. Furthermore, in considering data from a new location, my findings contribute directly to current research on several variables - quotatives, consonantal features (t) and (th), and *was/were* - that are principal foci in current literature in language variation and change (LVC) in the UK and beyond.

I now present an outline of the remainder of the thesis, by providing a summary of the specific contents of each of the following chapters.

## 1.2 Thesis Outline

In Chapter Two I present a review of the existing literature related to the issues raised in this thesis. I present a history of the research into processes of contact-induced change, as well as historical work on varieties of Northern English which are relevant to the present work. I finally highlight some concerns which the existing literature has not addressed.

In Chapter Three I explain in more detail the research goals which form the focus of this thesis. These are presented in light of the concerns raised at the end of chapter two. Here I further elucidate the present situation in sociolinguistic research and then demonstrate how the current research contributes towards issues which, as yet, remain unaddressed.

Chapter Four introduces the community of Morley and its suitability as a test site for contact-induced processes of language change. I present a history of the community and an overview of the social changes to have taken place in the town during the latter half of the twentieth century. I also present qualitative evidence from interview data exemplifying attitudes in the community toward social and economic changes in the community in recent generations.

Chapter Five expounds the methodology adopted. I present arguments as to the relative merits of real- and apparent-time data sets for the purposes of the present study, introduce the sample, and explain my data collection, transcription and analysis techniques.

In Chapters Six to Thirteen I present my analyses of a range of linguistic variables. Each chapter contains a review of existing work on the particular feature

under consideration, and a discussion of what patterns of variability and change we may anticipate in Morley. I then present a distributional analysis of the data and, where appropriate, multivariate analyses, using Goldvarb™ (Rand and Sankoff 1990).

The analysis chapters are divided into two subgroups: those analyses which focus on a feature indigenous to the Morley speech community, and the potential of said feature to be eroded by processes of levelling and/or standardisation; and those which focus on an externally originating feature and the potential for diffusion (and subsequent levelling) which this presents. The former are:

- Definite article reduction (Chapter Six)
- Secondary contraction of clitic negatives (Chapter Seven)
- Reallocation of first person pronouns (Chapter Eight)
- Use of *summat/owt/nowt* (Chapter Nine)

The latter group consists of:

- *Was* regularisation (Chapter Ten)
- Glottaling of intervocalic (t) (Chapter Eleven)
- TH-fronting (Chapter Twelve)
- Use of BE LIKE quotatives (Chapter Thirteen)

Chapter Fourteen summarises the findings from the analyses and considers the results in light of the original hypotheses. I return to the research questions and show how the results presented have shed light on the issues raised. Finally I demonstrate how the issues addressed herein refine our understanding of the mechanisms, motivations and outcomes of dialect contact.

Chapter Fifteen is a summary of the work conducted here. I show how this thesis has made an original contribution to knowledge, and I highlight some areas for future research which have become apparent as a result of this thesis.

# CHAPTER 2
# LITERATURE REVIEW

## 2.0 OVERVIEW

I present the review of the existing literature in three parts: firstly, I present an overview of the most influential literature to have contributed to the emergence of contact as a key theme in modern sociolinguistics; secondly, I emphasise the specific points in the existing work on dialect contact which have led to my current focus on the research themes addressed here, and discuss some specific case studies of diffusion, levelling and retention processes at work; lastly, I discuss the benefits of consulting the dialectological literature and highlight some key dialect-specific studies on Yorkshire English which are referred to throughout the remainder of this thesis. I do not discuss here the background literature for each individual variable considered in the analysis chapters (6-13); this is presented in the relevant chapter.

## 2.1 THE EMERGENCE OF CONTACT AS A KEY THEME IN SOCIOLINGUISTICS

Contact between different languages and varieties has long been a topic of interest to linguistic investigators. Contact between speakers of different languages has been shown in many cases to result in pidginisation, for example in the creation of Russenorsk, a trade language used between Norwegian and Russian fishermen (Millar 2007:406). Nineteenth century philologists represented the relationships between languages by the use of tree diagrams, first introduced by Schleicher (Millar 2007:226). Schmidt later developed wave diagrams in the mid-nineteenth century (*ibid.*, 229), and these are not unlike the dialect maps we are familiar with from the work of dialect geographers of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The evidence provided by such areas of study for language contact as an important factor in language change has since been extended to the investigation of contact between dialects of the same language.

I address here some key contributions towards our present understanding of dialect contact. The majority of subsequent investigations have taken on board elements of some or all of these studies, whether in terms of methodological or theoretical approaches. I also show how each one has developed the sociolinguistic field.

### 2.1.1 Martha's Vineyard

Quantitative methodologies have been fundamental to the concept of language change since Labov's work on Martha's Vineyard (1972a). Labov sampled sixty-nine inhabitants of the island, which lies three miles off the coast of mainland Massachusetts. Linguistic investigation focussed on the diphthongs /aɪ/ and /aʊ/, both of which exhibit variability in the degree of centralisation applied to the first element of each: productions such as [əɪ] and [əʊ] are not uncommon for Vineyarders, although, as Labov emphasises (1972a:9), neither variable appears to be subject to conscious manipulation by the majority of speakers in the sample. Rate of use of the centralised forms was shown to correlate with a positive orientation towards Martha's Vineyard. Islander identity appears to have been a strong social motivation in the progression of the centralised diphthongs. Not only is this study one of the first large-scale quantified studies of dialect change, it is also among the first to show retention of a localised pattern in the face of increased contact with individuals extrinsic to the speech community (who, in the case of Martha's Vineyard, come in the form of an increased tourist population). Labov established the importance of community identity as a central force in the motivation of language change, and presented evidence that a strong sense of community identity in the face of increased contact with wider linguistic norms had, in the case of the islanders of Martha's Vineyard, led to an increase in the localised language features of the community, as opposed to the more widely used linguistic patterns displayed by the summer tourist population of the Vineyard. Labov's work is largely responsible for inaugurating quantitative sociolinguistics, but concentration on the maintenance of traditional dialect features from the local community has (until recently) been somewhat passed over by subsequent investigators. This is a theme which clearly requires further attention, in particular in a country such as the U.K.,

where accent and dialect distinctions are rife, and yet local community boundaries and an individual sense of belonging have become somewhat blurred.

### 2.1.2 'Dialects in Contact'

Trudgill's *Dialects in Contact* (1986) brought to the forefront of sociolinguistic investigation the concept of long-term accommodation processes. Trudgill looked beyond the level of the linguistic community and considered the role of individuals in dialect change. He took as a basis the notion that, in order for long-term accommodation to occur, individual speakers must accommodate in order to achieve dialect change across the community as a whole. This extends Bell's (1984, 1997) audience design framework, which takes as a basic premise the idea that speaker style is oriented not to mechanisms such as the amount of attention the speaker is paying to his or her own speech, but to the people with whom he/she is conversing (1997:243). This in turn led to a greater focus on the ways in which contact between speakers can occur. Primarily, face-to-face interactions have been shown to be the most effective method by which linguistic changes are disseminated. Trudgill (1986:42) argues that when face-to-face interaction between speakers from differing speech communities becomes sufficiently frequent and large-scale, accommodation can involve a large enough proportion of speakers to make the result of the accommodation process permanent.

Another concept key to new-dialect formation is levelling (Trudgill 1986:102). Levelling is the reduction in use of marked variants, and the selection of one variant from the dialect mix, which survives as a result of the mutual accommodation towards it by speakers from all points along the dialect mix spectrum. Diffusion and levelling, for Trudgill, form a continuum of dialect change processes: the diffusion of new variant options into the dialect mix leads to variability, which in turn eventually leads to levelling, that is, accommodation towards one of the available variant options. This description shows diffusion as an additive process, whilst levelling is reductive. The outworkings of these processes can be seen quite clearly in Trudgill, Gordon, Lewis and Maclagan's (2000) work on New Zealand English, which they describe as the result of dialect mixing from a number of British varieties of English which were present in New Zealand during the nineteenth century.

The role of the individual in the diffusion and levelling processes of linguistic change cannot be overlooked. However, Trudgill's emphasis appears to be upon individuals who behave collectively and homogeneously. What happens though, when individuals within a community do not all accommodate in the same direction? In other words, when individual heterogeneity persists, what happens to the speech community as a whole?

### 2.1.3 Social Networks

Sociolinguistic research has, since the work of the Milroys in Belfast, placed a great deal of emphasis on the importance of the social network (Milroy 1987a, 1987b, 2002a; Milroy and Milroy 1997). By defining a speech community in terms of the density and multiplexity of its social network(s), the linguistic investigator is more readily able to determine not only the quality and quantity of relationships between members of the network, but also his/her own position relative to that of the informants (Milroy 1987b). The linguistic insights afforded by taking into consideration the structure of a speech community network allow for discussion not only of observations made of different communities, but also different individuals within the same community. One example of this from the Belfast study is the backing of /a/: in the three Belfast communities investigated (Ballymacarrett, Hammer and Clonard) a general pattern emerged for this variable which says that in each generation group males will produce backed-/a/ more frequently than females. The exception to this is among young adults aged 18-25 in Clonard, where females out-perform males in rate of /a/-backing. The explanation given for this by Milroy and Milroy (1997) is that a high rate of unemployment existed at the time for young males in Clonard, whilst young females were typically employed outside the Clonard community in an inner-city department store. Female speakers were thus more likely to come into contact with speakers from across the city, thereby providing them with a much less densely occupied social network than their male counterparts, and more opportunities to come into contact with people from other areas, where backed-/a/ was more frequently adopted (Clonard displays the lowest overall frequency of backed-/a/ in all three surveyed communities). These opportunities reinforced the use of backed-/a/ among young Clonard females in a way not available to the less mobile

young males, whose social networks were much more densely populated, containing only Clonard speakers.

Essentially, the social network structure allows the investigator to see the reasons why certain speakers may (or may not) sound alike. Moreover, the social network ties held by an individual necessarily contribute to that individual's sense of integration and affiliation to the community at large and as such will play a role in the structuring of contact-induced change processes: the greater the number of network ties among a group of individuals (both in terms of the number of individuals within the network (density) and the number of different ties between those individuals (multiplexity)), the greater the chance they will behave in a linguistically similar way. Conversely, the greater the social distance between speakers, the more chance exists for divergence and difference. Put another way, in a situation whereby social network ties have become less dense over time "speakers lack the extensive and regular input needed to maintain localized norms" (Milroy 2002b:10). The opposite side of this argument, of course, is that where speakers maintain a dense social network, there is a greater chance of preserving traditional linguistic features. Where there is a mixture of weak and strong community ties within the social network, it is likely that a high degree of variation between traditional and external linguistic features may occur. Thus, the pressure exerted when external linguistic features occur may not be strong enough to completely oust more 'local' forms from the variety.

## 2.2 Discussions of contact, diffusion, levelling and distinctiveness

Here I evaluate some of the recent literature on dialect contact. I first discuss comments made by Milroy (2002b) in her introduction to a contact-themed issue of *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, many of the papers from which are discussed below. I then move on to highlight some specific examples of diffusion, levelling and distinctiveness which are available in the existing literature, and comment on the advances made by these investigations towards our present understanding of contact-induced change.

### 2.2.1 Milroy (2002b)

Milroy highlights the problems associated with the traditional sociolinguistic viewpoint of speech communities as autonomous units. Whilst she acknowledges the necessity of such practice in the early work of Labov and others, Milroy illuminates the consequences of such an isolationist stance, such as the tendency to overlook immigrant members of the community, and the lack of attention paid to issues of contact between differing linguistic varieties and the subsequent impact of contact upon language change.

It is worth reiterating Milroy's (2002b:9) claim that "although levelling constitutes a pressure towards linguistic convergence, it does not follow that communities whose dialects undergo this process lose their linguistic distinctiveness." What Milroy seems to be pointing towards here is that accommodation of dialects towards one another is not necessarily an all-consuming force, but that rather various distinctive aspects of each can be maintained, in spite of convergent processes. This appears to be the first time in the literature that convergence and linguistic distinctiveness have been mentioned as potential cohabitants of the same language variety; until this point there has been an (albeit natural) assumption that, as levelling is most likely to promote the spread of variants already used across a wider geographical region, localised features (i.e. those most likely to carry distinctive properties) are more likely than non-localised ones to die out as a result. Indeed, Milroy herself makes this point in stating "dialect levelling involves the eradication of socially or locally marked variants (both within and between linguistic systems) in conditions of social or geographical mobility and resultant dialect contact" (2002b:7). The natural question arises that because distinctive features are usually either locally or socially marked (and oftentimes, both), how can the eradication of these forms in a levelling context promote retention of distinctiveness? Indeed, levelling and linguistic distinctiveness seem intuitively incompatible. Clearly more research is needed into precisely how these two, seemingly antithetical, themes can co-exist with one another. Milroy (2002b) does not resolve this issue in her paper, but seems to leave the matter open for future debate.

Whilst Milroy has highlighted the possibility for levelling and distinctiveness to occur side-by-side within the same community, most studies which have thus far considered the effect of contact (or, indeed, the lack of it) upon language variation and change have focussed upon either the occurrence of diffusion and levelling, or the maintenance of traditional or localised patterns of variation. The following two sections consider these themes, with 2.2.2 highlighting discussions of diffusion and levelling, and section 2.2.3 focussing upon previous case studies which highlight distinctive varieties of English.

### 2.2.2 Discussions of diffusion and levelling

The following case studies all highlight situations where increased social and geographical contact have led to diffusion and levelling. I discuss the work of Kerswill and colleagues in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull; Watt and Milroy's (1999) work on levelling of vocalic variables in Newcastle; Britain's (2002c) paper on *was*-regularisation in the Fens; and Llamas' (2000, 2007b) work in Middlesbrough.

#### *2.2.2a Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull*

The various works of Paul Kerswill and his colleagues on Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull contribute greatly towards our understanding of contact-induced change, as they comment in detail on the processes of dialect levelling and diffusion.

The three towns considered were specifically chosen for their different geographical surroundings and demographic composition. Milton Keynes is a new town[1] constructed in 1967 and within 80 miles of London. Its comparatively short existence relative to the other two locations in the investigation made it a prime site for the consideration of koinéisation, with few deeply rooted community ties and no one traditional local accent (Williams and Kerswill 1999).

Hull is in marked contrast to Milton Keynes. Geographically and socially isolated, its population has little in-migration and as such, the community is densely networked, and the majority of residents have strong local ties (Williams and Kerswill 1999).

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[1] "a planned urban area, often a completely new settlement; especially one sponsored or approved by government and created in a rural or undeveloped area to absorb overspill population from a nearby large city," dictionary.oed.com, accessed January 2008

Reading shares similarities with both the other locations in the study. Like Hull, it has a stable local population and is geographically well-established, but it does not possess the same social isolation observed in Hull. Like Milton Keynes, Reading is located near London, and has seen recent growth in prosperity due to its prime location in the M4 corridor, home to many new industries, and subsequent in-migration (Williams and Kerswill 1999).

Williams and Kerswill present evidence for the strength of localised linguistic norms in Hull in the use of H-dropping across the three locations. Word initial H-dropping is a traditional feature for all three towns, and elderly speakers in all three show high rates of use. However, as is shown in Figure 2.1, working-class adolescents in Reading and Milton Keynes show much greater use of the standard variant, whilst the Hull teenagers retained the traditional dialect form.

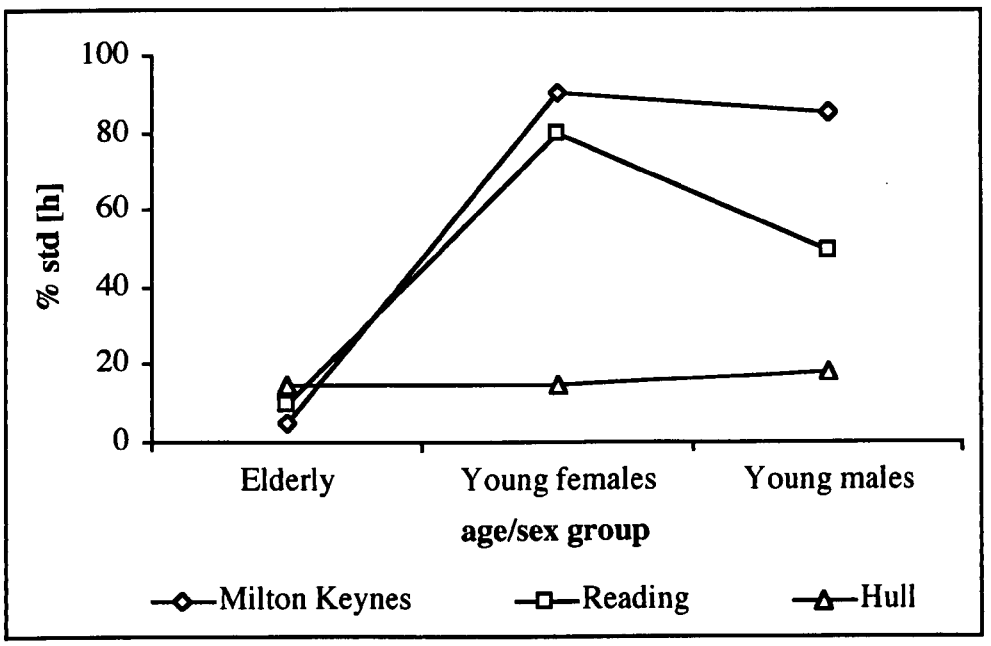


*Figure 2.1*
Use of word-initial [h] among working class speakers in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull. Reproduced from Williams and Kerswill (1999:158)

There is also evidence for dialect levelling in Hull, as working class adolescents demonstrate use of T-glottaling and TH-fronting, neither of which are traditional local variants. These findings are shown in Table 2.1.

| | Milton Keynes | | Reading | | Hull | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys | Girls | Boys |
| % [ʔ] for intervocalic /t/ | 75 | 83 | 92 | 100 | 72 | 83 |
| % [f] for /θ/ | 56 | 88 | 76 | 84 | 63 | 91 |
| % [v] for /ð/ | 71 | 90 | 88 | 94 | 78 | 96 |

*Table 2.1*
Rate of t-glottaling and th-fronting in working class adolescents in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull. From Williams and Kerswill (1999:160)

Williams and Kerswill (1999) show that the rate of use of these rapidly spreading consonantal features is just as robust in Hull as in Reading and Milton Keynes, despite Hull's relative isolation and social entrenchment. They attribute this to adoption of a set of youth norms in consonantal features, and the desire among young people to identify themselves as part of a wider youth culture.

Cheshire, Kerswill and Williams (2005) provide further evidence from these locations, considering levelling across a range of phonological, grammatical and discourse variables. The phonological material is largely a recapitulation of the data described above. For grammatical variables they consider a range of morphosyntactic non-standard features common to many dialects of English: negative concord, non-standard *was*, non-standard *were*, non-standard *don't*, preterite *come*, preterite *done* and relative *what*. They also show the rates of use for two features that they describe as 'regional variants': verbal *–s* for Reading, and zero definite article for Hull (2005:152). Their general findings state that the regional features occur far less frequently than the more general non-standard features, concluding that adolescents in Reading and Hull seem to be "converging on the common core set of widespread urban non-standard features, in preference to more localised features," (2005:152). This conclusion, firstly, seems to assume that local and non-local features are binary alternatives of one another, and cannot co-exist. The implication appears to be that speakers can either adopt urban non-standard features, or they can use localised forms, but not (so to speak) 'have their cake and eat it'. Secondly, some of the features listed as non-regional may in fact be more geographically linked than the authors seem to believe: preterite *done* for example, as in *'I done it yesterday'* sounds (to this Northern researcher) Southern in origin, and indeed, Cheshire et al (2005) only find 7.7% of potential occurrences in their Hull working class adolescent data. Whilst they acknowledge that that this feature is

"clearly not local" in Hull (2005:151), the interpretation taken is that grammatical levelling is "not (yet) complete" (2005:151), implying that the observed rate of preterite *done* shows some movement towards 'completion' relative to some previous stage. With no corresponding data for older generations it is not clear whether 7.7% represents an increase in use, but either way, it seems a little premature to interpret this as a move towards grammatical levelling as regards this particular variable.

Cheshire *et al.* (2005) is particularly instructive in that it considers more than just phonological variables. Nevertheless, much further work is needed on change in other parts of the grammar and differences in patterns of change across different parts of the grammar.

*2.2.2b Newcastle (Watt and Milroy 1999, Watt 2002)*

Dialect levelling is considered by Watt and Milroy (1999) in their investigation of change in three Newcastle vowels, namely FACE, GOAT and NURSE. Their focus on these is motivated by the existence not only of strongly localised variants for all three vowels in Tyneside English, but also in the presence for each vowel of a supra-local form which can also be observed in the Tyneside data. (GOAT has two supra-local forms: monophthong [o:] and a fronted form, represented by Watt and Milroy (1999) as [ɵ:]). Both the Tyneside variant and the supra-local variant differ from the Standard English realisation. Table 2.2 below demonstrates these variants (adapted from Watt and Milroy 1999:34).

| | FACE | GOAT | NURSE |
|---|---|---|---|
| Tyneside | ɪə | ʊə | ɔ: |
| Supra-local | e: | o:/ɵ: | ø: |
| Prestige forms (R.P.) | eɪ | oʊ | ɜ: |

*Table 2.2*
Summary of variants for Tyneside English vowels. From Watt and Milroy (1999:34)

Watt and Milroy analyse data from 32 speakers in Newcastle, representing two social class groups, two age groups, and both sexes. For FACE vowels (1999:34), they find an overwhelming preference for the supra-local form, with all age groups using this variant most frequently except the older working class males, who retain

the localised [ɪə] as the most frequent variant. However, generally, this localised form is found to be receding in younger and middle class speakers, and particularly so in females. Idiosyncratic use of [eɪ] is noted for two speakers.

For GOAT (1999:36), the supra-local variant is once again the default for most speakers. Only older working class males maintain robust use of [ʊə], and all age groups and classes display higher rates of the Tyneside variant amongst men than women, with only six tokens of [ʊə] present in all the female data (1999:36). Females also avoid use of the fronted form [ɵ:] (1999:37), whilst this variant is robustly observed from male speakers across the age and class divides. [oʊ] appears to be increasing amongst younger middle class speakers, but as with FACE, Watt and Milroy report this finding to be due to individual speaker trends rather than a widespread pattern of use.

The Tyneside variant [ɔ:] for NURSE vowels is rare in the Newcastle data for all groups except the older working class males (1999:38). An interaction is observed between age and sex in terms of use of the [ɜ:] and [ø:] forms, with a preference for [ø:] among younger females, but [ɜ:] among older middle class speakers and younger middle class males (1999:39).

Watt and Milroy's findings provide supporting evidence for regional dialect levelling in Newcastle. In all three vowels, the traditional local realisations undergo reduction in use over time, with younger speakers exhibiting a preference for more widespread, supra-local forms, but crucially not standardisation. Class and gender also play a role in this change, with males and the working classes showing a preference for conservatism, whilst women and the middle classes display a tendency towards supra-localism (Watt and Milroy 1999:41). The conclusion drawn here is levelling to a regional 'Northern' koine, and the emergence of a supra-local Northern variety. Watt (2002:57) describes this as a "trade-off between modernity and regional loyalty", and points to the potential development of pan-regional standards and the focus of regional identity centred upon cities.

*2.2.2c Britain (2002c)*

Britain's analysis of past tense 'BE' in the English Fens is one of the first investigations conducted into the specific effects of contact-induced processes of change upon a grammatical variable. He reports analogical levelling to be present, with reallocation of *was* across the positive paradigm and *weren't* throughout the negative, regardless of person and number distinctions. The changes occur within three generations of speakers. Britain claims this form has diffused through Fenland English as a result of supra-local convergence with dialects of southern England (2002c:33). This finding is in line with Britain's comments on the concepts of geographical and social space between communities (2002b): whilst these two concepts may overlap, and may even in some cases be roughly equivalent to one another, there is no reason to assume that they always are, and the social space between two communities may be great, even if they share geographical proximity. The Fens and the south-east are both geographically and socially proximate, with a great degree of contact between the two, and high levels of in-migration to the Fens from the south-east. Thus, levelling of Fenland English in the direction of south-east varieties is unsurprising.

Britain's contribution clearly demonstrates that models of contact-induced change can be applied to grammatical as well as phonological variables. Additionally, the speed at which this grammatical change is witnessed stands as testimony to the force exuded by social and geographical mobility. We are not used to observing linguistic changes, particularly grammatical ones, occurring with this degree of rapidity; we are more accustomed to the notion that language change takes many years to complete. That said, neither are we used to observing the degree of social and geographical mobility that exists in modern society, since the globalised society in which we currently live is the product of the post-war generations. Geographical distance used to be a natural inhibitor of linguistic change; this is no longer the case. Britain (2002c) suggests that the 'de-localisation' (2002c:33) of society and the related 'social, economic and demographic upheaval' (2002c:38) is permitting us to see language change in a way that has not hitherto been possible.

*2.2.2d Middlesbrough*

Llamas (2000, 2007a, 2007b) developed an innovative methodological procedure whereby the attitudes of members of the speech community could be correlated with their sociolinguistic performance. The inaugural study to utilise this new methodology was conducted in Middlesbrough.

Middlesbrough has been subject to a somewhat fluid state of political identity over the last forty or so years. It was considered to be within the North Riding of Yorkshire until 1968, when the urban centres on either bank of the River Tees were amalgamated as Teesside, a move which, according to Llamas (2000:127) "gave the region an identity of its own." In 1974, however, this was changed again, and the region was expanded to create County Cleveland, which existed until 1996, when the old county boundary between Yorkshire and Durham was reinstated, and Middlesbrough was given independent borough status. Over the course of these changes, Middlesbrough has culturally become more closely associated with the North-East, moving away from its traditional association with North Yorkshire (Llamas 2000). Linguistically, Middlesbrough English shares more similarities with that of the rest of the North-East region than it does with Yorkshire and is frequently grouped with the Tyneside accent and dialect in works such as Wells (1982).

Llamas sampled 32 speakers who identified themselves as working class. Four males and four females were sampled from four different age groups: 60-80 ('old'), 32-45 ('middle'), 19-22 ('young adults') and 16-17 ('adolescents'). The survey methodology was specifically designed to elicit variation at the phonological, grammatical and lexical levels, with additional information collected in the form of an identification questionnaire, which asks informants about their attitudes towards their language and their local area. Responses to the identification questionnaire can be correlated with age and gender in order to show potential changes in attitudes across generations over the course of time. The linguistic variables investigated are the voiceless plosives /p/, /t/ and /k/, with three variants identified for each: the standard (or 'released') forms; the glottalised forms [p͡ʔ] [t͡ʔ] [k͡ʔ], which are also features of Tyneside English, and the replacement of the plosives with a glottal stop [ʔ].

Llamas (2000) reports that the younger speakers in her sample are adopting the glottalised variants of /p/ and /k/ and the glottal [ʔ] for /t/. As the glottalised

variants are the features most closely associated with the North-Eastern varieties of English, this suggests convergent patterns emerging between Teesside and Tyneside, in line with the shifting cultural identity of Middlesbrough towards the North-East. Llamas claims that these findings are not the result of contact alone, but rather the subconscious influence of shifting identity upon Middlesbrough inhabitants. The conclusion drawn is that by understanding the overt and covert social meanings which communities attach to various linguistic features, we can more readily understand the social attitudes which may play a role in shaping language variation and change within and between neighbouring communities. This is certainly a step forward for sociolinguistic investigation and this methodology has been adopted for considerations of other varieties (for example, Berwick-upon-Tweed (Pichler 2006) and Sunderland (Burbano-Elizondo 2006)). Our understanding of language variation alongside its relevant social interpretation for the community at hand is an important contribution towards our knowledge of how language and identity may be intertwined. Qualitative remarks made by community members can often be useful ways to identify underlying ideological stances which may impact on the linguistic behaviour of the individual concerned. By utilising both quantitative data and these qualitative observations of local people, we can more fully build an accurate picture of the linguistic identity of a speech community.

### 2.2.3 Discussions of distinctiveness

In this section I focus on research in communities where distinctive features are maintained in some way. I first discuss work on North American varieties, beginning with Johnstone, Bhasin and Wittkofski's (2002) work on Pittsburghese and progressing to Schilling-Estes' (2002) paper on isolated communities in North Carolina. I then turn to address examples from the U.K. and highlight Dyer's (2002) work in Corby, Northamptonshire. Lastly I compare two U.K. varieties which show a similar conservatism towards localised features, in spite of the fact that their contact situations could not be more different from one another: Buckie (where there has been relatively little outside contact) and Liverpool (which has many outside influences).

*2.2.3a Pittsburghese (Johnstone et al. 2002)*

Johnstone *et al.* consider use of monophthongal /aw/ in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. A monophthongal realisation of /aw/ such as in the production of the word *downtown* as 'dahntahn' [da:nta:n] (2002:148) is socially stigmatised by speakers from across America, but is seen to carry a certain covert prestige among working-class speakers in Pittsburgh, in particular among males (2002:151). The study reports on data from 114 working-class males born in Pittsburgh between 1850 and 1970. Johnstone *et al.* find no evidence of monophthongal /aw/ in speakers born pre-1900, but a persistent observance of monophthongal /aw/ is recorded for speakers born between 1900 and 1970. They attribute this persistence to the fact that monophthongal /aw/ is a local stereotype, frequently noted in orthographic representations of local speech, and more frequently so than other local dialect features (2002:160). Furthermore, it is the only phonological feature represented in written 'Pittsburghese' which is truly local; other dialect forms represented orthographically, such as /ɪn/ for *–ing,* are more widely used than in Pittsburghese alone. Johnstone *et al.* conclude that in an age of heightened social and geographical contact what it means to be local, and how this is represented linguistically, are important issues for debate. This is certainly an important question when it comes to linguistic distinctiveness, as the social stereotyping of a particular linguistic feature as indicative of membership to a particular speech community may well impact on the retention, advancement or rejection of the feature by the people who use it.

*2.2.3b Schilling-Estes (2002)*

Schilling-Estes considers retention of dialect distinctiveness in post-isolated communities – that is to say, communities that have recently emerged from an isolated existence – and the impact this emergence has upon dialect levelling processes. Her case study focuses on production of the /ay/ and /aw/ diphthongs and regularisation of past tense 'BE' on Smith Island and in Lumbee, North Carolina. Traditionally, sociolinguistic theory holds that the linguistic distinctiveness of isolated communities will diminish as a result of increased social and geographical contact and resultant dialect levelling processes (Schilling-Estes 2002:64). Schilling-Estes sets out to provide evidence contradictory to this stance, and shows that Smith Island has actually moved in the opposite direction, with greater distinctiveness

observed in the post-isolation era. Schilling-Estes asserts that "a community's sense of cultural distinctiveness may still be strong enough to permit at least partial resistance to dialect levelling" (2002:80). This is an important contribution to the literature on contact-induced processes of language change, demonstrating that the perceived wisdom on dialect levelling does not hold true in every situation, and that sociolinguists must take care not to over-generalise contact-induced mechanisms as pandemic forces for change.

Schilling-Estes also addresses the notion of isolation. Typically the concept of isolation is applied only to relic dialects spoken in regions of geographical remoteness. However, as Schilling-Estes (2002:65) states, isolation can be viewed in relative terms and its identification may not necessarily be based solely on geographical criteria: dense social networks, lack of in-migration combined with historical population continuity, and economic autonomy may all also contribute towards a community being isolated in relative terms from its neighbouring regions. This said, 'isolated' may not be the most appropriate choice of description, as the tendency is to assume a geographical dimension. 'Autonomous' is perhaps more well suited to communities of this nature, which include Morley, as I demonstrate in Chapter Four.

*2.2.3c Dyer (2002)*

Dyer's contribution focuses on the language contact situation in Corby, Northamptonshire, among distinct ethnic groups (Dyer 2002:100). The contact situation in Corby arose as a result of the influx of Scottish construction workers that occurred in the mid twentieth century. At the 1971 census, around 30% of Corby's population were Scottish migrants. This has led to a unique variety of language emerging, which is perceived by many outsiders as a Scottish variety of English (Dyer 2002:101).

Dyer collected data from 49 residents of Corby spread across three generations. Although the sample is not particularly well balanced, it serves to reflect the changing composition of the Corby population over time: the oldest generation (60-74) contains only 2 Scottish-born and 2 English-born speakers for both sexes, the middle generation (40-50) contains one Scottish-born male; the remainder of the speakers are English-born, whilst the youngest generation (14-23)

are all English-born (Dyer 2002:102). Analyses were conducted upon six phonological variables for which a contrast can be identified between Scottish and the East Midlands English variety that is native to Corby, although results are only given for two of these (namely, the LOT/THOUGHT merger and monophthongisation of GOAT vowels). Contrary to the commonly identified pattern of levelling, in which stigmatised and regionally restricted features are lost, the results from Corby show the younger speakers (especially males) to be adopting some features typically associated with the Scottish immigrants to Corby, such as monophthongal GOAT vowels. These forms have been recycled to carry a Corby, rather than Scottish, identity. However, this pattern is not found across the board for all the Scottish features in Corby: in terms of the LOT/THOUGHT merger, a preference for the Anglo pattern of maintaining a distinction is observed (2002:106). Younger speakers from Corby have the resources to simultaneously project both a local identity that exhibits the contact history of their town, and a more supra-local identity that permits them to identify with their wider generational cohort (2002:113).

In terms of the wider theoretical contribution, Dyer has shown that speakers are capable of projecting multiple affiliations and identities from within their linguistic repertoire. The relative importance of regional affiliation compared to generational or national identity may fluctuate over time, and this may be reflected in patterns of language change.

*2.2.3d Buckie (Smith 2000)*

Buckie is a small fishing town (population circa. 8000) located on the North East coast of Scotland, approximately 60 miles north-west of Aberdeen. It is relatively isolated both socially and geographically, and as such, the language variety found among the Buckie speech community can be described as a relic dialect (Smith 2000). Its inclusion in the review of the existing literature here serves to demonstrate what happens in a community where very little contact with other dialects occurs: Buckie is conspicuous in its robust maintenance of highly localised dialect features, and even the youngest members of the speech community have been shown to adopt these (Steele 2003, Smith, Durham and Fortune 2007). The examples in (1) and (2) show use of the demonstrative pronouns *this* and *that* in plural contexts, a non-standard feature observed across North-East Scotland (McCrae 2000, Steele 2003).

Note that in (2) a larger range of variants is available than in (1), with the additional possibilities of supra-local *them* and the archaic pronoun *thon*.

(1) a. You're too good at this jigsaws (from Steele 2003: 123)
b. Are you finding all these edges? (from Steele 2003: 123)

(2) a. Have you eaten all that sweeties? (from Steele 2003:120)
b. It's gan to be one of those days! (from Steele 2003: 123)
c. I want them crayons in there. (from Smith and Steele 2004)
d. You'll hae tae see thon (from Smith and Steele 2004)

Two corpora of data from Buckie were analysed: firstly a corpus of 39 adult speakers, comprising approximately 35 hours of tape-recorded conversation; secondly a corpus of 11 mother/child pairings with approximately 50 hours of tape-recorded interactions between child and primary caregiver. The children in the sample were aged between 2;10 and 3;6 (years;months) at the time of recording. Further details of these corpora can be found in Smith (2000) and Steele (2003) respectively. The distribution of demonstrative pronoun variants in plural contexts is shown in Table 2.3, separated into two groups: proximate contexts (example 1) and distal contexts (example 2).

| | **Adult corpus** | | **Mothers** | | **Children** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| THIS | 63 | 77 | 50 | 77 | 38 | 78 |
| THESE | 19 | 23 | 15 | 23 | 11 | 22 |
| *TOTAL* | *82* | | *65* | | *49* | |
| THAT | 132 | 71 | 126 | 96 | 58 | 82 |
| THEM | 9 | 5 | 2 | 2 | 11 | 15 |
| THON | 40 | 21 | - | - | - | - |
| THOSE | 5 | 3 | 3 | 2 | 2 | 3 |
| *TOTAL* | *186* | | *131* | | *71* | |

*Table 2.3*
Distribution of demonstrative pronouns in Buckie.
Adapted from Smith and Steele (2004)

Use of the singular pronouns in plural contexts remains stable across all three speaker groups, even the children. The archaic pronoun *thon* appears to be being lost, with possible replacement by the more supra-local *them*. However, the dominant variants for all speaker groups remain *this* and *that,* the localised pattern. Under a levelling account, one may predict that if contact with wider linguistic

varieties were to occur, the localised pattern of use for singular demonstrative pronouns in plural contexts might decrease in favour of the more supra-local patterns of standardisation or (for distal *that* contexts) increased use of *them*. The robust maintenance of this highly localised pattern served to emphasis the lack of impact upon Buckie from other language varieties.

The Buckie data show that a community with relatively little outside influence will generally show preservation of dialectal features that, under a dialect contact context, may not stand the test of time. Whilst Buckie's retention of localised traditional dialect features may seem unproblematic, these are not the only conditions in which traditional features are preserved, as can be seen in the following section on Liverpool. As such, Buckie serves as a useful comparison to show that contact (or lack of it) may not be the only consideration in the preservation of community norms.

*2.2.3e Liverpool (Watson 2006)*

At first glance, Buckie and Liverpool could not be more different from one another in terms of social and geographical standing. Buckie is a remote town with a small population, most of whom have longstanding community ties. Meanwhile, with a population of around 1.3 million (Merseyside region, figure from www.liverpool.gov.uk, accessed July 07) Liverpool is one of the major cities in the U.K., with good transport links and a thriving cultural identity, being named 'European Capital of Culture' for 2008.

Nonetheless, it could be said that in terms of degree of linguistic distinctiveness, the two localities are comparable. Watson (2006) reports that Liverpool English is, in fact, *diverging* from the supra-local patterns observed across the wider Northern region, with particular focus placed upon Liverpool's avoidance of the glottal stop variant of (t), but rather retention of the 't-to-h' pattern (/t/→[h]), as in the sentence final (t) in (3), whereby an audible release of breath is observed (Watson 2006:58).

(3) Do you want one or **not**? (/t/→[h]) (from Watson 2006)

Watson highlights this feature as a classic candidate for levelling, being highly localised, socially salient as a stereotype of the regional accent, and occurring under the same sociolinguistic conditions as [ʔ], a feature which is widely accepted as spreading rapidly throughout urban British dialects (Docherty and Foulkes 1999, Williams and Kerswill 1999). Thus, in spite of its connections to the rest of the U.K., Liverpool is retaining its distinctive linguistic features.

This common link of dialect retention between Buckie (a community with virtually no outside contact) and Liverpool (one with decidedly more contact) is an important consideration. Irrespective of the contact situation, retention of traditional dialect features is equally possible in both localities. The logical conclusion to draw, therefore, is that contact may not feature as prominently as a motivation for change as has previously been intimated in the literature (or at the very least, there are cases in which the effect of contact is minimised by some other, stronger motivation, such as strong sense of community identity).

### 2.2.4 Summary of diffusion, levelling and distinctiveness

As is clear from the existing literature, an array of mechanisms of change is observable in contact situations both in the U.K. and further afield. So far, most studies seem to prioritise the isolation of one or two mechanisms at a time, investigating only a small number of variables (and most often phonological ones) in order to show how a given mechanism can be seen to work. However, it stands to reason that, if these different mechanisms are observable across varieties, they may well also be observable within the same variety at the same time. Our understanding of the pressure exerted by social and geographical contact may be overly simplified because we have not considered the holistic perspective. A study is therefore warranted which investigates a wide range of features within the same community - some which are indigenous to the region and some which are not – in order to determine which mechanisms of change can exist simultaneously within a given speech community. Additionally, such a study should take account of different levels of the language construct, rather than just the phonology, in order to determine whether phonology, lexis and morphosyntax behave in the same way in a contact situation. This is an area which the existing literature has failed to address completely.

## 2.3 Dialectology literature for West Yorkshire

The aims of this chapter were threefold: firstly, to discuss the emergence of contact as a key theme in sociolinguistics, which I have done in section 2.1; secondly, to consider some of the existing literature on levelling, diffusion and distinctiveness, which I have done in section 2.2. The third aim was to assess the merits of the dialectology literature for West Yorkshire and its relevance to the present study. The dialectology literature is useful in establishing which features are indigenous to Yorkshire varieties, and which are not. I refer to these dialect works throughout the remainder of this thesis, and so it is appropriate to present each one here and to explain the nature of the data considered and the observations made.

Several studies of the West Yorkshire dialect region have been carried out since the late nineteenth century (Easther 1883; Wright 1892; Morris 1911; Hedevind 1967; Houck 1968; Tidholm 1979; Petyt 1985). Most of these would be categorised as dialectology studies rather than quantitative sociolinguistic analysis. However, they provide relevant information that can inform our understanding of the linguistic history of the wider Yorkshire area. Here I present a brief introduction to each of the dialect-specific texts to which I refer throughout this thesis. I address these in chronological order. A map of the location of the communities mentioned in these studies is given in Figure 2.2.

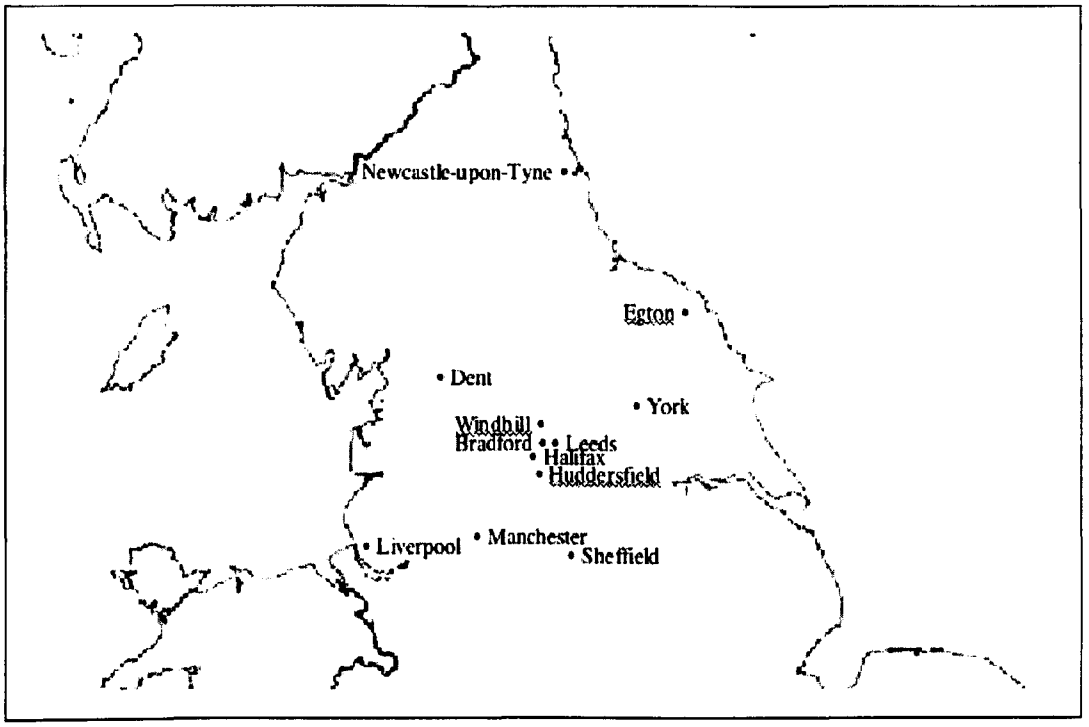


*Figure 2.2*
Location of dialect studies in relation to major cities of Northern England
(Outline reproduced from Ordnance Survey map data by permission of the Ordnance Survey © Crown copyright 2001.)

### 2.3.1 Easther (1883)

Easther's glossary of dialect terms from Huddersfield and Almondbury (a town approximately three miles south-east of Huddersfield) is based largely on observations made during his twenty-five years living in the region. Easther was struck by "the vast abundance of words and phrases till then unknown" (1883:vii) and was inspired to collate around two thousand specimens of dialect forms with some divergence from the Standard, either in the lexical item itself or the pronunciation of a more widely existing form. Whilst his observations are qualitative and often anecdotal, they serve to indicate the longevity of various forms in the West Yorkshire dialect, as in the example in (3) of *owt* and *nowt* for *anything* and *nothing*:

(3) "A sensible old saying here is,
*'Too mich o' owt*
*Is gooid for nowt'*." (Easther 1883:93)

Easther (1883) is referenced in Chapters Six, Eight, Nine and Ten.

### 2.3.2 Wright (1892)

Wright provides a comprehensive grammar of the dialect of Windhill, a town in the West Riding of Yorkshire, three miles north of Bradford. Windhill was, at that time, a manufacturing village, and Wright claims that the local language variety is closely related to that of both Bradford and Leeds. Wright bases his observations on his own knowledge of the local variety, and assures his reader of the accuracy of his observations on the basis that he is a native speaker of the Windhill dialect (1892:viii). Whilst the lack of quantifiable data may make us question the accuracy or validity of Wright's observations, it should be recognised that Wright was one of the most eminent philologists of his day: a professor at Oxford, author of the six-volume *English Dialect Dictionary* and founder of the Yorkshire Dialect Society. As such, his dialect grammar can be considered as one of the most reliable historical sources available on the West Yorkshire variety. Whilst this form of historical record is not ideal for the quantitative sociolinguist, one has to acknowledge that the gathering of quantified data was not the methodology of choice at that time. As such, observations made by trained philologists such as Wright are preferable to those of the 'amateur' interested party, of which several examples abound. At the very least, Wright's work can be taken as an indication of the variation that existed in the West Riding at the turn of the twentieth century, and it is a useful starting point for determining whether or not particular dialect features have their provenance in the region.

Wright's observations are primarily phonological. He comments on a comprehensive range of vocalic and consonantal variations he has observed. He also makes some comments on grammatical features (see for example, quotes in Chapter Ten on past tense 'BE', this volume) and mention is made of some lexical alternations, as in "[ðem] is the only word used for *those*, a form [ðuez] would be quite foreign to the dialect" (Wright 1892:124). Wright is referenced in Chapters Six, Seven, Eight, Nine, Ten and Eleven.

### 2.3.3 Morris (1911)

Morris's aim in writing 'Yorkshire folk-talk' was, primarily, to capture and record the words, phrases and pronunciations characteristic of the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire. He ascribes the need to do so to a concern for their preservation,

stating that "railways and certificated schoolmasters, despite their advantages, are making sad havoc of much that is interesting and worth preserving in the mother tongue of the people" (1911:xiii). Even in the early years of the twentieth century, it seems that mobility and improved education were seen as a threat to local language varieties. Morris's writings are largely based on his own observations and those of people with whom he corresponded, and as such, taking them as a definitive record of the local dialect of the time is not appropriate, so Morris's assertions are treated here with more than a modicum of caution. Furthermore, as Morris focussed his attention on the Northern and Eastern regions, his observations may not necessarily be directly applicable to Leeds. However, Morris does provide a useful insight into what was deemed to be representative of the wider Yorkshire region at the time, and thus I utilise his work here not as a scientific record of patterns of use, but rather as a qualitative diagnostic tool to help determine what is stereotypically associated with Yorkshire speech. This is clearly exemplified in some of his remarks regarding production of the definite article, a theme upon which he comments at length (see Chapter Six, this volume for further comments):

> *The abbreviation of 'the' to t' is practically a universal rule...It is scarcely to be wondered at that strangers are given to think that the definite article is omitted in our dialect, if not generally, at least in a great number of cases, for it has that effect with south-countrymen. The truth is that their ears being unused to this shortening of the article, they fail to catch the t'-sound, lightly touched by the tongue as it generally is, especially before consonants. I grant that sometimes it may be omitted in rapid speech, ... but that is not the rule. The rule is in all cases to sound it, and sounded it always should be, however lightly in some connections.* (Morris 1911:53)

Morris is also referred to in Chapter Ten.

### 2.3.4 Hedevind (1967)

Hedevind's work is the result of research conducted during a two-year long stay at the University of Leeds under the supervision of Harold Orton (1967:v-vi). The aim of Hedevind's study was to provide a comprehensive account of the phonology, grammar and vocabulary of Dentdale, a rural community in West Yorkshire (although modern geographical boundaries place Dent in Cumbria, it was formerly within the West Riding of Yorkshire). His analysis is based on conversations held

with Dentdale natives, most of whom were aged sixty or over. The informants were thirteen men and six women from the region and a questionnaire was used to elicit data. Eight of these speakers were recorded onto tape. However, much of Hedevind's work is based on his fieldwork notes. In spite of Dentdale's position as a rural community, the observations made by Hedevind are relevant to the present analysis, as they emanate from data collected from longstanding community members, rather than being based purely upon intuition. Unfortunately, Hedevind makes no quantification of his observations, and as such, any benefit that may have been gained from his use of real data is lost in presentation. Many of Hedevind's observations are in the traditional dialectological style, and rather general comments are numerous, such as the following regarding multiple negation (as in the example given by Hedevind 'I can't get none nowhere'):

> *Double, and sometimes treble, negation is frequent. There is no feeling in the dialect that two negations neutralize each other. The speaker, as it were, spreads the negative colouring over the whole sentence instead of confining it to one place. This is a continuation of ME usage.* (Hedevind 1967:237)

Reference is made to Hedevind (1967) in Chapters Six and Eight.

### 2.3.5 Houck (1968)

As I have utilised sections of the Houck corpus in the present investigation, a detailed explanation of Houck's method and data collection is provided in the methodology chapter (cf. Chapter Five). I thus limit my discussion here to the relevance of Houck's work in light of other investigations of Yorkshire English.

Houck's sociolinguistic investigation of Leeds was among the first in the Labovian mould to take account of data from British English. However, Milroy (1987a:16) is critical of his approach, stating that "Houck gave little indication in his published work of how the speech of his 115 informants was handled... Although he succeeded in obtaining a large amount of representative data, he was not in the end able to find a way of handling it."

Whilst Houck's (1968) publication goes into great detail about his methodology for data collection, more recent work focuses on his linguistic findings. Davis, Houck and Upton (2005) consider realisations of the TRAP, PRICE, SQUARE and

CURE vowels in Houck's data. They note several variations in the pronunciation of these items and suggest that Leeds English in the 1960s was participating in the spread of Received Pronunciation, a conclusion that seems unsubstantiated, given that modern day Leeds English and R.P. are exhibit several differences from one another (some of which are commented upon in this thesis). No reference is made to the social and linguistic conditioning of the variation observed, and, given that they consider no data from more recent times to determine whether the observed pattern has continued, it is difficult to see how their conclusion can be taken as anything other than tentative. Indeed, my own observations as a native Leeds speaker suggest that modern-day Leeds English and R.P. remain substantially different from one another.

Houck's data are a valuable resource for any quantitative investigation of West Yorkshire, providing a real-time reference point for a modern corpus. Whilst the findings to have been drawn thus far from Houck's corpus are limited, there are many aspects of linguistic variation still to be tapped within his data. Specifically, the free-speech portions of his recordings are ripe for sociolinguistic analysis.

### 2.3.6 Tidholm (1979)

*The dialect of Egton in North Yorkshire* provides analysis of data from three generations of Egton residents. Egton is located near the seaside town of Whitby, in the North East of the Yorkshire region, and is in fact much closer to Middlesbrough than any major Yorkshire conurbation. Tidholm's aim was to compare speakers from different generations, and in so doing he collected a sample from fifteen speakers (summarised in Table 2.4), using interview techniques that provided a mixture of formal and casual conversation with informants. Whilst Tidholm's data sample is perhaps not the best example of a balanced sample (containing 12 males but only 3 females), it is among the first apparent-time investigations of Yorkshire English.

| | Old (69-83) | Mid (50-66) | Young (15-33) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Male | 5 | 2 | 5 |
| Female | 0 | 2 | 1 |

*Table 2.4*
Tidholm's sample (1979:11-15)

Analysis of a wide variety of phonological and grammatical variables was produced, charting rates of variability across the three generations interviewed. From the patterns observed, Tidholm makes predictions as to the direction of future changes in the region. He, like many dialectologists of this era, asserts that Standard English has "exerted considerable influence" (1979:150) upon the Egton variety and will continue to do so, with increasing movement towards standardisation and away from traditional dialect features. Part of the reasoning behind this hypothesis is based on the power of larger conurbations:

> *Large cities such as Leeds and Bradford have presumably exerted powerful influence on the surrounding areas economically, culturally and linguistically. After the establishment of a dense network of railways at the end of the 19th century and the concomitant increase of the mobility of people it is possible that Standard English forms spread from these cities...to other urban areas in the North, and only later into the surrounding countryside.*
>
> (Tidholm 1979:152)

Whilst I would disagree with the notion that Leeds is somehow representative of Standard English, the idea that contact and the influence of a local prestige variety could lead to change is relevant to the present research. Tidholm introduces here the idea that Leeds may be some form of regional benchmark, a supra-local 'standard' towards which the Yorkshire region as a whole may be converging. Tidholm (1979) is referenced in chapters 6; 8; 9, and 11.

### 2.3.7 Petyt (1985)

Petyt's research (a published version of his doctoral thesis) on the dialect and accent of industrial West Yorkshire is perhaps the most pertinent among the existing literature to the present study, considering as it does a random sample of speakers from Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield. All these cities have similarities to Leeds in terms of socio-economic status and industrial history.

The motivation for Petyt's work came as a result of his reading traditional dialectology literature such as that mentioned above, and coming to the conclusion that whilst modern speakers "may be able to imitate dialect speakers... in our everyday speech...we are not far from StE" (1985:7). In spite of this, however, Petyt asserts that most members of the community are still recognisably Yorkshire in their

linguistic productions (1985:7). Petyt's assumption here, like so many of the other dialectological contributions mentioned in this section, seems to be that where change occurs, it will be in the direction of standardisation. Indeed, this provides the basis for Petyt's main research question: which features of Yorkshire English persist, and which have been modified towards the Standard (1985:14)?

To this end, Petyt constructed a sample of 106 speakers from the region, using a random sampling technique, choosing informants based on the selection of numbered individuals from the electoral roll. Of these 106 speakers, 56 were males and 50 were females. A range of ages was represented and all but 3 respondents were categorised as working or lower middle-class. His sample construction is shown in Table 2.5.

| | Adults | Adolescents | Total |
|---|---|---|---|
| Bradford | 44 | 4 | 48 |
| Halifax | 25 | 2 | 27 |
| Huddersfield | 29 | 2 | 31 |
| Total | 98 | 8 | 106 |

*Table 2.5*
Petyt's sample (1985:51)

Petyt made initial contact with his informants via a letter detailing the basis for his research and requesting help from the addressee. A personal visit was conducted a few days later to determine whether the letter had been received and to confirm whether the recipient was willing to partake in the study. If willing, an appointment was made to interview the informant in his/her home (with the exception of school-children, who were interviewed in a vacant classroom). Interviews took the form of a questionnaire with several sections, designed to elicit data at a range of levels of formality, and constituted a mixture of casual interview conversations with more formalised tasks such as word lists, reading passages and elicitation of minimal pairs.

In the summary of his findings, Petyt makes a distinction between 'accent' features and 'dialect' features, claiming that features of the traditional West Yorkshire dialect (vocabulary and grammatical constructions) have largely made way for more 'Standard' patterns, but that traditional accent features (i.e. those of phonological realisation) remain. One possible reason offered by Petyt (1985:343) is that accent features are not subject to overt pressure in schools in the same way as

dialect features are. Where Standard patterns prevail, it is mostly the middle classes leading the change, and women in any class group appear to accept changes more quickly than men. Petyt also reports that his informants often claimed to be recognisable by other speakers as 'Northern' but rarely more precisely than this, which implies that the remaining traditional features are not, by and large, distinctive ones.

The geographical proximity of Petyt's research area to Morley, the congruity between the social composition of Morley with the towns in Petyt's study, the similarity in methodologies, and the fact that he considered speakers across the generations, make his findings a useful basis for predictions about Leeds. Given the extensive range of variables covered by Petyt, it is possible to present findings and comments on the distribution of various features from his analysis. This is undertaken in the relevant results chapters. In terms of his overall conclusions, it will be worth noting whether similar patterns of distinction between features of 'accent' and features of 'dialect' are observed. Reference to Petyt (1985) is made in Chapters Six, Seven, Eight, Nine, Ten and Eleven.

### 2.3.8 Summary of dialectology literature

The dialectology literature is useful in helping to establish the longevity of various non-standard features in the Yorkshire regions. Furthermore, there appears to have been a clear prediction among many dialectological contributors (Morris 1911; Tidholm 1979; Petyt 1985, and Davis, Houck and Upton 2005) that, where change were to occur in Yorkshire varieties, it would be in the direction of the standard language (or, in Davis *et al.'s* case, R.P.). This hypothesis is in conflict with the sociolinguistic literature, which predicts the eradication of local features too, but rather by their replacement with supra-local non-standard features. Both claims are testable in the data, and the direction of change (or indeed, whether change occurs at all) is one focus of this investigation.

## 2.4 Outstanding questions

I have presented here a review of some of the existing literature, in order to situate the present research in its appropriate setting. However, the current position in the literature leaves a number of questions unanswered. For example, the literature on contact-induced processes has thus far been focussed on phonological features: what about other levels of the linguistic repertoire? Are morphosyntactic and lexical variables affected by contact to the same degree as phonological variation? Whilst Britain (2002c) and Cheshire, Williams and Kerswill (2005) go some way towards providing an answer to this question, more research is needed to further clarify the effect of contact upon morphosyntactic and lexical variables.

Furthermore, the issue of how levelling and retention of traditional dialect features can cohabit within the same speech community must be addressed. Most of the studies discussed in this chapter have focussed either on diffusion and levelling *or* retention of distinctiveness, leaving the question of how these processes inter-relate largely unanswered. There appears to be an assumption in the literature that dialects are either converging upon each other or diverging (or at least maintaining their existing distance) from one another. Is it possible that speakers can 'have their cake and eat it' in this regard, accepting diffusing features whilst simultaneously maintaining features more emblematic of the traditional local variety? Foulkes and Docherty (1999:13) believe that speakers can do this, and make a clear prediction as to how these aims are achieved:

> *There appears to be a tension between speakers' desire to continue signalling loyalty to their local community by using local speech norms, and a concurrent urge to appear outward-looking or more cosmopolitan...speakers can achieve these aims by avoiding variants which they perceive to be particularly indicative of their local roots, while at the same time adopting some features which are perceived to be non-local. It seems important, too, that the incoming features do not signal any other particularly well-defined variety, because of the potential signalling of disloyalty to local norms. This is especially true where the standard is concerned.*

This prediction can be tested by incorporating into the analysis features with differing degrees of traditionalism to the variety under investigation, in order to see

whether features perceived as 'local' are avoided and those which are deemed 'non-local' adopted.

Lastly, a crucial component of our understanding of the Northern varieties must be inclusion of all the major urban contributors. The industrial cities of West Yorkshire have been overlooked in the last two decades by all except Petyt (1985), and there is no recent quantified sociolinguistic analysis of any West Yorkshire variety. The inclusion of Morley here seeks to redress this balance.

These issues must be given further attention in sociolinguistic research, and as such I take them as a basis for the present investigation. In the following chapter, I set out my own research goals for the present study, incorporating the themes expounded in this chapter.

# CHAPTER 3
# RESEARCH GOALS

## 3.0 OVERVIEW

I provide here an examination of the research goals of this thesis, which have been formulated as a result of the 'outstanding questions' section at the end of the LITERATURE REVIEW, and which are recapitulated here from the introduction chapter:

I. In what ways are diffusion, levelling and retention of traditional dialect features observable within the same community?
II. How does a community negotiate linguistic identity in the face of increased contact and perceived homogeneity?
III. Which (if any) traditional features of the Morley variety are subject to levelling, and which are retained?
IV. Which (if any) external features are diffusing into the Morley variety as a result of increased contact?
V. How do the answers to the previous questions further inform our understanding of sociolinguistic variation and change?

I separate these research goals into two sections: firstly I examine the general theoretical themes central to this investigation (goals I and II); secondly, I address the community-specific research questions for this project (goals III and IV). Naturally, the answers to the latter will inform the discussion of the former; as such goal V attempts to draw the research together.

## 3.1 THEORETICAL THEMES (GOALS I AND II)

In answering research goals I and II, I seek to further illuminate our theoretical and practical understanding of contact-induced change. Let us first consider the concept of dialect levelling.

Our current understanding of dialect levelling is embodied in a number of definitions, yet one which fully captures the complexity of the issue at hand has proven elusive. Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005:11) use the term *dialect levelling* to describe "the process which reduces variation both within and between dialects," This seems too vague to be classed as a definitive statement of the levelling process, and indeed Maguire (2007) critiques this idea of 'reduction of differences', stating that whilst modern varieties of English do show evidence of exogenous change, they are not necessarily any more similar to one another than they were before the change began. Maguire takes as an example the case of TH-fronting, widely described as 'levelling' across varieties of British English. He states that pre-twentieth century dialects did not have fronted (TH) forms and that this is a more recent innovation. As such, if the first stage of the process of change for this variable is one whereby no variety exhibits the fronted variants, and the last stage is (hypothetically, as this has not yet occurred) a state whereby every dialect has only fronted variants, then this cannot be described as a 'reduction of differences,' as the dialects concerned are no more alike at the end of the process (when they have only fronted variants) than they were at the beginning (when they had only the inter-dental variants). Maguire (2007) concludes that it is our current position in the interim stages of such a change, whereby we have observed the spread of TH-fronting from the first recipient dialects to other dialects, that has led us to misinterpret this process as 'levelling.' The same conclusion could be reached for other levelling accounts, and Maguire's comments serve to caution us that a 'reduction of difference' approach to contact-induced changes may only account for part of the change process rather than all of it. However, as long as we acknowledge that levelling as a reductive process occurs as a result of the additive process of diffusion, and that these two mechanisms cannot be used to describe change in its entirety, but rather are part of an ongoing process, then the interpretation of levelling as a reduction in the number of variants available becomes somewhat more satisfactory.

For Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill (2005:12) the term *dialect supralocalisation* refers to "the loss of distinctiveness at the local level in favour of distinctiveness at the regional level," However, whilst more detailed than their description of levelling, this definition is no more adequate: the difference between local and regional is more of a cline than a set of discretely identified boundaries.

Indeed, Beal (2006:4) considers the notion of region to be defined as, "whatever geographical areas are considered distinct from each other by the people living in them." Taking this perspective, the definition of distinctiveness and at what level it can be identified seems somewhat subjective: British and American English can be said to be distinctive from one another, but does this mean Britain and America are regions, and thus any distinction maintained within either must be deemed local? If so, should we establish English and Scots as distinct from one another at the local level? Or is this still regional and can we define the difference between, say, Edinburgh and Aberdeen as local? The heart of this problem seems to lie in the potential for misinterpretation of the terms 'local' and 'regional'. As such, I would caution against the application of such terms without a more precisely defined distinction being made between them. What is deemed by the speech community (or indeed, the sociolinguistic researcher) to be a 'localised' feature may in fact be more widespread (or, in other words, regional) than popular opinion would suggest. Neither term possesses a sufficiently concrete boundary: at what point is a linguistic feature sufficiently widespread that is ceases to be 'local'?

In order to avoid this potential for confusion, I instead adopt the term 'traditional' in this thesis. Traditional features are those which have a longstanding association with the dialect of the speech community without the complications of establishing geographical boundaries. 'Traditional' encapsulates the understanding of 'local,' in that it implies strong links with a community's heritage and culture, without the implication that any given community are the only people in existence to use the feature. What impact is had by dialect levelling upon 'traditional' dialect features?

For Milroy (2002b:7), levelling entails "the eradication of socially or locally marked variants...in conditions of social or geographical mobility and resultant dialect contact." However, this definition does not appear to fully capture the nature of dialect levelling either. Surely socially marked variants are those which are evidenced as subject to social stigma. Therefore, socially stigmatised variants are expected to be 'victims' of dialect levelling processes. However, existing case studies appear to suggest that, in some cases, the opposite is in fact true: T-glottaling and TH-fronting, for example, could well be described as 'socially marked,' but have been shown to spread, increasing in use across the U.K. (see chapters 11 and 12 of

this thesis for a review of the existing position on these two variables). Thus, it seems reasonable to say that whilst levelling may involve the eradication of what Milroy terms locally marked features, socially marked features may not be as susceptible.

Furthermore, locally marked features (or, given the previous discussion, perhaps we might say, traditional features) may indeed not always be as susceptible to dialect levelling as the literature suggests. There is some evidence already that suggests traditional features are retained for purposes of maintenance of linguistic distinctiveness: for example, as we have already discussed in the LITERATURE REVIEW, Watson (2006) has shown that Liverpool has largely resisted the spread of the glottal variant of (t) and has retained the more traditional (and, in this case, highly localised) Scouse feature '/t/→[h]'.

It would seem, then, that whilst 'socially and locally marked variants' may be eradicated as a result of levelling, it is not the case that they will always be so. In this case, we must establish whether or not we are indeed witnessing levelling, but with different variants to those anticipated being eradicated, or whether it is more accurate to say that, where socially and locally marked features are retained, a different process of change is at work. Following this train of thought, it is necessary that we consider further the notion of distinctiveness. Within British sociolinguistic investigation, the concept of linguistic distinctiveness in urban dialects has not as yet been evaluated to its full extent, and the idea that contact can induce 'lack of change' has not yet been subject to careful scrutiny. One key notion we have yet to consider is how the concept of linguistic distinctiveness is negotiated, and how identity is constructed, in the face of increased levelling and perceived homogeneity. The existing literature details extensively the impact of dialect levelling in many urban British dialects (for example Newcastle (Watt and Milroy 1999), Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull (Williams and Kerswill 1999; Cheshire et al 2005) and St. Helens (Watson 2007)) and examples of highly distinctive speech communities are also readily available, be they relic dialect areas, such as Buckie (Smith 2000); or urban centres with a much larger degree of social mobility, such as Liverpool (Watson 2002, 2007). Limited examples of both levelling and maintenance in the same community are already documented - for example Corby (Dyer 2002) - but there is little direct emphasis on how the two processes inter-relate. I consider in this thesis

whether (and if so, how) levelling and linguistic distinctiveness (two seemingly exclusive concepts) cohabit within the same community.

These theoretical goals will, I hope, allow for developed understanding of the nature of contact-induced processes and their outcomes. However, in considering Morley as a case study from which more general conclusions can be made, there are also a number of specific findings to be made as regards Morley itself. I now turn to the community-specific goals of this thesis.

## 3.2 COMMUNITY-SPECIFIC THEMES (GOALS III AND IV)

As further described in the COMMUNITY chapter, Morley has seen dynamic changes both in terms of its social standing and geographical connections over the last half-century. To the external observer, Morley appears to be 'upwardly mobile': regeneration is rife, with improved roads, schools, shops, infrastructure, housing and jobs. However, to the most enduring members of Morley's community, their town is in a state of *decline*: loss of their local way of life, traditional industries, trades and autonomy from the wider world. 'Incoming' community members are perceived to have little or no sense of heritage, and their lack of interest in 'community issues' is noted with disapproval by those with long-standing familial ties.

As such, Morley can be anticipated to be an extremely interesting linguistic community. All the conditions are present for contact-induced changes to take place, and yet the conservatism Morley inhabitants exhibit when confronted by other forms of change in their community would suggest that language variation may also be more conservative than expected, given the present social conditions. It remains to be seen whether Morley speakers, like those in so many other communities, will accept the supra-localised features in spite of the preference displayed by the community in non-linguistic arenas for more locally identifiable practices.

Research goals III and IV are crucial to our understanding here. In examining which traditional dialect features are retained and which are levelled, it is possible to see the effect that increased social and geographical mobility has had upon the Morley language variety: increased levelling would suggest that the local accent and dialect are moving in the same direction as many other aspects of the Morley

traditional culture, i.e. away from a traditional identity. On the other hand, if supra-localism is resisted, then this suggests that the community members are retaining some emblematic features, potentially in an attempt to preserve some degree of linguistic distinctiveness and community identity. Similarly, acceptance of or resistance to diffusing forms will illuminate the degree to which distinctiveness is retained, or supra-localism adopted.

Of course, it may well be that what is actually observed is some mixture of the two. It is unlikely that either extreme – total acceptance of all levelling and diffusing features, or total resistance to them – occurs in practice. A more probable outcome is partial levelling, with some traditional features in decline in favour of more widely accepted norms, and some retained, emblematic of the local traditions and heritage. Moreover, in this case, *which* features are retained and which are levelled/diffused will be a noteworthy detail, and may well further illuminate our understanding of the relationship between supra-localism and distinctiveness. The inclusion of variables from three different levels of the language is important here: by comparing the phonological patterns of change in Morley with the morphosyntactic and lexical ones, it may be possible to discern whether different linguistic levels behave in similar or different ways. Whilst on the community specific level this permits a much more holistic picture of the Morley variety to emerge, on the theoretical level too, this will permit us to develop our comprehension of the relationship between phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical change.

## 3.3 Overall research objective (Goal V)

In deliberating on these themes, I hope to address the overall research objective here, which is to further our understanding of the motivations, mechanisms and outcomes of social change in a linguistic community. In focussing on the competing themes of linguistic change and dialect maintenance, I hope to illuminate our understanding of the way in which these issues work together. This will improve our knowledge of sociolinguistic variation and change, helping us to comprehend the relationship between linguistic change and regional identity. In comparing different types of

variation (phonological, morphosyntactic and lexical) it is my intention to contribute towards our understanding of the relationship between these different levels of the language construct.

## 3.4 CHAPTER SUMMARY

I have deliberated upon the research goals to be addressed in this thesis and have identified five key questions for which I seek to provide answers. In the next chapter, I describe the historical and cultural position of Morley, its relationship to the larger conurbation of Leeds, and the current situation of Morley in sociolinguistic and socio-cultural terms.

# CHAPTER 4
# THE COMMUNITY

## 4.1 INTRODUCTION

Morley is located approximately five miles South-West of Leeds city centre. Its precise location is shown in Figure 4.1. I seek here to give evidence of the suitability of Morley for the investigation of contact-induced change. I first provide a historical background to the community (both Morley itself and Leeds as a whole), then further elucidate the present situation in order to show how the community has changed socially over the last half-century. I finally consider the implications that social change in Morley has for language change within the community.

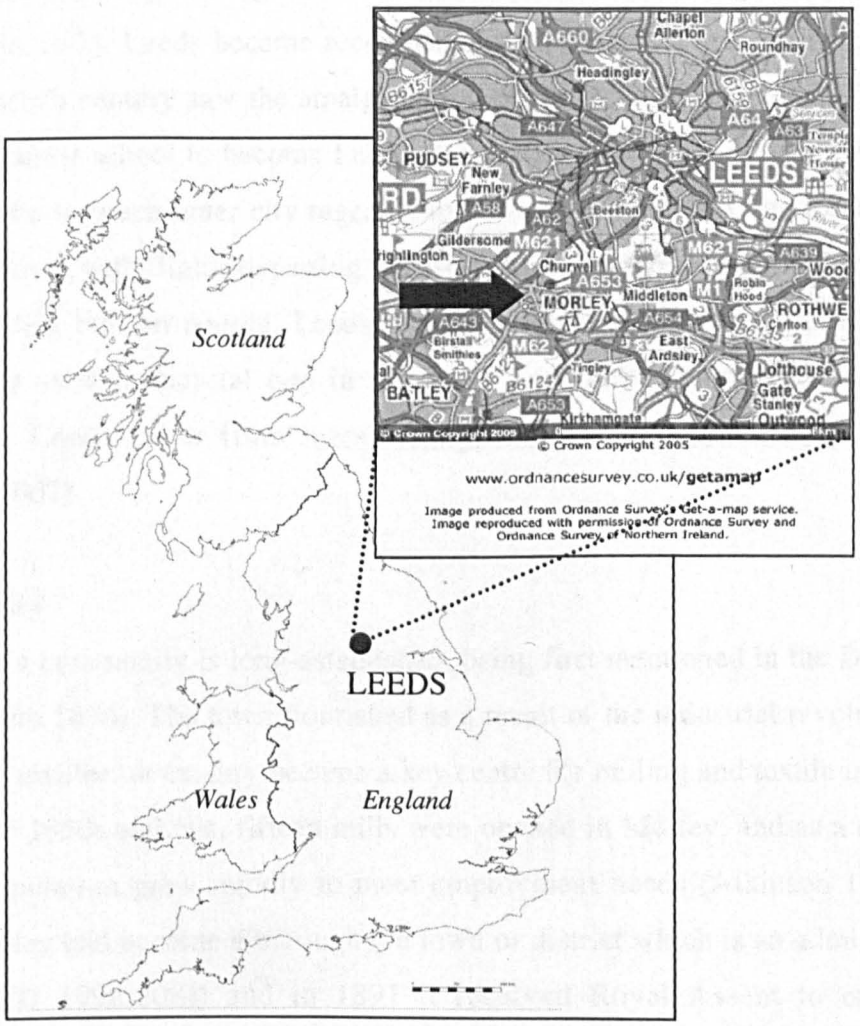


*Figure 4.1*
Location of Morley

## 4.2 HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

### 4.2.1 Leeds

The settlement of Leeds is thought to date back as far as the seventh century A.D. It was originally known as Loidis, then became Leodis, Ledes, and finally Leeds, although the name originally referred to the whole district, which covered a range of about ten miles' radius from the current city centre. Leeds as a town did not achieve full recognition until 1207.

The industrial revolution was of immense benefit to the area, and the completion of the Leeds-Liverpool canal in 1816 undoubtedly aided the establishment of Leeds as a national centre for manufacture and marketing. As such, Leeds became an engineering industrial centre, as well as having a strong mining industry. In 1893, Leeds became recognised as a city rather than a town, and the early twentieth century saw the amalgamation of the Yorkshire College of Science and the medical school to become Leeds University. Post-Second World War slum clearance led to much inner city regeneration. With a direct train link to London, a regional airport with flights departing to destinations across Europe and a population of over half a million people, Leeds today is a thriving urban centre, and is the largest and most influential city in the West Yorkshire region. (Information on history of Leeds taken from www.leeds.gov.uk/About Leeds/History, accessed February 2007).

### 4.2.2 Morley

Morley as a community is long-established, being first mentioned in the Domesday Book (Smith 1876). The town flourished as a result of the industrial revolution and during the nineteenth century became a key centre for milling and textile industries. During the 1850s and 60s, fifteen mills were opened in Morley, and as a result the town's population grew rapidly to meet employment needs (Atkinson 1985). By 1890, Morley had become a borough ("a town or district which is an administrative unit" (OED 1998:208)) and in 1891 it received Royal Assent to extend its boundaries with the inclusion of Churwell and West Ardsley (Atkinson 1985). In 1895 the town hall (which still survives today) was opened by the Rt. Hon. Herbert

Asquith (who, as Prime Minister from 1908-1916, is widely regarded as Morley's most famous resident). During the 1920s Morley survived a petition for Leeds to be permitted to expand its boundaries and incorporate Morley as part of the larger conurbation. The extension of the Morley borough boundary in 1936 led to the inclusion of Ardsley, Drighlington and Gildersome as wards of Morley (Atkinson 1985).

Census data in Figure 4.2 from 1921-31 and 1951-2001 (no census was conducted in 1941 due to the country being at war) show how the Morley community expanded during the twentieth century. The most recent census indicates that Morley is now a sizeable urbanised area, with a population of almost 60,000 inhabitants.

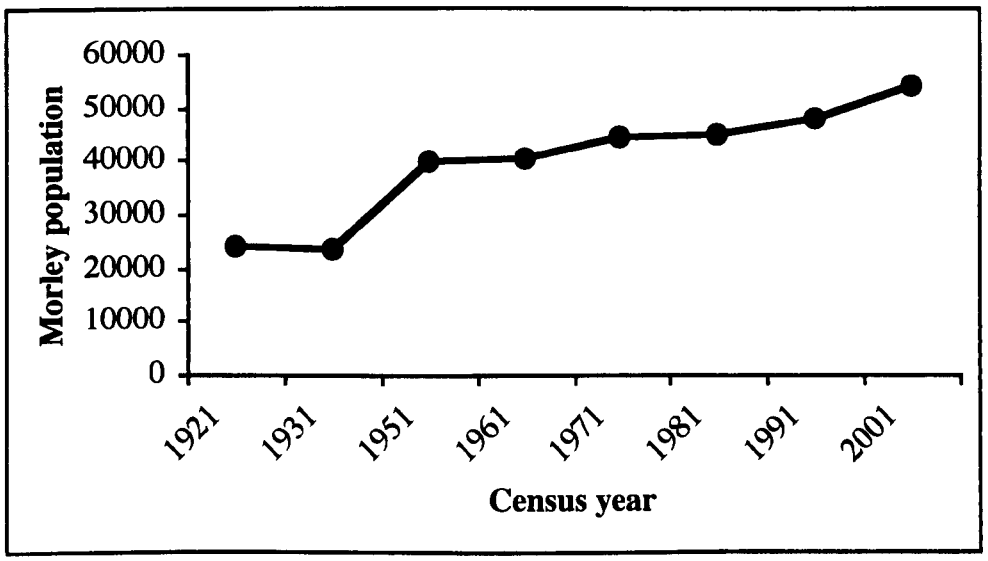


*Figure 4.2*
Population of Morley 1921-2001

The census data also contain useful information as to the social construction of the Morley community. The manner in which census data are represented has changed over time, making it somewhat difficult to show directly comparable results; however, the occupation groupings shown in Tables 4.1 and 4.2 demonstrate, to some extent, the social enhancements to have taken place in Morley over the last half century. Here I represent data from 1961 and 2001, as these are the two census reports taken closest to the time which the two data samples utilised in this project were collated (Houck's corpus in the 1960s, my own Morley corpus in 2005). The 1961 census gave raw numbers for occupation groups rather than percentages; thus

the percentages shown here for 1961 were arrived at by totalling the raw numbers for all occupation groups, assuming this total to be 100% of the working age population, and representing the raw number for each occupation group as a percentage of the total across occupation groups. Figures for Leeds are shown for comparative purposes.

| | LEEDS | MORLEY |
|---|---|---|
| *Population (including non-workers)* | *510,676* | *40,338* |
| *Total employed population below* | *317,900* | *26,010* |
| EMPLOYMENT SECTOR | % OF EMPLOYED POPULATION | |
| Employers/Managers: large establishments[1] | 50.74 | 50.87 |
| Employers/Managers: small establishments | 1.74 | 1.61 |
| Professional workers: self employed | 3.00 | 2.50 |
| Professional workers: employees | 0.32 | 0.27 |
| Intermediate non-manual workers | 1.21 | 0.54 |
| Junior non-manual workers | 1.72 | 1.61 |
| Personal service workers | 7.01 | 5.42 |
| Foremen and supervisors: manual | 0.33 | 0.15 |
| Skilled manual workers | 1.64 | 2.85 |
| Semi-skilled manual workers | 19.25 | 18.88 |
| Unskilled manual workers | 6.67 | 9.57 |
| Own account workers | 4.41 | 3.27 |
| Farmers: employers and managers | 1.90 | 2.04 |
| Farmers: own account | 0.03 | 0.31 |
| Agricultural workers | 0.02 | 0.12 |

*Table 4.1*
Occupation groups for Leeds and Morley (1961 census)

| | LEEDS | MORLEY |
|---|---|---|
| *Population (including non-workers)* | *443,247* | *54,051* |
| *All people aged 16-74 in employment* | *185,985* | *28,234* |
| EMPLOYMENT SECTOR | % OF EMPLOYED POPULATION | |
| Managers and senior officials | 11.71 | 14.73 |
| Professional occupations | 11.62 | 7.54 |
| Associate professional/technical occupations | 13.02 | 13.04 |
| Administration and secretarial occupations | 13.60 | 15.46 |
| Skilled trades | 9.98 | 12.75 |
| Personal service occupations | 7.65 | 5.92 |
| Sales and customer services | 9.59 | 9.46 |
| Process, plant and machine operatives | 8.20 | 9.64 |
| Elementary occupations | 14.61 | 11.45 |

*Table 4.2*
Occupation groups for Leeds and Morley (2001 census)

[1] This includes managers and employers in industry, which covers the mills and textile factories.

Whilst the census does not group occupations in precisely the same way in 2001 as it did in 1961, it is clear from Table 4.1 that the population of Morley in 2001 is much more evenly spread across the occupation types than it was in 1961, when around half of the working population were employers and managers (most likely in the mills), and over a quarter were manual workers (skilled and unskilled). By comparison, less than 10% of the working population in 2001 were involved in process, plant and machinery work (which is where the mill workers would be categorised, were the mills still in operation today). Thus we may infer that Morley is no longer the highly industrialised, working class community that it was in the 1960s, but rather, social levelling has created a more representative spread.

Furthermore, it is clear from the census that, in terms of social construction, Morley is highly representative of Leeds in spite of its autonomous historical position. The employment demographics for Morley and Leeds are distributed in a rather similar fashion to one another in both the 1961 and the 2001 census.

*4.2.2a Loss of autonomy*

Morley remained an autonomous borough separate from the city of Leeds until the latter half of the twentieth century. However, during the 1960s the first in a series of changes that were to have a lasting effect upon the town occurred. Firstly, the mills began to close. Up until this point, the community had centred itself around the mills, and thus their closure not only removed from the town the industry which had provided the mainstay of employment for community members for the preceding hundred years, it also led to the breakdown of tight-knit social networks. Secondly, the construction of three major new motorway links was undertaken: the M1, which is the main north-south transport highway in the U.K.; the M62, a major East-West traffic link; and the M621, which connects the M62 to Leeds city centre. These three new roads encircled Morley, and provided community members with more direct links to the wider geographical area. Lastly, in 1974, Morley lost its independent borough status and was amalgamated within the Leeds city authorities, despite strong objections from local inhabitants. The 'Morley Community Archives' (www.morleyarchives.ik.com, accessed November 2006) is an online resource maintained by local people with an interest in preserving Morley history for future generations. The archive is largely based upon materials bequeathed by local

historian David Atkinson. The archive provides details of a plebiscite organised by Morley council and held in October 1971, at which 42% of Morley inhabitants turned out to vote. Of these 98.5% were against a Leeds take-over. (Tetley (2006), 'Morley Community Archives').

Further evidence of the opinions held by community members regarding the amalgamation can be found in the data collected for this project, as exemplified in (1) and (2):

(1) *Leeds have taken over from Morley council, we've been sort of been amalgamated into part of Leeds now...it seemed to just happen overnight, you know, we'd no say in the matter. It was thrust upon us* (Jill, Morley working sample)

(2) *She [informant's mother] was dead against it...even to the extent that...she wouldn't write her address down and then give the postcode, because it had a Leeds postcode and we weren't Leeds, we were Morley* (Adrian, Morley working sample)

There is a sense among the retired and working generations of the community that these changes heralded 'the beginning of the end' for Morley as a community, and that ever since Morley has been in a state of increasing decline, with loss of traditional industry, deterioration of the town shopping precinct and blurring of community boundaries. Evidence of this can be found in the comments from community members shown in (3)-(6):

(3) *It used to be a place of mills, but course it isn't now...yes, knocked them all down.* (Josie, retired sample)

(4) *A lot of the industries that were there when we were young people like the farming, the coalmines, the mills, the railways, they're all sort of now really diminished to nothing you know. And of course, corner shops and things like that – every sort of village had its own butcher, baker, general grocer, you know, greengrocer. All as separate – all as separate shops, you know. But you know, like the supermarkets have changed all that and I don't think, many times, for the better.* (Barry, retired sample)

(5) *I think Morley itself's on its way out, yeah I do. I mean when you look round now at all there is – the majority of the shops in Morley now are either charity shops or takeaways and that's not enough to keep it going.* (Evan, working sample)

(6) *Yeah, but you used to have like, Morley didn't you? And then you'd have a gap and you'd have Churwell, or you'd have a gap and you had Gildersome, a gap and you'd have Drighlington, gap and you'd have Tingley. Now it's just merged into one big hasn't it, there's no greenbelt land.* (Penny, working sample)

The student generation shares some of these sentiments, but not all of them, as shown by the comments in (7) and (8) from one student male, Martin. Like Penny in (6) above, Martin recognises that Tingley and Morley are supposed to be separate communities, but acknowledges that he finds difficulty in determining where one ends and the other begins. He can't really think of anything good to say about either community except that Tingley has 'plenty of chip shops.' He goes on in (8) to contrast Morley with Wakefield and Leeds, and seems to treat Morley as within the larger Leeds district. Throughout the interview, his view of Leeds is demonstrably more positive than his view of Morley.

(7) *To be honest, I don't know where Morley becomes Tingley either. Ø all blends together, there's not- well Ø got plenty of chip shops, I suppose. That's about the distinguishing feature of Tingley...to be honest I don't do that much sort of in the immediate area.* (Martin, student)

(8) *It's like, around here there's sort of a lot of – cos as we were saying yeah there's not a lot to choose between Tingley and Morley, and then there's places like Wakefield, which is sort of quite big but not really, so everyone – it's sort of – the people who consider themselves to live in Leeds, it's not just people who actually live even particularly close to the city – the city centre itself, it covers quite a lot of – quite a lot of the area.* (Martin, student)

To a certain extent the closure of the mills, the construction of the motorways and the amalgamation into Leeds appear to have had a 'knock-on' effect in Morley. New housing estates have been constructed to accommodate the influx of commuters wishing to live close to the new transport links, two national supermarket chains

have moved into the town, leading to the closure of many local independent businesses, and an out-of-town shopping centre has been opened on the outskirts of Morley. The last is seen by many as contributing to the decline of Morley's central shopping precinct. Indeed, by many accounts, Morley has all but lost its traditional sense of spirit and identity, making an almost complete transformation from industrial centre to commuter suburb over the last forty years.

### 4.3 A PRIME SITE FOR LINGUISTIC ANALYSIS?

From a tight-knit textile community in the early part of the twentieth century to the modern day position of Morley as a suburban commuter town, the social, cultural and economic changes in Morley are such that we may predict confidently that this community is a prime site for the investigation of language change. Indeed, Morley is eminently suitable for linguistic analysis: many community members have a long-standing familial connection to the town, thus allowing for a sample to be constructed of Morley 'natives'; the oldest members of this sample remember the traditional Morley, with its dense community centred around the mills, whilst the youngest members know Morley as nothing other than a commuter town and a suburb of Leeds. Through analysis of these two community 'extremes' and the intermediate generation (who were children or young adults at the time of amalgamation and have witnessed the recent changes first hand) we are able to document the occurring patterns of language change, and may begin to discern whether these changes are a direct consequence of the increased social and geographic contact which has been observed in Morley since the 1960s.

### 4.4 LANGUAGE-SPECIFIC COMMUNITY COMMENTS

Interestingly, the views and opinions of community members on the local language variety seem to differ for each generation, as is evident from the comments made by informants during their interviews. The retired generation hold to the opinion that Morley represents 'broad Yorkshire,' and when asked whether or not they liked the

Yorkshire accent, two of the retired speakers in the sample contributed the following (9):

(9) Edith: *Er well we talk Yorkshire don't we?*
Ernie: *Aye but when you get to Morley though- Morley itself had- it was broad Yorkshire, what you called broad Yorkshire.*
Edith: *Broad Yorkshire yeah.*
Ernie: *You get that- it was caused as much as anything I reckon with all t'mills. Everybody worked in t'mills you see, I mean there were fifty mills in Morley in t'old days...because of that you seem to get this broad-broad Yorkshire.*

The association of the traditional 'broad Yorkshire' with the mills evidences the dense social network structure that existed within the milling community. However, note also that the speakers refer to Morley's 'broad Yorkshire' in the past tense: there is a feeling that Morley is no longer representative of 'broad' Yorkshire in its truest form.

The working generation has also noticed changes over the course of time, as shown in extract (10):

(10) *I don't register any of my friends having an accent but we're probably all the same. I think nowadays you bump into people with accents a lot more than what you used to do, you know, with travel and everything. And I suppose years ago when people didn't travel as much you got your own local accent and it's like if you went anywhere else they'd be able to tell you where you came from straight away but nowadays I think that everything's you know- everything's slightly mellowing.* (Pete, Morley working generation)

However, this same speaker still maintains that he has a 'Yorkshire' identity, shown in his comments in (11):

(11) *When you go on holiday anywhere it's like er- everybody always picks up on your Yorkshire accent straight away. Not so much N__ [his wife] cos she's not got much of an accent but I know I have. And everybody picks up on it straight away. And it's, "ah Yorkie, Yorkie!"* (Pete, Morley working generation)

The notion of Yorkshire identity also carries through to the younger generation in Morley, as can be seen by the extract in (12). This speaker emphasises the difference between his local accent and other Northern varieties. However, it appears that this generation is also more aware of the linguistic changes that have occurred over time than are their older counterparts, as the extract in (13) shows. Note that Scott (in contrast with Ernie, excerpt 9) considers 'broad' Yorkshire still to be in use within the community. However, he restricts his interpretation of 'broad' Yorkshire to the oldest community members; the 'broad Yorkshire' examples provided are attributed to his grandfather.

(12) *Well since we're very young, we're known as- the way we speak is normal and you know, if you...speak to someone from Liverpool or up north, you say, "oh they've got an accent." And you know for us it's like, "we're normal, everyone else is, you know, varied and different." And I don't think it's til you reach, you know, our age, maybe slightly younger, that you actually realise, you know, we are an accent, you know, we are a dialect, we are different to everybody else.* (Scott, Morley student generation)

(13) *I think around Leeds it varies a bit, you've got erm people who speak more predominant Standard English than others... then you get some people who speak with what some people might describe as a much more rough accent. More erm countryside-ish and so forth. You know with the broad Yorkshire and stuff. That's what my granddad uses quite a bit. With his "ee by heck," and his ginnels and his* [kʊɪlʊɪl] *coal hole.* (Scott, Morley student generation)

These comments from community members are insightful, and certainly provide a useful starting point for the consideration of contact-induced change in Morley. The strong association people make between 'broad Yorkshire' speech and the milling industry leads one to ask, given the demise of the mills in the town, what has happened to the 'broad Yorkshire' linguistic features of the Morley variety? The local community certainly seem to attribute these features to only the oldest and longest-standing members of the town, suggesting that the social changes that have occurred in Morley over the decades have also impacted upon language change.

## 4.5 Chapter Summary

Given the changes in socio-economic status, geographic mobility and community network structure over the last fifty years, we can predict that strong motivations exist for language change in Morley. Comments from community members suggest that some changes have already taken place, and are conspicuously visible across the generations. However, what all three generations appear to have in common is the strong assertion that they are 'Yorkshire' speakers. This assertion may prove to have an impact on the patterns of change observable in the community.

In this chapter I have presented strong evidence for Morley as a prime site for testing processes of language change that are related to increased social and geographic contact outside the immediate community. In the next chapter, I present the methodology employed in this investigation, and introduce the data to be considered in the remainder of this thesis.

# CHAPTER 5
# METHODOLOGY

## 5.0 OVERVIEW

In this chapter I present the methodology employed for the present research. Broadly speaking, the methodology follows that of Labovian quantitative sociolinguistics. Below I explain each stage of this project in turn and, where appropriate, give examples from the work undertaken. I begin by introducing the two corpora of data used in this investigation. I then present data collection methods for each corpus and progress to discuss transcription, extraction of variable tokens, and analysis.

## 5.1 CORPORA

The data for this project come from two corpora. The first was collected in Leeds in the 1960s by Charles Houck, and the second is a three-generation apparent-time sample I collected myself in Morley in 2005.

### 5.1.1 The Houck data

Houck's work in Leeds was carried out during his time as an American Fulbright Scholar at the University of Leeds in the mid 1960s. He adopted a Labovian random sampling technique for eliciting a large corpus of data, after hearing of Labov's methods at the 1964 Linguistics Institute meeting (Houck pc). According to Upton (2002), Houck's methods were 'revolutionary' in British dialectology and his data were among the first to be collected in the U.K. according to Labovian principles. This makes the Houck corpus a rich resource in terms of the present study, as it contributes comparable real-time data to the modern day Leeds corpus.

Houck's method of obtaining his data was as follows: 115 speakers living in the inner city areas of Leeds were chosen by random selection of one household from each quarter kilometre square on an Ordnance Survey map of residential areas, then by randomly selecting one household member to participate in the study, who agreed

to be visited by Houck and provide a sample of data. The data in the Houck corpus were collected via a word elicitation task (Houck 1968:119). In order to elicit extended speech in a more casual style, Houck used Labov's 'danger of death' question, and asked informants to recall an amusing event or occurrence (1968:127). The data were recorded on a Uher 4000L Report portable tape recorder (1968:127). More recently these data have been digitised by researchers at the National Centre for English Cultural Tradition, University of Sheffield. NATCECT supplied me with copies of the digitised Houck data.

For the present investigation, I have gained permission from Professor Houck to utilise his data, and a copy of his written permission is displayed in Appendix 1. Although Houck included no speakers from Morley itself in his sample, he did record speakers from within the wider Morley borough area. Thus, in order to control for direct comparability with my own data as much as possible, I have selected the speakers shown (at the time of recording) to have been living in Churwell (within Morley borough) and Middleton (a neighbouring suburb to Morley). This provided a sample of fifteen speakers. On listening to the data from these speakers, two were excluded on the basis that they were not native to Leeds (one female (H106) informs Houck that she was raised in Wales, and one male (H108) displays features particular to Tyneside English (for example, [ʊə] and [ɪə] for GOAT and FACE vowels respectively)). This leaves a sample of thirteen speakers in the Houck corpus who are shown to have been living in or around the Morley borough area at the time of recording. Whilst ages are not provided in Houck (1968), I have been informed (Houck, pc) that each speaker was asked to indicate which age bracket they fell into from a chart divided into 5-year groupings. Their indications are provided in Table1. Taking the top end of each age group as an assumed age in 1968, had these speakers been alive today and interviewed in 2005 with the rest of the Morley sample, they would be between 70 and 107 years old.

In limiting the data used from the Houck corpus to those speakers who lived in or near the Morley borough area, a reliable 'real-time' fourth generation is added to the Morley corpus. In Table 5.1 below I present the Houck sample as used in this research.

| Soundfile no. (Provided by Houck) | Age | Sex | Pseudonym (Provided by myself) |
|---|---|---|---|
| 103 | 66-70 | F | Hilda |
| 104 | 51-55 | F | Doris |
| 109 | 56-60 | F | Barbara |
| 110 | 56-60 | F | Felicity |
| 111 | 46-50 | F | Hilary |
| 113 | 66-70 | F | Harriet |
| 104 | 51-55 | M | Donald |
| 105 | 51-55 | M | Henry |
| 109 | 56-60 | M | Bernie |
| 110 | 56-60 | M | Fred |
| 112 | 36-40 | M | Harold |
| 114 | 41-45 | M | Howard |
| 115 | 61-65 | M | Herbert |

*Table 5.1*
Speakers utilised from Houck sample

5.1.1a *Limitations of the Houck corpus*

In using the Houck data in this way, there are of course several limitations. Firstly, I could not control for the quality or quantity of data per speaker. The majority of the free speech recordings in the Houck data are only around five minutes in length, meaning that there are comparatively few tokens per speaker relative to the Morley corpus. One potential solution to this problem would have been to include more speakers; however, as it was important to limit the Houck informants utilised to those from the same geographical region as the Morley speakers, this was not considered to be a viable option. The balance between having sufficient amounts of data and that data being reliably comparable to the modern sample was an important consideration, and although adding more speakers to the sample from the Houck corpus would have provided more tokens, it would have meant using speakers from other locations around Leeds and may have negatively impacted on the homogeneity of the sample in terms of socio-economic background. The decision was thus taken to limit the sample to the thirteen speakers mentioned above, and to deal with any low yields of data in each individual variable study as and when the need arose.

Secondly, Houck, as the interviewer in his data, is not a native of the Leeds area, which may mean the data are more formal, as informants are talking to an 'outsider.' They certainly treat him as such during some conversations, evidenced in (2) and (3): he is not expected to know the details of national historical events, as in

(2), nor the local road network, as in (3). Because he is viewed as an outsider, they may accommodate to him by using a lower rate of local linguistic features when speaking to him. There is no solution to this problem, and as such, it is merely something which must by borne in mind during the analysis.

*(2)* (M) *I used to hate going to Chatham though, terrible place, I thought.*
(F) *It were where they had that accident you know, where all those cadets were- oh you wouldn't know about that.*
(M) *No there were a lot of cadets killed with a- a bus.*
(F) *Ooh, aye I remember, it were Ø awful accident were that. They were all marching all in their columns, and the bus come, it were the blackout.*
(H) *Oh, and someone hit them, huh?*
(M) *This bus it plowed- it plowed through.*

(Houck 110)

*(3)* (H) *What is the accident rate, because it seems to me- -.*
(M) *They don't seem to do so bad here, as regards [DAR] accidents with [DAR] buses.*[1]
(F) *I think there's been positively few accidents in Leeds to say-.*
(M) *There has been one or two. To say [DAR] amount of buses that they have on the road.*
(F) *Cos they've all changed it to a- a circular, a one-way er- traffic thing now haven't they? Oh and it's awful. It's awful on the weekends. But there's not any accidents, is there?*

(Houck 110)

Lastly, with so little personal information on the speakers, it was impossible to tell whether each speaker had spent all his or her life living in the area. This could potentially be problematic in that the sample may not be truly representative of speakers born and raised in South-West Leeds. There is no satisfactory solution to this problem, and this highlights one key concern when 'recycling' old corpora: we cannot control for everything. Unless we strictly limit ourselves to only using real-time data collected by the same researcher, in the same location, using the same equipment and methods, then the utilisation of real-time corpora is always going to raise issues of full comparability. However, the benefits to be gleaned from re-using such data cannot be overlooked, and provided that researchers recognise and

[1] Both the [DAR] examples in this line are realised as glottals.

acknowledge such limitations and present any findings accordingly, such problems, whilst unavoidable, are not insurmountable.

### 5.1.2 The Morley data

The Morley data consist of twenty-five speakers in three age groups, all born and raised in the Morley community. They were all interviewed by myself, using interview techniques for the elicitation of useful sociolinguistic data as outlined by Tagliamonte (2006). I was established as an 'in-group' member of the community by virtue of my being a Leeds native, and my long-standing familial connection to Morley. The construction of the sample was designed specifically to highlight the different attitudes and social backgrounds of different generations of Morley people.

The retired age group (62-87) remembers Morley as a separate borough with a thriving industry of its own. Most were employed in the mills or were, in some way, connected to the milling industry at some stage in their lives. They all left school in their mid to late teens. They are disappointed at the recent decline of the town, preferring to remember Morley in its 'heyday'.

The working group (37-52) speakers were teenagers or young adults when Morley was amalgamated into Leeds. They remember the amalgamation and many have strong views on the detrimental effect this has had on Morley and its community. Most express concern over the demise of Morley's community spirit, and have negative views of the town in its current state.

The student sample (12-17) do not remember Morley as anything other than a suburb of Leeds. They rarely socialise in Morley itself, preferring to 'hang out' in Leeds city centre or nearby Wakefield. Almost all plan on going to university. Some of the students may be described as slightly more 'middle class' than the other generations in the Morley sample (they have stayed on for further education and come from families with higher socio-economic status than many in the working and retired generations). This is due to the difficulties of accessing data from this age group: I was fortunate to gain access to a local school, and seven out of nine participants in this age-group were enlisted through the school. However, due to increasingly stringent child protection protocols, I was unable to work with any students under the age of sixteen. As such, I could only collect data from members

of the sixth form (immediately meaning that, educationally speaking, they were more advanced than most of the speakers in the other age groups). Additionally, as the teacher selected the students to take part in the study, it is possible that they are the 'high achievers' who would represent the school in its most positive light. That said, the students were all natives of Morley borough and were representative of the typical Morley inhabitant of their generation. Furthermore, two informants in the student sample were accessed via their parents, who are members of the working sample and gave permission for their children to be interviewed (these are the two youngest members of the student cohort). As such, the sample is as representative of the Morley community as possible.

Table 5.2 displays the construction of the Morley sample. All names provided are pseudonyms to protect informant anonymity.

| Retired | Age | Sex | Working | Age | Sex | Student | Age | Sex |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ernest | 82 | M | Adrian | 49 | M | Todd | 17 | M |
| Wilfred | 73 | M | Peter | 42 | M | Scott | 17 | M |
| Barry | 67 | M | Evan | 42 | M | Martin | 16 | M |
| Malcolm | 62 | M | Craig | 39 | M | Nathan | 15 | M |
| Josie | 87 | F | Jill | 52 | F | Maia | 17 | F |
| Edith | 76 | F | Molly | 51 | F | Miranda | 17 | F |
| Charlotte | 72 | F | Linda | 48 | F | Heather | 17 | F |
| Mavis | 71 | F | Penny | 37 | F | Sophie | 17 | F |
| | | | | | | Jade | 12 | F |

*Table 5.2*
Morley informants by generation

5.1.2a *The Morley sample as a social network*

All three generations of the Morley sample are in some way members the same social network (Milroy 1987b). Within the overall network, three main clusters, or pockets of densely structured ties within the larger framework, exist. In Figure 5.1 below, these nuclei are labelled SCHOOL, FAMILIES and CHURCH. In order to protect the anonymity of the informants, it is not appropriate to place myself as the interviewer on the network diagram. However, I am in some way linked to all three of the clusters, either directly or as a 'friend of a friend' (Milroy 1987b). In establishing the social network ties that exist within the sample, I seek to show that these speakers can be treated as representative of the Morley speech community, and that the informants form a well-stratified sub-group of the Morley population.

All of the student generation informants are linked by the fact that they attend the same SCHOOL. Of the nine students sampled, seven are in the same class, and socialise together every weekend. The remaining two are related to one another, and have ties to other members of the network in the older generations, since their parents, uncles, aunt and grandfather all participated in the study.

Within the working group three members are siblings. Two of these siblings' spouses also participate, thus forming the two related FAMILIES. The remaining three working individuals are slightly less well connected to the remainder of the group, but share a mutual acquaintance with one of the other working participants.

The retired group can be divided into two sub-groups: one is connected through the local CHURCH, and the five members of this group are densely linked, having known each other for many years and developed close friendships. The remaining three are members of the FAMILIES.

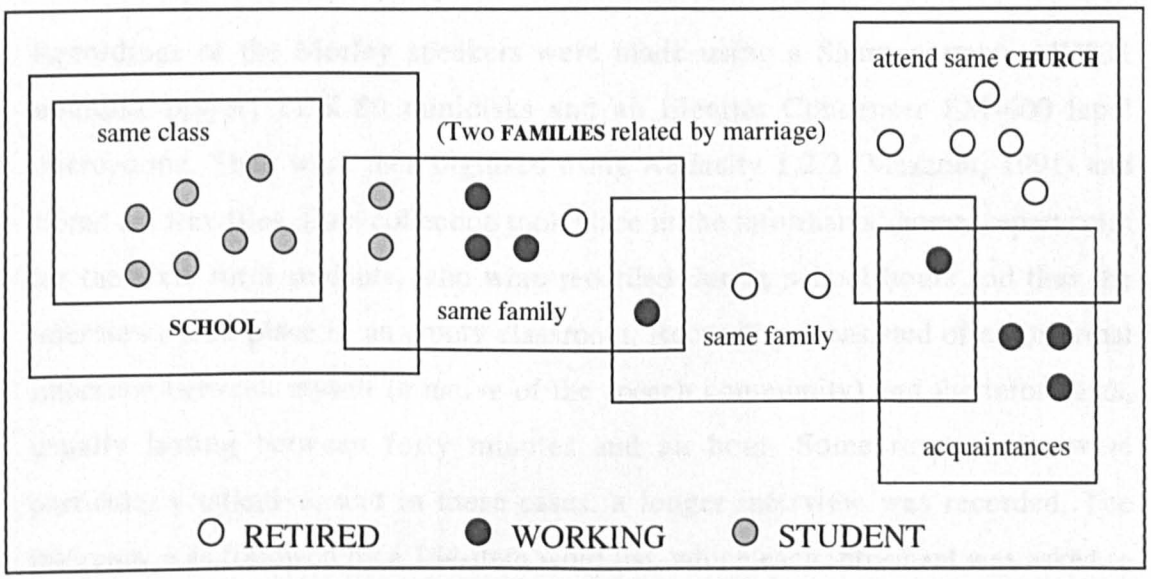


*Figure 5.1*
Social network diagram for the Morley sample

5.1.2b *Limitations of an apparent time sample*

As mentioned in Chapter One, the apparent time method is founded upon the assumption that generational synchronic data is representative of diachronic change; that is, that individuals do not alter their linguistic performance to any great degree over the course of their lifetime. However, as emphasised by Bailey (2002:314) "apparent time data are only a *surrogate* of real-time evidence, and apparent time

data cannot uncritically be assumed to represent diachronic linguistic developments." One solution to this problem is to compare real and apparent time corpora. Bailey, Wikle, Tillery and Sand (1991:244) give four criteria by which data should be compared for use in this manner. In summary these comprise: (i) using data that have been collected at points in time far enough apart to show that language change will actually have taken place; (ii) considering the same linguistic variables in both corpora; (iii) ensuring that the members of the sample are suitably alike in demographic terms; (iv) and utilising similar data collection methods to ensure compatibility. As far as is possible, the Houck and Morley corpora meet these requirements. As such, the Houck corpus provides an appropriate real-time sample to balance the apparent-time data from Morley.

## 5.2 Data Collection

Recordings of the Morley speakers were made using a Sharp portable MD831 minidisk player, TDK-80 minidisks and an Electret Condenser EM-400 lapel microphone. They were then digitised using Audacity 1.2.2 (Mazzoni, 1991) and stored as .wav files. Data collection took place in the informants' homes, apart from for the sixth form students, who were recorded during school hours and thus the interviews took place in an empty classroom. Recordings consisted of an informal interview between myself (a native of the speech community) and the informants, usually lasting between forty minutes and an hour. Some respondents were particularly talkative, and in these cases, a longer interview was recorded. The interview was followed by a 144-item word list, which each informant was asked to read aloud once. The specific words in the list were chosen to highlight particular variables of interest in the Leeds variety. A copy of the word list is provided in the appendices.

Evan did not supply a word list recording because of time constraints at his interview. Some of the student word list recordings are compromised by background noise, as they were carried out at the end of the interview, and as such, unfortunately tended to coincide with school bells and lesson changes, leading to noise from students in the adjoining rooms and corridor.

In contacting respondents and requesting their assistance in this study, I was deliberately somewhat vague in my explanation of the project objectives. Informants were told at the beginning of the interview that I was researching changes in Morley over the last half-century, and how changes in society are linked to language change. In the first instance, informants were encouraged to presume that the interview section was a 'fact-gathering' exercise on Morley and its inhabitants, and that the word-list contributed the 'language content.' This minimised the pressure upon informants to perform linguistically during the interview section, with respondents focussing their attention on providing as much information on Morley, its history and inhabitants as they could, rather than attending to their linguistic performance. Only after both sections were completed was the full extent of the project explained, and permission gained to use the whole recording for linguistic analysis.

Where possible, interviews were conducted with respondents in self-selected dyads (following Milroy, Milroy and Docherty 1997; Watt and Milroy 1999; Docherty and Foulkes 1999) as this provided a more natural conversational setting and minimised the contribution made by the interviewer to the conversation. In many cases, I found this particularly successful, oftentimes only having to ask a minimal number of questions to produce several lengthy informant-led discussions. Some informants even took to asking each other questions to continue conversation topics, allowing me to act as a silent observer. Where a dyadic interview was not possible, informants were interviewed individually. This was the case for seven informants (four retired, two working, one student). However, in three of these cases, another person was present during the interview who, for various reasons, had declined to actively participate in the study, and was therefore not microphoned. Thus, whilst the recordings in these three cases appear individual, as only one other voice than the interviewer is audible, the conversational setting was still dyadic in nature. Of the remaining four individually-interviewed informants, three had known me for many years. All of these individual interviews are discussed further below. Specific details as to the length and content of each interview are provided in Table 5.3.

| Interview | Length (Hrs;Mins) | Content |
|---|---|---|
| | | **Retired generation** |
| Edith/Ernie | 1;10 | Childhood memories; Changes in Morley |
| Mavis | 0;50 | Changes in Morley; Church involvement; Family |
| Josie | 1;20 | Schooldays; Employment; Church involvement; Changes in Morley |
| Wilfred/Charlotte | 1;05 | Changes in Morley; War-time; Schooldays; Family; Church involvement |
| Barry | 1;10 | Changes in Morley; Morley community life; Church involvement |
| Malcolm | 1;20 | Time spent living abroad; Life abroad compared to Morley |
| | | **Working generation** |
| Adrian/Linda | 1;00 | Changes in Morley; Important Morley history; The 'Ripper' years[2] |
| Craig/Penny | 1;20 | Childhood memories; Family; Recent holidays |
| Pete | 0;50 | Changes in Morley; Schooldays; Employment; Hobbies |
| Evan | 0;50 | Decline of Morley market; Employment; Hobbies; Family and friends |
| Molly/Jill | 0;55 | Childhood memories; Important Morley history; Changes in Morley |
| | | **Student generation** |
| Nathan/Jade | 1;00 | School; Friends and social lives; Family and pets |
| Maia/Miranda | 1;00 | School friends; Social lives |
| Martin | 0;40 | Hobbies; Activities; Schoolwork |
| Scott/Todd | 1;15 | Schoolwork; Social lives; Films/books/television |
| Sophie/Heather | 0;50 | School activities; Social lives; Television |

*Table 5.3*
Interview details

Interview topics were pre-planned insofar as certain questions were prepared for each generation: for example, retired and working generations were asked to describe how (in their experience) Morley has changed, and to provide their opinions on this, whereas, because the students were not old enough to have witnessed the changes in Morley at first hand, this would not have been an appropriate question. Instead, therefore, students were asked whether they considered Morley a good place to socialise, and what sort of things they did in their spare time (to establish where and with whom they spend their time). However, interviews were also permitted a modicum of flexibility, in order to promote an informal atmosphere; as such, when

[2] The years during which the Yorkshire Ripper (a notorious murderer) was at large.

informants drifted 'off topic' this was not rectified by me and the conversation was allowed to continue on its natural course, only returning to pre-prepared topics if a lull in conversation occurred. Below I elucidate the general interview protocol followed for each generation, and any notable exceptions.

For the sixth form students, the teacher had selected the pairs of students to be interviewed, but as she had ensured that each student was interviewed with a close friend, this did not radically affect the conversational style compared to the self-selected dyads in other generational groups. Conversation topics that were particularly successful at eliciting informal data from this age group were after-school activities, friendship groups, and future plans. One student (Martin) was interviewed alone due to his allocated partner being absent from school on the day of the interview. In order to overcome the potential problems of relative formality this presented, I attempted to find topics of conversation to lead the respondent into longer stretches of monologue, such as describing the plot of a book he had just finished reading. This tactic seemed to work quite well, with Martin producing extended periods of informal speech.

The working age group consists of three dyads and two individual interviews. Two husband-and-wife pairs were recorded, and one pair of female friends. Evan and Peter were recorded individually, although during both interviews at least one of their family members was also present for at least some of the time, meaning the interviews were not conducted completely one-on-one. Informants in this generation provided many anecdotes from their youth, and recalled important events in Morley history such as the fire at the Town Hall and the gale that removed the local church roof on New Year's Day 1984. Schooldays were also a popular topic, with most informants (particularly the paired interviewees) taking the opportunity to reminisce.

The retired age group delighted in providing as much history of Morley as they could remember. Indeed, 'how has Morley changed over the years?' proved to be the most successful question for both the working and retired age groups in eliciting extended periods of speech. The exception to this was Malcolm, who spent the majority of his interview describing the time he had spent living overseas. Nevertheless, his recording is comparably natural and spontaneous to the other retired-speaker recordings, in spite of the difference in topic. Two male-female dyads and four individual interviews were conducted with the retired generation.

Malcolm's wife was present for the duration of his interview (although she declined to participate in the study) and the remaining three individuals had known me since my childhood. As such, the individual interviews were all relaxed and conversational in style, with no difference in level of formality noted between those participants interviewed individually and those interviewed in dyads.

## 5.3 Data Transcription

Recordings of the sociolinguistic interviews were transcribed orthographically as plain text documents, following Tagliamonte (1998). At the beginning of each page of the transcript the time-point of the sound-file was displayed to facilitate linkage between sound-file and transcript during the analysis stages. Typically, one page of transcript corresponds to between three and four minutes of speech. Interviews with more than one speaker were transcribed with each turn of speech preceded by the speaker's initials. The interviewer's contributions were not transcribed, and any utterances made by the interviewer are simply identified as [interviewer]. Periods of speech which were incomprehensible were marked as [inc] (following Tagliamonte 1998; Smith 2000) and transcription continued from the next comprehensible point of speech. Sources of incomprehensibility were typically overlap between speakers, or interference from some form of background noise, such as a ringing telephone or barking dog.

Certain variables were flagged in the transcript to facilitate extraction for analysis. For example, in the portion of transcript provided in (2) below, [PTB] represents past tense BE (i.e. an utterance of *was* or *were*) and [DAR] signifies an occurrence of definite article reduction. An initial capital followed by underscore (as in T__) denotes where personal information has been blanked to preserve anonymity. A more comprehensive transcription protocol is provided in Table 5.4.

(2) Taken from interview with Ernie (E) and Edith (D).
[00:19:45]
(E) And when- to play the game you'd to- you'd a piggy stick which [PTB] about- a bit like a er- hammer shaft. You know [VTV] what I mean? It's like [DAR] length of an hammer. Then you drew a circle in- you see we lived near what you call [DAR] 'rec,' it's still there is

[DAR] 'rec' as we called it. Well we lived [inc] on T__ Street. And with your stick, you made a circle like that, see, in [DAR] muck so- and then you put this piggy in [DAR] middle and there'd be two or three of you playing and you went in [inc]. Well what you did, you tapped the point on this piggy you'd made, you know, and it come up in [DAR] air and then you'd [VTV] hit it and then you'd to [VTV] hit it as far as you could send [VTV] it, if you could, lyke. And then Ø used to say oh, "ten strides," or "eight strides," or "seven strides," you see. And [DAR] others had to stride [VTV] it [VTV] out, and if they couldn't do [VTV] it in that, you got [VTV] that amount you see. [interviewer] And er- they'd all have a go then [DAR] lowest of all would do what they call mugs. [interviewer] (E) What you did [PTB]- [interviewer] (E) you held- held [DAR] piggy above this circle and you spun it like that you see, til where it stopped, whichever way it [PTB] facing, [DAR] others had to have a go and knock it, see. And you'd to- you'd to go to where it went. And you'd to throw it back to [DAR] circle. And if it didn't [VTV] get in, which it wouldn't do at [DAR] first time, whoever [PTB]- would knock [VTV] it again, you see, and you [PTB] [DAR] mug running up and down after it, you see. [interviewer] (D) yeah. no I didn't play that, no. [interviewer] (D) It [PTB] a boys' game, [PTB] that. (E) I don't know, our D__ played it [inc] mostly like [inc] (D) Oh did she?

| **Transcript** | **Meaning** |
|---|---|
| [00:xx:xx] | Time point in soundfile [hrs;mins;secs] |
| [interviewer] | Interviewer speaks |
| [inc] | Incomprehensible portion |
| [PTB] | Token of past tense BE |
| [IAR] | Indefinite article reduction (although most occurrences are actually deletion) |
| [DAR] | Token of definite article reduction |
| [VTV] | Following word contains intervocalic (T) |
| lyke | Discourse marker 'like' |
| summat | Dialect word meaning 'something' |
| owt/nowt | Dialect word meaning 'anything/nothing' |
| ussen/missen/yerssen | Dialect word meaning 'ourselves/myself/yourself' |
| appen | Dialect word meaning 'maybe/perhaps' |
| 'rec' | Recreation ground/playing field |
| Brid | Shortened name for Bridlington |
| peeps | Used mainly by younger females, meaning 'people' |
| LGI | Abbreviation of Leeds General Infirmary |
| St James/Jimmys | Name of a Leeds hospital |
| Ø | Omitted subject |
| D__ | Word/name omitted to preserve anonymity |

*Table 5.4*
Selected transcription protocol for Morley data

## 5.4 Token Extraction and Coding

Tokens were extracted from the transcripts using 'Concorder' (Rand and Patera 1992), a computer program that catalogues the items occurring in a given transcript and produces lists of occurrences of any particular item. Lists were produced for each variable context (for some analyses, different variants required separate lists). (3) displays the list of tokens of [PTB] extracted from the transcript using 'Concorder' for Nathan and Jade. The numerical code at the beginning of each line is a location identification provided by 'Concorder,' which relates to transcription line numbers.

(3)

| | |
|---|---|
| 1.16,26 | (N) I wish there [PTB] more to do |
| 1.21,49 | (N) Think I [PTB] three, that's about ten- |
| 1.22,33 | (J) yeah you [PTB] |
| 1.22,49 | (J) because I [PTB] born when I lived here, |
| 1.23,46 | (J) yeah you [PTB] - you're three years older |
| 1.71,53 | (J) yeah, we [PTB] erm at Filey. |
| 1.72,69 | (J) I wish we'd have got his sister cos there [PTB] him |
| 1.74,1 | (N) [PTB] right quiet and he just came running |
| 1.77,79 | (J) We [PTB] walking him. |
| 1.78,39 | (J) we [PTB] looking for him and then we saw |
| 1.82,20 | (J) it [PTB] summat like [DAR] second night |
| 1.88,57 | (N) just for no reason apart from I [PTB] stood there. |
| 1.98,1 | (N) [PTB] stood in [DAR] corner of [DAR] room |
| 1.108,21 | (N) I [PTB] looking at [DAR] dog |
| 1.108,69 | (N) I [PTB] lyke, |
| 1.110,64 | (J) it [PTB] small cos I had |
| 1.114,20 | (N) slipped in when it [PTB] hail-stoning. |
| 1.115,54 | (N) I hit [DAR] water, that [PTB] funny. |
| 1.121,27 | (N) and just chilling out, it [PTB] great. |
| 1.148,1 | (J) I [PTB] like, "ooh no." |
| 1.154,10 | (J) We [PTB] going to Scarborough apparently. |
| 1.168,65 | (J) When we [PTB] on [DAR] way to Disneyland |
| 1.169,59 | (J) but it [PTB] right in [DAR] distance |
| 1.179,9 | (N) You [PTB] scared |
| 1.179,66 | (J) I [PTB] not. |
| 1.180,16 | (J) I [PTB] only about four, five. |
| 1.180,65 | (J) No I [PTB] not. |
| 1.183,68 | (J) or [PTB] it? |

Upon production of a list of tokens, these were then collated, stored and coded in an Excel spreadsheet. Coding (particularly for the dependent variable in

phonological features) often required me to return to the soundfile, in which case I would note the specific point in the soundfile where each token occurred, in minutes and seconds. Each variable was coded separately. All variables were coded for individual speaker, in addition to speaker sex and generation. For some variables, linguistic factors were also coded. For more details on the specific linguistic factors, please see the relevant results chapter for each individual variable.

## 5.5 Analysis

Once coding was complete for all tokens analysed for each generation, the coded data were transferred to a Goldvarb (Rand and Sankoff 1991) token file and a distributional analysis performed. All percentages provided in the results chapters are from calculations provided by Goldvarb, and are rounded to the nearest integer. Where possible, I also provide the number of tokens (Ns) in order to show the frequency with which each form appears in the data.

Where appropriate, statistical tests have also been performed using the multivariate analysis tool provided in Goldvarb (Rand and Sankoff 1990). I do not present a full explanation of all the outworking of the Goldvarb software, as it is neither appropriate to do so here, nor relevant to the object of this thesis. Tagliamonte (2006) presents a practical introduction to the implementation of Goldvarb in sociolinguistic analysis.

Goldvarb performs an analysis of variance across the independent variables coded for in the token file, and produces an output that gives factor weights, indicating the relative strength of each independent variable and the hierarchy of factors within each factor group. A factor weight of >.5 favours the application of the selected variable (or 'application value'), and one of <.5 disfavours its selection. Put another way, if the dependent variable is use of non-standard *was* and one independent variable (or factor group) tested was speaker sex, let us assume hypothetically that the factor 'male speakers' receives a factor weight of .55 and the factor 'female speakers' receives a weight of .45. This means that men slightly favour the non-standard variant *was* over the standard *were*, and women vice versa. The range between the highest factor weight and the lowest factor weight within the

group 'gender' is 10 (the range can be calculated in this way even when there are more than two factors in a group). The relative strength of the independent variables can be compared by creating a constraint hierarchy of factor groups, calculating the range within each group and then displaying the factor groups from highest range to lowest range. This shows which independent variables have the strongest effect upon the structure of the variation present. The same process can be applied within factor groups in order to create a hierarchy of factors, using factor weights rather than ranges. This shows which factors most favour the appearance of the variant and which most disfavour it.

It is imperative that when comparing Goldvarb analyses (for example, if individual analyses have been performed upon three different generations of speakers to determine whether internal constraint hierarchies remain the same across time) that it is *patterns* of variation that are compared, not individual factor weights or ranges. If each individual run has been performed on different sets of data, then the individual numbers that occur in the output are merely statistical representations of the patterns to occur within each dataset. Therefore, it is not, in such cases as this, appropriate to say 'younger males have a factor weight of .65 and older males have a factor weight of .80, so older males favour the application more than younger males.' In order to make observations as to patterns across the generations, the age groups would have to be included in the same analysis. What we can observe by comparing statistical runs across different sets of data is the patterns to emerge: for example, if the factor weights for males are higher than for females in each generational dataset, then it is fair to say that males consistently favour the application more than females over the course of time.

In analysing the results for each variable, I follow the following protocol. I first present an overall distribution of the variable in the data, in order to show the relative frequency with which each variant occurs. I then present the multivariate analysis, to determine which of the factor groups considered are significantly impacting upon the variability observed. I then present more detailed distributional results for the significant factor groups, utilising cross-tabulations of multiple factors where appropriate.

## 5.6 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented the methodology utilised in the data collection, transcription, extraction, coding and analysis of this project. I have also described the sample construction and informant selection processes for both my own Morley corpus and the data utilised from Houck (1968). In the following eight chapters, I present the findings for each of the variables analysed in the data.

# CHAPTER 6
# DEFINITE ARTICLE REDUCTION

## 6.0 Chapter Abstract

The definite article in its reduced form is a stereotypical feature of Yorkshire speech, as well as being found across a large proportion of the Northern regions, in varieties spoken in Lancashire, and parts of the North Midlands. The geographical distribution of DAR is shown in Figure 6.1. As a feature with such strong traditional ties to the local region, definite article reduction (or DAR) can be seen as highly representative of regional identity, and therefore a strong candidate for dialect retention. I present here a sociolinguistic analysis of DAR in Morley and assess the results in light of the existing literature on the feature, which largely overlooks the social distribution of the traditional dialect variant. Moreover, the analysis of this feature is key to the overall aim of this thesis, as it depicts the evolution of a traditional dialect variable in a situation of increased social and geographical contact.

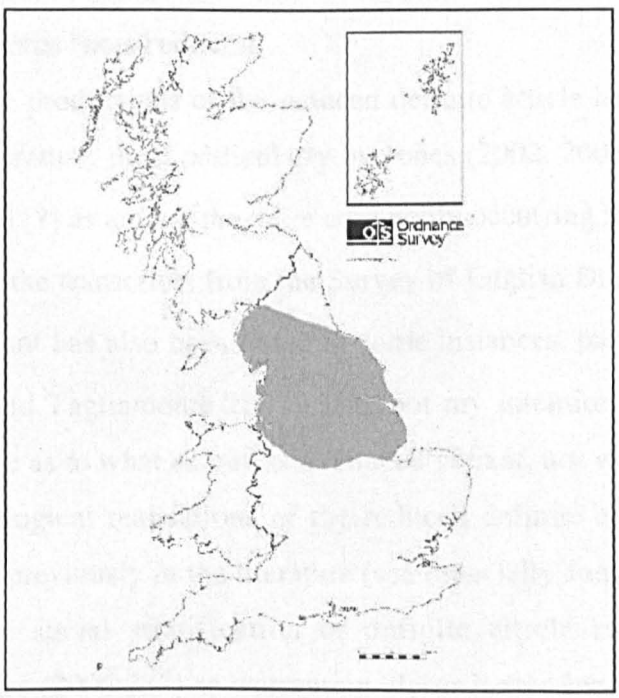


*Figure 6.1*
Geographical distribution of DAR according to Jones (2005).
*U.K. Outline reproduced from Ordnance Survey map data by permission of the Ordnance Survey © Crown copyright 2001.*

## 6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter considers variation between production of the definite article *the* in its full form, or in some reduced form, as in example (1).

(1) a. They knocked **DAR** swimming baths down.
b. We got **the** beakers, didn't we?

Before delving into the existing literature on this feature, I seek to establish two things. First of all, I address the phonological distinction between 'reduced' and 'non-reduced' variants. This is an issue which has been much debated in the literature, and it is incumbent upon me to establish at an early stage how I have circumscribed the variants for this analysis. Second, I consider the stereotypical nature of DAR as a distinctly 'Yorkshire' feature, and establish its place in popular culture as a stereotype of Yorkshire speakers, in spite of its more widespread distribution in other Northern regions such as Lancashire and parts of the North Midlands.

### 6.1.1 'Reduced' versus 'non-reduced'

A range of phonetic productions of the reduced definite article has been previously identified in the literature, most particularly by Jones (2002, 2005, 2007), who lists [t], [d], [ð], [θ], and [ʔ] as among the more commonly occurring forms, according to his observations in the transcripts from the Survey of English Dialects (SED, Orton 1962). A zero variant has also been noted in some instances, particularly utterance initially (Roeder and Tagliamonte 2007). It is not my intention in this chapter to enter into the debate as to what counts as a reduced variant, nor will I fully delineate all possible phonological realisations of the reduced definite article; these issues have been debated previously in the literature (see especially Jones 2005). Instead, I focus here on the social stratification of definite article reduction, a theme highlighted by Jones (2005:237) as warranting closer inspection. Nevertheless, it is imperative to demonstrate the possible range of 'reduced' variants available in Morley. Even though the default reduced form in these data appears (auditorily) to be [ʔ], acoustic analysis shows what is labelled [ʔ] to represent a cline of realisation

from something very close to zero (Figure 6.2) through creaky voice (Figure 6.3) to something approximating a 'canonical' glottal stop (Docherty and Foulkes 1999:56), as shown in Figure 6.4.

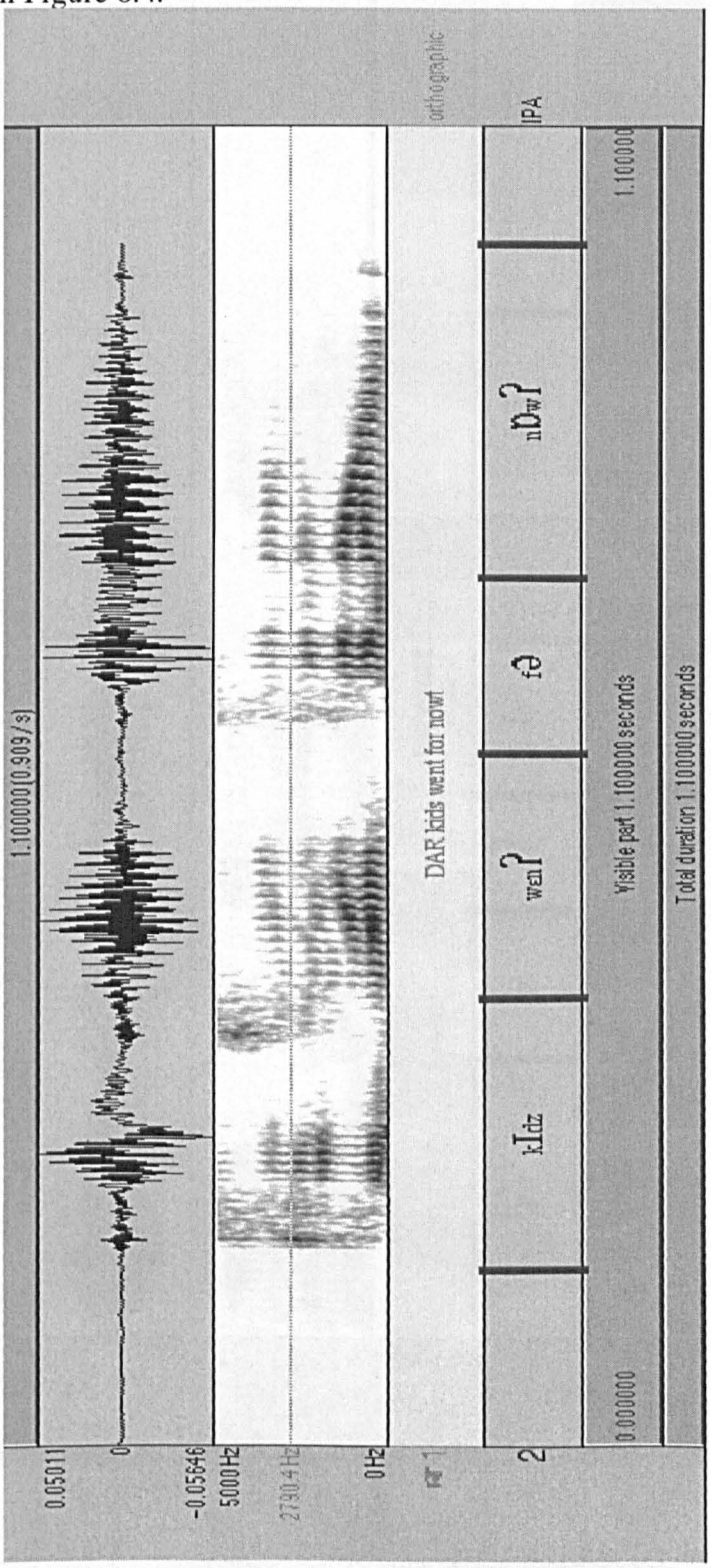


*Figure 6.2*
Spectrogram of zero DAR, in "DAR kids went for nowt"

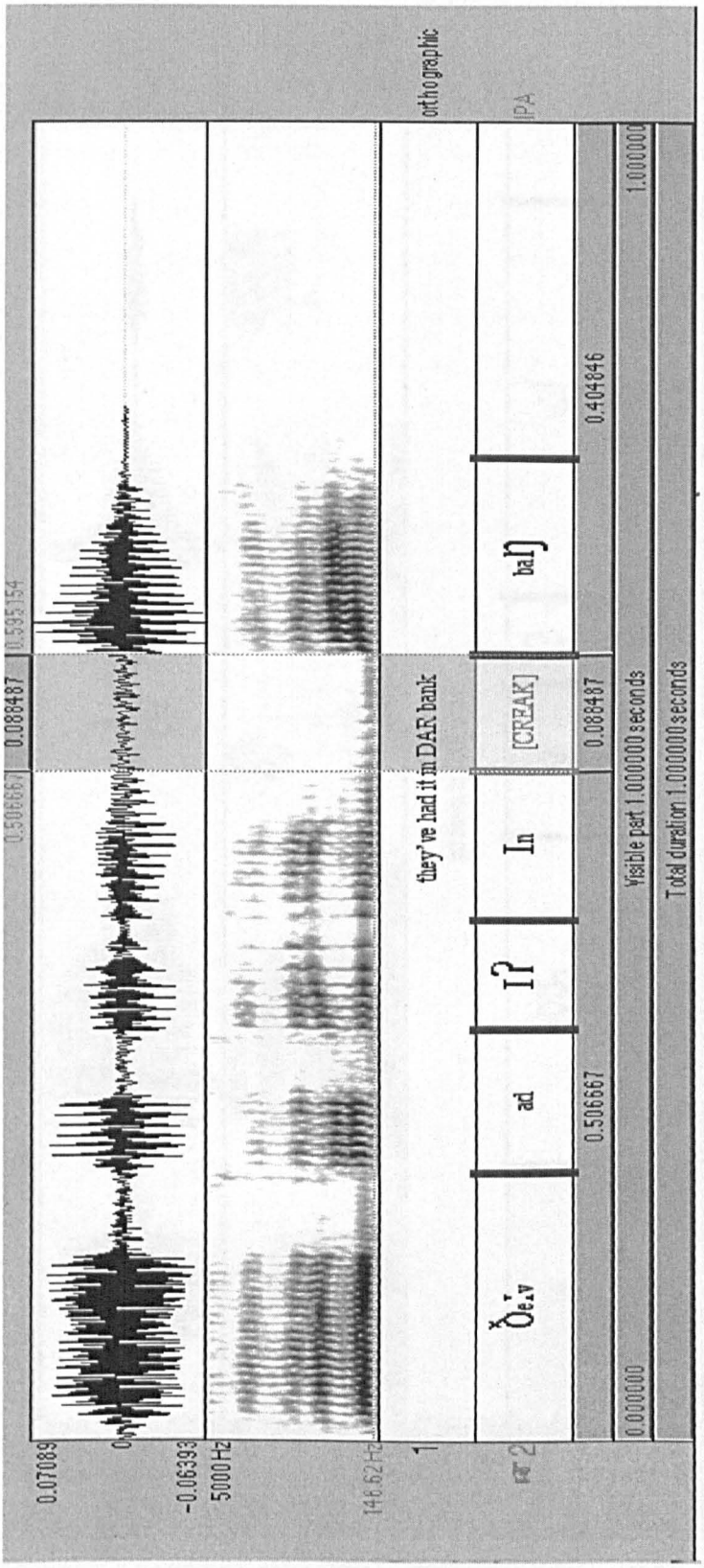


*Figure 6.3*
Spectrogram of creaky-voiced DAR in "had it in DAR bank"

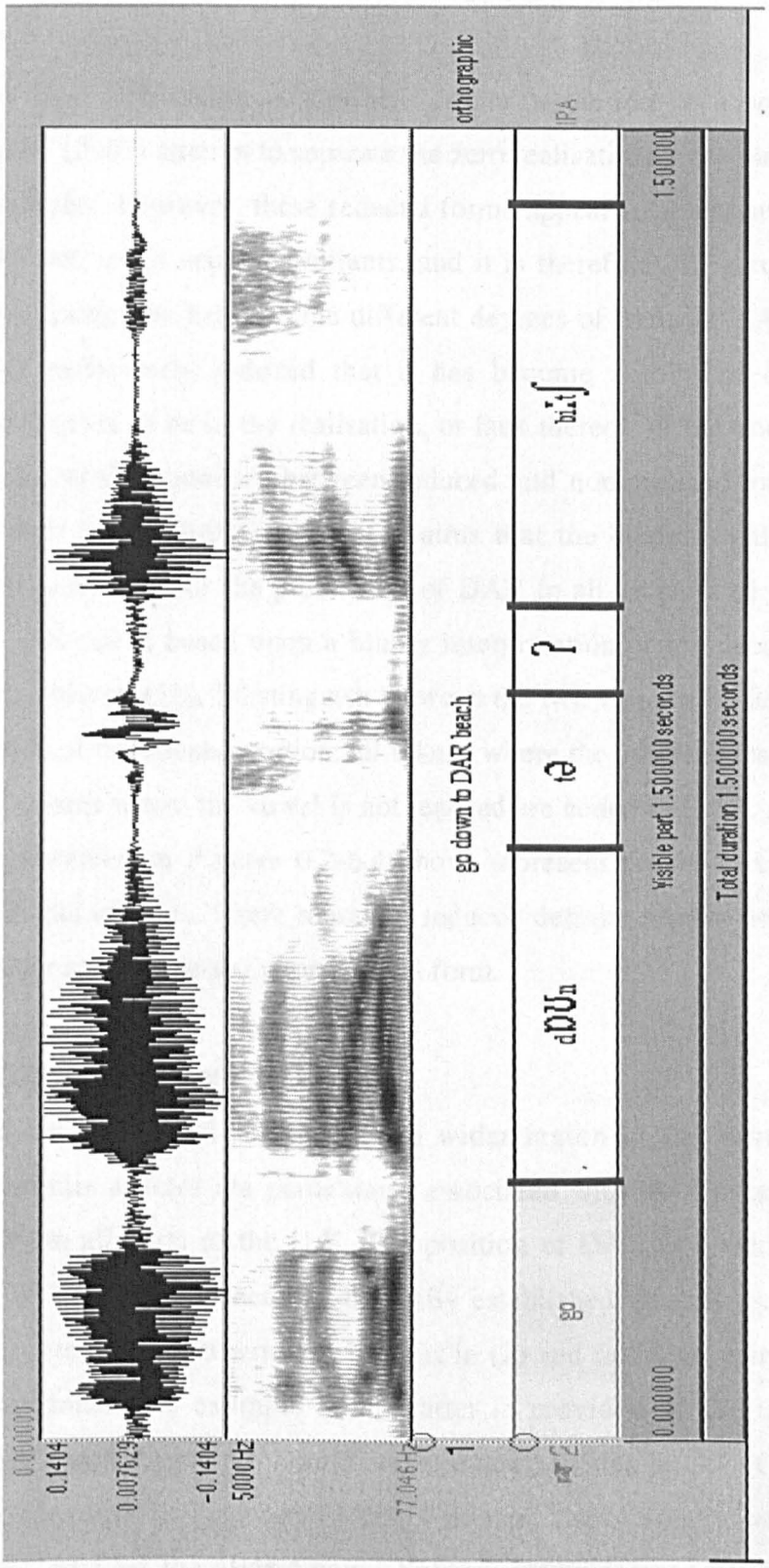


*Figure 6.4*
Spectrogram of glottal stop DAR in "go down to DAR beach"

In their discussion of definite article reduction in York, Roeder and Tagliamonte (2007) attempt to separate the zero realisations from the other forms of reduced articles. However, these reduced forms appear to represent a cline, rather than a discrete set of separate variants, and it is therefore difficult to formulate a concrete defining line between the different degrees of 'reduced'. At what point is something sufficiently reduced that it has become zero? The only definitive boundary appears to be in the realisation, or lack thereof, of the vocalic portion of *the*, and this is the boundary between reduced and non-reduced forms. This view concurs with Jones (2002:326), who claims that the elision of the vowel is an incumbent procedure for the production of DAR in all its reduced manifestations. Thus my analysis is based upon a binary interpretation of the data: reduced (1a), versus non-reduced (1b). I distinguish between the two variants in the realisation (or lack thereof) of the vocalic portion: all tokens where the vowel is realised are coded as *the;* all tokens where the vowel is not realised are coded as DAR. As such, all the tokens represented in Figures 6.2-6.4 above represent reduced examples for the purpose of this analysis. I here represent reduced definite articles as DAR to avoid any inference as to particular phonological form.

### 6.1.2 A Yorkshire stereotype?

Despite their being used across a much wider region of the North of England, reduced definite articles are particularly associated with the Yorkshire dialect by speakers from all parts of the U.K. The position of DAR as a stereotype (Labov 1994:78) of Yorkshire speech can be easily established, as it is used to represent 'Yorkshireness' in dialect writings, such as in (2) and fictional representations and characterisations. One example of the latter is provided in (3), taken from the transcript of a sketch entitled 'Four Yorkshiremen,' written by John Cleese, Graham Chapman, Tim Brooke-Taylor and Marty Feldman, and originally performed by the authors on 'At Last the 1948 Show.' Subsequent performances include 'Monty Python's Flying Circus: Live at Drury Lane' in 1974, and a re-enactment by Eddie Izzard, Harry Enfield, Vic Reeves and Alan Rickman in 2001.[1]

---

[1] All of these performances are available online, and can be viewed at http://www.youtube.com/results?search_query=four+yorkshiremen&search=Search, accessed 19/907.

(2) *No sooiner 'as* **t' Angil** *finished 'is message than* **t' shepherds** *'ear wonderful singin' 'at fills all* **t' sky**.

(Kellett 1996:3)

(3) FIRST YORKSHIREMAN: You were lucky. We lived for three months in a paper bag in a septic tank. We used to have to get up at six in the morning, clean the paper bag, eat a crust of stale bread, go to work down **DAR mill**, fourteen hours a day, week-in week-out, for sixpence a week, and when we got home our Dad would thrash us to sleep wi' his belt.

SECOND YORKSHIREMAN: Luxury. We used to have to get out of the lake at six o'clock in the morning, clean the lake, eat a handful of 'ot gravel, work twenty hour day at **DAR mill** for tuppence a month, come home, and Dad would thrash us to sleep with a broken bottle, if we were lucky!

THIRD YORKSHIREMAN: Well, of course, we had it tough. We used to 'ave to get up out of **DAR shoebox** at twelve o'clock at night and lick **DAR road** clean wit' tongue. We had two bits of cold gravel, worked twenty-four hours a day at **DAR mill** for sixpence every four years, and when we got home our Dad would slice us in two wit' **DAR bread knife**.

FOURTH YORKSHIREMAN: Right. I had to get up in the morning at ten o'clock at night half an hour before I went to bed, drink a cup of sulphuric acid, work twenty-nine hours a day down **DAR mill**, and pay **DAR mill owner** for permission to come to work, and when we got home, our Dad and our mother would kill us and dance about on our graves singing Hallelujah.[2]

The excerpt in (3) evidences the position of DAR as a cultural stereotype of Yorkshire speakers. Its representation in the sketch is by no means categorical; indeed, at the outset of the performance (not provided in the excerpt) all four characters are sitting drinking wine, wearing white tie, and appear rather middle class. This is reinforced in their speech patterns, and the first half of the sketch contains very few tokens of DAR. However, all four characters progress to compete with one another as to who had the most working-class background and deprived upbringing, and as they do so, the use of dialect features such as DAR increases in the script for all four characters. Note also, that the majority of the DAR tokens co-occur with the noun 'mill', which may be indicative of a link to the traditional employment of the industrial Yorkshire towns, and therefore a further representation of working class speech (see comments from Petyt (1985), discussed in the

[2] Transcript from http://www.phespirit.info/montypython/four_yorkshiremen.htm, accessed 18/9/07. DAR has been inserted by the researcher where a reduced article was indicated in original transcript.

'Contemporary Literature' section, below). Moreover, in the (2001) incarnation of the sketch, the use of DAR is overtly emphasised as a point of humour, with Enfield's character frequently heard to use both DAR *and* the full definite article simultaneously, for example "in DAR the mill."

The 'Four Yorkshiremen' sketch, throughout its numerous incarnations, has retained the use of DAR, suggesting that this is one feature which is viewed as particularly iconic of 'Yorkshire' status. Johnstone, Bhasin and Wittkofski (2002) document the role of linguistic features in creating cultural stereotypes in their work on Pittsburghese. They comment on the role of local and regional stereotyping in the persistence of monophthongal /aw/ in Pittsburgh, and claim that the indexing of a particular feature as a stereotype may in fact contribute towards the maintenance of the feature in the local linguistic variety. This, of course, may be a somewhat cyclical argument: is a feature retained because it is a stereotype, or stereotyped because it is persistently retained by dialect speakers?

Further to its position as a cultural stereotype, DAR has also been well documented in the linguistic literature on Yorkshire varieties, and as such, I now present an overview of the historical and contemporary work that exists on this feature.

## 6.2 Historical Literature

As a stereotype of Yorkshire English, definite article reduction features prominently in the dialectal literature. Indeed, Morris (1911:19) describes it as a "leading feature" of Yorkshire English, arguing that it "makes words which would otherwise sound familiar become almost unintelligible to strangers" (1911:20). This is probably something of an overstatement, as DAR is used and understood much more widely than Morris leads us to believe. Reduced definite articles can be observed across much of the North of England (Jones 2005), and usage extends as far south as Derby (Foulkes pc), evidenced by (4), taken from an excerpt of a recording of a retired female in Heanor, Derbyshire, in the 'BBC Voices' collection. Impressionistically, DAR seems less frequent in non-Yorkshire varieties, however.

(4) My Mam had just whitewashed **DAR** pantry
(http://www.bbc.co.uk/voices/recordings/group/derby-erewash.shtml accessed September 2007)

The most widely accepted account of the history of DAR is that it derives from a weakening that occurred in Old English *þe*, (Hedevind 1967, Jones 2002; 2005, Rupp and Page-Verhoeff 2005) which was the masculine nominative form of both the demonstrative and the definite article.

Where the historical literature does differ from more modern accounts is in the phonetic details of DAR. Recall that Jones (2005) identified a range of reduced productions, and that impressionistic observations of Yorkshire speakers have led me to suggest that most DAR tokens are realised as what can, auditorily at least, be described as glottal in nature. However, according to Wright (1892:118), reduction of the definite article occurs as a result of its unstressed sentential position, and becomes attached to the following word in the form /t/ in the Windhill dialect (1892:111). For Easther (1883) in Huddersfield, both /t/ and /ð/ are used as reduced definite article forms. Hedevind (1967) concurs with Easther for Dent, stating that "the definite article in Dentdale is /t/ with various phonetic modifications" (1967:226). No explanation is provided as to what these 'phonetic modifications' are, so it is unclear whether Hedevind intends the reader to understand [ʔ] here.

The historical literature from the dialect region serves to show quite clearly that DAR is both traditional and robust in its association with Yorkshire speakers. Its use is noted in the nineteenth century, from which we can conclude that DAR is a longstanding dialect feature, and its regular mention in subsequent dialect works, coupled with its use as a Yorkshire stereotype, as discussed above, are evidence of its stability in the variety.

## 6.3 Contemporary Literature

Having established the presence of DAR in the dialectal literature, I now turn my attention to contemporary quantitative investigations of DAR. Here I consider

Tidholm's (1979) comments on Egton; Shorrocks (1985-7) and Petyt's (1985) work on DAR in Lancashire and Yorkshire respectively; Rupp and Page-Verhoeff (2005) on the pragmatic uses of DAR; Jones' (1999, 2002, 2005) work on the phonology of definite article reduction, and finally Roeder and Tagliamonte's (2007) paper on the acoustic analysis of DAR.

### 6.3.1 Tidholm (1979)

Tidholm's analysis of DAR in Egton (1979:125) found the phenomenon to occur only rarely among the youngest generation of his speakers (aged 15-33), as can be seen from his results, reproduced in Table 6.1. Recall, however, that Tidholm's analysis is based upon data from only 15 speakers in total, and his sample was not well stratified for age or sex. He concluded that DAR was likely to "have disappeared in two generations" (1979:125), a conclusion which seems, given the benefit of hindsight, to have been woefully pessimistic, given the pan-Northern status of this feature and its robust maintenance in other traditionally reducing dialects (Petyt 1985, Shorrocks 1985-87, Rupp and Page-Verhoeff 2005). Furthermore, Myrstad-Nilsen (pc), currently carrying out fieldwork in Egton to replicate Tidholm's original fieldwork, comments impressionistically that reduced definite articles can still be observed in the speech of Egton inhabitants.

| | **Old** | **Mid** | **Young** |
|---|---|---|---|
| TOKENS | 215 | 179 | 196 |
| % DAR | 37 | 40 | 6 |

*Table 6.1*
Distribution of DAR in Egton (from Tidholm 1979:124)

### 6.3.2 Shorrocks (1985-7)

Shorrocks (1985-7) discusses findings from spontaneous speech data from the west of the DAR region, considering speakers from Farnworth, Greater Manchester. Shorrocks observes that the following phonological segment plays a role in conditioning the realisation of the definite article in both its full and reduced forms. It should be stated, however, that whilst Shorrocks bases his analysis on recorded data, he provides no quantified presentation of his findings, which makes it difficult for the reader to establish how robust his observations are. Before consonants, Shorrocks notes that the reduced definite article is produced with glottal stricture

only (1985-87:174), but before vowels, glottal stricture is accompanied by /θ/ which is attached to the following noun. This latter variant appears to be restricted to the more western areas in the DAR region (Jones 2005).

### 6.3.3 Petyt (1985)

Petyt (1985:197), in his study of Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield, concludes that the reduced form has, over time, been ousted by the standard, with DAR sporadic in all except the speech of working class community members (1985:200). A summary of Petyt's findings is given in Table 6.2, although we should note that, for this variable, he presents the percentage of informants to use the non-standard forms, not the percentage of non-standard tokens in the data. He also presents no token numbers, which again, as with Shorrocks, makes it difficult to establish how robust these findings are. As such, Petyt's findings must be treated with caution. Nevertheless, Table 6.2 shows that 100% of speakers in the lower WC group exhibit some use of reduced definite articles. Petyt claims that "since these are a typical feature of the area they probably act as an important signal of a speaker's provenance" (1985:200). The notion that the use of traditional dialect forms is somehow indicative of a speaker's identity is one to which I shall return later.

| | MMC | LMC | UWC | MWC | LWC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| MALES | 0 | 14 | 64 | 77 | 92 |
| FEMALES | - | 17 | 35 | 81 | 100 |

*Table 6.2*

% of informants using reduced definite article by class and sex in Petyt (1985:199)

### 6.3.4 Rupp and Page-Verhoeff (2005)

Rupp and Page-Verhoeff (2005) consider DAR among speakers who live on either side of the border between Yorkshire and Lancashire. Their data were collected using standard sociolinguistic interview techniques, with informants recorded in pairs for around 45 minutes per pair. Additionally, a spoken questionnaire was employed, containing 34 examples of definite article use, divided equally between fully realised and reduced tokens. These examples were read by a speaker for whom DAR is a naturally occurring feature, and the informants were asked to indicate whether or not they might use the example sentence, or hear other people in their locality using it. They sampled eight speakers, six Lancastrians and two Yorkshire

inhabitants, five females and three males. Two of the Lancastrian residents were born and raised in Yorkshire, only moving to Lancashire a few years before data collection took place. Due to this lack of well-defined social stratification, Rupp and Page-Verhoeff do not use their sample to consider social factors upon occurrence of DAR, but they instead consider other influences upon its use, in particular the type of reference to which the article applies. They present results for six different types of reference (although they define a further five which are not discussed here). The examples given in (5)-(10) below are all taken from Rupp and Page-Verhoeff (2005:334-338):

- *Situational*: referent is in the immediate environment of the speaker

  (5) It's in **DAR** kitchen, did you not see it?

- *General knowledge*: referent is a conventional conception of the world

  (6) It looks like we're back in **the** Second World War

- *Shared speaker-hearer knowledge*: referent is part of the shared knowledge of conversational participants

  (7) Two miles? Like, eight miles! Two miles at **DAR** post office

- *Direct anaphoric*: referent has been previously introduced in the discourse

  (8) They had a baby and as soon as **DAR** baby arrived, he got jealous.

- *Indirect anaphoric*: referent is implied earlier in the dialogue by association

  (9) I've been down south, been to London. I've been on **DAR** underground.

- *Cataphoric reference*: referent is post-modified

  (10) It's quite stressful, buying a house...and take on **DAR** responsibility of a mortgage.

These categorisations are not unproblematic. There seems to be a certain degree of overlap between these factors; for example, something in shared speaker-hearer knowledge may also be a direct-anaphoric referent. Rupp and Page-Verhoeff

do not explain how they dealt with such instances, and as such their analysis would be difficult to replicate faithfully.

The overall distribution of DAR in these data is reported at 12%. Table 6.3 below shows Rupp and Page-Verhoeff's results for reference type. They report that the results presented here are statistically significant (2005:338). They also report a proportional relationship between rate of reduced articles and the distance to the source NP: the greater the distance from the source NP in the dialogue, the less frequently was DAR employed. This finding was not statistically significant.

| Type of reference | Ns DAR/Total Ns | % DAR |
|---|---|---|
| SITUATIONAL | 9/22 | 40 |
| GENERAL KNOWLEDGE | 2/32 | 6 |
| SHARED SPEAKER-HEARER KNOWLEDGE | 4/22 | 18 |
| DIRECT ANAPHORIC | 23/93 | 25 |
| INDIRECT ANAPHORIC | 9/114 | 8 |
| CATAPHORIC REFERENCE | 2/71 | 3 |

*Table 6.3*
Rate of DAR by type of specific reference
(adapted from Rupp and Page-Verhoeff 2005:339)

On the basis of these pilot results, Rupp and Page-Verhoeff claim that DAR has developed a pragmatic function in Northern dialects, functioning as a reference to assumed familiarity with items nearby in either space or time. They speculate that northern dialects use DAR to fill the gap between the definite article and the demonstrative pronouns, using the articles *the* and DAR "as the non-demonstrative counterparts of *that* and *this*, respectively," (2005:344). This seems a somewhat bold claim on such a small amount of data, and given that the sample represents more than one dialect region, it should by no means be assumed that all Northern speakers treat DAR in the same way. The heterogeneous nature of the speaker sample here is not addressed, and it cannot be shown whether any differences were observed between Lancashire-born and Yorkshire-born speakers. To treat these two dialect regions as a homogeneous unit is problematic, especially when we bear in mind the strength of feeling that exists among speakers from these regions that they wish to be marked as separate from one another. It is possible that Rupp and Page-Verhoeff might have masked some of the social variability that exists for DAR by not considering these two sections of their sample separately.

### 6.3.5 Jones (1999, 2002, 2005)

Jones tackles the issue of definite article reduction in multiple publications: his (1999) paper discusses the phonology of DAR; in (2002) he contributes an account of the origins of DAR in Northern dialects, whilst in his thesis (2005), he provides a more detailed consideration of the historical and phonological development of DAR, and the various phonetic forms which reduced articles can take. He identifies DAR as a "complex phenomenon" (1999:119), particularly in the geographical and phonological distribution of its two most frequently observed realisations (that is, plosive [t] and some degree of glottal stricture). In his (2002) paper, Jones considers the hypothesis put forward by Viereck (1995), which proposes that the progression of definite article reduction began with the assimilation of the Middle English article from *þe* to *te* when the preceding segment is either /t/ or /d/. Jones (2002) criticises this stance on the basis that the Middle English assimilation can be observed over a much wider geographical area than that in which DAR is present. Furthermore, vowel elision in definite articles, according to Viereck (1995), only takes place after the consonantal change has occurred. Jones (2002) tests this claim by stating that if this assimilation and subsequent vowel elision are indeed the origin of modern-day DAR, then examples of DAR in modern usage should not occur in phonological positions where the assimilated change is said to have gone to completion. He goes on to cite a number of examples from data collected for the *Survey of English Dialects* (Orton 1962) which nullify this hypothesis, with fricative productions of DAR still observable in north-western parts of the DAR regions. Whilst Jones cautions the reader against the equation of these written historical representations with modern dialect variation, he suggests that the relative phonological uniformity of forms still suggests some sort of link between *þe* and the reduced articles, with a possible developmental process observable between the [θ] [t] [ʔ] productions of DAR. He suggests that a further development of this can be observed in the East Riding of Yorkshire, where a zero realisation is possible (2002:342).

### 6.3.6 Roeder and Tagliamonte (2007)

Roeder and Tagliamonte (2007) discuss findings from their analysis of definite articles in York English. They consider data from fifty speakers in Tagliamonte's York corpus (1996-1998), extracting more than 11,000 tokens, which

were coded impressionistically. They then present further findings on a sub-group of eight of these speakers, considering 2000 tokens of definite articles using acoustic analysis methods. Their reported findings are based mainly on the latter group of informants. As already mentioned, they categorise three variants: full definite articles, reduced definite articles, and a zero form. Their results show that men generally exhibit higher rates of both the reduced and zero form than women, and that younger speakers use reduced and zero forms as well as older speakers, indicating that DAR is not in decline in York. However, their primary focus is on the internal constraints relating to the zero variant, for which they suggest that a preceding obstruent in the phonetic environment favours the zero variant more than do preceding vowels and sonorants, whilst in the preceding grammatical category, prepositions and verbs disfavour the zero form. The modified noun favours the zero variant if it is a name, a place or a point in time. Whilst in the present analysis I do not replicate the tripartite variant distinction adopted by Roeder and Tagliamonte, their comments on the social conditioning of DAR are relevant to the discussion here, as they show that DAR is alive and well among Yorkshire speakers.

### 6.3.7 Summary of contemporary literature

Whilst the existing literature on DAR is quite considerable, none of the existing work gives sufficient attention to the social conditioning of the feature. The phonology and pragmatic functions of DAR have been discussed, and the early works by Tidholm (1979) and Petyt (1985) make inroads into the social conditioning in that they associate the feature with working class speakers. Roeder and Tagliamonte (2007) make mention of the social aspects, but do not give in-depth discussion of their relevance in the York data. Thus, we know very little regarding the frequency and distribution of the reduced form among modern urban Northerners, nor have we adequate information on its patterning across generations or gender groups. In the data from Morley, I seek to address these concerns.

The existing literature also provides little information on the comparative nature of DAR in the different varieties in which it is a feature, beyond the comments regarding its various phonetic realisations. Future work is required to establish whether or not DAR behaves similarly in sociolinguistic terms across the North, or whether different geographical locations have different distributions and

frequencies. It is my intention in this chapter to establish a sociolinguistic investigation of DAR in Yorkshire that serves as a comparison, and a departure point for future studies wishing to replicate this analysis in other geographic locations.

## 6.4 Predictions

Based on the existing findings for DAR in Yorkshire, predictions could be made either way concerning its retention in or loss from the varieties in the region. Given that the findings from Tidholm (1967) and Petyt (1985) show DAR to be a receding feature that is gradually making way for the standard form, we may predict that Morley will also demonstrate diminished DAR use over time, especially as regards the processes of levelling and standardisation which are the central themes of this thesis, and which we have already identified as likely outcomes of the social and geographical mobility that has taken place in Morley over recent decades. However, Petyt (1985) also identifies DAR as a feature strongly associated with the working classes, and one which imbues them with a sense of local identity. Furthermore, Roeder and Tagliamonte (2007) have shown DAR to be resistant to loss in York, by its being used by younger and older speakers alike. Finally, we have seen that DAR serves as an established cultural stereotype of Yorkshire speakers, in a similar fashion to that described by Johnstone *et al.* (2002) for monophthongal /aw/ in Pittsburghese. Therefore, as an established dialectal stereotype of Yorkshire English, there may also be evidence to suggest that the use of DAR could be robustly maintained as a marker of local identity. With these two competing potential outcomes established, I now turn to the analysis of the Morley data, beginning with an explanation of the coding protocol adopted for this investigation.

## 6.5 Coding

The data have been coded for individual speaker, generation and speaker sex. Because Jones (2005) identifies the need for further analysis of social variation in use of DAR, and Shorrocks (1985-87) observes differences in definite article use

according to following phonological segment, the latter factor is also considered as a potential internal constraint, with contexts separated into those for which the following word is consonant-initial, as in (11), and those for which it is vowel initial, as in (12). Occurrences of words that in Received Pronunciation are /h/-initial, but were realised in the data with 'h-dropping', are counted as vocalic tokens, as in (13). Tokens followed by an incomprehensible portion of speech, as in (14), are omitted from the following phonological segment analysis.

(11) a. It wasn't one of **the** poshest schools in Morley.
b. I was sat in **DAR** garden.

(12) a. Dad was in **the** army.
b. That'd be **DAR** eighth week.

(13) a. During **the** holidays and stuff.
b. It's not worth **DAR** hassle.

(14) Whichever way round you have **the** [inc].

A pilot investigation of following grammatical segment was conducted using around a quarter of the total data, and the majority of definite article tokens precede either nouns or adjectives. Furthermore, neither of these two contexts appeared (from the pilot study) to impact upon the rate of distribution, with no significant difference being observed between the two factors (a chi-square test returned a result of 0.33). As such, grammatical segment is not discussed further here. Rupp and Page-Verhoeff's (2005) consideration of pragmatic factors is not replicated either, owing to the problems highlighted in section 6.3.4.

## 6.6 ANALYSIS

### 6.6.1 Overall distribution

I now address the analysis of this variable. Table 6.4 shows the overall distribution of definite article reduction in these data. The analysis is conducted on almost 2500 tokens.

| | Ns | % |
|---|---|---|
| DEFINITE ARTICLE REDUCED | 1240 | 50 |
| DEFINITE ARTICLE FULL | 1251 | 50 |
| *Total* | *2491* | |

*Table 6.4*
Overall distribution of DAR

Table 6.4 confirms that we indeed have robust variability in use of definite articles in these data, with reduced forms occurring in 50% of cases (to the nearest whole percentage).

### 6.6.2 Multivariate analyses

I turn now to a multivariate analysis of the data. I consider the factors of generation, speaker sex and following phonological segment. Seven tokens were omitted from the following phonological segment analysis due to incomprehensible speech, according to the criterion discussed in section 6.5. The results are as shown in Table 6.5.

| | % DAR | Fw | Total Ns |
|---|---|---|---|
| Corrected Mean .497 | | | |
| ***Generation*** | | | |
| HOUCK | 26 | **.26** | 286 |
| RETIRED | 46 | **.46** | 902 |
| WORKING | 65 | **.66** | 704 |
| STUDENT | 49 | **.49** | 599 |
| *Range* | | *40* | |
| ***Speaker sex*** | | | |
| MALE | 52 | **.52** | 1489 |
| FEMALE | 47 | **.47** | 1002 |
| *Range* | | *5* | |
| ***Following phonological segment*** | | | |
| VOWEL | 53 | [.53] | 346 |
| CONSONANT | 49 | [.50] | 2138 |
| *Range* | | *3* | |
| TOTAL Ns | | | 2491 |

*Table 6.5*
Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of DAR in Morley

Table 6.5 shows that generation is the most influential factor constraining use of DAR, with the Houck generation disfavouring DAR, and the working generation having both the highest factor weight and the highest percentage. The retired and student generations neither strongly favour nor disfavour DAR. Speaker sex is also significant, although the range is much smaller than for generation. Following phonological segment is not significant, with both consonants and vowels displaying factor weights that neither favour nor disfavour DAR.

Table 6.6 contains the results of the multivariate analysis with each generation analysed separately for the effects for speaker sex and following phonological segment.

| | Houck | Retired | Working | Student |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Corrected Mean | .259 | .455 | .655 | .486 |
| ***Speaker sex*** | | | | |
| MALE | [.51] | **.62** | **.46** | **.45** |
| FEMALE | [.48] | **.35** | **.56** | **.57** |
| *Range* | *3* | *27* | *10* | *12* |
| ***Following phon. segment*** | | | | |
| VOWEL | [.63] | [.51] | [.42] | **.62** |
| CONSONANT | [.48] | [.50] | [.51] | **.48** |
| *Range* | *15* | *1* | *9* | *14* |
| TOTAL Ns | 286 | 902 | 704 | 599 |

*Table 6.6*
Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of DAR in Morley: generational subgroups

Table 6.6 shows that speaker sex is significant for every generation except that sampled from the Houck corpus, and for the retired and working generations it is the more significant of the two factors (and the only one selected as significant). The student generation returns a significant effect for speaker sex and following phonological context.

The results of the multivariate analysis show that overall, DAR is in use to some degree across the majority of the sample. Generation and speaker sex return significant results and thus warrant further distributional analysis. Because following phonological segment is not selected as significant in any analysis except that for the student cohort, and because the data are so heavily skewed towards pre-consonantal contexts, this factor is not considered further in this chapter.

### 6.6.3 Generation

The multivariate analysis selected generation as the most significant factor in the analysis, with the Houck corpus exhibiting much lower rates of use of DAR than the other generational groups, both in terms of percentage and factor weight. Of course, the Houck data have to be viewed with caution, in view of Houck's status as an outsider to the Leeds community (discussed in chapter 5). Lower rates of use of traditional dialect features among his informants may be the result of accommodation towards the interviewer, or style shift towards more formal speech, as Houck was a stranger and a non-community member. Nevertheless, Table 6.5 seems to suggest that definite article reduction, whilst increasing through the Houck

and retired generations to its peak in the working age group, is now once again receding, with lower rates of use by the student generation. However, by taking a closer look at use by individual speakers, we begin to see a somewhat different pattern emerging.

*6.6.3a Individual speakers*

Figure 6.5 shows the use of DAR by individual speaker (the Houck generation are temporarily excluded here, due to small Ns per speaker). Female speakers are displayed to the left of the graph, whilst males are displayed to the right. Within each sex group, speakers are shown in ascending order of age (left to right) so that Jade and Nathan are the youngest speakers in each sex group, and Josie and Ernie the oldest. The bracketed number on the x-axis gives the total number of tokens per speaker.

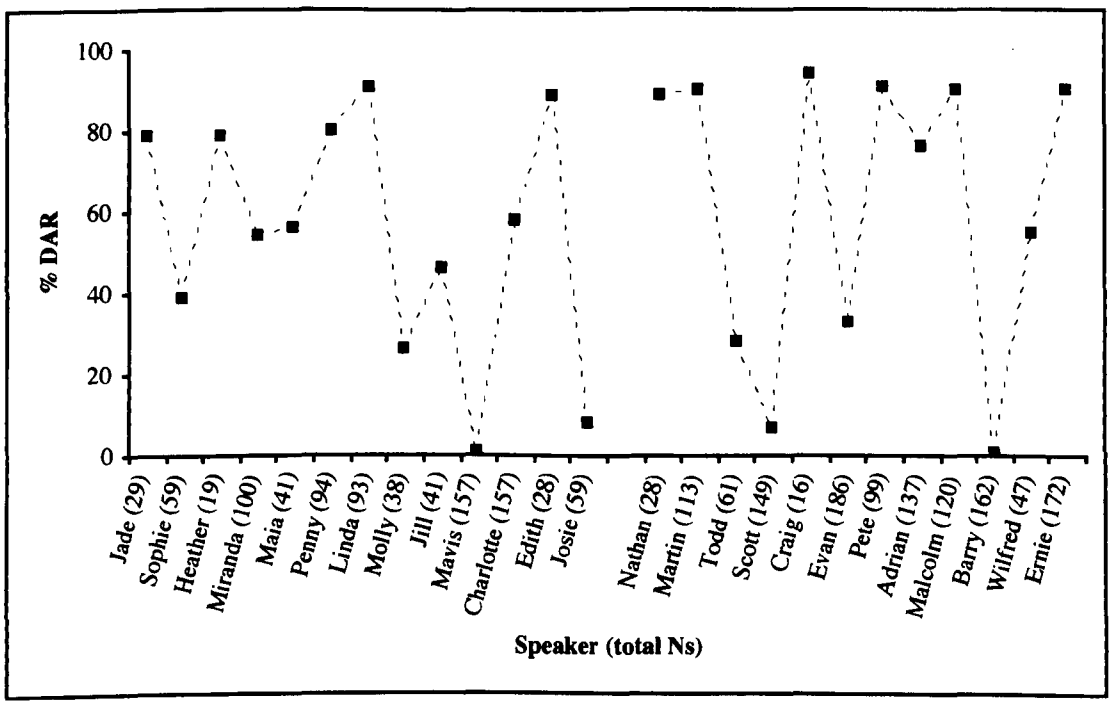


*Figure 6.5*
Use of DAR by individual speakers in the Morley sample

Two things are clear from Figure 6.5: firstly, that there is a lot of individual speaker variation present for this variable, and secondly, that the apparent decline in use among student speakers is *not* a trend that holds true across the whole student sample. Indeed, among female students (from Jade to Maia in Figure 6.5), rate of use

of DAR is consistently above 40%. For male students (from Nathan to Todd) two out of four speakers also exhibit robust retention of DAR. It appears that it may be Scott who is skewing the whole student population data here: he provides 149 tokens of definite article contexts - a quarter of all the student data - but uses only 7% DAR.

### 6.6.4 Speaker sex

Table 6.5 showed that overall, males are more likely to use DAR than females. However, Table 6.6 shows that this result does not hold stable across the generations, and as we have just seen, individual speaker differences also play a role in the observance of DAR, with one speaker (Scott) for the student group appearing to skew the overall rate of use for the male student cohort. Figure 6.6 therefore presents the data by generation and speaker sex to show the difference made to the findings if we temporarily exclude Scott from the analysis.

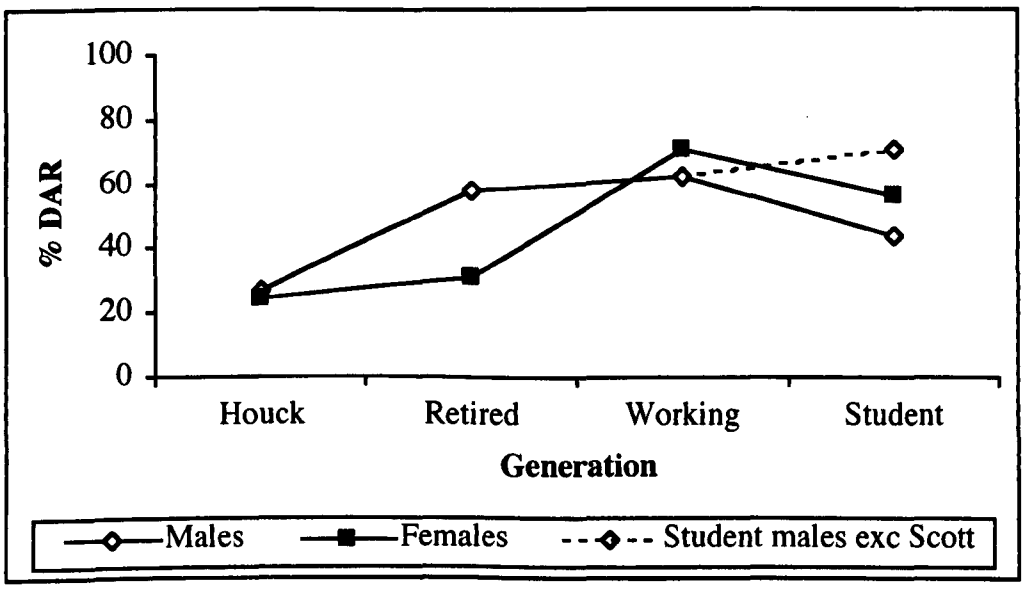


*Figure 6.6*
Distribution of DAR by speaker sex and generation

From Figure 6.6 we can see that the overall trend is an increase in use of DAR over time from the Houck to the Working generations, for both males and females. Whilst a slight drop appears to occur in both sexes in the student generation, when we omit Scott (who appeared to be skewing the earlier results)

from the student male population, we see that the overall use of DAR amongst the remaining males is higher than that for their Working generation counterparts.

### 6.6.5 Summary of analysis

The results shown here suggest that the social conditioning of DAR is an important consideration. There is a great deal of individual speaker variation, and this appears to be the most important finding. Whilst the multivariate analysis returns significant effects for generation and speaker sex, on closer inspection individual differences appear to be the cause. I conclude that DAR remains a robust feature of the Morley variety, as there are prolific users of DAR in every generation in the analysis, and it is used at least to some degree by the majority of speakers in the sample.

## 6.7 Discussion

### 6.7.1 The social stratification of DAR

One aim for this chapter was to discuss the social stratification of DAR, as this was one area which had been largely overlooked in previous studies, and which had been described by Jones (2005) as an area requiring further discussion. I focussed here upon the social factors of generation and speaker sex. However, whilst initial results showed generation and speaker sex to be significant factors in the analysis, further investigation has indicated that individual speaker differences may be a more revealing way to account for these data. Figure 6.5 showed that there are speakers in all generations in Morley who make prolific use of DAR, and there are also speakers from each generation who exhibit less frequent use of reduced variants than the more prolific users. In terms of social stratification, then, it seems that generation and speaker sex are not the key factors for DAR. Previous work (for example Petyt (1985)) has suggested that social class may be an important consideration. This is not a factor which can be tested here, as class is not a factor which was controlled for in the Morley data.

The distribution by speaker shown in Figure 6.5 highlights a further interesting detail, which may be of significance to the social stratification of DAR: from a qualitative perspective, the individuals who are shown to have the very

lowest rates of DAR (namely Josie, Mavis, Barry and Scott) are also informants who generally seemed less at-ease during their interviews. Mavis, Josie and Barry were all interviewed 'one-on-one', which, given the age of the informants relative to the interviewer, necessarily made these conversations slightly more formal than others with the retired group. Moreover, Mavis and Josie generally appeared quite nervous. Scott seemed very keen to impress as a 'model student', and seemed to treat the sociolinguistic interview as a more formal event than his co-interviewee, Todd. We have already identified Scott as being idiosyncratic relative to his generational cohort, and this may be one reason why his rate of use of DAR is so out of line with the other students. This may suggest that style shifting plays a role in the use of DAR, and the Observer's Paradox (Labov 1972b) is clearly an important consideration here.

Whilst this study has begun to discuss DAR from a social perspective, further research is needed to clarify the social dimensions of the stratification of DAR. Future work on DAR should aim to consider style and social class more closely. There is also need for comparative work on a range of Northern English varieties, which I discuss further below.

### 6.7.2 The impact of social and geographical mobility upon DAR

Clearly, the results presented here offer strong evidence that DAR is alive and well in Yorkshire English. The predictions made by Tidholm (1979) and Petyt (1985) that suggest DAR will be replaced by the standard equivalent have been shown to be unsupported; DAR remains a robust feature of Morley English, and it can reasonably be assumed, given the findings of Rupp and Page-Verhoeff (2005), Roeder and Tagliamonte (2007), and comments made by Myrstad-Nilsen (pc), that Morley is not alone in Yorkshire in its retention of reduced definite articles, but rather that the feature is retained across the dialect region. There is no evidence of any pressure towards standardisation as regards this feature. The position of DAR as a cultural stereotype for Yorkshire speakers may well be key to its retention, although we have no way of knowing in which direction this relationship holds or indeed, whether the relationship is unidirectional: does preservation lead to stereotyping, or vice versa?

From the results for Morley alone it is impossible to assess the position of DAR in Yorkshire relative to other Northern varieties that exhibit use of it. This

leaves us an interesting question for future research regarding comparisons with other dialects: is DAR retained to the same degree across other DAR-using areas of the North? If Yorkshire speakers retain this feature to a higher degree than do speakers of other dialects, then this would help to explain why DAR is a Yorkshire stereotype, rather than a more general Northern one. Furthermore, a comparative sample of numerous dialects would enable us to see whether DAR is subject to levelling, with increased similarities across Northern dialects, or indeed, to diffusion, being present in varieties in which it is not a traditional feature. A cross-dialectal sociolinguistic investigation of DAR is thus a vital next stage in the consideration of this variable, as this would help to clarify whether DAR is indeed more frequently observable among Yorkshire speakers than among speakers of other Northern dialects, and whether the stereotypical representation of this feature as 'Yorkshire' is borne out in real data.

## 6.8 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have considered the use of the reduced variants of the definite article. I have focussed on the social constraints that are pertinent to its distribution in the Morley community, and have shown that, whilst a large degree of individual speaker variability exists for DAR, in this sample the variability does not appear to be in decline across the generations represented here, nor is there a stable differentiation over time between the sexes. Use of DAR generally increases in Morley over time, although some prolific DAR users can be seen among each generation in the sample. I have indicated that social class and speech style, which could not be fully analysed in this chapter, owing to the nature of the data sample, may be worthy of consideration in future analyses of the feature. I have suggested that there are links between the retention of DAR and its stereotypical association with Yorkshire speakers, and conclude that further cross dialectal research is required to determine whether this position as a cultural stereotype is reflected in distributional terms.

# CHAPTER 7
# SECONDARY CONTRACTION OF CLITIC NEGATIVES

## 7.0 CHAPTER ABSTRACT

This chapter is concerned with variation and possible change in secondary contraction of clitic negatives. Two forms of secondary contraction exist, one that is thought to be regionally restricted (referred to throughout as DO-type contractions) and one that has been shown to be more geographically widespread (henceforth referred to as DID-type contractions). This variable, given its bi-partite nature, presents us with an excellent opportunity to consider the role of regional dialect levelling and maintenance of distinctive features, as we can compare potential changes in the geographically more widespread DID-type contractions with those for the more regionally restricted DO-type ones. This feature has also been largely overlooked by previous investigations of non-standard varieties, with only a handful of existing studies available, all of which are based upon Yorkshire English. As such, in considering this variable I contribute to our greater understanding of the range of non-standard features observable in British English today.

## 7.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter I consider the variation which occurs between production of a negated verb with a primary contraction of the negative particle, namely the cliticisation of *not-n't*, as in (1), and production with a secondary contraction (a term first applied by Petyt, 1978, 1985, and adopted henceforth in this chapter) as in (2):

(1) a. But we **didn't** [dɪdn?] really realise the impact of it all
b. I mean, young people **don't** [do:n?] want to know

(2) a. We **didn't** [dɪn?] have any accidents with the big buses
b. They sell electrical goods but they **don't** [dõ?] repair them

The nature of the secondary contraction is dependent on the form of the negated verb: where the negative particle is immediately preceded by a consonant, as in *didn't* in (1a), this preceding consonant is the subject of the secondary contraction, resulting in [dɪnt] (or, with t-glotalling word-finally, [dɪn?]) as in (2a); however, where the negative particle is immediately preceded by a vowel, as in *don't* in (1b), it is the nasal of the negative particle that undergoes further contraction, producing [dõt] (or again, with glottalling, [dõ?]), as in (2b). I hereon refer to these as DID-type (2a) and DO-type (2b) contractions. DID-type contractions include verbs such as *isn't, hadn't* and *wouldn't,* whilst DO-type contractions can include *aren't, can't, won't* and *shan't.* A full list of verbs considered in this analysis is provided in the circumscription of the variable context, in section 7.3 below. Note that the vowel in (2b) is represented as nasalised: whilst this is doubtless of interest to socio-phoneticians, the presence (or absence) of vocalic nasality falls beyond the scope of this particular analysis. A pilot investigation of the data suggests that nasality appears to be present during the vowel for the majority of instances of DO-type secondary contraction within the Morley data. Therefore, I here make the a priori assumption that vocalic nasality is a by-product of the secondary contraction process, and is utilised to distinguish potential minimal pairs (such as *aren't~art, can't~cart*). As such, I do not represent the presence or absence of vocalic nasality any further in the data. However, detailed phonetic investigation of this phenomenon is certainly warranted, as its occurrence is by no means categorical.

In this chapter I consider the synchronic variation that exists for secondary contraction, and the diachronic changes that have occurred in terms of rate of use over time. Before I turn to the analysis, I examine the relevant literature pertaining to negation.

## 7.2 Background Literature

I present the review of the existing literature in four parts. In order to consider secondary contraction, it is important to establish the historical emergence of post-verbal negation, from which the clitic negative (and therefore secondary contraction)

has developed. As such, I first examine the emergence of the post-verbal negation in the historical account of English sentential negation. Second, I present an assessment of the present situation regarding sentential negation, and establish that the clitic forms are now the preferred form in modern informal registers of spoken English. I then progress to a discussion of the variability that is present in the production of clitic negatives, and present a review of the existing claims in the literature regarding secondary contraction. Finally I summarise the existing position on this variable and relate this to the overarching aims of this thesis, situating the current research in light of the available literature to date.

### 7.2.1 The emergence of post-verbal negation

The emergence of post-verbal negation, from which the clitic variant is formed, can largely be attributed to a linguistic change known in the literature as 'Jespersen's Cycle' (Jespersen 1917). This involves a series of modifications whereby the original sentential negator (stage 1) is strengthened by the addition of a further negative particle (stage 2). This latter addition is then viewed to be the negative proper, and the former is subject to obsolescence (stage 3) (Wallage 2005). The summarised example given in (3) is from Wallage (2005:27).

(3) ic **ne** secge (Stage 1: Old English)
I NEG say

I **ne** seye **not** (stage 2: Early Middle English)
I NEG say not

I say **not** (stage 3: Late Middle English)
(Jespersen 1917, in Wallage 2005)

Jespersen's Cycle can be seen in operation in Old and Middle English. In Old English and Early Middle English, negation occurred pre-verbally, usually in the form *ne* (Mossé 1952, Frisch 1997, Mitchell and Robinson 2001) as in (4).

(4) **Ne** gefrægn ic freondlicor feower madmas
'I did not learn of four friendlier treasures'
(*Beowulf* 1027, in Wallage 2005:31)

To add emphasis, *noght(e)* or *not* was added post-verbally (Mossé 1952:§149) as in (5). Multiple negations as in (6) were common in Old and Middle English, and use of one negative did not cancel out another (Mitchell and Robinson 2001:§184.4). This pattern is still in evidence in vernacular English today, as example (7) from a retired speaker in the Morley corpus shows.

(5) if þou **ne** sustayne us **noghte**
'if you do not sustain us'
(*The mirror of Saint Edmund,* in Wallage 2005:92)

(6) ...thou **ne** schalt **nat** seen in **no** place **no** thing of yvel
'...you shall see nothing of evil anywhere'
(*Boethius*, in Wallage 2005:257)

(7) And she **never** got up **no** more.
(Morley, retired female)

By the Middle English period, the post-verbal negative particle was commonplace, and use of the preverbal *ne* was receding; indeed, by the end of the Middle English period, *ne* had become obsolete, and post-verbal *not* was virtually the sole sentential negator (Frisch 1997:32).

### 7.2.2 The present situation of sentential negation

Post-verbal negation, as stated in the previous section, has been established as the norm for English negation strategies since the latter part of the Middle English period (around 1500). However, clitic post-verbal negation appears to have taken a further one hundred years to emerge, at least in its written form; the earliest example of clitic *n't* given in the *Oxford English Dictionary* is from the early seventeenth century, and is shown in (8). However, since its emergence, use of the clitic form has increased greatly, and in Present-day English it is commonplace in informal spoken registers, and can even be seen in some more formal registers, as in (9).

(8) How? **Isnt** this the chaine o pearles I gaue to that periurde harlat?
(*Your Five Gallants,* Middleton, 1608)

(9) We **won't** play politics with the long-term future of this country...I **don't** want us to invent policies for newspaper headlines.
(David Cameron, Conservative party leadership victory speech, BBC News website, accessed 6/12/05)

It is, of course, incumbent on the analyst to establish whether or not the variable context (clitic negation) occurs with enough frequency in spoken data to facilitate consideration of the distribution of its variant forms (in this case, the presence or absence of secondary contraction). Claims exist within the literature (for example, Trudgill 1978) that contraction of the sentential negator to a clitic form is a largely southern English feature, and that northern varieties prefer auxiliary contraction. If this is the case, then tokens of the variable context may be few and far between in the Morley data, and may be restricted to instances of non-auxiliary negation. As such, I turn my attention to the existing literature on auxiliary versus negative contraction.

Variation in production of the sentential negator as a clitic has been subject to various sociolinguistic analyses, most notably by Tagliamonte and Smith (2002), who considered variation between contraction of the negator (as in *it isn't*) and contraction of the auxiliary verb (as in *it's not*). Their investigation provides a useful diagnostic for the present investigation, as they set out to test the claim in the existing literature that states negative contraction to be mainly a southern feature, and that the further North one goes, the more one can expect to observe auxiliary contraction. As such, they considered data from a number of peripheral Northern and peripheral Southern communities. To the North they utilised data from York (North Yorkshire), Wheatley Hill (County Durham) and Maryport (Cumbria). Data from Cullybackey (Northern Ireland) and two Scottish varieties - Buckie (Moray) and Cumnock (Ayrshire) – were also included. To the South they had data from Tiverton (Devon) and Henfield (West Sussex). Between Henfield (the northernmost of their Southern varieties) and York (the southernmost of their Northern varieties) there exists a gap of more than 260 miles. Their findings are replicated in Figure 7.1, with communities ranked Southern-most to Northern-most from left to right on the X-axis.

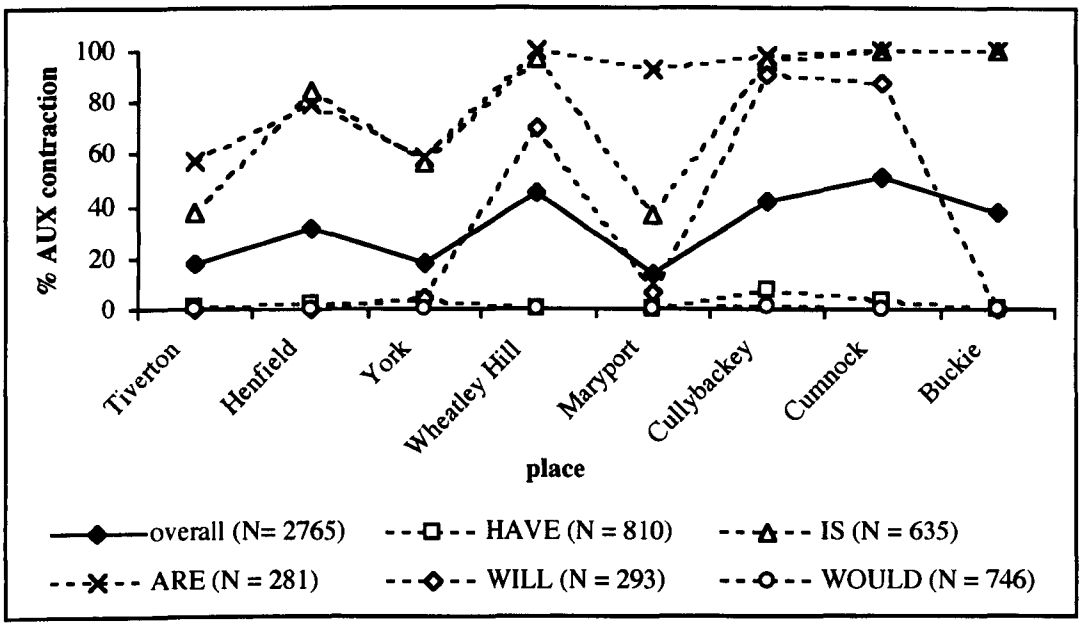


*Figure 7.1*
Distribution of AUX contraction cross-dialectally
(Tagliamonte and Smith 2002:267-270)

Tagliamonte and Smith (2002) show that no clear divide is observed between the Northern and Southern communities in the frequency of AUX versus NEG contraction. If we consider the overall rate in Figure 7.1, rate of AUX-contraction never rises above 60%. This implies that a robust degree of NEG-contraction (i.e. clitic negation) is observed. Thus is it safe to conclude that the clitic negative is a robust feature of modern-day English in both Northern and Southern varieties.

Several dialects of English have local variations upon the realisation of negatives. Tyneside English, for example, demonstrates an 'unemphatic uncontracted' form (as described by Beal and Corrigan 2005) for modal verbs such as *cannot*. Examples from other varieties of British English are clitic *–nae*, used in Northern Ireland and parts of Scotland (Anderwald 2002); *-na*, as found in North Eastern varieties of Scots (Smith 2000; 2001, Steele 2003); *-no*, used in the Midlands (Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson, 1978) and of course, the secondary contracted form discussed here. Having established the frequency with which clitic negatives are used in Modern English, and their susceptibility to variable processes in a number of different varieties, I now turn to existing discussions in the literature on the use of secondary contraction.

### 7.2.3 Historical literature on secondary contraction

Wright (1905) makes mention of the secondary contraction phenomenon in his *English Dialect Grammar*, which concerns itself with the regional variation present among English dialects at the dawn of the twentieth century. He observed both DID-type and DO-type contractions, noting DO-type contractions in the auxiliaries *don't, can't* and *shan't* for South Staffordshire and North Worcestershire (both located in the West Midlands), and DID-type contractions for *isn't* and *hasn't* in South Cheshire, Flint, Denbigh, Stafford, Leicester, Northampton, Warwick, Worcester, Shropshire, South Midlands, Wiltshire and Devon (1905:244). This implies that these features were well-established in vernacular speech, and that the DID-type contractions are the more widely observable feature, although it should be noted that in these non-Yorkshire varieties Wright makes no mention of secondary contraction occurring in modal constructions, and indeed, its use appears restricted to only a small subset of the verbs which can take clitic negation. This is not the case for Yorkshire, in which secondary contraction can be observed across a much wider range of verb constructions (see section 7.3).

It is not surprising that we should find reference to secondary contraction in these Midlands varieties, as more recent commentators make mention of them also: Anderwald (2002) claims that secondary contraction in DO-type negatives is only found in West Yorkshire and the Midlands, although Asprey (pc) describes the situation regarding clitic negatives in the Black Country as 'nebulous,' with the secondary contracted forms occurring only in restricted emphatic statements. Thus, whilst secondary contraction appears to be present for Midlands varieties, it seems, given the evidence of Wright (1905) and Asprey (pc), that its usage is much more highly restricted by verb and stress assignment than it is in Yorkshire. Quantitative examination of the West Midlands is yet to be carried out to support these speculations.

Returning to Wright (1905), it is surprising that he failed to mention the existence of secondary contraction in his native Yorkshire. As one of the most eminent philologists of his day, it seems unlikely that Wright was simply unaware of the existence of secondary contraction in his own variety. Rather, it appears more likely that he has simply omitted to discuss its presence, and indeed, by Wright's own admission (1905:iii), the *English Dialect Grammar* was never intended to be a

fully descriptive treatment of all the dialects of the British Isles. That said, however, Wright also makes no mention of secondary contraction in his description of the dialect of Windhill (1892), which is one such treatment of a single dialect and which thus could reasonably be expected to contain reference to the minutiae that Wright saw fit to omit from his later work. Neither do any other Yorkshire dialect commentators make mention of its existence. As such, the historical position of secondary contraction in Yorkshire up until the latter half of the twentieth century is somewhat opaque. Our consideration of this variable thus has to rely on more recent discussions of the Yorkshire varieties.

### 7.2.4 Modern literature on secondary contraction

I discuss in this section three studies which consider the use of secondary contraction. Firstly, Petyt (1978, 1985), whose analysis focuses on Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield, and is the first quantitative analysis of the feature. Secondly, I discuss comments made more recently by Broadbent (2007). Lastly, I highlight work carried out on data from York by Whisker (2007).

#### *7.2.4a Petyt*

Petyt (1978, 1985) discusses secondary contractions in Bradford, Huddersfield and Halifax. He identifies two groups of negatives; those he terms XVCnt negatives (referred to in this chapter as DID-type contractions) and secondly, XVnt forms (which I refer to as DO-type contractions) (1978:92). According to Petyt, secondary contraction is observed in a wider geographical area for DID-type negatives than for DO-type negatives, which are restricted to a more confined geographical area that includes West Yorkshire (1978:91). This would seem to reinforce the position of the historical literature detailed above: recall that a number of locations were cited by Wright (1905) as places where DID-type contraction is used, whilst only two locations are mentioned for DO-type contraction.

For DID-type negatives, Petyt found a typical class and style correlation with use of secondary contraction, in that it occurs more frequently towards the lower end of the social scale, but all class groups increase rate of use in less formal situations (1978:95). Surprisingly, however, there was no age correlation, implying that this variable is not undergoing change in Bradford, Huddersfield and Halifax.

For DO-type negatives, Petyt decided to exclude tokens of *don't know* taking the forms [dʊnoː ~ dəʊnəʊ ~ dʌnəʊ], as these do not follow the typical secondary contraction pattern (1978:97): rather than contracting the nasal, as we would expect for a verb with DO-type structure, here the following obstruent has been omitted.

As with DID-type negatives, secondary contraction in DO-type negatives is subject to a clear stylistic constraint, with fewer secondary contractions in reading and careful styles than in casual speech. However, an interesting class distinction was noted here, with the highest use of contracted forms among the upper working classes, lower uses by middle class speakers, and lower rates still from the lower working classes (1978:98). Petyt accounts for this in terms of his sample construction and concludes that only men follow this pattern; women are stratified regularly for class and style (1978:98). He concludes that secondary contraction is historically stable and usage is on the increase in West Yorkshire, with Bradford "leading the way" (1985:189). This is a claim to which I shall return in the DISCUSSION section of the chapter.

As the first quantitative study of secondary contraction recorded in the literature, Petyt's work has been highly influential upon all subsequent analyses of the feature, including the present investigation. It is his circumscription of the variable context and delineation of the two types of secondary contraction that has been adopted by all other investigators of the variable. However, he does not provide token counts for his data, which makes it difficult to establish how robust his findings are. Nevertheless, and in particular for the present analysis, his data provide an excellent real-time comparison of rate of secondary contraction in industrial West Yorkshire.

*7.2.4b Broadbent*

Broadbent (2007) claims that use of secondary contraction in West Yorkshire (specifically, in fact, in Morley) can be seen as evidence for use of *amn't*. In West Yorkshire, first person present tense BE, when realised with a clitic negative, is produced as *aren't*, as in (10).

(10) I **aren't** hungry.

Under secondary contraction, this is realised as [ãːt]. Broadbent views this as a tertiary contraction, interpreting [ãːt] as *amn't*, with secondary contraction to aØn't and a further, tertiary contraction applied, to produce [ãːt]. This would appear to be an extrapolation of the secondary contraction process, and Broadbent's interpretation is problematic in view of the evidence. First of all, there is no evidence to suggest any other verbs have, as yet, been subject to tertiary contraction: *didn't* is regularly heard to be [dɪnt] but is never realised as [dĩt]; *haven't* is often [hant] but never [hãt]. (H-dropping can also occur word-initially here.) Furthermore, as secondary contraction is a variable process, we would expect that if *amn't* is occurring in its tertiary contracted form it should also be observable, at least to some degree, in the secondary contracted form [ant] *and* its non-secondary contracted form *amn't*. This is certainly not the case in Morley, and qualitative observation of the wider West Yorkshire region leads me to believe it an unlikely occurrence. Moreover, I can find no reference in the dialectology literature to a historical presence of *amn't* for West Yorkshire. It seems a much more reliable account of the variability observed to interpret [ɑ̃ːt] as *aren't*, irrespective of the subject with which it occurs, and therefore, to consider first person singular present tense BE with clitic negation to be utterances containing an *I aren't* construction, such as represented in (10) above.

*7.2.4c Whisker*

Whisker (2007) reports on use of secondary contraction in York, North Yorkshire, using data from Tagliamonte's York corpus (1996-1998). She sampled eight speakers aged 20-26 ('young' age group) and eight speakers aged 68-87 ('old' age-group) at the time of recording. She observed use of both DID-type and DO-type contractions among her sample, more frequently among younger speakers than among older speakers, and more frequently for DO-types than DID-types, as the graph in Figure 7.2, adapted from Steele and Whisker (2007), shows.

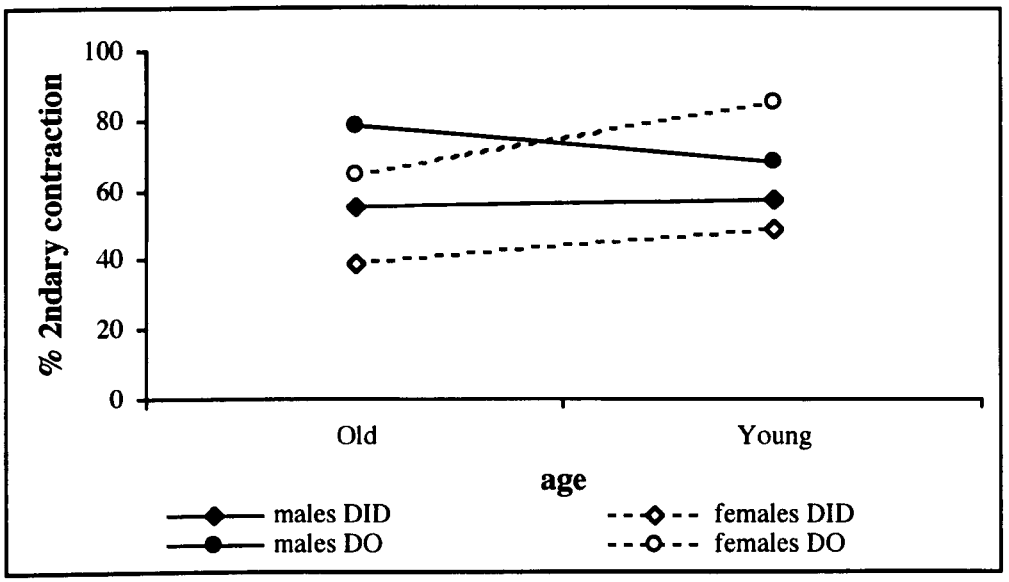


*Figure* 7.2
Secondary contraction in York by age, sex and negation type, adapted from Whisker and Steele (2007)

Figure 7.2 shows that secondary contraction is not a recent innovation in York, with substantial variability demonstrated by even the oldest speakers in the sample. Indeed, Whisker (2007) reports that the oldest York speaker, an eighty-seven year old female, has 56% secondary contraction of DO-type negatives. This informant would have been in her sixties at the time of Petyt's data collection in the early 1970s. Whisker concludes, on the basis of the evidence from this speaker, that it seems more likely that secondary contraction of DO-type negatives has been a feature of York English since before 1970, rather than the feature spreading to York post-1970. She points out that if DO-type contraction was a recent innovation in York we would expect a substantial difference between younger and older speakers in the community, with older speakers showing much lower frequencies of use than are actually observed. Whisker's analysis thus seems to suggest that secondary contraction of DO-type negatives is perhaps not as geographically restricted as Petyt (1985) believed it to be.

### 7.2.5 Summary of previous literature

A number of issues can be drawn out of the discussion of the existing literature. Firstly, it is established that secondary contraction is observable in West Yorkshire varieties for both DID-type and DO-type constructions (Petyt 1978, 1985). Secondly, there is some evidence that use of secondary contraction is found beyond

West Yorkshire: Whisker (2007) observes its use in York, and comments impressionistically that she has observed DO-type contraction in Hull. This would seem to imply that DO-type contractions are not so locally restricted as Petyt believed them to be. As such, given the present analysis based upon the *a priori* assumption that DO-type contractions are more regionally restricted, it is incumbent to establish exactly how restricted the geographical distribution of DO-type secondary contraction is. I have thus conducted a pilot study of data from the IViE corpus reading passage recordings (Grabe, Post and Nolan 2001), in order to determine whether DO-type secondary contractions are observed even further afield than York. I have considered data from three speakers in four of the dialects represented in the IViE corpus (Cambridge, Cardiff, Liverpool and Newcastle), and the results show that, whilst DID-type contractions are observed in all four of these varieties, as shown in (11), DO-type contractions are not present.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| (11) | a. | She **diØn't** want the Prince to see her | Cambridge male |
| | b. | 'It's you, my darling **iØn't** it?' | Liverpool female |
| | c. | But he **couØn't** find the girl. | Cardiff male |
| | d. | They **couØn't** believe it! | Cardiff female |
| | e. | She **diØn't** want the Prince to see her | Newcastle female |
| | f. | She **diØn't** want the Prince to see her | Newcastle male |

These findings concur with Petyt's view that DID-type contractions are the more widespread of the two patterns. However, Petyt's claim that DO-type contractions were restricted to West Yorkshire is not supported by the evidence from Whisker (2007); DO-type contractions seem to be used throughout the Yorkshire regions. However, whilst DO-type contractions are not restricted only to West Yorkshire, their use is clearly not pandemic. I thus conclude that it is still appropriate to consider DO-type contractions as more regionally restricted than their DID-type counterparts.

The previous work by Petyt (1985) and the more recent comments on use of secondary contraction in Yorkshire by Broadbent (2007) and Whisker (2007), suggest that secondary contraction will be present in the Morley data. However, it will be interesting to see the rate of use by each generation: will secondary contraction use remain stable, as Petyt observed in West Yorkshire in the 1970s, or will the social and geographical mobility that has been a characteristic of British society since the 1970s have impacted upon the use of this feature?

To contextualise the literature review within the overall framework of the present study, secondary contraction seems to be a useful diagnostic in the patterns of contact-induced change observable in Morley. We have two types of contraction; DID-type contractions, which are clearly used in many varieties of English, and as such may be described as a widespread non-standard feature, and DO-type contractions, which, whilst not as geographically restricted as Petyt claimed, have yet to be documented using quantitative methods beyond the Yorkshire borders. Therefore, the concerns for the analysis of this variable in Morley are three-fold:

1. What patterns of variation and change are observed for the widely-used DID-type contractions?
2. How does DID-type variation compare with the supposedly more locally restricted DO-type contractions?
3. How do these results inform our understanding of contact-induced linguistic change?

## 7.3 Coding

Before I turn to the analysis of my own data, it is important to establish the coding protocol employed here. I first highlight some problematic tokens that have been excluded from the analysis.

Following Petyt (1978), tokens of *don't know* were not included, because of the high rate at which this phrase is lexicalised as *dunno*, which does not follow the pattern of secondary contraction. Thus, 101 tokens of *don't know* were excluded.

Tokens of negated past tense BE were also excluded from this analysis. As shown in chapter 10 of this thesis, a number of variant pronunciations of past tense BE exist in Leeds, in both affirmative and negative contexts. A secondary-contracted form of *wasn't* [wɒn?] can occur, but as the form [wɒ] is observed in the affirmative, the question arises as to whether [wɒn?] is truly a secondary contracted form, or simply the negated form of [wɒ]. None of the other verbs included in this analysis has a contracted affirmative counterpart, and as such, *wasn't* has been omitted from the analysis of secondary contraction. *Weren't* has also been omitted

on the same basis, meaning that 194 tokens of negated past tense BE were removed from the analysis. Following these exclusions, the variable context includes the negated verbs in (12) as potential sites of secondary contraction (list adapted from Petyt (1985:182&185)). An asterisk * indicates that although the verb represents a potential site of secondary contraction, no tokens of these verbs were observed in the data.

(12) a. DID-type contractions:

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| *isn't* | *doesn't* | *didn't* | *couldn't* | *shouldn't* |
| *hadn't* | *hasn't* | *haven't* | *wouldn't* | *oughtn't** |
| *needn't** | *mightn't** | | | |

b. DO-type contractions:

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| *aren't* | *won't* | *can't* | *don't* (exc pre-'know') |
| *daren't* | *ain't* | *shan't** | |

Following these exclusions, a total of 1004 tokens remains. These tokens were coded for the dependent variable (secondary contraction versus no secondary contraction); negation type (DO-type verbs versus DID-type verbs); and individual verb form. The social factors of speaker, sex and generation are also considered. The tokens were subjected to distributional and multivariate analysis, the results of which are presented below.

## 7.4 RESULTS

Table 7.1 shows the overall distribution of secondary contraction in the Morley and Houck data pooled.

| | Ns | % |
|---|---|---|
| SECONDARY CONTRACTION | 845 | 84 |
| NO SECONDARY CONTRACTION | 159 | 16 |
| *Total Ns* | *1004* | |

*Table 7.1*
Overall distribution of secondary contraction in clitic negatives

From Table 7.1 it is apparent that the secondary-contracted forms are a frequent feature of Morley English, as they occur in 84% of all clitic negative

contexts. Table 7.2 presents the results of the multivariate analysis of these data. Note that because of the number of different verb forms to occur with a clitic negative (sixteen different verbs have been identified in the data), the individual verb factor is not considered in the multivariate analysis, although it is considered from a distributional perspective.

| | % | Factor weight | Ns |
|---|---|---|---|
| Corrected Mean .861 | | | |
| **NEGATION TYPE** | | | |
| DO-TYPE | 90 | **.61** | 420 |
| DID-TYPE | 80 | **.42** | 584 |
| *range* | | ***19*** | |
| **SPEAKER SEX** | | | |
| MALE | 82 | [.45] | 455 |
| FEMALE | 86 | [.54] | 549 |
| *range* | | *9* | |
| **GENERATION** | | | |
| HOUCK | 63 | **.22** | 41 |
| RETIRED | 77 | **.36** | 363 |
| WORKING | 90 | **.62** | 332 |
| STUDENT | 90 | **.59** | 268 |
| *range* | | ***40*** | |
| TOTAL Ns | | | 1004 |

*Table 7.2*
Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of secondary contraction in clitic negative constructions.

In the multivariate analysis, NEGATION TYPE and GENERATION remain significant. The factor group with the largest range is generation, for which the constraint hierarchy is (Working>Student>Retired>Houck). This is followed by negation type, for which the constraint hierarchy is (DO-types>DID-types). SPEAKER SEX is not significant, although secondary contraction is favoured in the data from females (FW=.54), but slightly disfavoured in the data from males (FW=.45). Table 7.3 shows separate analyses for the DID and DO-type data.

| | **DO-type negatives** | **DID-type negatives** |
|---|---|---|
| Corrected Mean | .93 | .81 |
| **SPEAKER SEX** | | |
| MALE | [.53] | **.41** |
| FEMALE | [.47] | **.58** |
| *range* | 6 | *17* |
| **GENERATION** | | |
| HOUCK | **.09** | **.34** |
| RETIRED | **.28** | **.41** |
| WORKING | **.72** | **.59** |
| STUDENT | **.61** | **.54** |
| *range* | *63* | *25* |
| TOTAL Ns | 420 | 584 |

*Table 7.3*

Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of secondary contraction in DID-type and DO-type negative constructions.

The results of the statistical analysis in Table 7.3 can be summarised as follows: For both negation types, GENERATION is significant, with the same constraint hierarchy (Working>Student>Retired>Houck) observed in both DID-type and DO-type negatives. SPEAKER SEX is significant only for DID-type negatives, and note that the constraint hierarchy is reversed for DO-type negatives, indicating there may be an interaction between negation type and speaker sex. The distributional data examined below shed more light on this.

### 7.4.1 Speaker sex and negation type

Table 7.4 shows the cross-tabulated data for speaker sex and negation type.

| | **DO-type** | | **DID-type** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Ns | % 2ndary contraction | Total Ns | % 2ndary contraction |
| FEMALES | 221 | 87 | 328 | 86 |
| MALES | 199 | 92 | 256 | 73 |

*Table 7.4*

Distribution of secondary contraction by speaker sex and negation type

Table 7.4 reveals the nature of the interaction observed in the multivariate analysis. For both sexes, secondary contraction is used more frequently in DO-type negations than DID-type negations. However, the difference between the two types of negation is greater for males than females, and whilst for DO-type contractions, the rate of use amongst males is higher than that for females, in DID-type contractions, this pattern is reversed. When we further divide the data by generation, as in Figure 7.3, we can see that the interaction is even more complicated.

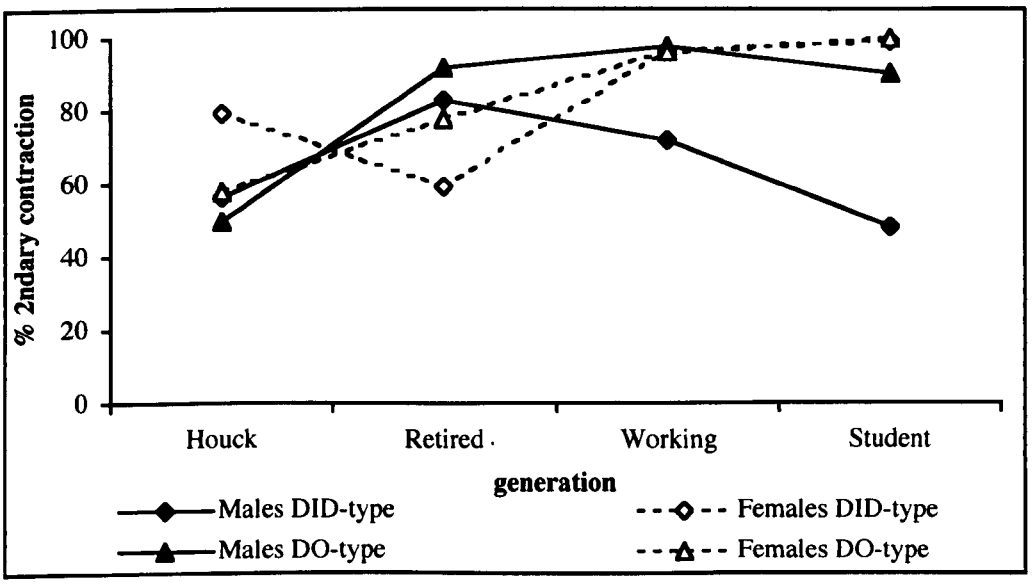


*Figure 7.3*
Secondary contraction by generation, verb type and gender

Figure 7.3 shows an interesting male-female distinction here: whilst women increase their use of secondary contraction over time for both DID-type and DO-type negatives, men *decrease* their use of DID-type secondary contractions, but maintain high rates of use in DO-type contractions. Thus, what appears to be happening in Morley is that females converge upon the secondary contracted variant and, over time, treat the two negation types in an increasingly similar way. Males, by contrast, exhibit divergence, and over time treat the two negation types in an increasingly different way.

If we consider individual speakers, shown in Figure 7.4, we see that this difference between male and female speakers holds true across the sample: females (to the left of the graph) treat the two forms of secondary contraction in a very similar way, with a close matching of percentage secondary contraction for DID-type and DO-type negation for the majority of the female speakers. By contrast, for the

majority of the male speakers a distinction is maintained between the two negation types, with DO-type contraction consistently high across the male cohort, whereas DID-type secondary contractions are consistently lower in frequency. We shall discuss possible reasons for this later.

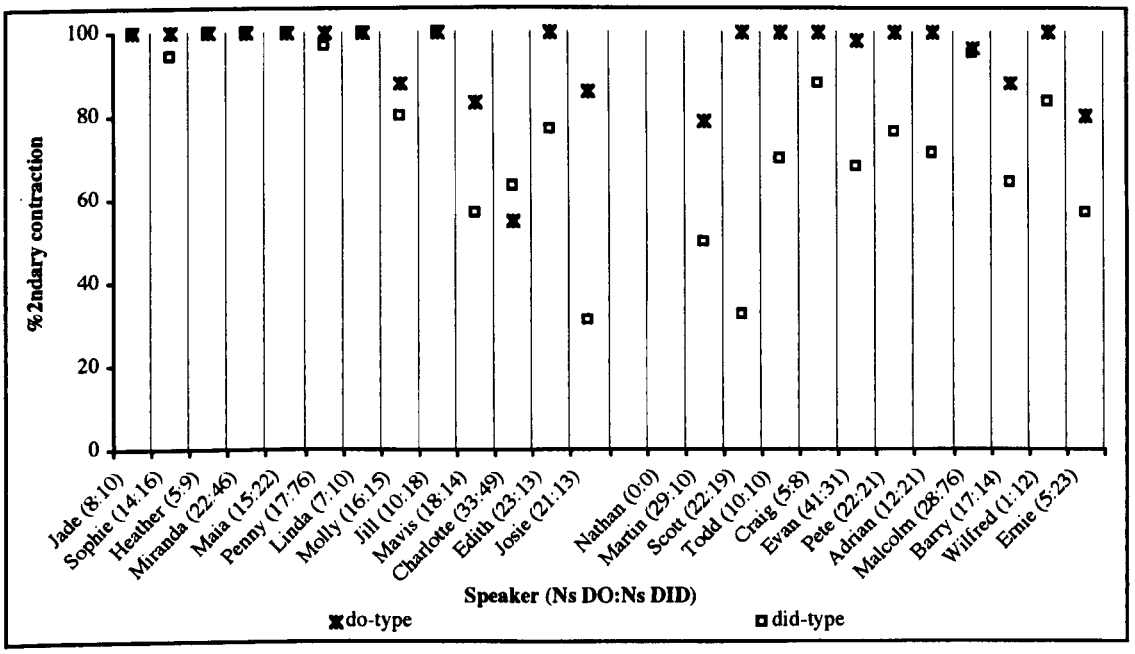


*Figure 7.4*
Distribution of DID-type and DO-type secondary contraction by individual speaker

### 7.4.2 Verb form

Whilst verb form could not be considered in the multivariate analysis for this variable, it is nevertheless interesting to discover whether secondary contraction affects all verb forms in the same way. Table 7.5 displays rate of secondary contraction for individual verb forms. *Shouldn't* occurs only four times, shown in (12)-(15). *Ain't, daren't* and *mustn't* occur only once each in the data. These occurrences are shown in (16)-(18). These four lexical items are therefore collapsed into a 'miscellaneous' category in Table 7.5. The paucity of tokens of *ain't* may seem surprising, given the frequency of use of *ain't* in southern varieties of British English (for example, in Reading; Cheshire (1991)) and elsewhere; this in itself makes a striking statement regarding diffusion of 'southern' non-standard features, but to discuss this matter further here would be tangential.

(12) Things that **shouldn't** have been, were. (Retired, Josie)
(13) I **shouldn't** say that on the tape. (Retired, Mavis)
(14) **Shouldn't** need to worry about them (Working, Evan)

(15) I **shouldn't** have gone to that one. (Student, Todd)
(16) I **ain't** got none. (Houck, Hilary)
(17) You **daren't** turn your back on your kids (Working, Evan)
(18) She **mustn't** have heard him (Retired, Edith)

| Verb form | Total Ns | % secondary contraction |
|---|---|---|
| *DO-type verbs* | | |
| DON'T | 259 | 94 |
| CAN'T | 111 | 86 |
| WON'T | 25 | 92 |
| AREN'T | 21 | 71 |
| *DID-type verbs* | | |
| DIDN'T | 303 | 83 |
| WOULDN'T | 57 | 75 |
| COULDN'T | 56 | 80 |
| HAVEN'T | 48 | 60 |
| ISN'T | 48 | 94 |
| DOESN'T | 38 | 79 |
| HADN'T | 23 | 74 |
| HASN'T | 8 | 75 |
| *Miscellaneous* | *7* | *29* |

*Table 7.5*
Distribution of secondary contraction by verb form

From the results in Table 7.5, it is clear that one must be rather speculative in the interpretation, as the data are not evenly distributed. Generally speaking, a frequency effect could be suggested, as for the most part the more frequently occurring verbs in the dataset seem to display a higher rate of secondary contraction. However, there are notable exceptions to this (especially *won't* and *isn't*), and the results here remain inconclusive.

### 7.4.3 Summary of findings

Overall, use of secondary contraction has increased in Morley over time. This finding is also affected by negation type (whether the negated verb is a DID-type or DO-type contraction) and speaker sex, with a difference in use between men and women. DO-type negatives have demonstrated a greater increase in use than DID-type negatives. An interaction is observed over time between negation type and speaker sex, with males exhibiting a divergent pattern between the two types, treating DID-type contraction and DO-type contraction in an increasingly different way, whereas females demonstrate a convergent pattern, treating the two types in an

increasingly similar way. These summarised findings answer the first two questions identified at the end of section 7.2 above. The discussion section seeks to answer the final question: *how do these results inform our understanding of contact-induced linguistic change?*

## 7.5 DISCUSSION

Secondary contraction appears to be one change that has gone almost to completion in Morley, with younger females demonstrating near-categorical adoption of secondary contracted variants for both DID-type and DO-type negatives. It could be said that this is evidence for levelling to supra-local norms, as secondary contraction (especially in DID-type constructions) has been observed in other varieties of English. However, very little is known about this variable in many other varieties of English, apart from the impressionistic comments highlighted in the review of the literature above: indeed, Whisker's comments on York appear to be the only quantitative investigation of this feature to be conducted upon a community outside West Yorkshire. Furthermore, secondary contraction appears to be a traditional feature for West Yorkshire, so whilst a levelling account may be appropriate, it must be emphasised that it is levelling to a form already associated with the local accent and dialect, and not a form which has diffused into the local variety from an external point of origin.

The gender difference observed is an important finding. Females in Morley appear to treat both strands of secondary contraction in the same way, with similar patterns observed for DID-type and DO-type secondary contraction in female speech. Males, however, appear to have a bipartite system, as they treat the two negation types in increasingly different ways, maintaining the DO-type secondary contraction, which is more closely associated with West Yorkshire, but decreasing use of the more widespread DID-type secondary contraction. Two possible hypotheses exist here: one is that secondary contraction in DO-type negatives, as the more traditional local feature, is better established within the speech community. Female speakers may be innovating the extension of the secondary contraction rule to DID-type contexts. Whether this can be attributed to a levelling mechanism, with women

adopting the more supra-local form of secondary contraction ahead of men, remains to be seen. The second hypothesis is that male speakers are leading the move away from supra-local non-standard features (in this case, DID-type secondary contractions), retaining only those forms that have the more traditional attachment to the local accent and dialect (i.e. the DO-type contractions). In other words, the traditional local features carry more 'covert prestige' (Trudgill 1972) for Morley males than features which are in more widespread use. However, I emphasise that I am not reporting this as a firm research conclusion, but rather a speculative suggestion based upon the pattern observed here. More thorough investigation of secondary contraction in other urban communities would help to strengthen or refute these hypotheses.

Inroads can be made towards this task by comparing rate of use of secondary contraction in Morley with real-time trend data from the earlier findings of Petyt (1985) for Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield, and Whisker's (2007) analysis of York using data from Tagliamonte's (1996-1998) corpus. Figure 7.5 shows the frequency of DID-type and DO-type contraction across the three datasets. One should emphasise that this represents a rather crude comparison. However, it is the best available, given the paucity of data on this feature. Petyt (1985) displayed his data by age of speaker, and had eight continuous age groups, separated into decades, so the x-axis in Figure 7.5 represents speakers aged 80-89, 70-79, and so on, through to 10-19. Whisker's analysis considered two generations of speakers in York ('young' aged 20-26 and 'old' aged 68-87). Of course, the Morley data have three generations (excluding Houck) aged 12-17; 37-52 and 62-87. I have thus plotted the figures for Morley and York in line with where the mean age for each generation group would fall, according to Petyt's categories. The York age group results are therefore located at 20+ and 70+ on the graph, whilst the Morley data are plotted at 10+, 40+ and 70+ respectively. Recall that Petyt's data were recorded in 1970, and as such, his 10-19 year olds would now by of comparable age to the Morley working generation, and his 40-49 group would now be the same age as the Morley retired generation.

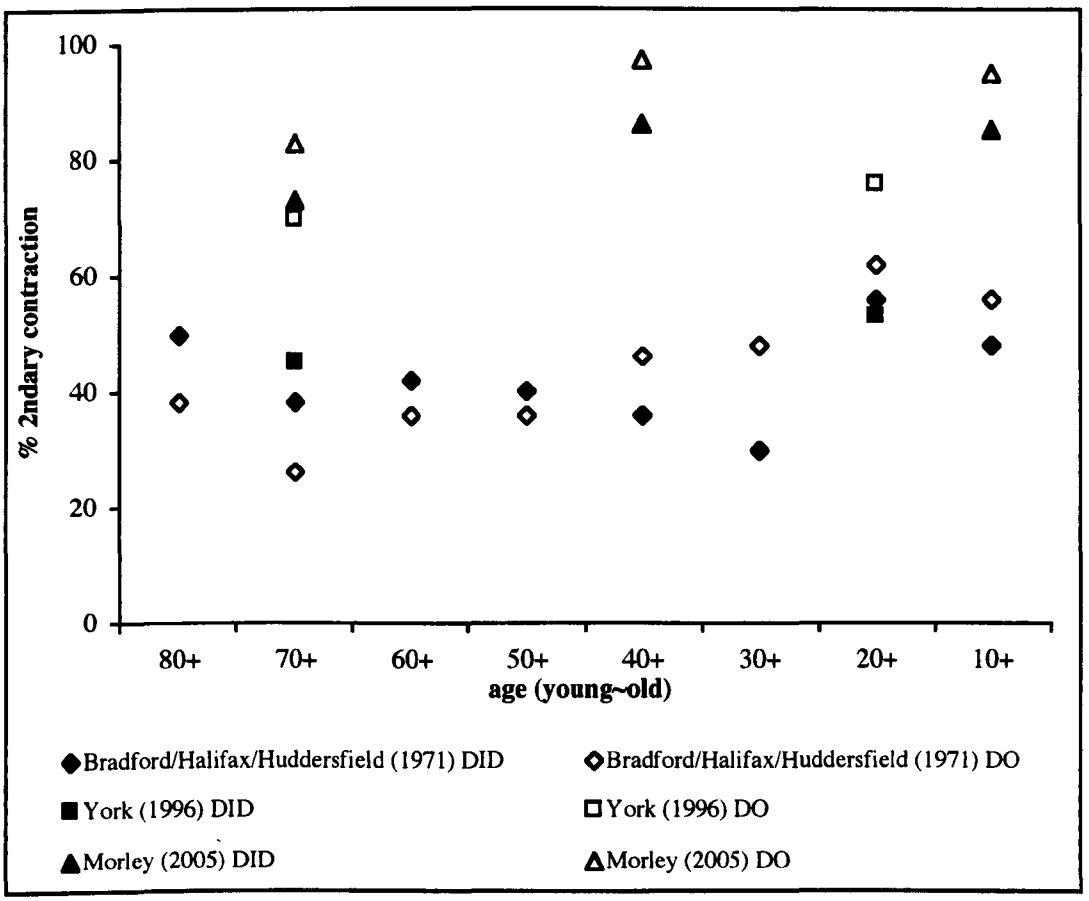


*Figure 7.5*
Comparison of secondary contraction in Yorkshire in real time, using data from Petyt (1985) and Whisker (2007)

The data in Figure 7.5 appear to show a general increase in use of secondary contraction over time: the earliest data (Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield) consistently exhibit the lowest frequency of use and the most recent data (Morley) has consistently the highest rate of secondary contraction use. Furthermore, within each dataset, the youngest speakers generally have higher rates of secondary contraction than the older ones. In Petyt's data we see a crossover, from DID-type contractions being more frequent among older speakers, to DO-types being more frequent among the younger informants. In York and Morley, secondary contraction in DO-types is consistently the more frequent occurrence. This can tentatively be interpreted as counter-evidence to the first hypothesis above, as the DID-type contractions are clearly not a recent innovation for Yorkshire varieties, being frequently used among Petyt's oldest generation of speakers, born before the turn of the twentieth century.

If we compare the Morley retired and working generations with their equivalent generational cohorts in Petyt (i.e. the retired to the 40+ group and the working to the 10+ group), then we can interpret the observed pattern in two ways: first, assuming that the individuals within these groups are socio-economically comparable, we may have evidence for communal change (Labov 1994:83), with instability present both between individuals of the same generation recorded at separate points in time, and within the separate community trends. Put another way, the working generation in Morley in 2005 use more secondary contraction than their generational cohort did when they were aged 10-19 in Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield in 1970, and the same working informants use more secondary contraction than the retired speakers in their own community in 2005. The second interpretation relates to geographical diffusion: recall that Petyt (1985:188) reports the highest rates of use to be in his Bradford sample, with speakers in Halifax and Huddersfield using secondary contraction less frequently. From this he suggested that Bradford was either 'leading the way' or close to the epicentre of secondary contraction. I suggest that the results from Morley suggest that Leeds is the epicentre for West Yorkshire. If we assume that individual rate of use remains stable over time, and that the data recorded in 2005 are an accurate reflection of the distribution of secondary contraction in Morley in the 1970s, Morley (5 miles from Leeds) has the highest rate of use, then Bradford (10 miles from Leeds) has the next highest rate, then Halifax and Huddersfield (16 and 20 miles from Leeds respectively). This would appear to fit with a geographical, wave-model diffusion, with locations closest to Leeds receiving the form earlier than those further away. However, this assumes that Leeds is the epicentre of the variable in West Yorkshire. Whilst it is not unreasonable to assume that, as the largest and most influential city in the county in social and economic terms, Leeds is also the powerhouse in linguistic terms, this claim requires substantiation.

In response to the question posed at the end of section 7.4.3, this variable seems to have much to tell us about contact-induced linguistic change. Its bipartite nature, with one strand of the variation more geographically restricted than the other, permits the comparison of restricted versus supra-local forms *within the same variable,* a condition which not many sociolinguistic variables can boast. Irrespective of the location of the test site (within the DO-type traditional varieties or

external to them), this variable has much say, and the comparison of patterns of change between DID-type and DO-type contractions across a range of geographical test sites would appear to be the next logical step in the investigation of this variable. It is imperative that we determine whether or not the DO-type contractions have diffused beyond the Yorkshire regions, and whether they are still quantifiably observed in the West Midlands (and whether their distribution in the West Midlands, where they are said to be a traditional feature, is in any way comparable to West Yorkshire). Also, the nature of DID-type contractions cross-dialectally is an important consideration, as they are purportedly the more widespread feature; are similar patterns of use observed for DID-type contractions in varieties across the country, and can a levelling interpretation be drawn from this? I raise these questions in the hope that future researchers will adopt them and utilise them in the furtherance of our knowledge, not only on secondary contraction specifically, but on its contribution to the wider literature on contact-induced change.

## 7.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Both forms of secondary contraction (DO-type and DID-type) have been found to be conspicuously present in the Morley community, even to the point of categoricity among young females. Convergence upon the traditional feature is widespread, and use of the DO-type contractions (thought to be more geographically restricted) is particularly high across the sample. DID-type contraction appears to be receding among male speakers, and I have tentatively suggested that this may be evidence for divergence from the more widely observed non-standard feature. Further real-time comparison with Petyt (1985) and Whisker (2007) has shown that there may be evidence for communal change in secondary contractions in Yorkshire. I conclude that this variable is a useful diagnostic in the investigation of contact-induced change, and that further research is needed to establish how widespread both DID-type and DO-type contractions really are, as improving our understanding of this variable could be beneficial to our knowledge of processes of language change more generally.

# CHAPTER 8
# FIRST PERSON POSSESSIVE PRONOUNS

## 8.0 Chapter Abstract

This chapter considers the morphological reallocation of first person personal pronouns to possessive contexts. This is a traditional feature of Morley English, and it is considered here as a morphosyntactic process which may be subject to contact-induced change. Its patterning over time tells us much about the impact of increased social and geographical contact on morphosyntactic variability, and the role that morphosyntactic variables play in dialect change.

## 8.1 Introduction

Variation occurs in Northern dialects in the use of first person possessive pronouns. In plural contexts the standard possessive pronoun *our* can be replaced with the object personal pronoun *us*. In singular contexts the standard possessive pronoun *my* occurs variably with the object pronoun *me*. This is treated here as a reallocation of the object personal pronoun to use in possessive contexts. Examples of the variation from the Leeds data can be found in (1) and (2).

(1) a. My father made a special place to put **our** coal
b. In those days, **us** normal working hours was six while six

(2) a. I wrote **my** car off, believe it or not
b. I got **me** first car from him

In the following sections, I first present the rationale for treating this as reallocation, and make some *a priori* statements as to how the data are treated. I then present a review of the existing literature. I circumscribe the variable context, and

address the coding protocol used in the analysis, before presenting the findings of the investigation.

## 8.2 Rationale for the analysis

There are a number of ways in which these data can be presented, and whether or not the term 'reallocation' is the most appropriate way to describe the variability addressed here could be debated. I here present my reasons for dividing the data in this way, and make some *a priori* statements and caveats.

Firstly, it is worth noting that relatively little work is available on this pronominal alternation, so there is no precedent to follow in terms of its categorisation. As such, the first caveat to be addressed is that in presenting this chapter in terms of pronoun reallocation, I do not intend to set a precedent to the effect that this is the only way to deal with the variability presented here, but merely the most appropriate option for the data available, and the approach which best helps answer the overall questions of this thesis.

There are other ways in which this variable could be considered, so I devote some time to the justification of a reallocation approach here. The difficulty lies in the singular form *my*. Whilst the replacement of *our* with *us* is fairly uncontroversially a substitution of the plural possessive pronoun with its personal pronoun counterpart, the singular contexts cause rather more debate as to their categorisation, due to the wider range of possible phonological realisations of *my*. Obviously, the standard production is possible, whereby the vowel is realised as [aɪ]. The form which I refer to here as the reallocated variant is realised as [mi:] (or sometimes [mɪ]), which is homophonous with the personal pronoun *me*. There are also other monophthongal realisations possible, among the more common of which are [ma] and [mə]. As such, one school of thought regarding the singular contexts is that these are not examples of reallocation of *me* to *my* at all, but rather part of a larger, complex phonological variation in realisation of words in the PRICE lexical set. I do not doubt that there is some merit in this stance, and suggest that wider research is needed on the PRICE vowel in Yorkshire English. However, I have chosen not to address the variability in terms of first person singular possessives in this way

for the following reasons. First of all, it would mean separating the singular and possessive examples into two separate variables, as the plural forms retain a binary, discrete distinction, whilst the singular forms would become non-binary. This would overlook the parallel between first person singular and plural contexts. Secondly, if the variation observed in pronunciation of *my* is purely phonological, then we would anticipate a mirroring of available phonological realisations elsewhere, for instance, in the first person subject pronoun *I*. Whilst the diphthong [aɪ] and the monophthong [a] are both available for *I* in Yorkshire English, [i:] is not. This suggests that the realisation [i:] is not part of the wider phonological variability, but is a lexically restricted alternation. Thirdly, whilst more widely in the PRICE lexical set (apart form pronominals) a variant [i:] has been noted historically, it seems only to have occurred in words with an historical fricative /x/ such as *right* (Wells 1982, Beal pc). Pronoun *my* does not fit this pattern, and as such, the occurrence of [mi] for *my* cannot be attributed to this. In short, the occurrence of [mi] for *my* seems most likely to be linked to the occurrence of *us* for *our*. Lastly, reference is made by sociolinguists to possessive *me* (Trudgill and Chambers 1991, Beal pc). Whilst no fully descriptive or quantitative account occurs in the literature to date, these references suggest that there is a general assumption among sociolinguistic commentators that [mi] for *my* is understood to be reallocation.

I thus continue to discuss the *me/my* variability observed in Morley in terms of reallocation, as the variable maintains a binary reallocated~non-reallocated distinction in both singular and plural contexts. However, I acknowledge that this issue is by no means simple, and further investigation from different perspectives would be of benefit to the field.

## 8.3 Background literature

As noted above, Trudgill and Chambers (1991) comment on the geographical spread of possessive *me* and *us*, claiming "possessive *me*... is very common in many parts of Britain, and occurs even in colloquial Standard English...Possessive *us*...is common in many dialects in areas of the north of England" (1991:7). Their comments suggest that reallocation of the plural form is the more localised pattern,

and that, as reallocation in singular contexts can occur even in colloquial Standard English, the plural reallocations would seem to be more stigmatised. Wales (1996:14) describes use of *me* for *my* as "associated with dialect speech," whereas [mə] and [ma] for *my* are tolerated even in informal Standard English. Furthermore, reallocated *me* appears to serve as a stereotype of Northern British speakers, even outside the U.K., as is seen in the transcript from an episode of American situation comedy 'Frasier', in (3).

(3) Martin: Well, you're always whining about wanting to change your hair.
Daphne: [*whining*] I don't whine!
*Martin gets up and goes to the kitchen.*
Martin: [*imitating*] "I'm so sick of **me** hair. Do you think I should get it cut like Princess Di? Ooh, do you think that'd make **me** cheeks look too fat? That reminds me of the craziest thing **me** Granny Moon used to say!"

*Later in the scene...*

Martin: I'll pay for the damn haircut if you stop yakking and just do it.
Daphne: Yes, well I'll pay for you to go to Montana. [*aside to Frasier*] That's not the one next to New Hampshire, is it?
Frasier: No. And Dad can pay for his own trip.
Daphne: All right, then. And I can pay for **me** own haircut.

*Frasier 'Look before you leap'*
(Third season, episode originally aired February 1996).
Transcript from http://www.geocities.com/Hollywood/Derby/3267/316.html

Daphne, who moved to Seattle from Manchester, U.K., is being teased by Frasier's father Martin (a native of Seattle). In his imitation of her, he puts on a fake Northern British accent, and one of the features that he changes, and indeed emphasises, in order to make his impression of Daphne successful, is reallocation of *me*. Daphne confirms the accuracy of his impersonation when she concludes the argument by stating 'I can pay for *me* own haircut.'

Turning to the Yorkshire dialectology literature, Wright (1892) gives the weak form [mi] for *my* in Windhill, indicating that this variable is firmly rooted in the West Yorkshire variety. However, Wright makes no mention of possessive *us*. This could imply *us* in *our* is a more recent innovation, or merely that Wright was unaware of its use. Given that Easther (1883) gives *us* for *our* in unstressed

conditions in Huddersfield and its surrounding areas, the latter appears the more likely.

Hedevind (1967) also gives [mi] for 'weak' *my* in Dentdale, but makes no mention of possessive *us*, despite giving examples of *us* in other non-standard uses, such as in (4), where *us* is used as a singular object pronoun, in place of *me*, and (5), where *us* is used as a first person plural subject pronoun, in place of *we*. These two forms of *us* are also given for Egton by Tidholm (1979), yet he also makes no mention of the possessive *us* usage.

(4) Give **us** my hat. (Hedevind 1967:239)

(5) **Us** lads get nowt. (Hedevind 1967:242)

What Tidholm (1979) does provide, however, is a quantification of possessive [mɪ] and [ma] in unstressed positions in Egton. His findings are reproduced in Table 8.1, indicating that [mɪ] is the most frequently occurring variant for all generations in unstressed positions.

| | **Old** | **Middle** | **Young** |
|---|---|---|---|
| [mɪ] | 76 | 88 | 88 |
| [ma] | 5 | 6 | 0 |
| [maɪ] | 19 | 6 | 12 |
| *Total Ns* | *67* | *34* | *34* |

*Table 8.1*

% 1st person singular possessive pronouns by age group, from Tidholm (1979:135)

Petyt (1985) is at odds with the other dialect commentators in that he provides information on the distribution of variants in plural possessive contexts, but not singular ones. He describes possessive *us* as a form used in the Northern and Midland areas, and states that its use was recorded across West Yorkshire in the SED (1985:190), making it all the more curious that little mention is made of possessive *us* in the other dialect works outside of Huddersfield. Petyt (1985:190) describes possessive *us* as socially stigmatised, but not uncommon in unstressed positions, although its use is limited to the lower classes (as shown in Table 8.2) and he further comments that it is more commonly used by men than women, and in casual speech styles (1985:191). Petyt also observed lower rates of use in Bradford

compared to Huddersfield and Halifax, and suggests that usage in Bradford has perhaps been more recently established. This would provide an explanation for why Wright does not make mention of possessive *us* in Windhill, which is on the outskirts of Bradford. However, this would imply that the form had diffused from Huddersfield outwards, which would be an unusual observation given Huddersfield's low-key status among the West Yorkshire industrial conurbations.

| | MMC | LMC | UWC | MWC | LWC |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *% us* in *our* | 0 | 0 | 26 | 43 | 36 |

*Table 8.2*
Distribution of *us* for *our* in Petyt (1985:191)

### 8.3.1 Summary of existing literature

The existing literature on variability between *us/our* and *me/my* is, as we can see, somewhat sparse. However, from what little has already been documented, it is possible to see that the reallocated forms are traditional in West Yorkshire varieties, and are socially stigmatised. Tidholm (1979) found the singular reallocations to be robustly present in Egton, whilst Petyt (1985) found the plural reallocations to be restricted to use among the working classes. They are also linguistically restricted, as the literature only makes mention of their occurrence in weak, unstressed positions.

It is difficult to make any predictions as to the anticipated pattern in Morley, given the paucity of available literature on reallocated pronouns. However, as non-standard, socially stigmatised features of the traditional dialect, it is plausible that pronoun reallocation may well be a prime candidate for standardisation in a situation of increased social and geographical mobility. With this in mind, I now turn to the analysis of the Morley data.

## 8.4 Circumscribing the Variable Context

Included in the analysis were all potential sites of unstressed first person possessive pronouns, realised as either standard possessives or the non-standard reallocated forms. Stressed tokens were excluded as, according to the dialectology literature, the non-standard variants only occur in unstressed positions. Contexts which are likewise not considered are those for which the object pronouns are the standard

forms, as in (5), and items such as those identified by Hedevind (1967) and exemplified in the background literature section above (examples 3 and 4), where *us* is used in place of *me* or *we*.

(5) a. He told **me** that the church roof had been blown off.
b. He made it ever so nice for **us** down there.

Finally, tokens in constructions of the type OUR+PROPER NOUN, in which the noun is the name of a relation, as in (6), are excluded. This is a set colloquial phrase for identifying a familial relationship between the speaker and the referent, and in these constructions the pronoun used is categorically *our*.

(6) It was **our** Laura's birthday.

## 8.5 Factors considered in the analysis

The dependent variable is pronoun type: non-reallocated (7a and 8a) versus reallocated (7b and 8b) contexts. For the purposes of this analysis, [mi] is the only realisation of the singular forms which is counted as reallocated: all other pronunciations are taken to be non-reallocated. Number is coded as an independent variable, with tokens identified as either singular (7) or plural (8).

(7) a. Everyone found it funny but **my** sister
b. I was at college doing **me** teacher training

(8) a. That's where we used to have **our** morning services
b. We always went home for **us** dinners

Other independent variables considered are whether the pronoun is a reflexive (9), and (because there is some question over whether there may be phonological motivations for these alternations) the nature of the following phonological context is considered as consonant versus vowel, as in (10).

Additionally, the external considerations of generation and speaker sex are represented.

(9) a. I just don't believe it **meself**

b. We had to get **usselves** up

(10) a. **Me** brother rides as well

b. I live on **my** own, but I'm never lonely

## 8.6 Results

### 8.6.1 Overall distribution

A total of 436 tokens was extracted from the corpus. Table 8.3 shows the overall distribution of reallocated pronouns, divided into singular and plural contexts.

| | Reallocated | | Non-reallocated | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ns | % | Ns | % |
| Singular (Ns = 375) | 173 | 46 | 202 | 54 |
| Plural (Ns = 61) | 16 | 26 | 45 | 74 |
| Total Ns = 436 | 189 | 43 | 247 | 57 |

*Table 8.3*
Overall distribution of reallocated pronouns

There is a good deal of variability within the first person pronominals in these data, with reallocated forms occurring in 43% of contexts overall. Singular reallocations appear more frequently (46%) than plural ones (26%). Clearly, the variability observed here is worthy of further investigation.

### 8.6.2 Multivariate analysis

A multivariate analysis is employed to determine which factors are contributing towards the observed variation. The results of this are shown in Table 8.4.

| | | % | Fw | Ns |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Corrected Mean .334 | | | | |
| ***Generation*** | | | | |
| HOUCK | | 63 | **.75** | 54 |
| RETIRED | | 62 | **.79** | 148 |
| WORKING | | 70 | **.83** | 81 |
| STUDENT | | 5 | **.08** | 153 |
| | *Range* | | *75* | |
| ***Gender*** | | | | |
| MALE | | 49 | [.55] | 263 |
| FEMALE | | 40 | [.47] | 173 |
| | *Range* | | *8* | |
| ***Number*** | | | | |
| SINGULAR | | 46 | **.56** | 375 |
| PLURAL | | 26 | **.21** | 61 |
| | *Range* | | *35* | |
| ***Reflexivity*** | | | | |
| REFLEXIVE | | 65 | [.60] | 17 |
| NON-REFLEXIVE | | 43 | [.50] | 419 |
| | *Range* | | *10* | |
| ***Following phonological context*** | | | | |
| VOWEL | | 34 | [.42] | 357 |
| CONSONANT | | 44 | [.51] | 62 |
| | *Range* | | *9* | |
| TOTAL Ns | | | | 436 |

*Table 8.4*

Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of reallocated pronouns in Morley

The multivariate analysis selects generation and number as significant factors. The constraint hierarchy shows generation to be the most significant factor, with a range of 75. However, this appears to be due to a sudden decline in use of reallocated forms among students. This needs to be investigated further. The only other significant constraint is number, with a range of 35. Singular pronouns favour reallocation, with a factor weight of [.56], whilst plural contexts disfavour it, at [.21]. This suggests that the distributional analysis which follows should separate singular and plural contexts, to determine whether they both behave in a similar manner. The social constraint of gender, and the linguistic constraints of reflexivity and phonological context, were not selected by the multivariate analysis as statistically significant. However, results seem to suggest that reallocation is performed more by males than by females, appears more in reflexive than non-reflexive contexts, and

more before consonants than vowels (the latter group only contains the data for non-reflexive contexts, as in reflexives the following phonological context is necessarily [s]).

### 8.6.3 Generation

Figure 8.1 displays the findings for pronoun reallocation by generation and number, the two statistically significant findings from the multivariate analysis.

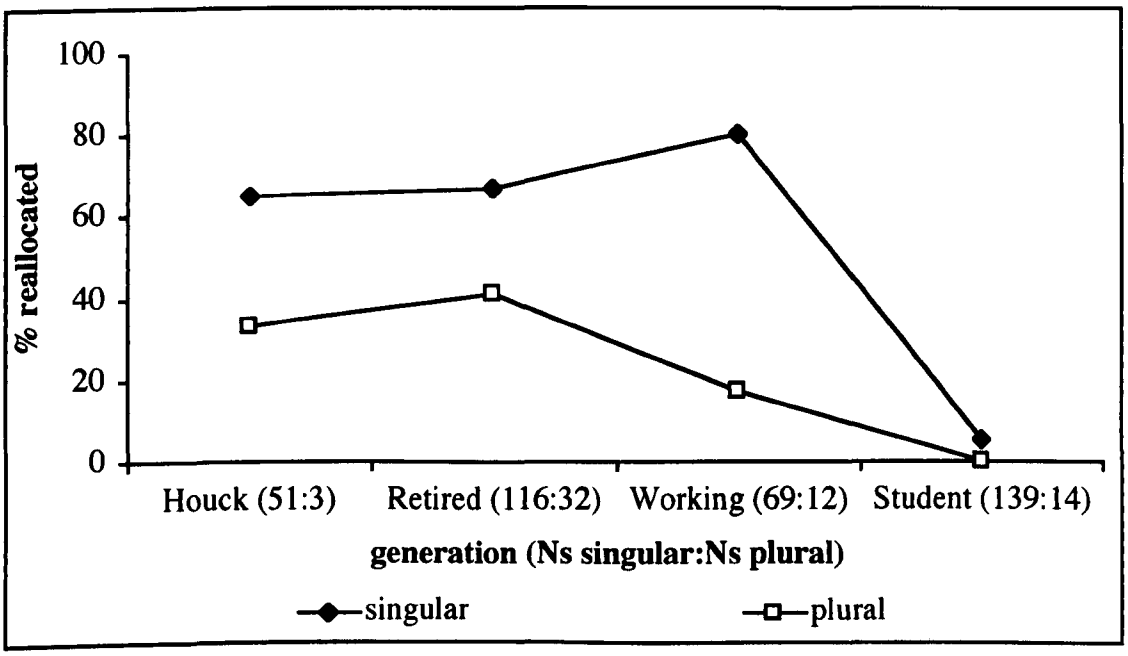


*Figure 8.1*
Reallocated pronouns by generation and number

A number of points must be made on the basis of what is shown in Figure 8.1. Firstly, the general pattern observed here is that reallocation of plural pronouns is consistently less frequent than singular reallocation, over all four generations (although the difference between singular and plural contexts for the students is marginal). Furthermore, the overall decline in reallocation occurs in both singular and plural contexts. This decline appears to begin earlier for plural pronominals and happens more gradually than in singular contexts, where the decline occurs suddenly between the working and student generations; in the Houck and retired generations, singular reallocations actually increase in frequency, although the difference between the retired and working generations is not significant in a chi-square test ($p>0.05$). However, the number of tokens for plural contexts, when divided by

generation, is very low, which means these findings are tentative, and further data would be required to corroborate the observed decline of possessive *us*.

We must ask why this decline in use of reallocation is apparently so sudden, especially in singular contexts. Recall that I have previously mentioned in this chapter the range of pronunciations available for singular contexts. It is possible that the availability of other options, rather than the binary reallocated/non-reallocated alternative which we find in plural contexts, is contributing to the variation here. Figure 8.2 shows the distribution of singular pronoun contexts divided into three groups: standard diphthong [maɪ], reallocated [mi] and other non-standard productions, considered all together here, although predominantly, this represents two realisations: [ma] and [mə].

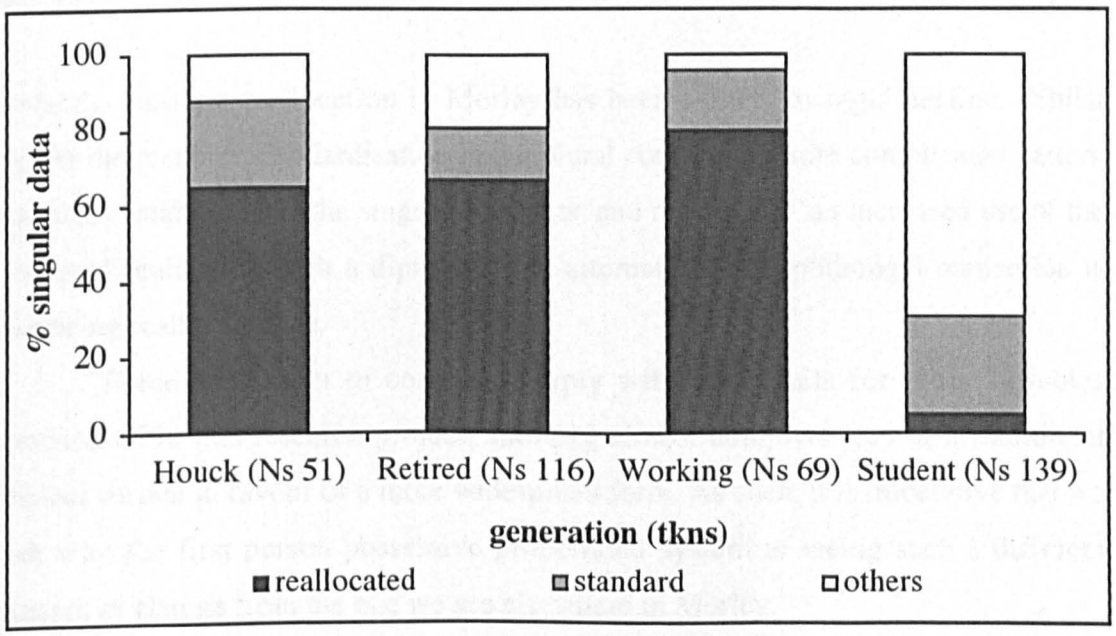


*Figure 8.2*
Distribution of singular pronouns by pronunciation

The pattern exhibited in Figure 8.2 suggests that, for singular contexts, there is a more complicated pattern than simply loss of reallocation. The alternative pronunciations [ma] and [mə] are available to all generations, although they are adopted comparatively infrequently by the older generations, relative to the students. However, for the student generation, the loss of reallocation is not due to standardisation, but rather rapid adoption of these other non-standard productions. Thus, whilst reallocation by students for both singular and plural contexts has

declined, it appears that, where another non-standard alternative is available, this is preferred to the standard. I tentatively speculate that the adoption of these other non-reallocated but still non-standard forms may result from a wider pattern of variation in PRICE which, impressionistically, I believe may be taking place in Yorkshire English; more specifically, the [a/a:] form mentioned in section 8.6.3 and accounting for many of the 'other' tokens in Figure 8.2 does not seem to be restricted to the first person possessive pronoun, but rather, qualitative observation suggests that it occurs in other PRICE-class words too. However, future work will need to establish the veracity of this claim.

## 8.7 Discussion

Overall, pronoun reallocation in Morley has been subject to rapid decline. Whilst this is the result of standardisation in the plural contexts, a more complicated pattern has been established in the singular contexts, and rather than an increased use of the standard realisation with a diphthong, an alternative monophthongal realisation is replacing reallocated *me*.

These data seem to contrast sharply with the results for other variables considered in this research project, showing almost complete loss of a traditional dialect variant in favour of a more widespread form. As such, it is imperative that we ask why the first person possessive pronominal system is seeing such a different pattern of change from the one we see elsewhere in Morley.

One possible solution is that education plays a part. The retired generation, for the most part, left school before the age of sixteen and progressed into manual occupations. By contrast, the student generation is mostly sixth formers, which means they have progressed beyond the age of compulsory education, and almost all intend to further their studies at college or university. As such, their grasp of written (and thus standard spoken) English can reliably be assumed to be more proficient than that of the retired speakers. Trudgill (1986) posits the existence of a prestige variant in orthographic representation as a contributor towards the salience of a dialect form. Whilst I do not wish to invoke salience as an explanatory factor here, the orthographic representation argument may be of some relevance. Reallocation of

*us* and *me* would not occur in the written code, and this may mean that for these younger speakers the stigma created by the written standard may be transferred to their spoken variety.

However, an inconsistency still remains between these pronominals and other variables considered in this community: DEFINITE ARTICLE REDUCTION (Chapter Six) and SUMMAT AND (N)OWT (Chapter Nine) are equally unlikely to occur in standard written English, and yet their usage is maintained by the student speakers in the Morley sample. Furthermore, if education were a factor, we would anticipate that the working generation would show results intermediate to those of the retired and student speakers, being less educated than the students, but more highly educated than the retired generation. This is not the observed pattern: the working speakers align with the retired, irrespective of the educational differences.

Another suggestion is that there could be a degree of style-shifting occurring in these recordings, as informal observations lead me to believe that pronoun reallocation is more common among Morley's younger generations than these data suggest. Perhaps the observer's paradox (Labov 1972b) has played its part here.

The findings support the view of the existing literature on pronoun reallocation, in that the results reinforce the claim that the plural reallocated form is more socially stigmatised than the singular, as it is the least used reallocated variant by all generations, and is the first of the two contexts to undergo complete standardisation. The findings for singular contexts complement the claim made by Wales (1996) that reallocated *me* is more stigmatised than other non-standard forms of *my:* as we saw in Figure 8.2, the reallocated form is rejected by student speakers, in favour of more widely acceptable monophthongal productions. This latter part of the story may well be evidence of levelling, but lack of data from other geographic locations means this cannot be categorically stated at the present time.

## 8.8 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Pronoun reallocation has declined in use in Morley. *Us* for *our* is not observed at all among the student data, whilst *me* for *my* has also declined. However, whilst the former is subject to standardisation (the only alternative available other than

reallocation) the latter is not replaced by the standard but by other non-standard monophthongal realisations, mostly [ma] and [mə].

# CHAPTER 9
# SUMMAT, OWT AND NOWT

## 9.0 CHAPTER ABSTRACT

The lexical items *summat*, *owt* and *nowt* are common in several non-standard varieties of English, and yet have hitherto been overlooked by sociolinguistic analysts. I here seek to redress this neglect by presenting analysis of these items in Morley. As traditional features of Yorkshire English, analysis of these lexical items presents an opportunity to apply theories of contact-induced change to the consideration of variability in lexis, a task which has not been attempted in the British sociolinguistic literature. I will show that, contrary to the predictions made in the Yorkshire dialectology literature, these lexical items are not suffering erosion by the standard, but are retained by younger and older speakers.

## 9.1 INTRODUCTION

(1) *Hear all, see all, say nowt.*
*Eat all, sup all, pay nowt,*
*And if tha ever does owt for nowt,*
*Always do it for thee-sen.*

('The Yorkshiremen's motto' as it appears on http://www.lancasterauthentic.com/english-accent.htm, accessed June 2008)

For many Yorkshire speakers, dialectal variants of the words *something*, *anything* and *nothing* are available, as represented in the well-known Yorkshire proverb in (1), and the examples from the Morley data, in (2) to (4).

(2) a. He must've mumbled **something**.
b. I can't remember his words, but he said **summat** else.

(3) a. Watch that nobody picks **anything** up and puts it in their bag.
b. You design your own project, so you can do **owt** you want.

(4) a. It'll knock him down if **nothing** else.
b. Didn't cost **nowt** and it was right interesting to play.

Each pair of examples in (2)-(4) above gives a binary alternation between a lexical item from Standard English (example (a) in each pair) and a dialectal equivalent (given in (b)). Each dialect item can be shown to be equivalent to its standard counterpart: *owt/anything* are polarity sensitive, as shown by (5); *nowt/nothing* can both participate in negative concord, as in (6a), and licence strong negative polarity items such as *yet*, as in (6b); *summat/something* are both disfavoured under negation, as in (7a), but can be rescued by a negative polarity item licenser in a higher clause, as in (7b) (Szabolcsi 2002).

(5) a. I've not seen **anything/owt**
b. * I've seen **anything/owt**

(6) a. I've not done **nothing/nowt**
b. I've done **nothing/nowt** yet.

(7) a. *He hasn't said **something/summat** ('He hasn't said anything.')
b. I'm surprised that he hasn't said **something/summat**

In this chapter I present an analysis of the alternation between the dialect-traditional variant and the standard form for each lexical item. Below I present the historical emergence of *summat*, *owt* and *nowt*, followed by a review of the background literature. I then present the data from the Morley corpus and consider whether the distribution of these lexical items has changed, and if so, whether change occurs towards the standard variants or the dialect-traditional forms.

## 9.2 Historical emergence

### 9.2.1 (N)owt

According to the Oxford English Dictionary (OED), *owt* is derived from the Old English *àwiht*, which literally is translated as 'ever being' and was used to mean 'whatever' or 'anything,' whereas *nowt* is thought to be derived from the Old English *ne wiht* meaning 'no thing' (dictionary.oed.com, accessed November 2007).

During the Old English period, *àwiht* was subjected to phonetic contraction and became *àht* in Middle English. During the Middle English period the written form *ought* was used from 1300 to 1550. Post-1550, however, the spelling *aught* became favoured in order to distinguish between this and the verb *ought* (dictionary.oed.com, accessed November 2007). Examples of historical uses are given in (8), taken from the OED.

(8) a. Before I make reply to **aught** you say.

(Shakespeare (1593) *Rich. II*, II. iii. 73)

b. Excuse me, dear, if **aught** amiss was said.

(Pope (1702) *Jan. & May* 790)

In Middle English, two distinct orthographic representations of *nowt* were identified, and through early modern English, these were used to distinguish two separate meanings; *nought* was used to mean 'zero' whilst *naught* retained the meaning 'nothing.' (dictionary.oed.com, accessed November 2006). The examples given in (9) below are from the OED. The form *nowt* is identified in the OED as retained in Northern varieties, and Beal and Corrigan (2005) observe *nowt* in use in Tyneside English.

(9) a. I am **naught**, I have **naught**, I desire **naught**.

(Patrick (1665) *Parable of Pilgrim*)

b. I want for **nowt** that she can give me.

(Wilson (1843) *Pitman's Pay*)

c. 'What'll you have?'.. '**Nowt** wi' a bleeder like you!'

(Lawrence (1913) *Sons and Lovers*)

Both *aught* and *naught* are identified by Wakelin (1972) as lexical items which now survive as alternatives to the Standard English *anything* and *nothing* only in dialectal usage, in spite of having been more widely used in Middle English. When precisely these lexical items became regionally restricted is unclear, due to the lack of research available which focuses on Middle English lexical distribution (Wakelin 1972:65). In dialect literature, the orthographic representations *owt* and *nowt* are the preferred spellings, as in the 'Yorkshiremen's motto' given in (1).

Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978) consider the geographical distribution of *owt* within the SED data, and its use is observed throughout the north of England, extending as far south as King's Lynn in the east and Wolverhampton in the west. They also report its use in Devon and Cornwall.

### 9.2.2 Summat

The OED (dictionary.oed.com, accessed November 2006) lists *summat* under the entry *somewhat,* meaning *something*, and describes its present usage as archaic and dialectal. Examples from the OED are given in (10).

(10) a. I will relate **somewhat** concerning the Earl of Antrim.
(Burnett (1753) *History of his own time*)

b. A man must learn **summat** beside Gospel to make them things.
(Eliot (1859) *Adam Bede*)

Orton, Sanderson and Widdowson (1978) show that in the SED, *summat* had a much greater geographical distribution than *owt,* observed across across the majority of England, with the exception being East Anglia and the South East. Speakers in the South East can sometimes be heard to use [sʌmɪŋk] as an alternative to the Standard, rather than *summat.*

## 9.3 Dialectology literature

Discussions of *summat, owt* and *nowt* in the existing literature are relatively scarce, and are mostly confined to the more traditional dialect dictionaries. Easther (1883) observed *owt* and *nowt* in Huddersfield, and Wright (1892) observes use of *summat, owt* and *nowt* in Windhill, West Yorkshire. Petyt (1985) briefly mentions dialect vocabulary in his work on Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield, and states that *summat, owt* and *nowt* are in common use in his data, although mainly by working class speakers. This is "in spite of being castigated in the schools," (1985:239) which implies that Petyt considers these forms to be highly stigmatised in industrial West Yorkshire.

Tidholm (1979) provides a quantified analysis of these items in his work in Egton, North Yorkshire. His findings are displayed in Figure 9.1 below.

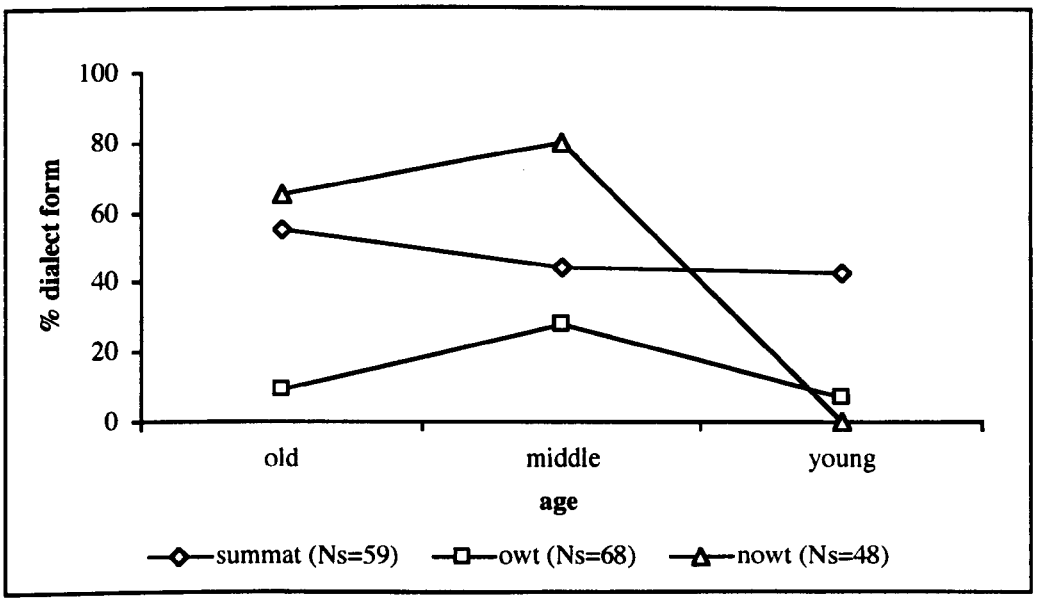


*Figure 9.1*
Use of *summat*, *owt* and *nowt* in Egton (reproduced from Tidholm 1979:141)

Tidholm found that whilst *summat* and *nowt* were frequently used in old and middle-aged speakers, *owt* was much less frequent, and younger speakers only appeared to retain *summat*. Women categorically used the standard variants in all three cases. Tidholm thus concludes that *owt* and *nowt* are likely to completely disappear from the Egton dialect within two generations. Further investigation suggests that this was an overly grave assessment of the situation, with numerous pieces of evidence that show *summat*, *owt* and *nowt* to still be in frequent use throughout the Yorkshire and Northern regions. My own qualitative observations suggest that speakers in York have retained these items; Llamas (pc) comments on *owt* and *nowt* still thriving in Middlesbrough (the nearest urban centre to Egton), and Myrstad-Nilsen (pc), who is currently conducting a replication of Tidholm's Egton study, reports that *summat*, *owt* and *nowt* are still readily observable in the local dialect.

## 9.4 REPRESENTATION IN POPULAR CULTURE

The lexical items *summat*, *owt* and *nowt* are utilised in popular British culture as markers of regional dialect speakers, both within Yorkshire and other non-standard varieties: for example, J.K. Rowling in the Harry Potter novels frequently employs *summat*, as in (11), alongside a whole host of other non-standard features, in dialogue spoken by Hagrid, so as to emphasise the character's lack of education and working-class position as the groundskeeper of Hogwarts School. (Whilst Rowling never enlightens the reader as to where she imagines Hagrid to be from, the portrayal of the character in film by actor Robbie Coltrane is with a south-west English accent.)

(11) *"Look there," said Hagrid, "see that stuff shinin' on the ground? Silvery stuff? That's unicorn blood. There's a unicorn in there bin hurt badly by* **summat**. *This is the second time in a week.*
J.K. Rowling (1997:245)

More specifically for Yorkshire dialect, Kellett (1996) frequently adopts *summat, owt* and *nowt*, as in (12) in his translation of excerpts of the Gospels into broad Yorkshire dialect. His intention in this translation was to represent Jesus, the son of a carpenter, whose best friends were mostly fishermen, speaking "the robust provincial speech of ordinary working folk" (1996:xi).

(12) a. *"Nay', says Joseph, 'Ah'm nobbut a joiner, an' these days us joiners addle next ter* **nowt**.' Kellett (1996:2)

b. *Then along comes a Samaritan...T'Jews wouldn't 'ave* **owt** *to do wi' 'em.* Kellett (1996:25)

c. *'If we can do nobbut get 'im ter Jesus – 'e'll do* **summat** *to 'elp 'im.'* Kellett (1996:46)

Kellett's version of 'broad Yorkshire' is, by his own admission, a variety rarely heard in all its fullness. Nevertheless, parts of it remain, and *summat, owt and nowt* are no exception to this, even appearing in even the most up-to-date of urban cultural references:

> *The lyrics of 'Arctic Monkeys' songs often feature social realism and observations of working class life, as typified by* "When The Sun Goes Down", *described as a "witty, poignant song about prostitution in the Neepsend district of Sheffield"...lead singer, Alex Turner, sings in a strong Yorkshire accent, typified by the contraction of* 'something' *to* 'summat', *the replacement of* 'anything' *and* 'nothing' *with* 'owt' *and* 'nowt.'
>
> http://www.arctic-monkeys.com/about.php accessed 6/9/07

This final quote reveals not just the continued use of these three dialect words by members of urban youth culture, but also displays the strong association between these lexical items and the Yorkshire variety.

These three lexical items are iconic of regional dialect speakers, then, and their representation in current popular culture may suggest that, whilst stigmatised, they possess some modicum of covert prestige among some regional speakers. Kellett's work suggests that they may well be forms seen as emblematic of 'broad Yorkshire' by older speakers, whilst the adoption by individuals with modern cultural credentials, such as popular bands (Arctic Monkeys) and children's authors (Rowling), may encourage their retention by the younger generations also. Thus, whilst the dialectology literature (Tidholm 1979, Petyt 1985) claims that these forms are under threat from standardisation, it is also possible that we may see a retention of these words.

## 9.5 Results

The dependent variable here is taken to be whether the lexical item is standard or dialectal. The data were also coded for generation, speaker sex, individual speaker, and lexical item. A distribution of the variants for each individual lexical item is provided in Table 9.1.

| | Total Ns | Ns dialectal | % dialectal |
|---|---|---|---|
| Summat | 124 | 48 | 39 |
| Owt | 84 | 20 | 24 |
| Nowt | 28 | 13 | 46 |
| Overall | 236 | 81 | 34 |

*Table 9.1*
Distribution of dialectal variants by lexical item

The following things should be emphasised while looking at Table 9.1. Firstly, these items (both in standard and dialectal uses) are relatively rare in these data, with only 236 tokens in total, so any findings are likely to be tentative. Secondly, the dialectal forms are the minority variant, used only 34% of the time overall. Lastly, with only 28 tokens for possible contexts in which *nowt* might occur, analysis cross-generationally for this lexical item will not be possible, as there will be too few tokens per generation group to form any clear pattern.

The findings of the multivariate analysis are represented in Table 9.2. The dialectal variant is taken as the application value.

| | % | Fw | Ns |
|---|---|---|---|
| Corrected Mean .333 | | | |
| ***Generation*** | | | |
| HOUCK | 21 | [.32] | 19 |
| RETIRED | 39 | [.56] | 77 |
| WORKING | 30 | [.44] | 60 |
| STUDENT | 36 | [.53] | 80 |
| *Range* | | *24* | |
| ***Speaker Sex*** | | | |
| MALE | 27 | **.40** | 108 |
| FEMALE | 41 | **.59** | 128 |
| *Range* | | ***19*** | |
| ***Lexical Item*** | | | |
| SUMMAT | 39 | **.54** | 124 |
| OWT | 24 | **.38** | 84 |
| NOWT | 46 | **.69** | 28 |
| *Range* | | ***31*** | |
| TOTAL Ns | | | 236 |

*Table 9.2*
Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of *summat* and *(n)owt* in Morley

The results in Table 9.2 show that lexical item and speaker sex are selected as significant. For lexical item, *nowt* and *summat* are favoured, whilst *owt* is

disfavoured. Female speakers favour the dialect variants whilst males disfavour them. The constraint hierarchy for generation is once again Retired>Student>Working>Houck, as seen in other chapters, suggesting that the Houck data is comparatively more formal than the Morley data. Whilst generation is not selected as significant, its range is larger than that for speaker sex, which suggests there is an interaction here.

### 9.5.1 Interaction between factor groups

The multivariate analysis findings in Table 9.2 show that the key task remaining in the analysis is to identify the nature of the interaction between lexical item, speaker sex and generation. Recall that in Egton, Tidholm (1979) observed a gradual decline in the use of these lexical items across the generations, and considerable differences between male and female speakers, with women categorically using the standard variants. Figure 9.2 shows the Morley data broken down by speaker sex, generation and lexical item. The Houck data are temporarily omitted, as there are only 19 tokens, and the cross-generational patterns for *nowt* are not provided, because there are only 28 relevant tokens.

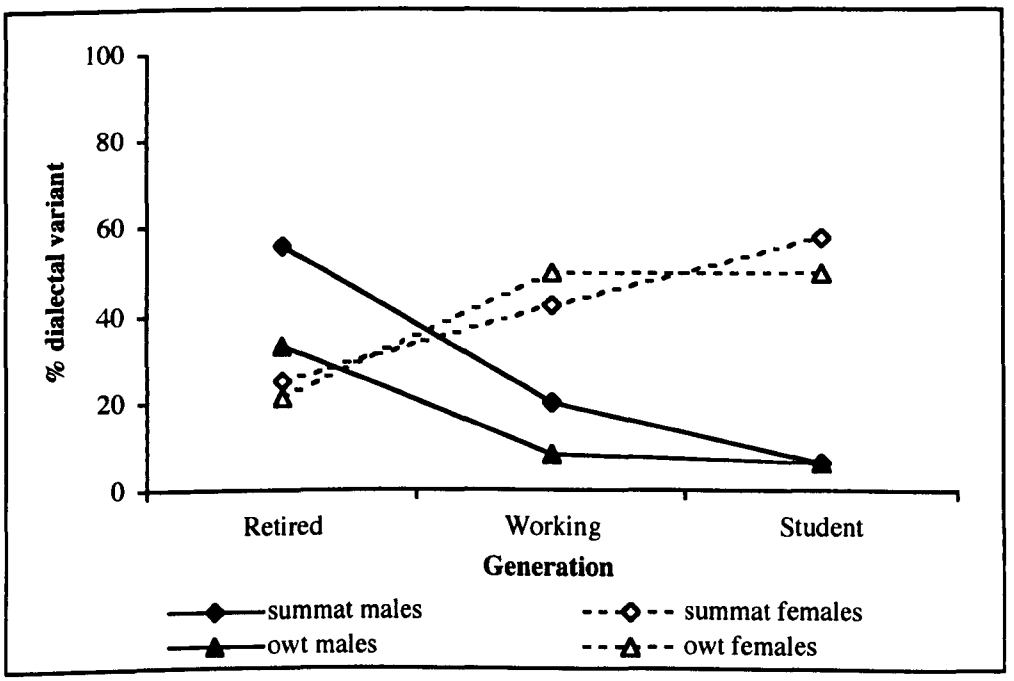


*Figure 9.2*
Distribution of *summat* and *owt* by generation and gender

Whilst the data displayed in Figure 9.2 should be regarded tentatively, as there is only a relatively small amount of data in each age/sex sub-group, the overall pattern reveals an interesting phenomenon; women in Morley are increasing in their use of the traditional dialect forms, whilst men are decreasing. Indeed, the interaction between generation and speaker sex can be summarised as follows: older men and younger women are the speakers most likely to use the dialectal lexical items. This contrasts starkly with the Egton findings (Tidholm 1979): in Morley, women appear to be the key members of the speech community involved in the retention of these traditional variants.

### 9.5.2 Individual speaker

Figure 9.3 displays rate of use of *summat* and *(n)owt* by individuals (in order to maximise token numbers here, *nowt* has been reintroduced to the analysis, but is collapsed with *owt*). This relies on very small Ns per speaker, and as such, the observations here are intended to further emphasise a more general pattern, rather than representing a specific quantitative finding.

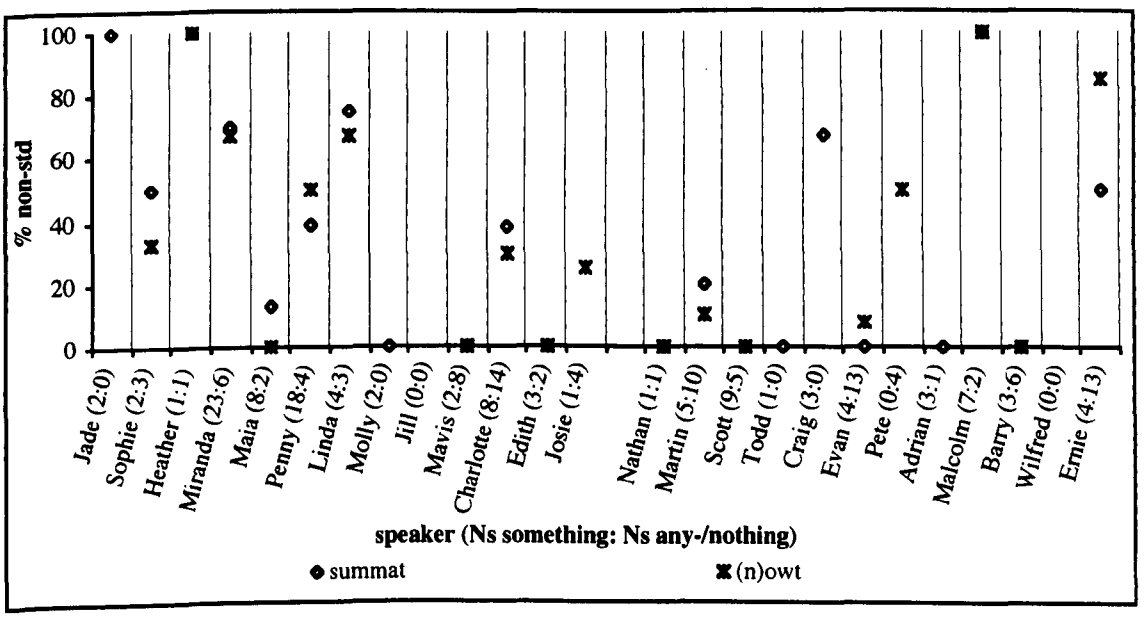


*Figure 9.3*
*Summat* and *(n)owt* by individual speaker

Generally speaking, the trend demonstrated in Figure 9.3 is that if an individual speaker has *summat* in their idiolect, then they also have *(n)owt*, whereas

speakers who are categorically standard users of *something* also appear to be categorical in use of *any/nothing*. As we saw with definite article reduction in Chapter Six, use of the dialect forms is highly variable across individual speakers, but there are some speakers in each generation who exhibit a high level of use of the traditional variants.

### 9.5.3 Summary

The results presented here show retention of *summat* and *(n)owt* in Morley. However, an interesting pattern of change is observed *within* the speech community: whilst male speakers are standardising over time, female speakers have increased their use of the traditional dialect variants to such an extent as to counteract the effect of standardisation in their male counterparts. Overall, the rate of use of *summat* and *(n)owt* appears stable, but closer inspection reveals that in actual fact use is highly unstable, with an almost complete switch from male to female usage.

## 9.6 Discussion

The minimal amount of data available for these three variables means that the conclusions discussed here must be drawn with caution. That said, there is enough data to show that Morley speakers are retaining the dialectal variants, with the youngest generation showing similar levels of frequency to the older generations. The interaction between generation and speaker sex is interesting: it appears as though student females play a key role here. It is their retention (one might even say, advancement) of *summat* and *(n)owt* that mostly contributes to the ongoing existence of these items in this variety, because their male counterparts exhibit very low frequencies of the dialectal variants. This is somewhat puzzling, considering our present understanding of the role of women in sociolinguistic change. Women are typically thought to innovate change by promoting variants which are closer to the standard and which carry some form of prestige, whilst men are more likely to retain stigmatised features associated with the local dialect. What we observe here, however, is the exact opposite of the anticipated pattern: women are promoting a form which, albeit supra-local, is a traditional feature of the local dialect *and* thought to be stigmatised. One suggestion as to why this might be relates to the specific

individuals in the student sample: generally, the girls in the sample were keen to remain in Leeds longer term, while the boys were more open to the possibility of moving away, and had existing ties external to the Morley region. Further investigations are required to clarify this situation, but the role of the individual is clearly an important consideration in the construction of a community-wide vernacular.

## 9.7 Chapter Summary

There is no evidence within the data presented here that the dialectal variants *summat* and *(n)owt* have been eroded. The use of *summat* and *(n)owt* in Morley can still frequently be observed, most especially among older males and younger females. These non-standard lexical items have not been subject to standardisation across the whole speech community; although there is some evidence of standardisation within the male speakers, this is counterbalanced by the increased usage of *summat* and *(n)owt* by female speakers. A much larger data sample is required to draw any firmer conclusions, and it would be an interesting goal for future research to draw comparisons with other varieties where *summat* and *(n)owt* are observed, to establish how localised this gender-based pattern really is.

# CHAPTER 10
# PAST TENSE 'BE'

## 10.0 CHAPTER ABSTRACT

The variable use of past tense BE has been addressed in many sociolinguistic studies. However, its phonological realisation and distribution are largely overlooked. The data from Morley display interesting patterns of variation according to phonological realisation, with 'intermediate' variants available that appear to lie between standard *was* and *were*, both in terms of perception and production. In this chapter I will demonstrate the maintenance of these intermediate forms by Morley speakers. I will show how this variable can inform the overall themes of this thesis, as it stands as evidence of the maintenance of a traditional pattern of use in the face of dialect contact and the potential for change this presents.

## 10.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is devoted to consideration of variation in use of past tense BE. Here I conduct investigations into a much-discussed variable from a new perspective, taking account of the phonological production of the verb form, in addition to the more traditional morphosyntactic approaches. Throughout this chapter I shall use the term 'past tense BE' as a generic reference to the variable under investigation; italicised *was* and *were* when referring to standard patterning of past tense BE, or studies which give a binary account of the data and do not account for phonological form; and phonetic transcriptions (e.g. [wɜ:]) to represent specific productions of variable past tense BE in the Morley data.

Past tense BE could arguably be called the flagship of morphosyntactic variation, as it has been studied across the English-speaking world. Past tense BE agreement systems in Englishes around the world have been shown to diverge from that of Standard English in several possible ways, the most common of which in the existing literature are regularisation to *was* (e.g. Eisikovits, 1991; Tagliamonte and

Smith, 1999) as in example (1), and reallocation of *was* and *were* by polarity (e.g. Schilling-Estes and Wolfram, 1994; Tagliamonte, 1998) so that *was* is used in positive contexts and *were* in negative ones. This latter pattern is demonstrated in (2).

(1) You **was** walking in the woods, **wasn't** you?
(example from Buckie, in Steele 2003:106)

(2) a. He **was** shorter and stockier, **weren't** he?
(example from York, in Tagliamonte 1998:164)
b. We **was** watching TV, **weren't** we?

A range of phonological productions of past tense BE can be observed in Morley. The four most frequently occurring forms are exemplified in (3). I refer to the forms [wə] and [wɒ] (given in (3b) and (3c)) as intermediate forms, due to the fact that they appear to be located somewhere in between the 'standard' realisations in (3a) and (3d) (i.e. those which most commonly represent *were* and *was* respectively) both in terms of production (a short, often centralised vowel and no syllable final fricative) and speakers' mental representations (informal questioning of some community members showed them to seem unclear as to whether these productions are intended to represent *was* or *were*). All of these pronunciations are mentioned in the dialectology literature, to which I now turn.

(3) a. There **[wɜː]** the two picture houses.
b. He **[wə]** moving down to Devon.
c. He really thought it **[wɒ]** good.
d. He really **[wɒz]** hammered.

## 10.2 Literature on past tense BE in Yorkshire

The dialect-specific literature can be separated into two broad categories: qualitative observations of variation in past tense BE, as provided by Easther (1883), Wright (1892) and Morris (1911); and quantitative investigations, conducted by Petyt (1985) and Tagliamonte (1998).

### 10.2.1 Qualitative dialect observations

The intermediate pronunciations are well established in the Yorkshire varieties. Easther (1883:150) gives *wur* as the default form for Huddersfield, whilst Morris (1911) in his dialect dictionary gives *wur* throughout the paradigm for past tense BE for speakers from the North and East Ridings of Yorkshire (the latter now being the area from York outwards, east to the coastal areas of Whitby and Scarborough, and south towards Doncaster and Hull). However, Morris (1911:28) emphasises that "*wur* might perhaps more correctly be written *wer*; it is sounded short, and the *r* is scarcely heard," implying that Morris (and, by extension, Easther before him) is, in actual fact, observing the [wə] form. We must, however, remember that both Easther's and Morris' observations are qualitative in nature.

Wright (1892:76) identifies the pronunciation [wə] as representing either *was* or *were* in Windhill (West Yorkshire). Indeed, Wright identifies use of the pronunciations [wɒ] and [wə] throughout the paradigm, suggesting both that the intermediate forms were present in the Windhill variety, and that the grammatical subject of past tense BE may not constrain use in quite the same manner as for Standard English, with the possibility for regularisation to either one of the intermediate forms. As discussed in chapter 2 (LITERATURE REVIEW), Wright was a well-trained philologist, in addition to being a native of the Windhill area. His observations, whilst still qualitative, can therefore be assumed to be a rather more reliable statement of the position of past tense BE in West Yorkshire at the end of the nineteenth century than Easther (1883) and Morris (1911), both of whom rely heavily on informal observations and anecdotal comments provided to them by friends and other community members. Though Wright (1892) provides no evidence of the extent to which the intermediate variants were used in his time, we can, from his remarks, establish that their existence in West Yorkshire English dates back at least as far as the 1890s.

### 10.2.2 Quantitative examinations of Yorkshire past tense BE

*10.2.2a Petyt (1985)*

Petyt (1985) follows Wright in acknowledging the existence of the intermediate productions [wə] *and* [wɒ] in his West Yorkshire data. He describes [wɒ] as "the absence of [z] from forms of *was,*" (1985:194), implying that he considers [wɒ] to be derivative of [wɒz]. What can more easily be called into question is the derivation of [wə]. Petyt (1985:194) also acknowledges this difficulty, stating that "[wə] occurs as a weak form of both [wɒ(r)] and [wə:(r)]." This poses an interesting question: is [wə] derived from unstressed [wɜ:], in which case it is most likely to represent *were,* or could it be derived from [wɒ] (which in turn appears to have derived from [wɒz]) in which case it would seem logical to assume [wə] as representative of *was*? The existing literature does not appear to have any definitive answer to this ambiguity, nor is it necessarily the case that these alternatives are mutually exclusive: [wə] may well be derivable from both [wɒ] and [wɜ:], making the sociolinguist's task of circumscribing variants near impossible.

Petyt (1985) provides a quantified analysis of past tense BE in Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield, giving figures for the rate of use of the two intermediate productions together in standard *was* contexts. He found the intermediate forms to be most frequently used by working class males (1985:195). He comments that, in his data, frequency of [wɒz~wəz] is higher than that for the intermediate forms, which he terms the "regional" features of past tense BE (1985:196). He concludes the intermediate forms to be largely restricted to working class speech, and that distribution of *was* and *were* in industrial West Yorkshire was "very much in line with that of Standard English" (1985:196). However, as Petyt does not divide his data by grammatical subject or polarity (two factors which have been considered in virtually every study of variable past tense BE since the 1970s), all we can draw from Petyt is the very general finding that the intermediate forms were still in use in West Yorkshire English, albeit minimally, one hundred years after their first recorded observance by Easther (1883). Further analysis is required to determine whether or not there is any linguistically motivated structure underlying the

occurrence of intermediate forms of past tense BE, or whether their apparent decline in use over time has continued into virtual obsolescence.

*10.2.2b Tagliamonte (1998)*

More recent and thorough quantitative analysis of past tense BE is available for Yorkshire English, in the form of Tagliamonte's (1998) consideration of York. She cites York as being "situated directly on an isogloss boundary distinguishing a non-standard *were* from a non-standard *was* area" (1998:161). The Survey of English Dialects (Orton et al 1978) draws a distinction between York and the West Ridings of Yorkshire in terms of the use of regularised *was*. Given the geographic proximity of York to Leeds (and by extension, Morley), if levelling is taking place, we may, over time, predict increased similarities between these two varieties and the breakdown of this isogloss. Tagliamonte's findings are based on a sub-sample of 40 speakers from her (1996-1998) corpus, stratified for age and sex (1998:159). Tagliamonte claims that results show regularisation to *was* in York, with *was* occurring in contexts for which Standard English prescribes *were* in 17% of cases (shown in Table 10.1 below).

| | **Affirmative** | | **Negative** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | *% was* | N | *% was* |
| SECOND PERSON *YOU* | 34 | 12 | 2 | 0 |
| INDEFINITE *YOU* | 66 | 8 | 12 | 0 |
| FIRST PERSON *WE* | 447 | 9 | 21 | 0 |
| THIRD PERSON *THEY* | 429 | 3 | 42 | 0 |
| THIRD PERSON NP | 322 | 7 | 21 | 0 |
| PLURAL EXISTENTIAL | 287 | 66 | 23 | 17 |
| *Total* | *1585* | *17* | *121* | *7* |

*Table 10.1*
Distribution of non-standard *was* in York (from Tagliamonte 1998:162)

This figure is grossly skewed by existential contexts: *there was* in standard *were* contexts appears far more likely than *was* in any other standard *were* context. A polarity effect is also observed in Table 10.1, with non-standard *wasn't* only occurring with existentials. Indeed, statistical analysis showed polarity to be the strongest constraint on *was/were* variation in York, with *was/weren't* the preferred pattern (Tagliamonte 1998:177).

Given these findings, whilst non-standard *was* may be the most commonly observed non-standard pattern in the York data, it has clearly some way to go before it can be said to have become fully regularised for York speakers. What appears to be the case, on the basis of Tagliamonte's reported results, is that, in actual fact, York speakers are predominantly standard in their application of past tense BE.

One key point to bear in mind regarding the York study is that Tagliamonte did not separate the data by phonetic realisation, and as such "only variants with a portion of high frequency strident friction were coded as *was*. All others were coded as *were*" (1998:160). This masks the occurrence of the intermediate variants [wə] and [wɒ], as they are assumed to represent tokens of *were*. Whilst this is unlikely to have affected the overall findings for affirmative contexts in York, it may well have had an impact on negated contexts thus giving an unreliable impression on the effect of polarity in this variety. Given that the dialectology literature shows that intermediate forms are present in the West, East and North Yorkshire regions, and Tagliamonte herself acknowledges "variation in the individual phonetic representations" (1998:160) then the present state of the literature on Northern Englishes as regards past tense BE is certainly ripe for an analysis that considers these intermediate forms as separate entities from other realisations of past tense BE.

### 10.2.3 Summary of existing literature

The existing literature on Yorkshire varieties is useful, then, in helping to determine the longevity of the intermediate productions, and the quantified data from Petyt (1985) and Tagliamonte (1998) provide a helpful starting point for analysis of the linguistic and social impact upon distribution of variable past tense BE. However, given the lack of detailed quantitative analysis available for the West Riding of Yorkshire, and the lack of attention paid to the distribution of the intermediate forms in the existing quantified analyses, this is as far as the dialect-specific literature can take us. I therefore turn now to the contemporary literature on past tense BE, and consider quantitative analyses of this variable from further afield.

## 10.3 CONTEMPORARY LITERATURE FROM NON-YORKSHIRE VARIETIES

The existing quantitative literature on past tense BE is extensive (Feagin 1979; Cheshire 1982; Eisikovits 1991; Schilling-Estes and Wolfram 1994; Hazen 1998; Tagliamonte and Smith 1999, 2000; Smith 2000; Anderwald 2001; Britain 2002c; Britain and Sudbury 2002; Schreier 2002) and covers locations as varied as the U.K., United States, Canada, the Caribbean and the remote islands of the South Atlantic. Given the plethora of work in existence for this variable, my intention here is to provide a generic overview of trends in past tense BE research, using evidence from Anderwald (2001), and then to focus on some specific studies which exemplify the main patterns of variation to have been observed in global studies of this variable.

Two key trends may be identified within the existing literature on past tense BE: (i) studies concentrating on varieties that regularise according to grammatical subject (i.e. *was* or *were* throughout the verb paradigm, regardless of subject person/number or polarity), and (ii) those studies which have found a reallocation of *was* and *were* along the lines of polarity; with a regularised affirmative form of the verb and a separate negative form. Anderwald (2001) considers the use of past tense BE in dialects of British English in her account of the British National Corpus (BNC), a 100-million word corpus of textual and spoken language. Anderwald limits her sample to the spontaneous speech data from the corpus (a 5-million word subset of the data available), and only includes items for which the dialect region of the speaker was stated, and only those items to occur in combination with a personal pronoun or existential *there*. This permits analysis of over 25,000 tokens from almost 1300 respondents. She reports that in affirmative contexts, generalised *was* is found in every region, albeit at very different rates. Generalised *were* is less frequent, the highest rate of use being in the 'central northern region' (23.2%), which, contrary to what the name may suggest, actually covers the north-west area, from Morecambe to Carlisle. 'Northern England' in Anderwald's regions (in which West Yorkshire is amalgamated with other locations as linguistically diverse as Scunthorpe, Manchester and Blackpool) has 17.3% affirmative *was* regularisation and 12.1% affirmative *were* regularisation (2001:5). In negative contexts, neither the 'Central Northern' nor the 'Northern' region have *wasn't* regularisation. *Weren't*

regularisation occurs 44% in the 'Central Northern' and 22% in the 'Northern' region (2001:6).

Anderwald (2001) provides a summarised account of the generalisation strategies observed in her data from the BNC, when a binary *was/were* system is assumed, stating that four combinations are possible within the regularisation/reallocation framework. These four possibilities are shown in Figure 10.1, which is adapted from Anderwald (2001:9). I have added an example of a variety to utilise each pattern, where such an example is available from the existing literature.

| *WAS* | *WERE* | |
|---|---|---|
| REGULARISATION<br>e.g. **Buckie** (Smith and Tagliamonte 1998) | REALLOCATION<br>? | *WASN'T* |
| REALLOCATION<br>e.g. **Okracoke, N. Carolina,** (Schilling Estes and Wolfram 1994) | REGULARISATION<br>e.g. **London** and **South Midlands** (Anderwald 2001:11) | *WEREN'T* |

*Figure 10.1*
Possible combinations of past tense BE (adapted from Anderwald 2001:9)

The question mark in the *were-wasn't* schema signifies that, in Anderwald's research (and, to my knowledge, the present day) no variety has been discovered that reallocates along polarity lines with *were* in affirmative contexts and *wasn't* in negated ones. The most frequently observed patterns, both in the BNC and in global varieties of English are *was-wasn't* (regularisation) and *was-weren't* (reallocation). I now present case studies of these two patterns using the examples I have provided in Figure 10.1.

### 10.3.1 *Was* regularisation

Smith and Tagliamonte (1998) sampled eight speakers from Buckie, North East Scotland. All eight speakers were over 80 years of age and had lived in Buckie for the majority or all of their lives. An hour-long interview was conducted with each by

one of the authors (a Buckie native) and all tokens of past tense BE extracted from the recorded data. These data are a subset of the corpus recorded by Smith (2000). Table 10.2 shows the overall distribution of their findings (adapted from Smith and Tagliamonte 1998:116).

| **Standard English prescribes...** | **Total Ns** | **Non-standard Ns** | **% non-standard** |
|---|---|---|---|
| WERE | 420 | 244 | 58 |
| WAS | 1316 | 7 | 0.5 |

*Table 10.2*
Use of non-standard past tense BE in Buckie (from Smith and Tagliamonte 1998)

Note in Table 10.2 that non-standard occurrences of *was* are much more frequent than non-standard *were*, which occurs in less than 1% of Standard *was* contexts. Use of *was* in contexts in which Scottish Standard English prescribes *were* occurs frequently across grammatical subjects, the exception being after third person plural pronoun *they*, which for Buckie speakers is categorically standard (Smith and Tagliamonte 1998:116). When the effect of polarity is considered in Buckie, (Smith 2000), it becomes clear that Buckie is a regularisation community, rather than a reallocation community: affirmative and negative occurrences of *was* in *were* are just as frequent as one another, and polarity is not selected as statistically significant at any point in Smith's analysis.

The main conclusion from the Buckie data is that *was*-regularisation is the dominant pattern in this community. Its occurrence is accounted for in terms of analogical levelling (a reduction in the number of distinct forms that exist within a given paradigm). However, different communities may be observed at different stages of the regularisation process. For Smith and Tagliamonte (1998) (and indeed, the Buckie community) variation in past tense BE can be described in terms of alternation: a binary choice is offered between *was* and *were*. This binary alternation is assumed in most of the existing literature. However, for Morley, this is not the case: more than two variants of past tense BE are in operation. It remains to be seen whether analogical levelling can be applied as a reasonable explanation of variability in the Morley past tense BE system.

### 10.3.2 *Was-weren't* reallocation

Schilling-Estes and Wolfram (1994) also discuss variation in past tense BE in terms of analogical levelling in their work on Ocracoke Island, North Carolina. A sample of 45 Ocracoke residents aged 10-82 were interviewed, and a subset of 19 white speakers of different ages and both sexes was quantified. On initial inspection, Ocracoke appeared to be a *were*-regularisation dialect. However, in affirmative constructions, *were* as an analogical pivot was quite rare, so much so, in fact, that Schilling-Estes and Wolfram discount it as an option in affirmative constructions (1994:285). Non-standard occurrences of *weren't* were much more frequent, however, with approximately half the potential cases showing non-standard usage. Analysis cross-generationally showed that a reallocated *was-weren't* system has existed in Ocracoke English for some time (1994:286).

Reallocation along the lines of polarity is a common finding in the existing literature on past tense BE, and the existence of a wider range of phonological productions of past tense BE does not rule out the possibility that reallocation may be observed in Morley. However, as yet all the literature on reallocation demonstrates a *was/weren't* distinction. No study has observed *were/wasn't*, and no investigation has considered whether intermediate variants can play a role in reallocation processes.

### 10.3.3 A binary alternation?

The existing literature presents us with two options in terms of variation in past tense BE: a pattern with regularisation to one variant throughout the verb paradigm, or a reallocated system along the lines of polarity. However, as yet, this variable has only ever been presented as having a binary alternation in its variants: the only variant options considered are *was* and *were*. Following this mode of analysis in Morley, given the existence of the intermediate pronunciations, may mask patterns of heterogeneity that would otherwise be observable were we to take account of the intermediate phonological forms separately. Precedent for this can be found in Hazen (1998).

### 10.3.4 Evidence of intermediate past tense BE

Hazen's (1998) work considers data from Warren County, North Carolina, utilising data from 45 speakers, across a range of ethnic groups, stratified for age and sex. Hazen (1998:222) identifies a tripartite system for past tense BE in negative constructions, with *wont* [wõt˜] existing as a lexicalised negative variant, possibly as "an analogical parallel of *ain't*." Hazen's work demonstrates clearly that *wont* is distinct from *wasn't* and *weren't*, both acoustically (the vowel quality is distinctly different from that in *wasn't* and *weren't*) and morphologically (it does not appear to be derived from either *wasn't* or *weren't* and has no apparent affirmative counterpart). In positive constructions, Warren County has *was* regularisation. In negative constructions, *wont* is used in 45% of all cases, with a slightly higher tendency towards singular environments. Distribution according to grammatical subject is given in Table 10.3, adapted from Hazen (1998:232)

| Std *was* contexts | *wont*/Total negative Ns | % | Std *were* contexts | *wont*/Total negative Ns | % |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1ST PERSON SING. | 29/46 | 63 | 1ST PERSON PL. | 4/11 | 36 |
| | | | 2ND PERSON | 3/6 | 50 |
| 3RD PERSON SING. | 27/69 | 39 | 3RD PERSON PL. | 17/45 | 37 |
| 3RD SING. OMITTED | 27/32 | 84 | 3RD PL. OMITTED | 3/5 | 60 |
| TOTAL SING. | 83/146 | 57 | TOTAL PLURAL | 27/67 | 40 |

*Table 10.3*
Distribution of *wont* in Warren County (from Hazen 1998:232)

Distributionally, *wont* has become the default negative form for past tense BE in Warren County, used across the verb paradigm. Hazen parallels this to *ain't* in the present tense as a regularised negative form of BE. He claims that *wont* is a sociolinguistic marker for all three ethnic groups in Warren County (white Americans, African Americans and Native Americans).

In relation to the Morley data, Hazen's work goes to show that not only can an analysis take consideration of intermediate variants, but that to do so may illuminate hitherto undiscovered patterns of structured heterogeneity.

### 10.3.5 Summary of the review of the existing literature

I have discussed some key examples from the plethora of literature available on past tense BE and have established that the majority of quantitative sociolinguistic analyses focus on the binary alternation of *was* and *were*. Four possible patterns of use exist: two regularisation strategies (either to *was* or *were*) and two reallocation strategies (*was~weren't* or *were~wasn't*), the latter of which has not yet been observed in any community. Hazen (1998) is the first investigation of the past tense BE variable to introduce the possibility that intermediate phonological productions of past tense BE may exhibit a variable structure which marks them as entities separate from the standard binary *was* and *were* alternatives. The dialectology literature has shown us that the intermediate variants which exist in Morley have been impressionistically observed in West Yorkshire English for at least the last hundred years. However, quantitative examination of these intermediate variants has proved elusive. As such, the literature on past tense BE in British varieties of English has overlooked a potentially important piece of evidence, which may help us to determine how this variable is structured for some British speakers. This gap in the literature having been established, I now turn to the rationale for the present analysis of past tense BE and highlight how I attempt to satisfy this deficiency in our understanding.

## 10.4 Rationale for this analysis

Following Hazen's approach, the following analysis distinguishes two intermediate variants of past tense BE from the standard phonological representations of *was* and *were*. This decision is taken based on four pieces of evidence: the presence of intermediate variants in the historical literature for Yorkshire varieties (Wright 1892; Morris 1911); the acknowledgement that intermediate forms exist in the contemporary literature (Petyt 1985; Tagliamonte 1998); the lack of attention paid to the distribution of intermediate forms in the existing literature, and the evidence from Warren County (Hazen 1998) that intermediate forms may indeed be structured separately from the existing variants.

It could be argued that the two intermediate productions should be amalgamated, for the sake of restricting the analysis to a tripartite system (in line with Hazen's (1998) analysis). However, using Hazen's (1998) guidelines for determining a particular form to be a separate variant, further evidence exists which leads me to continue to treat these two forms separately. Firstly, there is an acoustic difference: vocalically, [wɒ] is lower and less fronted than [wə], which is more central. Secondly, there is morpho-phonological evidence. Whilst [wɒ] is almost certainly derived from [wɒz], a case could be made for arguing [wə] as derived from either [wɜ:] or [wɒz]: [wə] is often assumed to be unstressed *were*. However, due to the existence of [wɒ], it is also possible that [wə] is unstressed [wɒ]. As [wɒ] is most commonly assumed to be a reduced form of [wɒz], this would mean that [wə] could be derived from either *was* or *were*. This derivational ambiguity parallels that observed for *wont* in North Carolina by Hazen (1998:228), and as a result I continue to treat [wə] as a separate variant. Lastly, as we shall see, there are sociolinguistic differences, with each of these forms used in very different contexts.

The intermediate forms [wə] and [wɒ] are treated as traditional dialect variants of past tense BE, as they are commonly observed in the historical dialectology literature of the Yorkshire region. Whilst *was* regularisation is also commented upon in the local dialectology literature, its use is much more widespread and is thus considered here as the form likely to diffuse due to contact (if contact is indeed the main motivation for linguistic change in Morley). The ensuing analysis thus concentrates on the distribution of the fully realised pronunciations [wɒz] and [wɜ:] in comparison to the intermediate (and traditional dialect) variants [wɒ] and [wə]. Reduction in use of the intermediate forms in favour of regularisation to *was* (or indeed, reallocation to *was* and *weren't*) would provide evidence of contact-induced change, whilst persistent use of the intermediate forms would represent retention of traditional features.

### 10.4.1 Circumscribing the variants

In light of the previous sections, I circumscribe four variants of past tense BE in Morley English, as follows. The first is most commonly identified as the standard

production of *were*, an open syllable with a long central vowel [wɜː]. Secondly, we have the open syllable with schwa [wə]. The third variant is [wɒ]. Lastly we have the variant most similar to standard pronunciations of *was*. I represent this variant as [wɒz], although it is possible for the vowel here to be realised as schwa, [wəz]. However, the presence of a word-final fricative suggests these are both reflexes of *was*. There is certainly not the same degree of evidence present (following Hazen's (1998) analysis) for the separation of [wɒz] and [wəz] as there is for separating [wɒ] and [wə]. Tagliamonte (1998) also classes any production of past tense BE with high frequency strident friction as one variant. Thus in order to prevent unnecessarily complicating the analysis, I analyse [wɒz] and [wəz] jointly under [wɒz].

### 10.4.2 Effect of polarity

Polarity often proves to be a significant constraint in use of past tense BE, particularly in terms of reallocation strategies. However, a difficulty arises when considering negated *was* and *were* in Morley, due to the localised system of SECONDARY CONTRACTION, discussed in chapter 7. Secondary contraction of clitic negatives, operating on past tense BE, would give us forms such as those in (4) and (5). The intermediate form [wə] is never observed in a negated construction in these data. The problem arises, therefore, in the form given in example (5): is this negated *wasn't*, with secondary contraction, or negated [wɒ]? Because of this ambiguity, and because the number of available variants is different for positive and negative contexts, I consider negated tokens entirely separately from the affirmative data.

(4) They *weren't* [wɜːʔ] so far away.
(5) There *wasn't* [wɒnʔ] a spot of blood.

### 10.4.3 Excluded tokens

All tokens where the following segment began with [s] or [z] were excluded due to the likelihood of assimilation occurring, and the phonological ambiguity this would present, exemplified in (6).

(6) when I [wə] seven or when I [wəz] seven.

## 10.5 Extraction and Coding

For affirmative contexts, a maximum of forty tokens per speaker were used, to avoid skewing by prolific past tense BE users. Due to their less frequent nature, all negated tokens were extracted and coded. The tokens were coded as follows.

### 10.5.1 Dependent variable

As identified above, a range of phonological productions can be observed in Morley for past tense BE. The four most frequent productions are considered here, and are identified in (7)-(10).

(7) Well there **[wɜː]** the two picture houses.
(8) The Yorkshire accent **[wə]** marvellous.
(9) A bit further down there **[wɒ]** Morley upper station.
(10) The female rabbit **[wɒz]** in the pond.

### 10.5.2 Polarity

All tokens were identified as affirmative as in (11), or negative as in (12).

(11) The ideas behind it **[wə]** really really sickening.
(12) We **[wɜːn?]** doing it to annoy people.

### 10.5.3 Grammatical subject

As discussed above, the person and number of the subject has also proven to be important in constraining use of past tense BE in many previous studies: lack of statistically significant differences according to grammatical context can be taken as evidence for regularisation. As such, each token in the present study was coded for its grammatical subject. These were also identified as subjects which, for Standard English, prescribe *was* (13)-(16) and those which prescribe *were* (17)-(21).

*First person singular pronoun*

(13) I **[wɒz]** really sleazy.

*Third person singular pronoun*

(14) a. When she [wə] in year seven.
b. He [wɒz] even considering going to work in Iraq.
c. It [wə] our friend's birthday.

*Singular NP*

(15) This guy [wə] really genuinely upset.

*Singular existential*

(16) Yes there [wɒz] a mill, they knocked the mill down.

*Second person pronoun (singular and plural)*

(17) You [wə] there waiting for me.

*First person plural pronoun*

(18) We [wə] never short of things to do.

*Third person plural pronoun*

(19) They [wə] hundred ton pitch pine rafters.

*Plural NP*

(20) The teachers [wə] trying to get me to stay on.

*Plural existential*

(21) There [wə] some barracks down in Norfolk.

### 10.5.4 Phonological constraints

Given that the focus of this analysis is the phonological realisation of past tense BE, two phonological constraints are also considered. These are following phonological segment and stress.

Tokens were coded for whether the following phonological segment was a consonant other than /s/ or /z/ (22), a vowel (23), or a pause (24). Of course, for the three variants which are open syllables, where the following word is vowel-initial, something 'r-like' is inserted as in (25) I avoid describing this as either linking-r or intrusive-r so as to avoid inference as to the underlying representation of the variant of past tense BE: linking-r would imply these tokens are representing *were*, whilst intrusive-r would imply they represent *was*. A following word which begins with a zero realisation of /h/ is also counted as vocalic, as in (26).

(22) It [wɒz] pretty good.
(23) Someone who [wɒz] a lot thinner.
(24) Yes it [wɒz] (pause).
(25) Since he [wə ɹ ə] baby.
(26) He actually believed this [wəz Øɪz] backpack.

The data were coded for whether each item was stressed (27), or unstressed (28). (In the examples, @ word-initially marks the primary sentence stress as produced by the speaker.)

(27) Yeah it @[wɒz] a bit of excitement.
(28) I [wə] @dragged to school.

### 10.5.5 External considerations

In addition to the linguistic constraints outlined above, the data have also been coded for speaker sex and generation, in order to show any social patterning of the data, and whether a change occurs across time in rates of use of the particular variants.

## 10.6 Results

Table 10.4 shows the overall distribution of variants of past tense BE for affirmative and negative contexts. In total, 1000 tokens were analysed.

| | wɜː | | wə | | wɒ | | wɒz | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ns | % | Ns | % | Ns | % | Ns | % |
| AFFIRMATIVE (Ns =836) | 17 | 2 | 541 | 65 | 63 | 7 | 215 | 26 |
| NEGATIVE (Ns =164) | 21 | 13 | 0 | - | 120 | 73 | 23 | 14 |

*Table 10.4*
Overall Distribution of Past Tense BE

Table 10.4 shows that polarity appears to provide a natural split in terms of use of the two intermediate variants, with [wə] observed as the majority variant in affirmative contexts, but absent from negative contexts, and [wɒ] the majority variant in negative contexts but only present in 7% of affirmative cases.

Table 10.5 further divides the data for affirmative past tense BE by grammatical person and number.

| | | | wɜː | | wə | | wɒ | | wɒz | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total N | N | % | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| *WAS* CONTEXTS | I | 95 | 0 | - | 53 | 56 | 4 | 4 | 38 | 40 |
| | He/She/It | 365 | 1 | <1 | 216 | 59 | 41 | 11 | 107 | 29 |
| | Sing. NP | 107 | 0 | - | 56 | 52 | 3 | 3 | 48 | 45 |
| | Sing. existential | 61 | 1 | 2 | 35 | 57 | 3 | 5 | 22 | 36 |
| *WERE* CONTEXTS | You | 30 | 4 | 13 | 25 | 83 | 1 | 3 | 0 | - |
| | We | 60 | 1 | 2 | 56 | 93 | 3 | 5 | 0 | - |
| | They | 56 | 5 | 9 | 45 | 80 | 6 | 11 | 0 | - |
| | Pl. NP | 33 | 3 | 9 | 28 | 85 | 2 | 6 | 0 | - |
| | Pl. existential | 29 | 2 | 7 | 27 | 93 | 0 | - | 0 | - |

*Table 10.5*
Distribution of affirmative past tense BE by grammatical subject

In affirmative contexts, the standard pronunciations [wɜː] and [wɒz] can be said to be restricted to their standard grammatical contexts, with only two tokens of non-standard [wɜː], and no tokens of non-standard [wɒz]. In all grammatical subjects, the majority variant is intermediate [wə].

Table 10.6 presents the data by grammatical person and number for negative past tense BE.

| | | | wɜːn? | | wɒn? | | wɒzən? | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | Total N | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| *WAS* CONTEXTS | I | 15 | 0 | - | 11 | 73 | 4 | 27 |
| | He/She/It | 76 | 2 | 3 | 60 | 79 | 14 | 18 |
| | Sing. NP | 9 | 1 | 11 | 7 | 78 | 1 | 11 |
| | Sing. existential | 10 | 1 | 10 | 8 | 80 | 1 | 10 |
| *WERE* CONTEXTS | You | 8 | 3 | 37 | 5 | 63 | 0 | - |
| | We | 12 | 8 | 67 | 4 | 33 | 0 | - |
| | They | 17 | 4 | 23 | 12 | 71 | 1 | 6 |
| | Pl. NP | 4 | 2 | 50 | 2 | 50 | 0 | - |
| | Pl. existential | 13 | 0 | - | 11 | 85 | 2 | 15 |

*Table 10.6*
Distribution of negated past tense BE by grammatical subject

Once again, the standard pronunciations [wɜːn?] and [wɒzən?] are largely restricted to their standard contexts, with only four tokens of [wɜːn?] in *was* and three tokens of [wɒzən?] in *were*. [wɒn?] is the majority form in all grammatical subjects for negated past tense BE.

These initial findings are pointing towards a polarity split, which mirrors that observed in reallocation settings, but with the intermediate variants as the default forms, rather than the standard pronunciations. Given that the distributional analysis clearly shows the standard pronunciations to be, for the most part, restricted to their respective standard contexts of use, the following multivariate analysis is conducted to show the significance of factors contributing to the occurrence of the intermediate variants, with affirmative and negative contexts considered separately. Table 10.7 shows the results for affirmative contexts: here two multivariate analyses are reported, one with [wə] as the application value, the other with [wɒ] as the application value. As grammatical person and number did not appear to affect the rate of variation in the distributional data, the factor group 'grammatical subject' has been simplified to a binary division between contexts for which Standard English prescribes *was* and those for which Standard English prescribes *were*.

| | Affirmative [wə] | | | Affirmative [wɒ] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | % | FW | Ns | % | FW | Ns |
| Corrected mean | | .687 | | | .053 | |
| **GENERATION** | | | | | | |
| HOUCK | 47 | **.31** | 110 | 7 | [.49] | 110 |
| RETIRED | 64 | **.42** | 244 | 9 | [.60] | 244 |
| WORKING | 76 | **.73** | 250 | 8 | [.44] | 250 |
| STUDENT | 62 | **.41** | 232 | 5 | [.47] | 232 |
| *Range* | | ***43*** | | | *16* | |
| **SPEAKER SEX** | | | | | | |
| MALE | 60 | [.47] | 424 | 8 | [.49] | 424 |
| FEMALE | 69 | [.54] | 412 | 8 | [.52] | 412 |
| *Range* | | *7* | | | *3* | |
| **GRAMMATICAL CONTEXT** | | | | | | |
| STD PRESCRIBES WAS | 57 | **.37** | 628 | 8 | [.53] | 628 |
| STD PRESCRIBES WERE | 87 | **.83** | 208 | 6 | [.42] | 208 |
| *Range* | | ***46*** | | | *11* | |
| **FOLLOWING PHON. SEGMENT** | | | | | | |
| CONSONANT | 71 | [.52] | 518 | 5 | [.47] | 518 |
| VOWEL | 59 | [.47] | 271 | 10 | [.56] | 271 |
| PAUSE | 32 | [.47] | 47 | 23 | [.48] | 47 |
| *Range* | | *5* | | | *9* | |
| **STRESS PATTERN** | | | | | | |
| STRESSED | 11 | **.03** | 85 | 38 | **.92** | 85 |
| UNSTRESSED | 71 | **.60** | 751 | 4 | **.43** | 751 |
| *Range* | | ***57*** | | | ***49*** | |
| TOTAL Ns | 836 | | | | | |

*Table 10.7*

Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of intermediate past tense BE in Morley: affirmative contexts

The results of the multivariate analyses displayed in Table 10.7 suggest that in affirmative contexts, [wə] is the preferred variant, with a corrected mean of .687, whilst [wɒ] occurs comparatively infrequently, with a corrected mean of just .053. Stress pattern is selected as the most significant factor group for both intermediate variants; indeed it is the only significant factor constraining occurrence of affirmative [wɒ]. For stress pattern, the two variants are diametrically opposed, with [wə] strongly disfavoured in stressed positions but favoured in unstressed, whilst [wɒ] is strongly favoured in stressed contexts, but slightly disfavoured in unstressed ones. This has more to do with more general phonological processes than the

particular variable under consideration, as schwa is more generally utilised in unstressed positions. Following phonological context is not selected as significant in either analysis.

For grammatical context, it is interesting to note that while this factor group is only selected as significant for [wə], the constraint hierarchy is reversed between the two analyses, with [wə] favoured in contexts where Standard English prescribes *were*, and [wɒ] favoured in contexts for which Standard English prescribes *was*.

Generation is only selected as a significant factor group for [wə]. Working speakers favour [wə] whilst the other three generation groups disfavour it. While generation is not significant for [wɒ], it is still the second highest factor group for this analysis. The retired generation favour use of this variant, while the other generations disfavour it. However, for neither [wə] or [wɒ] is a pattern observed that shows gradual increase or decline over the four generations. This would imply that whatever the pattern of variation observed for past tense BE in Morley, it is a relatively stable variable with no overall pattern of change in any particular direction over time. Speaker sex does not significantly impact upon the variation here, although a slight favouring result is found for female speakers for both intermediate variants. Following phonological context is not significant for either analysis.

The results in Table 10.7 tell us that [wə] is the majority variant for affirmative past tense BE contexts. The only factor which significantly favours [wɒ] is stress pattern, which is unsurprising given the lack of stressed schwa elsewhere in English.

In Table 10.8, the negative data are considered. As [wə] does not occur in negative contexts, the results here show only one analysis, with [wɒ] as the application value.

| | % [wɒ] | FW | Ns [wɒ] |
|---|---|---|---|
| Corrected mean .745 | | | |
| **GENERATION** | | | |
| HOUCK | 75 | [.52] | 4 |
| RETIRED | 69 | [.46] | 70 |
| WORKING | 78 | [.55] | 72 |
| STUDENT | 72 | [.47] | 18 |
| *Range* | | *9* | |
| **SPEAKER SEX** | | | |
| MALE | 67 | [.44] | 72 |
| FEMALE | 78 | [.55] | 92 |
| *Range* | | *11* | |
| **GRAMMATICAL CONTEXT** | | | |
| STD PRESCRIBES WAS | 78 | **.58** | 110 |
| STD PRESCRIBES WERE | 63 | **.34** | 54 |
| *Range* | | *24* | |
| **STRESS PATTERN** | | | |
| STRESSED | 78 | **.58** | 104 |
| UNSTRESSED | 65 | **.36** | 60 |
| *Range* | | *22* | |
| TOTAL Ns | | | 164 |

*Table 10.8*
Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of intermediate past tense BE in Morley: negative contexts

Two significant factors are highlighted in the analysis in Table 10.8: grammatical context and stress pattern. For grammatical context, [wɒn?] is favoured in contexts of *was* and disfavoured in contexts of *were*, again reinforcing the possibility that there is an underlying representation of this form as *was*. For stress pattern, stressed contexts favour use of [wɒ] whilst unstressed ones disfavour it, the same pattern as is observed in affirmative contexts for this variant. Also, as with affirmative contexts, the social factors of generation and sex do not significantly contribute to the variation, implying once again that use of intermediate variants of past tense BE is not involved in a process of change in Morley.

The corrected mean of .745 confirms that [wɒ] in negative contexts is the majority variant. Thus, from the multivariate analyses for affirmative and negative past tense BE, we seem to have a reallocation pattern emerging: [wə] in affirmative use and [wɒ] in negative use. The intermediate variants are the most frequently occurring forms for all generations of speakers, and in all grammatical contexts.

## 10.7 Discussion

Some principal consequences of the analysis are the following:

1. Morley speakers do not use [wɒz] in contexts in which Standard English requires *were*. This sets Morley apart not only from its neighbouring variety, York (Tagliamonte 1998) but from many global varieties of English studied thus far.
2. The traditional intermediate productions of past tense BE are widespread in Morley, used by all speakers, in all generations, and all grammatical contexts.
3. Only two main conditioning factors affect which intermediate variant is used in which context: polarity (with preference for [wə] in affirmative and [wɒ] in negative) and stress pattern, with [wə] naturally dispreferred in unstressed conditions.

I discuss the findings of this investigation in two parts. First I address the lack of regularisation to [wɒz] and consider this in light of the existing literature on past tense BE, and also the implications these findings may present for our understanding of contact-induced morphosyntactic change. Second, I address the strength of the traditional intermediate variants in these data, and present two possible interpretations of their distribution.

### 10.7.1 The avoidance of *Was*-regularisation

Recall Tagliamonte's (1998) assertion that traditionally, an isogloss exists between the North and West Ridings of Yorkshire for this variable, with *was* regularising dialects to the North and *were* regularising dialects to the West. The results presented in this chapter are conclusive evidence that, at least for the speakers to the Western side of the isogloss, the boundary is fiercely maintained. The intermediate variants mentioned with such frequency in the dialectology literature still remain, and indeed, their use appears highly structured. The stability of these

forms, combined with almost total lack of [wɒz] in *were* contexts (only occurring 3 times in the whole of the data set, and all of these being negated tokens) indicates the degree to which the observed pattern is rooted in the Morley community: in spite of its near ubiquitous acceptance globally (at least in affirmative contexts), *was*-regularisation has made no inroads whatsoever in Morley.

Two possible explanations can be proffered here: either Morley speakers are exhibiting robust resistance to pressure from *was*-regularisation, or *was*-regularisation exerts no pressure on the variety. In the case of the former, one must ask why Morley speakers are so successful in their resistance to pressure from *was*-regularisation when it is so pervasive elsewhere. The latter suggestion seems the more logical at this stage: there is no reason to assume, just because *was*-regularisation is the more frequent pattern elsewhere, that it is in fact the dominant pattern. Those communities represented in the existing literature for whom *was*-regularisation is the observed pattern are shown to exhibit the pattern historically; there is as yet no study which points to *was*-regularisation diffusing into a community where it was never present in the first place. Therefore it is possible that whilst Morley speakers come into contact with *was*-regularising varieties of English, they may not be under any pressure to adopt the innovative form into their own speech. If this is the case, then the implications of this for the literature on contact-induced change are substantial. Further research into morphosyntactic change with emphasis on the effect of increased social and geographical mobility of speakers is required to further our understanding here.

### 10.7.2 The maintenance of intermediate past tense BE

Two interpretations of the maintenance of the intermediate variants can be offered here: either they have underlying representations of *was* and *were*, and the community are using them in this way, or else, they are truly intermediate and utilised as such by Morley speakers. As the answer to which of these interpretations is the more likely would require evidence on perception and interpretation of the variants from community members, I discuss the implications of both interpretations here, and do not claim subjective presupposition of knowledge as to the minds of my informants.

If the underlying representations of [wə] and [wɒ] are, in fact, *were* and *was* respectively, then the data presented here provide evidence of a pattern hitherto unforeseen in linguistic analysis: reallocation to *were* and *wasn't* (with *wasn't* possibly subjected to the process of secondary contraction which is discussed in chapter 7). Recall that Anderwald (2001) could not find evidence of any community which held to such a pattern in her analysis of the BNC, nor has any other investigation of reallocated past tense BE shown evidence of a *were~wasn't* paradigm. Thus, if we interpret these data in this way, Morley breaks the mould of past tense BE analysis.

If we take the second interpretation, and assume that, irrespective of underlying representation or derivation, these forms are interpreted as intermediate and utilised as such, then Morley has much to say about the consideration of past tense BE elsewhere in the North of England. For, whilst these intermediate variants are traditional, they are by no means locally restricted, and can be observed in other dialects across the wider region, as noted by Tagliamonte (1998). As such, future analysis of past tense BE in Northern varieties must take account of these variants separately from the standard productions *was* and *were*. To mask their frequent occurrence here by collapsing them underneath the more widely adopted bi-partite procedure for this variable would have done a disservice to the data, and by extension, would have grossly misrepresented the patterning of this variable in Morley. Subsequent researchers should be cautioned against doing similar disservice to other varieties of English. On the basis of the data presented here, this latter interpretation appears to be the better explanation. The analysis has shown that [wɒ] and [wɒz] do not behave as though they are the same feature: [wɒz] is almost categorically avoided in contexts of standard *were*, even in negative environments. In these negative *were* environments, however, [wɒ] flourishes. Similarly, [wə] and [wɜ:] do not occupy the same space, as [wɜ:] is categorically avoided in contexts of standard *was*, an environment where intermediate [wə] is frequent. This lack of homogeneity between [wɒz] and [wɒ] and between [wə] and [wɜ:] strongly suggests that the intermediate variants should remain separate from [wɒz] and [wɜ:], rather than be amalgamated under *was/were* headings. Nevertheless, I acknowledge that this issue remains controversial.

Whichever way we choose to interpret this data, my findings are clearly noteworthy, giving as they do evidence of a rather different pattern of use from those observed elsewhere in the literature on this variable. Whilst the latter interpretation seems the most appropriate on the basis of the data presented here, further work is needed to fully resolve the issue of which interpretation is the more valid, particularly as it relates to the perception of these intermediate forms by members of the speech community. In terms of the overall themes of this thesis the remarkable finding is that, irrespective of what these intermediate variants represent, they are conspicuously maintained. Increased social and geographical mobility has not influenced this variable; whether this is indicative of an inherent difference in susceptibility to contact-induced processes between phonological and morphosyntactic variation remains to be seen, and it requires more thorough investigation of the morphosyntactic variables in general as regards levelling and diffusion processes. However, it can be clearly shown that for past tense BE in Morley, contact makes no difference whatsoever.

## 10.8 Chapter Summary

In this chapter I have shown that an analysis of past tense BE that takes into consideration the phonological variation present within the system can illuminate hitherto unseen patterns of variation. In Morley English, there appears to exist a system for both affirmative and negative contexts of past tense BE, in which regularisation to an intermediate variant occurs in both cases. For Morley speakers, [wə] is the default variant in affirmative contexts across all subject persons and numbers, whilst [wɒn?] is the default in negated contexts. Morley does not exhibit non-standard use of [wɒz], making this variety distinct from other varieties of English studied with respect to this variable. The stability of the intermediate forms in Morley English suggests that there is no pressure operating upon the variety from *was*-regularisation, and that traditional patterns of variation are robustly maintained, with no pattern of change observed in apparent time.

# CHAPTER 11
# (T)

## 11.0 CHAPTER ABSTRACT

This chapter is concerned with the variable (t). Much has been made in the literature of the spread of the glottal variant [ʔ], a process which has been described as diffusion and subsequent levelling towards a (typically unspecified) non-standard variety. In this analysis, I consider two separate variable contexts: the first is non-intervocalic (t), for which two variants are identified; [t] and [ʔ]. The second is intervocalic contexts, for which three variants are considered; [t], [ʔ] and T-to-R (Wells 1982). Both contexts permit the consideration of the spread of a non-traditional feature into the dialect. The latter context further permits consideration of the impact the glottal stop has had upon a traditional feature of the Morley dialect, T-to-R. I will here present evidence to show that while the glottal variant is on the increase in Morley, as it is in so many other varieties, it is not the traditional non-standard feature which is suffering as a result, but the standard one. This pattern is described in light of the wider themes addressed in this thesis.

## 11.1 INTRODUCTION

The variable considered in this chapter is (t) in non-initial position. I here maintain a distinction between intervocalic contexts and all others, due to the fact that for intervocalic contexts in this variety, three variants are considered, whilst in non-intervocalic contexts, only two are investigated. For all contexts, therefore, the variants included in the analysis are the standard variant [t] and the supra-local variant [ʔ] (which is treated as originating externally to the variety). The variant known as 'T-to-R' (following Wells (1982:370)), represented henceforth as [ɹ], is included as the third possibility in intervocalic positions. These three variants are exemplified respectively in (1)-(3).

(1) a. As I **get older** and feebler [gɛto:ldə]
b. That was our air raid **shelter** [ʃɛltə]

(2) a. We **got a** bigger boat this year [gɒʔə]
b. When they do **get people** in [gɛʔpi:pl̩]

(3) **Put it** in the paper basket [pʊɹɪt]

A fourth variant, the tapped form [ɾ], is possible in Morley. However, this was observed only rarely in the data (contributing just 5% of all intervocalic tokens), and as such, is not considered here. This variable is useful in the consideration of levelling versus retention of traditional dialect features, as it permits the consideration of both perspectives within the same variable. The glottal variant has been shown to have increased greatly in both geographical distribution and frequency in recent years, whilst T-to-R is a traditional dialect feature for Morley and other Northern varieties. As such, the impact of the glottal in two linguistic conditions - one where a traditional non-standard alternative is present in addition to the standard, and one where only the standard is available as an alternative - may be able to tell us much regarding the acceptance of a diffusing feature in relation to an already existing feature of the local dialect.

The remainder of this chapter is structured as follows: I first discuss the existing literature on the spread of the glottal variant. I then address what the dialectology literature has to say regarding non-initial (t) in Yorkshire varieties, in order to establish the longevity of the T-to-R form, and its apparently comparatively recent competitor, the glottal. I also present an overview of the use of [ʔ] in other U.K. varieties. I shall then turn to the analysis of the Morley data, outlining the methods used in the extraction and coding of the data, before turning to a discussion of the findings. The analysis is then discussed in light of the overall themes of diffusion versus retention of traditional variants.

## 11.2 Background Literature

### 11.2.1 The historical position of variable non-initial (t)

In modern times, T-glottaling is a commonly observed feature in the majority of British varieties of English. However, its use among some varieties of Scottish and North-East English may not be as recent an innovation as it is generally believed to be: Beal (2004) cites a number of publications which give evidence of use of [ʔ] in Scottish and North-Eastern varieties of English in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century, most notably Jespersen (1909), who observed post-vocalic glottals in Sheffield, Lincoln, Glasgow and Edinburgh (Beal 2004:208). Wright (1905), in his *English Dialect Grammar*, makes only cursory mention of the glottal form of (t), describing it as a feature noted in Scottish varieties, used post-vocalically before syllabic /l/, as in *battle*, or intervocalically with final /r/, as in *water* (presumably this applies only to rhotic Scottish speakers, although Wright does not specify). This is the only direct mention of a glottal variant made by Wright in his description of variable (t). He does, however, make mention of a number of contexts in a wide range of U.K. varieties where (t) can be "omitted" (1905:230), including word-finally from consonant clusters with voiceless consonants, as in *first* or *leapt*, and word-finally after nasals, as in *serpent*. These latter examples may well be what we would now categorise as contexts of t/d deletion, but at the very least, these comments show that something other than standard [t] was available to early twentieth century speakers, and as glottaling is sometimes still described as 'dropping one's Ts' there is at least the possibility that some of these 'omitted' tokens may be early examples of glottal forms.

In spite of these earlier references to glottal use in Scottish English, current accepted wisdom on T-glottaling is that it originates in Cockney and other non-standard varieties of south-east English, and has been the subject of rapid diffusion throughout the twentieth century, both socially and geographically. In modern sociolinguistics, its use has been documented in Glasgow (Macaulay 1977, Stuart-Smith 1999), Newcastle (Docherty, Foulkes, Milroy, Milroy and Walshaw 1997), Cardiff, (Mees and Collins 1999), Derby (Docherty and Foulkes 1999), Hull (Williams and Kerswill 1999), London (Tollfree 1999) Milton Keynes (Williams and Kerswill 1999), Reading (Williams and Kerswill 1999), Sheffield (Stoddart,

Upton and Widdowson 1999) West Midlands (Mathisen 1999), Middlesbrough (Llamas 2000), Norwich (Trudgill 2002), Huntly, near Aberdeen (Marshall 2003), Cheshire (Watts 2005), and Liverpool (Watson 2007). Glottal variants have also been observed among speakers of R.P. (Fabricius 2000). Moreover, the glottal form, in some varieties and phonetic environments, appears now to be the default variant; for example, Docherty and Foulkes (1999:50) describe it as "almost categorical" for Derby speakers word-finally before consonants.

Historically, T-to-R is less well documented in the literature than is its glottal counterpart. Wright (1905:230) comments that [ɹ] occurs sporadically in most parts of England, although far more frequently in Yorkshire, Lancashire and the North Midlands than anywhere else. Wells (1982) assumes that its historical origin lies in the tapping of /t/, to produce [ɾ], and that fully fledged T-to-R as [ɹ] is the result of phonological reinterpretation. Many accounts of T-to-R seem to consider both tapped [ɾ] and approximant [ɹ] as productions of T-to-R (see, for example, Petyt (1985) discussed in the following section) rather than separating these two forms. I have separated the tapped forms from T-to-R tokens in the present analysis, but discuss only the latter, as the former are rare in these data.

### 11.2.2 Literature on (t) from Yorkshire varieties

The absence of discussion of glottaling in the main Yorkshire dialectology literature suggests that the glottal variant is not a native feature of Yorkshire varieties. For example, Wright (1892) makes no mention of its use in Windhill, whereas he does cite frequent use of 'T-to-R' (1892:87). Even by the 1970s, use of [ʔ] for /t/ appears but rarely, as shown by Tidholm in Egton (1979:37): the youngest generation in Egton exhibit the most frequent rate of [ʔ], although even they only use it 3% of the time in word-medial and word-final position, and even then, it is used only by males (1979:38). He does, however, cite use of the T-to-R variant in intervocalic position, although only in the lexical items *get* and *put*.

Petyt (1985) discusses the use of the T-to-R form in word-final intervocalic position, and the use of the glottal variant in word-final and word-medial position. For T-to-R, he identifies two phonetic realisations: the alveolar approximant [ɹ] or a tapped [ɾ], although he treats them as the same variant. Petyt (1985) reported a much

higher rate of use of [ʔ] in industrial West Yorkshire than is previously documented in the dialectology literature. He also states that T-glottaling is both salient (in that people comment on its use) and stigmatised (1985:149). As can be seen in Table 11.1, glottaling in Petyt's data is most frequent among his younger speakers, suggesting that its use in this region is a recent innovation. (As has been stated in previous chapters, Petyt does not supply numbers of tokens, only percentages.) This would explain both the lack of mention in the older dialectology literature and its stigmatised position among the more longstanding community members in Petyt's sample. Petyt determines that, of the two non-standard variants of (t) discussed (glottal and T-to-R), the T-to-R form is more traditionally located in the dialect area (1985:153), once again reinforcing the position of the historical accounts. This assertion is based upon the higher rate of T-to-R among older speakers than their younger counterparts, as seen in Table 11.2, and the increasing rate of glottals among the younger generations. Petyt concludes that the glottal variant, whilst a more innovative feature than T-to-R, is gradually replacing the traditional local T-to-R form (1985:153).

| | 10-19 | 20-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50-59 | 60-69 | 70-79 | 80+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word-medial | 35 | 17 | 12 | 15 | 9 | 12 | 8 | 0 |
| Word-final | 36 | 39 | 19 | 20 | 17 | 10 | 9 | 4 |

*Table 11.1*

% [ʔ] by age-group in conversational speech styles for Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield, from Petyt (1985:148)

| | 10-19 | 20-29 | 30-39 | 40-49 | 50-59 | 60-69 | 70-79 | 80+ |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| T-to-R (word-final) | 13 | 13 | 25 | 18 | 21 | 43 | 41 | 64 |

*Table 11.2*

% of non-standard forms realised as T-to-R by age-group in conversational speech styles for Bradford, Halifax and Huddersfield, from Petyt (1985:148)

### 11.2.3 Literature on (t) from other varieties

Across the wider Northern region, T-to-R and glottaling can also be observed. Figure 11.1 contains the results for distribution of variants of /t/ across age, social class and sex groupings, observed by Docherty, Foulkes, Milroy, Milroy and Walshaw (1997) in Newcastle. They consider 2,666 tokens of /t/ from a stratified sample of 32

speakers from the Tyneside area. The x-axis in Figure 11.1 divides the data by age (O=older, Y=younger), social class (WC=working class, MC=middle class) and sex (M=male, F=female). The three variants of interest to us in relation to the present study are the glottal, the standard [t] and T-to-R; the glottalised [ʔt] does not occur in the Morley data and the tapped variant is not considered here. The standard form [t] is infrequent among all but the older female speakers. The glottal is used more by younger speakers than older speakers, and more among the middle classes. The T-to-R variant is more common among the working classes and the older generations, and is more frequently employed by females than males.

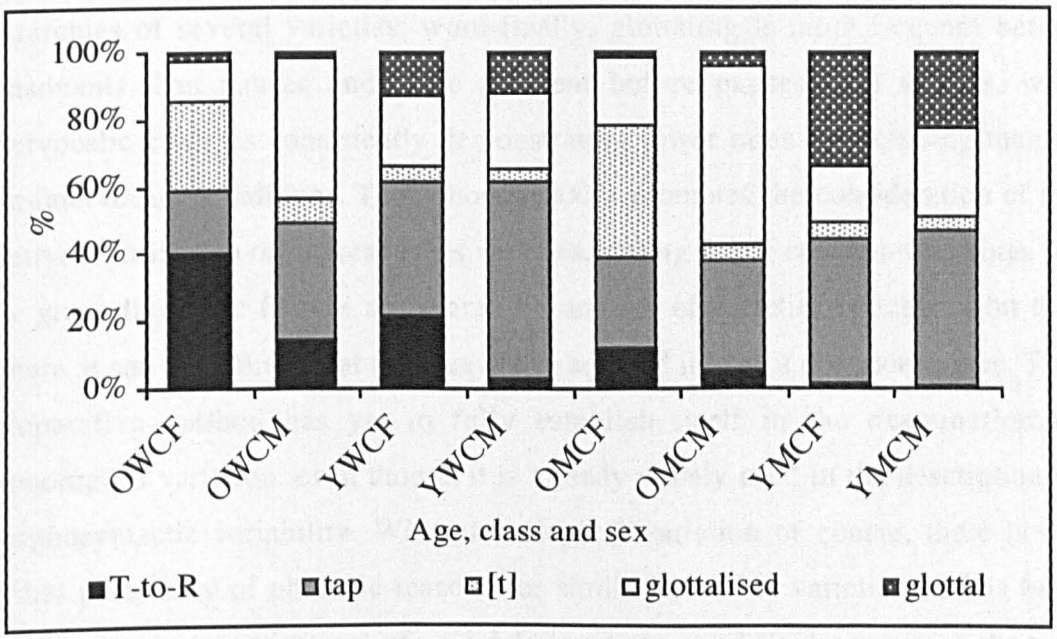


*Figure 11.1*
Use of /t/ in word final intervocalic position in Newcastle by age, social class and sex (adapted from Docherty *et al.* 1997:293)

The pattern observed by Docherty *et al.* (1997) is not restricted to Newcastle: glottaling in pre-vocalic position appears to be a common feature of the speech of younger people more generally across the country, as Table 11.3 shows.

| Community | Study author (date) | % [ʔ] for youngest speakers sampled | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | Males | Females |
| Hull | Williams and Kerswill (1999) | 83% | 72% |
| Milton Keynes | Williams and Kerswill (1999) | 83% | 75% |
| Reading | Williams and Kerswill (1999) | 100% | 92% |
| Glasgow | Stuart-Smith (1999) | 82% | 90% |
| Huntly | Marshall (2003) | 58% | 12.5% |
| Middlesbrough | Llamas (2000) | 90% | |

*Table 11.3*

Use of [ʔ] among younger speakers across the U.K.

Furthermore, a degree of homogeneity has been observed in the constraint hierarchies of several varieties: word-finally, glottaling is more frequent before consonants than pauses and more frequent before pauses than vowels, with intervocalic contexts consistently demonstrating lower rates of glottaling than in non-intervocalic conditions. Tagliamonte (2002) promotes the consideration of the relative contribution of factors across varieties, stating that if constraint rankings for any given linguistic feature are shared by any set of varieties which exhibit that feature, it can be inferred that they may have adopted it from a common source. This comparative method has yet to fully establish itself in the examination of phonological variation, even though it is already widely used in the description of morphosyntactic variability. With phonological variation of course, there is the further possibility of phonetic reasons for similarity across varieties, as has been seen in various investigations of –t/d deletion from word-final consonant clusters, where the constraint of following phonological segment appears consistent across a range of different speech communities (Wolfram and Schilling-Estes 1998:253).

To summarise the existing literature it seems safe to say that the glottal variant of (t) is on the increase across the U.K. Trudgill (2002) comments on the decreasing amount of stigma attached to it, as demonstrated by its increased use even in more formal speech styles. One might even go so far as to say the acceptance of [ʔ] is the least controversial example of diffusion in British English today, as, irrespective of geographical origin or trajectory of change, it has become a truly pan-local variant.

### 11.2.4 Predictions for Morley based on existing literature

From the cumulative knowledge acquired from the dialectology literature and previous studies of (t) in other varieties, the prediction for Morley must be that the glottal variant will be in some way observable. Furthermore, because this variable has a three-dimensional structure (standard/traditional-non-standard/diffusing-non-standard) it is the question of the relationship between this diffusing variant and the more traditionally observable forms which is the focus of the investigation here. How does the traditional dialect variant T-to-R fare in the levelling process? What happens to the standard variant [t]? These variable-specific questions will help us to answer the overarching questions regarding patterns of contact-induced change which are the themes of this thesis.

## 11.3 Circumscription of Variable Context

Because a key consideration in this chapter is the relationship between the glottal variant and the T-to-R form, the variable context is separated into two sub-groups: those places in which the T-to-R form can occur (intervocalic contexts), and those in which it cannot (non-intervocalic contexts). Intervocalic contexts are limited only to those in which T-to-R is a viable option, and to establish this, I take as a point of departure the description provided by Wells (1982:370), who clearly identifies the phonetic environment in which T-to-R can occur as between two vowels, where the preceding vowel is short. Although he states that the (t) should occur on a word boundary (i.e. word-finally), he acknowledges that the rule can, occasionally, be applied word-medially (Wells 1982:370), as in the word *matter*. This reinforces the assertion made by Wright (1892:87) that T-to-R can occur word medially. Watt and Milroy (1999:30) further delineate the word-final contexts, stating that T-to-R can only occur in a restricted set of common verbs and non-lexical words. I only consider as intervocalic tokens here those contexts which satisfy the conditions for T-to-R to occur; as such, the findings will not be directly comparable to other discussion of intervocalic (t).

The non-intervocalic contexts analysed are any other occurrences of non-initial (t) that are not intervocalic. I restrict the analysis of non-intervocalic contexts

to a maximum of thirty tokens per speaker for the three Morley generations. All of the Houck data available were included to ensure an adequate amount of data from this generation.

## 11.4 CODING

For intervocalic contexts, in addition to the social factors of individual speaker, generation and gender, two linguistic factors were included in the analysis. Specifically, these were the word position of the token (medial versus final), and the individual words shown (with items occurring fewer than five times in the data set collapsed as 'miscellaneous'). In the multivariate analysis, these lexical items are grouped by frequency of occurrence in the recorded data, and divided into three groups, based on natural divisions that occur in the quantified data: high frequency words (occurring more than 100 times in the recordings); medium frequency items (occurring 30-100 times) and low frequency items (occurring less than 30 times). The distributional analysis shows the results both by individual lexical item and grouped according to frequency.

For non-intervocalic contexts, three internal constraints are included: word position (as per the intervocalic analysis), plus preceding and following phonological context. Neutralised contexts, as in (4), were excluded.

(4) To have it on a **short term** deposit

## 11.5 RESULTS

### 11.5.1 Overall distribution

A total of 721 tokens of intervocalic (t) was extracted from the data. 38 of these were found to be [ɾ] and thus excluded on the basis of paucity, leaving 676 tokens for further analysis. 933 tokens of non-intervocalic (t) are represented. The overall distribution of variants is shown in Table 11.4.

| | Intervocalic contexts | | Non-intervocalic contexts | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ns | % | Ns | % |
| STANDARD [t] | 127 | 19 | 230 | 25 |
| GLOTTAL [ʔ] | 421 | 62 | 703 | 75 |
| T-TO-R [ɹ] | 128 | 19 | N/A | - |
| *Total Ns* | *676* | | *933* | |

*Table 11.4*
Overall distribution of variants of (t)

It is clear from Table 11.4 that the glottal variant is a common feature in both intervocalic and non-intervocalic contexts. T-to-R is still observable, however, contributing 19% of the intervocalic data.

### 11.5.2 Multivariate analysis

I conduct variable rule analyses on these data as follows. I separate these analyses into intervocalic and non-intervocalic contexts, and address the intervocalic data first. Table 11.5 contains the results for two analyses of the intervocalic data: the first column presents [ʔ] as the application value (with all other instances non-application); the second displays results with [ɹ] as the application value. Factors considered in the analyses as potentially significant constraints on variation are generation, speaker sex, word position and lexical frequency.

| | [ʔ] | | | [ɹ] | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Corrected Mean | .661 | | | .149 | | |
| | % | Fw | Ns | % | Fw | Ns |
| ***Generation*** | | | | | | |
| HOUCK | 31 | **.19** | 29 | 14 | **.42** | 29 |
| RETIRED | 38 | **.24** | 290 | 28 | **.65** | 290 |
| WORKING | 81 | **.69** | 191 | 13 | **.36** | 191 |
| STUDENT | 89 | **.80** | 166 | 11 | **.40** | 166 |
| *Range* | | ***61*** | | | ***29*** | |
| ***Speaker sex*** | | | | | | |
| MALE | 61 | [.47] | 349 | 25 | **.62** | 349 |
| FEMALE | 64 | [.54] | 327 | 12 | **.37** | 327 |
| *Range* | | *7* | | | ***25*** | |
| ***Word position*** | | | | | | |
| FINAL | 62 | [.50] | 648 | 19 | [.50] | 648 |
| MEDIAL | 61 | [.51] | 28 | 21 | [.62] | 28 |
| *Range* | | *1* | | | *12* | |
| ***Lexical Frequency*** | | | | | | |
| HIGH | 65 | [.55] | 382 | 23 | **.60** | 382 |
| MEDIUM | 60 | [.44] | 240 | 16 | **.48** | 240 |
| LOW | 56 | [.42] | 54 | 2 | **.08** | 54 |
| *Range* | | *13* | | | ***52*** | |
| TOTAL Ns | | | 676 | | | 676 |

*Table 11.5*

Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of [ʔ] and [ɹ] in intervocalic (t) contexts in Morley.

The results in Table 11.5 show that for glottals, generation is the only significant factor group. Use of [ʔ] is favoured in the student and working generations, but disfavoured in the retired and Houck generations. The next largest range is lexical frequency, followed by speaker sex. Word position has the smallest range, and the data are skewed towards word final contexts.

For [ɹ], Table 11.5 shows lexical frequency to be the most significant factor group in the analysis. T-to-R is favoured in high frequency lexical items, but slightly disfavoured in medium frequency items. In low frequency lexical items, use of [ɹ] is strongly disfavoured. Generation is the next most significant factor group in the constraint hierarchy, with the retired generation the only speakers to favour use of [ɹ]. For speaker sex, males favour [ɹ] whilst females disfavour it. Word position is, once again, not significant. This latter finding is somewhat surprising, given that T-to-R is described in the literature as more common in word-final position. Whilst it

is true that there is a greater number of word-final positions in which T-to-R is possible than there are word-medial ones, it does not seem to follow that T-to-R is selected less frequently word-medially; indeed, the result for these data shows T-to-R at a slightly higher rate in word-medial contexts (21% word-medially compared to 19% word-finally).

In summary, the multivariate analyses for intervocalic (t) show that whilst glottal usage is constrained most by generation, with the observed increase in use over time a statistically significant finding, use of [ɪ] is more strongly correlated with lexical frequency than generation.

For non-intervocalic contexts, the results of the multivariate analysis are shown in Table 11.6. Here, the glottal variant is the application value, and the analysis is a binary one between glottal and standard [t].

| Corrected Mean .83 | % | Factor weight | Ns |
|---|---|---|---|
| **GENERATION** | | | |
| HOUCK | 58 | **.24** | 183 |
| RETIRED | 70 | **.30** | 240 |
| WORKING | 77 | **.56** | 240 |
| STUDENT | 91 | **.79** | 270 |
| *Range* | | *55* | |
| **SPEAKER SEX** | | | |
| FEMALE | 75 | [.48] | 477 |
| MALE | 76 | [.52] | 456 |
| *Range* | | *[4]* | |
| **WORD POSITION** | | | |
| MEDIAL | 49 | **.22** | 170 |
| FINAL | 81 | **.57** | 763 |
| *Range* | | *35* | |
| **PRECEDING PHON. CONTEXT** | | | |
| CONSONANT | 53 | **.25** | 320 |
| VOWEL | 87 | **.64** | 613 |
| *Range* | | *39* | |
| **FOLLOWING PHON. CONTEXT** | | | |
| PAUSE | 60 | **.21** | 55 |
| VOWEL | 29 | **.23** | 130 |
| CONSONANT | 85 | **.58** | 748 |
| *Range* | | *37* | |
| TOTAL Ns | | | 933 |

*Table 11.6*

Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of [ʔ] in non-intervocalic contexts in Morley.

The analysis in Table 11.6 shows that generation is again the strongest constraint upon use of glottals in non-intervocalic position, indicating that the observed increase in use of [ʔ] over time is a statistically significant finding. The three internal constraints are also selected as significant, showing the constraint hierarchy 'preceding context>following context>word position'. For preceding contexts, [ʔ] is favoured after vowels and disfavoured after consonants. For following phonological context, only consonants favour [ʔ]. For word position, word final contexts favour [ʔ] whilst word medial contexts disfavour it. Speaker sex is not significant.

### 11.5.3 Distributional analysis: generation and sex

Distribution by generation is shown in Table 11.7. A stable pattern is observed across the generations here, with the glottal variant gradually replacing the standard form over time, in both intervocalic and non-intervocalic contexts. Note the complete obsolescence of [t] in intervocalic contexts among the student generation: this variant does not occur at all intervocalically in the student data.

| | | Std [t] | | Glottal [ʔ] | | T-to-R [ɹ] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| *Intervocalic contexts* | | | | | | | |
| | Total Ns | Ns | % | Ns | % | Ns | % |
| HOUCK | 29 | 16 | 55 | 9 | 31 | 4 | 14 |
| RETIRED | 290 | 100 | 34 | 110 | 38 | 80 | 28 |
| WORKING | 191 | 11 | 6 | 155 | 81 | 25 | 13 |
| STUDENT | 166 | 0 | 0 | 147 | 89 | 19 | 11 |
| *Non-intervocalic contexts* | | | | | | | |
| | Total Ns | Ns | % | Ns | % | | |
| HOUCK | 183 | 77 | 42 | 106 | 58 | | |
| RETIRED | 240 | 73 | 30 | 167 | 70 | N/A | |
| WORKING | 240 | 55 | 23 | 185 | 77 | | |
| STUDENT | 270 | 25 | 9 | 245 | 91 | | |

*Table 11.7*
Distribution of variants of (t) by generation

Figure 11.2 below shows the rate of use of non-intervocalic glottal, intervocalic glottal and T-to-R across the generations.

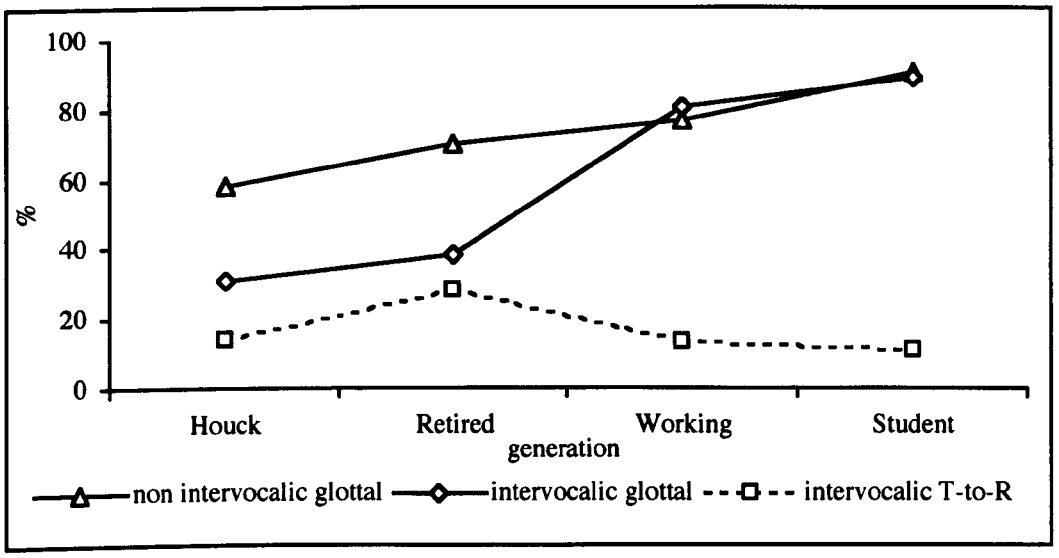


*Figure 11.2*
Use of glottal stops and T-to-R across generations in Morley

Figure 11.2 shows that glottal usage has increased in both intervocalic and non-intervocalic contexts over time: for the Houck and retired generations a clear distinction is observable between intervocalic and non-intervocalic contexts for use of [ʔ]; for the working and student generations, however, there is little discernable difference. The increase in rate of use over these four generation groups is greater for intervocalic than non-intervocalic contexts. Use of T-to-R, with the exception of a peak in use around the retired generation, appears to have remained relatively stable.

Figure 11.3 further separates the intervocalic data from Table 11.7 by speaker sex. The Houck data are not shown here, due to small Ns.

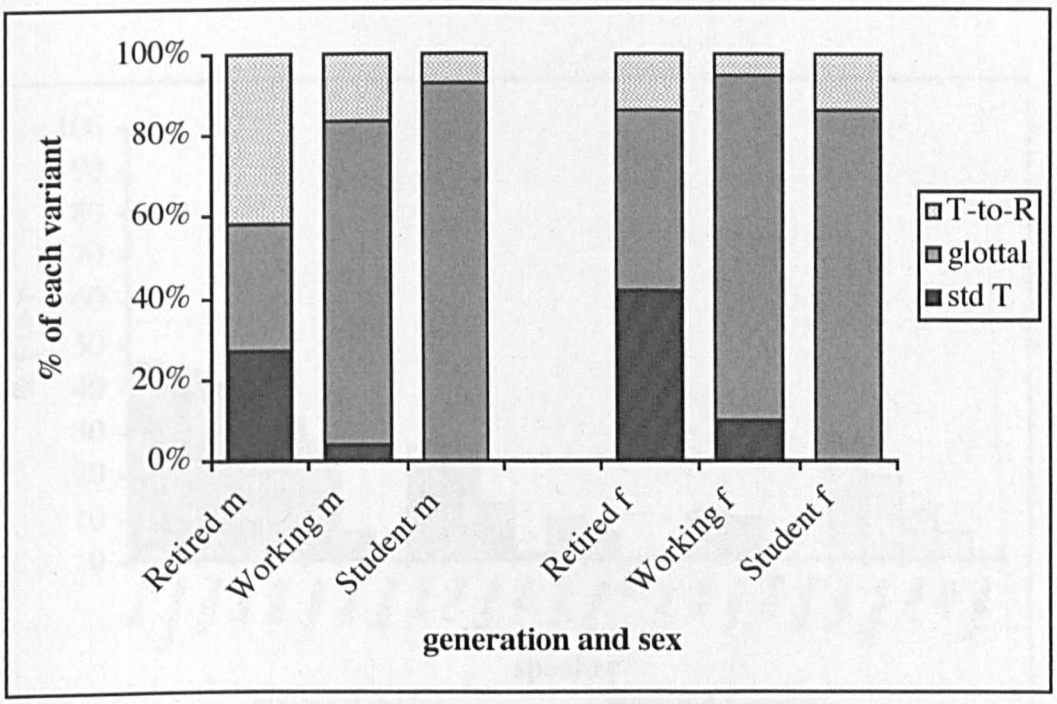


*Figure 11.3*
Use of variants of intervocalic (t) by generation and speaker sex

In a pattern similar to that observed in Newcastle by Docherty et al (1997), the female speakers in Morley retain the standard form at a higher rate than males, with the exception of the students, of course, where the standard is categorically absent from both sexes. We also observe an interesting pattern of use for T-to-R here: previous studies (Docherty et al 1997) have found this variant to be used most commonly by older females. However, in Morley it is the retired male speakers who exhibit the highest rate of T-to-R. Whilst from the results in Figure 11.3 we may be tempted to draw the conclusion that T-to-R is in decline, the individual findings recorded in Figure 11.4 would seem to suggest this is an inaccurate assessment. Whilst use of T-to-R among retired males is indeed consistently higher than other generation and sex groupings, the other five subgroups (retired females, working males and females, student males and females) are very similar in terms of the distribution of this variant, with a large degree of variability between individual speakers *within* generation/sex subgroups, but a surprisingly homogeneous pattern *between* subgroups. There is no overall pattern of decline here. Rather, it seems more appropriate to describe the retired male speakers as the exception to the community norm here: it is they who use T-to-R *more* than normal for Morley speakers, not the others who use it less.

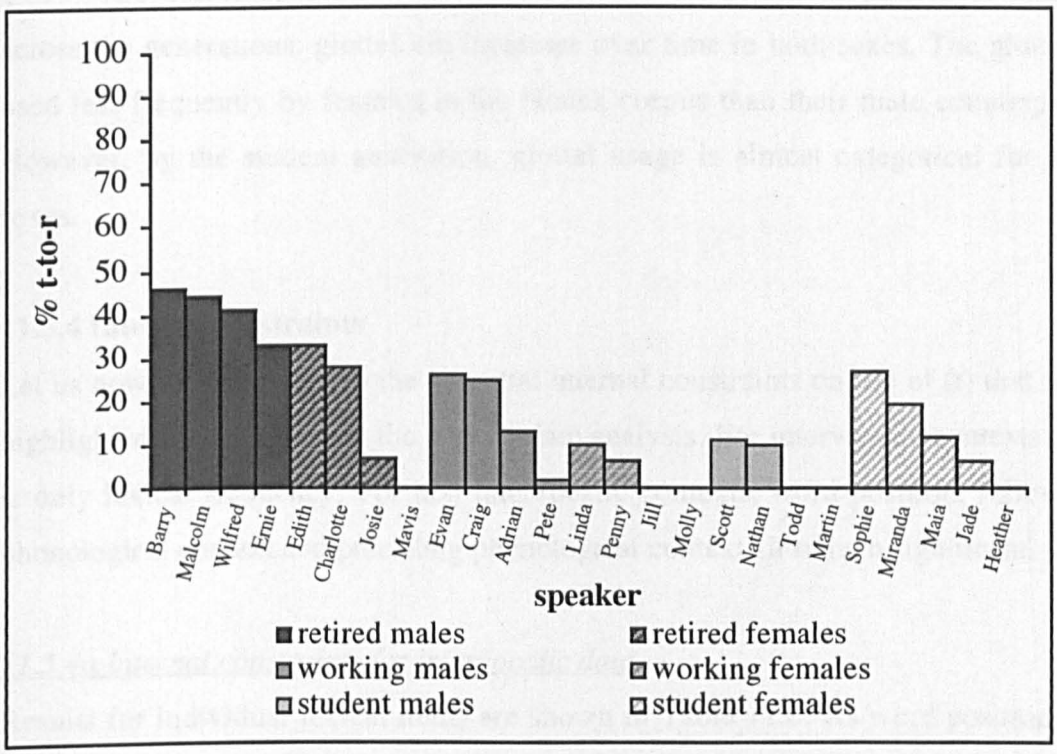


*Figure 11.4*
Rate of T-to-R by individual Morley speakers

In Figure 11.5 the data for non-intervocalic (t) are exhibited, stratified by generation and speaker sex.

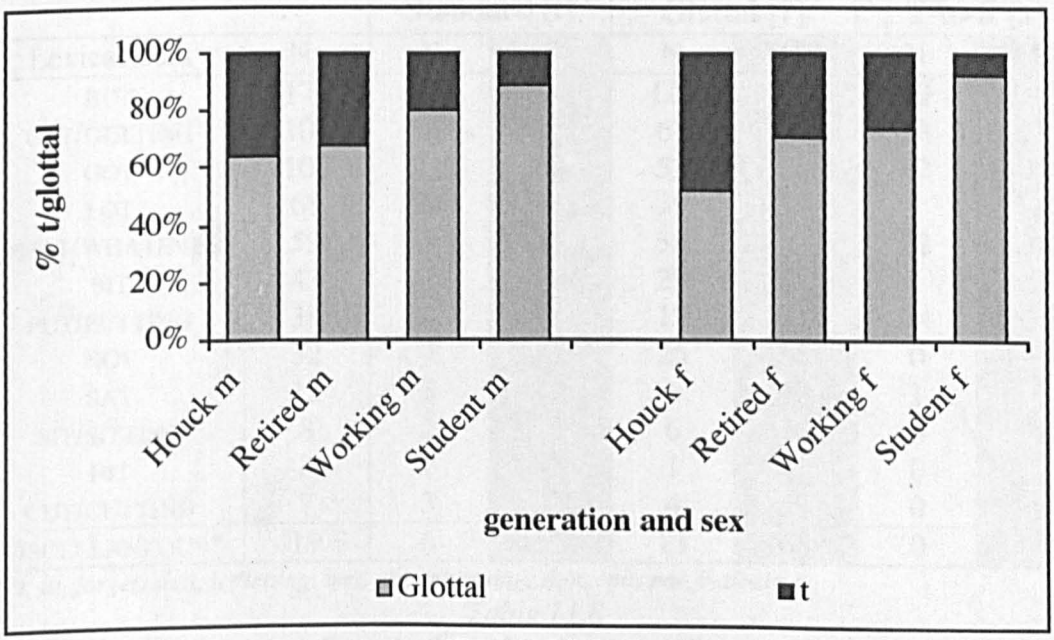


*Figure 11.5*
Use of non-intervocalic (t) by generation and sex

The non-intervocalic contexts present a well-stratified pattern of change across the generations: glottal use increases over time in both sexes. The glottal is used less frequently by females in the Houck corpus than their male counterparts. However, by the student generation, glottal usage is almost categorical for both sexes.

### 11.5.4 Internal constraints

Let us now turn attention to the potential internal constraints on use of (t) that were highlighted as significant in the multivariate analysis. For intervocalic contexts, this is only lexical frequency. For non-intervocalic contexts, word position, following phonological context and preceding phonological context all remain significant.

*11.5.4a Internal constraints for intervocalic data*

Results for individual lexical items are shown in Table 11.8. As word position has already been shown to have no effect for intervocalic contexts, related lexical items with a word-final and word-medial counterpart (such as *get~getting, what~whatever*) are grouped together here. Lexical items in Table 11.8 are displayed in descending order of frequency as they occur in the analysed data.

| | | Standard [t] | | Glottal [ʔ] | | T-to-R [ɹ] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Lexical item | Ns | N | % | N | % | N | % |
| BUT | 171 | 23 | 14 | 129 | 75 | 19 | 11 |
| GET/GETTING | 106 | 11 | 10 | 67 | 63 | 28 | 27 |
| GOT | 105 | 11 | 10 | 52 | 50 | 42 | 40 |
| LOT | 68 | 28 | 41 | 39 | 57 | 1 | 2 |
| WHAT/WHATEVER | 59 | 9 | 15 | 38 | 65 | 12 | 20 |
| BIT | 43 | 13 | 30 | 29 | 68 | 1 | 2 |
| PUT/PUTTING | 38 | 2 | 5 | 12 | 32 | 24 | 63 |
| NOT | 32 | 7 | 22 | 25 | 78 | 0 | - |
| SAT | 12 | 5 | 42 | 6 | 50 | 1 | 8 |
| SIT/SITTING | 8 | 2 | 25 | 6 | 75 | 0 | - |
| HIT | 8 | 7 | 88 | 1 | 12 | 0 | - |
| CUT/CUTTING | 7 | 3 | 43 | 4 | 57 | 0 | - |
| MISCELLANEOUS* | 19 | 6 | 32 | 13 | 68 | 0 | - |

**fit, lit, forget, shut, let/letting, met, yet, set/setting, shot, spit, pot, bet/better*

*Table 11.8*
Distribution of (t) by lexical item

Whilst there is no clear systematic pattern emerging from the lexical item results, generally speaking, lexical items that occur infrequently in this data exhibit a lower rate of [ɹ] than the more frequently occurring words. In Table 11.9 the data is grouped into three categories, based upon the natural divisions in overall frequencies observed above: high frequency lexical items (occurring more than 100 times); medium frequency lexical items (occurring more than 30 but fewer than 100 times), and low frequency lexical items (occurring fewer than 30 times).

| | | Standard [t] | | Glottal [ʔ] | | T-to-R [ɹ] | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Word Frequency | Total Ns | Ns | % | Ns | % | Ns | % |
| HIGH (>100) | 382 | 45 | 12 | 248 | 65 | 89 | 23 |
| MEDIUM (30-100) | 240 | 59 | 25 | 143 | 60 | 38 | 16 |
| LOW (<30) | 54 | 23 | 43 | 30 | 56 | 1 | 2 |

*Table 11.9*
Distribution of intervocalic (t) by word frequency

In grouping the lexical data by frequency of occurrence, a clearer pattern emerges: T-to-R is more likely in words which occur more frequently in the data. Moreover, in less frequently occurring lexical items, the rate of the standard variant increases. Figure 11.6 shows these results cross-tabulated by generation, and the lexical frequency effect is consistent across all generations except the students.

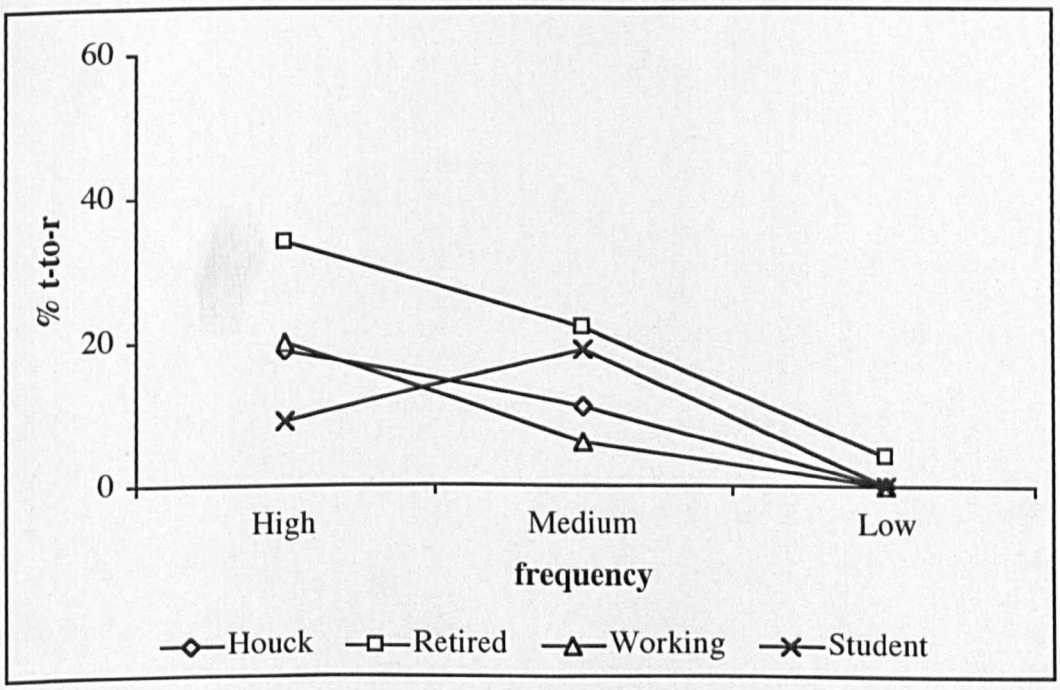


*Figure 11.6*
Rate of T-to-R by generation and lexical frequency

*11.5.4b Internal constraints for non-intervocalic data*

Table 11.10 contains results for the effect of word position.

| | Word-Medial | | Word-Final | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Total Ns | % glottal | Total Ns | % glottal |
| HOUCK | 50 | 30 | 133 | 68 |
| RETIRED | 38 | 32 | 202 | 77 |
| WORKING | 37 | 49 | 203 | 82 |
| STUDENT | 45 | 87 | 225 | 92 |
| TOTAL | 170 | 49 | 763 | 81 |

*Table 11.10*
Non-intervocalic (t) by generation and word-position

Table 11.10 shows two things. Firstly, it demonstrates that the increase in glottal stops over time occurs in both word-medial and word-final positions. Secondly, it shows that the glottal variant is more common in word-final position for all generations in the sample. However, Table 11.10 suggests that for the student generation, word position is not as important as it is for the other generations in the sample. Table 11.11 confirms this. It shows a multivariate analysis of non-intervocalic (t) for the student data only. Word position is not selected as significant.

| Corrected Mean .96 | % | Factor weight | Ns |
|---|---|---|---|
| **SPEAKER SEX** | | | |
| FEMALE | 92 | [.53] | 150 |
| MALE | 89 | [.46] | 120 |
| *Range* | | 7 | |
| **WORD POSITION** | | | |
| MEDIAL | 87 | [.39] | 45 |
| FINAL | 92 | [.52] | 225 |
| *Range* | | 13 | |
| **PRECEDING PHON. CONTEXT** | | | |
| CONSONANT | 77 | **.11** | 99 |
| VOWEL | 99 | **.77** | 171 |
| *Range* | | ***66*** | |
| **FOLLOWING PHON. CONTEXT** | | | |
| PAUSE | 90 | [.34] | 19 |
| VOWEL | 69 | [.41] | 26 |
| CONSONANT | 93 | [.52] | 225 |
| *Range* | | 18 | |
| TOTAL Ns | | | 270 |

*Table 11.11*

Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of non-intervocalic [ʔ] in the Morley student data.

Returning to the overall patterning of the data, results for preceding and following phonological context were selected as significant by the multivariate analysis. These effects are cross-tabulated in Table 11.12.

| | **PRECEDING** | | | | **TOTAL** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | **Vowel** | | **Consonant** | | | |
| **FOLLOWING** | Ns | % glottal | Ns | % glottal | Ns | % glottal |
| VOWEL | N/A | | 130 | 29 | *130* | *29* |
| CONSONANT | 580 | 88 | 168 | 71 | *748* | *84* |
| PAUSE | 33 | 70 | 22 | 45 | *55* | *60* |
| **TOTAL** | *613* | *87* | *320* | *53* | ***933*** | *75* |

*Table 11.12*

Non-intervocalic glottals by preceding and following phonological segment

Table 11.12 reveals that the Morley data for non-intervocalic contexts pattern in much the same way as those of previous studies: glottals are more likely when the preceding segment is a vowel, and when the following segment is a consonant.

### 11.5.5 Summary of results

The analysis of intervocalic (t) in these data has shown that the glottal variant [ʔ] has increased in use over time, even to the extent that the student speakers exhibit no tokens of the standard variant [t] in intervocalic position. The traditional dialect variant [ɹ] has outlasted the standard form, and with the exception of a particularly high rate of use among retired males, its rate of use remains stable. The standard variant is observed more frequently in the speech of older females than in that of any other speaker group. Word position and lexical item do not appear to impact on the rate of variability, although there is some evidence to suggest that lexical frequency promotes use of [ɹ].

For non-intervocalic contexts, use of the glottal variant has also increased steadily over time. In keeping with previous findings from other varieties, it is observed more frequently in word-final than word-medial position, and more before consonants and pauses than in pre-vocalic position.

## 11.6 Discussion

The results for the variable (t) clearly show adoption of the glottal variant, a form which is probably external in origin to the Morley speech community, in both intervocalic and non-intervocalic positions. This is in line with findings for other varieties of British English, which have seen a general increase in the use of [ʔ] for [t] in recent years. We thus have some evidence for levelling in Morley as regards this variable. Moreover, the homogeneity observed in the constraint rankings between this and other previous studies suggests that T-glottaling in Morley is related to T-glottaling in other communities, augmenting the evidence for an account which attributes the occurrence of [ʔ] to diffusion from a single point of origin.

Interestingly, whilst levelling to [ʔ] has taken place, in intervocalic contexts the variant's adoption comes at the expense of the standard variant [t], *not* the traditional non-standard T-to-R. Traditional accounts of levelling processes (refer to the LITERATURE REVIEW chapter of this thesis) suggest that levelled variants replace regionally or stylistically marked features first. However, in the Morley data, the T-

to-R form (thought to be stigmatised) remains relatively stable, whilst the standard form is completely eradicated among the speech of the youngest speakers of the sample. This contrasts with the results from Newcastle (Docherty et al 1997), in which the T-to-R variant was used only sporadically among the majority of young speakers. The explanation for this may lie in the other variants available in Newcastle: a 'glottalised form' [ʔ͡t] is found in Newcastle speakers which is not present in West Yorkshire. This is a highly localised variant which is vigorously maintained among Geordie speakers. Thus, Geordie speakers not only have a wider range of non-standard productions of (t) available to them, but also a more localised form than T-to-R, making the virtual loss of [ɹ] less significant in terms of dialect preservation. Similarly, the most traditional non-standard variants are also retained by speakers in Liverpool (Watson 2007) and Middlesbrough (Llamas 2000); Watson showed that speakers in Liverpool have retained the Scouse feature T-to-H, whilst Llamas showed increasingly high rates of glottalised plosives in Middlesbrough over three generations. However, all three examples described in these studies are comparatively localised patterns, whereas T-to-R is not localised to Morley (or even West Yorkshire) alone. However, despite its non-localised status, T-to-R is nevertheless an important variant for Morley speakers, as it is traditional to the dialect and, before the diffusion of the glottal, the only non-standard alternative of [t] available in the variety. Hence, loss of the [ɹ] variant, I propose, would be extremely significant to West Yorkshire speakers, for whilst T-to-R is not localised, it is the most 'dialect-traditional' variant available.

The concomitant acceptance of [ʔ] into the variety and the retention of the existing [ɹ] variant would appear to suggest that the processes of diffusion and subsequent levelling do not always occur at the expense of regionally or stylistically marked features. Indeed, in this case, it is the standard [t] that has been subject to the most dramatic pattern of change in the data. In Morley, there is clearly a certain degree of covert prestige attached to the T-to-R form, as is evident from its high rate of use among retired males. Perhaps what these results are suggesting is that it is not our definition of levelling that requires modification, but rather our understanding of what constitutes a marked variant. For speakers with strong community ties, and a sense that their community identity is under threat from the effects of social and

geographic expansion, it is not unreasonable to suggest that the covert prestige attached to traditional dialect variants has greater currency than the overt prestige of the standard, which may, in fact, carry with it connotations of prescriptivism. If this is the case for Morley in terms of variable (t), then the standard [t] would appear to be the more marked variant, and as such, is the most at-risk variant in a levelling situation. If this is the case, we may anticipate that other variables may also exhibit a certain amount of resistance to variants associated with Standard English (cf. Chapter Six DEFINITE ARTICLE REDUCTION, and Chapter Nine SOMMAT, (N)OWT).

## 11.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

The analysis of intervocalic (t) in Morley has shown that the pan-local variant [ʔ] has increased in use within the community, but at the expense of the standard [t], rather than of the traditional non-standard [ɹ]. Non-intervocalic contexts have also shown increased use of [ʔ] over time. The glottal variant has successfully diffused into the Morley variety. However, in the levelling process it has not successfully eradicated the traditional non-standard variant [ɹ], in spite of the latter's more restricted linguistic availability (i.e. it is only available in certain types of intervocalic constructions). The findings discussed in this chapter are an excellent example of how diffusion and dialect retention can sit side-by-side within the same language variety.

# CHAPTER 12
# TH-FRONTING

## 12.0 CHAPTER ABSTRACT

Our current understanding of processes of diffusion in U.K. varieties is largely based on the spread of a number of non-standard consonantal features from varieties of South-Eastern British English to other varieties in the U.K. The literature on TH-fronting forms a large part of the basis for these theoretical claims. As such, given that the central theme of this thesis is to reassess our understanding of levelling and diffusion processes in the light of the maintenance of distinctiveness, it is appropriate to include analysis of fronted (TH) in Morley. I thus present the distribution of fronted (TH) in these data and assess the contribution this makes towards furthering our understanding of contact-induced changes.

## 12.1 INTRODUCTION

Variation occurs in many British dialects between the standard dental voiced and voiceless fricatives and their labiodental counterparts, as exemplified in (1):

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| (1) | a. He nearly got shot **three** times | [θɹiː] |
| | b. Just gone for the freak out **thing** | [fɪŋ] |
| | c. He's doing **another** DVD recording | [ənʊðə] |
| | d. An ACDC t-shirt and **leather** chaps | [lɛvə] |

Three lexical positions are included in the variable context for voiceless tokens: word initial, word medial and word final. For voiced contexts, only the former two are available, as [v] does not occur in place of word initial [ð]. This variable is commonly referred to as TH-fronting (Wells 1982). I hereby adopt this term to describe the variable process as a whole, and utilise the relevant phonetic descriptions and symbols when discussing the voiced and voiceless contexts separately.

## 12.2 Background Literature

I address the background literature on TH-fronting in three parts. Firstly, I address claims about the origin of TH-fronting. Secondly, I consider the claims made in the existing literature as to the spread of TH-fronting from these points of origin. Thirdly, I present a critique of our current understanding and attempt to offer some points for further consideration.

### 12.2.1 Origins of TH-fronting

The collective wisdom on fronted (TH) is that it originated in South-Eastern varieties of British English. Wells (1982:328) identifies TH-fronting as a "well known characteristic of Cockney," seemingly considering it to be a defining feature of that particular dialect at the time of writing. However, he claims that historically, Cockney speakers exhibited stopping of /θ, ð/, rather than fronting. Wells presents no historical evidence for this, although the persistence of stopped forms for some Cockney speakers in the case of initial /ð/ may be viewed as evidence that, at some point in time, a stopped variant was available across the (TH) spectrum. Whether this was a precursor of (TH) fronting, or whether the stopped and fronted variants ever co-existed, is not discussed by Wells, and indeed, a thorough historical account of the emergence of fronted (TH) in Cockney would appear to be a valuable, but as yet non-existent, addition to the literature.

With this lack of a definitive historical account of TH-fronting, commentators have largely relied on information from the Survey of English Dialects (SED) to establish its provenance. The SED data were collected between 1948-1961, mainly from elderly rural speakers (Upton and Widdowson 1996), presumably representing the speech of the generation of speakers born at the end of the nineteenth and beginning of the twentieth centuries. Using the findings of the SED, Upton and Widdowson (1996) show fronted (TH) to have been present in speakers from the Home Counties, with isolated instances also observed in Suffolk. Kerswill (2003) concurs with this, and provides additional information from the SED, stating that instances were also observed in Bristol, suggesting the rail

connection between London and Bristol, the latter of which was a major port in the nineteenth century, may be responsible for the spread of fronted (TH) to Bristol from London. He also notes that fronted (TH) was not observed in any Northern English samples in the SED. This contradicts Wakelin (1977), who comments that although fronted (TH) is largely seen as a Cockney and London phenomenon, it is also observed in Leeds. It is not clear what evidence this is based on, however, and he does not comment on how widespread an observation this was: whilst Wakelin bases most of his observations on SED data, it is possible that this comment may be impressionistic in nature.

This general reliance on the SED to establish the historical position of fronted (TH), given that the data contained within it are largely from rural speakers, may be misguided. TH-fronting is mostly described as an urban phenomenon (Milroy 1996), and it would seem that more attention could have been paid to urban varieties. Whilst this may not be possible in terms of historical recorded speech data, Beal (2004) recommends the use of eighteenth and nineteenth century texts to help trace the longevity of TH-fronting in London, and remarks that evidence suggests fronted (TH) was present in lower class London speech even at the end of the eighteenth century. She therefore concludes that "whilst its rapid spread may be recent, the phenomenon [of TH-fronting] itself is not" (Beal 2004:198). Whilst lack of similar evidence from other locations in this timeframe cannot be taken categorically to mean that fronted (TH) was not present in other varieties at that time, the information available seems to point towards London as the most likely epicentre.

The evidence from the SED, coupled with Beal's contributions, suggest that fronted (TH) was observable in London long before its adoption across a wider geographical region. As such, the historical origin of fronted (TH) is assumed to be London, and based on current understanding this seems as reliable an assumption as it is possible to make. However, the literature would vastly benefit from a thorough treatment of the historical emergence of this feature.

### 12.2.2 The spread of TH-fronting

A number of studies have reported TH-fronting in UK dialects removed from inner city London. Fronted variants of (TH) have been observed in a number of different

localities, including Norwich (Trudgill 1988), Derby (Milroy 1996), Reading, Milton Keynes, Hull (Williams and Kerswill 1999), Durham, Newcastle (Kerswill 2003) and Glasgow (Stuart-Smith, Timmins and Tweedie 2007), prompting a number of researchers to claim that fronted (TH) is one of a number of rapidly diffusing innovations to be spreading from London to other urban centres around the U.K. I here assess some of the various accounts of TH-fronting in the literature, in chronological order.

*12.2.2a Norwich (Trudgill 1988)*

Trudgill (1988) comments on real and apparent time evidence from Norwich, comparing the data from his original 1968 investigation with data collected in a replicated study in 1983. The 1988 paper is reproduced in his (2002) collection, *Sociolinguistic Variation and Change*. The adoption of fronted variants of (TH) in Norwich is described by Trudgill (2002:56) as "a change which has come completely and dramatically out of the blue," with no instances whatsoever in the 1968 data, but 70% of informants in 1983 described as exhibiting a loss of /θ/ and /ð/, 41% variably so, and 29% exhibiting a total merger, with the voiceless interdental fricative completely replaced by its labiodental counterpart, and the voiced dental fricative restricted to word initial contexts (2002:57). Trudgill is not surprised that (TH) is a locus of linguistic change, but he does admit astonishment at the "sheer speed" (2002:57) with which fronted variants have spread. Trudgill makes the strongest claims for this to be a geographical diffusion, suggesting that face-to-face contact (as a result of mobility and immigration) with speakers from the originating (TH) fronting regions "must be involved" (ibid.). He also claims that favourable attitudes towards the vernacular of inner London, in addition to the relative salience of the feature, are likely to have contributed to its rapid acceptance amongst young urban speakers. For this model of geographical diffusion to hold, it would be necessary that urban centres with greater geographical proximity to London receive fronted (TH) before those geographically more peripheral: however, as we shall see, this is not necessarily the case.

*12.2.2b Derby (Milroy 1996)*

Milroy (1996) comments on the occurrence of (TH) fronting among young, working class speakers in Derby. His results are shown in Figure 12.1.

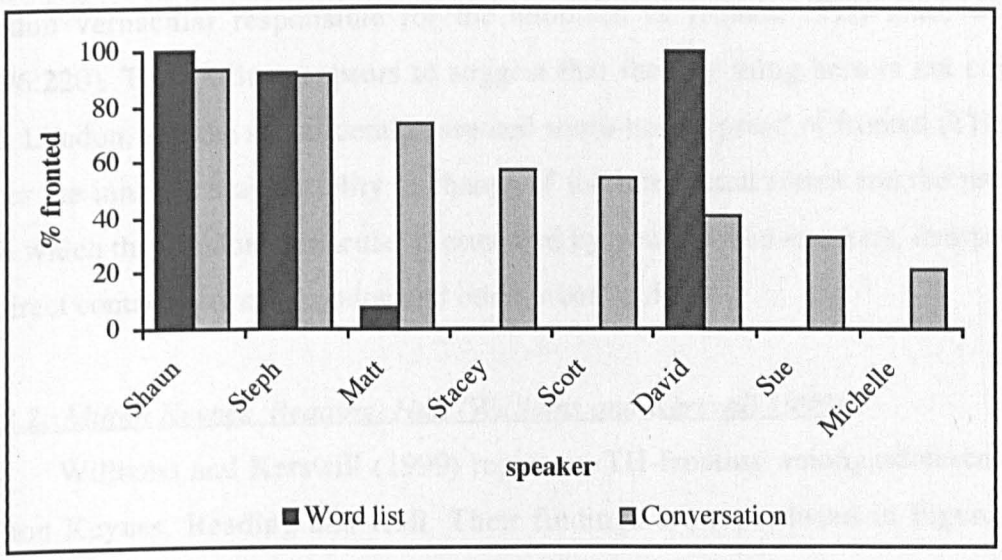


*Figure 12.1*
Use of fronted (TH) by young working class speakers in Derby, as reported by Milroy (1996:215&217: tables 1 and 2)

Milroy, in discussing his results for Derby, states that the data show a clear social class and age distinctions (in that only the young working classes exhibit substantial use of fronted (TH)). He also comments on the surprising lack of stylistic differences exhibited by three speakers, who produced fronted (TH) more in word list style than in casual conversation. In addition, there are high rates of inter-speaker variation. Whilst he makes clear that this in itself is not enough to show change in progress, when compared to rates of use elsewhere in the country, particularly London, Milroy claims "we are on rather firm ground in arguing that this is a change in progress in Derby and that it is at an early stage of diffusion into the city" (1996:219). However, he also emphasises that serious questions must be raised as to the nature of linguistic innovation in terms of their conception and subsequent diffusion. Milroy discusses the linguistic and social information relevant to this issue, whilst many subsequent works have focussed only on the social. Milroy describes the linguistic impetus for change in (TH) in terms of a natural change, away from an unstable and marked feature. The interdental fricatives /ð/ and /θ/ are, according to Milroy, phonologically marked. Thus a prediction can be made that

marked segments will change in the direction of less marked segments. In the case of (TH), there exists potential for change in two directions: towards the dental stops [t] and [d], or towards the labiodentals [f] and [v]. Milroy suggests the trigger in choosing the labiodentals over the dentals is social, with the 'covert prestige' of the London vernacular responsible for the adoption of fronted (TH) more widely (1996:220). Thus Milroy appears to suggest that the key thing here is not contact with London, and the subsequently assumed south-north spread of fronted (TH), but rather the inherent susceptibility to change of the interdental forms and the prestige with which the London vernacular is esteemed by young urban speakers, irrespective of direct contact between London and other urban varieties.

*12.2.2c Milton Keynes, Reading, Hull (Williams and Kerswill 1999)*

Williams and Kerswill (1999) report on TH-fronting among adolescents in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull. Their findings are reproduced in Figure 12.2 below.

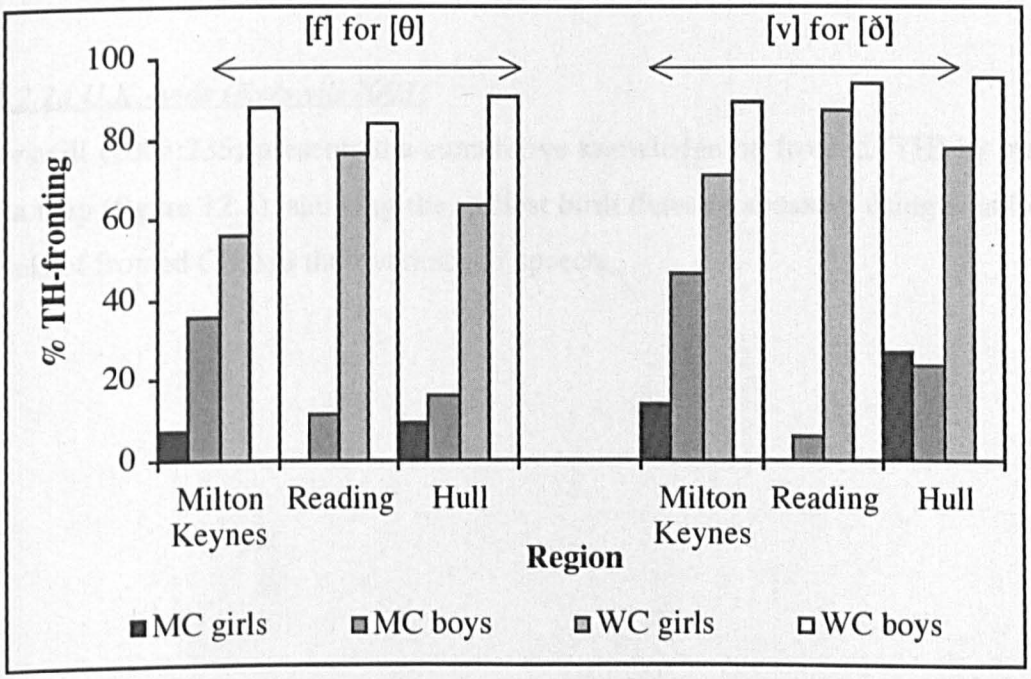


*Figure 12.2*
Rate of TH-fronting in Milton Keynes, Reading and Hull, adapted from Williams and Kerswill (1999:160, Table 8.8)

There exists a remarkable degree of homogeneity across these data: for working class adolescents, fronted variants of (TH) are frequent, more so for males

than females in each town, but they are present also among female speakers. Whilst we may, following a wave-model of geographical diffusion, predict that speakers in Milton Keynes and Reading would adopt fronted variants of (TH) due to the relative proximity to London of these two towns and the degree of mobility between locations in the South-East, the same model would lead us predict much less frequent occurrence of the form in Hull, with its relatively large distance from the perceived source of the fronted forms and general isolation from other urban centres. Nevertheless, the Hull speakers demonstrate distributions of fronted (TH) remarkably similar to those of their southern counterparts.

Williams and Kerswill's interpretation is that the working class adolescents in all three towns are partaking in the adoption of 'youth norms.' They speculate that, in identifying themselves as participants of a particular adolescent urban culture, the Hull informants are not simultaneously denying their Northern roots, as "the adoption of southern, non-standard variants of...TH does not affect a Northerner's sense of regional identity" (1999:162). However, little is known of the wider Northern regions as regards fronted (TH).

*12.2.2d U.K.-wide (Kerswill 2003)*

Kerswill (2003:235) presents the cumulative knowledge on fronted (TH) by means of a map (figure 12.3), showing the earliest birth dates of speakers using significant levels of fronted (TH) in their vernacular speech.

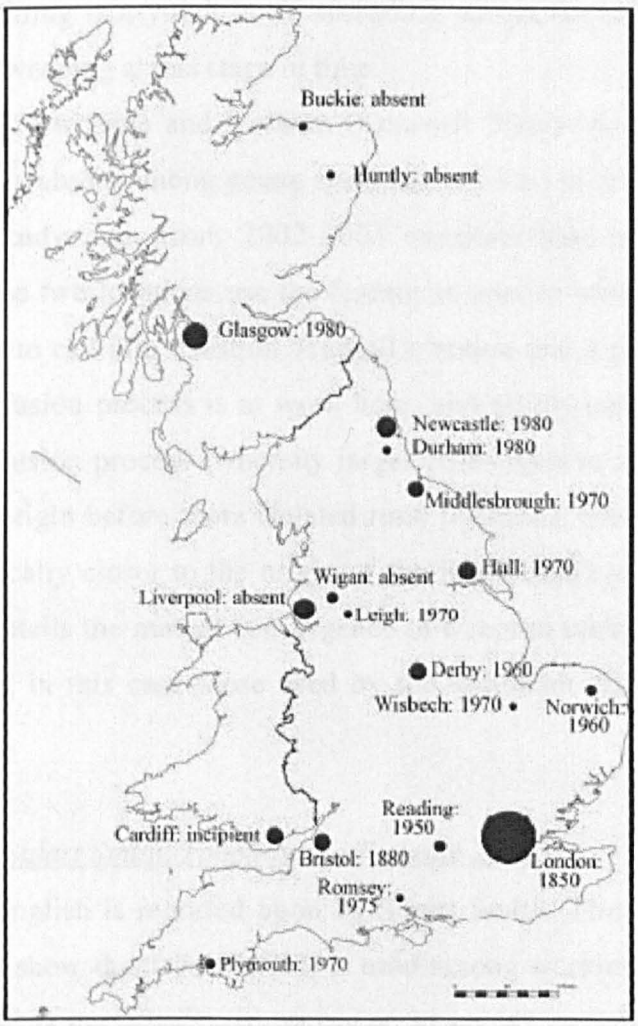


*Figure 12.3*
Kerswill (2003) map of geographical regions to use TH-fronting

Where analysed data were not available, Kerswill attempted to fill in the gaps by asking linguists to provide an estimated birth date for the first generation of TH-fronting speakers in their particular region. This makes the results displayed on the map highly speculative. Furthermore, the map shows a dearth of available data for a large proportion of the geographic North. Let us take four of the communities highlighted on the map (Derby, Hull, Middlesbrough and Wigan) and assume them to be the boundaries of the Northern region: south of Derby comes the midlands, north of Middlesbrough comes the North-East, and Hull and Wigan are to the far east and far west of the country respectively. Within these boundaries, no data appear to be available. With such a large proportion of the North unaccounted for, and Wigan (by Kerswill's own admission) showing absence of fronted (TH), to

claim that TH-fronting is a youth norm spreading across the urban U.K. dialects seems a little too sweeping at this stage in time.

Data from Newcastle and Durham (Kerswill 2003) show that whilst TH-fronting was largely absent among young speakers recorded in the 1980s and 1990s, real-time trend study data from 2002-2003 suggests that most children and adolescents in these two locations use the feature at least to some degree. Kerswill uses this evidence to call into question Trudgill's notion that a geographical south-to-north wave-diffusion process is at work here, and points instead to a mix of a gravity model diffusion process (whereby larger cities receive an innovative form from its place of origin before more isolated rural locations, even though the latter may be geographically closer to the origin of the innovation) and regional dialect levelling, which entails the mutual convergence of a region upon a particular set of linguistic features, in this case those used by the dominant urban centre of each region.

*12.2.2e Glasgow (Stuart Smith, Timmins and Tweedie 2007)*

Glasgow English is reported upon by Stuart Smith, Timmins and Tweedie (2007). Their data show that fronted (TH) is used among working class adolescents in Glasgow, alongside the more localised forms [h] for /θ/, as in the word *think*, and [ɾ] for /ð/, as in the word *brother*. Fronted variants are observed for both voiced and voiceless fricatives, although the former are said to be largely restricted to word-final contexts, where the localised variant [ɾ] cannot occur. They conclude that whilst dialect contact may have facilitated the introduction of fronted (TH) into Glasgow, its perseverance in the variety is not the result of contact alone.

*12.2.2f Watson and Papen (2006)*

Watson and Papen (2006) consider the written language of young children to determine whether variable linguistic forms are represented by children in the early stages of acquiring written language skills. Whilst this is not a traditional sociolinguistic investigation of linguistic features, it is worthy of note in relation to this particular variable, as it points to the future of TH-fronting. They sampled children in five cities around the U.K.: London, Lancaster, Newcastle, Edinburgh and Liverpool. They observed that children in all five cities misspelled a number of

TH-words with fronted forms (for example, *fing* for 'thing' and *teef* for 'teeth'), although these occurred more frequently amongst the London and Lancaster children, and that children in Liverpool only produced 'fronted' spellings in voiceless contexts. While Watson and Papen's conclusions focus upon the implications for pedagogy, these findings may suggest that because children are encouraged to identify the sounds used in spoken language and represent these in orthographic form, fronted (TH) is present for children in all these locations, and may even perhaps indicate a lack of perceived phoneme boundary for some children between /θ/-/f/ and /ð/-/v/.

| City | 2001 Population* | Distance from London (miles)** | TH-fronting observed among adolescents? (★ = location included in Watson and Papen (2006)) |
|---|---|---|---|
| LONDON | 7,172,091 | 0 | ✓/★ |
| READING | 143,096 | 43 | ✓ |
| MILTON KEYNES | 207,057 | 52 | ✓ |
| NORWICH | 121,550 | 115 | ✓ |
| BIRMINGHAM | 977,087 | 118 | ??? |
| DERBY | 221,708 | 129 | ✓ |
| SHEFFIELD | 513,234 | 166 | ??? |
| LEEDS | 715,402 | 195 | ??? |
| MANCHESTER | 392,819 | 209 | ??? |
| LIVERPOOL | 439,473 | 211 | ???/ ★ |
| HULL | 243,589 | 215 | ✓ |
| LANCASTER | 133,914 | 244 | ???/ ★ |
| MIDDLESBROUGH | 134,855 | 250 | ✓ |
| DURHAM | 87,709 | 266 | ✓ |
| NEWCASTLE-UPON-TYNE | 259,536 | 290 | ✓/★ |
| GLASGOW | 577,869 | 403 | ✓ |
| EDINBURGH | 448,624 | 404 | ???/ ★ |

*Table 12.1*

Major U.K. cities, population, distance from London and occurrence of TH-fronting

* from http://www.statistics.gov.uk/census2001 accessed 22/9/07

** according to maps.google.co.uk

Table 12.1 summarises the existing position cross-regionally. It shows some of the major cities of the U.K., ordered by distance from London. The right-most column shows whether any quantitative data has shown TH-fronting to be present. In this column ??? indicates that no quantified analysis is available for that particular community, and ★ indicates a site investigated by Watson and Papen (2006). Table 12.1 clearly identifies the problem with our current understanding of geographical

diffusion based upon the spread of TH-fronting: the only quantified speech data available between Norwich and Hull (some 100 miles apart from one another) is Derby. Thus, Derby appears to be the lynchpin in the hypothesis that the spread has taken place gradually northwards. With no data for any other conurbation in the mid-North regions, and especially as the omitted cities are among the largest in the country, this hypothesis would seem drastically under-supported by quantified data.

### 12.2.3 The current state of the literature on fronted (TH)

The existing literature is largely in agreement on two main points regarding the spread of fronted (TH): firstly, that it originates in London and has spread rapidly during the latter half of the twentieth century to other urban varieties of English; secondly, that it is largely the behaviour of younger urban speakers which has perpetuated the spread. Areas remaining controversial are the nature of the spread (that is to say, whether this is a wave-model diffusion from London northwards, or a diffusion from urban centre to urban centre as per the gravity model) and the reason for the spread (i.e. whether youth culture has focussed upon the London urban culture, and accommodation among urban youth across the country is taking place). Even more controversial is the extrapolation of the diffusion pattern observed for TH-fronting (and a small number of other consonantal features) as a wider model of linguistic change: is it appropriate to make gross social and linguistic claims about language change and youth culture, based upon the patterning of only a handful of sociolinguistic variables?

As the aims of the thesis are to address the competing influences of dialect levelling and linguistic distinctiveness upon processes of language change, it is almost obligatory that the role of (TH) be considered here. Based upon the existing literature, we can with confidence make the following statements about the ensuing analysis:

- TH-fronting in Morley, given its use elsewhere, would be anticipated under a geographical diffusion model (either wave or gravity).
- Given the rapid spread of this feature elsewhere, in a contact situation such as that in Morley we might expect it to be among the earliest and most noticeable changes to occur.

- If TH-fronting is observed in Morley, this would support the current models of geographical diffusion.
- If TH-fronting is not present in Morley, or at least is not as well established as we might predict given the existing literature on other varieties, then there is evidence that our understanding of contact-induced change and the role of young urban speakers needs reassessing.

The analysis of this variable in Morley is clearly vital, not only for the specific research aims identified for the present investigation, but also as a further contribution to our knowledge of the patterning of this variable across the U.K. I now move to discuss the circumscription of the variable context for this study, then progress to the analysis of the data.

## 12.3 Circumscribing the variable context

The variable context here includes all environments of [θ/f] and all non-initial contexts of [ð/v] in content words. Voiced (TH) in initial position is largely found in function words, such as those exemplified in (2), and these are rarely shown to be subject to TH-fronting in previous studies. Such contexts are therefore not included in this analysis.

(2) a. I hardly get to go **there** now.
b. I'm the only member of staff **that** can get away with being cheeky
c. And **then** **this** year you design your own project

## 12.4 Extraction and Coding

For each of the speakers in the three Morley generations, thirty tokens of (TH) per speaker were extracted from the conversational data. For speakers who did not contribute thirty tokens, the maximum possible number of tokens was included. In addition, the 26 items containing (TH) from the word list were also analysed for each speaker. All speakers except Evan provided word list data. The Houck data were

analysed impressionistically and TH-fronting was found to be categorically absent; as such, analysis is restricted to the Morley cohort only.

The data were coded for the dependent variable (fronted, as in (3), versus standard, as in (4)). As in previous investigations, the following internal constraints were identified: voiceless (3a and 4a) versus voiced (3b and 4b) and word position (5). The external factors of speech style (6), generation, age and individual speaker were also considered.

(3) a. I wish I'd got them **both** [f]
b. They're prodding me and making me **breathe** [v] in and out

(4) a. Well **both** really [θ]
b. I had summat wrong with my nose so I couldn't **breathe** [ð]

(5) a. I've been playing since about age **three** [θ]
b. When's her **birthday**, is it July or June? [θ]
c. It's July the thirteen**th** [θ]

(6) a. I **think** they had lyke ten to play and I **think** they maybe played seven or eight. [SPONTANEOUS DATA].
b. **Thunder**. Written. Foamy. **Myth**. Later. [WORD LIST DATA].

## 12.5 Results

Table 12.2 shows the overall distribution for the Morley sample.

| | Ns | % fronted |
|---|---|---|
| Retired | 454 | 0 |
| Working | 449 | 0 |
| Student | 501 | 13 |
| TOTAL | 1404 | 5 |

*Table 12.2*
Overall distribution of TH-fronting in Morley

In Table 12.2, only the student generation demonstrates any variation in terms of (TH); the older generations were categorically standard in their use of [θ] and [ð]. Whilst this is not surprising for the retired speakers, as TH-fronting is widely accepted as an innovative feature which has been spreading since the 1970s (see

previous research, discussed above), we might have expected some instances of fronted (TH) amongst the working population, and a higher rate of use than the 13% which is observed amongst the students. However, the data presented here clearly show that all generations in Morley except the students are categorical in their avoidance of the fronted variants, and that use among students can only be described as sporadic. As variation only occurs amongst the youngest generation in the sample, I restrict the further analysis of these data to only the contribution from the student cohort.

### 12.5.1 Multivariate analysis

I turn now to the multivariate analysis. Table 12.3 displays the results for all the factor groups considered in this analysis for the student generation.

| | % fronted | Fw | Total Ns |
|---|---|---|---|
| Corrected mean .382 | | | |
| ***VOICING*** | | | |
| VOICELESS [θ~f] | 12 | [.48] | 411 |
| VOICED [ð~v] | 18 | [.59] | 90 |
| *Range* | | *11* | |
| ***WORD POSITION*** | | | |
| INITIAL | 13 | **.47** | 239 |
| MEDIAL | 15 | **.62** | 156 |
| FINAL | 10 | **.39** | 106 |
| *Range* | | *23* | |
| ***SPEAKER*** | | | |
| SCOTT | 0 | **KO = 0%** | 56 |
| HEATHER | 0 | **KO = 0%** | 56 |
| SOPHIE | 0 | **KO = 0%** | 56 |
| MAIA | 0 | **KO = 0%** | 56 |
| MIRANDA | 0 | **KO = 0%** | 56 |
| MARTIN | 0 | **KO = 0%** | 56 |
| JADE | 20 | **.28** | 56 |
| NATHAN | 38 | **.50** | 53 |
| TODD | 64 | **.73** | 56 |
| *Range* | | *73* | |
| ***STYLE*** | | | |
| WORD LIST | 13 | [.51] | 234 |
| CONVERSATION | 13 | [.49] | 267 |
| *Range* | | *2* | |
| TOTAL Ns | | | 501 |

*Table 12.3*

Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of TH-fronting in the student generation in Morley

Table 12.3 shows that two factors are selected as significantly impacting upon the variation: these are word position and speaker. Individual speaker clearly warrants further inspection, as only three speakers are shown to use fronted (TH) variants at all; the remainder are, like the older generations, categorically standard. Notably, they are also three of the youngest speakers in the group: Jade was 12 at the time of recording, whilst Nathan was 15 and Todd had recently turned 17. It is thus important to bear in mind for the remainder of the analysis that all the fronted tokens are contributed by just these three speakers. As such, I do not consider the results in Table 12.3 any further, as the findings are almost certainly skewed by the remaining six, categorically standard speakers. Table 12.4 contains the results of a multivariate analysis of data contributed by only the three speakers who vary in production of (TH).

| | % fronted | Fw | Total Ns |
|---|---|---|---|
| Corrected mean .392 | | | |
| ***VOICING*** | | | |
| VOICELESS [θ~f] | 37 | [.48] | 138 |
| VOICED [ð~v] | 59 | [.59] | 27 |
| *Range* | | *11* | |
| ***WORD POSITION*** | | | |
| INITIAL | 36 | [.49] | 88 |
| MEDIAL | 58 | [.62] | 41 |
| FINAL | 31 | [.39] | 36 |
| *Range* | | *23* | |
| ***SPEAKER*** | | | |
| JADE | 20 | **.28** | 56 |
| NATHAN | 38 | **.49** | 53 |
| TODD | 64 | **.74** | 56 |
| *Range* | | ***46*** | |
| ***STYLE*** | | | |
| WORD LIST | 40 | [.50] | 78 |
| CONVERSATION | 41 | [.50] | 87 |
| *Range* | | *0* | |
| TOTAL Ns | | | 165 |

*Table 12.4*

Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of TH-fronting in Morley: Jade, Nathan and Todd only

Note that the only factor group selected as significant in Table 12.4 is speaker. The two male speakers, Todd and Nathan, favour fronted variants, returning

factor weights of .74 and .49 respectively, whilst Jade disfavours them, with a factor weight of .28. Intriguingly, style has no effect on the variation at all, with no difference observed between word list and conversational contexts. This mirrors the findings from Derby (Milroy 1996) and warrants further discussion. Voicing is not selected as significant either, although voiced contexts show higher rates of fronting by percentage. Word position is not significant in Milroy's analysis, although it was in Table 12.3. Medial contexts favour fronted variants more than word-initial or word-final contexts.

The multivariate analyses presented above show individual speaker to be the factor group contributing most to the variation in TH-fronting in Morley. I therefore now consider the distribution of fronted variants in each of the other factor groups cross-tabulated with individual speaker.

### 12.5.2 Word position

In Table 12.4 this factor has the second highest range in the constraint hierarchy, suggesting, perhaps, that it only narrowly misses statistical significance. Table 12.5 divides the data for word position by individual speaker.

| | **Initial** | | **Medial** | | **Final** | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ns | % fronted | Ns | % fronted | Ns | % fronted |
| JADE | 32 | 3 | 12 | 50 | 12 | 33 |
| NATHAN | 30 | 40 | 10 | 60 | 13 | 15 |
| TODD | 26 | 73 | 19 | 63 | 11 | 45 |

*Table 12.5*

Distribution of TH-fronting by word position and speaker: variable speakers only

The results in Table 12.5 show that medial contexts are the only ones to exhibit a substantial proportion of fronted variants for all speakers. Jade generally avoids word-initial fronted forms, whilst word-final contexts are dispreferred by Nathan. There is no structure to the word position constraint across all three speakers; individual speaker differences are clearly having the greater impact on the data.

### 12.5.3 Voicing

Table 12.6 shows the data divided by voicing and speaker.

| | Jade | | Nathan | | Todd | | Total | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Ns | % fronted | Ns | % fronted | Ns | % fronted | Ns | % fronted |
| VOICELESS | 48 | 10 | 46 | 37 | 44 | 66 | 138 | 37 |
| VOICED | 8 | 75 | 7 | 43 | 12 | 58 | 27 | 59 |

*Table 12.6*
Distribution of TH-fronting by voicing and speaker: variable speakers only

The distribution in Table 12.6 is markedly skewed towards voiceless contexts. The small token numbers for individual speaker, especially in voiced contexts, means that no firm conclusions can be drawn from these data. No clear pattern emerges across the speakers for voicing. Once again, individual speaker differences seem to be having more impact on the data.

### 12.5.4 Speech style

The final factor to consider is speech style. Figure 12.4 shows the data for Todd, Nathan and Jade divided by speech style and speaker.

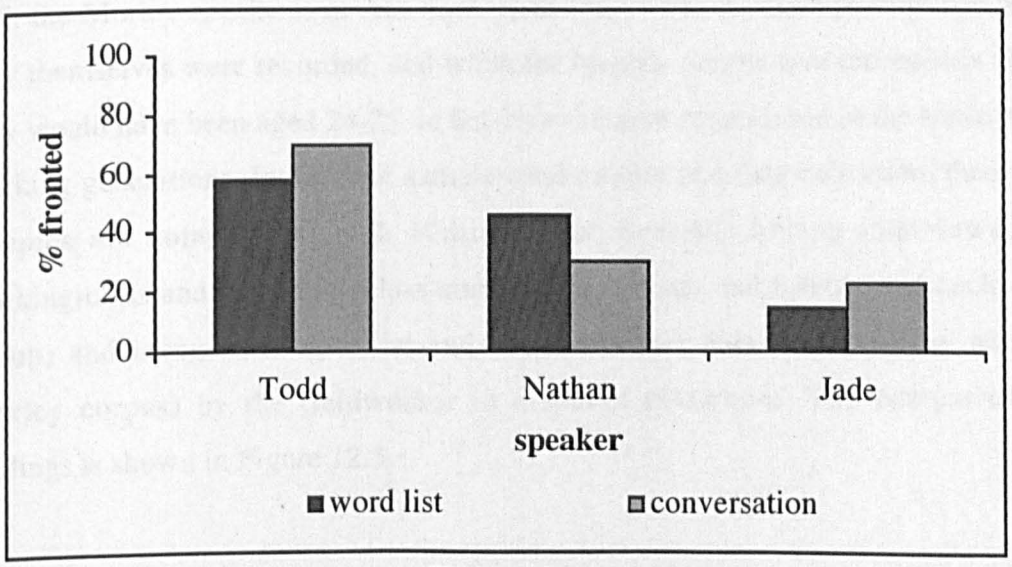


*Figure 12.4*
(TH) fronting by speaker and speech style

Overall, speech style is not selected as significant in constraining use of (TH) fronting, but note the inter-speaker differences here: Todd and Jade front more

frequently in conversation, but Nathan fronts more frequently in the word list. The lack of significant difference between speech styles follows the pattern observed in Derby by Milroy (1996) and suggests that, perhaps, TH-fronting is not subject to stylistic variation. The similarity between Morley and Derby in this regard may point towards a transmission of consistent constraint patterning, as has been observed in other situations of rapidly spreading linguistic change (such as the spread of the BE LIKE quotative, Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999)).

### 12.5.5 Summary of findings

The findings for (TH) fronting show that only three speakers in the entire Morley sample use fronted variants of (TH), and that they are three of the youngest speakers in the sample. What is surprising is that *only* three of the students are observed to use fronted forms: given the previous findings on fronted (TH), we might have anticipated this feature to be more widely adopted across the whole Morley youth cohort, and even to some degree among the younger members of the adult generations.

Let us compare the Morley findings with those from Hull (Williams and Kerswill 1999), recorded a decade earlier. As the Hull speakers were fourteen and fifteen years old at the time of recording, they provide an interesting comparison with the Morley speakers: in real-time terms they were of a comparable age when they themselves were recorded, and when the Morley corpus was recorded in 2005, they would have been aged 24-25, in between the ages represented in the student and working generations. In terms of sample construction and data collection, these two samples are comparable, with Williams and Kerswill having interviewed 16 working-class and 16 middle-class adolescents (8 male and 8 female in each class group) and using both word-list and conversational data, recorded (as was the Morley corpus) by the fieldworker in a school classroom. The comparison of findings is shown in Figure 12.5.

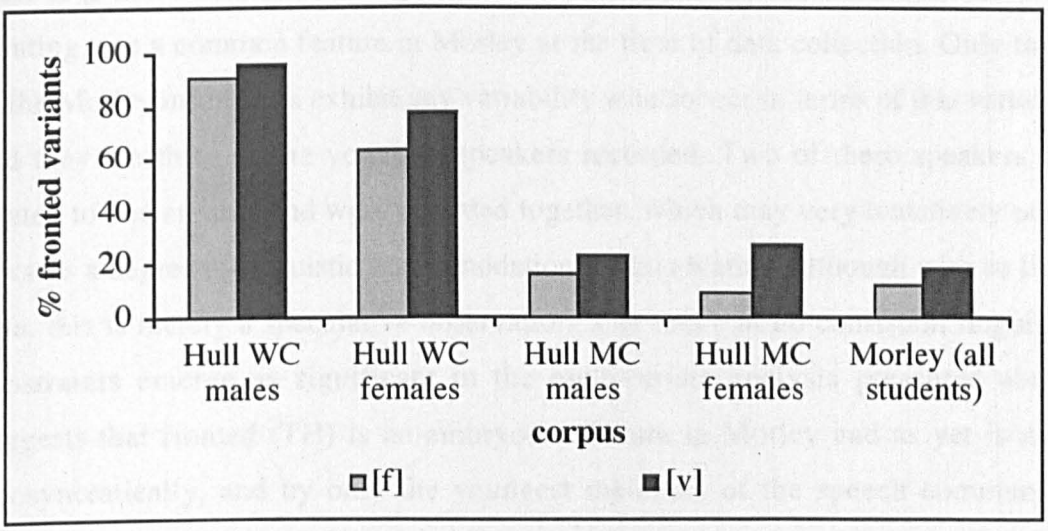


*Figure 12.5*
TH-fronting in Morley compared to working-class Hull (Williams and Kerswill 1999)

At first glance, the Morley cohort appear almost identical to the middle class adolescents in Hull recorded ten years before them. However, it is essential to bear in mind that the Hull data represent eight male and eight female speakers, whereas the Morley figures in this graph include the six speakers who were categorically standard in their production of interdental fricatives. Whilst the Morley student cohort is judged to be borderline between the upper-working and lower-middle classes, the fact that the majority of them retain 100% standard variants of (TH) ten years after the Hull adolescents (even the middle class ones) were shown to have adopted fronted variants only serves to emphasise the degree of difference between Morley and Hull in terms of adoption of this feature. The findings for Morley seem to 'buck the trend' of adolescent speech with respect to TH-fronting, and these results impact upon our understanding of this variable as a whole. There are also implications here for our understanding of the role of geographical diffusion. I discuss these concerns further below.

## 12.6 Discussion

The low rate of use for TH-fronting in Morley can be interpreted one of two ways: Either the Morley community is a much later recipient of the diffusing feature, or

there is greater resistance to its presence. Either way, it cannot be stated that (TH) fronting was a common feature in Morley at the time of data collection. Only three of the Morley informants exhibit any variability whatsoever in terms of this variable, and they are three of the youngest speakers recorded. Two of these speakers are related to one another and were recorded together, which may very tentatively point towards a degree of linguistic accommodation for this feature, although with so little data, this is merely a speculative observation. The fact that no consistent linguistic constraints emerge as significant in the multivariate analysis presented above suggests that fronted (TH) is an embryonic feature in Morley and as yet is used idiosyncratically, and by only the youngest members of the speech community. Further research in Morley will enable us to see whether or not this variable takes hold at any point in the future. Qualitative observations of other West Yorkshire areas, and the city of York in North Yorkshire, suggest that young people of equivalent age and situation to those in Morley may have adopted fronted (TH) much more readily, which may potentially point to Morley 'lagging behind' because of its history of social isolation from the larger urban centres. However, in order to verify this, quantified data from elsewhere in urban Yorkshire is required.

The findings of this chapter call into question our existing understanding of this variable. Currently the literature claims that this feature is spreading rapidly from London northwards, either via a wave 'from south to north' model, or a gravity 'urban centre to urban centre' approach. The data from Morley seem to contradict either model: a wave approach would place Morley (as a suburb of Leeds, which is 195 miles from London) as a recipient in-between Derby (129 miles from London) and Hull (215 miles from London); a gravity-model approach would place the Leeds conurbation (with a population of over 700,000 people) ahead of both Derby and Hull, with their respective populations less than half that of Leeds. However, TH-fronting was observable in Derby and Hull adolescents in the mid-1990s, whilst among the Morley students recorded in 2005, TH-fronting appears embryonic. Thus, the evidence from Morley, when considered relative to that of other studies in other locations, supports neither wave- nor gravity-model diffusion. On this matter, a methodological consideration is recommended here: the application of statistical constraint hierarchies from morpho-syntactic analyses would, in my opinion, be of great benefit to the comparative investigation of fronted (TH) in different urban

centres. As has been seen in various investigations of, for example, the BE LIKE quotative, (see chapter 13 for an in-depth review of the literature on this variable) similarity in constraint hierarchies across different linguistic communities can be used as evidence for the transmission of variation within and between these communities. Whilst such information on fronted (TH) is not available as yet, the inclusion of such data in future investigations would make the comparison of different data sets from different regions much more reliable.

Given the increased social and geographical contact to which people in Morley have been subjected, it would not have been unreasonable to assume that TH-fronting might have been among the first diffusing features into the variety, considering the rapidity of its spread elsewhere in the country. This is simply not the case; even if the three speakers who do show some degree of fronted (TH) are representative of what will happen in Morley in the next generation, and are evidence of a recent innovatory phenomenon of TH-fronting, this innovation is happening much later than we would have predicted on the basis of previous studies.

Furthermore, the current literature states fronted forms of (TH) to be an urban youth feature; again, the Morley data do not conform to this pattern. The findings presented here also seem to contradict the notion of (TH) fronting as a 'youth norm' (Williams and Kerswill 1999). Whilst this feature is found among the speech of many young people across the U.K., its adoption is clearly not, as yet, pandemic. The avoidance of this feature by some speakers suggests that, whilst fronted (TH) may be the 'norm' for young people in some areas, it is not the 'norm' for the entire youth cohort of the U.K.

## 12.7 CHAPTER SUMMARY

Here I have presented an analysis of the Morley data with respect to TH-fronting. I have shown it to be an embryonic feature in the Morley community, that is used by only three speakers in the entire sample. I have suggested that the avoidance of fronted (TH) by the remainder of the sample, particularly the other students, is counter-evidence to the geographical diffusion models previously applied to TH-fronting. Based upon the comparison of the Morley data with results found

elsewhere in the country, our understanding of TH-fronting as a pandemic feature of urban youth speech may need to be readdressed.

# CHAPTER 13
# QUOTATIVE CONSTRUCTIONS

## 13.0 CHAPTER ABSTRACT

The current sociolinguistic literature contains thorough examination of the global grammaticalisation of the BE LIKE quotative across varieties of English. In considering this variable in the Morley data, I seek to contribute further to this discussion, in addition to introducing to the BE LIKE literature arguments for levelling and diffusion. I track here the trajectory of BE LIKE use in the Morley corpus, in comparison with other available quotatives, in particular SAY and GO, both of which are common in Morley English. I will claim that BE LIKE has been adopted by the younger speakers in Morley, as it has elsewhere in the English-speaking world, and that we may be able to consider this as evidence for levelling. However, as BE LIKE is not replacing a more locally restricted form, but the standard SAY, there is less resistance among Morley speakers to this incoming variant than if it were in competition with a more traditional non-standard dialect feature.

## 13.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter is concerned with variation within reported speech constructions, as in (1) below:

(1) a. My Dad always **said**, "you should try anything once, except incest and morris dancing."
b. And I **went**, "no I don't, what do you mean?"
c. And **I was like**, "you're doing that while you're drunk and all."

My focus here is the predicted rise in use of the BE LIKE quotative, which is a variant originating outside West Yorkshire varieties. The accepted wisdom on BE LIKE is that it originated in North America and has been the subject of rapid

linguistic change, primarily through its adoption by adolescents in the U.K. and elsewhere in the English-speaking world. The current literature claims that BE LIKE is becoming grammaticalised, with similar internally constrained patterns of use observed globally.

I here present a review of the existing literature on BE LIKE, before addressing the variability present in the Morley data.

## 13.2 Background Literature

Several works exist on the history of BE LIKE in American English (for example, Blyth, Recktenwald and Wang 1990, Romaine and Lange 1991, Ferrara and Bell 1995, Dailey-O'Cain 2000). Over the last decade, Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), Macaulay (2001), Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004), D'Arcy (2004), Buchstaller (2006a, 2006b) and Baker, Cockeram, Danks, Durham, Haddican and Tyler (2006) have contributed towards our understanding of the geographic spread of BE LIKE, providing data on its use by adolescents in Canada and the U.K. In this literature review, I focus my attention on the investigations that concern U.K. varieties of English, with reference to U.S. and Canadian data where relevant and appropriate.

### 13.2.1 Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999)

Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) contribute towards the quotative literature by considering use of BE LIKE beyond the United States, comparing rates of use among British and Canadian youths. Their data were based on narratives from university students aged 18-28, collected in 1995-96. Their sample comprises 22 males and 22 females recorded in York, U.K., and 9 males and 14 females recorded in Ottawa, Canada (1999:154). The overall distribution of quotative forms in their data is shown in Figure 13.1.

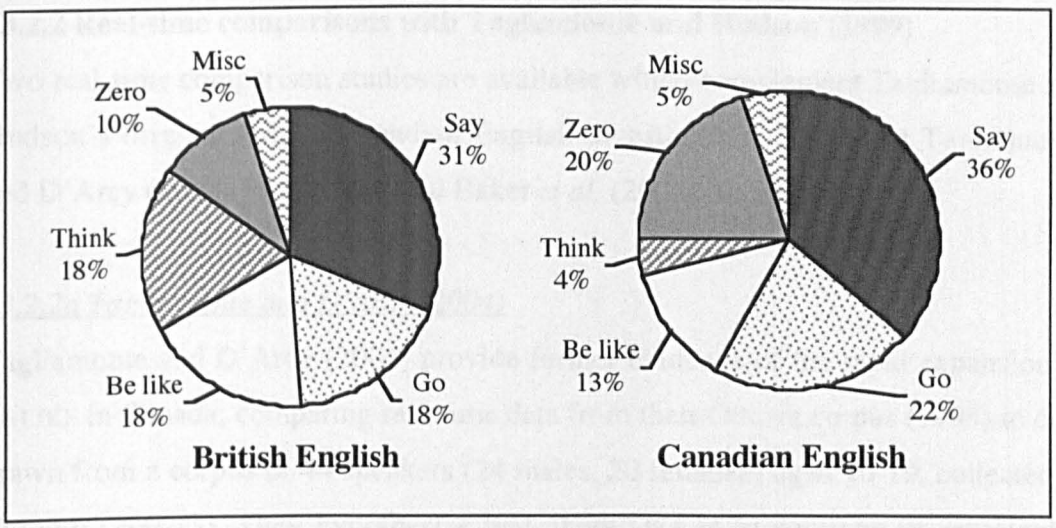


*Figure 13.1*
Overall distribution of quotatives in York and Ottawa
(adapted from Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999:158))

As is seen in Figure 13.1, Tagliamonte and Hudson found that SAY, GO and BE LIKE have quite similar distributions in both varieties, at least in terms of overall frequency. With respect to linguistic distribution, they report that BE LIKE is still somewhat restricted in both varieties, and is found primarily to introduce non-lexical utterances or internal dialogue, and mostly used with first person subjects (1999:166). They acknowledge the diversity observed between British and Canadian speakers with respect to certain aspects of the quotative system, and attribute this to differences in cultural narrative styles – GO in Canadian English, for example, competes with THINK as an introducer of internalised dialogue, whereas in British English, GO is strongly dispreferred in these constructions (1999:163). However, for BE LIKE, Tagliamonte and Hudson note that both British and Canadian speakers are adopting the same functional trajectory as their American counterparts before them. While SAY, GO and THINK have very different patterns of use in Britain to those observed in Canada, use of BE LIKE is largely the same for both varieties: BE LIKE is preferred by female speakers, with first person subjects, and to introduce non-lexical utterances or internal dialogue (1999:168). The parallels observed between British and Canadian youths, in addition to those drawn with American speakers, lead Tagliamonte and Hudson to the conclusion that there is a "systematic global diffusion" of BE LIKE (1999:147).

### 13.2.2 Real-time comparisons with Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999)

Two real-time comparison studies are available which complement Tagliamonte and Hudson's original British/Canadian English investigation. These are Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004) for Canada, and Baker *et al.* (2006) for Britain.

*13.2.2a Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004)*

Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004) provide further evidence of the rapid expansion of BE LIKE in Canada, comparing real-time data from their Ottawa corpus (1995) to data drawn from a corpus of 44 speakers (24 males, 20 females) aged 10-19, collected in Toronto (2002/3). They hypothesise that, if BE LIKE is to continue its anticipated pattern of diffusion, it will undergo a broadening of its internal constraints, which will lead to an expansion into grammatical persons other than first, and will generalise across all types of constructed dialogue, becoming more frequent to introduce direct speech, as well as internal dialogue and non-lexical utterances (2004:496).

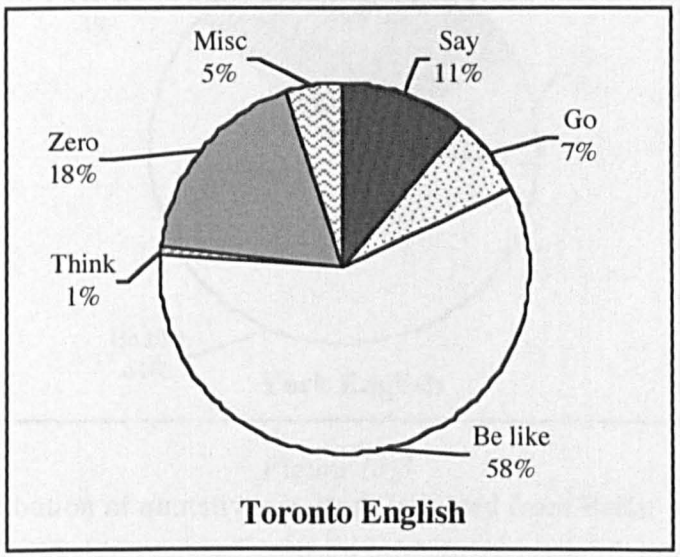


*Figure 13.2*
Overall distribution of quotatives in Toronto
(adapted from Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004:501))

Their overall findings, displayed in Figure 13.2, show that in the 2002/3 data, BE LIKE has replaced SAY as the most frequently used variant. This change is led by females. Furthermore, BE LIKE appears to have expanded in use, increasing in contexts of direct speech quotations, as well as internal dialogue and non-lexical

contexts, for which its use has previously been most commonly observed (2004:507). However, they found no evidence of expansion in terms of grammatical subject, with a consistent patterning over time whereby BE LIKE is statistically favoured with first person subjects. They conclude that BE LIKE is subject to ongoing grammaticalisation, and is currently a change in progress.

*13.2.2b Baker* et al. *(2006)*

Baker *et al.* (2006) replicated the York dimension of Tagliamonte and Hudson's (1999) analysis by collecting data from 31 speakers aged 18-22, all of whom were students at the University of York. They provide comparative real-time analysis of the use of BE LIKE in the British quotative system with the real-time data from Canada discussed by Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004). The overall distribution of forms in the (2006) York data is shown in Figure 13.3.

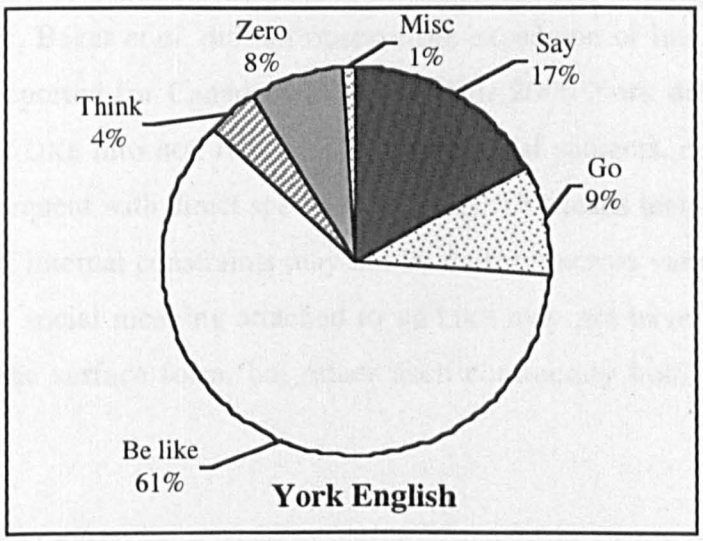


*Figure 13.3*
Overall distribution of quotatives in York (adapted from Baker *et al.* (2006))

The expansion in use of BE LIKE that was observed in Canada by Tagliamonte and D'Arcy (2004) is likewise observable in the (2006) York data. Baker *et al.* highlight the similarity between the two varieties in terms of overall frequency by comparing the data from the two York investigations and the two Canadian corpora, as shown in Figure 13.4.

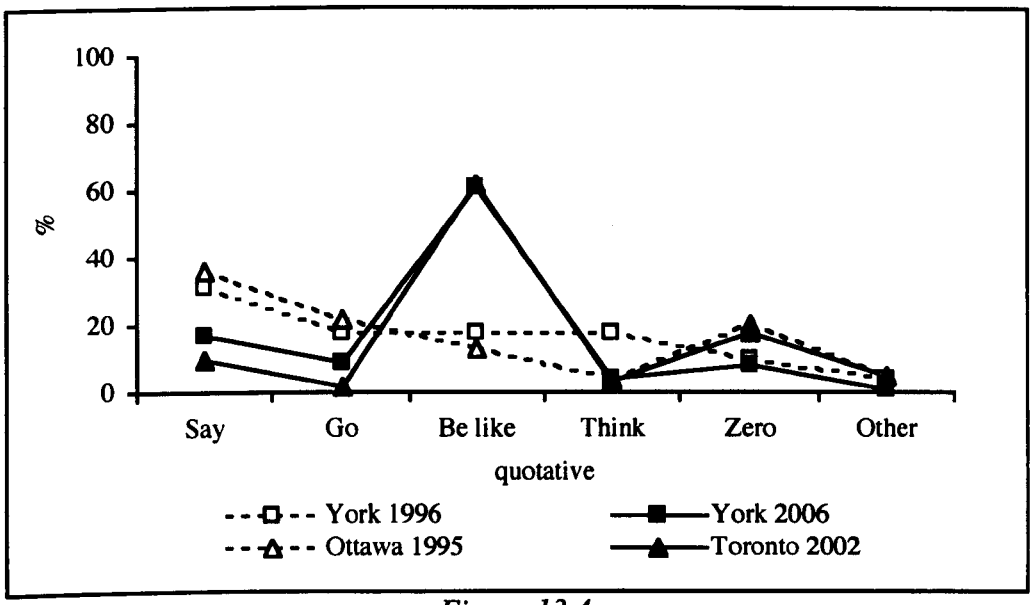


*Figure 13.4*
Quotative use in York and Canada in real-time (reproduced from Baker *et al.* 2006)

However, Baker *et al.* did not observe the expansion of internal constraints that has been reported for Canadian English. Their 2006 York data do not show expansion of BE LIKE into non-first person grammatical subjects, nor does BE LIKE become more frequent with direct speech quotations. This leads them to propose that the behaviour of internal constraints may not be uniform across varieties. They also suggest that the social meaning attached to BE LIKE may not have diffused across varieties with the surface form, but rather each community holds its own social associations.

### 13.2.3 Macaulay (2001)

Macaulay considers use of the BE LIKE quotative among adolescents (aged 13-14) in Glasgow, from recordings made in 1997. The overall distribution of forms in the Glasgow data is shown in Figure 13.5 (Macaulay includes three further quotatives that do not appear in the discussion on any other variety: BE LIKE THAT, GO LIKE THAT and DONE THAT. I here collapse these with the miscellaneous data, as they are presumably localised features of Glaswegian, are thus not relevant to the present investigation).

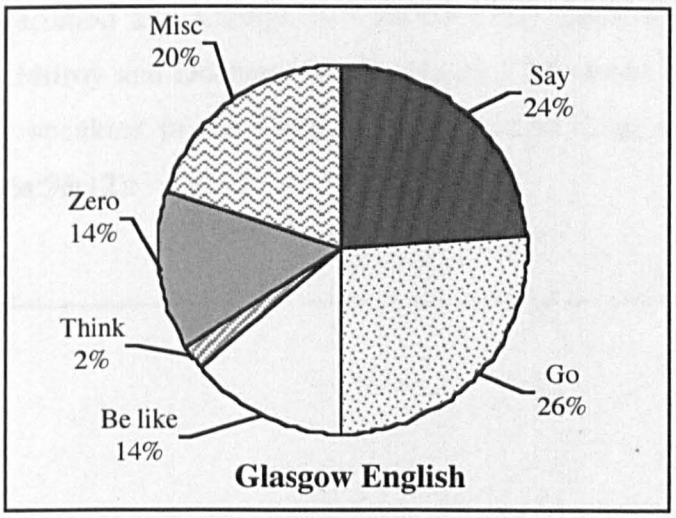


*Figure 13.5*
Overall distribution of quotative forms in Glasgow English
(adapted from Macaulay (2001:10))

Just as has been shown in the previous literature, Macaulay also found that females are leading the adoption of BE LIKE in Glasgow (2001:17). Interestingly, however, Macaulay's findings differ from those of previous investigations when it comes to grammatical subject, with informants showing a preference for third person subjects rather than first person subjects. However, Macaulay is dealing with much smaller token numbers than the previous studies, and he has conflated BE LIKE (THAT) and GO LIKE (THAT) in his reported findings. As such, this result is not directly comparable with other findings on grammatical subject, and for me to suggest that this is evidence for grammaticalisation of BE LIKE would hence be unwise. Macaulay is more concerned with how the BE LIKE quotative entered the Glaswegian variety (2001:17). He suggests that the media may be responsible, with many teenage-aimed films and television shows depicting American adolescents using an increasing amount of BE LIKE quotatives throughout the 1990s.

### 13.2.4 Buchstaller (2006a)

Buchstaller considers the use of the quotatives BE LIKE and GO in real and apparent time data from both U.S. and U.K. varieties of English. The U.S. analysis is based on seven major dialect areas, utilising data from 136 speakers in the University of Pennsylvania's Switchboard corpus collected between 1988 and 1992. The U.K. analysis uses data from Derby and Newcastle collected in 1994-5 for the

'Phonological Variation and Change in Contemporary Spoken British English' project (Milroy, Milroy and Docherty 1997). Figure 13.6 shows rate of use of BE LIKE and GO by speakers in the Derby and Newcastle data, separated by age (Buchstaller 2006a:9&12).

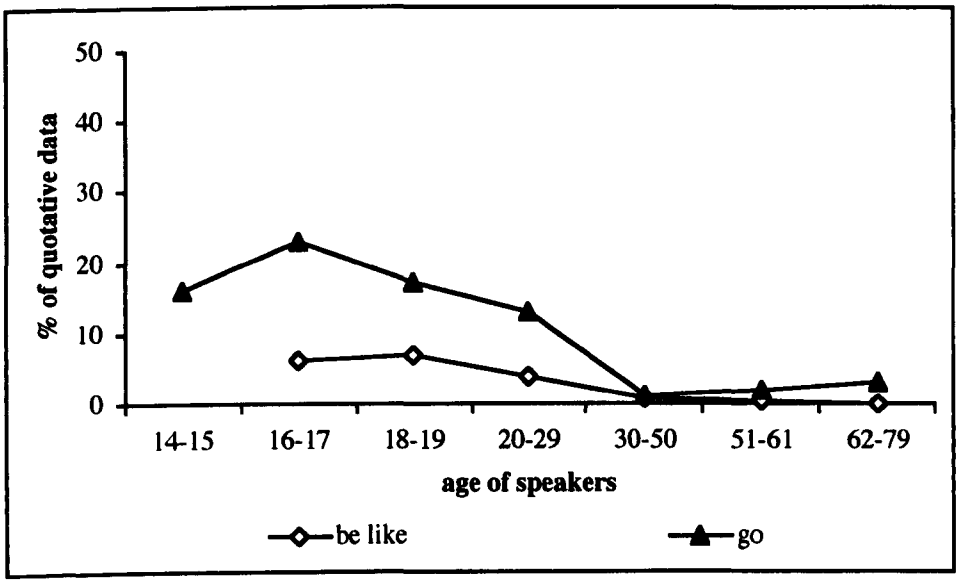


*Figure 13.6*
Distribution of BE LIKE and GO by age in Derby and Newcastle
(adapted from Buchstaller 2006a:9&12)

Buchstaller (2006a:10) comments that BE LIKE is not attested in U.S. varieties before 1992, and not before 1994 in the U.K, which appears to suggest that U.K. speakers have acquired BE LIKE from America. It is not defined as a quotative in the Oxford English dictionary until the end of the 1990s, and Buchstaller reports that perception tests on both sides of the Atlantic show BE LIKE to be accurately perceived as a relative newcomer to the quotative system. As is seen in Figure 13.6, Buchstaller's own analysis shows that, for the U.K. data, BE LIKE is predominantly the realm of adolescent speakers, although infrequent use is also observed among speakers in their 20s and 30s. She questions the diachronic development of BE LIKE, and asks whether it will eventually ripple through the whole age spectrum, or rather remain an age-graded feature (2006a:11). Buchstaller recommends the inclusion of more recently recorded data in order to establish an answer to this question. As such, the Morley corpus will be a useful contribution to the literature on BE LIKE, as it serves to test whether, ten years further on in the development of BE LIKE in the U.K., use of this 'new' quotative has extended beyond adolescent speakers.

As for GO, Buchstaller reports that in Derby and Newcastle it is also a feature mainly of younger people's speech, as shown in Figure 13.6. In the U.S. data considered by Buchstaller a 'recycling' effect appears to occur between BE LIKE and GO, with increase in use of BE LIKE correlating with a decrease in use of GO. However, this does not occur in the U.K. data. Age-grading seems to be the most appropriate interpretation of quotative GO in the U.K. Buchstaller interprets the difference between the two varieties as "two stages on a continuous wave pattern," (2006a:21), suggesting that the age grading observed for U.K. quotative GO is merely an earlier stage of the same underlying process of change observed in the U.S. Buchstaller claims that variation in quotative use is unstable at both the community and individual level (2006a:21), and that GO "appears to be a more sporadic variant which recedes but lingers on and is finally picked up again by the speech community," (2006a:22). She concludes that, if this is the case, a similar wave-like patterning should be observable in other data. This is something which can be tested in the Morley corpus.

### 13.2.5 Buchstaller (2006b)

Buchstaller further supplements her analysis of quotatives in Derby and Newcastle with perceptual information on use of BE LIKE and GO in the U.K. Using a sample of 191 university-educated informants (89 males, 102 females) from various regions of the U.K., Buchstaller conducted a matched guise test and a social attitudes questionnaire in order to determine the attitudes held by British speakers towards quotative GO and BE LIKE. The matched guise test used two written stimuli, which were transcripts of naturally occurring speech produced in conversation by a 17-year old female from Newcastle upon Tyne. One stimulus contained only quotative SAY; the other contained either three tokens of BE LIKE or three tokens of GO. Buchstaller notes that no informant saw stimuli for both BE LIKE and GO; each only saw stimuli for SAY plus one of the 'newer' quotatives (2006b: 377 note 5). The stimuli were manipulated so that half the informants saw the tokens of BE LIKE (or GO) in one stimulus, and half saw the tokens of BE LIKE (or GO) in the other stimulus.

In the social attitudes questionnaire, conducted after the matched guise test was completed, the conscious attitudes of the informants towards the quotatives were elicited using the following questions (although Buchstaller does not explicitly say,

one presumes, for informants whose matched guise test contained GO, not BE LIKE, that these questions were altered accordingly):

- Do you associate BE LIKE with older or younger speakers?
- Do you associate BE LIKE with male or female speakers?
- Do you associate BE LIKE with working or middle-class speakers?
- Where do you think LIKE comes from?

The findings from Buchstaller's matched guise tests are displayed in Table 13.1. The table shows the distribution of answers given to the questions identified above in percentages. The total number of respondents was 88.

| Social Category | | Guise | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | GO | SAY | BE LIKE | SAY |
| Age | 15-20 | 21 | 22 | 44 | 17 |
| | 21-30 | 52 | 33 | 41 | 36 |
| | 31-40 | 13 | 28 | 13 | 30 |
| | 41+ | 14 | 18 | 3 | 17 |
| Gender | Male | 45 | 42 | 47 | 39 |
| | Female | 56 | 58 | 53 | 61 |
| Class | Working | 48 | 61 | 53 | 51 |
| | Middle | 51 | 39 | 47 | 49 |

*Table 13.1*
Matched guise test results (from Buchstaller 2006a:367&369)

Buchstaller reports that whilst use of GO had very little effect on the covert social perceptions reported in the matched guise test, the informants strongly associated BE LIKE with the speech of younger people. If we compare this finding with Buchstaller's report on the overt attitudes elicited in the questionnaire, as in Table 13.2, we see that a strong age association was present for both GO and BE LIKE (although more so for BE LIKE). For gender, however, the majority response for both quotatives was 'don't know' and for class, only GO seems to have been strongly perceived as working class; for BE LIKE, again the main response given was 'don't know'. Buchstaller contrasts these results with the findings of a similar study among U.S. speakers (Dailey O'Cain 2000), which showed a strong association of BE LIKE with female speech. Buchstaller suggests that in adopting the BE LIKE variant from

U.S. English, British speakers have attached a social meaning to the form different from that observed in its variety of origin.

| Social Category | | GO | | BE LIKE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| | | N (/90) | % | N (/101) | % |
| Age | young | 69 | 76 | 94 | 93 |
| | old | 5 | 6 | 1 | 1 |
| | don't know | 13 | 18 | 6 | 6 |
| Gender | male | 14 | 16 | 7 | 7 |
| | female | 21 | 24 | 34 | 34 |
| | don't know | 55 | 61 | 60 | 59 |
| Class | WC | 50 | 56 | 31 | 31 |
| | MC | 7 | 8 | 11 | 11 |
| | don't know | 33 | 37 | 59 | 58 |

*Table 13.2*
Social attitude results for GO and BE LIKE (from Buchstaller 2006b:368&370)

The results of the final question in Buchstaller's questionnaire, that regarding regional affiliation of GO and BE LIKE, are shown in Table 13.3. Neither quotative has a strong regional affiliation for these British respondents, with the most frequent answer provided being 'no idea' for both GO and BE LIKE, although BE LIKE is perceived as originating in the U.S. by around one-third of the respondents.

| | GO | | BE LIKE | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | N | % | N | % |
| U.S. | 11 | 12 | 36 | 37 |
| British | 4 | 4 | 3 | 3 |
| Other | 8 | 9 | 4 | 4 |
| No idea | 67 | 74 | 55 | 56 |

*Table 13.3*
Regional association of GO and BE LIKE (from Buchstaller 2006b:374)

Buchstaller concludes that whilst the 'new' quotative variants are being adopted globally, it is not the case that the social interpretation of them is transmitted identically across the globe. Just as reallocation of a linguistic form can occur, reallocation of social perception can also be observed.

### 13.2.6 Summary of the existing literature

The existing literature has shown that the BE LIKE quotative is observed in several U.K. varieties, and that it appears to be rapidly on the increase among younger

speakers. As in the United States, (Dailey O'Cain 2000) BE LIKE is perceived to be a feature of youth speech by British speakers (Buchstaller 2006b). However, the internal and social constraints related to quotative use have shown a mixed pattern, with some investigations (for example, Tagliamonte and D'Arcy 2004) showing expansion of BE LIKE across a wider range of contexts, whilst others (such as Baker *et al.* 2006) show a constant effect of constraints over time. Buchstaller (2006a) shows use of BE LIKE to be particularly interesting in relation to quotative GO, which appears to have been in use by British speakers for a longer period than BE LIKE, and which seems to be persisting in spite of the 'trendier' alternative presented by BE LIKE (Buchstaller 2006a).

The inclusion of BE LIKE in the current research is important for the literature on two counts. Firstly, it brings to the literature on dialect levelling a variable which has been shown to have a global diffusion, yet which lacks the supposed prerequisite of face-to-face contact. The adoption of quotative BE LIKE looks a lot like diffusion and subsequent levelling, and yet the varieties in which the variant is observed rarely come into direct contact with one another. The addition of BE LIKE to the dialect contact literature, and the addition of theories of dialect contact to the literature on BE LIKE, should, it is hoped, be mutually beneficial.

Secondly, this variable will be an interesting inclusion in the discussion of Morley: if BE LIKE is a globally diffusing feature, then this should include Morley. However, as Buchstaller (2006b) has shown, the social perception by British people is that BE LIKE is a feature external in origin to the U.K. Given that the findings elaborated in the previous chapters show Morley speakers to be quite conservative in terms of their retention of traditional dialect features and resistant to incoming forms, we may anticipate that quotative BE LIKE would be resisted. But since BE LIKE has proven itself to be such a pervasive feature in other English varieties, we must ask ourselves what happens when the seemingly immoveable object meets the seemingly irresistible force.

## 13.3 EXTRACTION AND CODING

Every token of quoted speech was extracted from the data and coded for a range of linguistic and social constraints. Initially, the dependent variable was coded for tokens of BE LIKE (2a), SAY (2b), THINK (2c) and GO (2d). A further category of 'miscellaneous' was identified for quotative verbs occurring too infrequently for separate analysis. This included tokens of SHOUT (3a), CALL (3b), TELL (3c), ZERO quotatives (3d), and BE without LIKE (3e).

(2) a. **I'm like**, "You're justifying McFly to me?"
b. He **says**, "Go Mummy, I'll look after him, I promise."
c. I **thought**, "Oh there'll be a few slates loose."
d. He **goes**, "I wish I'd have been older Dad."

(3) a. He **shouts** " 'Spector, inspector."
b. I **called** him, "Open the door and I'll jump in."
c. Cos I've been **told** you know, "you might get in."
d. He's been ringing up **Ø**, "Are you alright? Where are you?"
e. Now they'**re just**, you know, "Your water pump's gone."

The internal factors considered in the analysis are grammatical subject (following previous studies I focus on first versus third person contexts) and quote content (direct speech (4a), versus internal thoughts (4b), versus non-lexical utterances (4c)). Internal thought tokens are generally distinguishable from the context of the conversation: for example, the token shown in (4c) appears, when taken out of context in this manner, to be a direct utterance. However, when placed in the context of the wider conversation, it is clear this is not the case: here, the informant is discussing her opinion of an individual taking part in a popular television show. Clearly, when she says "what Ø you doing?" she is not speaking directly to the character in question, as she does not know him personally, but rather expressing a general frame of mind regarding his behaviour during the course of the show.

(4) a. She **was lyke**, "oh no, I'm not old enough."

b. I was booing along with [DAR] crowd, I **was like** "boo!"

c. Sometimes but he goes on about things and doesn't drop it, and **you're lyke**, "what ∅ you doing?"

Further to the internal constraints mentioned above, the external factors of generation and sex are also included in the analysis. I now turn to the results.

## 13.4 RESULTS

The overall distribution of reported speech variants is shown in Figure 13.7. The total number of tokens analysed is 610.

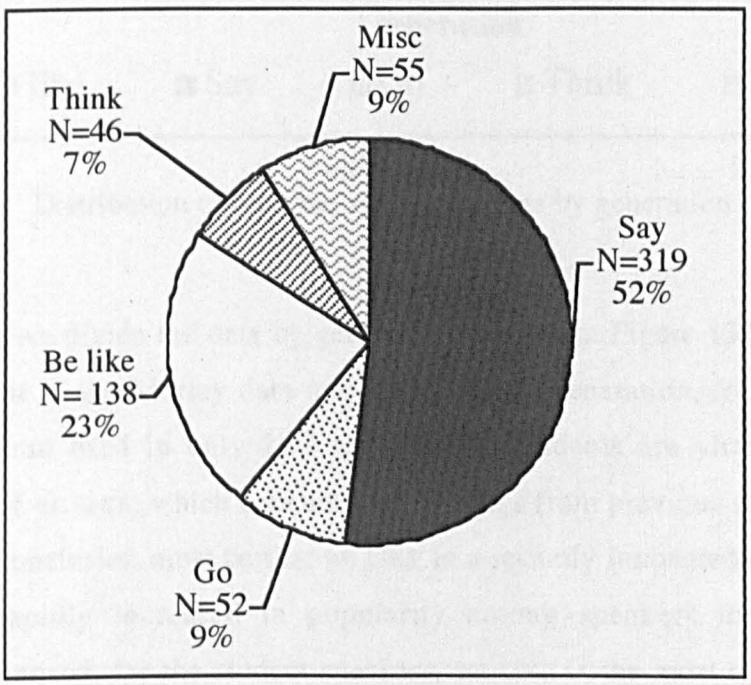


*Figure 13.7*
Overall distribution of reported speech variants

The overall distribution in Figure 13.7 shows that SAY is the majority form in these data, being used in more than half of all possible contexts. BE LIKE is the next most frequent variant, contributing just under a quarter of the tokens. The remaining

variants GO and THINK are minority occurrences, whilst the tokens grouped as 'miscellaneous' contribute less than 10% of the data.

Figure 13.8 displays the distribution of quotative tokens by generational sub-groups.

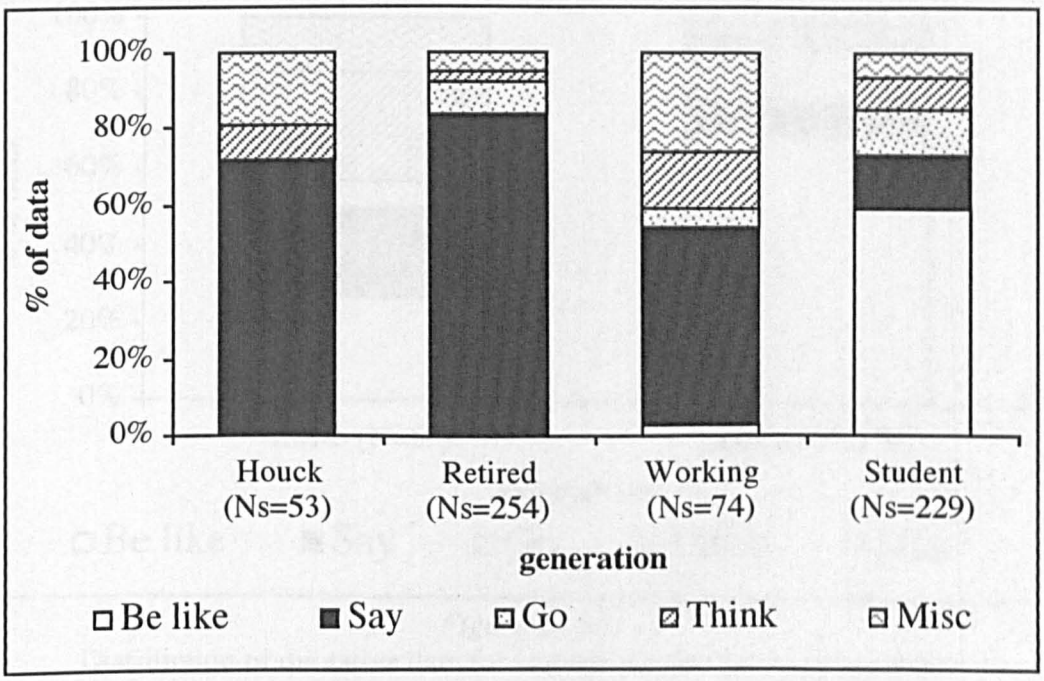


*Figure 13.8*
Distribution of reported speech variants by generation

When we divide the data by generation, we see in Figure 13.8 that BE LIKE does not occur in the Morley data until the working generation, for whom it is a minority variant used in only 2/74 tokens. The students are virtually the sole contributors of BE LIKE, which concurs with findings from previous studies in other regions: the conclusion must be that BE LIKE is a recently innovated form, and one which has rapidly increased in popularity among speakers in the younger generations. Indeed, for the student speakers, BE LIKE is the most frequently used quotative, at 59%.

The variant GO also demonstrates an interesting pattern. It is not used at all by the Houck generation, but is stably present among the three Morley sample generations, in spite of the rapid increase for students in BE LIKE. Student use of SAY appears to have been strongly affected by the incoming BE LIKE variant, as SAY occurs in only 14% of possible contexts, compared to over 50% of contexts for the

other three generations. This may imply that BE LIKE is becoming grammaticalised, taking over from SAY as the default way of reporting speech.

Figure 13.9 displays the data from the student population separated by sex.

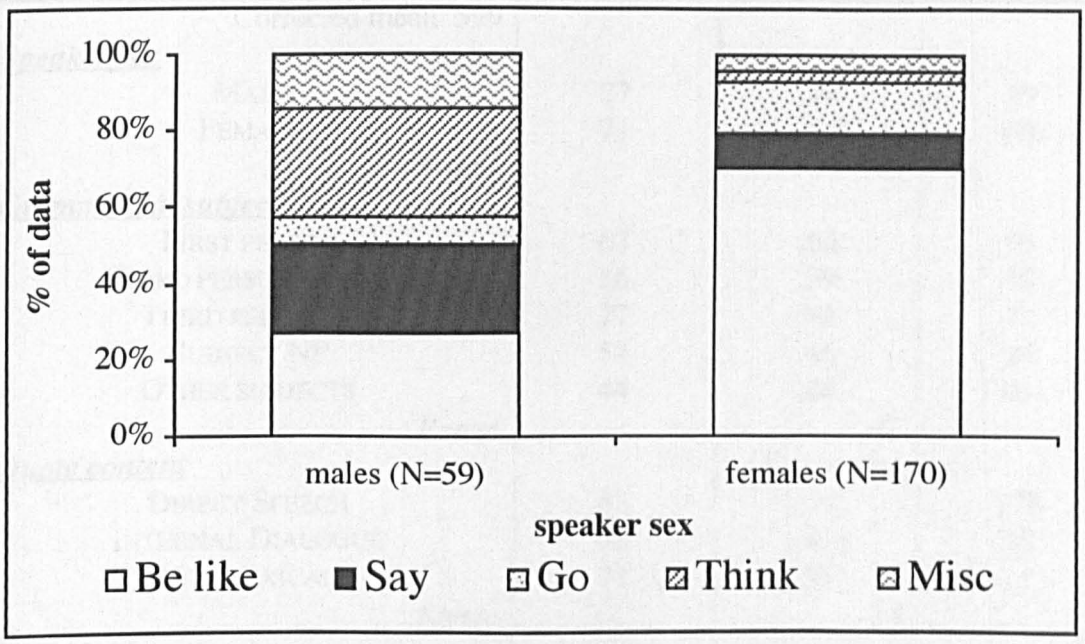


*Figure 13.9*
Distribution of quotative data for student generation by speaker sex

The data in Figure 13.9 show that there are differences in distribution of quotative forms across the two sex groupings, with female students using a much higher percentage of BE LIKE than males, who exhibit more SAY and THINK. Quotative GO is also used more by females, although the difference between male and female speakers is smaller for GO than for BE LIKE.

It appears that there are two issues which require further attention in the multivariate analyses: the first is the adoption of BE LIKE by the student population, the second is the perseverance of quotative GO. I shall address each of these issues in turn below.

### 13.4.1 Multivariate analysis of BE LIKE

In order to make the results here comparable with those from York (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999, Baker et al 2006) I have conducted a multivariate analysis of the quotative data. The application value is BE LIKE. As the students are the only generation to show persistent use of this variant, I restrict the multivariate analysis to

only the data from this age group. The results of this analysis are given in Table 13.4.

| | % BE LIKE | Fw | Total Ns |
|---|---|---|---|
| Corrected mean .599 | | | |
| ***Speaker sex*** | | | |
| MALE | 27 | **.16** | 59 |
| FEMALE | 71 | **.64** | 170 |
| *Range* | | *48* | |
| ***Grammatical subject*** | | | |
| FIRST PERSON | 67 | **.54** | 93 |
| THIRD PERSON *HE/SHE* | 56 | **.39** | 50 |
| THIRD PERSON *IT* | 77 | **.86** | 17 |
| SUBJECT NP | 54 | **.46** | 26 |
| OTHER SUBJECTS | 44 | **.40** | 43 |
| *Range* | | *47* | |
| ***Quote content*** | | | |
| DIRECT SPEECH | 62 | [.51] | 178 |
| INTERNAL DIALOGUE | 42 | [.41] | 36 |
| NON-LEXICAL | 73 | [.55] | 15 |
| *Range* | | *14* | |
| TOTAL Ns | | | 229 |

*Table 13.4*
Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of BE LIKE in Morley

The multivariate analysis shows that for BE LIKE, speaker sex and grammatical subject are significant constraints. For speaker sex, females favour BE LIKE whilst males disfavour it. For grammatical subject, third person *it* most strongly favours BE LIKE (although there are only 17 tokens), followed by first person contexts. Subject NPs, other subjects and *he/she* all disfavour BE LIKE. Quote content is not significant, although note that a slight favouring result is returned for direct speech contexts and non-lexical sounds, whilst internal dialogue contexts disfavour BE LIKE.

Table 13.5 shows the results for Morley BE LIKE compared to those for the two samples collected among students in York (Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999, Baker et al 2006). To aid comparison, the Morley data have been reanalysed in the same way as the York projects, which means for grammatical person the different third person contexts have been collapsed together.

| | Tagliamonte and Hudson (York 1999) | Baker et al (York 2006) | Steele (Morley 2005) |
|---|---|---|---|
| Input | n/a | .61 | .60 |
| % | 18 | 61 | 59 |
| Total N | 665 | 1279 | 229 |
| | Factor Weights | Factor Weights | Factor Weights |
| ***Gender*** | | | |
| Female | **.67** | **.54** | **.62** |
| Male | **.36** | **.44** | **.20** |
| *Range* | *31* | *10* | *42* |
| ***Person*** | | | |
| First | **.56** | **.55** | [.54] |
| Third | **.43** | **.44** | [.46] |
| *Range* | *13* | *11* | *8* |
| ***Content*** | | | |
| Non-lexical | **.67** | **.77** | [.58] |
| Internalised | **.57** | **.57** | [.40] |
| Direct speech | **.45** | **.46** | [.51] |
| *Range* | *22* | *31* | *18* |

*Table 13.5*
Comparison of quotative use in Morley with data from York (figures for York reproduced from Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999, and Baker et al 2006)

The similarities across the three samples are striking. In all three sets of data, BE LIKE is favoured by females and disfavoured by males; it is favoured in first person over third person constructions, and favoured more for non-lexical content than for direct speech or internal dialogue. There appears to be a certain degree of consistency across these data, which suggests that the internal and social constraints for BE LIKE are relatively stable. However, the lack of statistical significance for the internal constraints in Morley suggests that there may be a slight weakening of these effects, and as such, we may predict that the stability observed thus far might not continue indefinitely. Furthermore, the change in constraint hierarchy observed within the 'content' factor group is some small evidence that expansion of BE LIKE across a wider field of use is already underway: previous studies have consistently shown BE LIKE to be dispreferred when introducing direct speech; however, in Morley, direct speech contexts have overtaken internal dialogue in the constraint hierarchy. Clearly, there is more to discover as regards the continued trajectory of BE LIKE in British varieties of English.

### 13.4.2 Summary of BE LIKE

The findings for BE LIKE in Morley suggest that it has been adopted just as rapidly here as elsewhere in the U.K., and that, for the student generation, it is now the most commonly used quotative. The constraint hierarchy for Morley is almost identical to that observed by Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999), suggesting that there is a large degree of homogeneity among young British speakers adopting BE LIKE, in spite of the data for Morley being collected a decade after the York corpus. However, there is embryonic evidence for the expansion of the use of BE LIKE into contexts introducing direct speech, a context where BE LIKE has previously been consistently disfavoured. These findings would seem to support the argument for the continued grammaticalisation of BE LIKE in U.K. varieties.

### 13.4.3 Analysis of quotative GO

Having established the patterning of BE LIKE in Morley, I now turn to the analysis of quotative GO, which, unlike BE LIKE, is observed among the older speakers of the (2005) Morley sample. First, let us consider the results of the multivariate analysis for GO.

The multivariate analysis for GO, shown in Table 13.6, considers the data from the three generations in the 2005 data sample. The Houck data is not included here, as quotative GO is not found in these data.

| | % GO | Fw | Total Ns |
|---|---|---|---|
| Corrected mean .094 | | | |
| ***Generation*** | | | |
| RETIRED | 8 | .47 | 255 |
| WORKING | 5 | .33 | 74 |
| STUDENT | 12 | .59 | 229 |
| *Range* | | *26* | |
| ***Speaker sex*** | | | |
| MALE | 11 | .60 | 225 |
| FEMALE | 8 | .43 | 333 |
| *Range* | | *17* | |
| ***Grammatical subject*** | | | |
| FIRST PERSON | 8 | [.44] | 196 |
| THIRD PERSON *HE/SHE* | 13 | [.60] | 181 |
| THIRD PERSON *IT* | | KO = 0% | |
| SUBJECT NP | 9 | [.44] | 46 |
| OTHER SUBJECTS | 9 | [.45] | 102 |
| *Range* | | *60* | |
| ***Quote content*** | | | |
| DIRECT SPEECH | 10 | .49 | 482 |
| INTERNAL DIALOGUE | | **KO = 0%** | |
| NON-LEXICAL | 28 | .78 | 18 |
| *Range* | | *78* | |
| TOTAL Ns | | | 558 |

*Table 13.6*
Variable rule analysis of the contribution of factors to the probability of quotative GO in Morley

The multivariate analysis of GO shows that generation, speaker sex and quote content are all significant effects. For generation, students have the highest factor weight, indicating that they retain use of quotative GO, in spite of the innovative BE LIKE form. Males favour GO more than females do, which is the reverse pattern to BE LIKE. GO is categorically avoided with third person *it* and in contexts of internal dialogue. For quote content, non-lexical utterances favour GO whilst direct speech returns a slight disfavouring result (however, the data in this factor group are skewed, with only 18 tokens of non-lexical utterances).

Thus, quotative GO in Morley appears to have persisted in spite of the rapid increase in BE LIKE. Recall that for Derby and Newcastle in the 1990s data, Buchstaller (2006a) found GO to be used more frequently than BE LIKE, but over the generations in her analysis the main contributors of quotative GO were speakers under 30. Whilst the same is true for Morley, the rates of use of quotative GO among

the older generations in Morley are slightly higher than for the corresponding generations in Buchstaller's data (8% in Morley retired group, aged 62-87, compared to 3% in Buchstaller's 62-79 year olds; 5% in Morley working, aged 37-52, compared to 1% in Buchstaller's 30-50 year olds). However, the rate of use of GO for the Morley students (aged 12-17) is only 12%, compared to 23% among Buchstaller's 16-17 year olds. Thus, whilst GO persists in Morley, there is some evidence to suggest that the increase in BE LIKE may have negatively impacted upon the share of the 'quotative space' held by GO.

## 13.5 DISCUSSION

The pattern of quotatives produced by the students in Morley bears remarkable similarities to the pattern of use for BE LIKE observed in York. They have acquired BE LIKE rapidly at the expense of SAY, and the constraints upon use of BE LIKE appear similar to those observed by Tagliamonte and Hudson (1999) and Baker et al (2006) for York. As such, the question we must ask is why, when so many other variables considered for Morley are showing resistance to incoming changes, this variable exhibits such a pattern.

Clearly, BE LIKE has established itself as a global youth norm. Its rapid adoption by adolescents and young adults on both sides of the Atlantic indexes its association with the speech of the younger generations, a view further enhanced by the perception test results from Buchstaller (2006b). Whether this trend continues remains to be seen, and is largely dependent upon two factors: whether current BE LIKE users continue to exhibit the feature into adulthood, and whether the upcoming generations acquire BE LIKE in the same manner as the current youth cohort.

For the Morley student generation, BE LIKE is perhaps one way in which they can signal participation in the wider youth culture without demonstrating disloyalty to more traditional community norms. There does not appear to be a traditional non-standard quotative in the dialect; whilst GO may be thought of as less standard than SAY, it is by no means localised (as can be seen from its presence in the previous investigations of quotatives around the world), and whilst it has slightly more longevity in the community than the more recent innovation BE LIKE, the Morley

data show that use of quotative GO by older community members is far from systematic, suggesting that we cannot view quotative GO as a traditional dialect feature either. As such, it would appear that the younger speakers are free to acquire BE LIKE because it does not replace anything more intrinsically 'Morley,' but rather replaces the standard.

One further question remains to be answered, and it is not one addressed elsewhere in the quotative literature: can we talk about BE LIKE in terms of levelling? Certainly, in terms of overall outcome the change observed in quotative usage looks a lot like the diffusion of one particular form, and subsequent levelling towards that form across a wider geographical area. The difference between BE LIKE and other 'levelling' features is that its geographic area is much wider than we are used to seeing, and its adoption seems to have taken place in spite of the lack of regular and systematic face-to-face contact between speakers of different varieties, a condition which has previously been taken to be a prerequisite for linguistic accommodation and levelling (Trudgill 1986). However, our current understanding of levelling is based primarily on phonological variables. Necessarily, in order for phonological features to travel from one region to another, they have to be passed on orally; spoken by members of one speech community, and heard by members of another. This is not the case with features such as BE LIKE, which may be transmitted via written forms, as well as orally. Thus, it is possible that the rapid global adoption of BE LIKE is in part due to contact, not via face-to-face spoken interactions between members of different speech communities, but through regular and systematic contact with American varieties in spoken and written forms. Modern youth culture is dominated by American influences: television programmes, films, music, and the internet may well all play a part in the diffusion of BE LIKE, and increased online communication may well be one way in which features such as BE LIKE spread. Young people are exposed to these forms via TV and film, reinforced by written input from websites, internet forums and chat rooms. Thus non-phonological features, which have more ways of being represented than merely in their spoken forms, may be diffusing via these forms of communication.

## 13.6 CHAPTER SUMMARY

I have considered the variability in quotative constructions in Morley. I have shown that, just as has been observed elsewhere in Britain and the rest of the English-speaking world, quotative BE LIKE is rapidly increasing. In Morley, BE LIKE is the most frequent quotative used by the student generation, and whilst quotative GO persists, there seems to be some evidence to suggest that the latter is suffering as a result of the speed with which BE LIKE is increasing. There is a consistency of constraints for BE LIKE in comparison to previous analyses of British speakers (cf Tagliamonte and Hudson 1999, Baker et al 2006) and some embryonic evidence that BE LIKE may be advancing into previously dispreferred settings, such as to introduce direct speech quotations. I have interpreted the findings here as evidence of dialect levelling, and suggest that they are important evidence to add to the contact-induced change literature, as it seems to demonstrate the spread of a feature via non-verbal interaction between members of different speech communities.

# CHAPTER 14
# DISCUSSION

## 14.0 OVERVIEW

In this chapter I pull together the findings from the previous chapters and apply them by way of refining our understanding of variation and change in British dialects, by considering the research goals identified at the outset of this thesis. I take each research goal in turn and identify how the findings here have answered the questions identified, and explain the relevance of these findings to the wider sociolinguistic literature.

## 14.1 RESEARCH GOALS

### 14.1.1 Research goal I

- ***In what ways are diffusion, levelling and retention of traditional dialect features observable within the same community?***

Two dimensions of the existing literature need to be addressed in order to fully answer this question: the concerns of the existing literature on contact-induced change, and those from the dialectology literature on Yorkshire varieties. According to the literature on dialect contact and supra-localism (Trudgill 1986, Milroy 2002b, Hinskens, Auer and Kerswill 2005), the features most likely to be lost as a result of contact and levelling are those which are minority variants and in some way marked, be they regionally restricted, socially stigmatised, or both. It stands to reason, therefore, that the converse of this is that the features most likely to be retained (or adopted) in a dialect contact situation are those which are more geographically widespread and less socially stigmatised. Furthermore, the Yorkshire dialectology literature of the 1960s, '70s and '80s (for example Tidholm (1979), or Petyt (1985)) predicted that standardisation would have all but wiped out most non-standard dialect features within two generations. However, the data from Morley present a much more complex picture than these predictions would lead us to anticipate. The findings presented herein have clearly shown that (i) the traditional features are alive

and well and generally resistant to levelling, contrary to the existing contact literature; and (ii) when change does occur, it is rarely in the direction of the standard, opposing the predictions of the dialectology literature. I now discuss the findings of my research in light of these claims.

We have observed a number of different mechanisms at work in Morley. There have been some examples of what clearly appear to be cases of diffusion: T-glottaling, for example, has diffused into the community and, for non-intervocalic contexts at least, has become the majority form over time. However, the standard variant [t] is the 'victim' in the levelling process here; it is a feature which is neither regionally restricted nor socially stigmatised. In intervocalic conditions, expansion of the glottal variant has been slower; [ʔ] still impedes on the space traditionally allocated to the standard, but the traditional non-standard [ɹ] is also still frequently produced by speakers in Morley. Whilst T-to-R is not regionally restricted to Morley alone, it is more regionally restricted than are either the glottal or standard variants, and thus it would be anticipated to be the most likely candidate variant to be lost in a levelling process. Nevertheless, it is alive and well in Morley, and is a prime piece of evidence for the case that, whilst diffusion and levelling have occurred, the outcomes of these are not what the existing literature on the subject would generally predict.

Another case of diffusion appears to be the new quotative BE LIKE, which has been rapidly adopted by the youngest generation in the sample. Furthermore, BE LIKE is not replacing anything more regionally restricted, or socially stigmatised (such as the non-standard quotative GO, which is found in many varieties of English in the U.K. and beyond) but rather the standard quotative, SAY. Thus, it appears as though the diffusion of BE LIKE has occurred, but the subsequent levelling of the quotative system has, as with the variable (T), impacted more on the standard variant than the current contact-induced change literature would predict.

Diffusion of externally originating features is not the selected mechanism of change in all situations where it is possible. TH-fronting has been shown to have diffused widely elsewhere in the country, but in Morley its existence still appears embryonic, with the standard variants robustly (even categorically) maintained by the majority of speakers. Previous literature on this feature suggests that it is one which adolescent speakers are adopting as a 'youth norm' (Williams and Kerswill 1999). However, the categorical avoidance of fronted variants by many of the

Morley student cohort would suggest, at the very least, that the term 'norm' when interpreted as 'norm of usage' should be applied with a modicum of caution; adoption of TH-fronting by younger speakers, whilst widespread in other parts of the country, is clearly not, as yet, pandemic.

Definite article reduction, secondary contraction, *summat* and *(n)owt*, and intermediate forms of past tense BE are all features which have been retained from the traditional dialect of industrial West Yorkshire. All are more regionally and socially restricted than their alternatives, yet none has been subject to levelling out of the variety, or even appear to be in a state of decline.

One case of standardisation has been observed, in the chapter on pronoun reallocation, with possessive *us* receding and its standard counterpart *our* increasing in use over time. Possessive *me* is also receding, but in favour of the more widely used monophthong variant [ma], rather than the standard. This seems to be one case in which the predicted pattern does occur, as the regionally and socially restricted forms are ousted by the more widely used and socially-accepted variants.

In sum, a range of patterns of variation and change are observable in Morley, and results show that, in a situation of increased social and geographical mobility, the linguistic out-workings of such contact may be much more complex than diffusion of supra-local variants and levelling towards them at the expense of traditional local features. On the understanding that dialect levelling is a reductive process, and one which impacts upon the most locally and socially restricted variants first, then the present analysis clearly shows that our current understanding of levelling is found wanting. Levelling is indeed a reductive process; it necessarily has to be in some form, if it arises as a result of the additive process of diffusion (for when a new variant is added into the mix, previously existing variants will necessarily have to 'make room' for the new form in some way). But the hypothesis that socially and locally restricted forms are the most likely victims of the reductive process is nullified here: whilst socially and locally restricted forms may be subject to levelling out of the variety - as we have seen in the case of possessive *me* and *us* - the standard variants can be just as susceptible, as is the case in Morley for secondary contracted negatives, and the variable (T).

Levelling and linguistic distinctiveness have been shown to co-exist in Morley. It certainly appears from the data considered here that speakers are able to

'have their cake and eat it' (so to speak): it is entirely possible to adopt new features into a regional variety without necessarily losing the traditional features which have a more deep-rooted association with the local speech community.

### 14.1.2 Research goal II

- ***How does a community negotiate linguistic identity in the face of increased contact and perceived homogeneity?***

Morley seems to have accomplished this negotiation by staunchly retaining the traditional features of its local dialect, even though they may not be highly localised in the strictest sense. Perhaps it is safe to say that distinctiveness is not always held at the micro level of individual linguistic features, but at the macro level, where it is the overall blend of features observed, and their relative frequencies, which is the key to linguistic distinctiveness, rather than individual features per se. Moreover, distinctiveness may not be purely concerned with the retention of traditional local patterns of use, but perhaps also the avoidance of those features which would threaten the traditional variety, be they external-origin non-standard features, or features of the standard language.

With so many different mechanisms of variation and change at work, we must ask ourselves what motivates the patterns observed here. Of course, motivation can be discussed either at the community level or the individual level, though the latter must be addressed with caution, because individual motivations for accepting, retaining or rejecting any particular linguistic feature are likely to be (i) highly subjective; and (ii) not necessarily something of which the informant is overtly aware. As such, not all motivations are guaranteed to come to light during the course of a sociolinguistic interview. This has been reflected amply in the large degree of individual variability observed for some variables across the Morley sample; individual differences in motivations are clearly present. Whilst in most cases, the reasons for these differences are not clear, the methodology for this study was not designed to specifically elicit individual motivations, but rather generational and community-wide patterns. However, where the individual patterns have proven important, it is necessary to use what information is available in order to speculate as to why such differences may occur. Let us take Scott as an example. Scott is a seventeen year old male who uses consistently more standard forms than many of

the other speakers in the Morley sample, over a number of the variables analysed here (DAR, secondary contraction, *summat/owt/nowt*). We can speculate upon reasons for this on the basis of issues which arise during his interview: he is quite keen to impress his position as a model student; he has high social ambitions (he wants to apply to undertake a medical degree after he leaves school); and his father lives abroad, which means he travels more frequently than some of his other classmates. These are all potentially contributing factors towards his more standard linguistic behaviour, and one avenue for future research highlighted by these findings is the benefit of considering the motivations for language variation and change held at the individual level.

What is more easily determined, however, is the community-wide level of motivation. Why is the Morley community so conservative about the use of traditional dialect features in the face of the social and geographic changes which have occurred in their community since the 1960s? One possible suggestion is that we have observed Morley at a particular point in time when it is on the cusp of widespread linguistic change. The retired and working generations in Morley retain the traditional variants for very obvious reasons: they were brought up in Morley during its years of autonomy, were involved in local industry, and (with the exception of a small number of the working generation speakers) were not very highly educated. Generally speaking, speakers in these generations have social networks which do not extend very far beyond Morley, and even those speakers who do tend to remain within the wider Leeds area. Under these conditions, we would expect nothing less than retention of traditional, non-standard accent and dialect features. However, when we consider the student generation, we realise that they are among the first to grow up knowing Morley as nothing other than a suburb of Leeds. They are already more highly educated than the other two generations, and their education is not yet complete, as at the time of recording they all had at least one year of schooling remaining, and some were applying to university. They are much more mobile than the other generations, all having mentioned travelling (either within the U.K. or abroad) during their interviews. They describe themselves as being from Leeds (as opposed to Morley) and it is with the larger city that their affiliation lies, little sense of pride in Morley itself being evident. What we appear to be witnessing is the beginnings of widescale linguistic change in this generation, but

the full extent of social and geographical mobility may not be seen in Morley until the next generation, once the effect of Morley's previously autonomous position has been further weakened. Existing evidence for this is seen in Llamas (2007b); adolescents in Middlesbrough found the suggestion that they could be mistaken for Yorkshire speakers an unrealistic possibility, as they "were unaware of any historical association with Yorkshire and so appeared confused by the line of discussion" (Llamas 2007b: 600). It seems reasonable to suggest that we have captured the Morley linguistic situation at precisely the right time, when the impact of years of autonomy and recent social changes are both in evidence. Furthermore, the future development of linguistic change in Morley will be interesting to track: as time progresses and the generations for whom Morley is an autonomous unit die out, will the conservatism observed in the retention of some traditional dialect features survive, or will the task of retaining the existing linguistic identity of Morley become increasingly difficult, as the ties to its cultural and historical position weaken over time? Following Llamas (2007b) we would predict that these beginnings of changing social evaluation in Morley may in time also lead to a linguistic re-evaluation.

### 14.1.3 Research goal III

- ***Which (if any) traditional features of the Morley variety are subject to levelling, and which are retained?***

The findings here show a very clear pattern of retention of traditional features in Morley. Almost all of the traditionally occurring non-standard features investigated have been shown to be present across all generations. This is somewhat surprising, given that the traditional features (DAR, secondary contracted negatives, reallocated pronouns, *summat, owt* and *nowt*, intermediate productions of past tense BE and T-to-R) are all more geographically restricted than their alternative variants, and are widely perceived as socially stigmatised variants.

Foulkes and Docherty (1999) comment on the tension that exists in modern speech communities between loyalty to traditional community norms and a more cosmopolitan outlook. Their view is that speakers can achieve a resolution to this tension in the following way:

> *Speakers can achieve these aims by avoiding variants which they perceive to be particularly indicative of their local roots, while at the same time adopting some features which are perceived to be non-local. It seems important, too, that the incoming features do not signal any other particularly well-defined variety, because of the potential signalling of disloyalty to local norms. This is especially true where the standard is concerned.*
>
> (Foulkes and Docherty 1999:13-14)

Their assessment of the contact situation seems to hold true only in part for Morley. Whilst the incoming features that are accepted into the variety do not appear to signal disloyalty to local norms, as they do not replace anything more traditional to the dialect, features 'particularly indicative of local roots' are not avoided, but rather perpetuated. It stands to reason, on this basis, to suggest that the external-origin features that are resisted in Morley are resisted because they *do* signal disloyalty to traditional community norms, either by replacing something more traditional, or by having a negative social evaluation within the Morley community.

### 14.1.4 Research goal IV

- ***Which (if any) external features are diffusing into the Morley variety as a result of increased contact?***

Four of the results chapters considered a diffusing non-standard feature which had the potential for acceptance into the Morley variety (T-glottaling, TH-fronting, BE LIKE quotative, and *was*-regularisation). Furthermore, we can also view standardisation as a process similar to the acceptance of externally-originating diffusing forms, because, whilst the standard may have co-existed with the traditional non-standard variants for a much longer period of time than external-origin diffusing features, both the standard and the diffusing non-standard supra-local features mark non-localness. This is reinforced by considering the dialectology literature of the 1970s and 80s, where standardisation was the assumed direction of change (Tidholm 1979, Petyt 1985) and the potential for standardisation was viewed as a threat to local dialect identity. As such, I consider the competition of the standard with traditional non-standard forms in conjunction with the potential for diffusion here.

Of the four non-standard diffusing features, only BE LIKE and T-glottaling have been successful in establishing themselves among Morley speakers. TH-

fronting and *was*-regularisation have not been incorporated. Moreover, where BE LIKE and T-glottaling are incorporated, they are not used to replace a more traditionally associated feature. Both appear to replace the standard variants in their respective space. With only one exception (first person pronouns) the variables investigated here show that the standard does not fare very well in Morley: the best it achieves is retaining its space in the variable mix (as with TH-fronting), but in several cases it is pushed aside, either by traditional dialect features (for example, secondary contraction) or by externally-originating non-standard forms (for example, T-glottaling). On the basis of the frequency evidence presented, if we were to postulate an evaluation hierarchy for Morley, we would have to place the standard below traditional non-standard and external-origin non-standard features. Furthermore, since the external-origin features are not seen to impact upon more traditionally occurring forms, we would have to conclude that, for these variables in this sample, the traditional non-standard features seem to be the most positively evaluated variants. These conclusions naturally lead us to questions regarding the changing social evaluation of particular variants, and the social perception of one variant with respect to another. These are not questions which can be answered purely on the basis of the current project alone, but the findings presented here are an indication that the evaluation of linguistic features by the people that use them is clearly an important consideration for future work in sociolinguistics.

### 14.1.5 Research goal V

- ***How do the answers to the previous questions further inform our understanding of sociolinguistic variation and change?***

*14.1.5a The concept of geographical versus social and psychological space*

Morley is not alone in its current socio-cultural position: Middlesbrough (Llamas 2007b), for example, shares a similar history in terms of political boundary changes, and Salford (Barras 2007) has a similar relationship with Manchester as Morley does with Leeds. There are many towns and suburbs across the U.K. whose cultural and social identity is changing as a result of socioeconomic growth, expansion of neighbouring cities and loss of traditional industries. Ongoing research will help paint a clearer picture as to whether patterns of traditional dialect retention similar to

those observed in Morley are observable in other, comparable situations. If so, then we have even stronger evidence for a need to reassess our understanding of the impact of levelling/diffusion and the patterns of change promoted by increased social and geographical mobility.

The notion of what counts as a region (both in geographical and sociolinguistic terms) is currently an important point of debate for researchers, and the conclusions drawn here certainly seems to point towards its continued inclusion in our consideration of modern sociolinguistics. Britain (2002b) discusses the difference between geographical space (an objectively defined geometric area), social space (human manipulation of the landscape, for example into politically defined areas) and psychological space (defined by society, individual attitudes and cultural practice). Britain states that all three work together to create our full understanding of space. However, sociolinguistic endeavour tends to focus primarily on geographical and social space, whilst psychological space remains largely overlooked. Beal (2006) highlights the importance of psychological space in the definition of a region, and encourages linguistic researchers to consider the notion of region as fluid, "covering whatever geographical areas are considered distinct from each other by the people living in them" (Beal 2006:4). The Morley data exemplify this rather well, in that the notion of region, when defined in psychological terms as well as socio-geographical ones, may not be the same, even within one community. In considering the views of the people living within a specific geographical area, we have to bear in mind that not everyone in that area has the *same* concept of where the boundaries of their region lie. In Morley, the retired and student generations' notions of regional boundaries could not be more different, with the older speakers stating quite forcefully that Morley is separate from Leeds, whereas the younger cohort do not recognise a boundary between the two at all, but rather view the former as a suburban element of the latter. Thus, whilst geographically the regional space is the same for both retired and student speakers, the change in political boundaries has clearly altered the social space between Morley and the rest of the West Yorkshire area, and psychologically, the retired cohort maintains a distance from Leeds which is not present for the younger generation. Morley is a prime example of a situation in which the consideration of the different aspects of spatiality (Britain 2002b) can help us to better understand the speech community.

*14.1.5b Role of individuals*

We have witnessed a large degree of individualism in the adoption/retention of various linguistic items in Morley, with some speakers more disposed to use certain features more frequently than others. This brings us to the issue of identity: is what we are observing in Morley the retention of a community sense of identity, or demonstration of individuality, or both? The role of the individual has been largely overlooked in sociolinguistic endeavour (with notable exceptions, such as Johnstone *et al.* 2002). We have been so keen to utilise quantitative methods to capture an accurate portrait of dialect that we have omitted to pay appropriate attention to idiolect. Docherty (in press) discusses the importance of considering inter-individual differences for sociophonetic research, claiming that, in focussing our attention on the quantitative patterning of different social groups, sociolinguists "may divert attention from the crucial area of how *individuals'* performance is shaped by social context and...evaluation of the immediate social environment" (Docherty in press:8). When we discuss distinctiveness at the level of the community, we overlook distinctiveness at the level of the individual. Of course, we all acknowledge that individual differences exist as part of the variation observed, but when reporting findings we generally focus on the whole-community perspective, looking at differences between social groups (males and females, for example, or perhaps the working versus middle classes) and fail to explicitly acknowledge that perhaps not all speakers within those social groups are doing exactly the same thing. In many ways, of course, this is not problematic, as sociolinguistic endeavour has described patterns of variation constrained by social class, speaker sex, ethnicity, sexuality, age, and other social factors by observing general patterns across speakers categorised into different social groups. Nevertheless, this focus on the general patterns fails to account for variability within any given social group. Distinctiveness at the level of the speech community is described in terms of the community behaving in a way which is sufficiently different from other speech communities to warrant the term 'distinctive'. This leads to a natural assumption that members of the speech community are behaving collectively, in order to achieve or maintain this distinction. I would like to propose an alternative perspective. On the basis that the whole (i.e. the speech community) is the sum of its parts (i.e. its individual members) it stands to reason that the heterogeneity observed within the speech community can contribute towards its distinction from other speech communities. In

other words, differences observed between individuals within a social group will contribute towards the heterogeneity observed between one social group and another, and consideration of the intra-group variability as well as the inter-group variability will tell us more about the differences between social groups, than if we focus only on the inter-group variation. Admittedly, we are perhaps talking about distinction on a rather more minute scale than previous discussions have intended, but in our modern, highly mobile society, distinction is perhaps not achieved in categorical terms (this dialect has this feature and that one doesn't) but proportional ones (more individuals in speech community X have this feature than individuals in speech community Y). Furthermore, the combination of features observed within a community (or indeed, an individual) may be what marks distinctiveness, rather than any one feature in isolation.

*14.1.5c Benefit of holistic approach to variation*

Typically, British sociolinguistic research tends to focus on either phonology or morphosyntax, and much of the existing commentary on contact-induced change in the U.K. is based upon phonological changes, most of these consonantal. The findings of this project might have been very different had we focussed on simply one aspect of the variability found in Morley. For example, had we only looked at (T) and (TH), we might well have been tempted to conclude that diffusion of supra-local forms was the main finding, albeit at a rather much slower rate for (TH) than anticipated, because of only three individuals using the fronted forms. On the other hand, had we looked only at stereotypical traditional features, such as DAR and *summat/(n)owt*, our conclusion would have been one of conservatism, with resilient retention of the local dialect features. In taking a more holistic approach, it has been shown here that a more unilateral perspective would have been misleading. The Morley data have quite clearly demonstrated that, whilst levelling is one possible mechanism of language change, its impact is not pandemic in all variables for all communities where contact exists as a motivation for change. A return to the more holistic approach we are used to seeing in dialectological studies, which provide information on a wide range of linguistic variables found in the community under consideration, and combining this approach with the attention to detail and quantified, empirical investigation provided by modern sociolinguistic analyses

would seem to be a fruitful way forward. In doing so, we would glean the benefits of two related methodologies, and, as I hope I have been able to show here, uncover patterns of variation and change which, in taking a more unilateral approach, we may not otherwise have perceived.

*14.1.5d The inclusion of West Yorkshire in the contact debate*

As a representative of the industrial urban centres of West Yorkshire, Morley provides an important link the in the sociolinguistic chain. In a South-to-North diffusion model as proposed by Kerswill (2003), West Yorkshire is a crucial link between the North-Midlands varieties of towns such as Derby (Milroy 1996, Docherty and Foulkes 1999) and conurbations further to the North, such as York (Tagliamonte 1996), Middlesbrough (Llamas 2007b) and Newcastle (Docherty and Foulkes 1999). The data from Morley do not support the South-to-North prediction, showing resistance to features, such as TH-fronting, which are said to be involved in this spread, and already in evidence in towns further North (Kerswill 2003).

## 14.2 Summary

This chapter has drawn together the findings of the eight analysis chapters and has returned to the original research goals of the thesis. I have demonstrated here that, in considering a wider range of variables than we are used to in this type of sociolinguistic investigation, this research has uncovered a much more complex picture of the different types of variation and change which are present in the modern British speech community than that which would have been drawn had I considered only one facet of linguistic variability. A range of different processes is observable in Morley, and as there is nothing particularly out of the ordinary about Morley as a speech community, it points towards this being a possible research outcome elsewhere in the U.K. As far as supra-localism and linguistic distinctiveness are concerned, speakers (and speech communities) are quite capable of negotiating the competing pressures exerted by these motivations. It is now the responsibility of the sociolinguistic research community to consider these competing themes elsewhere, not only in the U.K., but beyond.

# CHAPTER 15
# CONCLUSIONS

## 15.1 ISSUES ADDRESSED

In this thesis I have addressed the following issues: (i) I have conducted a sociolinguistic investigation of the variety of English spoken in Morley, in order to establish the linguistic mechanisms, motivations and outcomes of social and geographical change in a community to have undergone increased contact and loss of autonomy; (ii) I have specifically focussed on how the two, seemingly incompatible, mechanisms of diffusion of externally originating features and retention of traditional features can co-exist within the same linguistic variety; (iii) in considering a number of sociolinguistic variables, I have shown that both retention of traditional variants (such as definite article reduction and *summat/(n)owt*) and acceptance of externally originating linguistic features (such as T-glottaling and quotative BE LIKE) can be seen as outcomes of the contact situation. Generally, there has been a pattern of maintenance of linguistic features associated with the traditional accent and dialect of the area. Where change is in progress, it is either in advancement of existing features of the dialect, or it is the acceptance of an externally originating form, but oftentimes at the expense of the standard, not a pre-existing dialectal, feature.

## 15.2 SUMMARY OF KEY CONTRIBUTIONS

The key contributions of this thesis are as follows:

(i) I have exemplified the importance of discussing a wide range of potential variables from phonology, morphosyntax and lexis. In considering a large range of variables here, I have shown that several different mechanisms can be at work simultaneously within one language variety. Diffusion can be used as an accurate description of some non-phonological changes

(such as the global adoption by adolescent speakers of the BE-LIKE quotative). What looks like standardisation is also observable, as we have seen in the case of first person possessive pronouns. However, some morphosyntactic features are resistant to diffusion and levelling; *was*-regularisation, for example, is not present in Morley, despite its widespread use elsewhere in U.K. varieties of English. There is some evidence in Morley of resistance to phonological diffusion too, with a lack of widespread adoption of TH-fronting. A smaller number of variables would perhaps have shown only a snapshot of this wide range of variability.

(ii) I have considered a number of variables, some of which have until this point escaped sociolinguistic analysis: pronoun reallocation, secondary contraction and *summat* and *(n)owt* have all escaped quantitative investigation; definite article reduction had not been discussed in terms of its social distribution, and past tense BE had not been subject to analysis of the intermediate productions which I have detailed for Morley.

(iii) I have shown the importance of including places such as Morley in the sociolinguistic debate, and the relevance of discussing the impact of social changes upon language change. In particular, Morley is interesting because it does not follow the pattern predicted by the existing literature: rather than supra-local forms diffusing and replacing traditional local variants, the traditional dialect has held its ground in the face of diffusion. I have shown that diffusion of externally originating features, and subsequent levelling of the variety in favour of a supra-locally occurring form, can cohabit alongside the continued use of features more traditionally associated with a particular speech community, and that members of that speech community can 'have their cake and eat it' in terms of retaining linguistic items indigenous to their region, while simultaneously accepting features diffusing from an external source.

(iv) I have highlighted the importance of considering individual differences as a factor contributing to the distinctiveness of a speech community. I have emphasised that individual notions of region, identity, and social

evaluation may play a role in the perseverance or loss of traditional features, and the acceptance or rejection of externally-originating forms.

(v) Through the inclusion of the Houck corpus data (Houck 1968) in this research, I have contributed to the debate on the suitability of real-time data for linguistic analysis. Whilst several caveats remain to be stated regarding the specific case of comparing Houck's data to my own (most especially the recurring question of the formality of the Houck corpus interviews relative to those conducted by myself in 2005), Houck's data have been of great value to this project. The inclusion of a fourth generation of speakers has served to show both the longevity of the traditional dialect features in the community, and the recency of adoption of some diffusing features.

(vi) I have contributed to the ongoing research into variation and change in British English, by illustrating patterns of heterogeneity observable in a West Yorkshire variety. Our understanding of contact-induced change in British urban varieties has largely overlooked Yorkshire English. By contributing an analysis of Morley English, I have illuminated another strand in our growing understanding of the patterns of language variation and change observable across the U.K. more generally, and have suggested that Morley can be viewed as a crucial link in the sociolinguistic chain, providing contradictory evidence to the South-North geographical diffusion model.

## 15.3 AREAS FOR FUTURE ANALYSIS

My investigations into Morley English have led me to suggest the following areas as possible directions for future analysis. The field is certainly ripe for a comparative analysis of urban Northern varieties, in order to assess the extent to which features are shared across the wider region, and to what extent this is evidence of levelling towards some form of Northern koine (Watt and Milroy 1999). It is also necessary to establish how distinctiveness is negotiated when so many features are no longer highly localised, especially in light of the comments made regarding individuality in

the previous chapter. I have tentatively suggested, as a result of the findings expressed here, that perhaps it is the combination of features observed, and their distribution among the individuals of any given speech community, that makes one language variety distinctive from another, rather than features themselves necessarily needing to be distinctive. Comparative investigation of a range of urban varieties, with some shared features among them, will enable us to see the extent to which this suggestion holds true for Northern British Englishes today. Any such comparative study should aim to take account of perceptual and ethnographic data for each individual in the study, in order to test whether individual identity and psychological understanding of regionality play a role in their perseverance, acceptance or rejection of particular sociolinguistic variants.

Further work is also required to distinguish whether a difference is maintained between linguistic features which are traditional to a variety, but non-localised, and those which are specific only to a small geographical region. How geographically restricted does a feature have to be before we count it as a local feature, and how widespread does it have to become before we cease to do so? Moreover, is this a decision for the sociolinguist, or the language users? Community members may well evaluate a linguistic feature as local, even if objectively it is not. In addition, we need more work on the notion of the geographical region (Beal 2006): what exactly is this? Where are the boundaries? Are they the same for everyone, or is this some form of abstract individual construction? Clearly for some people Morley is different from Leeds, whereas for others it is less so. Similarly, the distinction between West Yorkshire and Yorkshire is greater for some people than for others. How does the significance attributed to specific boundaries impact on language change, and indeed, an individual's linguistic repertoire? Perceptual dialectology (such as the work of Preston (2002) and Montgomery (2007)), attitudinal questionnaires (such as those employed by Llamas (2000)), and the consideration of psychological as well as socio-geographical space (Britain 2002b) take us some way towards a better understanding of the links between geographical, psychological and linguistic boundaries, but the combining of these methodologies would seem to be an appropriate next step in furthering our understanding of the relationship between them.

From the findings of this thesis, I would like to promote a more holistic approach to sociolinguistic analysis than we have seen previously: looking at different levels of language rather than (for sake of argument) just the phonological variation found in consonantal features. A few selected variables may give us an indication of the patterns observed in a community, but as this thesis has shown, many different patterns of variation and change can be seen simultaneously. Combining the methods of dialectology's holistic approach and quantitative sociolinguistics' attention to detail is a good step forward, because it permits the inclusion of a much wider range of variable linguistic features without losing the precision of investigation afforded by a thorough quantitative analysis of variability. One caveat to this suggestion is that we may need to collect rather larger data samples than we have becoming accustomed to doing, as some variables occur too infrequently to yield enough tokens for analysis in our stratified samples. Indeed, the data collected here did not yield sufficient numbers of tokens to facilitate discussion of a number of variables which would have made excellent contribution to the present analysis: reversed right dislocations (as they are described by Durham 2007) as in (1); the devoicing of voiced plosives, as in (2); and use of linking /w/ in place of intrusive /r/ as in (3), would all have benefited the discussions contained herein, but unfortunately occurred too infrequently to make analysis viable.

(1) They've always been a bit behind [DAR] times *have Morley*
(2) I can remember because I trained in *Bradford* [bɹatfəd/bɹaʔfəd]
(3) It might weave so far before [DAR] weaver ever *saw it*

Finally, I would suggest that Morley should be the subject of ongoing real-time analysis, and so, indeed, should West Yorkshire more generally. As discussed in chapter fourteen, Morley seems to be on the cusp of social change, with equal pressures exerted from both past traditionalism and more recent changes which have brought about increased contact. Morley may well have much more to tell us regarding patterns of language change, and comparison with the wider county of West Yorkshire - in particular the relationship between Morley and its (now dominant) neighbour, Leeds - will illuminate us as to whether Morley is representative of the wider region, or is exhibiting a divergent pattern from that seen in the rest of the county. The Houck corpus has provided an interesting real-time

dimension to this thesis, and further work in other areas of Leeds, using the Houck corpus for real-time comparisons, would enable us to replicate the large-scale dialectological samples of the 1960s, and would help us to create an accurate picture of the state of language change in the wider Leeds area over the last half-century.

## 15.4 Concluding remarks

Morley has been able to tell us a great deal about the different mechanisms, motivations and outcomes of change that are observable within any one community, but this is not the end of the story. There is undoubtedly more to be said on these themes, and we certainly have uncovered only the tip of an iceberg where individualism, regionality and social evaluation of different variants are concerned. There is a general trend in current sociolinguistic research towards the greater consideration of community and individual sense of identity in the negotiation of language variation and change. In this thesis I have made my contribution towards this goal, and hope that ongoing and future research will further this aim, by seeking to further our understanding of the way in which linguistic performance and social, geographical and personal identity impact on one another.

# APPENDICES

## 1. Correspondence from Professor Houck

### Word-for-word facsimile of email correspondences

Dear Ms. Steele
You certainly have my permission to access, use, analyze, criticize, etc. my Leeds data. In other words, go to it. Now, to be perfectly honest, I have no idea in what medium it exists, or even whether it exists at Leeds University. I did send a set of CDs to Sheffield. Dr. Upton has a copy as does Mr. Stanley Ellis, although his in a Mac OS format. I can obtain another set from Ball State University some time after 15 April and send them to you if so needed. Just tell what OS format you require. I'm currently residing in Colorado and won't be returning to Indiana until around the 15th. And I'm off to Mesquite, Nevada and environs for the next five days, so I'll out of touch until 30 March.

Good luck on your Ph.D. project. I hope you have fun with it.
Sincerely, Charles L. Houck

Dear Ms. Steele,
Thank you for the update on your PhD progress and your approach to language change in Leeds. I must say that your approach is quite sophisticated and one that is needed to analyze this type of change. I wish you continued success with it.

Now to your questions. I do indeed have information regarding the age of my informants at the time of the survey. Each informant was asked to indicate into which age group he/she fell. The age groups were grouped into five-year groupings, except for the first one: 15-20, 21-25, 26-30, etc. all the way up to 100+. Unfortunately, I do not have that information with me here in Colorado. It is in my files back in Muncie, Indiana. And I won't be returning there until mid-April. Is that too late? If I could, I would have a colleague go to my house and have him search for the file, but I have no idea at the moment which filing cabinet the file is in. I have all the socio-economic information for each informant on a biographical data sheet, so I can easily photo-copy the sheets and send them to you upon my return to Muncie. Let me know your druthers.

Although I met Bill Labov at the 1964 Linguistics Institute at Indiana University where he presented and demonstrated his method in collecting data for his New York City study, I basically relied on his published article of that method, which the University of Leeds library fortunately had in its holdings. And yes, I was quite impressed with his method and knew that it was the "way to go." In fact, I was adamant in applying his method of collecting dialect data. I was also adamant about applying random sampling for each household and each informant in that household. Now, the emphasis on minimal pairs for phonemic and spectrographic analyses is a function of a dialect history and philosophy—a point which we can discuss over a cup of tea/coffee or a glass of beer/ale/wine if you plan to attend the Methods Conference to be held at Leeds in 2008.

I hope I have answered your questions. If not, please ask again.
All the best, Charles Houck

## 2. Morley Word List

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Fleece | Moth | Sea | Thousand |
| Face | Eighty | Shatter | Nathan |
| Dress | Below | Bellow | Hurtle |
| Trap | Startle | Parting | Looting |
| Palm | Tatty | Throat | Bottle |
| Lot | Rotting | Author | Flea |
| Thought | Broody | Nutty | |
| Goat | Naughty | Brittle | |
| Foot | Beetle | Tool | |
| Kit | Globe | Rather | |
| Mouth | Pouting | Skirting-board | |
| Nurse | Butter | Think | |
| Goose | Easy | Cure | |
| Fatal | Lucky | Booty | |
| Better | Curtain | Law | |
| Classy | Pour | Third | |
| Star | Lilting | Boating | |
| Bother | Thirsty | Meaty | |
| Draw | Sure | Shuttle | |
| Kettle | Brutal | Slow | |
| True | Clue | Lay | |
| Crow | Goatee | Party | |
| Blur | Plough | Lousy | |
| Little | Mother | Total | |
| South | Litter | Cutting | |
| Turtle | Hooter | Both | |
| Metre | Mouthy | Thread | |
| Booth | Now | Shore | |
| Metal | Birth | Rattle | |
| Poor | Pure | Method | |
| Smelly | Fitting | Bitty | |
| Batting | Blue | Claw | |
| Pray | Greeting | Path | |
| Thanks | Truth | Spotty | |
| Dirty | Flirty | All | |
| Courting | Motor | Barmy | |
| Bloater | Daughter | Lazy | |
| Outer | Regretting | Chortle | |
| Thunder | Potter | Hearth | |
| Written | Crew | Battle | |
| Foamy | Toffee | Splinter | |
| Myth | Skating | Far | |
| Later | Play | Morley | |
| Tricky | Atheist | Starter | |
| Murky | Raw | Berry | |
| Threw | Sweaty | Portal | |

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